

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 3**

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2013

ODA DAWATA, OROMIA REGION

STAGE 3 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 3



Anthea Gordon with Catherine Dom

*Researched by: Aster Shibeshi and Tolosa Mamuye, with support from
Derartu Abera*

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This report is one of six Community Situation 2013 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage Three of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Community in Place in 2013 using a number of different perspectives. The database from which the report was written was produced in two rounds of fieldwork. The first five-week fieldwork was undertaken in March/April 2013 and the second gap-filling fieldwork in November 2013. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Methodology Annex of the Stage Three Final Report. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with wereda officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 29. Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs. The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE I), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net.

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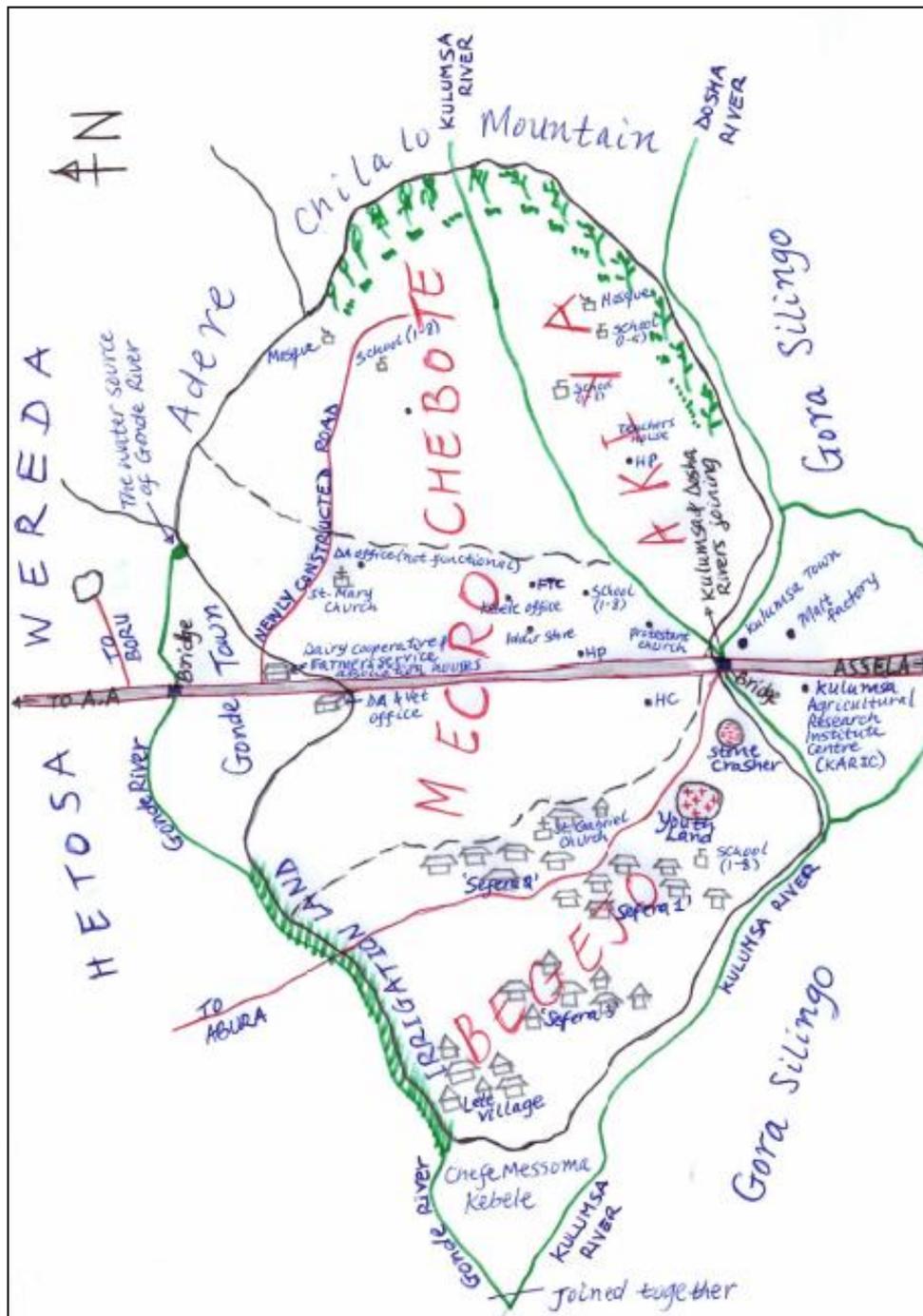
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Community features

Map 1: Map of the community



The Kebele is mainly flat; it is inhabited by c. 1,624 (HEW estimate) households (see more on demographics below). The population is mainly Oromo (70%) with the rest being Amhara (30%). The main religion in the Kebele is Islam (70%), Orthodox Christians (29%) making up the second largest group. The majority of the land in the Kebele is under cultivation and farming and agricultural activities are the main source of livelihood for the population. There are two main agricultural seasons: *meher* which is the main rainy season and when everyone cultivates and *belg* when there is a smaller amount of rain and people engage in small scale cultivation on their homesteads. There have been increasing problems with the weather in the area which has impacted upon crop production. During the winter season there is very high heat during the day and heavy rains which

are causing erosion and rust/wag (a crop disease). The rains have also become unreliable which worries many as it easily damages crops.

There are four zones in the Kebele: Begejo, Mecro, Chebote and Akiya. Mecro is nearest to the town and is densely populated. Chebote and Akiya are furthest from the town and have steepest gradients. In these two zones the population is scattered or in small hamlets. There are very few private amenities in the Kebele other than a few small shops in people's houses where you can buy basics and tea shops also in people's houses where you can buy tea and biscuits. However, there are five primary schools, two health posts and a health centre. Whilst the external roads near to the Kebele are good quality the roads and paths within the Kebele are poor and as a result the main source of transport is donkey and carts. Electricity is not available across the Kebele. There is good access to it in Begejo and Mecro whilst in the more remote zones there is little (Akiya, 20%) or no (Chebote) access. In Akiya there is also no access road. The community started building one last year (2005 EC) but stopped before it was finished.

The majority of the population are engaged in smallholder farming (90%) and/ or agricultural labour (20%); there is also a growing number working in non-farm business (30%), usually trade. Over time the amount of land being irrigated has increased significantly; currently the total area of farmland devoted to irrigation is about 32 hectares. This has enabled farmers with irrigated land to harvest twice per year and to grow a wider range of products. There are also growing numbers, especially of young people, who are migrating away from the area in search of work. The most significant change in this respect is growth in international linkages over the last three years as increasing numbers of young women are migrating to different Middle Eastern countries to find work.

Wealth in the community seems to have increased over the last ten years. People's living standards have improved. Houses are better furnished and wealth is now measured not just in land and cattle but also in households' savings, quality of houses and whether they own other houses. There are however, no external investors in the area and no NGOs are currently operating in the Kebele.

Place

Altitude and terrain

The terrain varies across the Kebele. Begejo is totally flat. The majority of the land in Mecro is flat. However the land has slopes near the villages of Akiya and Chebote. Generally flat land makes up about 1,000 hectares (42% of land) in the Kebele. Eighteen percent of the Kebele is slopy land, or 426.15 hectares, found predominantly around Akiya and Chebote. There is also some steeply sloping land amounting to 923 hectares (39% of land in the Kebele). There are gullies in most of the villages covering about 23.675 hectares (1%) (Source: kebele DA NRM).

Parts of the community are in altitude and this affects the farming that can be undertaken there. Both Akiya and Chebote Zones are *dega* areas so that *zengada*, maize, *teff* and other products cannot be grown there. However, land in Begejo-Mecro is considered to be very productive and flat, less exposed to storms than the higher land of Chebote and Akiya, and closer to the road, which together with being flat, allows the use of tractor and combined harvesters – all factors driving upward the production in the B-M zones.

Soil

The main type of soil (90%) found in the Kebele is black cotton soil (locally call Abolse) or *tikur marare* (black silt loam). There is some red soil (10%) at the edge of the Chilalo Mountain. In the past the soil was very fertile but the community believe that its fertility is declining due to over farming, and the use of fertilisers and pesticides which people say are “burning our soil”.

Ecosystem

The Kebele no longer has significant forest coverage (160 hectares). However, since the

government's ban on cutting down trees which was enforced three years ago some areas are starting to recover. Interviewees mentioned an area around Chilalo Mountain with restricted access for people and animals. In other areas people are preserving the existing *tid* (juniper) and *zigba* trees. This has resulted in successful recovery of the area even though it is on a small scale. The kebele manager talked about forest protection being enforced since five years and explained that sub-kebele structures are responsible for the protection of trees in their respective zones. He also claimed that there was a start in increased tree coverage. But other respondents noted that charcoal making, while illegal, is a source of income for unemployed youth and poor people.

There is still some wildlife in the area and people complain that monkeys and *Jart* (porcupines) eat or attack their crops and foxes and hyenas attack their livestock.

Weather and climate

Weather since 2008

The main problems caused by weather are the high temperatures during the day in the winter season particularly over the last two years and the erratic and sometimes heavy nature of the rain. The Kebele is now experiencing regular flooding which is having a detrimental impact on the wheat crop particularly in the *meher* season. Wheat and barley crops also get affected some years by wind and frost.

Table 1: Rain 2008-12 GC

Year GC	Rain season	How good/bad was the rain?
2008	Belg	Good
	Meher	Good
2009	Belg	Bad
	Meher	Good
2010	Belg	Good
	Meher	Good
2011	Belg	Good
	Meher	Good
2012	Belg	Good
	Meher	Good

There have been some gradual changes in the weather since 2008. None have been extreme as yet but all have an impact on the Kebele. The area is becoming hotter than before and this has been affecting farm production by creating an environment that is conducive for different pests like *kish-kish*, *mesek* and *til*. These pests all reduce productivity. The heat also encourages the multiplication of livestock pests like *majiger (maziger)*, *alkit*, and *fure*. There is no ground water in the kebele but the changing climate has been reducing the flow of water in the rivers and springs.

Table 2: Changes in the weather 2001-5 EC

Year	Belg rain	Meher rain	Unexpected rain	Heat	Frost	Wind describe
2001EC	Very poor	Good	No	average	Average	Average
2002EC	Good	Good	No	average	Average	Average
2003EC	Too much	Good	No	average	Average	Average
2004EC	Good	Too much	No	average	average	Average
2005EC	Poor		No	Hotter than expected	no	Average

The seasonal rains are no longer as reliable which sometimes leads to flooding in the Kebele. This results in soil erosion and damage to crops.

In November 2013 respondents noted that the rains had been good and they expected a good harvest, although there was also some concern that continuing rain might damage their wheat before they would harvest it, especially in Chebote and Akiya zones.

Seasonality and work

There are two seasonal calendars for farming in the community. The *belg* calendar starts in early March, when farmers prepare/plough the land of their '*belg farm*'; they plant in April mainly (potato, green kale, cabbage, and maize). In the *meher* calendar farmers start land preparation beginning from April- May, they plough the land and plant starting from early June for crops like bean and pea, wheat in late June and barley in early July. In the kebele it is impossible to farm twice on the same land in one year except through intercropping potato with bean and pea (which is said to be increasingly practised). *Belg* farms are harvested in the end of June except for maize, harvested in October. *Meher* farms are harvested from November to December – varying across the sub-kebeles because of climatic differences. For instance Begejo-Mecro zone was harvesting wheat during the second fieldwork (early November) but in Akiya and Chebote zone it would be harvested after a month because the weather is colder and the grain is ripe later.

During the summer time there is work weeding and digging plants in Kulumsa Agricultural Institute particularly for women and children. There is also construction work available in Assela town. The production of *areke* (a local alcoholic drink) is a popular source of income generation especially for the poor. However, the summer is not a good time for *areke* production as it is difficult to get dry fuel wood and there is not enough sun to dry the malt. During the summer rains the collection and of dried dung cakes which are often sold by children is also impossible. Fattening is also not done in the rainy season. This is because fattening is costly due to the need for a large amount of food and yet, during the rainy season the cattle use their fat to thicken their skin rather than fattening their body to resist the cold and so it is not profitable.

Table 3 summarises work seasonality for men and women in Oda Dawata. For full details of seasonal work by gender see 0.

Table 3: Seasonality of work for men and women

	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Little rain (spring)	Cold and bright (spring)	Sunny and bright day (spring)	Hot and sunny (winter)	Hot and sunny (winter)	Very hot and sunny (winter)	Hot, sunny and often heavy rain (Autumn)	Hot and little rain (autumn)	Cold and little rain (autumn)	Some rain (summer)	Rainy and cold (summer)	Rainy and cold (summer)
Male work	Weeding; both for own and for others as daily labourer	Weeding; both for own and for others as daily labourer	Harvesting maize and bean	Harvesting	Threshing	Threshing	Ploughing and preparing land for 'belg'	Sowing "belg (maize and barley)"	Digging and weeding maize, and ploughing and preparing land for "meher"	Sowing	Sowing, Some males engage on daily work	Fencing their home and grazing land, Some males engage on daily work
Female work	Weeding (on own farm and for others) and domestic work Engaging in petty trade	Weeding(on own farm and for others) and domestic work Engaging in petty trade	Harvesting maize and bean	Harvesting pulses and domestic work	Participate on threshing Mostly making Tella	Participate on threshing Making Tella	Engaged on land preparation and planting vegetables Making Tella	Engaged on land preparation and planting vegetables	Dinging and weeding Mostly making Areki	Helping males on sowing Making Areki	In addition to domestic work participate on daily work, selling vegetables Making Areki	In addition to domestic work participate on daily work, selling vegetables Making Areki

Community land use

Land use

The majority of land (90%) in the Kebele is devoted to smallholder farming. Of this, 2,491.25 hectares is being cultivated. The largest land holding is seven hectares and the smallest, one timad (0.25 hectares). On average families are farming two hectares of land. The size of land holdings has been decreasing in the last five years due to increasing population pressure and the tradition that a family should give land to their sons when they marry.

There is no communal grazing land in the Kebele but 23.8 hectares of land are used for grazing on a private basis. There are still 160 hectares of forest land. 280 hectares of land are used and owned by mosques, churches, schools (this includes a stony area which is not possible to cultivate). There is very little investment in the Kebele but a local stone crushing business has 0.75 hectares of land and a youth cooperative has 0.75 hectares. It is estimated that 3 hectares is used for the kebele 'centre' or 'town'.

For an understanding of where different land uses are located within the Kebele see the map at the start of this section.

Settlement pattern

Begejo Zone has five villages which are densely populated and arranged in a semi-urban manner. Mecro Zone is nearest to the town and here people have settled densely just like in urban areas. In those areas further from the town people have settled in hamlets, with their compounds at irregular distance from one another. In the Zones of Chebote and Akiya some house are scattered and others are in hamlets.

Most Oromo people are settled in Chebote and Akiya. When they came to the area they settled there because it was less hot and dry and they left Begejo-Mecro bare. During Haile Selassie's reign Amhara people started to come and settled in Begejo-Mecro that they found empty. Since that time the settlement has remained patterned in this way. As said earlier, the B-M zone is now considered as more advantageous for farming, and people living there are said to be relatively wealthier as a consequence. People in Chebote and Akiya have also less access to services and infrastructure.

Urban areas

There are no urban areas in the Kebele, the nearest town is Mecro. In the Kebele centre there are tea rooms where you can get bread and biscuits. There are no shops although some people have stalls in their homes where they sell some consumables. There are no cafes, bars or restaurants and there is no central market in the Kebele but there is a market twice per week in Mecro.

Parts of Bejogo-Mecro are almost part of Gonde town. So far there has been no loss of land to Gonde but there is an agreement to give some land to the municipality, as it has nowhere else to expand. When this happens it is expected that people losing land will be compensated.

Community water use

Rivers and springs

The two main rivers Gonde and Kulumsa flow from the north and south of the Kebele. The River Kulumsa totally separates the Akiya Zone from the rest of the Kebele. There is a big spring at the source of the River Gonde in Mecro. There are also many springs in Akiya and Chebote Zones which provide drinking water for the people and animals of the community.

Underground and harvested water

No underground water sources are used. In the past there were attempts at introducing water

harvesting into the Kebele in order to produce vegetables but they failed. Water harvesting has been replaced with irrigation using pumps and generators.

Irrigation infrastructure

The history of irrigation in the kebele and its infrastructure dates back to the time of the Italian invasion. An Italian man called Mussolini established a grain mill which worked using a water turbine in the River Gonde in Bagejo Zuria area. When years later the Italians left the country one of the local farmers called Talila started to use the turbine water from the mill for irrigation purposes. He grew onions and tomatoes using irrigation for the first time. However, under the Derg regime the irrigated land was redistributed to people in the vicinity. It was mainly given to Talila families because they live in that area and they grew chat and “gesho¹” on the irrigated land which covered about two hectares.

Over time the amount of land being irrigated has increased significantly and currently the total area of farming land devoted to irrigation is about 32 hectares. Of the total, 20 hectares are irrigated with gravity-fed irrigation and 12 hectares use pump irrigation. Most of the irrigation is situated on the edge of the River Gonde in Begejo Zone and in Akiya Zone using the River Kulumsa.

There is competition with the neighbouring wereda Hetosa over the use of water from the River Gonde by the households in Begejo. But there is no tension or problem thus far.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

There are five primary schools are found in the four villages of the kebele:

- Mecro primary full cycle school is in Mecro, near to the FTC and the kebele office;
- Begejo primary full cycle school in Begejo;
- Chebote primary full cycle school in Chebote;
- Lokicha primary full cycle school in Akiya;
- Shone primary first cycle school is in Akiya.

Other public buildings in the Kebele include: the Kebele offices which are next to the Farmers' Training Centre (FTC) in Mecro, in the area nearest to the asphalted road. The vet's office is opposite the FTC. The DAs also have an office here but they are largely based in the town. There is also a building which is used by the Balewold Iddir as a store. There are two health posts in Mecro and Akiya.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

The quality of the internal roads makes access for cars and trucks difficult. There is a new road which connects Gonde to Chebote but it has been damaged by floods and the bridge has broken. As a result there is no vehicle access. There is no road access in Akiya, although last year the community started building a road but stopped before it could be completed. The Kulumsa River also completely cuts off Akiya from the rest of the kebele, which has its own challenge.

The external roads are better quality: two of them are gravel and the main road from Addis Ababa to Assela is tarred and has recently been improved. The problem is that there is no bus stop near the Kebele. In order to get transport out of the Kebele people are dependent upon passing cars or buses dropping people off and therefore having space to pick them up.

¹ A plant used in fermentation to make *areki*, *tella* and other alcoholic drinks.

Other infrastructure

Mobile phones

Mobile phone ownership is common. There is at least one phone per household. People mainly use them to contact children who live outside the household, to get information about market prices or to contact wereda officials if they have problems. The one issue with mobile phone usage is that it can be difficult to get a signal.

Electricity

Electricity is available to households in Begejo (95% of households have access), Mecro (85%), Akiya (20%). There is no access to electricity in Chebote Zone. People use electricity for lighting, for grinding grain and for TV and radio.

Community economy

Local macro-economy

The local economy is dominated by rain-fed agriculture. The main non-farm business is the production of *areke* and trade in agricultural produce.

Contributions of the different economic sectors to the local economy were estimated to be:

- Smallholder farming: 90%
- Agricultural labour: 20%
- Non-farm business: 30% (women engage in making and selling Areke, grain and vegetable trading, all those involved in daily work)
- Non-farm employment: 5%
- Food aid: none
- Daily commuting for work out of the kebele: 20%
- Migration: 30% (Middle East)

This means that 30% of young females migrate to Middle East as compared to the total young female population in the area. Similarly the other percentages given above are relative to the total population of the area.

Main livelihood activities and notable changes

Established adult males

The majority of adult men are small holder farmers. Some also have livestock and the fattening of livestock is becoming more common.

Those who are successful tend to have diversified into trade either of crops or livestock as well as continuing to farm their own land.

Table 4: Male off- and non-farm activities

	Agri-cultural servants	Agri-cultural daily labour	Own business	Skilled work	Regular employment	Daily manual labour	FFW	Other
Rough proportion doing this work	No	3%	1%	1%	1%	2%	No	No
Changes since 2008	No change	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing	increasing	No	No

Established adult females

Most established adult females are married and contribute to the household's livelihood through assuming the majority of domestic work (with help from any other females resident in the household). They also help with agricultural labour particularly planting and weeding.

Almost all Amhara women are involved in making *areki* and selling it at home and in the market. Some women are involved in the large scale production of *areki* they produce the drink at least once a week making an average amount of 15 litres. Some women are involved in making *tela* and selling it at home with *areki*.

In two of the sub-kebeles (Mecro and Begejo) there are a small number of tea houses and 'restaurants' (houses selling something to eat). In these areas about 90% of women are involved in petty production of local drinks (*areki* and *tela*) and about 10% of them engage in petty food production.

Some women are involved in trading agricultural produce.

Table 5: Female off- and non-farm activities

	Agri-cultural servants	Agri-cultural daily labour	Own business	Skilled work	Regular employment	Daily manual labour	FFW	Other
Rough proportion doing this work	3%	5%	1%	1%	2%	3%	-	-
Changes since 2008	It has been decreasing	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing	Increasing	increasing	-	-

Young men

Most young men once they have left education are engaged in farming activities. There is a problem in that many do not have access to their own land. However, some farm their parents land, others sharecrop. There is a cooperative of young people who are engaged in harvesting products from the forest whilst also maintaining the forest and planting new trees. Many young men are keen to get in to trade of crops or livestock but it is often difficult for them to access credit.

There are also a number of young men who migrate in search of work elsewhere. This group includes those who are educated and do not want to go into farming and the poor who have no hope of gaining their own land in the Kebele and need to support their family. Young men tend to migrate to urban areas or other farming areas to work as paid labourers.

Young women

Young women who are not married tend to stay at home in their parents' house. They share the domestic work with their mother and sisters and are involved in some agricultural activities. In poorer households they go out to work doing agricultural labour (planting and weeding) or trading agricultural products at the market.

Increasing numbers of young women are also migrating to Arab countries where through an agency they find work as domestic staff. They earn significant amounts of money doing this which they are able to send back to their family.

Notable recent changes

There have been changes in the way rain fed agriculture is carried out over the past five years because of awareness created by DAs about the proper use of farm inputs. Irrigated crops have been increasing due to the use of modern farming inputs and the advice of DAs. The balance

between subsistence and cash crops is that both have increased but cash crops are increasing with the introduction of potato farms due to awareness created by DAs. Labour on small holdings has been increasing in order to increase productivity which requires large amounts of labour. People's involvement in non-farm business and non-farm labour has been increasing in order to generate other income for the family mainly due to lack of land. Seasonal migration within Ethiopia has been increasing due to lack of land or alternative forms of employment. There is little longer-term migration within Ethiopia but international migration has been increasing.

Agricultural and manual daily labour is the main source of off-farm labour and both of these areas have been expanding for both men and women.

Independence of farming economy and future potentials

The changes in the local farming economy have increased the community's future potential income from farming as farming has become more efficient and has diversified. Both grain and potatoes are now generating more income for farmers due to the use of technology and modern inputs which have increased yields. Income from vegetables has also increased due to the use of irrigation and modern inputs.

More chat and eucalyptus are being planted and are generating new sources of income. The establishment of a milk cooperative in the community has increased the amount of money that households are generating from milk and butter. The prices of honey and eggs have also risen, so for those who own chickens or bees there is potential here.

The need to diversify is shown in the expansion of most categories of off-farm work for both men and women. However, the increasing numbers migrating from the area also highlights the need for the younger generation to look beyond the farming economy.

Inflation

Those interviewed said that the prices of inputs and outputs had been increasing. But in particular, the price of fertilizer and improved seeds were rising so quickly that they were becoming unaffordable as they were more expensive than the money farmers could raise from selling their harvest. For example this year (2013) the price of wheat dropped to about 560birr/quintal. As a result of inflation some people were using local seeds and less fertilizer than required and this was resulting in crop failure.

The price of livestock and livestock products had been increasing as had the price of vegetables, grains and coffee. However, this was accompanied by increases across the board in the costs of all other products. Commodities and services had also increased in price. For example, as well as the cost of commodities that most households buy such as oil, salt, sugar and coffee, health fees and school costs had also increased.

One informant felt that the government was getting too involved in the market for wheat. Whilst the local price was a maximum of 600 birr per quintal the government imported wheat from abroad at a lower price and was selling it to flour factories at 550 birr per quintal. This was undercutting the local price for wheat and forcing farmers to sell for less than the cost of their inputs. He felt that in this way the government was interfering in the market in order to benefit the rich (non-farming male).

Social structure

Demographics

Different respondents gave different numbers of households in the community. The HEWs said there were 1,624 households in the Kebele (1,134 male headed and 490 female headed). The Kebele Manager said that there were 961 households (827 male headed and 134 female headed); and for the natural resource management DA there were 883 households (733 male headed and 150 female

headed). The figures given by both the DA and the Kebele Manager were based upon land ownership and therefore who pays land tax. The HEW data includes all 'dwellers' including youth who do not have their own land so are not paying tax, but that they consider because they serve all households including those. The DA and kebele manager said that there were no records of the number of landless households in the community. Although there was a recent statistic that 111 landless youth became land owners when they received land from their parents.

The population statistics are given according to two categories: *jiraataa* meaning 'dwellers' and *miseensa* meaning 'members'. *Miseensa* are those who own land and pay tax. *Jiraataa* refers to those, usually youth, who do not have their own land and do not pay tax. The Kebele Manager gave a total population figure of 5,436 (2,805 female and 2,631 male), representing the *miseensa* only. The HEWs estimate the total population of the Kebele to be 7,874 (4,129 female and 3,745 male), which represents the total number of households and people they serve and therefore includes both *miseensa* and *jiraataa*.

The majority of the population lives in Mecro zone (1,714) followed by Chebote Zone (1,632). Begejo is the least populated zone (population 999). As explained earlier the settlement pattern resulting from the history of settlement in the kebele, has most Oromo living in the higher/sloppier and less accessible zones of Chebote and Akiya and most Amhara living in the flatter Bejego-Mecro zones.

Table 6: Population according to age category

Age group	Females	Males
0-7 years	845	841
8-14 years	558	557
15-17 years	222	235
18-70 years	1,362	1,211
Above 70 years	77	100

Source: data from kebele manager

**Even though the data is from the same source there is a difference in total population.

Wealth and poverty

Estimates from 2003 and 2013 of the proportions in different wealth categories were as follows:

Table 7: Estimates of changes in the wealth distribution 2003-13

Wealth status	2003 (estimate by knowledgeable person in the community)	2013
Very rich	3%	5%
Rich	20%	28%
Middle	50%	35%
Poor	15%	20%
Very poor	10%	10%
Destitute	2%	2%

Wealth in the community seems to have increased over the last ten years. People's living standards have improved, houses are better furnished and wealth is now measured not just in terms of land and cattle but also by household savings, housing quality and ownership of other houses. The number of those who are rich seems to have increased. But the proportion of destitute has remained constant and that of poor has increased by 5%. The growing numbers of rich people are those moving up from the middle category but the poor are not moving up to the middle. Changes in the past ten years are recorded in the following table.

Table 8: Explanations for changes in the wealth distribution

Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
This is incomparable because people who having these household good had not yet present in last 10 years ago, even if they have more land.	Because of hardworking, agricultural technology and government encouragement the number of rich become increase. Before ten years ago people with this status was considered as very rich.	Now more people under middle wealth status however the living standard is better than before.	Increased number of poor because of landlessness	similar	Decreased as there are job opportunities for daily work, people struggle to improve their life.

Table 9 gives an indication of the rough proportions in different wealth categories currently, the types of property found in their houses and sources of their wealth. Table 10 describes causes of poverty suggested by respondents.

Table 9: Causes of poverty

Poor	Very poor	Destitute
15%	10%	5%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unable to access more land -labour shortage -having more children -death of one of the spouse -one of the important person suffering with chronic illness -polygamy -divorce -tension between household members -uncommitted to involve on off-farm activities, etc. 	Similar reason with column 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -death of one of the spouse -one of the important person suffering with chronic illness -polygamy -divorce -tension between household members -being in-migrant uncommitted to involve on off-farm activities, -Hopelessness -family disintegration.

As noted earlier, there are people who believe that the residents of Bejego-Mecro are relatively wealthier than those of Chebote and Akiya due to better agricultural production (flatter and very productive land and good road access enabling mechanised agriculture, and less risk of storms).

Social identities

The majority of the population (70%) are Muslim Oromo; the rest are Amhara Christians (30%). Of the Christians 29% are Orthodox and 1% are Protestant. Historically Oromo and Amhara have settled in different zones of the kebele and this has not changed to-date.

Amongst the Arsi Oromo there are four important lineages and the Arsi Oromo population of the Kebele is divided fairly evenly between them: Akiya= 30%, Hambento= 30%, Hetosa =20%, Lode =20%. There are no ethnic groups among Amhara. The Shewa (Amhara) people (who came after the Oromo as said earlier) are divided into Christian Amhara and Christian Oromo. But all the Arsi people (indigenous people) are Muslim Oromo.

There are very few immigrants in the area (only 5%) compared to the native population who dominate (95%).

The community in its wider context

Political economy context

The kebele in the wereda

The kebele is considered by the wereda to have similar development performance with most of the

other kebeles. However what is most remarkable about Oda Dawata is the high level of awareness and implementation of new agricultural technologies compared to other kebeles. This is mainly due to Oda Dawata's proximity to Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre, which provides farmers with different new improved seeds and advice on farming techniques.

The kebele is also doing well in environmental protection through forest protection, soil and water protection, and water usage. The work done in this area has been funded by the government and the community have contributed free labour. This has greatly reduced soil erosion, increasing the productivity of the soil. Water discharge in the rivers and streams has increased as has the forest coverage in the area.

The kebele has a good relationship with all neighbouring kebeles.

The wereda in the wider world

Those at wereda level feel that three sectors; agriculture, health and rural road construction, are going well in the wereda. The wereda has developed a reputation for doing well in their agricultural activities and has been awarded for their success at zone, region and even at national level. Those in the wereda have good relationships with the neighbouring communities. There are no historic tensions or conflicts within the wereda or with other weredas. Rather the relationships are focused on collaboration for their communal development

There are problems at wereda level with the budget and despite the yearly increases the wereda still struggles to pay their staff. On numerous occasions they have had to ask for urgent extra budget from the regional government and have also borrowed money from Assela town municipality in order to pay salaries for the government workers in the wereda.

External roads, bridges & access

Over the last five years there have been no significant changes to the external roads. The external roads are of a good quality; the road from Gonde to Assela and Itiya is asphalt – it is the main road between Addis Ababa and Adama, and Assela. This road was upgraded in 2003 EC and has made transport quicker and cheaper. It has provided the community with easier access to Assela where there is a hospital and a market. There are also good all weather roads which connect Gonde town to Abura and Boru. These roads are maintained regularly. However, although the external roads are good the kebele has problems due to the limited transport service available to them. People in the community have difficulty accessing transport in any direction because there is no bus stop in the kebele and so the buses and cars do not stop unless they are dropping off passengers.

For people from Chebote and especially Akiya zones access to transport and to external roads is more difficult due to the poor quality or absence of internal access roads.

External linkages

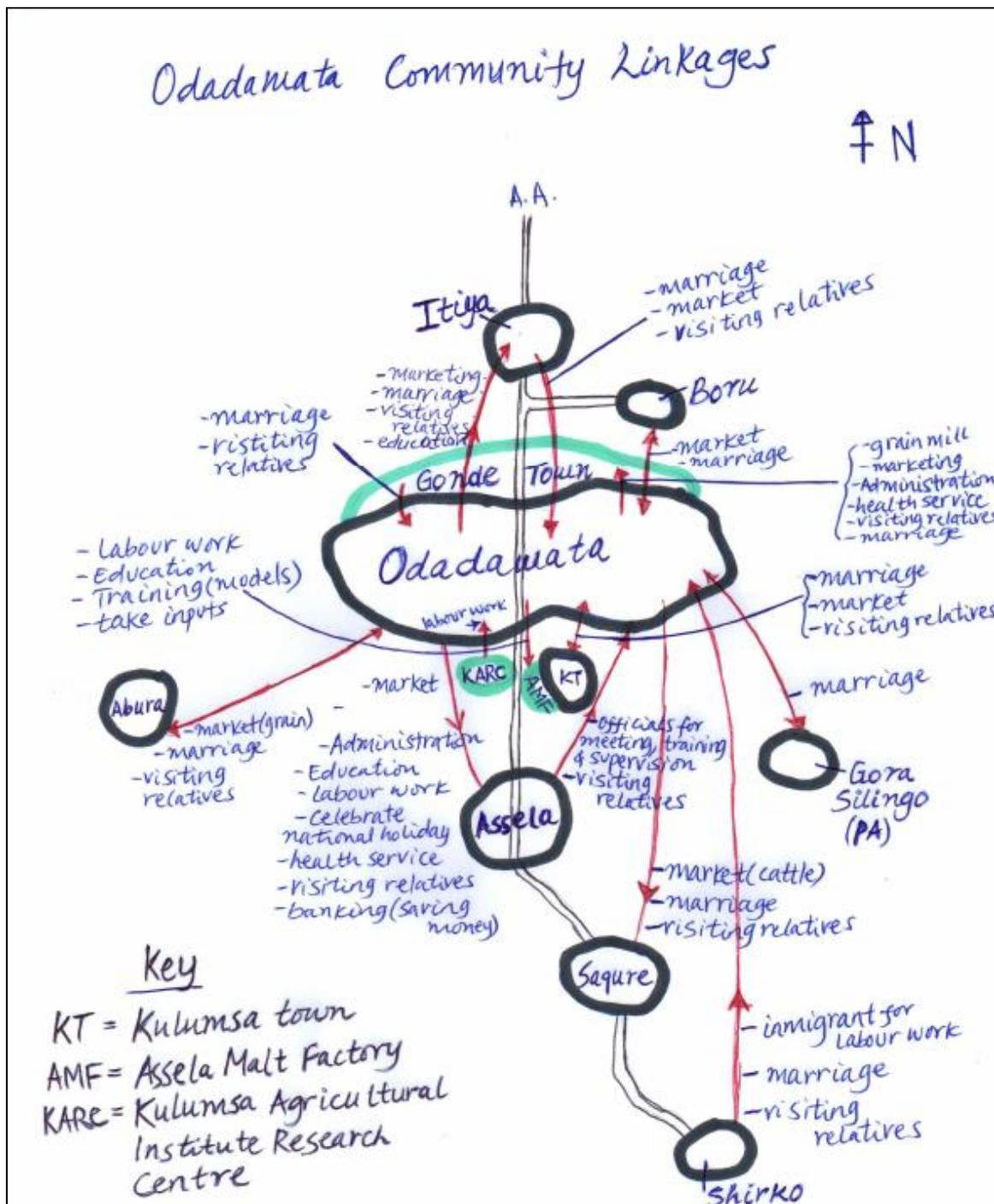
Rural linkages

The Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institute Centre, Assela Malt factory, and Chilalo Mountain are next to the Kebele.

Other kebeles

The adjacent kebeles are: Denkaka, Chefe-misoma, Gonde town, Jango Kilisa, Adere, and Gora-silingo. The area is fairly mountainous with the exception of Oda Dawata. The kebele has marriage and blood relations with the kebeles adjacent to it. As a result people have close interactions and relations and share notable/big ceremonies and farm labour and use the same markets. The neighbouring kebeles have a similar ethnicity, religion, culture as Oda Dawata.

Map 2: Community external linkages



There are also religious links to other kebeles in the wereda; Muslims travel to other kebeles for religious education and to share experiences. Preachers also travel around the wereda between the different churches. For the Orthodox Christians there are links between kebeles for the celebration of *mehaber* and for saints holidays and some people travel to other places in the wereda to celebrate these. Preachers and singers come to the kebele about every three months from Addis Ababa, Hawassa or Assela. This programme is arranged by the Sunday school students in the Orthodox church. People also travel to Mojo for the holy water and to Shinkuru-Michael around Entoto for health treatments.

In terms of market linkages, Boru and Itiya in Hetosa wereda are important for the community for buying and selling agricultural products. Assela is important for administrative issues, education,

buying household goods and commodities, health services and opportunities for paid work. In Abura, in Ziway-Dugda wereda, the maize price there is low so people travel there to buy maize.

A full-cycle primary school is found in each village of the kebele. When children finish their primary education they have to travel for secondary high school to Kulumsa, Hetosa or Assela.

There is no historical or recent conflict with adjacent kebeles and weredas. The community elders and religious leaders are brought in when there is any conflict within the community. The elders have an important role in solving problems arising amongst the people and keeping peace in the community. If the dispute is serious the elders are responsible for referring the case to the social court or to the wereda court.

Rural/agricultural migration

Generally the rate of youth migration has increased in the past few years, due to the number of girls who used to migrate internationally before the government ban. Youth are increasingly being forced to migrate due to the lack of land in the community. There is more on migration as a livelihood strategy in section 6.1.11 below.

Agricultural work in the nearby Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre is popular, as is work in the malt factory. This involves both male and female. A few men (3 to 5 in a year, according to one respondent) migrate to Bale and sharecrop land, with the help of friends and relatives. They can plant red pepper for the market and with good weather, good farming and good market prices they can get up to 40,000 birr.

Table 10: Local daily labour, commuting and migration

	% of youth involved (male and female)	% of older men involved	% of older women involved
Local daily labour	50	5	30
Commuting for work	50	3	20
Migration	50 (mainly young women)	None	5

Urban linkages

Local towns

Table 11: Links with local towns

Town	Why do people go there? List the main things they do	Time to walk there	Transport available	Time of travel	Cost	Cut off during rains? For how long?	What kind of people does the community have links with
Gonde	The town is encircled by the kebele so the people have frequent interaction, specifically from Mecro and Begejo villages. People go to Gonde for market, to visit relatives, grain mill, etc.	It depends on the village. Gonde-Akiya – 3 hours Gonde-Chebote – 2:30 hours Gonde - Begejo - 40 minutes Gonde-Assela - 2 hours	Possible to use car for half distance to Begejo; Mecro is sited around the town; no transport access for Akiya and Chebote	Within the kebele no transport access therefore time of travel is similar to column 3.	No	All are dry weather roads damaged by rain. Does not affect travel on foot. A new road is under construction which links Gonde to Akiya.	People from across the Kebele go there, except those from Akiya. They go to Gonde only to go on to Itiya, or for a meeting at kebele and sometimes for market. Similarly Chebote people have less interaction but they go to Asela through Gonde.

Town	Why do people go there? List the main things they do	Time to walk there	Transport available	Time of travel	Cost	Cut off during rains? For how long?	What kind of people does the community have links with
Itiya	People go there for the market where some quality house tools are found like plastic mechanga, kori, chocho and jewellery. They also go to visit relatives	3 hours on foot and 20 minutes by car. Travelling on foot varies depending on the village.	Car transport is available.	Market day, for ceremonies (funeral and burial)	5 birr/ a trip	No, it is asphalt road 13km	Tends to be adults who travel there
Assela	For administration, market, education, visiting relatives, work, etc.	2 hours on foot and 20 minutes by car; travel on foot depends on the village.	Available any time	No time limitation to go there.	5birr for a single trip	No, it is asphalt road 12km	All kinds of people go there
Sagure	For cattle market, visit relatives	40 minutes by car	Available	Market day	15 birr for a single trip	It is asphalted road 32 km	Adults and some young males
Boru	Marketing activities and visiting relatives	1:30 hours on foot and 20 minutes by car	Available	Every market day	5 birr per trip	Some of it is road gravel 10 km	All traders go there to buy and sell
Kulum sa	Education, wage labour, market to sell vegetable, visiting relatives	40 minutes on foot and 5 minutes by car	Sometimes difficult to get as cars work Gonde to Assela	Every day in the week	Optional 2/3birr per journey	Asphalted road	All kinds of people go there.
Abura	Visiting relatives, often marketing to buy maize and other grain						

Urban migration linkages

A few male migrants go to Addis Ababa, Adama, Assela and Harar, with the help of friends or relatives, and engage in jobs like car assistance, driver, or daily wage labour. People had divergent views, some saying that most stayed and did not come back while others said that a number of urban migrants do come back and get contract land to farm.

There are also a few young women fleeing their family and going to Addis Ababa, Adama or Assela to find jobs as housemaids, waitresses, or in factories or construction, usually renting rooms with friends. These are usually low-paid jobs but they establish an independent livelihood.

International linkages

International linkages have increased over the last three years as increasing numbers of young women were migrating to different Middle Eastern countries to find work. There is no recorded data for the number of out-migrants but based on observation, before the government ban on international migration at least one young woman in every household migrated to the Middle East. Some households had as many as four daughters who had migrated. Some of the migrants were

married with children, others were girls who had completed grade 10. In most cases there was an agreement between the migrant and the employer that they will work for two years although there is a possibility of extending for an additional two years.

The international migrants used to send back remittances to their parents or husbands or when they return they bring money, clothes and house equipment. The impact of these remittances could be seen in the community as the girls' families construct iron roofed houses in the area or in nearby towns. In November 2013 most respondents knew about the ban on migration by the government and explained that this was temporary for 6 or 7 months and aimed to improve the safety of migrating citizens. Respondents could see both good and bad sides to international migration.

Cultural imports

There have been attempts to introduce wahabism (a more conservative branch of Islam) in the community. This created tension amongst the Muslims but there was no conflict.

Those who return from the Middle East often dress differently veiling their face. Perhaps in response to this, some parts of the Muslim community are dressing more in religious clothes.

Community changes since 2008

Crises

There have been no crises in the community over the last five years. The only problems that were mentioned by informants were that over the last two years crops have started to be affected by wetting rust (wag). This is being caused by erratic rainfall. There have been no human epidemics in the last five years.

Environmental changes

A number of environmental changes were noted. The land fertility has decreased and yields are no longer as good unless farmers use intensive inputs. According to the poor female headed household, these inputs include ploughing the soil more than 3 times, applying pesticides and herbicides more than once and using improved seed. Others noted (middle farmer) that due to the advice and training farmers were receiving on how to care for the soil by using compost, crop rotation, terracing dams and reducing soil erosion they were seeing improvements. He felt that farmers had the capacity to improve the soil's fertility. He said he had seen this on his farm and it was proven by an increase in agricultural production. In November 2013 DAs and farmers explained that thanks to intensive awareness-raising, since April in the same year many had started using urea in addition to DAP; some thought this contributed to the observed (expected) better yields but others noted that the rains had also been particularly good in the last rainy season.

The tree cover has decreased significantly due to deforestation and this is contributing to problems of erosion. Erosion is also accelerated by flooding which has affected some farmers' land. Some of the farmers say that flooding has been caused by heavy rains and dams being constructed in the wrong way. There have been attempts to reduce deforestation and to replant and existing forest areas are now protected. The Rural Development Office, Kulumsa Research Institute and Assela Malt Factory have distributed tree seedlings and grasses to be planted. Some individuals planted them around their homestead and have noticed a positive change as a result. But a great deal of damage has already been done. Ten years ago Akiya and Chebote were both covered with natural forest and had a lot of natural springs. It seems that the number of springs has reduced significantly and people now have to travel 20-30 minutes to get to a spring. There also used to be more wild animals in the Kebele but now only a few exist due to the disappearance of the forest.

Changes in the climate were also noted; ten years ago the rains were more regular. But now it seems

as though the rains are becoming more irregular and heavy. The sun also seemed to be getting hotter at certain time of year which has reduced productivity. The very last year seemed to have been better, with good rainfall, according to most people interviewed in November 2013.

Economic changes

The introduction of new crops and numerous agricultural technologies has brought about economic change in the kebele.

In the past people grew only a few crops but they are now growing more varieties including onions and potatoes, which contributed a lot to improving the local economy.

People now have access to improved seeds every year through the agriculture and rural development office. This is unique due to the nearness of the Kebele to the Kulumsa agricultural research institute. The seeds give good yields for one/two production seasons but then productivity declines. The problem with this is that the seeds are expensive to buy. Intercropping, strip sowing as well as various kinds of pesticides and insecticides have been introduced and are used by many farmers – although there is an amount of resistance to line sowing especially for wheat as it requires a lot more work. Farmers are also using natural fertilizer (animal dung) in modern ways as well as chemical fertilisers. These practices have increased yields and therefore, household income. In November 2013 respondents also noted that farmers had started using urea in addition to DAP, following intensive awareness-raising, and there were good results although the good rainy season would have helped too.

There is a skilled person who carries out artificial insemination in the community and as a result most people have crossbred milk cows and produce a surplus of milk for sale.

There is access to credit in the community through two new micro-credit and savings associations. One is funded by government (WALQO - Oromia credit-saving association) and one is linked to an NGO (WASASA).

In April 2013 people noted that the new trend in international migration amongst young women had accelerated in the last three years with large numbers, both married and unmarried, going abroad. The remittances sent back by these women made a significant difference in the local economy. Although most people interviewed in November 2013 knew about the government ban, they did not say much on the possible economic effects. It seemed that most believed that the ban would be temporary (6-7 months) as indeed the government said it at the time.

Inflation is starting to have a significant impact on the community as input and consumption goods are increasing in price more quickly than the price for which farmers can sell their agricultural outputs. Particularly this year the price of grain outputs has decreased, for example the price of wheat is 560 birr per quintal but the price of fertilizer is 1,420 birr per quintal.

Social changes

The government has given permission for all Muslim holidays to be celebrated, which has resulted in all religions being regarded equally. The Muslims have also had major celebrations for their key festivals.

There has been a level of internal tension within Islam since EC 2004 between Wahabism and Sufi Islam but there has been no violence between the two sects in the kebele. The Wahabi blame the government for politicising their religion. In turn the Sufi blame Wahabi for being too conservative. The Sufi feel that Wahabism alienates the Muslims from the rest of the community as they are forbidden from participating in iddirs and condemn the existing burial ceremonies and previous religious practices and marriage systems.

There has also been social change in the way people dress; the clothes that the youth wear are

becoming more modern and Muslims are dressing in more religious clothes. Young people are travelling to nearby towns to participate in leisure activities. The ambitions of young people have also changed and they are now keen to continue their education, to farm cooperatively or to get involved in trade. In the past young men inherited land from their family but now to gain their own property they have to work hard. Previously adults aspired for their children to be success in agricultural activities, but aspirations have changed becoming much more general and wishing them success in their education and trading.

In the past regularly eating three meals per day was considered to be an urban practice. However now, farmers have regular meals each day. The amount of material goods people have in their homes has also increased, with some farmers now having beds with foam, sofas, TVs and refrigerators.

Cultural changes

There is a growing awareness and interest in the community about their culture and cultural practices. This is a change from the past when such practices were considered backward. People in the kebele are now actively participating in cultural practices.

The working culture of the community has been changing. In the past they worked arbitrarily, but now people are far more focused and have a plan for their agricultural work. As a result people are working more. This change is thought to have come about due to extensive training by the government. In addition to this the gender division of labour has also started to change as men are helping with domestic work such as fetching water and collecting wood and women are helping with agricultural activities like sowing and weeding. This change has also impacted the raising of children. In the past this was considered women's work but due to awareness created by the government men are now getting increasingly involved.

Political changes

The government were seen to be consulting the people and giving answers to their demands, far more than was the case in the past. The previous government didn't consult at all with people but the current government, over the last five years, has started working from the grass roots level. As a result, some in the community felt that the government was better providing for their needs. The government was also considered to be more engaged in development activities such as forest protection, terracing, providing safe water etc. Although all the needs of the community have not all been fulfilled there has been more progress than before.

In the 1997EC there were different political parties and some in the community found this confusing. There is now only one party in the area, which is the ruling party in power. There are changes in the local leadership since the 2002EC election, and the local leaders are more determined than before. This change is considered to have improved service delivery for the people and governance.

The community's households

Household structures

A household is formed in the community when a young woman and man get married. When the marriage is arranged by the parents they seek an equal match of wealth and ethnicity and even clan. The man will construct his house in his parents' compound and will live there with his wife. As the new couple start having children and ideally build up their assets the household becomes a middle couple or mature household. At this stage the household consists of the father, mother, children, servants, and extended family members. The families tend to be large and households range from 6-12 members.

The father is the authority figure, and the mother enforces the rules for the children. Mothers are most likely to have responsibility for teaching the children cultural and religious values and the skills necessary to become a self-supporting adult. Mothers and female children usually carry out the domestic work, while the fathers and their sons work in the fields or on other outside jobs. Women tend also to participate in some agricultural activities, even if the household has a servant.

Finally an old couple are left as their children leave home to get married or for work. Older couples should be cared by their oldest son who lives with his family in the parents' compound.

Household case studies

Successful farmer's household

SL is 57 years old and is married to AL who is 50 years old. They have had five children two of whom (daughters aged 32 and 34) have left home; one to get married, the other to work for an NGO. The remaining three children still live with their parents. One son aged 20 and one daughter aged 15 are studying. Their older sister (aged 22) completed grade 10 but has had a child outside marriage who also lives in the household (aged 18 months). This daughter KS, is planning to migrate to an Arab country, leaving her daughter with her parents in order to earn money for them both. The household also have two male farm servants who live with them.

SL is Amhara and his wife AL is Oromo. Neither of them is aware of their clan or lineage. SL admits that he is amongst the wealthiest men in the Kebele; he owns houses in Gonde and Adama. His main activities are farming, he also has cattle which he fattens and sells. Recently he has had to stop selling cattle due to lack of manpower. Whilst AL has no roles in the community SL is sometimes called to be an elder. He is member of a 1-5 but is not involved in party activities. Although he has not been selected as a model farmer he feels that in practice he is among the model farmers.

SL feels that the household's economic status has improved over the last five years due to the hard work of the household members and the use of new techniques and technologies which have changed the way they farm. They now use improved seeds and natural and artificial fertiliser, plant in line and do intercropping. They have used the AI (artificial insemination) service for their cattle and as a result they have crossbred bulls and heifers.

Last year the household grew wheat, barley, zengada, maize and teff (in order of importance) for its own consumption. This is the same as what they were growing five years ago. As cash crops they grew potatoes, wheat, beans and peas (in order of importance). Potatoes are a new cash crop that has been introduced over the last five years. Prior to this wheat was the main cash crop. Potatoes are more profitable than wheat partly due to the inputs required for wheat. The crops are sold at their farm gate and in Gonde town to traders. This year from what was grown they earned about 67,000 birr (potatoes 33,000 birr; wheat 26,000 birr; beans 8,000 birr). The peas have not yet been sold yet due to the decline in the price. The main problem SL says he has faced has been the fluctuation in the prices for his crops.

SL has received advice from the DAs on grain crops, the timing of planting, the use of improved seeds, fertilisers, weed killers and pesticides. Similar advice has also been given on oil seeds and vegetables. For pulses he has been told to look for and report any disease so they can tell him what treatment to use. He has also been trained on how to plant his vegetables in line.

The household has reduced the number of livestock they own compared to five years ago. They now have four oxen, one improved and three ordinary breeds, one improved breed bull, two improved breed dairy cows, two improved breed calves and one sheep. He has sold most of his calves as they were bulls and he wants cows to enable him to breed. He has also sold almost all his sheep. The household have ten chickens. They had more before but they were killed by fungal disease. In the last 12 months the household have sold one ox at Boru market buying another to replace it. SL's son sold five chickens in Adama town. His son also sells eggs at Gonde market and keeps the income. His

wife sells milk at the service cooperative and also to customers at home, and she keeps the money she earns from this.

The household have benefited from artificial insemination and from advice from the DAs, which SL says have improved his livestock. They get vet services from the Kebele. The main problem with livestock is the lack of fodder in the community. This makes looking after livestock expensive and as a result he has had to reduce his livestock holdings. The government's agricultural extension services for livestock could be improved if more emphasis was given to vet services and the level of expertise was raised. There is also a need to improve the availability of fodder.

The household has not been involved in any off-farm or paid labour, SME or commuting for work.

The family live in a fenced compound, with three huts and a corrugated iron roofed house. One hut is used for storing grain, one as a kitchen and the third as an animal shelter. The main house where the family live has three rooms. The house and furniture have not changed over the last five years. They have a modern bed, 6 chairs and a table, a clothes box and a cupboard. They also have a TV, radio, a fuel saving stove which is used for injera and a charcoal burner for coffee. The household uses two water sources because the tap in the town runs low during the winter months so they then walk to the spring which is 30 minutes away but where the water is free. Nearby there are two other taps: a private tap 3 minutes away and a government tap (birka) 20 minutes away. Water is charged at both taps. The government birka is cheaper (0.15 cents for 20 litres) but there are often long queues. At the private source the cost is 0.5- 1 birr for 20 litres but it is available at any time.

The family's latrine has been damaged and so they have started to construct a new one with a building for biogas. At the moment they all continue to use the damaged latrine. The household use fire wood, dung cake, charcoal and crop residue for cooking and electricity for lighting. Their staple foods are injera with shiro wat and vegetables. They eat bread for breakfast. Occasionally they eat butter, meat, eggs and other accompaniments such as pasta and rice. They eat three times a day, sometimes four except during fasting season when they reduce the number of meals to two per day for the adults. As her daughters have left home the domestic burden on AL has been increasing and she worried about when her older daughter leaves the household to go to an Arab country. She currently spends all her time on domestic work and has help from her daughters. Her son and the farm servants clean the animal yard, fetch water and firewood.

The family are engaged in communal work whenever there is demand. The biggest ceremony in the household over the last five years was the marriage of their daughter. As they are Amhara there was no **Gabara** and **walgara** wedding system (as is practised by Arsi Oromo people); it was a normal wedding system. The household contributed around 30,000 birr for the ceremony and a few household items were given to the new household. They received nothing in return. SL says that he spent more than he would have in the past, because the price of everything has gone up.

Their 14 year old daughter is attending Mecro primary in grade7. The school is very close to their house so she can walk in a minute or so. The only cost of attending school is for educational materials and her uniform. These costs are covered by SL. The girl has dropped out of school once when she was in grade 4 and they lost a farm servant. She occasionally misses class when her mother is away at a funeral or wedding ceremony. AL feels that the school is of good quality but could be improved if a secondary school was added by opening more classrooms.

Their son is attending TVET in Assela. He is leaning to be an electrician. He is in his 2nd year and stays in Assela Monday to Friday. He spends weekends with his family. They cover the costs of educational materials, clothes, shoes and food items. He is living with an uncle, free of charge.

The family are Orthodox Christians and AL belongs to a mehaber. She contributes if anyone dies and for celebrations. The mehaber strengthens social relationships between the members. SL belongs to four **iddir**: the rural and urban **Balewold iddir** for which he pays 10 birr each monthly, **Gebriel iddir** 5 birr monthly and 20 kg wheat yearly, and **Egziher Ab iddir** 2 birr monthly and 10 kg wheat yearly. He

is also a member of the service co-operative which provides all farm inputs to the community.

They both consider the community to be a peaceful place to live. The main crime is cattle and crop theft but violence and fighting have decreased over the past five years. They have had no encounters with the local security forces and knew very little about them. They consider elders to be important and effective at solving any problem in the community. Sometimes SL is called upon to be an elder and to be involved in conflict resolution. Many of the disputes are over land. AL felt that the Social Court was possibly not very effective as people prefer to go to the elders or the Wereda Court. SL knew people who had recently taken a case of land inheritance to the Wereda Court. They had been effective and unbiased in their judgement as a result AL felt they should have a greater role in the community.

SL is a party member but says he is not active. AL said that last year she was accused by kebele officials of not participating in local government issues. As her daughter had just given birth at their house no action was taken against her. She feels that generally the government ignore women and she has never seen anything they have done for them. SL complained that the government needed to do more about the water problem in the community. Although work had started it was not finished. He also wanted the government to enable the export of pulses for a good price as currently farmers are not getting a good price for beans and peas. SL has contributed to the required public works and spent 30 days last year terracing and building check dams. This work was outside of the farming season and so it did not disrupt the family's work calendar but it was not well done and has been ineffective.

Successful businessman's household

AG (aged 57) is married to FA (aged 50). They have six daughters and four sons aged between 9 years and 35 years. Five of their children have left home to seek work. One daughter is married. Both parents are Oromo; FA is from Hephensosa clan and Dembel lineage and AG is from Habentu clan and Darimu lineage. AG thinks he is the richest business man in the kebele. His main economic activities are farming and some crop trading. AG is an elder and the chair of the kebele's Islamic Council. He used to be involved in politics in the kebele but now he is active in party politics in Gonde town. He is not among the awarded model farmers by the government but he is one of the most successful farmers in the kebele.

Husband and wife disagree on the extent to which there has been economic improvement over the past five years. FA says that they have had problems due to "evil things done by somebody (witchcraft)". AG says that things have improved due to hard work and the use of modern farming technologies including tractors and combine harvesters which have increased their productivity. Over the last year the household have grown for consumption in order of importance: wheat, barley and maize. There has been no change in these crops over the past five years. The cash crops grown by the household in order of importance are: potatoes, onions, wheat and pulses. Over the past five years AG has started to grow potatoes and onions instead of just wheat. He sells his crops to traders who come to the farm gate (local traders or traders from Gonde). Last year he made about 80,000 birr from the sale of his crops. This was less than usual due to a decrease in prices for wheat and potatoes. AG has made changes to the crops he is growing, linked to their market price. There is always demand for wheat and it can be stored and then sold when the price is right. There is also an increased demand and high price for potatoes and onions but their price is not consistent.

He has received advice from the agricultural extension workers on grain crops in terms of timing, the use of mechanised systems, fertiliser, improved seeds and weed killers. He was given advice on similar topics for oil seed and vegetables. For root crops he has been trained to farm in lines and use pesticides. For pulses he has been told to alert the DAs of any disease on his crops so it can be treated. AG has also had inputs from FAO on wheat growing. FAO selected 34 farmers and provided improved wheat seeds as credit first and then later to buy. The farmers could then sell the improved seeds they produced back to FAO for a good price. However, FAO no longer visit frequently.

The household used to have more livestock but, due to the lack of fodder and grazing land they have reduced the numbers that they own and now keep them at home. They have five oxen, three ordinary and two improved breeds, one improved dairy cow, two ordinary heifers, one improved calf, one ordinary goat and eight sheep. AG also has two improved bee hives (five years ago he was using traditional hives). A year ago he had 50 improved chickens but he sold them all because they stopped laying. He now has ten ordinary chickens.

In the last year the household has sold one ox. They regularly sell milk at Gonde milk cooperative and to local people; this income is managed by FA. They also sell skins during the holidays at Gonde market; FA controls this income. They have used artificial insemination to get the new breeds of cattle. The DAs advise the farmers how to provide fodder for their livestock and how to shelter them and keep them clean. More expertise on livestock would be useful as well as a programme to produce fodder which AG is currently forced to buy privately and it is expensive.

AG runs a non-farm business. He is trading maize which he buys from Ziway and sells to the large traders in Gonde town. He made a profit of 18,000 birr. The only problem he encountered was with transportation services. He has no support from government in his business and pays no taxes. Apart from this the members of the household have not been involved in any paid work.

The family live in a big house which was constructed five years ago: it has a corrugated iron roof, five rooms and a bathroom. They also have a separate kitchen, store, livestock house and chicken house. They have a modern bed, sofa, dish, TV, radio, chairs and table, coffee and meat crusher, juice making machine, refrigerator, thermos flask, two tapes, sets of dish, different house jewellery and a wall watch. They have a fuel saving stove and a stove for charcoal. They also have their own tap in the compound. It provides water all year round and they allow others to buy the water. Their latrine has a cement floor but it is old and as a result its walls and roof are damaged. They plan to maintain it. In terms of fuel they use wood, dung cake, crop residue and charcoal for cooking. They have electricity for lighting, TV, and the refrigerator. The household usually eats *injera* with *shiro wat* and vegetables. They have bread for breakfast and roasted grains used as supplementary food. Sometimes they eat butter, meat and eggs. They eat three times per day.

They have a domestic servant and so a lot of the work in the house is done by her. The burden has also reduced as they no longer have small children. Their daughters all participate in chores when they are at home and all household members are involved in fetching water. The men in the household do not have time to participate in domestic chores.

The household does not participate in acts of social participation such as house building or domestic work for celebrations. But AG sometimes sends his servant on his behalf to participate in agricultural labour through *dabo* and *jigi*. Cooperation in the community is declining because people are now able to hire labour for farm work and have access to tractors and combine harvesters.

However, they do participate in other ways. For instance, AG paid the medical expenses for one of his neighbours who was being treated at Adama hospital and could not afford to pay. The household held a death ceremony for an old woman who was not a relative but was very poor and had begged AG to live in his house until she died and had asked him bury her when she died. She lived with them for her last 5 years. She was buried with an Islamic burial ceremony; he slaughtered a bull and spent about 5,000 birr.

One of his daughters got married in the last 5 years. She was married with a *gabara* type of marriage. The household contributed around 60,000 birr for the ceremony and for gifts to the new household. He also gave them four cattle and six sheep. They received 18,000 birr including cloth gifts in contributions for the wedding. AG says that he spent more than he would have done in the past because she was the first to marry from the household and the price of everything has gone up. He said that he gave fewer livestock to the new household compared to what they would have been given in the past but he gave more household goods such as furniture, refrigerator, TV.

Two of the children in the household, a daughter and a son, attend Mecro primary full cycle school. They are in grade 8 and 4, respectively. They pay no school fees, just the cost of educational materials and uniform (and uniform is only worn after grade 4). The school is good quality as the school committee controls its activities and progress. AG is a member of the school committee. In terms of improvement a strong fence is needed and some of the classrooms need to be repaired. Two of their older daughters are attending at Assela preparatory school in grades 11 and 12.

The family are Muslim and go regularly to the mosque to pray. There have been some problems over the past few years with fundamentalists trying to divide followers.

AG is a member of the service co-operative which provides agricultural inputs at a lower price and buys farmer's produce and sells it to the Iteya union. The profits are divided between all the members. He belongs to three *iddirs*: Gonde *Balewold meredaja iddir* to which he contributes 10 birr a month, *Makiro Balewold meredaja iddir* (10 birr in a month), Gonde *Muslimochi meredaja iddir* (5 birr monthly). His wife is also a member of four female *iddirs*; *Baltina*, *Amshi*, *ye-Gosa*, and *Yeketema* (in which she participates with urban people). She contributes 16 birr in a month. For *Baltina* *iddir* members also contribute 5 injera when someone dies.

Although generally speaking the family agreed that the community was a peaceful place to live there was a serious problem with cattle and crops being stolen at night. Around the town burglars have also started to steal household equipment and properties. Recently, about 16 corrugated iron sheets and other household equipment was taken from a home in the kebele. There are no militia in the kebele and FA feels that if there were there would be left theft. AG said that he found the wereda police to be "effective, not biased or corrupted".

Both of them are party members as is their son. His wife said that AG spends a lot of time on community work. AG says that he actively participates in party meetings and provides feedback to the leadership. As a member he benefits from the insight he gets on the political direction of the country, as well as party programmes, democracy and development opportunities which are provided by the party. He spends 20 days per year at Kebele meetings, 12 days per year at large party meetings and 24 days per year at development team/ 1-5 meetings. He noted that this is very time consuming and has an impact upon his farming activities as he lacks the time to work on and monitor his own activities.

When it comes to public works he sends his servant who last year participated in terracing and building check dams. This work was not as useful as it could have been as the check dams were badly constructed and so did not reduce erosion and flooding.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

TD (aged 57) is married to AA (aged 38). They have four daughters and three sons. The oldest son (aged 25) left home 6 years ago and works in Assela as a government employee. Their oldest daughter (aged 28) left home a year ago and now works in Dubai as a house maid. All of their other children live at home and are in full time education. They also have a male herder (aged 18) who lives with them, he also attends primary school.

Both TD and AA are Amhara and do not know their clan or lineage. They consider themselves middle class within the community. Their main economic activities are farming, producing crops and breeding livestock. TD is an elder in the community and is also Vice Chair of the Kebele. He is an active participant in the party and was selected in 2002 EC to be a model farmer. The wealth of the household has been improving as the children are now old enough to help. They have also been able to buy contract land and to use modern farming inputs. Although they have not received any support from friends or family the household supports poor people in the community by providing them with crops which they pay back after the harvest.

The household grows for its own consumption in order of importance: wheat, barley, zengada,

maize and beans. This is very similar with what was grown five years ago. AA also grows vegetables like garlic, cabbage, onion, potatoes, local *gomen* (cabbage), and species (*beso-bila*, *azmudina*, *tena-adam*) for the household to eat. The cash crops grown in order of importance are: potatoes, peas and wheat. The main change over the last five years is the move away from just wheat as a cash crop as large scale potato farming has become profitable and popular. The other advantage with growing potatoes is that they can be intercropped with peas providing double benefit from the same plot of land. The crops are sold from the farm gates to various traders. Last year the family earned around 15,000 birr from the sale of crops. The main issue they face with the sale of crops is that the price fluctuates. TD admitted that he is still storing last year's pea crop as the price went down.

The household has received support from the government extension workers on grain crops in terms of; when to plant them, how to mechanise their farming and what amount of fertiliser to use. They have also given advice on the use of pesticides and weed killers. For root crops, oil seeds and vegetables he has been shown how to plant in lines and which pesticides to use.

The household have increased the number of livestock they own compared to five years ago. They now own six oxen, one ordinary bull, four dairy cows (one of which is an improved breed), three calves (one improved breed), twenty sheep and six chickens. Less than a year ago they had about 100 chickens but all were killed by fungal disease. Some of the livestock are owned by his sons. Over the last year they slaughtered one dairy cow which was injured. His son also sold five sheep at Boru market and he controlled the income; his other son sold 20 chickens at Gonde market and used the money. AA regularly sells milk to different customers and they also supply milk to the cooperative.

TD says that the advice he has received from the DA has improved his livestock, but more emphasis should be placed upon the vet services provided at Kebele level where expertise was sometimes lacking. Input was also needed on fodder as there was not enough in the community and what there is, is expensive. As a result households are being forced to sell their livestock.

AA makes *areki* frequently. Her *areki* sale is important for daily/immediate household expenditures. Its residual (*atela*) is also important as an animal feed. This is the only non-farming business the household is engaged in; no one is involved in paid labour or commuting for work. The household does not cooperate with other households on farm work as they pay for labour. However they do participate in house building and other community activities.

The family have two huts and a house with an iron sheet roof. The house has three rooms. There is a separate kitchen and animal shelter. They have a large compound which is very neat and has plenty of space for their animals and other activities. Inside they have a modern bed, 6 chairs and a table, a box for clothes, a cupboard, TV, radio, fuel saving stove for injera, charcoal burner stove for coffee and tea. They use wood, dung cake and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting. They get their drinking water from the main water point (tsebel) about 20 minutes away. The water is free of charge. Sometimes in winter there is a queue as the flow of water diminishes. Work has begun on a community water point (birka) nearer to their house and they hope that they will be able to use that in the future.

The burden of household work has become greater since the oldest daughter migrated and because the other daughters are in school. Those at secondary school are away during the week and only back at weekends. The sons help by fetching water by donkey, preparing firewood, cleaning out the yard and the animals and preparing the animal feed. Everyone, except TD, washes their own clothes. But AA still spend the whole day busy with work.

The household have a toilet which is made of a thatched grass roof, wooden walls and the floor is made from stem. The household's regular food is injera with shiro *wat* and vegetables and bread for breakfast. Roasted grains are used as supplementary food and they sometimes eat butter, meat and eggs. They eat three times a day except during the fasting season when they eat twice a day and eat no meat or livestock products.

The household are Christian Orthodox and TD attends church every Sunday. He is also a member of the Service Cooperative and he belongs to five iddir. In *Balewold iddir* rural and urban he contributes ten birr for each monthly; in *Gabriel iddir* he contributes 5 birr; in *Egziher Ab iddir* and *Mikael iddir* he contributes 2 birr each. The last three iddirs also have a yearly wheat contribution of 35 kg and 30 kg respectively. AA has 2 female iddirs; she contributes 10 birr a month and there is occasional contribution in kind for example when there is a death she contributes 5 injera for that family.

Both TD and his wife are also members of *mehabers*. They make contributions (of 5 birr) when someone dies and have ceremonies and feasts which include food and traditional drinks like *tela*.

The family's youngest daughter is attending at kindergarten G 2 in Gonde town. The school is good quality and attractive for children. Three children attend Mecro primary full cycle school. It is about 15 minutes' walk from their house. There is no registration fee, and TD covers their educational costs. The children are all involved in domestic or agricultural work when they are not at school. Another older daughter is at Kulumsa secondary high school in grade 10. She walks 45 minutes each day to get there. The daughter says that the school is good at teaching and has sufficient facilities.

The security in the community has been improving overall; theft has been declining and there is no burglary at all. However, violent fights among men have been increasing because of ethnicity issues and conflicts about the boundaries of farm land. TD knew people who had dealings with the militia, community police and Wereda police. The former two he felt were effective and not biased, but he said that the wereda police were easily corrupted or biased.

TD is very involved in voluntary work for the Kebele and as a result AA says that she is unable to participate in the party or any mass associations. She felt that the government had done nothing for women in the community. By contrast as Kebele vice-chair TD spends 15 days per month on work for the Kebele and during election season and training courses he has to go to the office every day. The main problem is that his role takes so much time that he doesn't have enough time for his own farming activities. He suggested that party work could be improved if the party reports were improved. He explained that "*they always report what was not done or what is not representative of the people*". In his view it would be better if they reported genuinely what is happening on the ground. He gave the example of the Prime Minister who when he was asked about reducing the price of fertiliser said that farmers were producing 80 quintal/ha so could afford to buy it. However, TD said, no farmer produces more than 35 quintal/ha. He says that the main priorities for government in the kebele are to expand rural road construction and improve access to safe water.

TD is the only party member in his household. He is an active member but feels that membership has no benefit for individuals or for the household. He spends 30 days per year in large kebele meetings, 24 days in large party meetings, 48 days in development team/ cell meetings, 2 days in Kebele Council meetings and more than 30 days per year in special training courses. He also represents his household and participates in public works and last year spent 30 days on terracing and check dams. He said the work was useful but it was badly planned and carried out due to a lack of expertise. More professional input is needed to help the community. This work disrupted the family's work calendar.

He recently participated in formal attempts to hold Kebele chairs and all cabinets to account by gimgema. They blamed the officials for their bad work and give them feedback on how to improve in the future.

Household of poor farmer

BM (aged 50) is married to FA (his senior wife) who is aged 45. They have 3 sons and 3 daughters. Three of the children have left home; one daughter (aged 22) is married, one (aged 25) works in Assela and their son (26) is a government employee in Gobesa. The three children who are still at home are all in education. They also have a granddaughter (aged 3) who lives with them.

They have one hectare of land (according to BM, his wife says they have 3 hectares) plus a hectare of grazing land. BM and FA are both Oromo. She is from Hetosa clan and Aleko lineage and he is from Lode clan and Gobaya lineage. BM is the chair of the Chebote Zone and also a member of the Party committee for Chebote. The household's economic situation has improved dramatically over the last five years as the number of household members has dropped and they have worked hard on their farm using new techniques and technologies. Their older son has given them money to pay for farm inputs and life style improvements (he gave them 3,000 birr). They continue to support their daughter in Assela by providing her with food but give no other support outside the family.

The household's livelihood is dependent upon agriculture. They grow in order of importance barley, wheat, peas and beans. This is the same as what they were growing five years ago. Barley is important as it is their main food. In terms of cash crops the household has changed what they grow: they used to grow wheat and beans but now grow potatoes and lentils from which they make more profit. The potatoes are sold at the farm gate; lentils are put together with the produce from other farmers and sold in bulk to local traders. Last year he earned 5,000 birr from potatoes, and 500 birr from lentils. The only problem with lentils is that they are easily attacked by a pest called *til*, which reduces production. The DAs have not yet provided a pesticide suitable for *til*. As a result he will have to reduce the amount of lentils he plants. Potatoes are also vulnerable to a disease called 'wag' which reduces production if not treated with pesticides as soon as it begins.

BM has received advice from the government extension workers on grain crops: how to farm in line, when they need pesticides. For pulses and root crops they provide advice and facilitate the arrival of the relevant pesticides. He has not had any help or advice on oil seeds. He was also given eucalyptus seedlings by the DAs who advised farmers how to plant them and reproduce them.

The number of livestock the household owns has been decreasing over the last five years. They now have two local breed oxen, one dairy cow, one calf and 15 sheep. They also have 20 chickens. FA owns the dairy cow and calf and the majority of the sheep and chickens are owned by his children. Over the last 12 months the household has sold five sheep at Boru market and FA sold eight chickens at Gonde market. The sheep and chickens were sold due to problems in the household. FA also regularly sells eggs to traders on her way to Gonde market. They sell lambs every six months for up to 500 birr each, as sheep tend to deliver twice per year.

The household gets vet services in the Kebele. They also receive advice from the DA on livestock rearing. Helpful changes to this service would be; to improve the vet services, to expand access to improved breeds and to make fodder available at a lower price.

FA has been running a non-farm business over the last 12 months. She sells grain crops at the market and cigarettes, coffee and sugar at her home. The business is small scale and so the profits are small but FA uses them to buy household consumption items like oil, salt and coffee.

BM has taken credit from WALQO this year for the second time and he borrowed 6,000 birr which should be paid within one year with 700 birr interest. He used it to contract-in land. He contracted one hectare for one year with 4,000 birr and also bought fertilizer. He planned to farm potatoes on half the land and barley and wheat on the rest. FA also used some of the credit to buy inputs for her business.

BM and FA and two of their children (a son and daughter) were also involved in waged labour during the potato harvest. Their son has also done construction work.

The family lives in two huts, each of which has two rooms. One is used for living and the other as a kitchen. This is an improvement compared to five years ago when they did not have a separate kitchen. Their livestock are kept separately. They have a bed, a grass mattress, benches, a radio, fuel saving stove and other clay pots and tools for cooking. There is also a kitchen cupboard. They do not have electricity but use wood, dung cake and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting. They get their drinking water from a natural spring 30 minutes' walk away; there is no queue and no

charge. The household has, in the last five years, built a latrine which is now used by everyone. It is made from wooden walls, a thatched roof and a stem floor.

The family's diet has improved over the last five years. They eat *injera* with *shiro wat* and vegetables. They eat bread for breakfast and roasted grains as a snack. They sometimes eat butter, meat or eggs. They eat three times per day and the profit from FA's petty trade is used to ensure that the quality and quantity of food eaten are better. Five years ago their economic status was very low and they could not afford household consumables. The family tend to share a plate. The burden of domestic work on FA has increased as her daughters have left and as she also has other agricultural and marketing activities to carry out. Her daughters help when they are at home and her sons fetch water at weekends. They also prepare the firewood, wash their own clothes and clean the livestock yards. When her daughter leaves for an Arab country she will also be caring for her granddaughter.

The household regularly co-operates with other households that live nearby on different activities. There is *dabo* (direct labour exchange) which is traditional social cooperation in the community in which they help each other during farming activities like harvesting time. Last year a group of ten people harvested BM's barley by '*jigi*' (i.e. labour in exchange for food and drink).

BM is a member of the service cooperative which allows him to buy farm inputs at lower prices than on the market. BM also belongs to three *iddirs*: *Huse iddir*, *Gosa iddir* and *Ana iddir*. He contributes two birr to each per month. His wife belongs to two *iddirs*; her contributions vary seasonally from 8 birr a month for three consecutive months in the summer and about 16 birr a month for the rest of the time. During winter they prepare food items for *wat* (*kik*, *shiro* and *berbere*) and the money is taken from the *iddir* budget. Neither of them are members of *mehabers* because they are Muslims. BM goes to the mosque every Friday.

FA is a member of a women's association where she has received education and advice about women's legal right, women's development and participation. The problem is that the meetings take time and since the death of the previous prime minister death the number of meetings has declined.

The household has not had any major crises in the last five years but BM admits that he is unable to afford to buy fertilisers and improved seeds. He gets no support in finding the credit to buy them and as a result has had to reduce the amount he uses. They had a major expense in the last five years when the oldest daughter got married. They spent 3,000 birr for the ceremony and bought a cow and a heifer to give to the new household. They gave nothing to her spouse's household.

In terms of education, the couple's granddaughter should be in pre-school but there is no provision in the community. They have two children, a girl and a boy, attending at Chebote primary school in grade 7 and 3, respectively. The school is very close to their house and so it takes them 2 minutes to walk there. This year there was no fee for registration. The cost of school materials is covered by both husband and wife with the income from household products (vegetables and livestock). The problem with the school is that they do not have enough teachers, as a result students spend their time in school playing and sometimes her children come home because there is no teacher. FA feels that the school needs strong director. The man who was in post before was a strong person who could handle any problem and could teach in place of absentee teachers. They also have a son who is at Assela secondary school in grade 9. The school is 16 km away and so he rents a house in Assela. At weekends he returns home and helps his parents with agricultural and domestic work. In order to fund his education he works in Assela and surrounding areas, on shoe polishing and construction work. He is very clever and was 1st in class in the last term. He says that the school is good and has adequate facilities.

BM feels that violent conflict in the community has been increasing in last five years because of population pressure and the lack of land. Although he says there is no burglary in the kebele, theft is common especially of livestock and harvested crops. The militia has helped reduce this.

Both BM and his wife are party members. He is chair of Chebote zone. He has meetings twice a

month for a day; once a month to discuss with zone members about all activities in the zone; and the other day he meets with kebele officials and reports what is happening in his zone. When there are problems in the zone this work takes up more of his time. The main problems tend to be border conflict and cattle straying to graze on people's land. FA has no role and she says that since 2010 she has not been able to participate in large kebele meetings other than zone meeting. She feels that government should be doing more for women, helping them to start their own income generating activities. In other weredas she has heard that women are organised and involved in different business activities with support from government and or NGOs.

Both husband and wife feel that there are no benefits of party membership for the individual or the community. BM feels that much of the party's work in the community is based on propaganda and could be improved if it was more genuine. He also thinks that government should be subsidising fertilisers or providing them at a lower price so farmers can afford them. Out of all the meetings he attends he finds the development team and 1-5 meetings most helpful because they meet locally and so he does not have to travel. He has recently participated in formal attempts to hold government officials, the kebele chair and social court to account by *gimgema*. They were given feedback to improve their services and they seem to be improving.

Both BM and his wife have been involved in public works. FA sometimes stands in for her husband. They have both participated in building terraces and check dams. They both considered the work useful and say that their family work calendar was not interrupted by the work.

Household of successful woman head

BS is a 45-year old Amhara widow. She dropped out of education when she was in grade 6. She has five daughters and three sons. Three of her daughters (aged 23, 25, 28) have left home. The oldest is married and lives in Gora-Silingo; the younger two are both in Dubai working as housemaids. Of the children who remain at home three (aged 18, 16, 15, 9) are still in education. The oldest (who is 20) has just graduated from a private college and she is looking for work.

BS used to work as a zone leader and help with women's affairs but she resigned because the work was too much for her. She is considered a model woman in the community and as a result she was given different trees and grasses by Kulumsa agricultural institute, Wereda agricultural and rural development office and Assela malt factory to plant. She was awarded by Wereda officials as she planted the trees effectively and they are growing successfully.

The wealth of the household has been increasing over the last five year. Six years ago her husband died. Before his death he was ill for a long time and the household was forced to rent their farm land to pay for the husband's medical treatment because her sons were not old enough to manage the farm. After her husband died she got credit from WASASA to pay for agricultural inputs and her oldest son has started to work on the family's land. She receives remittances from her two daughters in Dubai with which she is building an iron roofed house. She also bought an exotic breed cow.

The household produces wheat, barley, pulses (bean and peas), maize and vegetables. This is similar to what they produced 5 years ago. In the last year they produced potatoes, pulses, wheat and vegetables for sale. There has been increasing demand for all produce and as a result they are producing more. They have particularly produced more potatoes and pulses due to the high price they can get for them. She sold the potatoes at the farm gate; the traders come and pick them up. The grains and pulses were sold at the market or to a big trader in town. For her potatoes (produced from ¼ hectare) she got 10,000 birr. Although she produced other cash crops (wheat and pulses), she has not sold them because she got enough income from the potatoes and her daughters' remittances. She will wait until the price increases to sell the rest of her crops. This year the price of wheat has dropped compared to what it was before. This is problematic because the cost of inputs is so high.

She received support from the DAs and Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institute. They provided her

with improved seeds for grain crops at two yearly intervals. In 2010 she also got improved seeds for pulses. Training has been given by the DAs on growing oil seeds but there are no improved seeds or technical support for growing them. As a result she uses local seeds. In 2010 the agricultural and rural development office provided her with about 10 coffee trees, which are successfully growing. Also in the same year she was given different trees and grasses (sespania tree, tour-ma- tree, elephant grass, wanza) by the Wereda officials and these are growing well too.

Overall, the number of livestock the household owns has increased in the last five years. They now have 2 local breed bulls, an exotic breed dairy cow and a local breed cow, a heifer, 3 sheep and chickens. They also have two donkeys (one male and one female). She had enough income last year and so did not sell any livestock except some chickens as they were diseased. She is a member of the dairy association and sells milk there, and when she has excess milk she makes butter and sells it. She sells eggs and the occasional hide at the market. She has now started to fatten an ox.

She has received advice from the DAs about reducing the number of local breed livestock and replacing them with cross bred ones. She has also learnt about artificial insemination and through this has got a cross-breed heifer. She uses zero grazing due to the lack of grazing land and gets medical treatment for her livestock from the vet in the Kebele.

The living conditions of the household have changed significantly over the last 5 years and the household assets have been increasing. The family's compound is near to the town. A new house with an iron roof and three rooms is currently under construction. There are three other houses, one in which the family lives, one for the kitchen and another for the animals. The household has a modern bed, 6 chairs with table, modern cupboard (*Bife*), fuel saving stove for *injera*, charcoal burner stove for coffee and tea. They have a kitchen cupboard, radio, TV and box for clothes. BS uses wood, dung cake and crop residue for cooking and electricity for lighting. Their regular food is *injera* with *shiro wat* and vegetables and bread for breakfast. Roasted grains are eaten as a supplementary food and sometimes the household have butter, meat and egg. The family eat three times a day. The only seasonal difference is during fasting when BS and the older children eat twice a day. BS says that her domestic work burden is getting heavier because the children are in school, her older daughters have migrated and the household is becoming more wealthy. The two daughters who are at home help with domestic work. Her sons fetch water by donkey from the spring and prepare the firewood. They also clean the animals out and feed them. Everyone in the household washes their own clothes.

Most of the time the household uses tap water both from private and government (*birka*) taps, at about 3 minutes' walk away from the house. There are a lot of queues for water from the birka because it is cheaper. The private tap is available any time, but is costly. In the winter there is shortage of tap water and so they get water from a source (*tsebel*) which is free of charge but is 30 minutes away. They have a latrine with a stem floor but no walls or roof; they in the process of constructing a new latrine.

Two of her children are at Mecro Primary School in grade 2 and 8. It takes them 3 minutes to walk to school. She covers the cost of their educational materials and uniform from the sale of her potatoes. She finds the school to be improving in terms of quality although some classrooms need maintenance and it would be good if the school was expanded so the children could also do their secondary education there. Two of her sons are in secondary school, one in Hetosa Secondary School in grade 10. This is about 12 kms away and he walks. The school is not very good and does not have adequate facilities or sufficient teachers. The younger son is at Kulumsa Secondary School in grade 9, also 12 kms away from the house. Kulumsa has better facilities and the teachers are experienced and well presented. Her daughter graduated in last October from private college with a Diploma in IT. The cost was covered by the oldest daughter who is living in Dubai. Her daughter lived in Assela by renting house until she had finished her education. She has now returned home.

She feels that since her household became wealthier she has less time for social interaction and

participation. She is so busy. She is a member of the service cooperative. She complains that the officials are corrupt and biased towards their relatives and so it is hard to get hold of the food items they sell. She has been a member of WASASA credit-saving association since 2008. At the beginning she borrowed 1,700 birr then once she had repaid this she borrowed 5000 birr. She used the money for agricultural inputs. She only owes 2000 birr now and hopes to pay it back this year. She is a member of 4 iddirs; 2 of them are male iddirs (*Bale-wold and Yohanis iddir*) and 2 females' iddirs (*yesetoch baltina and Amish iddir*). Each month she contributes 17 birr and there is also a seasonal contribution in kind. In December she gave 25 kg of wheat and 12 kg of beans; and if a member dies she contributes 5 injera. She also participates in two *mehabers*. The benefits of the *mehabers* are to strength their religion because they have to go church on the day of *mehaber*. She is the only person in the household who is a party member.

BS is an active Orthodox Christian follower; she participates every Sunday in the praying (*kidase*) programme. All the family members follow the same religion as her. Her participation in religious activities has increased in last the 5 years because her daughters are in Dubai and request that she prays for them that God would keep them in peace.

Last year she participated in *gimgema* evaluating the work performance of kebele officials. The meeting was run by Wereda officials. The Kebele officials were given a lot of criticism and were warned but there has been no change in their work for the community. She is largely happy with what the government is doing but she feels they should do more for women's economic development. There are currently no women's organisations for cooperative work and young females are ignored by the local government, even though they suffered a lot to get an ID card from the kebele.

As part of the public works she has been involved in terracing and check dams. Sometimes her sons cover this for her. During the period of public work they do 3 days per week and 6 hours per day.

Household of poor woman head

SD is 50 years old, divorced and illiterate and has had seven children. She belongs to the Oromo ethnic group, Assela clan and Ana-Haji lineage. She is a 1-5s group lead but it is not functional. She is an active participant in community issues. One of her children died. Her two eldest daughters (aged 22 and 20) are working as housemaids in Saudi Arabia; the younger one left six months ago. One of them has left her daughter in her mother's care. There are also two daughters and two sons who still live at home. Her oldest son (aged 19) had completed grade 10 and had left school.

The main livelihood of the household is share-cropping (she gives her land to others who are involved in farming it and then she shares the produce). Income from trading and labour work provides additional sources of income. She also gets remittances from her daughters overseas and labour from her other children. All the children except her granddaughter are participating in paid labour and buy some food for the household such as coffee, bread and sugar. The household wealth has deteriorated in the last five years as the household property was split in two during divorce. Even before that her husband sold a lot of cattle to pay for alcoholic drinks.

The household did not directly produce crops as the land, very small (1 ha), is given for share cropping. This year wheat and beans were produced on their land. Because the farmer did not use improved seeds or an adequate amount of fertilizer or pesticides she did not get a very good harvest. She uses any surplus to sell and buy other food items. For example in this year she got 1,500 kg of wheat and 5,000 kg of beans. She sold the beans on the market and bought other food items like sorghum and other household consumables. From what she sold she got 4,800 birr.

The household has no livestock and no chickens. They used to have a lot of chickens but they died last year because of chicken disease (*Fengil*).

SD took credit from the credit-saving association but not for agricultural work. She took it twice; first

she took 4,000 birr for trading and other purposes and this year she has taken 5,000 birr for agricultural inputs for next year's production. She currently has 5,000 birr of debt. SD trades vegetables (onion, cabbage, local *gomen* (cabbage), green pepper, potatoes, and other leaf spices) at the market. She used to pay 2-5 birr market tax on a market day. But now she has been told by the municipality officials that she should pay 100-150 birr in a month for a place (*medeb*). This will mean that she has a permanent place for her stall but it is a lot of money and may prevent her from being able to trade. For the moment she has started to trade in the smaller market instead.

During the harvest season she is involved in grain trading. She also works on other people's farm and at Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre as a daily labourer, weeding, digging and harvesting potatoes. Kulumsa is about 30 minutes' walk away and they pay her 20 birr/day. Farmers in the community pay 25 birr a day. She also makes dung cakes for other households and they share the income from the sale.

Her daughters are involved in trading vegetables on the market at weekends and when they are not in school. This covers their educational expenses and helps support the household. One of her daughters also worked on the farms over the summer with her. Her youngest son helps a trader looking after his goods. This covers his educational costs and sometimes enables him to buy coffee for the household.

The household has two huts; one for the family and a kitchen. Five years ago they only had one hut but built another due to the advice from the HEWs. In the house there is small wood seat, a cupboard made from mud in the living room, a mattress and different utensils for cooking and eating. They also have a radio and the oldest son has a mobile phone. They have a latrine; its floor is made from stem and mud, it has no walls and a torn plastic roof. She uses wood, dung cakes and crop residue for cooking and electricity for lighting. Most of the time, she fetches water from a source (*tsebel*) that is free of charge even though it takes 30 minutes for a trip. Sometimes she fetches water from the government tap (*birka*). This is taking about 3 minutes for a trip but there is a lot of queuing.

The family mainly eat *injera* with *shiro wat*, vegetables and bread. Roasted grains are eaten as a breakfast food. During summer season the household usually eat *gomen*, potatoes and roasted grain. They eat three times a day and when there is not enough food they just reduce the amount of food they eat. Her total domestic work has been reduced compared to five years ago because her children have grown up and help her. Her sons help fetch water and prepare the firewood. They all clean the house and compound and everyone washes their own clothes.

They had one serious incident last year when her oldest son was ill with typhoid for 20 days. He was initially treated at Gonde health centre but did not recover so in the end she took him to a private clinic in Assela. She paid about 60 birr in Gonde and 220 birr for his medical treatment in Assela. He has now fully recovered. Her daughter also married in the last five years but there was no wedding ceremony. She went with her husband to her parents-in-laws house and lived there for about 3 years. Since then she divorced and migrated to Saudi Arabia, leaving her own daughter to SD's care.

Three of her children are at Mecro primary school in grades 6 and 2. The children work to cover the costs of their education and her son has been getting support from an NGO for all his educational materials, uniform, soap and bed sheets. The children are sometimes absent from school because of market activities. She thinks that the quality is good but it would be good if they could also do their secondary education there. Her oldest son completed grade 10 last summer, commuting 12 km on foot to get there. He also worked on construction work in Assela and at Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institute.

SD is not a member of the Service Cooperative but she has two iddirs. The contributions to the iddirs vary seasonally; during summer she pays 8 birr a month for three months and the rest of the time she contributes about 16 birr a month. During winter they prepare food items for *wat* (*kik, shiro and*

berbere), the money is taken from the budget. She sometimes participates in the women's league when there is something that interests her. She is a party member and a 1-5 cell leader but the cell is not functional. She regularly attends Kebele meetings. She was involved in the public works terracing and building check dams. She worked on this three days a week when it was the season for public works but unfortunately the work was not as effective as expected. The rain water was diverted in the wrong direction and so instead of entering the river it flooded over the farm land.

She is an active Muslim as are all members of her family. She participates in religious activities in the mosque every Friday (Jumma prayer).

Structures of inequality

Class, wealth and poverty

Overall community wealth

Overall the community seems to be doing better 10 years ago. The introduction of agricultural technologies and a new culture of working hard has raised most households' economic wellbeing. This has also led to improved living standards. In the past wealth was measured by the amount of land and the numbers of livestock a household had. Now wealth may not be as obvious as the rich may have money in the bank and houses in other places which they rent. They also tend to have better quality, more spacious living conditions with more equipment and furniture.

A knowledgeable person gave the following estimates regarding people's wealth in Oda Dawata in 2013 and compared to 2003 (Table 7 repeated)

	In 2013	In 2003
Very rich	5%	3%
Rich	28%	20%
Middle wealth	35%	50%
Poor	20%	15%
Very poor	10%	10%
Destitute	2%	2%

So, the proportions of destitute and very poor remained the same; there are proportionally more poor people, and fewer middle wealth people because some of them became rich – but others became poor; and there are more rich people and very rich people in 2013.

Spatial poverty

Those who were richer tended to live nearer to the urban areas. People also noted that generally, residents in the Begejo-Mecro zone were wealthier than those in Chebote and Akiya zones, due to the higher agricultural potential of the former. There is also a difference in terms of lower access to services and infrastructure in Chebote and Akiya zones. For historical reasons, most of the residents in the two least well served zones are Oromo, who settled in the area first and opted for the higher and sloppier land of Chebote and Akiya because they were cooler and less dry. Amhara who came later took the land which at the time was considered as less valuable but has now become more valuable for its productivity, easier farming, and better access.

The poor woman head of household explained that

Communities in Chebote and Akiyya have seriously less access to government services. They have to travel too long to get water and only get health services after a long journey on foot or using pack animals. They have to carry cereals to grind to Makiro on their backs. They cannot easily get to Asela and back; they have to leave early in the morning and get back before sunset due to the long walk. Those living in the remote and sloppy area suffer from these problems while those

living on the roadside suffer from none of them.

The rich farmer's wife agreed that there was a huge difference. In addition those who live in urban area have access to light, tap water and road. But, she said, those who live on the roadside got their land during the Derg and they are just still living and working on it.

Household wealth inequalities

As the very rich class is growing the difference between very rich and destitute is also growing. The main cause for increasing number of poor people seemed to be landlessness. There were however, fewer people who were destitute as there were now more options for work even if you had no land enabling the destitute who were able to work to move into the category of very poor or poor.

Some people thought that the lack of a plan on how to improve one's livelihood was a major factor in becoming poor.

Table 12: Household goods, sources of wealth

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Rough proportions	10%	20%	40%	15%	10%	5%
Household goods found in these houses	TV, sofa, bufe (modern shelf), modern bed, house with more than two rooms, radio, extra chair and bed, modern kitchen equipment, refrigerator, DVD and VCD player, satellite dish, various types of house jewellers, etc.	TV, modern chairs with table, medium bufe (modern shelf), modern bed, house with more than two rooms, radio, more kitchen equipment, and house jewellers, etc.	Radio, iron sheet roofs, big thatched house, enough house equipment, may have chairs with table or quality of bench and traditional seating (made from cattle skin call "Dink"), modern or quality traditional bed (Tifir Alga) and have mattress	Radio, traditional bed made of animal skin or wood, seating's made from wood and mud, have less in quality and quantity of house equipment,	May have no radio and other, electronics materials, except mobile phone, house equipment more or less similar that of poor	Here the land and livestock are make a difference
Sources of wealth	-Having more land 4-6 hectares, -Hard working -Inheriting land and other properties from parents -more oxen and other animals	-Having average land/2-3hactares -Hard working -Remittance -having livestock	-1-2 hectare of land -2-4 oxen, two cows and sheep	-1-1.5 hectares of land -one/two oxen, not more than 5 sheep	Only having up to 1hectar of land, may have one ox, a cow or two sheep and up to 4/5 chicken	Having no source of wealth (land and livestock) -engaging only on daily work or being servant.

Table 13: How poor people get by and changes in proportions since 2003

	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
How do poor people get by?	Those categorized as poor often have some land - at least half hectare. From this they may get c. six quintals of harvest during a good harvesting season. They have their labour but rarely enough land and no livestock.	Those who can labour but have no land or livestock. They often make local drinks (areki) and sell it at market. They tend to do daily waged labour to get money in order to eat. They live hand to mouth.	Destitute people tend to work in the households of the rich e.g. as injera bakers or washing clothes. They may have a monthly salary of 60 to 70 birr or sometimes they work for board and lodging. They also do weeding, and digging in the potato farms. But some are too ill or frail to work. The community helps them by giving them crops post-harvest and by giving them second hand clothes.

	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Changes in last 10 years in proportions of each category (more or fewer)	Increased number of poor because of landlessness	Similar	Decreased as there are job opportunities for daily work, people struggle to improve their life.

Inequality within households

Inequality within households seemed to be very rare. If someone in the household got a job or made some money from the sale of produce this was used by the household or used to buy household commodities. The only exception to this seemed to be when children worked or sold eggs and sometimes chickens in order to fund their education. Generally speaking even those who had left the household and were working elsewhere still seemed to share some of what they earned with the household they had left. This was almost expected from those who migrated overseas but even those who were working elsewhere in Ethiopia would send surplus back to their parent's household.

Inequality according to gender varied from household to household. In some cases the wife was unaware of what income the household had as it all went through her husband. In others it was clear that economic decision-making was very much joined up between husband and wife.

Increasing numbers of women were pursuing their own economic means; money that they earned was managed by them and often used to buy household consumables. Women were often the ones who traded livestock products and controlled that source of income.

Problems poor people face

Poor people were considered to be more vulnerable to illness, presumably due to lack of access to treatment. They were more likely to face tension between household members. They often struggled with access to land not having enough of their own; and with labour shortages as they were unable to pay for manual labour. This impacted on their children who although at school were put under pressure to also carry out significant work for the household. Initially this would be family domestic and farm activities but as they got older they would also be expected to find paid work to supplement the household's income. This made it harder for them to focus upon their education as they were often hungry and/ or tired at school and struggled to do their homework or study outside school. The rich also benefited from tutors to help them with their school work. The workload for the poor seemed to become more acute as they got older. E.g. (middle 13 female) "*poor girls suffer a lot with their work load both for their household and paid work to establish an independent livelihood. Rich girls are dependent on their parents' wealth until they marry or get job*". In some cases this was thought to push poor girls into earlier marriage as a coping mechanism.

The amount of support available for the poor seemed to be minimal and as a result most young poor people had no choice but to migrate in search of work. For rich young people their family would provide them with land and livestock to help them establish an independent livelihood but this was not an option for those from poor families. Therefore some felt poor young men were being forced to marry later as they first had to secure a livelihood. Many young men migrate when they are 18 to Bale or Assela where they work as servants or daily labourers or shoe shiners.

The poor often had a poor diet and lacked adequate clothing and shoes. Children started doing paid work earlier. Children from poor families were now starting to work aged 5, 6 or 7 years whereas children in middle families would not start working until they were 12 or older.

When poor households ran into crises they were dependent upon the generosity of their extended family and neighbours to provide them with food or pay for their medical expenses.

Social identity, status differences and vulnerability

Ethnicity

The community's ethnicity is mixed with Amhara (19%), Oromo (80%), Gurage (0.5%) and others (0.5%). All of the Oromo are Muslim but the Amhara can be Muslims or Orthodox Christians – although the majority are Orthodox Christians. When parents are involved in choosing a marriage partner for their child the wealth and ethnicity of the partner's family are key factors in making the decision. Marriage among Muslims is not considered a problem because of clan as there are so many clans present in the area. There are cases of inter-marriage between Muslim Oromo and Amhara Christian but some people explain that they do not accept intermarriage (e.g. the middle-wealth farmer's wife) and Arsi Oromo will only marry with Arsi Oromo.

There were a couple of comments in the interviews about increased ethnic tension. One of the youth explained that what he did not like about the community was that there was some sort of discrimination in the society on the basis of religion and ethnicity (male, middle aged 13). The middle wealth farmer also mentioned that there had been an increase in violent fights amongst men based upon land boundaries but also ethnicity. In November 2013 some respondents reported one violent incident that had occurred since April and there seemed to be quite a bit of residual tension (see more detail in section 6.3).

Population growth is highest amongst the Oromo Muslim population as many young Amhara people have left the area in search of work. The Amhara are slightly wealthier than Muslim Oromo. Amhara and Oromo have mixed participation in social institutions like iddirs, although recently the Muslims have started a "*gosa iddir*" which Amhara have not been allowed to join. In most kebele structure the Oromo people are dominant. For example from eight cabinet members only one is Amhara.

Clan / lineage / family

Generally

The main lineage groups in the community are: Akiya (30%), Hambento (30%), Hetosa (20%) and Lode (20%). As interviews show there are also people from Haji, Aleko, Gobaya, Darimu, and Dembel lineages. The Akiya clan has grown the most quickly. A number of those interviewed did not know their clan or lineage or said they had none. All knew their ethnic group. There were considered not to be any problems or tensions between clans.

Craftworkers

In the kebele 5% of the population are carpenters and 10% make baskets. Since 2003 the number of carpenters has increased. Most people carry out craftworks part time and continue to farm. Craftworkers are not treated any differently.

Slaves

There are no slaves in the Kebele.

Religions

There are three main religions in the kebele are Islam (70%), Orthodox Christianity (29%) and Protestantism (1%). The Muslim population is growing fastest. Typically Christians (who are Amhara) are wealthier than Muslims as they live closer to town and have flat and fertile land (this arose from the history of settlement in the area as explained above).

There are good relations between the different religious groups (albeit with some tension within the Muslim community, notably in 2012 – see in section 6.3 below). They share important ceremonies such as weddings, funerals and *mehaber*. It is not unusual for Muslim males to marry Orthodox Christian females. In the past it was not occurring but now, Muslims and Orthodox Christians meet

in schools and colleges and the couples decide who they marry, unlike in the past and so, they can marry someone from another faith. But there is no inter-marriage between the Muslims and the Protestants. Some iddirs are mixed, but the Muslims have recently started a "gosa iddir" which Amhara (Christians) have not been allowed to join. Another respondent indicated that but religions also had their exclusive iddir.

As the majority of the kebele residents are Muslims they also tend to be more numerous in government structures. The kebele chairman and the council speaker are Muslims. Both vice-chairs are Orthodox Christians.

Native/immigrant

The number of immigrants in the community is very low, between 2% and 5%. Most of the migrants have come to the Kebele to seek agricultural labour. As their children enrol in education some are staying and so numbers have increased since 2003. Migrants are considered to be disciplined and to have a good relationship with the community. Very few migrants have married local girls and those that have are allowed to participate in all social organisations.

Status associated with wealth/poverty

Amhara Christians are associated with wealth. The landless or those with chronic illness in their family were often amongst the poor. In-migrants, divorcees, widowers and polygamous families were also often amongst the poor.

The elite have good relations with poor people; they also employ them for daily wage during farming activities. The rich give to those poor people they know second hand clothes and sometimes provide them with some crops after the harvest.

Destitute and very poor women seemed to be both pitied and not very highly considered. People explained that destitute women mainly work in rich people's houses, baking injera and washing their clothes for a monthly salary of 60-70 birr. Sometimes they work without payment at all but just to be able to live somewhere. They can also do digging and weeding on potato farms. Very poor women mostly make and sell areke on the market. They also sell whatever they can find to get some money to have their daily meal. They live a hand-to-mouth life.

Non-conformity and status

Women without husbands

With the increasing awareness of women's rights female headed households were increasingly accepted especially as there were some very successful examples.

Men without work

This was acknowledged to be a growing problem amongst the young people and was considered a major stumbling block for them in terms of how they would manage to set up an independent household. Those who were without land were often poor or destitute. There were no examples given of men with land who did not work.

Children without parents

Children without parents were considered very unfortunate. They would usually be cared for by their extended family but would struggle to access education due to the costs and would most likely be forced to become daily labourers. However, orphans were becoming less common due to a decline in maternal mortality. In contrast, there were an increasing number of children born outside of marriage. This was considered a social stigma and they would often be brought up by their mother and grandparents.

Vulnerable people**Table 14: Vulnerable people**

	Rough numbers	Change in last 10 years?	What problems do they have	Who cares for them?	NGOs that help these people?
Disabled adults and children	10	Decreased, because people are aware of health service and increasing child care starting from pregnancy	Unable to be productive	Their parents or children and or relatives	No
Mentally ill people and their families	3	Similar	One of them has left the area The second one is treated by medication The third is a returned migrant; he became sick in the Middle East	Their parents, all of them are younger	No
Old people needing support	50	The number has decreased compared to before. Older people with land, their relatives cared well, even if they have not children.	Some of them lost their children through death or migration. If their spouses have died they feel lonely	Their relatives, neighbours and persons who plough their land	No
Orphans	10	Now parents give more attention to their children. Therefore most of these children are growing with relatives; maternal death has also decreased which was cause for orphans.	Unable to access education Become daily labourer Affects them psychologically and physically	Grand parent/s, uncles and or aunts or relatives.	For students some NGO fulfil educational materials and uniform.
Female headed households	490	Has increased significantly due to widows inheritance laws and divorce laws (divorce has increased)	They suffer with their children, facing labour shortage, divorced engage in prostitution, etc	Their children	No
PLWHAs	2	10 years ago the exact number was not known but there is a rumour that 2 people contracted the illness.	Illness	Wives	No

Genderage experiences, differences and relationships**Growing up in the community – boys and girls**

Overall child rearing was considered to be the same for boys and girls up until the age of adolescence (12-16 years).

Birth and infancy

Over the last ten years most of the women interviewed said they had seen a significant change in terms of the health services given to women and babies before and after birth. Ten years ago the first time a mother and her new baby would be seen was when they went for vaccination of the baby after it had been born. Now women receive care from their first trimester of pregnancy.

There seem to have been a number of changes in the way that new born babies are cared for. Unlike in the past babies now are immediately washed and then dressed in cotton clothes to keep them warm. More care is taken to ensure that babies do not get cold. New born babies are no longer fed butter and boiled water but are given breast milk and only breast milk until they are six months old. Those babies that are born in health centres are given medical treatment and vaccinations as soon as they are born. It is also now acceptable for a mother to prepare for her baby's birth by preparing

clothes for it.

Babies also have more clothes and shoes and are better cared for in terms of their hygiene and the medical treatment they receive. Babies are no longer given 'raw' cow's milk and when they are weaned more attention is paid to the nutritional value of the food they are given. They are never fed raw or uncooked food except fruits in order to protect them from disease. Special food is prepared for them from different varieties of crops this is known locally as *mitin*. Babies are also no longer taken to the traditional healer.

Special protection and care is needed for knee children who are more active and therefore need to be kept away from danger and risks. The family starts to teach children at this age what is good and bad. Attention continues to be paid to their diet and to their cleanliness.

Those who can send pre-school children to Kindergarten to socialise them others are looked after by their siblings. Cleanliness and nutrition continue to be important at this age.

Children – work, play and education

Children aged 7-12 are all sent to school. When they are not at school they mainly play and study. Poorer families will need children to contribute towards the household income and so some may start doing paid work. Most children will start to be involved in domestic (girls) and/ or agricultural (boys) work. Mothers are responsible to teach their daughters and father's their sons. Children often get given food first at home and are allowed to eat more if they have been involved in herding or agricultural work. Some parents, in richer families, hire herders and farm servants to protect their children from the work so that they have enough time for their education and to rest.

Adolescence and youth

Boys:

As adolescents (aged 12-16) boys are given less responsibility than they were in the past in terms of doing agricultural work for the household. Instead in many of the middle or rich households they are allowed time to study and play with their friends. At this stage parents find that they need more money for extra clothes and shoes, even the poor become more concerned about dressing well. Boys are mentored by their fathers who teach them agricultural techniques. Boys tend not to be beaten anymore but their parents' reason with them.

As they get older and become young adults (aged 17-20) they are encouraged to develop an independent livelihood. Rich boys are given land or other properties, poorer boys get involved in waged labour to try and make their own livelihood. It is less common for marriage to be arranged by the boy's parents they are left to choose who they want to marry. Young men at this age tend to be hard workers as it is now a lot more difficult for them to set up their own independent livelihood.

Girls:

All adolescent girls tend to be in school. Once they are aged 12 they are forbidden from herding cattle and their mothers advise them what might be harmful to them. Girls at this age spend more time with their mother and sisters. If they need money or clothes they ask their mother. They tend to need more clothes and shoes as well as money for cosmetics and for hairdressing.

Once girls have finished school (aged 17-20) the two options open to them are getting married or migrating. Very few girls continue beyond secondary school. Parents seem to have a lot less influence on their daughter's choices but will try and support them in what they decide to do.

Youth

Male youth trajectories

Circumcision

Male circumcision was not mentioned by any of the youth interviewed.

Boy's work

Boys of all levels of wealth were involved in helping their families with farm activities. For the 13 year olds this included; herding, providing fodder for cattle, fetching water and collecting wood. Some were involved in cooking (poor, 13 and poor 16). Aged 16 they were involved in more farming activities; rearing livestock and chickens, selling farm produce, cleaning out the livestock yard. Some helped with domestic tasks such as helping with *areki* production and cleaning the house.

Aged 13 some of the boys had started doing paid labour. Middle 13 worked on the school fence for ten days for which he was paid 100 birr, he worked after school and at weekends. With the 100 birr he earned he bought a pair of trousers for himself. Others he said were involved in harvesting onions and potatoes - young men could get paid up to 30 birr per day for this work. There was also work during the planting season sowing potatoes and following the harvest transporting wheat by donkey and threshing wheat. Poor 13 had earned 200 birr working which he used to cover his school expenses and the remainder went on household consumables. Poor 16 decided to work as a shoe shiner in order to cover his school expenses and to help his mother buy coffee, salt and oil. Middle 16 was bought two chickens by his family and he covered his education expenses by breeding the chickens and selling chickens and eggs. Work at the Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre was well paid at c. 350 birr per month.

Two out of the three 19 year olds had dropped out of education and so understandably they were far more focused on work. Poor 19 had been forced to take over farming for the family as his father was ill. He had also worked as an agricultural servant for a rich family and was paid 2,000 birr per year. He also worked on other farms doing fencing, harvesting, sowing potatoes for which he earned about 600 birr during the year. Rich 19 dropped out of school when he did not score enough in grade 10 to continue to college. He has been helping his family on the farm and selling products on the market. He has also been given a job to teach grade one and two students due to the lack of teachers (for this he is paid 300 birr per month). As well as this he contracted land from poor farmers and sharecropped some land in order to grow potatoes. He also trades sheep and had made a profit of 2,000 birr in the last two months.

All of the 19 year olds acknowledged that was a shortage of work in the community. Trade of agricultural produce was the most popular job but the majority ended up farming.

Combining work and education

Combining work and education was acknowledged to be difficult and to reduce academic success at school. This was recognised as being more challenging for poor young people for whom the pressure to engage in paid work was greatest; rich young people often did not engage in paid work at all. Work made young men tired and also took their focus away from learning at school. They sometimes missed class and often did not have time to do their homework let alone to do extra study. The shift system at school meant that it was possible to combine work and education and for many it was vitally important as they could not afford to go to school without working. Last year one of middle 13's relatives dropped out school due to a lack of three birr to pay for his exam sheet.

Dropping out of education for a while due to the pressure of work was not uncommon but the majority hoped to return. Poor 16 who took up shoe shining to pay for his education had given it up because he was missing classes on market day and because he had to go to work after school he frequently did not have time to do his academic work. Middle 19 was on the malt factory sports

team which subsidized his education but he said also caused him to miss classes for training and to travel for competitions. As a result, he said, it was causing him not to do as well as school.

Inter-generational relations

Overall intergenerational relations seemed to be good. Youth and parents seemed to respect one another. Resources and money earned were often pooled within the household (poor, 13). There was no tension between the generations and they worked and ate together.

The misbehavior of a few of the youths who engaged in bad habits was blamed for bringing about the disapproval of adults and as a result some tension (middle 19).

Living in the community

The young men overall liked living in the community. They raised the following positives. First, cooperation between people was good and for example when someone faced a problem people would rally to help them (middle 13). Poor 13 had experienced this first hand when his family had nothing to eat and others had helped them. Second, they could see the changes and improvements in the community: people were becoming harder working, the use of farming technologies was improving and there were better standards of living (middle 13, Rich13, poor 16). Third, the community was also a peaceful place to live (middle 13, poor 13, Rich 13, middle 16, rich 16) and people mixed easily and without discrimination.

They tended to have a positive outlook and many said that they expected the community improve a lot in the next five years.

The negatives were about those who had the potential to improve their lives but did not work hard (middle 19, poor 19), particularly those who owned land but did not farm it properly. Rich 19 also complained that some people did not participate in the public works but instead just wanted to work on their own business.

Leisure activities and bad habits

Amongst adult respondents some said that the lack of leisure activities in the kebele for young people was not a problem. Others said that it was the shortage of jobs and employment which meant that more young people were getting involved in bad habits.

The 13 year olds were interested in music, arts, their religion (going to church or the mosque) and politics (middle 13). The main leisure activities seemed to be playing football, socializing with friends, reading and watching television. They said that there were no youth associations, youth league and youth federation. The 16 year olds added to this gymnastics, running and volley ball. Rich 16 watched films on DVDs. The 19 year olds went out more to the urban areas to meet friends in cafes and restaurants. Their friends included girls although only one of the three had a girlfriend.

Bad habits tended to be blamed upon those who were recent Grade 10 and 12 graduates who had not found the sort of work they wanted. Some developed bad habits like chewing chat, drugs and drinking alcohol in Gonde town. Others got involved with prostitutes. Middle 19 thought that 30% of the youth were involved in drinking, smoking and chewing chat but only 5% of these were involved in theft.

Religion

Opinion differed amongst the young men about how much time people in the community spent on religious activities. Some said they were not that important while others said that people in the community spent a lot of time on their religion. It was however agreed that some young people were getting more interested in religion as teaching had improved and the different religions were vying for converts. In all religions there were visiting missionaries who came from outside the community. Some felt that religious rules had become stricter over time (middle 13, rich 13, middle 16) due to growing awareness and better teaching. There were no conflicts between the leaders or

the followers of the different religions although Rich 13 acknowledged that it was difficult for members of the same household to follow different religions as it could lead to conflict and they also had different dietary requirements particularly concerning meat.

Politics

Two of the three 13 year olds said they knew nothing about politics and that the questions were too hard for their age group. However, middle 13 talked at length about how government was trying to encourage young men to get into cooperatives and work together. Despite this message he noted that there was no advice, resources or training for young people and that the kebele had provided no land for young people. He felt that there was no pressure on young people to join the party but that doing so brought benefits as they would be given priority for different services and for jobs. He thought that the attitude of most young people towards the government was positive and they were not interested in opposition politics. Middle 16 made the same points but added that the kebele had provided land to a youth cooperative where they were engaged in selling grass for livestock fodder. The profit was shared between cooperative members and the kebele. It was not clear how the youth involved were chosen.

Some felt that government should provide some resources for leisure such as youth centres, public libraries and a sports centre. They felt that this would help young people not to get involved in bad habits (middle 16, poor 16).

The lack of jobs and land in the area was encouraging some young people to develop an interest in opposition politics although currently there was no opposition party in the area (middle 16, poor 16). Although there seemed to be a lack of hope that change would come about at national level. There was also a fear (middle 19) of getting involved or showing interest in opposition politics after the EC 1997 elections when those who were suspected to be opposition party supporters were punished severely. Poor 19 agreed that especially during election times there was pressure on young people to vote for the government. He said that those who were members of the party would get priority in all sectors including employment.

Community participation

Generally speaking the young men felt they did not have a voice in the community but they felt that they should, as they were the next generation. Local government was not considered to pay much attention to young people. This was also recognized by the adults interviewed some of whom saw it as problematic that young people had no voice in community affairs. They also felt that government should be listening to young people and addressing some of their problems.

Sexual initiation

The younger men (aged 13) said they were not even friends with girls. Two of the 16 year olds said that their friends did not include girls and they had no girlfriends. Whilst Rich 16 said it was common for young men to have sexual relations with girlfriends Poor 16 said it was uncommon but when it happened both agreed that the young men would use condoms due to high awareness of HIV/AIDS. Only one of the 19 year olds had a girlfriend but they agreed that it was common for young men to have sexual relations generally only with their girlfriend and that it was common to use condoms.

Migration

Migration amongst young men tended to be amongst those who were over 18 years old and went to urban areas in Ethiopia such as: Bale, Debre Berhan, Adama, Addis Ababa and Assela. It was thought to be more common amongst poorer men. Mostly young men were seeking work as agricultural servants or waged labour, some worked at garages or did shoe shine. The number of migrants was considered to have increased due to a lack of land in the area although Middle 13 thought that as agricultural activity locally was improving fewer people were migrating for agricultural work. Stories told by the young men about migrants they knew tended to be positive and no one knew of any

problems faced. Poor 13 told a story of someone he knew who went to Adama to work because he was poor but since his return he had bought four oxen, some cattle and contracted some land. He worked as a guard for Ethiopian Telecommunication and was paid 1,000 birr per month.

Some young men migrate to Arab countries (middle 16) which in the past had only been possible for women. They tend to pay to be trafficked illegally. Although the one person he knew who had done this had been captured and sent home and had lost all the money he had spent on getting there.

Many of the young men planned to migrate themselves in the future.

Getting married

Adult respondents generally thought that getting married was more problematic for young people; young men faced difficulties in establishing an independent livelihood as many were not given land or livestock by their parents. As a result young men were thought to be getting married later.

The young men interviewed said that the youngest age a man could get married in the community was 18 years and that very few would marry at this age (10% according to Middle 13, 2% according to middle 19). It was more normal as a man to marry when you were aged between 20 and 28 years. Government regulations were not considered to have influenced young men's marriage age. There was disagreement as to whether parents would be involved or not in their choice of partner. Middle 13 said they would intervene in order to ensure that the partner was of the same ethnicity. Middle 19 said that 5% of parents were still involved. Others felt parents were no longer involved regardless of their wealth (poor 13, rich 13, middle 16, poor 16, rich 16).

The advantages of getting married were to establish an independent household and to receive land and cattle from the parents. A young man would also be given a space to construct a house and some building materials. Rich 16 felt marriage gave an opportunity to work with one's partner to help one another. Rich 19 pointed out that marriage protected you from getting HIV/AIDS. However, the challenge of marriage was considered to be that if you married and did not have enough wealth or a reliable livelihood you would become poorer. This made marriage particularly challenging for those from poor households (middle 16). Another risk of marriage was that if you did not get on with your wife it could end in divorce which was very negative for the children (poor 19).

Establishing an independent household – economic independence

Adults considered that finding work and establishing an independent household were major problems for young men. It was generally felt that this was an area in which government should be intervening to generate jobs particularly for those young people who were educated.

The young men felt that between 40-50% of young men their age would eventually get access to their own land through their parents. However they did not agree about how many would want to become farmers. Middle 13 felt that 60% of his friends wanted to be farmers, whereas Poor 13 and Rich 13 said none. Rich 16 thought 5% of his friends wanted to be farmers. Amongst the 19 year olds the percentage was higher, with 50-60% of their friends wanting to be farmers.

The other options were considered to be trade (either of livestock, crops or in retail), migrating to find work or trying to continue in education in order to finally get a formal job. They all knew graduates of grades 10 and 12 who were still in the community having not found the sort of work they wanted. Poor 16 said that seeing all these graduates without work was making him and his friends feel increasingly hopeless about their future prospects.

It was acknowledged to be a lot harder for a poor young man to establish an independent household or livelihood because they would not get very much parental support and may be landless. As a result if they stayed in the community they could only really do daily labouring which only provided a subsistence level of income and was not enough to establish an independent household (poor 13, rich 13). Middle 16 considered the best option for the poor was to succeed in education and seek work this way. Another option was to migrate to urban areas to seek work.

Having children

Some of the young men had never thought about having children or how many they would have (middle 13, middle 16). The majority wanted to have two or more children and Middle 19 wanted to have four children once he had become "economically strong".

Dreams and future plans

Middle 13 plans to settle in the community and to work as a farmer doing crops and cattle rearing. He thinks he will get two or three timad or 0.75 of hectare from his family. His other idea would be to leave the community and go to Boru town, in Hetosa wereda because his father's sister lives there. He would seek work there and return after a while. He wants to continue his education and plans to marry when he has established an independent livelihood. He does not think that his parents will be involved in the decision of who he marries.

Rich 16 says that he wants to leave the community in order to study and eventually get a job. He plans to go to Addis Ababa because his mother's sister lives there but he wants to return after a while. He plans to marry after he gets job with the profession for which he is going to study. His role model is Akililu Lemma the Ethiopian scientist who found the medicine for bilharzia because he wants to be a scientist in the future to get new medicine for different diseases as he did. His hope is to be successful in his education.

Poor 19 wants to leave the community to look for work. He does not think he will get land from his family because they only have half a hectare. He plans to go to Adama town because his uncle lives there, and if he gets a good job there he probably will not come back. He has completed grade 10. He plans to marry when he gets a permanent or good job which will change his life; he will probably marry after some five years.

Female youth

Circumcision

Female circumcision was said not to be practised in the Kebele although it used to be. There was said to be high awareness amongst young women about the harmfulness of female circumcision. But as it was no longer a problem no one talked about it.

Girls' work

Girls of 13 years and over were expected to be heavily involved in all the domestic work with their mother. Tasks included cooking, cleaning the house, washing clothes, making coffee, taking grain to the mill for grinding, collecting firewood and dung cakes. Some girls were also involved in making and selling local drinks (*areki* and *tela*) with their mothers. In some cases they were also expected to be involved in the family's agricultural work (digging, weeding and harvesting). Richer families tended to hire help during the busy periods of the agricultural year and in some cases to help with domestic work. This eased the pressure of domestic work on the girls in the household.

It was less common for girls to be involved in paid labour although there were cases of them making baskets, engaging in construction work over the summer (Middle 13), harvesting crops on other people's land, digging holes for a school fence (Poor 13), working in a flour factory, trading grains or vegetables, and petty trading drinking and food items (Middle 16). Some were involved in paid work at the Agricultural Research Institute weeding and digging crops. Payment there was dependent on performance - for weeding they were paid according to the number of rows they had done. Poor 19 said she generally was paid 8-20 birr a day and in total she made 216 birr a month. She was involved only for 2 months in the summer and used the money for her clothes and educational expenses.

There were two kinds of work that were considered dangerous to the health of girls; digging or loading stones and making *areki*. Digging was hard work and could cause stomach-ache. Making *areki* could cause eye pain, change the colour of your face (*Madyat*) or cause heart problems.

Combining work and education

Combining work and education was recognised by all the girls as being very difficult. Even those girls who were not required to combine large amounts of work with their education (generally the rich) had seen their peers struggling.

All of the girls were expected to help with domestic tasks when not at school. However, the amount they were expected to do and therefore the degree to which it interfered with their school work seemed to depend on the number of females in the household (Middle 13) and on whether there were any domestic staff (Rich 13). The girl's status in the household could also make the burden heavier as Poor 13 explained; she lived with her god-mother in Assela and the godmother overloaded her with domestic work and so she had no time to attend education and was forced to drop out of school. She was also beaten and not allowed to sit in the living room. Eventually she left and moved into her grandmother's household in the kebele where she has resumed school.

Some families also expected their daughters to engage in paid work, although this tended to be amongst the older girls. When a girl's workload became too heavy it was acknowledged to impact upon her education because they did not have time to study and do their homework. Rich 13 said that they may also be psychologically affected. She also acknowledged that rich children often got more parental support and could afford to pay for a tutor.

When girls dropped out of education it was usually due to: death or illness of parent(s), pre-marital pregnancy, early marriage, financial constraints or to migrate to an Arab country. Once they had dropped out most did not return. Middle 16 thought that 30% of young women dropped out of education for different reasons.

Middle 13 said that a girl's educational performance was not affected by her wealth but by her interest in education. Rich 13 disagreed with this. She felt that many poor girls got married after finishing primary school because they could not afford to continue with their education. Poor 19 said that combining work and education was difficult because the girls were often physically tired and their performance was affected.

Middle 19 had dropped out of school when she was in grade 8 because she got married. She chose to marry because after her mother died she was overloaded with domestic work. Getting married enabled her to escape the burden. She tried commuting to secondary school in Kulumsa but it is 12 km away and was a long commute. Her husband and his family were not happy for her to stay in Kulumsa because she was needed to serve food and coffee to her husband and in-laws. Eventually she got pregnant and could not cope with the commuting and so dropped out of school.

There was said to be some support at some of the schools (Begejo primary school) for poor families. Poor 16 had received educational materials (pen, exercise book and uniform) from an NGO. In the last year they had also given her a female sheep with a kid. Attending secondary school was very difficult for poor girls as they had to commute long distances on foot whilst their richer counterparts could afford to live in town (poor 19).

The girls did not know any women in the community who had completed grade 12 or who had graduated from college (middle 13, poor 13). They knew a few who had finished grade 10. Most of them still lived with their parents, but some were seeking work.

Women's issues

There seemed to be a girls club in the school (middle 13, rich 13) which helped to educate the girls about menstruation. Middle 13 said that this had meant that she did not feel bad when she first menstruated because she understood. The girls had just started to contribute cash to enable the school to provide sanitary towels (poor 13). All members of the girls club gave 1 birr per month (Rich 13, poor 16).

All agreed that there was no rape or abduction in the area and that they could walk around without

being harassed.

The adults interviewed felt that pre-marital pregnancy was a growing problem for young girls. It made their future very difficult as it was hard for them to then find a marriage partner and to support the child. Abortion was rare although there were rumors of a girl who had migrated but on her return people said she had gone to have an abortion because she had lost a lot of weight (middle 13, poor 13). Some girls were thought to use contraception which they got through private health services in the town (Middle 13, Rich 19). Although the majority of girls said that no one used it or certainly not officially (Rich 19). In the words of Middle 19 *“what does it (contraception) do for girls before marriage”*.

Many of the girls knew examples in the community of girls who had dropped out of school because they got pregnant and were now living with their parents.

Inter-generational relations

All of those interviewed said that inter-generational relations in their household were good. Parents and children were said to respect and love one another. Rich 13 said that she felt that Islam helped ensure good relations as the young were taught to obey and respect their elders. However, many were aware that some of the older generation had negative perceptions of teenagers. Examples mentioned were of groups of young males hanging about in groups as adults were suspicious of them stealing (middle 13, middle 16); others did not like the style of dress, hair or work habits of the young (poor 13) or disapproved of girls having boyfriends before marriage (poor 13).

Living in the community

The young women were generally positive about living in the community. They said that facilities had improved, e.g. there was water and electricity (middle 13); people's health had improved due to the intervention of the HEWs (middle 13, rich 13); the weather was good (poor 13, middle 19, Rich 19); people collaborated and supported one another (Rich 13, Poor 16, Rich 19) and because it was forbidden by Islam the Muslims do not drink or steal (Rich 13). There was not considered to be any major conflict in the community, it was peaceful (Rich 13). People were hard working and had access to new technologies for their farming (poor 16). The community was also more aware about women's rights (poor 16, middle 16).

Negatives mentioned about living in the community were theft, and robbery of cattle and potatoes (middle 16, Rich 16, middle 19); those in the community who would not allow young girls to work for them (poor 13); the low level of electricity at night which made it impossible to watch TV (poor 13). Rich 16 also said she disliked international migration but did not explain why. Middle 19 explained that there was a shortage of drinking water in the community which meant she had to queue and walk long distances to get water.

Sexual initiation

Little was said in relation to sex. Middle 13 said that she thought it was common for girls to have a boyfriend once they had completed primary school although she did not know if they had sexual intercourse or not. Middle 16 also said that young females might have a boyfriend but she also said she did not know if they had sexual intercourse. Most of the girls said that they thought it was rare for girls to use contraception before marriage.

Leisure activities and bad habits

The lack of leisure activities in the community for young women was not considered by the adults interviewed to be a problem.

Young girls liked; listening to the radio at home (Middle 13, Middle 19, Rich 19), watching TV at a neighbour's house (Middle 13, Rich 13, Rich 19), playing football with friends (Rich 13, Poor 16, Middle 16), playing volley ball (Middle 16). A number of them were involved regularly in religious

activities (Middle 13, Poor 16, Rich 19, Poor 19).

None of the girls admitted to engaging in bad habits or knew other girls that did.

Religion

In Begejo there are only two religions, Orthodox and Protestant (Middle 13) and in Akiya most people are Muslim and there is no church (Rich 16). In the other zones there are three religions, Muslim, Orthodox and Protestant. Relations between the three religions were considered to be good. Most of the girls said that people in the community, with some exceptions, did not have much time to spare for religious practices (Middle 13, Poor 13, Middle 16). A couple of the girls commented that Christians (Amhara) seemed to spend more time on their religion because they had more festival days (Rich 13, Middle 19).

It was considered to be difficult to have Muslims and Christians living in the same household because they eat different meat (poor 16), and have different practices. Therefore if someone converted they would probably leave the household (Rich 13).

There is regular religious conference every two/three months in the area and preachers and singers come from Addis Ababa. There is also holy water at Mojo and Shinkuru Mikael and people go there for health treatment (Poor 19).

Politics

Most of the girls were unaware about political participation. They knew nothing about a youth association or federation - although Rich 13 said she had heard of a youth league where the leader organized young people for sport, football and volley ball. They felt there was no relationship between government and young women because the government was focused on farmers (Middle 19, Rich 13). Most of them felt that government did not do anything for young females (Middle 16, Poor 16, Rich 16, Middle 19, Poor 19, Rich 19). They felt excluded from political participation or mobilization.

Community participation

Young girls do not participate in community affairs. Reasons given for this were that there was no structure which made them participate in community issues (FHH poor) and they are ignored by local government (middle farmer's wife, FHH successful, poor farmer's wife). Only the successful farmer's wife saw this as a big problem.

Finding work – economic independence

The main option for economic independence for young women seemed to be migration. Otherwise it was acknowledged that girls, even those who had finished primary education but who did not get a job, would end up getting married.

Poor 13 said she knew of a young female who was making a living through trading crops and vegetables and making *areki*. Others made a living through fattening shoats, or producing crafts (middle 13). Some migrated to nearby urban centres such as Assela where there was work in the flour factory or as domestic maids.

Migration was considered a positive alternative to marriage for young women, which meant that they did not need to worry about whether they were able to marry someone with an independent livelihood (Poor 13). This was particularly important for those from poor households because men who are better off want to marry someone with equal wealth (Poor 13). Everyone knew someone who had migrated (middle 13,) some were family members (Poor 13) and others were planning to go themselves (Middle 19). Some girls finished their education first; others just dropped out and went.

For those who were well educated there were no job opportunities in the community so they were forced to leave (FHH successful). Migration also brought better pay as the work available locally was

just enough for subsistence (Middle farmer's wife).

Getting married

Awareness that the legal minimum age for marriage was 18 years was high, and most girls were said to get married when they were over 18. However, as Rich 16 explained her sister was married aged 15 because her parents had decided that she should. Even if girls know their legal rights they respect their parents and so get married. Although government made a law on early marriage there was no enforcement and this was considered by some to be needed (Rich 16). One girl thought that about 30% of girls got married aged 17 (Rich 19); another thought it was more like 20% (Rich 13).

Reasons given for early marriage were: for poor girls when they could not afford to continue their education (Middle 13), particularly at the end of primary school as going to secondary school was more difficult (due to distance, rent, cost) (Rich 13); for some rich girls because they were married off by their parents (Rich 16) or they tend to have more men seeking their wealth (Poor 16). For some poor girls it was a matter of economic survival to get married (Middle 16). However, amongst those who could choose girls would not tend to get married until their 20's. Some married late due to education or migration. But if you had not married by the time you were 30 that was considered worrying (Rich 13).

Your wealth and livelihood were very much determined by who you married (Middle 13). Perhaps because of this a number of girls said that they did not want to marry a farmer (poor 13, Rich 13) or an old man (Poor 13, Rich 13). Marriage was considered an advantage for helping one another, having children, being loved and having someone to live with forever.

Negatives mentioned were divorce (Middle 13, Middle 16), the husband developing bad habits, such as unfaithfulness (Rich 13), drinking, laziness, beating his wife (Poor 16). Having a lot of children with not enough resources was also a potential problem with marriage (Rich 16).

Generally speaking girls seemed to have the right to choose their marriage partner although parents could influence (Rich 19) whether the relationship lasted or not and would of course be involved in organising the wedding ceremony (Rich 13). Middle 16 felt that girls did not choose their marriage partner but were chosen by the man. Poor 19 said that the parents would intervene on the choice of marriage partner if the wealth status of the couple did not match.

As it had become increasingly difficult to marry a young man who owned land or had an independent livelihood some girls were choosing to migrate to the Middle East rather than marry (FHH poor, FHH successful, successful businessman's wife).

Reproductive and productive work after marriage

After marriage women were aware that they would need to contribute towards the household but generally speaking the household would rely primarily upon income generated by the man. Only one of those interviewed was married (Middle 19), she had one child and had been forced to abandon her education once married due to pressure from her husband and parents-in-law. Once married girls were expected to do all of their household's domestic work, and help their parents-in-law. However, married young women were amongst those migrating to Arab countries in order to improve the economic status of their household. Middle 19 was preparing to go leaving her child behind. She also currently was engaged in petty trade from her home in order to buy household consumables.

Things are different for women who are poor and rich after marriage; poor women have to work for other households/parents-in-law in order to get either financial support or support in kind (Poor 16).

Establishing an independent household

Generally speaking young women did not set up an independent household in the community (Middle 13, Middle 16) unless they were married or if they were divorced, widows or returnee

migrants (Poor 13, Poor 16). Rich 16 said that a young female had never set up an independent household in Akiya even if they were making an independent livelihood. However, there were girls who had set up independent households elsewhere. Rich 13 knew some young females who lived together in Assela renting a house and engaged in paid labour there. Poor 16 knew one young woman who had come back from an urban area and now traded alcoholic drinks from her independent house. Poor 19 knew of a young female who had completed grade 10 and had constructed a corrugated iron roofed house through her work in the flour factory. Another girl she knew lived independently in town renting a house and selling vegetables, charcoal, *areki*, tea, coffee and biscuits.

Having children

Most of those who responded to the question on children wanted to have two children, a boy and a girl (poor 16, Middle 19, Poor 19, Rich 19). Only Rich 16 said that she wanted four children - two of each sex.

Dreams and future plans

Poor 13 - wants to live in Nazareth after finishing higher education and getting a formal job. She would like to marry a man who has a formal job whether government or NGO. She would like to have two children a girl and a boy. She worries however that if her uncle stops supporting her education then "my plan will become dreamless".

Rich 16 - she wants to finish her education and to be a teacher at Assela because she does not want to be too far from the family. She has plans to marry after getting a job and she would prefer that her husband had a similar job. She would like to have four children, two of each. She hopes that this could happen as she has confidence in education. She does not worry about the future.

Middle 19 - plans to go to Riyadh in the near future. She is waiting for a visa as she has finished the administrative process in Addis Ababa. Two of her husband's sisters are living in Riyadh and the older one has sent 40,000 birr in a year while the younger one just went last month. She has been told that she can stay there for just 2 years and 45 days then she has to come back. On her return she wants to construct house in Itiya and then give birth to a boy.

Rich 19 – she was interested in becoming an athlete and she attempted to run for some time but her parents were not happy and decided to stop it. They want her to be academically successful. She has accepted their idea and is struggling to be academic. She now plans to become a medical Doctor through hard work. She wants to live in Adama and has a plan to marry after starting her job. She would like a man with a similar job to hers to be her husband, so that they can help and understand each other. She wants to have two children, a boy and a girl.

Gender inequities

Violence against women

Female circumcision

Previously Orthodox females were circumcised from 7 days old or before baptism and Muslim girls were circumcised a month before they got married. However, female circumcision has now been banned and no one in the community wants to continue the practice due to the difficulties it causes during delivery for women and the possibility of transmitting disease. There is no longer a practitioner in the community and of those interviewed none of their younger daughters or granddaughters had been circumcised. Some of the older daughters had been before the ban (successful farmer) as this was before they understood the dangers.

According to the Kebele about 80% of girls are now not being circumcised.

Rape

Although rape and abduction had been a problem in the past all of those interviewed said that it was no longer an issue. Awareness had been raised that it was illegal and those who carried out rape would be punished.

Domestic male violence

Beating wives was common in the Kebele, and indeed across the wereda and women do not tend to complain about it as they see it as normal. When women do complain the case usually goes to the elders where it is stopped as it is considered the norm. The problem is twofold; that women do not have enough knowledge to break the social norms and seek justice but also that the prosecutors need to change their mindset. They are easily corrupted and this discourages women from coming forward.

A recent case raised by the office of women and children's affairs was of a woman whose hand and head was broken by her husband and she was seriously hurt. She was unable to walk by herself. The case was taken to court and her husband was only arrested for two days. This discourages women who have similar problems from seeking justice.

Marriage

Underage marriage

Underage marriage was considered not to be a major problem in the community. Awareness was high amongst adults and young women about the legal minimum age for marriage. Previously underage marriage was common but it was becoming less so, due to awareness of the rights of women but also because girls were in school. There were nonetheless still cases as young as 15 years old that were raised by the young girls interviewed and there seemed not to be any punishment enforced for parents who pushed their children to marry young.

Abduction

There was awareness that forced abduction was wrong and would be punished. It was generally agreed that forced abduction was wrong and it was considered by the young girls interviewed to be rare.

Choice of marriage partner

Although theoretically, the choice of marriage partner now lies with the couple, interviews with young girls revealed that this was not always the case especially when girls were married young. Parents often seemed to intervene on compatibility concerning ethnicity or the wealth of their child's partner. It seems as though practically, it is more difficult for girls to have influence than it is for young men.

Polygamy

In the past polygamy was common although it has reduced in recent times. There are still 30-40% of men who have more than one wife and this tends to be amongst the Muslim community. Women are more aware of their rights now and understand that if their husband takes a second wife legally the marriage with the second wife should be dissolved. Some are starting to complain to the women's and child affairs office. The problem is that many women do not complain at the start but after the second wife gives birth. This makes the case more difficult as the second marriage cannot be dissolved when there are children involved.

There is also considered to be bias amongst the public prosecutors of the lawyer, police and others at the court towards men. For example there is a lawyer at court who has two wives. His son did the same and took a second wife. His first wife went to the women's and child affairs office to seek advice but they could not do anything because the lawyer is his father. So she is forced to live with the situation.

Widow inheritance

In the past women did not have the right to own land. When their husband died they were inherited by the brother of their husband in order to keep the land and children within the husband's family. Now husband and wife have equal rights and the new land registration book endorses their equal rights and ownership. This has changed things for women over the last five years; they can now inherit but are also free to remarry someone of their choice.

Marriage to dead wife's sister

The respondents said that such practice does not exist today, but they have heard the stories of such practice in the past. There is no specific law related to the practice. It may have been seen as similar to widow's inheritance.

Divorce

In the past women could not ask for a divorce without the agreement of their husband. If they were given a divorce they would leave without any property or land. However, now legally women can seek divorce on their own and all properties jointly owned will be divided equally. However, there are still some problems with equal sharing due to corruption in the courts. Those men who have good connections with officials or who have money can influence the process. For example the step-mother of Haile Selassie who lives in the Kebele lost everything including her house when she divorced her husband.

Widowhood

The situation of widows has changed dramatically as they now have a legal right to keep all the property and land and their children if their husband dies. Traditionally a widow married her dead husband's brother and the elders may still try and pressure widows to follow this tradition. Some conservative women will do so. If a woman consents the law will not interfere. However, widows are generally well aware of their rights and able to refuse marriage. This is helped by there being a number of female headed households in the community, some of which are very successful.

Women's economic status

Access to land

There had been a significant change over the last five years concerning women's access to land. In the past women did not have the right to own or inherit land. However, they now have equal rights with men concerning access to land. The land registration books which have been issued over the past five years clearly state that land is owned jointly by the man and his wife. This means that in cases of divorce or widowhood the wife is entitled to her share. Widows are entitled to inherit land from their husbands and they can re-marry and this does not affect their inheritance.

This said there is increasing pressure upon land and it is difficult for young women to get access to land in order to develop their own independent livelihood. It is still extremely rare for young women to get land e.g. on marriage as is the case for young men or to get land through inheritance. Access to land for women still tends to come through marriage and their husband getting or having some land. Relatives say that *'a woman already has her own home being married and it is not fair to give her our land, which then go to her husband'*. Strong women may accuse their relatives to the court, but then they manage to give them poor quality land.

Livelihood opportunities

There is no consensus as to whether women's access to livelihood opportunities is better than in the past. Some are of the view that it is the case. As attitudes have changed towards women they are no longer restricted at home but now have increasing access to economic opportunities (middle wealth farmer). With the remarkable change towards women's rights in the community, they can participate in all socio-economic activities; they can borrow and this allows strong women to

improve economically. As they are active and relatively independent financially they even have a role in guiding the household, since they do not have to ask money to their husband for consumption goods etc. Their financial independence earned them the respect of their husbands. Some respondents felt that women had equal opportunities with men (successful businessman) even in terms of "farming activities" (poor farmer).

Examples were given (in November 2013) as follows. Selling milk, breeding poultry and selling chickens and eggs, areke and malt were said to have improved women's economic status. A few women sell dungcakes. Women also sell vegetables in the market and they borrow from savings and credit associations for fattening livestock and buying agricultural inputs. It was recognized that sheep fattening could improve women's lives very rapidly.

Milk is an area about which there is no consensus either. Some respondents say that selling milk is particularly profitable for women, especially in the Mecro-Begejo zone, though only a few have improved dairy cows. Some men have shifted into the area attracted by the increasing income though usually these are only husbands who are poor or greedy and drink, and most income from milk is still controlled by women. The kebele women affairs' representative said that nowadays women had equal access to fattening as a good source of income. It could even be considered as a 'women's business', she said, and women generally were better skilled at it. But other women did not agree and thought the business remained controlled by men.

Others believe it is not true that most women have better access to economic opportunities than in the past. The successful farmer admitted that although their access had improved it was still biased towards men. The successful business man said that in the past women had been involved in the economy of the family but they did not benefit from it. Now they have equal rights women and are more involved in controlling the economy of the household. However, government officials and DAs only have contact with and provide advice to the farmers (the head of the household) and generally speaking these are men. Other respondents also thought that women had limited access to resources for farming.

Women's inheritance from parents

In 1999 the family law was revised giving women equal legal rights with their brothers to inherit and share their parents' properties including land. People in the community were aware of the law and therefore the implementation of this has not been too difficult. Women are already benefiting from this change.

However, there is a tendency of men inheriting more land than their sisters through negotiations when the division is done by community elders. They say a man is a father and as he has stayed in the compound of his parents (this is the tradition) he therefore deserves more land. Some men still feel that women have an opportunity to get land when they marry and so why should they get land inherited from their parents (see above).

Women's political status

Voice in the community

The voice of women in the community was considered to be relatively limited. Women did not attend the majority of meetings and were not represented on customary forums like that of the elders. Young women in particular felt that they had no voice in the community.

In November 2013 one respondent mentioned that in Mecro-Begejo zone one woman is among the zone leaders but she had not been active since April.

Voice in the kebele

Women could be members of the Party although many who were seemed to participate very little and saw no benefits of their membership.

The five years Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of the government encouraged women to think that they could be empowered in all aspects of domains of life: social, political and economic. Officials insisted that the number of women participant in different structures was increasing both at kebele and wereda level. All posts of leadership were said to be open to women and there was a requirement that in the kebele structure at least one woman should be involved in the community issues. In practice this was said to happen through women being 1-5 group members.

However, there was little evidence of women taking roles within the kebele structures. The main breakthroughs in this area were considered by the kebele to be the inheritance law and women's economic empowerment, and through the number of girls enrolling in education.

In November 2013 Research Officers were told that about half of the kebele councillors elected in April were women.

Perceptions of females

There seemed to be no preference concerning the sex of babies. One respondent explained that in the past when a woman gave birth to a daughter she was unhappy but this is no longer the case. Now women are *"precious treasures of the community as most families are improving their livelihoods through international migration. Families now become unhappy when they give birth to baby boys."*

There were a number of respondents, a majority among those interviewed, that women were no longer perceived as weak. They were now seen to be working with their husbands and to have equal opportunities with men and as a result people were said to be acknowledging the importance of the role of women. The female heads of households said that women working hard and showing results to their husbands finally got their support but initially it was hard.

Again international migration came in as a factor as some respondents explained that

In the past women were considered as goods – now they are getting a good status as they are improving their hhs with remittances and becoming economically strong and involving in different businesses and building modern houses. Young men are attracted to marry female migrants in order to benefit financially.

But there were also more sobering voices, like that of the wife of the poor farmer who said that

... women are suffering from undisclosed physical and economic violence. Husbands sell livestock and cereals without discussing with their wife and hit her if she asks about the matter. Many women do not want to accuse their husbands due to fear of a more aggravated attack; they lack courage and the kebele legal bodies have bureaucratic procedures.

Upward and downward mobility

Males

Some men become richer in Oda Dawata because they have more land, oxen and other livestock/ However, assets alone do not result in wealth; they need to be combined with some knowledge of how to manage and use resources properly. Most people become rich through farming activities, and those who are involved in fattening and selling tend to have improved dairy cows.

Men become poorer due to lack of land. Others who have land become poorer due to lack of hard work, lack of knowledge or planning about how to work. Respondents felt that a major factor for men in becoming poor was a lack of plan on how to improve one's livelihood.

Females

Women were considered to become rich or poor for similar reasons to men. A difference was that the upward or downward trajectory of their husband, and therefore, of the household, would be a

key factor in where women and their families ended up.

Age inequities

Youth and adults – male and female

In terms of role and status in the community there was a significant gap between unmarried youth (male and female although worse for female) and adults. Young people were not involved in community decision making or discussions and had no representation at the various community meetings. There were no youth associations or organisations which enabled them to engage and participate. As young people marry later for economic reasons and are increasingly seeking to establish independent livelihoods before marrying, this inequality/ exclusion lasts for longer.

Adults and elderly - male and female

There was very little mention of the elderly. Whilst it is clear that they are respected in the community and should be looked after this is very much dependent upon their family. Those who owned land were thought to be better looked after.

Government/NGO interventions to promote social equity

Assistance to poor people

There are no specific government interventions for poor and vulnerable people. However, the government is trying to help them gain access to facilitating group-based credit through regional MFIs like WALQO. There are no exemptions of any kind in terms of taxation for the poor if they have land. Only the landless are exempted from social and tax payments.

USAID has been providing support to 120 primary school students who were identified as poor. They covered the costs of attending school by providing uniform, exercise books and pens. They also provided the children annually with wheat flour and were trying to introduce an income generating element into the project by distributing sheep to poor families with children at school. So far 45 sheep had been distributed to poor families. The poor woman head of household mentioned this support from 'an NGO' – which had given exercise books, uniforms and soap to orphans in September 2013, and had distributed sheep to help their families. But, she said, she had never seen any other help from government or anyone, and this was confirmed by several other respondents.

Apart from this the support that the poor mentioned receiving and the better-off talked about giving was largely within the community amongst friends, neighbours and relatives. Some poor people received remittances from relatives who lived outside the community; some were lent crops or money by richer farmers during the lean period (middle wealth farmer). The successful businessman had paid for the medical costs of one of his poor neighbours at Adama hospital when the neighbour could not afford to pay.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

There are no government, NGO or other interventions for vulnerable people in the community. Rather they get help from their families and relatives.

Orphans

Orphans were included under the USAID initiative in the school for the provision of wheat and school materials. No other mention.

Disabled people

There were thought to be ten disabled people in the kebele. The number of disabled people was thought to be decreasing due to better health services and care of infants and children from before birth. The disabled were cared for by their families.

Vulnerable women

None were mentioned.

Promoting equity for women

Violence against women interventions

A number of women seemed to have a poor opinion of the mind-set of local officials in defending women against violence. One of them explained that

... the legal body of the kebele is practically not active to help women, unlike what is said; mostly because they are men too and they also commit violence against their wife, so they help men rather than the women. Women are chased of their home bare-hand without money, clothes, nothing at all when the violence gets soaring. But if she comes to the legal office they are bureaucratic and never do them a favour. Consequently, she gets back home again. This makes the husband more confident and he continues his violence stronger than before. Women are respected if they have brothers or economically strong families so the husband fears them rather than the law. The judges are also highly corrupted and they help the husband for he gives them bribe.

Female circumcision interventions

The ban on female circumcision has been highly publicized and the community is aware that anyone who practises it and the parents of the child will be punished with a fine or prison sentence (3-15 years). The ban seemed to be widely accepted by those members of the community interviewed who said they agreed with it and understood why it had been banned. The community said that there was no longer someone who carried out circumcisions in the area. The wereda office for women and child's affairs said that they had had nothing in relation to female circumcision in the last two years at their office.

Within each kebele there is a structure which helps to control harmful practices in relation to women. There is also a centralized committee at wereda level which is advised by a lawyer. The committee provides advice and teaches people in order to create a better awareness of women's inequality and to end harmful traditional practices.

Rape interventions

Those interviewed were clear that rape had been banned by government and was considered a crime. Last year six cases were reported to the women's and child affairs office. Whilst some cases were resolved by the elders others went to court. It seemed however, that due to problems of corruption and bias based on blood or marriage links with wereda officials there was little justice for women who had been victims of rape. There was also a problem with bringing cases to court in terms of the evidence needed from the health service. There had been cases where the health service had not given the correct evidence to the court about the rape and this had undermined the case. As a result those who committed rape often got away with it. It was felt that this lack of justice was resulting in a reduction in the number of cases being reported as women knew they would not get justice and yet the practice continued.

Domestic male violence interventions

Domestic violence against women was common in the area and was considered normal. As a result women rarely complained about it. Despite it being illegal any complaints from women tended to be stopped by the elders and never reached court.

Women were not considered to have enough knowledge to break the social norms around this practice and in addition court personnel were not considered to have changed their attitudes. As a result the court and the community were biased against the women. The women and child's affairs'

office gave a recent example of a woman whose hand and head was broken by her husband and she was seriously hurt. She was not able to walk by herself. Her neighbour brought her to the office and the office took the case to the court. Her husband was only arrested for two days. This kind of result is discouraging for the office and for other women.

Marriage interventions

Underage marriage interventions

In 1992 the family law set the legal minimum age of marriage at 18 years old and the punishment for marriage under this age can result in a prison sentence for the parents. To control and prevent the practice the women and child affairs' office works in coordination with the schools, the health office, police and kebele officials. Moreover there is a women and child affairs' representative at each kebele through whom the wereda office communicates. The wereda women and child affairs' office has seven members, each of them have a responsibility to follow up three kebeles in the wereda.

However, it seems that the attitudes of the community make it difficult to enforce the law because they do not inform when early marriages are arranged. Therefore, it was recognised that to improve the law enforcement education and advice should be given intensively to the community. Last year only one case came to the office which was referred to court.

The young women interviewed were aware of the legal age of marriage but found it difficult to assert their rights to their parents as culturally they were supposed to respect and obey them.

Abduction interventions

The law around abduction is difficult to implement because you have to differentiate voluntary and forced abduction. In addition to this once a girl has been abducted there is intervention by the elders to try and get the daughter and her family to accept the marriage. The girl is also pressured by the man who had abducted her to accept the marriage. As a result frequently the wereda court and the women and child affairs' office often would not hear of some cases. It is therefore, hard to guess the number of abductions that occur. Abduction may also be accompanied by other crimes against the girl such as rape, physical and psychological abuse. The punishment for abduction was 3-15 years in prison and the marriage should be dissolved. School girls were considered to be particularly vulnerable to abduction especially those who had refused their parents' arranged marriage.

Although the community were aware of the law around this practice and considered forced abduction a crime intervention by the elders was an obstacle to ending the practice.

Choice of marriage partner interventions

Legally both young men and women aged 18 or over have equal rights to choose their marriage partner. However, allowing and enabling this is difficult as traditionally women are not involved in the decision and some feel that they may lose their respect if the request for marriage comes from them. They also feel concerned as to what would happen if the man turns down their request.

Other than educating young men and women about their ability to choose (and this seems to be well known) government have not intervened.

Polygamy interventions

In the past polygamy was common in the area. Now due to government intervention and a growth in people's awareness that it is illegal it has reduced. However, there are still about 30-40% of men who have more than one wife. The law says that if a man gets married for a second time he should be punished and the marriage dissolved. The problem is that often the women complain late about their husband's second marriage to the women and child affairs' office. Often they complain once the second wife gives birth and this makes it difficult to annul the marriage due to the affect it would have on the child so the office then resorts to negotiation with the family.

There were also said to be problems in terms of the justice system being easily biased towards the man and relations between court officials and those who are brought by their wife to court.

Widow inheritance interventions

Although it is common in Muslim communities for a widow to be inherited by her husband's brother, government intervention has succeeded in significantly reducing the practice. This became illegal when the family law was revised in 1992. Under the law widows can now inherit all of the land and property of their husband's and have the legal right to control these themselves. They also have the right to re-marry someone of their choosing.

However the office of women and child affairs say that it is very difficult for women to break with traditional beliefs and local customs and to refuse the practice. For example last year a woman came to the office to complain and said she needed support. The office gave her advice as to what she should do and where to go to get justice. Then she took her case to the court but was made to stop the case. The Muslim community excluded her from social interaction or relations, her neighbours would share nothing with her not even fire. Despite this she tolerates the problems and lives with her children controlling her own wealth. Even if she is excluded from social relation/organisation, she won her inheritance and lives with her family. There is a real lack of change in mind-set amongst government officials which makes it difficult to fight certain harmful traditional practises.

Marriage to dead wife's sister interventions

This practice seems to have been rare/ unheard of in the community.

Divorce interventions

Legally women can now ask for a divorce without the permission of their husband. They are also eligible for half of the household's property and land when the divorce goes through. Whilst there was high awareness of this in the community there still seemed to be a problem in relation to the equal sharing of property between husband and wife. Due to corruption (usually the husband having links to the court officials) some women were known to have lost their share of the property or to have not received a fair share. The divorce process was also said to be very long.

However, most women benefit and are able to control their own properties after divorce. In many cases divorced women have become successful socially and economically.

Widowhood interventions

Widows have a legal right to keep the household's land, property and children. The law says that if one of the spouses dies, the remaining one has full right to access and control all of the household's property. As the result widows are benefiting from accessing and controlling property and land. Awareness of this legal change was high amongst those interviewed.

Interventions to improve women's economic status

Land interventions

The land certificate and register now include the woman's name alongside that of her husband, which gives her legal land ownership. The law has also been changed enabling women to be able to inherit land from their parents and also from their husbands if widowed. If a woman gets divorced from her husband she is legally entitled to half of their land. But there remain issues with law enforcement and the mindset of the community especially with regard to rights to land inheritance from parents.

Livelihood interventions

There were recognized to be increased access for women to livelihood opportunities. But there were some limitations as in many cases resource allocations had to be accessed through a woman's husband unless the household was a female headed household.

In April 2013 no government initiatives were mentioned which specifically encouraged women to start or develop livelihood opportunities. In November 2013 several respondents mentioned that the kebele leadership, the DAs and model farmers had been raising people's awareness about the importance of cooperating in economic activities; there were ideas of creating separate cooperatives for youth and women, to engage in activities such as livestock production, cattle fattening, poultry and sheep production/fattening. But there had been no training or resources given.

However, the kebele women affairs' representative mentioned one new cooperative established in July 2013, with 28 women members. It supplied oil and sugar and was working well. The products they sold were coming from a government-controlled company and the cooperative bought and sold at a fair price – e.g. around 6 birr/kg for sugar. Since 2012 the price of sugar and oil had become unaffordable so these types of cooperatives were welcome. Another one was in the process of being established, including 7 men and 3 women members. It just awaited products to start activity.

The HEWs also thought that if they had no health problems women could participate (in economic opportunities) just as well as men and there were women with good potential. But they added that *“apart from theoretical ideas from authoritarians, there are no practical initiatives to inspire the strong women.”*

Women's inheritance from parents interventions

When the family law was revised in 1999, women gained equal legal right with their brothers to share their parents' property including the land. There is a lot of awareness of this law and as a result women are successfully benefiting from the intervention. Sometimes however, the brothers end up with more land than the sisters when negotiations and the division are done by community elders. The male is considered to deserve more as he has stayed in the parents' compound and the daughters are considered to have access to land through marriage.

Interventions to improve women's political status

Although it was acknowledged that the government was trying to give more attention to women's political status no specific examples were given, in April 2013. Women were known to be able to participate in local politics but few did. In November 2013 someone said that one of the zone leaders of the Mecro-Begejo zone was a woman but she had not been active. People also reported that about half of the newly elected kebele councillors were women.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth livelihoods- male and female

Establishing an independent livelihood in the community was a major problem for both young men and women. This was due to a shortage of land or inability to access land and unemployment. The kebele has just started grouping youth in different cooperatives. There is no land distribution on individual basis as it was all allocated during the previous regime. There is also no land distribution to youth cooperatives except some land that was given land to extract stone. In April 2013 some people said that there was only one stone cooperative and it functioned poorly. In November people said there are three stone cooperatives (they gave their names) and that they were working hard. They gave some more details on the oldest one, the Hulegeb cooperative, which was established more than five years ago, as follows.

The cooperative started with 30 members, all male. Around 20 members are active nowadays. It was established after the kebele posted a notice asking youth to register interest; then they screened the list of applicants to identify who qualified and sent it to the Gonde Small and Micro Enterprise office. This office in turn sent it to the wereda mineral and energy office which examined the proposal and approved it after studying the area proposed for extraction. The area had been suggested by the youth to the kebele leadership. They got the land free but only for five years. The leadership comprises the chair, vice-chair, secretary, cashier, and controller. They have their own internal rules

and regulations, including on how much is saved and distributed, and how to deal with dropouts. Profits are allocated equally to all members. They do not employ wage labour. They have to renew their license annually but do not pay tax so far. The government buys stone from them for any construction in the area, and stands ready to assist if they face problems. The cooperative supports development activities in the kebele in various ways. The members would like to get credit to get a stone crusher as this would make the enterprise more beneficial.

In April 2013 people explained that there was no special package or easy access to credit for youth. They may get credit access from different service providers as everybody does. The youth had received training and advice from government organisations about their future. The government was said to be planning to create many jobs and cooperatives but none of the promises had been implemented. There were people thinking that many of these university, college and high school graduates living in the community were ready to work if someone was showing them what to do and how, like making floors, cobblestones etc.

This might have started to change later in the year. In November 2013 several respondents mentioned that the kebele leadership, the DAs and model farmers had been raising people's awareness about the importance of cooperating in economic activities; there were new ideas of creating separate cooperatives for youth and women, to engage in activities such as livestock production, cattle fattening, poultry and sheep production/fattening. But again, no training or resources had been given. The kebele leaders told the community that there is a plan to organise youth and give them initial capital of up to 10,000 birr. In November people said that they had been waiting for implementation since three months. Some youth were said to be saving with WALQO.

Apparently the initiative emanates from the kebele Micro and Small Enterprise office (?) which organizes the youth in groups and sends a report to WALQO which then give them a bank book. Once the groups are given a loan they are supposed to be continuously trained by the kebele leaders, HEWs, and the credit association staff, through the leaders of the youth 1-5.

Some respondents indeed mentioned two cooperatives formed since April 2013, one for stone extraction and one involved in selling sugar. The sugar co-operative comprises 10 members who are all educated (Gr10/diploma) youth. They sell edible oil and sugar in Gonde town. They got 50,000 birr credit from WALQO which according to some respondents also supplies them with oil and sugar. But the kebele women affairs' representative, which was explaining how a women sugar cooperative is working (see above) said that the goods are actually coming from a government-controlled company every month or two months. She said that many cooperatives do not systems in place to provide check and balance of their income.

One young woman had heard that since July and again in September, the kebele was registering male and female youngsters and they were told that they would be grouped by 5 and 10 people and be helped to get credit. But as far as she knew there was still no tangible result when she was interviewed during the second field work.

The kebele women affairs' representative was very hopeful, saying that

... if the youth could get way to work, the load of their family will be reduced. Perhaps they may get the chance to help their family. The youngsters will lead their own life and the economy of the area will bring dramatic change. If the government form some teams and include these youth as per their capacity, their self-reliance will be assured. Belief of dependency will be broken and this will bear remarkable change within the localities.

Community and political participation

No initiatives in relation to this were mentioned. There are no youth associations or youth leagues.

Youth and HIV/AIDS

The young people were aware of HIV/AIDS and received education about it at school. However, they lacked easy access to protection locally. Condoms were only available in the nearby towns although those interviewed thought that young men generally tried to use protection.

Girls were reluctant to talk about contraception but the general view was that it was not used before marriage.

Youth recreation

There is no provision by government for youth recreation in the community.

Fields of action /domains of power

Livelihoods domain

Local macro-economy

Amongst those interviewed all of the young people felt that the community had become richer over the past two to three years. The households interviewed said that they had either stayed the same or become richer during the last five years.

It was generally agreed that the reason for the economic improvement was due to increased agricultural yields. This was particularly true for rain fed smallholder crops over the last five years. This was due to the advice given by the DAs on how to improve farming techniques and how to use modern inputs. Some irrigated crops were also being produced in the kebele with the use of modern inputs. Production had increased for both subsistence and cash crops but due to a good market price for potatoes farmers were producing more potatoes and making more money. In addition to this, due to the increased productivity, paid labour on small holdings had been increasing. It was estimated that currently about 80% of the community's income came from farm products. The remaining 20% of community income came from agricultural labour (2%), trading (2%), non-farm employment (4%), commuting for work (2%) and migration (10%).

Farming practice has also changed in relation to livestock. Households are now keeping their livestock at home and collecting fodder for them. This increases milk production. People are also fattening livestock and therefore selling them for a higher price. Most people are involved in fattening? The introduction of Artificial Insemination has had a significant role in increasing the number of improved breeds. The community was even selected recently to host the national 'calf day', which took place in September 2013 with the presence of many officials from the federal, regional and zonal levels.

People's involvement in non-farm business and non-farm labour has been increasing in order to generate other income for the family. Young people in particular are mainly involved in non-farm activities due to lack of land. Those with no land are involved in smallholder farming (by renting land) (30%), agricultural labour on smallholdings (3%), work at Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institute (20%), trading (1%), non-farm employment (flour factory and construction work) (10%), commuting for work (2%) and migration (34%) – These are proportions of the community involved in each type of activity. Migration has grown significantly mainly of young women to Arab countries. They send back large remittances which have a significant impact upon their families.

Over the last ten years the wealth status of the community has changed. Rich and very rich have increased in number and proportion; the numbers and proportions of very poor and destitute have stayed the same.

The other noticeable change in the local macro economy is inflation. Over the last ten years prices have been increasing. This has been particularly noticeable for fertiliser and improved seeds which are becoming unaffordable.

The community has however, also seen a general improvement in living standards. Households own more material goods and have more furniture than ever before. Rich households will also have money in the bank and good quality housing which is well furnished and equipped.

Smallholder agriculture

The number of farmers who are involved in subsistence and surplus agricultural production are about 60% and 40%, respectively. Most people are engaged in mixed farming (animal rearing and crop production). As said earlier, farmers grow a wider range of different crops. Irrigation is not widespread but most of the production is sold on the market.

The area has good fertile soil, favourable weather conditions, and a relatively stable ecosystem. However over the last few years farmers have noticed increasingly erratic and sometimes heavy rain fall which causes wag (a crop disease) and leads to flooding. The floods wash away the sown seed and top soil. Local people say that the heat of the sun has also been increasing. However, the 2005 EC rainy season was good and the prospect was for a good harvest.

The main crop disease in the area is wag which affects wheat, beans and potatoes. There are also known pests like *kish kish* which affects beans and peas and *til* which affects maize, beans, peas and onions. None of these diseases or pests are new to the area. One woman in November also talked about a very serious weed which appeared in August and September just after they had finished hand weeding and it would not be killed even after using twice the pesticide Topic.

Cattle in the area are affected by *aba sanga*, *fure* and *yegimel beshita* (camel disease) and pests like *alkit*, *majiger*, and also a type of bird called *chiri*. There is *dodao* disease which affects shoats in the kebele and also pests like *majger* and *kimanjir*. Poultry are affected by a disease called *fungai* and pests like *kinkin*, both are common in the area. Bees in the area are affected by pests like *kuchaci* or *zemamit* and diseases like *bee cholera*.

Land for smallholder farming

About 90% of the community land is devoted to small holding farming and this has increased over time, hence reducing the amount of grazing land available. Culturally, families in the area give land to sons when they establish an independent household or marry. This has resulted in smaller land holdings for both those who give and receive land as farmers' family size has increased. There is particular pressure on land mainly from the youth as many of them do not have land. At this point there is no pressure from investors. The largest land holding in the Kebele is seven hectares, the average two hectares and the smallest land holding one *timad* (0.25 hectare). None of the farm land in the Kebele is owned by cooperatives or outside investors.

Of 1,040 households in the kebele only 40 households have access to irrigated land which is around 4% of the farmers. Other respondents talked about 50-55 households, but this is a small proportion anyway. Most of the irrigated land is found in Meco-Begejo zone although a few people in Chebote and Akiya use water from the Kulumsa River to water their garden.

Land laws

Government law on land certification has been affecting the community since 2007. Women have benefited from this new law as land is now considered jointly owned by husband and wife. The land certification can be revised in the interest of the owner when the land is passed to his/ her children.

Access to land

There is very little irrigated land and only about 4% of farmers have access to some.

About 40% of the community is landless. No land is distributed due to the shortage of land available. Sharecropping and renting are both practised (see below). There are sporadic land encroachments whereby farmers use nearby common lands for farming by expanding their farm illegally. The kebele

holds the records of all land registration but no action has been taken so far.

Land re-distribution

There has been no land re-distribution or distribution since the Derg.

Land registration

Land is registered in the name of the husband and wife and they receive a land certificate. The new land registration certificates are issued in both names. This new practice has come in during the last five years. The Kebele has records of all land ownership.

Share-cropping, renting and contracting/buying land

For poorer families who cannot afford the necessary agricultural inputs, elderly people who are no longer able to farm or people with poor health, sharecropping out is often their main livelihood. This was the case for the poor farmer interviewed who had one hectare of land which he gave for sharecropping. There are about 100 households sharecropping out land. This gives land to farm for the landless and youth. At harvest time land owners of sharecropped land are given a share of the harvest.

Some people say that no land is leased either for short or long term in the kebele due to the shortage of land available. But others note that land renting is also practised.

It is not fully clear what the respective trends have been in the last ten years. In April some respondents explained that sharecropping had increased and renting land declined; sharecropping was preferred over renting out the land as the landowner got better benefits. But in November 2013 other respondents talked about 100 households renting out land so, the same number as those sharecropping out. For those getting land through renting or sharecropping, the former (renting) was better, in their view. Sharecropping is done without written terms and conditions and based on trust. Renting takes place at the kebele in a semi-formal manner, with both parties signing a written agreement.

A large proportion of land is owned by elders, aged between 80 and 90 years and who, as they are unable to farm their land themselves, tend to sharecrop or rent it out. This was noted for instance in relation to access to land in Mecro. There are also about 50 absentee landowners, people living in Assela, Addis Ababa, Adama, Gonde or Iteya or Hiruta as they have government jobs or are involved in trade. They usually visit their land once or twice a land to sharecrop it out or rent it out. Some farmers also get land from the schools – for which it is an income - and plant potatoes. People say that students work on the land for nothing and the school uses the income for different purposes. There is a feeling that generally those who rent or sharecrop in, struggle to do well for themselves due to the high cost of renting.

Officially buying/selling land is impossible but sometimes land is passed to someone else with a contract to repay debt. The debtor will pass his land to the person he owes money to for a set period of time stipulated in the contract in order that the debt is paid off with the produce from the land. There is also a law that a person who uses a piece of land for two consecutive years without the interference of anyone can continue to farm the land.

Agricultural labour

In the past most farm work was carried out by household members however as the intensification of farming has increased more labour is needed. In addition to this family size has decreased and children are going to school which means they do not have time to also do agricultural labour. As a result currently more than 70% of farm work in rich households including herding is done by servants and wage labourers and only the remaining 30% is done by family labour.

Wages for farm labourers have increased significantly in the last five years. Five years ago it was very cheap to hire labourers but now it is very expensive. Most of the daily labour in the kebele is done

by local daily labourers. There are different rates for men and youth who work mainly on potato harvesting. Men and women are paid up to 60 birr a day whilst youth under 18 are paid 30 birr a day. Some 30% of waged labour is done by migrants from Shirka and Bokoji weredas in Arsi zone, who stay for 10-20 days in the kebele during harvest time to work.

Agricultural labour is one of the areas which is influenced by the wealth of the household. Rich households have capacity to employ labour and pay, but the poor do most of the work by themselves. They employ only few people for the harvest due to the vulnerability of crops to perish if they are not harvested on time.

The customary work-sharing arrangements in the area are *debo* and *jigi*. Both tend to be organised based on existing relationships and family links. *Debo* is customary work exchange in which there is labour exchange, but in *jigi* there is no labour exchange and people who engaged in labour should be served food and local drinks. The large working parties and reciprocal work between small numbers of farmers have been declining in the last ten years because people are becoming more reliant on waged labourers. Waged labour is easier to organise and can be engaged on a daily or contractual basis. Both *wonfel* and *jigi* take time to organise and *jigi* is expensive due to the large amount of food and drink that has to be prepared.

Labour exchange between two farmers continues much as it did ten years ago. Share-rearing has declined because no one wants to engage in such business mainly due to the lack of grazing land in the area. Ox sharing is also declining significantly compared to ten years ago.

There are women ploughing land, mainly divorcees and widows. The successful woman head of household explained that this was not widely disclosed but there were many and she knew one case, who had started ploughing when she was a child to help her mother as her father and brothers had died, and was now divorcee and ploughing the land she had with her children.

Interlinkages

Shortage of land in the Kebele and the better returns made from sharecropping have led more farmers to sharecrop. According to some land rental has as a result declined significantly.

The availability of waged labour and the increased wealth of some farmers have led to a decline in the use of traditional labour sharing, but this is at a disadvantage for those who are unable to afford to employ waged labourers.

Oxen share exists in the community: if two persons have an ox, they can plough in turn using the oxen in turn every other day (locally known as *mekanajo*). Oxen are also rented, with rent usually paid in grain for a year of use of the oxen. The amount of grain depends on the strength of the ox (the cost is between 5-10 quintals of grain).

People also share labour under *debo/wonfel* arrangements when people work together in turn. People in the community also lend inputs such as seed during the sowing season and repay double the amount at harvest time.

Crops grown

Crop mix

The main grain crops grown in the community in order of importance are: wheat, barley, teff, maize and *zengada*. None of these grain crops are farmed using irrigation, but more than 50% of farmers use improved seeds to grow them. Grains are sold at Gonde town market. Maize and teff are not produced as cash crops but for consumption. Wheat is produced as a cash crop and also some barley. The amount of barley grown in the Kebele has increased by 10% over the last five years. No onset is grown in the community.

Peas and beans are grown in the community on rain-fed land without improved seeds as they are

not available. These pulses are sold at Gonde town local market.

The following root crops are grown in the community in order of importance: potato, redroot and carrot. Root crops sales have increased significantly especially potatoes which have increased by more than 50% whilst others have increased by 5%. Most of the irrigated land in the community is used to grow potatoes. Only 10% of the root crops are grown from improved seeds. Potatoes are traded at the farm gate to traders and others are sold at Gonde market to customers and traders. Pulses and bean sales have increased by some 30% and are mainly sold to traders at Gonde town.

Lentils and *gomenzer* (cabbage seed) are the oilseeds grown in the Kebele. They are grown on rain fed land and there are no improved seeds available for them. The sale of oilseeds has declined compared to five years ago. They are sold to traders at Gonde town.

The main vegetables grown are onions and cabbages. Sales have increased by 15% and they are traded at Gonde market to traders and also to customers. A few farmers grow coffee for household consumption. Chat sales have increased by 5% and chat is sold to traders in Gonde town. Eucalyptus sales have increased by 20%. It is sold at the farm gate and only a few are sold to customers while most goes to traders. There are no fruits grown in the Kebele. *Abish* and *tikurazmud* are the spices grown in the Kebele both on rain-fed land and without improved seeds.

Changes in crop mix

The subsistence crops grown (maize, barley and teff) have not really changed although some farmers try to grow some surplus to sell.

The community is now growing far more potatoes than it was before because they are profitable. People explained that from one timad of land (1/4 ha) one gets 10 quintals of wheat which sold for 5,000 to 6,000 birr while one can get 30-40 quintals of potatoes and sell them for over 12,000 birr. Moreover, potatoes can be left on the field for three months if a farmer wants to wait to get a better price on the market. Improved wheat seeds are expensive. Another advantage of potatoes is that they can be intercropped with beans and peas – which is becoming a widespread practice in the community.

Pulses also have a higher price at the moment and so some farmers are growing more of these. Eucalyptus and coniferous trees were introduced as a new cash crop by the DAs and are grown throughout the Kebele by small holders – although in November 2013 some respondents explained that eucalyptus was reducing because people had become aware that this tree was not good for the soil. Chat is now being grown on irrigated land by 1% of farmers due to the growing market for it.

Overall the crops grown five years ago compared to today are similar but the scale and amount produced has increased and the mix has changed with e.g. more potatoes grown. There is also more intercropping (see below) which also has an effect on what crops are grown. No new crops have been introduced to the community since 2003.

Inputs

The main inputs used are fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds. Improved seeds are not available for all of the crops grown (there are improved seeds only for coffee, wheat, barley, maize, carrots and potatoes). The prices of fertilizers and improved seeds have been increasing dramatically over the last five years and are no longer in line with the price the crop can be sold for. As a result many farmers can no longer afford them (poor farmer).

In November 2013 several respondents stressed as a new trend the use of urea in addition to DAP, and that this gave good results. To encourage the use of urea with a view to increasing production, the Agricultural Transformation Agency (ATA) gave money to buy 50 kgs urea to 14 farmers, selected among the rich, middle and poor farmers, but all with determination to work. They were also given 50 kgs of improved wheat seeds on credit (500 birr to be repaid after the harvest). ATA also took them in Assela for three days for training on farming techniques and inputs, and they visited a

successful farmer in another kebele to share his experience.

There is not much problem with fertilizer supply but its price is discouraging. Some farmers are said to have to sell livestock to afford it. The poor farmer's wife said that "*it seems we are fattening livestock only to cover the costs of fertilizer*". Farmers complained but the wereda explained that as fertilizer is not produced in the country there is nothing the government can do to reduce the cost.

There are different issues with the supply of improved seeds for wheat. This is described below in the story of the second most important cash crop.

Story of most important cash crop - Potato

Production

In the past potatoes were only farmed for household consumption but as the price for them has gone up farmers are now allocating more farmland to potatoes. In the last ten years the farm land allocated to potatoes has increased by more than 80%. The main risk in producing potatoes is a disease called **wag** which reduces productivity significantly and also a pest called **jarti** (porcupine) which eats or attacks the potatoes before they are harvested. Potatoes require a huge amount of labour from ploughing up (which is done by oxen) to harvest, and this has significantly increased the amount of waged labour that is used in addition to household labour.

As said above, potatoes can be intercropped with beans and peas which is an additional advantage over wheat. A few individuals even started intercropping potatoes, maize, peas and green kale, and many have copied them especially in Akiya zone. There is no crop rotation for potatoes.

Inputs

There is no improved seed for potatoes in the community, so farmers tend to buy the seed from other farmers or at market places. Only two or three people have recently been able to access improved seed through friends from Holeta Agricultural Research Institute. The farmers use DAP and Urea as fertilisers. The number of farmers who use fertilisers has been increasing due to the awareness created by DAs and the declining soil fertility. The main pesticides used for preventing and treating potato diseases and pests are **karate** pesticide and **ridomill** to prevent disease. Both are widely used. The problem is that they are not easily available on the market and traders increase the price when farmers need it. All farmers plant potatoes in line. The recommended quantities are 10 quintal seeds for 1 ha, 200 Kg DAP on planting, and 100 kg urea while weeding.

Most of the farmers use cash to buy the necessary inputs rather than credit. Only a few farmers receive credit from **WALQO** (credit provider) to buy fertilisers and improved seeds.

The DAs give advice to the farmers on: how to plant potatoes, the appropriate usage of fertilisers and the symptoms of pests and diseases. There is no intervention from the wereda at all.

Potatoes sale

Most of potatoes produced in the community are sold externally; the community's consumption is less than 1% of that grown. Potatoes are mainly sold at the farm gate. The traders come and buy them providing their own transport. The traders then sell the potatoes in different parts of the country like Addis Ababa, Harar, Dire Dawa and Jijiga. DAs also advise farmers when to harvest so as to get a good price as potatoes can be kept on the farmland for three months. Most farmers follow this advice and keep the potatoes for when the price is better.

Story of second main cash crop - Wheat

Production

Compared to ten years ago 30% more of the farmland has been allocated to wheat farming. The main risk in producing this crop is a disease called **yellow wag** which reduces productivity significantly. Wheat can also be badly damaged by the wind or by heavy rains if they occur at the

wrong time during the growing season. Wheat requires a huge amount of labour from ploughing up to harvest. Most of the labour needed comes from hired labour in addition to household labour.

A few farmers also use tractors for ploughing but the majority use oxen. It is possible to rent tractors from Iteya wereda however the demand is greater than the supply and availability is now problematic compared to five years ago when fewer people were interested. Those using tractors and combine harvesters are the farmers from Mecro-Begejo zone. In other zones farmers employ daily labourers or thresh themselves; it is not possible to use mechanised agriculture because of the land slopes.

Wheat inputs

The main source of wheat seeds in the kebele is from the service cooperative (SC), but some farmers also buy it from other farmers and a few get seeds from FAO. More than 50% of wheat grown in the kebele is from improved seed. Due to awareness created by DAs the number of people who are using improved seed has increased significantly. Unfortunately some improved wheat seed was not as effective as expected. Farmers are also struggling with the constant increases in price.

There are also different issues with the supply of improved seeds, beside the cost issue. In November 2013 the kebele manager said that the SC had failed to access improved seeds for the community. Two years ago the SC received improved seeds from Hetosa Union but late, and farmers had to wait to plant for a long time. The year after, farmers were not interested in taking this improved seeds because of the high interest rate (the SC was asking them to pay two years' interest) and the fear that the seeds, which had been stored for a year or so, might not yield well. So they did not buy it and the SC still has 124 quintals of improved seeds in store. The government insists that they will not provide another supply of improved seeds as long as farmers do not first buy what is in store. Farmers do not want to do this and so, the SC has complained to the wereda and zone and asked that the old seeds be removed and they are provided with new seeds.

The story from the farmers' side is that generally, they do not want to use the same seeds more than once on the same land as they believe it reduces productivity so they try hard to get improved seeds from various sources – the SC but also other farmers and Kulumsa research centre. Last year because the SC price was very high (1,200 birr/quintal) they had stopped buying from the SC and instead bought seeds from farmers who had taken improved seeds from the SC the year before, and who sold these seeds cheaper (adding 100-150 birr to the price paid normally for grain sold for consumption). This had become common but as a result the SC was left with a stock of improved seeds that they could not sell for two years. There is more to say on the SC and this is found in section 6.1.3.10 below.

Among the other sources of improved wheat seeds, the Kulumsa ARC seeds are considered to be really good and the ARC tries to provide new seeds every year, which better guarantees a high productivity. DAs therefore encourage model farmers with the necessary financial capacity and farming skills to try and follow the ARC criteria to be selected. Most are economically better-off with good farmland. Farmers given 50 kgs improved seeds are expected to return the same quantity to the centre after harvest. The centre interacts with these model farmers through the DAs. Other farmers are free to buy seeds from these farmers – especially because they are well known. The DAs discourage farmers from buying improved seeds from not well known farmers as it is difficult to know whether they are suitable. Non-model farmers complain and find this system not fair, as they have to buy improved seeds from the model farmers at non-subsidised cost.

FAO also used to be active in relation to improved wheat seeds supply. They had also selected model farmers and given them improved seeds and trained them on reproduction. These model farmers had a cooperative and a certificate of acknowledgement. But since FAO left the area their productivity has declined and they buy improved seeds from the SC. This year the wereda agriculture office gave them priority to buy 11 quintals of improved seeds from the SC. These farmers in turn

sell their improved seeds to the SC and the local farmers, but they do not have a constant market.

DAP and UREA are the main fertilisers for wheat production, but the farmers tend to use more DAP and less UREA – although this was said to be changing in November 2013 due to intensive awareness about the use of urea, and also an intervention from ATA which subsidised urea and improved wheat seeds for 14 farmers from the community (see above). The Kulumsa institute also gives some improved seeds, usually to farmers whose land borders the centre, and the farmers return the seeds after the harvest.

The amount of fertiliser used has been increasing due to declining soil fertility and the increased awareness of the impact of using it created by DAs. The community has been using different pesticides for pests such as **24D (two four D), topic, and palace**. Most of the farmers buy the inputs themselves; only a few receive credit from WALQO.

The DAs give advice on: how to plant in lines, the appropriate usage of fertilisers and symptoms of pests and diseases. There are no inputs from the wereda.

Farmers seem to be not convinced by the line planting for wheat and in November 2013 it was thought that 80% were still planting wheat by scattering instead of following the DAs' advice. Women even said that they had asked the kebele leaders to forward people's complaints about the proposed method, which was said to be 'obligatory' as per the 3-year plan, but was not practical because of the labour demand. Usually to plough with a pair of oxen three people are needed (one ploughing, the second sowing in line and the third adding the fertiliser). So to plant 1 ha about 12 people are needed. Currently farmers are trying to use the traditional labour-sharing mechanisms rather than the 1-5s because the former are more flexible.

In November 2013 some respondents explained that one farmer in Begejo invented a new technique to plant, using plastic bottles. He makes a hole in the plastic, puts a mix of seeds and fertiliser in it, ties it to the plough and so, he ploughs and plants and adds the fertiliser all at the same time. Four other people have copied him.

Wheat sale

The community sell about 80% of the wheat that is produced while the rest is used for seed and consumption. Wheat is sold at the local market in Gonde to middle and large traders, by kilogram. The large traders sell it on to different flour factories in the country. The flour factories around the kebele use some 30% of the wheat produced in the Kebele.

Story of third main cash crop - Peas

Pea production

Compared to ten years ago the community have allocated more than 50% of their farmland for pea production. The main risk in producing this crop is that it is vulnerable to disease called *wag* and pests like *kish kish and til*. Peas require labour from ploughing up to harvest. This is mostly conducted by household labour; only a few families hire labour. The land is ploughed using oxen.

Pea inputs

There are currently no improved seeds available for peas in the community so the farmers buy seeds from each other because that sold on the market is not reliable. The main source of fertiliser for peas is DAP. The amount the community is using for peas is increasing because the soil is losing its fertility and by increasing the amount used they get better production. The community have been using different pesticides like *karate, malatayin and heralat*. Most of the farmers buy seeds themselves and they do not need credit to buy it. Similar to other crops the DAs give advice on how to plant them, usage of fertilisers and symptoms of pests and diseases. There is no intervention from the wereda at all.

Pea sale

More than 90% of the peas produced in the Kebele are exported out of the community and only 10% are used for household consumption and seed. Most of the pea harvest is sold at Gonde local market; traders buy it at their store by kilogram. They then sell it on to large traders who sell it in Adama and Addis Ababa. There is no local processing of peas in the area.

Irrigation

The history of irrigation in the kebele dates back to the time of the Italian invasion, when an Italian named Mussolini established a grain mill powered by a water turbine on the Gonde River in Bagejo Zuria (area). Later on when the Italians left the country one of the local farmers called Talila started to use the turbine water of the mill to water his farm. He found that using irrigation he could grow onions and tomatoes for the first time. Later on the Derg regime came to power and gave this irrigation land to producers and eventually redistributed the land to people in the vicinity. It was mainly given to Talila families because they live in the area. During the Derg regime chat and *gesho* were grown on the irrigated land, using gravity-fed irrigation. That land was about two hectares.

Then the land irrigated has been further expanded under the current government, which introduced pump irrigation. However, only a few farmers in the Kebele have access to irrigated land. Of 1,040 households only 40 have access to irrigated land that is, around 4% of the farmers. Others said 50-55 which does not change the fact that this is a very small proportion of the households. Most (50) use traditional irrigation and only about 5 use pump irrigation. Currently the total area of farming land devoted to irrigation is about 32 hectares. Others in November 2013 talked about 60 ha. Out of these 20 hectares (a majority) are used through gravity irrigation – with traditional, non-cemented channels dug by farmers which set up and maintain them. Another 12 hectares is cultivated with pump irrigation and cemented canals that were built with the support of experts sent by FAO and JICA, mainly. This is very small compared to the total land of the kebele which is 3,500 hectares, of which 2,000 hectare is cultivated land.

Most of the irrigated land is found in Mecro-Begejo zone. The main crops grown on irrigated land in order of popularity are: potatoes, onions, chat and sugarcane. There are two harvests each year, and it would be possible to grow more but there is shortage of water. As a result there is no scope for more irrigated farming. More land could be irrigated if a modern irrigation system was employed like constructing “night storage tankers”.

There are no users’ associations or cooperatives for irrigated products or for farmers working on irrigated land.

Although there is no competition for water among the different schemes in the kebele there is competition with the neighbouring kebeles/wereda. Farmers who use the irrigation system in Oda Dawata complained about Gonde Shorima kebele's irrigation scheme which is higher up on the river and so uses the water before it reaches Begejo. There has been no violent conflict about this but there is tension.

Whilst the DAs give advice and training to the farmers about farming irrigated land it is beyond their capacity to deal with irrigation infrastructure. The people have complained numerous times to the wereda asking them to help improve the irrigation infrastructure. But they have had no response. Generally the government does not seem to have done much about irrigation in the area, apart from encouraging people to work hard. They provide apple seedlings and there are a few people who grow them in their garden and use manual watering to grow the apple trees and vegetables.

Other farming technologies

Farming methods have changed and farmers now use techniques such as: intercropping, strip sowing, as well as applying various kinds of pesticides and insecticides. Farmers now commonly intercrop potatoes, peas/beans and maize.

Tractors and combine harvesters were introduced to the community during the reign of Emperor H/selassie in Mecro-Begejo zone, but they are no longer available in the kebele. Instead people rent them privately from Iteya town in Hetosa Wereda. Both types of machine have been seen to increase efficiency and productivity and so currently 50-100 people use tractors and 150-200 people use combine harvesters. However, due to their limited availability farmers are not able to use them every time they want to. Moreover, this is possible only in Mecro-Begejo zone.

Automatic threshers were used for the first time during the Derg regime around 1980 EC, by producer cooperatives. Then it was introduced in the 1990s (EC) again and then disappeared. Availability is now through private rental from investors in Iteya wereda. As a result only a few people used them in 2002 and 2003 EC.

A new plough called BBM has been provided to 12 model farmers. The idea was that they would distribute the new ploughs to all other farmers. However none of the farmers are interested in using it and so the model farmers have had no requests. In November 2013 people talked about a new plough introduced by the Assela TVET since April 2013, and which was demonstrated on Mecro school farm land. It is very effective and reduces labour time because it ploughs more widely than the traditional ploughs. It costs 600 birr. So far nobody used it but respondents said that they are planning to use it in future. It is not clear whether this was a second type of plough, or a second attempt to introduce the same plough.

It is now common for most farmers to use improved seeds for wheat, maize and barley. Although improved seeds were first introduced during the regime of Derg it has become widely available and used under the current government. Improved potato seed was introduced very recently by the government and is making a big difference to those who farm potatoes as a cash crop. However, farmers complained that it is not easy to obtain.

Fertilizers were introduced during the reign of emperor H/Selassie but access and widespread usage has expanded under the current government. Recently there is a big push to convince farmers to use urea in addition to DAP, with support from the ATA demonstrating its benefits through selected farmers. Pesticides were introduced by this government and are now being used by most farmers.

Access to improved breeds of cattle has expanded and there is now an expert on artificial insemination in the kebele. FAO provided all the equipment. The man who carries it out pays 6 birr to FOA and charges the farmer 12 birr so makes a profit of 6 birr. There are no improved breeds of shoat in the Kebele. Improved breeds of chickens have been around since the Derg but availability has been improved by the current government. In November 2013 people explained that FAO had left the area but the equipment was left with the kebele and the expert continued to provide the service.

With regard to milk processing technology, churners have just recently been given to the kebele's milk cooperative by FAO. Honey processing technology was also introduced recently by the government but only few farmers rented it.

Livestock

Livestock mix

There are about 5,030 cattle in the Kebele. In April, only 1,020 of these were improved breeds and the remaining were local breeds. People interviewed in November 2013 seemed to say that the number was steadily going up thanks to the AI service easily accessible.

There are about 3,360 locally bred sheep and 235 goats (there are no improved breeds of shoat in the community). There are also 95 horses, 2 mules, 1,180 donkeys and 3,650 chickens out of which 500 are improved chickens.

As grazing land is reducing some households are reducing the number of cattle they have, preferring

instead to do zero grazing with shoat.

Cattle and products

Cattle production

Cattle are raised for milk and to produce calves and oxen for ploughing and for fattening and selling. It is not common in the area to fatten ox at the same time as using them for ploughing because it is resource and time intensive. Instead the community identify cattle for fattening and do not use them for ploughing.

Rearing cattle is fairly labour intensive; they need their shelter cleaned and to be fed, watered and cared for. The labour is usually provided by household members and only a few rich farmers have servants who can look after their cattle. In addition a shelter is required, as well as vaccination and vet services. Due to the limited amount of grazing land in the Kebele there are problems in keeping traditional breeds. They also are not very productive in giving milk and delivering calves regularly, so keeping them at home and providing them fodder is considered a loss in comparison with the resources (time and labour) spent on them. Keeping improved breeds needs more time, resources and care than traditional breeds and they are more vulnerable to disease. The fodder they need is also more expensive and they consume more. However, they are more productive which compensates for what is spent on them.

The main risks in rearing cattle are the different diseases like *Furi*, *aba sanga* and *camel disease*. Improved breeds are particularly vulnerable to disease. Fortunately, there have been no epidemic diseases amongst cattle in the last five years.

Cattle inputs

There is no communal grazing land. Most farmers have their own grazing land but this is usually a small plot as land is too valuable as farm land. They use slopy or loamless land which is less good for farming. In previous times there was more grazing land and farmers used the grazing land for free but now due to the lack of grazing land the community is forced to keep their cattle at home and to provide fodder. This has made improved breeds more popular for the reasons given above. Zero-grazing is therefore common, and people use different types of fodder.

The main source of fodder for improved breed are *fino*, *fagulo*, salt, elephant grass, hay, crop residue, drink production residues, wild oats and *dirkosh* (dried *injera*). Traditional breeds are provided with some crop residue and also use grazing land. People also use molasses and home-prepared fodder which are mainly urea molasses blocks. Those who have improved dairy cows of improved breeds for fattening also try to buy fodder like wheat bar and nug cakes.

Farmers gained access to improved breeds in different ways: some bought them from the wereda agriculture office, others breed them using artificial insemination and cross breeding. There is one trained individual engaged in artificial insemination. He is not a government employee but has made the production of improved breeds in the kebele far more effective than it was before. All the necessary inputs needed for the artificial insemination used to be provided by FAO via the wereda agricultural office. Now that FAO has left the area, the government continues to provide the necessary. When the service was provided by FAO farmers used to pay 12 birr for the service, 6 birr of which was going back to FAO and the other 6 birr were to pay the service provider. People did not say whether the cost of the service has changed since it is provided by the government. The availability of the AI service is said to have made a big difference in the number of improved breeds in the community. Due to the big increase in the number of improved calves that occurred over a period of a few months the kebele was even selected to host the 'national calf day' in September 2013, which was attended by many federal, regional and zonal officials.

There is a vaccination programme for cattle, provided by the vet service which is found in Mecro-Bagejo zone. Farmers do not use fattening medicine but they get medicine for their cattle from the

kebele vet. When it is not available in the kebele they buy it from private drug vendors at Assela town. The farmers are not very happy with the quality of service they get from the vet. They say that it is very expensive and that private vets are cheaper than the government vet in the kebele.

WALQO gives multi-purpose credit for everyone who fulfils their criteria, so one can borrow money to buy cattle.

Cattle sale

Oxen and bulls sales have increased by 10% over the last 5 years. Non-fattened cattle are sold at Hetosa wereda, in Boru market, where the farmers sell it to farmers, traders and butchers. The large traders sell cattle (fattened or not) mainly at Adama and Arsi Negelle. The fattened cattle are sold at Boru market, but the large traders sell them in Adama and Addis Ababa. Some butchers also buy cattle directly from farmers. More than 95% of the cattle are sold at Boru market. The price of cattle varies seasonally and is low during the rainy season in September, October and November because animals fodder is easily available at that time. But the price goes up during the dry season (April, May and June) because animal fodder is expensive and not easily available. The price of cattle over the last 5 years has increased significantly in line with inflation across the country.

Changes in cattle production

There were more cattle in the community ten years ago than today. This is mainly due to a lack of grazing land and the introduction of improved breeds which should be kept at home but give much more milk than local cattle. As a result many farmers are selling three or four local dairy cows replacing them with one improved dairy cow due their high productivity. As a result the cattle in the kebele are of better quality than they were ten years ago due to cross breeding and artificial insemination.

Cattle products production

Milk and butter are the main cattle products in the community. As just said there are more dairy cows in the kebele than there were ten years ago and they are of better quality due to the improved breeds. The main risk in keeping dairy cow is their vulnerability to a disease called breast infection which comes from pest called *majger* and unclean shelter. The main labour required is milking which is done by both male and female household members. Milk is sold to the service cooperative and the butter is extracted by machine.

Inputs for cattle products

The equipment necessary for milking are a jug and water pot made from plastic. Most of the butter is extracted by machine at the cooperative, but there is also a traditional way of extracting butter using a pot, which is shaken by women in the household. The wereda agricultural office in cooperation with DAs gives advice on how to keep the milk and milking materials clean.

Sale of cattle products

Milk sale has increased by 20% over the past five years. Milk is sold to the milk cooperative, to cafes and restaurants and to customers in the kebele. Butter sales have increased by 10%. Butter is sold at Gonde market to customers and traders. Hides and skin sales have increased by 5%; they are sold to traders at Gonde market.

There is a milk cooperative in Mecro-Bagejo zone. All members supply milk and the cooperative sells it at their shop to customers, cafés and restaurants in Gonde town. The milk cooperative has a machine to extract butter, which is also sold. Sometimes traders buy milk and butter from the cooperative to sell in Adama and other towns. The price varies seasonally. Milk products are cheap in September, October and November because of the easy availability of fodder for cattle after the summer season. The price goes up when fodder becomes scarce. But generally there is over-supply of milk and the farmers are not benefitting to the extent that they could, as they struggle to find enough consumers to buy their milk.

Farmers do not sell cattle hides individually in the kebele.

Shoats and products

Shoat production

There are fewer shoats in the community today than there were ten years ago because of the lack of grazing land and less labour to look after them. As children are now sent to school they are unable to herd and employing a herder for shoat is uncommon. Shoat need shelter, vaccinations and grazing land. People do not provide fodder for shoat at home as it is not financially beneficial. As a result the only labour required for shoat is herding which is done by household members. The main risk in rearing shoats is their vulnerability to diseases like *sal*, *ikek*, and pests like *majger* and *dodota*.

Shoat inputs

There are about 3,360 sheep and 235 goats in the kebele all of which are local breeds. Improved breeds are not available in the area. The main source of fodder is grazing land which at certain times of year becomes scarce. Vaccination and treatment for diseases is available at the kebele vet. There have been no epidemic diseases amongst shoat in the last five years in the kebele. *WALQO* gives multi-purpose credit for everyone who fulfils their criteria, so it is possible to borrow money to buy shoat. The DAs do not focus on shoat or provide advice on them.

Shoat sale

Shoat sales have increased by 10% over the past five years. Hides and skins sales have also increased by 5%. These are sold to traders at Gonde market.

Both fattened and non-fattened shoat are sold in Hetosa wereda, at Boru market where farmers sell them to farmers, traders and butchers. More than 95% of the shoat from the Kebele are sold there. The large traders sell shoat on to Adama and Addis Ababa. The price for shoat varies seasonally. They are cheaper in June and July because most farmers sell at this time to buy different farm inputs. They are most expensive during the Easter holiday. The price of shoat has increased significantly over the last five years, due to the overall inflation in the economy.

Shoat product production

There are no shoat products in the kebele except skin and meat.

Shoat product inputs

The equipment used for producing skin is a knife and there is no wool production in the kebele. The wereda agricultural office in cooperation with DAs in the kebele gives advice on how to effectively produce skin without damaging it.

Shoat product sale

Some traders buy skins from farmers on their way to Gonde market and sell them in Assela town to large traders who supply different tannery factories in the country.

There is a traditional tannery at Gonde town; the workers collect cattle skins for their product.

Chickens and eggs

Chicken production

There are more chickens in the community than there were ten years ago but they are frequently threatened by epidemic diseases which then reduce their number significantly. The quality of chickens has improved due to the improved breeds and awareness-raising in the community about the need to provide them more balanced fodder than they did before. The main risk in keeping chickens is that they are vulnerable to a regular epidemic disease called *funga*, which kills large numbers of chickens at once. Chickens production requires building a hut and providing them with

fodder, but the labour inputs needed for chickens are less than for other animals.

Chicken inputs

It is possible to buy hybrid chickens either from the wereda agricultural office or from the market. The wereda agricultural office in collaboration with kebele DAs have been trying to help in chicken production by supplying improved breeds so that the farmers can buy them, but they are unable to rescue chickens from the epidemic disease.

In November 2013 respondents reported that around 125 improved chickens had been provided to 15 farmers based on their financial capacity to take good care of the breeds (ability to construct a shelter and buy the required feed). The poultry had been supplied by the Micro and Small Enterprises office of the wereda; this was on credit and the government followed up on the distribution and health of the chickens.

Chicken sale

Farmers produce chickens for sale but they are not effective in production due to the frequent epidemic diseases. The farmers sell their chickens at Gonde market to customers and traders.

Egg production

Improved breed chickens are better than the local chickens at laying eggs.

Inputs for egg production

Chickens need special food, a mixture of maize, grinded bone and sand. The wereda agricultural office in cooperation with DAs gives advice to provide balanced fodder for chickens, so that they lay good eggs regularly.

Sale of eggs

The community sell most of their eggs on their way to Gonde market to traders and some also sell eggs in Gonde town local market to customers and traders. The traders sell eggs to different cafés and restaurants and sometimes they sell on to large traders in Adama. In the last five years egg sales have increased by 5%.

Bees and honey

Bee production

There are more bees in the community than there were ten years ago; bee keeping has been improving because of awareness created by the DAs and the introduction of modern beehives. The main risk to the bees is from the pesticides used on the farmland this also kills bees. Bee keeping requires hives and a safe compound. The beehives require protection from other animals and as a result the farmers often build a shelter for the bee hive. Labour is only required for extracting the honey.

Bee inputs

Farmers make their beehives ready and the bees enter in it; every group of bees has their own queen. Modern beehives have been expanding in the community and the honey can only be extracted by trained farmers. The wereda agricultural office in cooperation with kebele DAs have contributed a lot in introducing modern beehives and in their management, but they have done nothing towards resourcing them.

In November 2013 people reported that in August 15 transitional and 3 modern hives had been distributed, and by then all had bees in them. The hives were made by local farmers trained by the DAs and the queens were reared by the farmers with support from the DAs. This had been introduced by the recently arrived DA (arrived after the first fieldwork in April 2013, see below).

Bee sale

There is no buying and selling of bees in the kebele.

Honey production

Honey is prepared for the market by kilogram. White and red honeys are the two types of honey which are found in the kebele. The wereda agricultural office in cooperation with DAs gives advice on how to extract honey effectively without letting the bees go. In the past with traditional hives they would lose the bees when they took the honey.

Inputs for making honey

A honey filter is used for processing honey.

Sale of honey

The community sell honey at Gonde town local market and also at Assela town to customers and large traders. These large traders sell it to tej bet and other customers. Honey sales have increased by 5% in the Kebele over the last 10 years.

Income from farming

Overall the income farmers are making from farming has gone up. However, they complain that this has not been proportionate with the cost of the inputs needed.

The poor female headed household sold wheat, potatoes and beans and made 4,800 birr from the sale of produce. The female headed successful household produced and sold potatoes, pulses, wheat and vegetables. She admitted that compared to five years ago she produced a lot more. She got an income of 10,000 birr for potatoes produced from $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare of land. She held back her other cash crops until the price would rise. The poor farmer is now growing potatoes and lentils which are more profitable than the wheat and beans he grew before. Last year he made 5,000 birr from the sale of potatoes and 500 birr from lentils. The successful businessman sold potatoes and wheat and made around 80,000 birr last year, which was lower than in previous years as the price for both went down. The successful farmer sold potatoes, wheat and beans at the farm gate and to traders in Gonde town. From his harvest last year he made a total of 67,000 birr (33,000 from potatoes, 25,000 from wheat and 8,000 birr from beans).

Government smallholder farming interventions

The role of the wereda agricultural office

The wereda agricultural office oversees and advises the DAs although they are directly managed by the Kebele Manager who reports on their activities to the wereda. They have also provided useful inputs and trainings to farmers. Those mentioned were: the introduction and training on the use of modern bee hives, the sale of hybrid chickens, training on how to keep milk hygienically. The office is supposed to oversee farming practice across the wereda encouraging new technologies and good practice. It is also responsible for supplying farming inputs through the Service Cooperative and its own office.

The wereda agricultural office is involved in community development and rehabilitation programmes such as soil conservation, natural resource and watershed management. Currently they are working with the community's participation on terracing and watershed management. Wereda officials closely control and monitor these activities.

Local agricultural research institutes

The Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institution provides improved wheat seeds at a 2 yearly interval. Other respondents explained that they try to provide improved seeds every year. This helps the farmers to get good production. This intervention, advice and other resources reach the farmers

through the model farmers who the following year distribute the duplicated seed to others. There is a demonstration day when the DAs, officials from the wereda and from the Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institution observe the progress of crops on the farm land. The centre also provides improved beans seed, and bio fertiliser which is used for peas and beans. The centre selects model farmers mostly from the Begejo zone and train them annually. They interact with the farmers through the DAs.

There are some complaints about the selectivity of the support provided by the Kulumsa ARC. Non-selected farmers say that they are at a disadvantage as they have to buy the seeds from the selected farmers at high price. People also noted that the Kulumsa ARC mainly select farmers who have good farmland and are economically well-off. Others said these are mostly farmers whose land borders the land of the ARC.

The research institute also provides paid agricultural labour locally.

Agricultural extension

There are three Development Agents (DAs) in the kebele, one of whom is the head and a member of the Kebele cabinet. Each DA has responsibility for one of the zones in the kebele. Their role is to follow up farming activities in their zone by training and advising farmers to adopt new technologies and agricultural inputs. The kebele manager monitors them on daily basis through the daily report that they write and he reports to the wereda administration. In the past they were monitored by the Wereda Agricultural Office but since this responsibility passed to the kebele manager it has become more efficient.

There has been a change in the way that the DAs work over the past five years. In the past they worked every day at their office, but they are now supposed to go to the villages and follow up on the advice and training they have given. They are meant to visit farmers to check how they are farming, how they fatten livestock, look after their bees, raise shoats and chickens etc. This change in approach has brought real change as the DAs now work closely with the farmers and follow up on the advice given. They also work closely with female headed households. The kebele women affairs' representative noted that DAs were a lot busier than in the past because of the close follow-up they give to farmers' activities. They also work on irrigation and this keeps them busy at times of the year when they used to be less busy.

In November 2013 some respondents highlighted various improvements in the extension services in the kebele. Two diploma-holder DAs had been replaced by BSc holders and the new DAs were said to have improved the services to the community. The wereda agricultural office was also trying to improve its services by having regular discussions with the DAs, letting them give inputs on the way forward and discussing the challenges they face. At the same time, there was a sense that there was an overload of strategies 'spread down by the central government' and government employees, who were not given enough time, failed to implement this continuous stream of new technologies etc. timely, which the community was complaining about.

DAs get regular training to update their knowledge on watershed, irrigation and different technologies to share with the farmers. The DAs first train the model farmers and zone leaders in each zone. Then the model farmers and zone leaders organise the farmers to come to their farm land and they too receive training. Demonstrations are done on individual farmland as there is no space or land at the Farmers Training Centre.

Each year there is at least one demonstration day when DAs, officials from the wereda and from Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institution observe the progress of crops on the farm land. There are general meetings at the kebele office for all sub-kebele leaders at which they are given advice. Officials and the DAs do not provide advice and resources directly to the wives of farmers. Usually they have contact with the heads of household male or female.

The Farmers' Training Centre (FTC)

The FTC has no land so although it is used by the DAs for training it cannot be used for demonstration. Instead demonstrations have to be done on the land of individual farmers. The FTC is located in Mecro very near to the main road. It is in the same compound as the Kebele Office and as a result it is frequently used for meetings at Kebele level which may or may not be about farming.

Mobilisation of local farmers

Model farmers

Model farmers are selected by the Kebele. Most of them were selected before 2010. They have a key role in sharing their success in using new technologies and techniques with other farmers. They are the group of farmers who the DAs train first, the idea being that ideas and ways of working will spread through their good practice.

Since 2010, one female model farmer has been selected. She was selected in 2013 from Makiro-Bagejo zone, based on her achievement in farm activities. So far there is no champion farmer in the kebele.

Development Teams

The sub-kebele structures (zones, development teams and 1-5s) are supposed to play a pivotal role in agricultural growth. The development teams are made up of groups of 1-5s. They form the basis of development activity and agricultural extension. The idea is that they provide a forum in which experience can be shared and people can learn from each other's mistakes. There was a feeling amongst some that the development teams could be more effective if the farmers were given more training and advice on how to implement modern farming techniques. But there were also more fundamental issues and misgivings about the DTs and the 1-5s.

For instance in November 2013 the zone leaders explained that they are trained every year at wereda level to increase productivity by using improved seeds, fertiliser, to farm in line, to use improved breeds especially through AI and to use improved beehives and poultry. Then they train DT leaders to implement this at the grassroots level through the 1-5s, supposed to have a '*significant role for the economic development of the zone and kebele*'. However even they recognised that '*practically there are no 1-5s functioning... they are only on paper*'. So, the knowledge they acquired at wereda level is 'suspended' at DT level since there are no active 1-5s.

DTs are also supposed to follow-up on how farmers comply with the agreed farming calendar. As one of the zone leaders explained

They have a meeting every two weeks so the zone leaders ask development leaders if there is anyone who did not farm so far, then development leaders expose such individuals and zone leaders make them to stand before the meeting to shame them and ask explanation and warn them to farm within a few days. They blame them saying "do you want to be obstacle of our zone development".

But this tight follow-up is intensely disliked by a number of people who "complain saying, leave me alone; I know what to do and what not to do". Another zone leader explained that ordinary members are not happy with the follow-up and control mechanisms.

1-5s

People have been organised into 1-5s in the last three years, on a residential basis. Respondents did not have a favourable view of 1-5s and saw them as a way for the government to control people (poor farmer). They were considered to have weakened traditional labour sharing without replacing it with something more effective. Whilst *Debo* and *Jigi* work on the basis of relationships between people the 1-5s were not proving effective as people did not want work together in forced groups.

They pointed out that when you asked people with whom you have a relationship to work for you, you know they would do a good job. This was not always the case with your 1-5 group.

In November 2013 even the zone leaders recognised that there were a lot of problems with the 1-5s. They generally were not functional. As just said a number of people also resented the control exerted on their activities through the DTs and 1-5s. Some wanted to have 1-5s with their relatives and families rather than neighbours. Others appreciated the opportunity of socialising with neighbours, but did not want to work in group. Yet others did not want to be in a 1-5 with neighbours they do not like.

Recent crop interventions

The agricultural extension programme focuses on wheat. The government and Kulumsa's agricultural research institution provides improved wheat seeds at a 2 yearly interval to the model farmers, who then have to sell some of their output as seeds. Improved seed has also been provided by government for maize, barley, lentil and some spices.

They provided BBM (new plough) to 12 model farmers to distribute it to all other farmers however, there has been no interest in using it. The DAs also advise farmers to do: line planting, composting, intercropping and crop rotation. Advice is also provided on the quantity of inputs a farmer should use e.g. 100 quintal of fertilizer and seed for a hectare of land.

Recent livestock interventions

Concerning livestock the programme is focused on breeding improved dairy cows through the use of artificial insemination (AI) services. There is an AI service provider and a vet who are working to improve the health and breed of cattle in the Kebele. FAO supports this programme by providing training for farmers, including agricultural extension workers, to improve the health condition of livestock and their breed. The objective of FAO is to reduce sexual transmitted diseases (STDs) by subsidising AI and increasing the number of crossbred cattle. In the first instance training was given to selected model farmers, particularly for women to use AI for their cows. Training was then given to all those who used the service on how to care for the crossbred calves. FAO focuses on women's participation because women often care for the cows in giving fodder, cleaning their homes, etc.

The extension programme also focuses on poultry, fattening ox and sheep. Training is provided in meetings to create awareness for farmers. Commercial poultry are distributed by the agricultural and rural development office and most farmers have benefited from this intervention. The problem has been that the hybrid chickens are more vulnerable to diseases and because of this and weak management most of them died.

Viral vaccination is free of charge for cattle, other vaccinations like rabies is chargeable from 50 to 60 birr. There is a fee of 12 birr for the AI service. The extension workers advice farmers to: record their income and expenditure on livestock (breeding or fattening), to use zero grazing and to use livestock tablets every three months to maintain the health of their livestock.

Sheep are not included in the package though farmers are rearing them successfully for both consumption and as a source of income. The extension workers said that the weather conditions are good for sheep and grazing is available for them.

There are some innovative farmers who use zero grazing, plant trees for animal feed and AI service, and who take care of their livestock's health.

Credit for farming

The wereda and the service cooperatives do not provide direct credit to farmers for fertilisers and seeds. WALQO (Afan Oromo abbreviation for Oromia Credit and Saving Association) is the only government affiliated MFI in the kebele, which provides credit for everyone whether they are rich or poor. WALQO will lend to a first time borrower up to 2,000 birr and the borrowers are expected to

pay back their credit plus 300 birr interest within a one year period. Applicants have to be resident in the kebele and must have assets such as land, livestock, or eucalyptus to be eligible for credit. Those who need credit borrow the money in groups of five people, so that if one of the members fails to pay back his credit at the end of the year the remaining members are in charge of paying for him, and if the group also fail to pay they sell his permanent assets to collect their credit. Before getting credit the group should propose clearly what they are going to do with the money (e.g. fattening, buying fertilisers or seeds, contracting land for farming or even for trade). So far there is no debt in the kebele.

There is no village savings and loan association or RUSACCO, no private MFI or NGO providing credit and no other credit source. Farmers do not borrow money from banks. The community are developing their saving culture at WALQO and different banks.

Producer co-operatives

There are no producer cooperatives in the kebele apart from the milk cooperative. This is based in Mecro-Bagejo zone. All the members supply milk and the cooperative sells it at their shop to customers, cafés and restaurants in Gonde town. The milk cooperative has a machine to extract butter which is also sold. The milk cooperative was started by the Service Cooperative.

Government Service Co-operatives

The cooperative was started in 1972 EC. It initially provided fertilizer by credit. It now sells other household consumables (sugar, salt, blankets, soap and cooking oil) as well as farming inputs such as: tools, fertiliser, improved seed, pesticides and weed killer. The inputs come from Hetosa Farmer's Union. Farm inputs are available for both members and non-members but consumables are available only for members. The cooperative also has a tractor which can be rented out by any farmer. The SC has 887 members i.e. more than 90% of the farmers in the community. The profits are distributed to members as dividends according to how many shares they have. The price of one share is 400 birr and one farmer can have maximum four. All members get equal inputs irrespective of their share. Priority is given to members for inputs but the price remains the same for all.

There are sometimes shortages of inputs and there have been occasions when the SC failed to get improved seeds at the right time. For this and other reasons, the SC is now in a situation where it has a supply of 'old' improved wheat seeds that farmers do not want to buy (see above) while the government said that it would not bring another lot before this lot is sold. The SC has complained about this to the wereda and zone and asked them to change their decision. In contrast with the difficulties with regard to improved seeds, there has been an improvement on the availability of fertilizer. There is also lack of weed killer. It is mainly the wheat "topic weed killer" which the SC finds difficult to access. This year from March onwards they are selling fertiliser but have not yet started to sell improved seeds as they lacked the budget to buy all the necessary inputs.

The cooperative also buys wheat from farmers which they sell onto the Hetosa Farmers' Union. The milk cooperative also comes under the Service Cooperative and this buys milk from the community both members and non-members. The Cooperative sells the milk and butter. 5% of farmers sell their outputs to the service cooperative.

There have been some problems with the SC. Two of the cashiers have been found to be corrupt. One had stolen 70,000 birr and the other up to 60,000 birr. Both were jailed for some months. They have now been released and are paying back what they stole on yearly basis (poor farmer). But as some respondents explained, these events undermined farmers' trust in the SC. They were the losers as the money stolen was their money.

There were problems when a private input provider opened up and was selling inputs at a cheaper price than the SC. The DAs tried to persuade the farmers that the private provider was selling expired products but the farmers found they got similar results from both. The SC faced a financial

crisis as demand for its inputs dropped. So the local government made other private providers of agricultural inputs illegal.

In November 2013 people reported that the wereda officials wrote a letter to the kebele chairman to request the SC to buy the wheat, barley, peas, beans and lentils harvest of this year. The government was facilitating access to credit for the SC, from the Hetosa Union which would lend more than 1 million birr. Officials explained that the objective of this measure was to benefit the farmers as they would not be cheated by private buyers, the SC would sell their products at better price and the benefit would be for the SC members.

Investors

There is only one investor in the kebele who came from Assela town; he has been given land to extract stone. The land is not leased but given for his use. However, he renews his license and pays tax annually, at the wereda. He employs a total of 30 people on a daily labour basis. Most of his employees are from Bagego area which is where the quarry is located. He also does stone crushing. Some people, including the school, complain about the noise pollution but the kebele manager said that these people exaggerated because they did not like the idea of an outsider benefitting from their resources. The investor helps the kebele on request, by giving money and free transport for local development programmes.

The Gonde flour factory, while not located in the kebele, is also assisting the kebele on request and involves in different development activities. It has a big impact on the community's economy. There are more than 100 permanent employees and many daily labourers. Most of the employees are from Oda Dawata. The factory provides the workers with flour on credit with some discount; this is then deducted from their salary. However, workers also suffer from respiratory diseases due to the lack of safety equipment.

Diversification

Most of the community (90% and above) make a living from farming. For rich households the wives would not be involved in work outside that of the house and farm. But the wives of middle wealth and poor households may do waged labour and produce and sell local drinks like *areki*. Young men and boys from rich households also engage in farming activities with their family and go to school. But most of the poor young and adult men engage in wage labour in addition to their farm work at home in order to get by. Young women and girls from rich households engage in assisting their mother different domestic work. The difference is that in addition to this most young women and girls from poor households would also be expected to do waged labour and help with the making of local drinks for sale.

Trade

Trading in the community

Trade in the community is relatively limited; there are no large traders and only a few small or middle traders locally, because of the proximity of all villages to Gonde local market where farmers can easily sell their produce themselves. As explained earlier there is some trade of improved seeds, although the Service Cooperative is still supposed to play the main role in this. As for the outputs, the SC did not buy any for the last two years but in November 2013 people mentioned that this year there was a plan that it would buy 1,000 quintals by borrowing 700,000 birr from the Hetosa Union. Others mentioned a letter from the wereda which requested the kebele leaders to support this action, whereas the government arranged credit from Hetosa Union for more than 1 million birr. Officials explained that this was to avoid farmers to be cheated by private buyers.

Most farmers sell their wheat to traders settled in Gonde, transporting it with donkeys. Traders provide lorries for farmers with large production volumes. Most potatoes and irrigated crops are sold at the farm gate to traders who come with lorries.

Trading of most important cash crop - Potatoes

Self-trader

The self-trader trades potatoes in January. He has been trading since 2001 EC. He has seen an improvement in profit since he started trading. He sells his potatoes at the farm gate to large traders, which more profitable as it reduces the number of middleman. Two or three years ago all the farmers transported all their crops to market by donkey which reduced their profit due to the transport costs. In the last year he made a profit of 15,000 birr. He does not pay any market tax as he sells all of his production at his farm gate or from home. He feels his income could be improved by working hard and increasing the productivity of his farm.

Trading of second cash crop - Beans

'Middle woman' trader

The second important crop is beans; there is a very high demand for beans so they are more profitable than wheat. However there is also a supply shortage so it is hard to trade more. The middle woman trader buys directly from farmers on the market. The main buyers of this pulse are consumers. If she manages to collect a full quintal, she sells it to a large trader at Gonde town. She uses a horse cart to transport the pulse from Itiya and Boru to Gonde. As with trading wheat the large traders fix the price particularly during harvesting season. She gets a profit of 1 birr per kilo on average. She uses the profit for household consumption expenditures. Due to high competition and supply shortage she does not manage to scale up her activities.

Small trader

The small trader used to buy beans from various farmers and sell them to a large trader. However, the competition became high and due to her other commitments (agricultural and domestic work including child care) she did not have time so she stopped trading pulses.

Middle male trader

The male middle trader traded beans with wheat eight months in a year except from July to October when this crop is not available. He started trading eight years ago, with wheat. There is no problem related to collecting and transporting beans. He buys beans by kilogram directly from the farmers, at his store. Large traders provide their own transportation and buy the beans from him. He self-finances his purchases.

Most of the time he buys beans from the same farmers and sells them to different large traders, but he gives priority to his customers and those who pay in cash at the time of delivery. Some large traders pay them after selling what they bought from him. He decides the price. Most of the time he makes five birr profit per quintal. Last year he made a profit of only 2,000 birr because beans were not as easily available as wheat to buy in large quantity.

The problem with trading this crop is market instability created by the exporting of beans abroad. Exporters then say that the price has gone down on the international market and they buy it from local producer at low price. As a result there are times when local traders do not make any profit or even make a loss due to such inconsistency. He said that the large exporters are determining prices as they want. Trading beans could be improved if government monitored the price. He said that he cannot understand why the prices should fluctuate so dramatically within two days. For example if one quintal of beans is sold 700 birr today, the next day the traders say that the price is 600 birr. This is troubling, and highlights for him the need for stability to the market.

Crop traders' activities

Big trader

There are no big traders in the kebele. They are all based in Gonde town.

Middle trader

The crop middle trader tries to buy all crops which are expected to be profitable. Usually she buys maize, barley, sorghum, peas, lentils and *misir* from farmers and sells them to consumers in the market. She engages in trading in these crops throughout the year as they are available. *Misir* is very profitable. The demand is high but due to a shortage of supply she cannot trade more of it. She also trades wheat on a small scale.

She does not know the total profit she made in the last year because she uses the money immediately to buy household consumables or to buy more crops to trade. On average she gets 50 to 60 birr profit per quintal. She started off trading wheat and through the experience she gained from wheat trading she started trading in other crops.

She works alone and does not have a servant or anybody else to help. She has never had any support from government or other concerned bodies. She has also not received any education. In addition to her trade activities she is involved in farming activities on her husband's farm.

The trading activity is important to improve the household's livelihood. The profit helps her to rent land and buy inputs. She said that if lorries were available in Gonde and she had enough money, she could have done really well from business. But she did not want to take credit.

Middle trader

In addition to wheat and beans, the middle trader also sometimes trades peas and barley. He trades barley for two months in a year because there is not enough supply for the market to trade it all year round. The farmers tend to use barley for consumption. He trades peas and beans for eight months of the year but their availability fluctuates, unlike wheat. Wheat is the most profitable crop because there is enough supply and it is possible to make a good profit by buying it in large quantity. This does not work for other crops since the supply is limited.

He feels that the way that prices are agreed between middle traders and large traders is not fair. The large traders always make a better profit than he does. To run his business he has some savings and he also borrows from large traders when necessary. Last year his total profit was 8,000 birr. He has not received any support from government for his business. He does not employ anyone; everything is covered by him and family members. Besides trade he is engaged in farm activities.

When he started trading 8 years ago the market was stable and predictable but now things change. Often the market is unpredictable and unstable and as a result he is always worried about what he has bought until he sells it. He has had no education until last year.

Small trader

The female small trader currently only trades her own produce (potatoes). She has given up other trading activities and is busy with agricultural activities.

Self-trader

Since she married (and she is now 50 years old) the main source of income of the self-trader has been her own production. She sells wheat during the harvest season to cover household expenses (land tax, clothing, social and political contributions) and keeps some back to sell later when the price has risen. She sells a large amount of wheat to a large trader in the harvest season and then sells again in the summer if there is still a surplus after seed and family consumption. She also sells a little wheat on market days to cover daily household expenses like coffee, sugar, salt, soap, iddir and religious contributions. Her agricultural production has improved due to the new techniques that she is using.

She was not sure how much wheat she sold or how much profit she got in the last 12 months. But she estimated that she sold 15 quintals. The price she gets for it varies depending on the season but on average it could be 600 birr/quintal and so she would have earned 9,000 birr.

She does not pay any market tax.

Self-trader

The female self-trader sells beans and potatoes. Some years are good for potato production and other years better for bean production. It depends on the weather. Potatoes need rain, beans vary and some years the production is good while in other years even with similar weather conditions and inputs they fail. Therefore planting both helps her to stabilise her source of income. Last year she sold potatoes from the end of October to December. She produces potatoes using rain water. In good years for beans she sells them during the sowing season when the price is higher.

Last year she sold 2 quintals of beans at 1,200 birr/quintal so she made 2,400 birr. The potato production was not significant last year. In addition she sells other crops produced by the household like peas and vegetables. These are sold when there is a surplus.

Self-trader

The male self-trader trades his surplus in beans and peas, from August to September. Pulses are more profitable than other crops. He said he did not know how the price is set but he thinks it is by the traders and this is unfair because they set the price as they want. He makes 3,000 birr profit per year from pulses. He is a farmer and has no other business; only selling his farm products. He has not been involved in education over the last year.

Livestock trade

Women do not engage in livestock trade in the Kebele. However, most households have at least one ox for fattening and then sell it. With the money they tend to buy two bulls or they use the money to improve their agricultural production. Households also tend to keep more than one sheep to sell for holidays when the price goes up.

Livestock trader

In the last twelve months he bought and sold at least 180 cattle, of which 160 local breed. In the local breeds 70% were *masena* that is, cows which are unable to give birth or have stopped reproducing and are sold for slaughter. The remaining were bulls.

He started trading cattle more than three years ago. He trades from September to May: during the rainy season there is no market and it is difficult to manage cattle. He buys cattle from Sagure market in Sagure wereda and Boru market in Hetosa wereda. He sells mostly at Boru market and butchers also come to his house to buy. The traders buying his cattle sell to butchers in Adama. The price of the cattle is determined by the market and varies depending on the supply. The price of cattle is low from October to December, as farmers easily fatten cattle due to the availability of fodder, and they sell them during this period. It increases from January to May because in this period fodder is expensive and not easily available. For example the price of one quintal of fagulo (cattle fodder) is 650 birr in March but in the summer season grazing land is easily available so farmers do not have to buy fodder which results in a drop in price from October to December.

He was not willing to say what his total profit was for last year but he makes a profit of 200-500 birr for one cow. He pays a tax of ten birr per head of cattle when he buys from the market. He does not engage in selling shoats. Generally he self-finances his purchases but occasionally if he needs money he borrows from friends. He does not have business license. He does not employ anyone; all work is covered by his family members.

Livestock trade is a good business; if you work hard you can make some profit. It could be improved by fattening some of the bulls before selling them which would mean that he would get a better price. For example one can buy a bull for 10,000 birr and sell it after fattening for 20,000-25,000 birr. The fattening takes about five months.

Livestock product trade

There are no female middle traders of livestock products. Women sell their own produce at the market. There is a traditional tannery at Gonde town and the workers collect cattle skins. Shoaat hides can be sold at the market. All other livestock products, except milk, are sold on the market either to consumers or traders. Before 2004 EC milk was not sold in the area, except some people who sold it to tea houses in the town.

There are no middleman traders for butter in the kebele because there is a milk cooperative which extracts butter from the milk supplied by its members and sells it to different customers and traders in Gonde town. The profits are shared amongst the members.

There is no middleman for honey; the producers sell it themselves to shops and customers.

There are two middlemen trading eggs; they buy them from farmers in the villages and when farmers are on their way to the market. They sell the eggs to cafés and restaurants in Gonde and Assela towns. During the holidays they also sell them in Adama to large traders. There is one middleman who trades hides and also eggs. He buys both products from farmers on their way to market. He sells hides to large traders in Assela town, who supply it to different tanneries in the country. There is no wool in the kebele.

Livestock Product Middleman

The respondent is a middleman for eggs and hides, he started trading eggs in 1989 EC and hide in 1996 EC. Seasonality affects the availability of eggs. They are mostly available in the summer season because there are no crops to harvest so people sell eggs to be able to buy salt, coffee and other consumables. At other times of the year households use their eggs for consumption rather than selling them. In addition students sell eggs in September and at New Year in order to buy pens, exercise books and clothes for school. The sale of hides is not as seasonal, but it is more easily available during the holidays and summer time.

He buys both products from farmers on their way to market and also on the market place. He sells the eggs to cafés and restaurants in Gonde and Assela towns and also to shops in Assela town. In addition to this during the holidays he also sells eggs in Adama to large traders. He sells hides to large traders in Assela town, who supply it to different tanneries in the country. He sells eggs to different people but he has three cafe customers in Gonde who he supplies regularly. He generally sells hides to the same person in Assela but sometimes he also sells in Iteya.

In the last twelve months he made 5,000 birr profit. He does not take credit but finances himself everything necessary to run his business. He pays market tax when he sells on the market (7 birr for one day). He does not employ anyone but runs the business on his own. He is also farming.

SMEs

SMEs in the community

There are not many SMEs in the community as the majority of households generate most of their income through selling farm products. Those that exist are small scale and more often than not have no employees.

Skilled production

There is one carpenter, working full time and producing furniture (bife, sofa, chairs, tables, beds and chest). In the past there were two blacksmiths and two tanners; but nobody wanted to continue in this line of work after they died. As a result the community goes to town to seek these skills. There is also no block maker or wool product maker.

There are about five weavers who weave part-time. They produce *netela* (locally produced cloth) which is made into traditional clothes such as dresses and various sized scarves (*Nitela, anget-libis*,

Gabi, mekenet etc).

Most Muslim women are involved in making baskets to sell, particularly in summer when they have time for such work. They also do spinning to make thread from cotton using traditional methods. The thread is used for making traditional clothes. Amhara women are involved in spinning but only for their household.

Livestock and products SMEs

There are two people who buy cattle and distribute them to other people to fatten, they then share the profit. The number of people engaged in this type of business has been increasing in the last five years as the idea of fattening cattle is relatively new in the area.

In the last five years a milk cooperative has been set up in the Kebele. The cooperative extracts butter from the milk collected using a machine and sells milk, butter and yogurt. There are about 40 members who provide milk on a daily basis. The cooperative sells the milk products and distributes the profit monthly to members via their dividend.

Some farmers are involved in egg production and sale on a large scale. E.g. about 20 farmers produce up to 80 eggs per week for sale. There are about five farmers who produce honey to sell.

Local drinks and food

Almost all Amhara women are involved in making *areki* and selling it at home or in the market. Some women are involved in large scale production of *areki* (average 15 litres per week). Some women also make *tela* and sell it at home with *areki*. In Mecro and Begejo about 90% of women are involved in the petty production of *areki* and *tela* and about 10% engage in petty food production.

Also in Mecro and Begejo there are small tea houses and “restaurants” (houses selling something to eat). There are not many but it is difficult to estimate the exact number.

Productive co-operatives

Gonde-Mecro dairy product cooperative was established with 18 members. FAO provided a cream separator and a churner with different accessories and spare parts. The cooperative now has 60 members; 29 women and 31 men. Members bring milk to the cooperative in the mornings. They are paid monthly for the milk at a rate of 8 birr per litre. A person can provide 5 litres of milk per day as a maximum quota. At certain times of year this quota is reduced due to lack of demand e.g. during fasting time. The cooperative extract butter from milk using a machine and sells milk, butter and yogurt.

There are also three stone cooperatives (described under youth livelihoods as these are youth cooperatives) and a recently established (between April and November 2013) sugar cooperative which is also a youth cooperative (10 educated youth with Gr10 or diploma who got 50,000 birr credit from WALQO). Between April and November 2013 a new women cooperative of 28 women was also established and is actively working – also supplying food items (oil and sugar) coming from a government-controlled company every two months. See in the section on women livelihood interventions. There is another such cooperative in the making which will include both men (7) and women (3).

Natural resource sale

Approximately 40 people (often women) are involved in selling wood for fuel and house construction, collecting it from Chilalo mountain areas in Akiya and Chebote zones. Although this is illegal they have not yet been stopped by the kebele. Making charcoal is also illegal but there are about ten people (mostly poor people who have no land) who make charcoal at night in the zones of Akiya and Chebote.

The sale of eucalyptus is a common source of income. Men sell large poles of it (atana), which is

used for splitting or for house construction. The branches are also sold. In November 2013 people said that there was less eucalyptus growing as people had been made aware of the negative effects of this tree on the soil. There are also about 50 people who collect grass from their own grazing land and sell it as livestock fodder.

In the wereda there are five non-farm cooperatives engaged in stone production, each with 20-30 members. The first two were established in 2000 EC as a way to generate work for the youth. Hulegeb and Oda Dawata cooperatives have been the most successful. Although there are some dropouts, each of the cooperatives has at least 20 active members. More information on the Hulegeb cooperative is given in the section on youth livelihood interventions.

The cooperatives do not employ anyone as they work themselves, extracting stone and selling it at the place it is produced. The major constraints they face is lack of capital and so, they only sell what they produce without adding value to it by processing it in any way and as a result the profit is not very good. If they had a stone crusher they would get a better price for the stone they extract. There are middlemen who buy the stone and process it by crusher and they get a better price than the cooperatives. Nevertheless the cooperative in Oda Dawata has been changing the living standards of most of its members and their families.

Petty production

None mentioned.

Service enterprises

None mentioned.

Food processing services

Almost all Amhara women are involved in making *areki* and selling it at home and in the market. Some women are involved in large scale production of *areki*; they produce at least once in a week an average amount of 15 litres. Some women are involved in making *tela* and selling it at home with *areki*.

In the two sub-kebeles of Mecro and Begejo, there are small tea houses and “restaurants” (houses in selling something to eat). These are not many but it is difficult to estimate the exact number. Generally in these two sub-kebeles, about 90% of women are involved in petty production of local drinks (*areki* and *tela*) and about 10% of them engage in petty food production.

Hospitality services

There are no hotels, restaurants or bars in the kebele. In Mecro and Begejo there are about 20 very small cafes and tea houses. There are no employees for these activities; they are run by the families concerned from their houses.

Health services

There is a health centre and health post in the kebele. The health centre is in Mecro and the health post is in Akiya (farthest sub-kebele).

At the boundary of the Kebele near to Gonde there is holy water spring and many people come from far away weredas and kebeles to use it. There is also a witchdoctor in Chebote who seems to be powerful and influential. He is the only person who has a generator for lighting and people call his compound “the camp”. People were not willing to talk about him.

There are no private clinics or pharmacies in the Kebele.

Shops

There are approximately 30 very small shops attached to people's homes. They sell soap, sugar, tea,

coffee, salt, sweets, biscuits, chewing gum, oil, kerosene, soft drinking, cigarette, etc. The number of such shops has doubled in the last five years.

Leisure services

There are no community leisure services. The youth, both girls and boys, play handball, volley ball and football on the schools' grounds. Some of the farmers have TVs and DVD/VCD players and a few of them have a satellite dish. Their children and other young people watch movies and other programmes they like.

People also go to the mosques and churches and these are used as place of entertainment.

Petty services

There is a young man who repairs mobiles, watch, TVs and radios. He is about 23 years old and lives in Begejo.

Transport

There are about ten people in the Kebele who provide transport using donkeys. They are mainly used to transport stones from where it is quarried to the customers; they also transport wood and different trees.

There are also some 12 people provide transport using horse-carts. They transport both people and goods. There no other forms of transport in the Kebele.

Government support for non-farm activities

In April, it was fair to say that non-farm activities had not been given attention by the government; there is no credit for available for non-farm activities. This was backed up by those interviewed, none of whom had received government support for non-farm activities. The exception was the youth stone producer cooperative that was given land by the kebele and three of the five cooperatives (in the wereda) were given credit. There are no taxes on those who engage in such non-farm activities.

In November 2013 there seemed to be a new stream of activities initiated by the Micro and Small Enterprises structures, aimed to organise youth and women in small groups to start different types of activities including non-farm activities such as trading (government-subsidised) sugar and oil. These groups were given credit by WALQO or so was the intention. Apparently some groups had already started to function but some people did not know about them and were saying that they had heard about the idea but not seen implementation yet.

Non-farm employment

It was difficult to know how many people from the Kebele have formal government jobs outside the kebele because there is no recorded information. One of the model farmer's daughters has an NGO job. There are about 100 people who work as domestic workers in homes. As said earlier there are permanent employees from Oda Dawata amongst the 100 permanent employees there. Generally, local factories in the area (Gonde flour factory and the malt factory) have an affirmative action policy towards female Gr10 and degree completers. But there are many youth who did not complete their education and search for a job.

In the kebele the government organisations (5 schools, 1 FTC, 1 health post and 1 health centre) employ the following workers – but they are not all from the kebele:

- Teachers (M = 33, F = 40, Total = 73).
- Health service providers at health centre (M = 8, F = 9, Total = 17)
- At health post there are HEWs (F = 2, M = 0, Total = 2)
- Vet service provider 1 male. There is also a provider of artificial insemination but he is not paid a salary by the government.

- Development agents (M = 2, F = 1, Total = 3).

In addition there are about 4 guards for the schools and 2 teachers who are employed by the local community.

In November 2013 people mentioned that in the wereda as a whole, 60 unemployed youth having graduated with diplomas or certificates or having completed Gr10 or Gr12 in 2011 or 2012 have been employed as primary school teachers in the wereda schools. Among them there are 7 young men from Oda Dawata. They were recruited on merit based on a competition.

The total numbers of workers in the kebele in 2012 were: males = 680 and females = 433.

The 2012 Kebele structure in rank:

- Kebele cabinet - men= 6 Female = 2; Total = 8
- Party structure - men = 16 Female = 4, total = 20
- Zone 3, leaders in these zone male = 21, Females = 3
- Development team = 29, male = 142 Female = 3, total = 145 (members)
- Development Army = male = 160, Female = 3, total = 163.

Some of these statistics are captured in the figure below.



Inward investment

There is only one investor in the kebele who came from Assela town. He was given land to extract stone. The land is not leased but given for his use. He employs a total of 30 people on a daily labour basis. Most of his employees are from Bagego area where his investment is situated. There is no other inward investment.

Migration

Out-migration for work and remittances

Migration is becoming an increasingly important source of income in the community and a way to generate independent livelihood for young men who no longer inherit land and therefore often have no access to land and for young women who have in mind a life model different from their mothers'.

As a result of the different types of migration that are described below, the community is currently losing many of its youth which leads to a loss of manpower and energy. Some fear that this will slow the development of the community.

In November 2013 there was quite a discussion about this, especially prompted by the topic of international migration. For some, parents with children migrants live with worry because of bad experiences reported by previous migrants; but despite this, they see the changes brought by remittances. One mother said that migration had both positives and negatives but she could not prevent her daughter from going and getting some money to establish her own business. Another added that international migration is better than working at home as one is able to change one's life much faster. Officials like the HEWs or people working in government structures like the MSE female team leader were usually more prone to see the negative sides of international migration (returning empty hands, heavy workload and poor pay or being denied payment, brutalities).

Most people had heard about the ban but thought that this would be temporary (6-7 months) as the government had announced that it was suspended only to improve the safety conditions for the migrants. There was no discussion of the effects on the number of migrants since the ban had been enacted or in the future.

Agricultural

A few men (3-5 in a year) migrate for agriculture to Bale where they can sharecrop land and plant red peppers which have a good price on the market. They go with the help of friends and relatives with contacts in Bale. They work on their employer's land and on the land that he gives them. Some of them may get 40,000 *birr* if weather and market prices are good. All return after a while and build a house, buy oxen and other livestock, get married and farm at home. They get good farming skills. The Research Officers interviewed such a man.

Male Seasonal Migrant

He was working in Bale, Agarfa wereda, Abentu kebele, as a servant for a rich farmer who produced pepper. He carried out all farm activities for the household and in return they gave him half a hectare of farm land and seed and fertilizer for his land. When the harvest was sold he was given the money from his half hectare as his salary. He has returned back to Oda Dawata because he has finished his two year contract. He migrated three times to Bale twice to the same household and once to another household.

He first migrated in 2000 EC because he did not have enough land to establish an independent livelihood. One of his friends who worked in Bale as a servant of rich farmer got him a job. The first family he worked for were farming wheat, pepper and maize. In return for his labour they gave him one hectare to share crop, on which he grew half wheat and half pepper. He made around 7,000 *birr* from selling one year's farm produce. The family he works for provides him with food and shelter and also buys him clothes and pays for his medical expenses. Even though they harvest twice a year, he was allowed to share crop only once a year. The payment and working conditions were however good, much better than he would have got in Oda Dawata. While he was away he did not send remittances, instead he brought back cash which he used to rent one and $\frac{1}{4}$ hectares of farm land. He grew wheat using improved seeds and fertilizers which he sold for around 12,000 *birr*.

The last time he migrated he went to the same place, as he now knows that area and that there are good benefits there. He travelled there by car and his former employer got him a job with his brother. He was involved in similar work as before. The land he was given for share cropping was also similar. He got around 11,000 *birr* from his two year stay. He enjoyed being there because all of his expenses were covered by his employer so he saved all the money he earned. He stayed there for two years. He has recently returned because his mother passed away so he is now in charge of the family. With the money he earned he plans to build a house, contract farm land and buy some cattle. He does not want to migrate again; rather he wants to work on his own farm activities.

He believes that if one works hard as a seasonal migrant it is possible to change one's life, even though the work is difficult. The problem with such work is that you have to be lucky; there is no salary and the money earned is dependent upon the size of the harvest and the amount it is sold for.

Urban

Each year, it is estimated that at least 50 men migrate to different towns in Ethiopia, mainly Assela, Adama, Addis Ababa, Harar and Bale; the numbers are increasing annually. Young women are also migrating to urban centres such as Adama, Asella and Addis Ababa although the most significant number of them is migrating to Arab countries. It is estimated that in total 80-100 women migrate each year.

Men migrating in cities engage in daily wage labour or as car assistant or driver. Women become housemaids or waitresses, or other low-paid industry. Generally urban migrants do not earn enough to send remittances – especially as living costs are high in cities. But for young women this is also a way of establishing an independent livelihood. Some men return after a while, others remain in cities. Those who return and have been successful try to get contract land to farm. Some re-migrate. The women mostly return and get married. The successful ones involve in business activities such as shop and keeping or trade. There are women who for instance migrate to work in the flour factory of Assela. They get 400-600 birr/month. When they return they look for another job. They may marry, or migrate to Arab countries.

The Research Officers interviewed one woman and one man who had had an urban migration experience and were back in Oda Dawata.

Female urban migrant

She went to Metehara 25 years ago. She was forcefully abducted as an adolescent and taken to Dodola. Her parents refused the marriage as he was a Muslim but she agreed to live with him because he cared for her well. He was a trader and had a shop there which she enjoyed helping with. She lived there for about two years. However she was not happy as she was excluded when she returned home to see her family. She returned for a funeral and she was given a meal alone whilst the rest of the family shared a plate. This was because she had married a Muslim. Eventually she decided to divorce him and she fled without the knowledge of her husband. She went to Metehara where her older sister was living. There she got a job looking after the two children of a divorcee who worked as a health service provider at Metehara sugar factory hospital. She lived for about two years as a servant. But then she had become pregnant by the father and married him. She started baking injera for the restaurants in the sugar factory to earn an income for the household. Last year her husband retired and so they had to leave the sugar factory camp and returned to Oda Dawata. Her mother has a house in Gonde town. She now cooks food to sell (injera with wat/shiro) and her husband is trying to open his own private clinic in Gonde town.

Male urban migrant

He migrated twice, both times to Gondar town. He recently returned because the construction company he was working for went south to Omo Zone and he did not want to go with them.

The first time he migrated was due to shortage of land in the family. He decided to go and search for work and travelled to Gondar by car in 1999 EC. He chose Gondar because he had friends there. His friends got him a job and he was involved in waged labour in construction work. He worked 8 hours a day and was paid 15 birr/day and overtime when he worked more hours. At that time the money was not bad as it was possible to eat for 3 birr. As he became more experienced his pay increased and after a while he was paid up to 35 birr/day. He did not enjoy being there, the work was hard and the money he earned did not allow him to save very much. He stayed for one year, and then decided to return home. He used the money he had saved to buy farm inputs for his family's farm.

He migrated again in 2003 EC during the summer season. He worked in Kulumsa malt factory in Tiyo

wereda, employed by contractors. They liked his work and asked him to work with them. When they finished the contract there they moved to Gondar and he went with them. It was easy to return to Gondar because he knew the area very well. He rented a house in Gondar and started his job in construction. He had many friends from the first time he had lived there. He became a manager of waged labourers and was paid 150 birr/day plus bonuses based on his performance. After the first construction was completed he worked on another construction project for four months. He stayed there for one and a half years but returned as he did not want to travel with the company to South Omo Zone. He did not send remittances when he was away but saved his money in the bank. He is planning to build a house and he also wants to get a 10th level construction license and to get involved in construction work at home. Since returning he has contracted half hectare of land and is farming potatoes. He does not want to migrate again.

Only those who do not have alternatives migrate to urban areas; some succeed and others remain there and develop bad behaviour. Migrating is very tough; you are insulted and undermined by the people who live in the city/town. However, if the migrant succeeds in making his way there are benefits for him, his household and his extended family. Migration also benefits the community by bringing money into the local economy. The main problem during migration is accommodation.

Skilled

There were no examples of skilled migration. However, it was recognized by those in the community that, any young people who continued their education would leave the community because there was no employment for educated young people in the kebele.

International

International migration was the most important in terms of numbers, especially for young women, and in terms of the impact on the community.

A few men migrate abroad, mainly illegally through brokers with the help of their parents paying much money. They walk and use boats and are exposed to all sorts of dangers. Those who succeed and reach their destination work as herders (of camels) and agricultural servants but they continuously live in fear of being captured. They also find it hard to adapt to the very hot and dry climate. Some get abused by employers who do not pay them as they do not have any legal recourse. They save but cannot send remittances as they do not have a visa so they cannot go to the bank or they will be caught. Usually they return when they are caught.

The rich farmer explained that most of the returnees live in town when they return as they are ashamed of coming back without money. Another respondent knew one case – a young boy who now has a shop in Assela. This respondent also has a son, who first worked in Bale for 3 years then he migrated to Saudi Arabia 3 years ago. His father heard about this for the first time when his son called him from Djibouti. He is currently working as agricultural servant on a farm. He does not send money as he feared he would be captured if he went to the bank. He is comfortable as he can easily communicate in Arabic.

International migration is much more important for young women. Before the ban, there used to be at least one in each household. One of the respondents had her two daughters in Saudi Arabia. Some husbands even sent their wife. The HEWs said that the Arab countries are becoming most youngsters' dream land; the main reason they are flocking to these countries is that they want to find a way to change their life and support their families. Such ideas come from peer pressure and from their kin who are living in these countries. Family is the main source of finance. Parents and sometimes boyfriends help them with processing their visas and expenses. Poor families may borrow from relatives, neighbours and friends. In rare cases a private agency might sponsor a migrant and deduct the money from the salary.

The women go to Kuwait, Dubai, Saudi and Beirut; they decide where to go through communicating

with agencies. This was legal migration so they go by air. Once there the main job is as a housemaid, thus washing, cooking and ironing are daily activities. Some may experience problems at work if they fail to obey their employer as they do not understand Arabic; or they may lack the required skills (e.g. using machines etc.), which leads to disagreements. Some employers have bad personalities and mistreat them. Sometimes wives suspect that the women have affairs with husbands and they beat them and some even die. In November 2013 one of the respondents explained that the week before a coffin came to a nearby kebele from Saudi Arabia. The HEW had heard stories of women losing body parts, or being given inhuman treatments. The kebele women affairs' representative explained that although media show stories of women suffering in these countries, and the people are hostile, the salary is attractive which is why they go.

Usually these women earn enough to save and send remittances, although some countries pay better than others. Most of these women return after a while. They acquire many household skills such as being polyglot, using different machines to cook, and cleanliness. As during their time there they daily wash, clean and iron, they have acquired the practice of these activities and share the importance of hygienic conditions in houses etc. with others.

On return they can build their own house, often in town, and involve in businesses like shops, cafés and restaurants. They support their relatives to improve their household; some relatives build a new house, or buy livestock for fattening, or improve their livelihood generally. Migrants can afford medical costs for family members in an emergency.

Impacts were not only economic according to some respondents, who highlighted that since families had seen the big changes occurring thanks to migration of young women, baby girls were welcome more than boys, unlike in the past. Young women returning from migration were also sought for marriage.

The Research Officers interviewed one of these women who had returned.

Female international migrant

She returned from Dubai last year as she finished her contract. She first went to Bahrain in 2005 GC. Her older sister was there and she helped her to arrange her journey and work. The household where her sister worked liked her and they asked her to find a hard worker like her to come and work as a housemaid. So she recommended her sister (the respondent). When she arrived at Bahrain airport, she was met by her sister and her employer.

She had no problems in relation to her work or communication with them. Because she had finished grade 12 she was able to communicate with her employers in English, her sister also helped her with Arabic. Her job was to clean the house and its surrounding area, toilet, cooking room. She also washed clothes, put them away and cooked. She was paid 800 birr/month which she sent to her parents. She stayed for about four years, with two contract agreements. In 2009 she returned home as she had finished both the contract and the extended agreement.

After a year at home she went out to Dubai where her two younger sisters were. One of her sisters was working at Dubai police camp as a cleaner so she arranged things for her travel, but it was illegal. When she arrived at Dubai airport her sister and her employer waited for her and she joined her sister as a housemaid/servant. She was doing the same kind of work as what she had done in Bahrain but her salary was increased as she was experienced and spoke the language. Initially she was paid 3,000 birr but over time her salary increased to 5,000 birr/month. Last year she finished her contract and at the same time her father got ill so she decided to come home. She spent a lot of money for her father's medical treatment but he died last summer. She feels good about what she did for her parents, especially for her father.

She now plans to live in the kebele and to form her own household. She plans to learn some technical skill like hair styling. She has a house in Assela which she paid; the land was bought from

the money she earned in Bahrain and the house constructed with her income from Dubai.

Her older sister who lived in Bahrain had an accident and burnt her arm with hot oil. Her employer treated her well and she had got adequate medical treatment. She returned to Oda Dawata but she did not want to stay so she now lives in Addis Ababa where she is involved in garage car maintenance; she has a share of a business with the owner.

She suggested that international migrants should be trained on how to use electrical equipment and how to communicate with their employer even if they could not speak the language. She said there was a big problem with agents who did not really help the girls. Some girls took action themselves because of the hopeless response from the agents.

Male

There is one international migrant who returned from Saudi Arabia. The researchers tried to get hold of him but were not successful because he lives in Assela town.

In-migration for work

Some 30% of waged labour in the community is done by in-migrants from Shirka, Bokoji and Hetosa weredas in Arsi zone. In October/November for the harvest there are around 100 in-migrants coming from these weredas or farther away (North Showa, Wollo, Gonder and Gojjam). They stay for up to 10-20 days in the kebele. Some come through relatives and others with friends. They may face problems of accommodation and have also to spend on their food. In November 2013 people explained that this year (2006 EC harvest) in-migrants were paid up to 250 birr for harvesting a timad of land, which takes around four days.

The rich farmers employ more labourers than the middle or poor farmers who are more reliant upon family labour. Mechanised agriculture in Mecro-Begejo zone may also have an impact on in-migration in the near future.

There are also permanent agricultural servants coming from different areas, paid on a yearly basis and getting food and accommodation by their employer.

Savings, credit and debt

Community-organised savings and credit

The rich farmer explained that usual means of saving in the community are through storing crops, livestock, at the regional MFI, at the bank and through *equb* – in that order of importance. He added that those involved in business usually prefer not to save as they want to use the money to make a profit. “*Money depreciates unless you can involve in business*”. Others, less wise, put their money in the bank for safety even though it is depreciating because of inflation. To get credit, he said, people go to the regional MFI WALQO, or their relatives and neighbours, rich farmers who lend money, and *equb* – also in that order of importance. Relatives, neighbours and rich farmers used to lend with interest. But now this is no longer the case as people can borrow from organisations.

The women heads of households thought that equbs were primarily used by rich farmers and merchants; whereas most farmers actually cannot save as they use all the money they have for consumption.

In November 2013 people reported quite a bit of a push on savings, from the government. This is described below.

Students in the Macro-Gonde primary school had also started saving at school. Those doing shoe-shining, daily labour or selling livestock and leftover crops from their parents’ farmland can save what they earn every week by giving it to their home room teachers. This system was started in 2011 and by November 2013 there were more than 130 students saving to improve their livelihoods. The maximum saved by one student was 899 *birr* in one year. When they want to draw some or all

the money they should bring their parents. In May 2013 the school celebrated students' saving day. Some of the iddirs allow their members to have credit. The successful businessman mentioned an example and the credit had no interest.

There were no other examples of community organised savings or credit.

Government, donor and NGO credit and savings

WALQO the Oromo credit-saving association and WESASA (an NGO) are intended for urban people but those living around Gonde town also use it. People are told to save 10% of what they want to borrow from WALQO. In November 2013 there was a new stream of activities whereby WALQO worked together with the government Micro and Small Enterprises (MSE) structures. The MSE tries to get people organise in small groups and engage in activities. To get credit from WALQO for these activities they must first save 10% of the amount of the loan that they want to get. Thus, according to officials, the saving culture is developing in the community; everyone is asked to save what he or she can afford.

Banks

The rich are increasingly using banks to deposit their money in. A culture of saving money is developing.

Debt in the community

None of those interviewed admitted to having any debt. The rich farmer said that he had heard about people having outstanding debt for the fertiliser and improved seeds taken four years ago. Now farmers have to buy all inputs cash.

The kebele manager explained that in the past individuals borrowed money and failed to pay and then they had to sell assets to do so. But now people borrow in groups and they take collective responsibility. So, they follow-up on each other to ensure that everyone is working hard.

Insurance

There was no mention of insurance by those interviewed.

Harmful Traditional Practices affecting livelihoods

Christians felt that it was not the numerous holy days that affected development but the shortage of land. The number of holy days that are celebrated have been reduced by government as they are considered a harmful traditional practice.

Theft

Opinions on theft differed. Some said that there was very little theft as illustrated by the table below. However, there were respondents who said that there were more incidents of house burglary than there had been before due to unemployment and landlessness amongst the youth.

Table 15: Theft

	How frequent?	Change since 2008	Action to prevent stealing	How effective?	Action to catch criminals	How effective?	Punishments
Theft of crops	It is rare	It has been declining	Farmers protecting their crops, 1-5 discussion and awareness creation.	Effective	<i>Tikoma, Awuchachign</i>	effective	Implemented by court
Robbery from people	No robbery	-	-	-	-	-	-

	How frequent?	Change since 2008	Action to prevent stealing	How effective?	Action to catch criminals	How effective?	Punishments
House burglary	No burglary	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other kinds of stealing	Rare	Declining	Farmers protecting their crops, 1-5 discussion and awareness creation.	Effective	<i>Tikoma and Awuchachign</i>	Effective	Implemented by court

Human re/pro/duction domain

Houses and household assets

Households in the kebele live in compounds that are usually fenced so that livestock can be kept and some crops (often coffee) can be grown in the compound. Most households have several houses in their compound: one in which the family lives, usually another used as a separate kitchen, then there may be huts for grain storage and to shelter the animals. The richer the family the larger the main house (the more rooms it has) and the more outhouses they tend to have. Increasingly houses have corrugated iron roofs. A number of households said that they had improved their housing over the last five years. Some had taken advice from the HEWs and had built a separate kitchen.

The assets, furniture and equipment of a household are an indication of its wealth. The poor households have far fewer possessions. The poor farmer's family had: a medium quality bed, grass mattress, benches, radio, fuel saving stove, and other traditional tools (clay tools) used for cooking. They had a kitchen cupboard but no electrical goods as they do not have access to electricity. The successful farmer's household had: a modern bed, 6 chairs with table, a modern box for clothes, a modern cupboard (*Bife*), TV, radio, fuel saving stove for Injera and charcoal burner stove.

Domestic technologies

Grain mills were introduced during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie into Mecro-Begejo zone. There is currently only one grain mill in the community. Improved stoves were introduced about seven years ago by government. They are now used by more than 30% of the community. There is no change in cooking fuel; the community use wood, charcoal and dung cakes.

Kitchen cupboards have been introduced by the current government and about 3% of the community have them. Plastic utensils were used for the first time during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie but now everyone has them. It was estimated that about 200 households in the community have a TV but only the leading businessman of the kebele has a fridge.

Fuel and light

Most households use electricity for lighting although there are some parts of the Kebele which still do not have access. Over the last three years there has been an expansion programme which has meant that more people have access. Those who do not have access use kerosene for lighting.

For cooking people use wood, charcoal, dung cakes and crop residue.

Drinking water

The coverage of safe drinking water in Tiyo wereda is about 24%. There are three deep water wells, two of them working with generators and one with electricity. These water points have their own committees who manage the overall activities. The committees generate capital by charging for water and they use this money for the maintenance of the water point. There are also protected springs, which also have their own committees to maintain them. The people use them without charge because they flow constantly. There is one hand pump, which has a committee for

maintaining and controlling it and people use it free of charge. Some of the kebeles around Assela pay the water administration office to use water from Assela town water. The rest of the rural kebeles use protected open spring water and others use rivers and streams.

There are no private water points in the Kebele but a few people who have access to Gonde town tap water sell water to the community for a relatively expensive price. All the people in Begejo zone have access to a government water tap (which is called *birka*). In Mecro a few people who are on the road side or close to Gonde town have also access to water points. Owners do not ask any permission to sell the water but they have to pay for the amount they use and have a water metre. The price of water is fixed by private water point owners, and they sell 20 litres of water for 30 cents. The price of water at public water points are fixed by the water committee of the wereda water office (Gonde- Iteya water office) which is found in Gonde town. Water at the *birka* costs 10 cents for 20 litres of water.

There is a programme at Wereda level to improve the coverage of safe water; work has started with the aim to expand the coverage of tap water and developed springs. Oda Dawata is one of the four Kebeles where the Wereda is working to put in more water points and to expand access to managed springs. This is being funded by the regional budget. Some funding has also been given by the Assela Malt Factory. In Mecro area work has already begun and channels have been dug. Residents in the areas think that they should get tap water after the 2013 harvest.

There are problems with a wereda-wide lack of spare parts to maintain existing water points and no sufficiently skilled technicians who are TVET completed. Government is now giving them capacity building training.

More than 50% of the households in the kebele have access to safe water. But 40%, mainly dwellers in Akiya and Begejo zones, use unsafe water all the time. People do so due to the distance from their house to the nearest source of safe water; for some this is more than two hours walk. There are no water points, but a number of protected springs. Their number has been increasing and they have become the main source of drinking water in the kebele. There are no private and communal wells, reservoirs or roof catchments. No one uses bottled water due to the cost. The poor access is caused by the lack of tap water. However, the government with help from the community is now planning to build a tanker for the spring.

Those using unsafe water all the time include half of the residents of Akiya zone, who live close to Chilalo Mountain; a quarter of the people living in Begejo, close to Caffé Misoma kebele; and half of the people from Chebote zone, who live near to Mecro zone. Another 15% of the people in the kebele (mainly found in Chebote zone closest to Chilalo Mountain) are using unsafe water at least some of the time.

So far there are no outbreaks of acute water diarrhoea in the kebele.

Sanitation

All of the households interviewed had a latrine which they had built. They tended to be made with wooden walls, a thatched roof and a stem and mud floor. All family members used the latrine and no one had been affected with acute watery diarrhoea. A number of the latrines had been built in the last five years. Some were in need of maintenance.

Domestic work

Domestic work was mainly carried out by the women of the households. Those households with older children were able to spread the burden of domestic work. As children left home for marriage, migration or education, the burden increased upon the mother. Men and boys were said to participate in cleaning the house and compound (poor FHH, middle farmer), preparing firewood and fetching water (poor FHH, successful FHH, middle farmer, successful farmer), cleaning the animal yard and preparing their feed (successful FHH, middle farmer, successful farmer), and taking grain to

the grain mill (poor farmer). Household members tended to wash their own clothes. Only the men in the successful businessman's household did not engage at all in domestic work.

Nevertheless most wives or female heads of households were spending their whole day on domestic work. Some of the richer households had domestic servants (successful businessman) who would carry out the majority of the domestic work.

Food and nutrition

Most households regularly eat *injera* with *shiro wat*, vegetables and bread. They also eat roasted grains. Meat, eggs and butter are eaten occasionally. Families eat three times a day except during the fasting season when meals are cut. Poorer families said that when things were difficult they would cut the quantity and quality of what they ate. The main change mentioned in relation to eating was that over the last five years many families had started to eat in order allowing the children to eat first. None of the households interviewed had had malnourished children.

Child malnutrition is not a major problem in this Wereda. However, last year when some crops failed due to *wag* there was a slight increase in the numbers of malnourished children. The health extension workers screen for malnourished children by going from house to house. Under the reducing child malnutrition programme these children are provided with supplementary food within a week of their screening. The food given depends on the case. Advice is given to the mothers on how to feed and look after the child. JICA gives support to the health office in providing integrated referential training (IRT) training for the health professions including HEWS and health volunteers. There is no feeding centre in the wereda and also no regular financial resources from donors. In the past when there was a serious problem with child malnutrition World Vision intervened supplying food (fafa and oil).

Health extension

The Health Post

Two health posts were initially established at Akiya and Mecro; the one at Mecro has been closed since 2010 as there is now a health centre there. There is no electricity or running water at the health post. As a result the medicine stays in the wereda town and the HEWs bring what they will need in a vaccination box.

Health extension

Health Extension Workers (HEWs)

There are two health extension workers in the kebele. One of them is the head and a member of the kebele cabinet. They are responsible for all the zones in the kebele. They are managed and monitored by the Kebele Manager (this has changed as in the past they were managed by the wereda health office). They provide teaching and advice on the government's 16 packages to the community. They work two days per week in the health post in Akiya zone and as a result their focus is on Akiya. The main ways in which the HEWs pass advice to women across the kebele are through: meetings of women's organisations, kebele general meetings, development teams and 1-5s, social networks (such as Iddir), model families and by using the health army. However in November 2013 the kebele manager explained that the 1-5s and health army were not practically functioning. He said that HEWs also train women at zone level on the hygiene and sanitation packages.

They spend a lot of time following up pregnant women and giving advice on family planning. There have been improvements in family planning due to the awareness created and women's access to contraceptives through the health post.

There is recent emphasis on disease prevention. A lot of effort has been put into ensuring that people build a latrine. In the past there was a punishment for those who did not build a toilet but this is no longer the case. As a result people have less respect for the HEWs and are unwilling to

follow their advice.

The area that the HEWs have to cover is vast and they feel that they are unable to do so effectively. They feel that at least four HEWs are needed to ensure that all people get the health provision they need. Despite this they have seen an improvement in terms of awareness of health issues and women are implementing almost all of the packages.

The HEWs are also involved in agricultural demonstrations of planting in lines and teaching about new techniques and technologies for farmers. They also help with the distribution of improved seeds. They are also involved in political issues e.g. collecting party membership fees, and in supporting the women's and child affairs office. The breadth of their role means that some people are confused and some say that their work on health issues has been bypassed by their political work.

Community health volunteers

In April 2013 some respondents talked about female 1-5s also called the "*health army*". Their supposed role is confined to the health programme and they work in collaboration with the HEWs. They discuss and share their experience of how to keep their environment, compound, home, and toilet clean; they teach one another how to look after the health and hygiene of their families and they check up on pregnant women to ensure that they are attending their health checks. Others explained that each development team is represented by one health volunteer, so there are 29 in the kebele. They are trained by the HEWs and in turn they train and advise their development team members. The women in development teams play a role similar to the men but in the 1-5s they have an important role in controlling and checking the health of their members by implementing the 16 health packages.

The 29 volunteer health workers also received training through a JICA (Japanese aid) programme. However when the programme ended, the volunteers tended to shift their roles to the party, becoming female development team leaders and being less involved in health.

The kebele manager seemed to say that in practice only about 20 of the volunteers 'distributed in the DTs' were active. He added that it is through them that the HEWs implement the 16 packages in the community as the health army and 1-5s are not functional. But one woman had a different account, explaining that although there are weaknesses the female 1-5s are playing a vital role. Only 80 are active instead of the supposed 164. They are a team of five led by a model woman. Through this system they get services like the ambulance, experience sharing about life styles and other issues such as modern home and hygiene methods. It is invigilated closely by the HEWs. The team leader contacts the HEW and vice versa. When a woman delivers the 1-5 members have the responsibility to be with her and help her in any difficulty she may face from home to the HP.

The HEWs used to get support and collaboration from the Kebele officials who would send someone to carry their vaccination box when they visited an area but this no longer happens.

Preventive health services

The kebele manager explained that poor hygiene brings diarrhoea, typhoid and TB and farmers are taught how to prevent and control these diseases and they accept and strive to apply this. In November 2013 the HEWs noted that among the health packages the focus had somewhat shifted. While in the past the focus was on hygiene and controlling communicable diseases, it was found that there were no good results in decreasing maternal mortality. So later on this got due attention and since then, reducing maternal and neo-natal mortality is the major concern.

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

Generally

Many of the women said that they were not affected by the hygiene and sanitation packages or did

not know about many of its elements. The most successful package in terms of level of awareness was definitely latrines. One lady admitted that most of the advice she received in this area came from her son or from the TV.

Latrines

Awareness has been created over the last five years concerning the importance of having a latrine and several of the households interviewed claimed to have built a latrine because of this. There had apparently been refresher training in 2010 but in the last 12 months there had been no new advice given on this package. One lady admitted that because she never attended meetings at the Kebele she was not aware of the hygiene and environmental sanitation packages (middle farmer's wife).

Waste disposal

One lady explained how she uses the solid waste materials for compost preparation by combining with animal dung. Liquid waste is disposed in a hole which is prepared for this purpose (successful businessman's wife).

Apart from this all of those interviewed made no comment about this or said that there had been no new information on this topic in the last 12 months.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

Some claimed to already know about this package; others said that there had been no new information in the last 12 months.

Kitchen cupboards

Last year the successful businessman's household bought a refrigerator which is important to keep food fresh. Their son who is a health professional told the woman about food hygiene and how to keep food. He advised her that no one in the household should eat leftover food which is from the previous day. A number of households interviewed had kitchen cupboards.

Livestock in the house

There was awareness of this as all of those interviewed had separate shelters for their animals but when asked directly about it they said there had been no new information in the last 12 months.

Smoke-free houses

There was awareness of the importance of having smoke free houses as all of those interviewed had separate kitchen huts but when asked directly about it they said there had been no new information in the last 12 months.

Pest control

One lady said that she used a variety of things to treat pests depending what they were but there were no other comments from those interviewed. There had been no training on this in the past 12 months.

Disease prevention and control

Immunisations

This was considered an area of success by the HEWs who said that now when they tried to tell people about the importance of immunisation the people said we already know. Women had all their children immunized after birth.

Malaria prevention and control – bed nets, spraying houses, removing stagnant water

It was agreed by those interviewed that malaria was not a problem in the area.

TB prevention

There was mobilization by mega phone on HIV/AIDS and TB in the last 12 months. The campaign explained that if anybody had been coughing for more than a week he/she should go to a health centre. The informant also remembered that a TB victim should use separate drinking cups (FHH successful).

HIV/AIDS prevention

A number of those interviewed said that although there had been no new education about HIV/AIDS they were already aware of the disease, its causes and consequences. One lady said that in the last year there had been a mobilization by megaphone encouraging people to find out their status by going to have a blood test.

The school was doing a good job educating the young people who all knew about HIV/AIDS and its causes. Several of them said that those young people who were sexually active bought condoms in the local town in order to protect themselves.

First Aid at the Health Post

The health post is in the remotest sub-kebele (Akiya). Those interviewed did not live in Akiya and so they said that they would not use the health post as it was too far away. One lady did not know that it provided first aid. The others all said they would use a health centre or private clinic in the town.

HTPs affecting health

Reproductive health & services

Female circumcision has stopped as people are aware that it is harmful to them. About 80% of young women are not circumcised.

Infertility

Two of the women cited a lady who they felt had become infertile because she used contraceptives for several years before wanting to have a child. They thought that her infertility was a result of the contraceptive and that she should not have used it before her first birth.

Contraception

HEWs thought that about 80% of married women in the Kebele used contraceptives. These women tend to already have more than one child. The HEWs said that when they cannot get contraception from the health post married women would go to Assela. Unmarried women do not come to the health post to get contraception but get it in nearby urban areas. Some respondents explained that in fact HEWs give a lot of different options for married women but to unmarried women they recommend abstinence. They also provide condoms and also post-pills for emergency cases.

Contraception was considered to be an area of success for the HEWs who said that inflation had also made people keen to use contraception and control the number of children they have. Both men and women were aware of the importance of contraception. Some men were said to insist that their wife used contraception so that they do not lose their labour (middle farmer's wife). Young couples were also said to use contraception so that they could delay their first birth until their livelihood was well established (poor farmer's wife).

Women said that they had been made aware of contraceptives through the media as well as the HEWs. The women interviewed used injection and implant. The HEWs told the researcher that from 69 households they had not been able to find a pregnant woman who was under six months pregnant. This statistic was needed by the wereda health office.

Abortion

Abortion still seemed to be very taboo in the area. Most of the young girls interviewed had never heard of anyone having an abortion. But one of the 13 year olds had heard a rumour about a girl

who completed grade 10 and then went to Addis Ababa apparently for work but people said she had had an abortion due to the change in her appearance.

There were examples in the community of young females who became pregnant and had the child and continued to live with their parents.

Fistula

There was no mention of this in interviews.

Pregnancy and childbirth & services

Pregnancy

Women receive far more follow-up and care during their pregnancy than they used to. They are followed by an HEW and have check-ups from 3 months.

Delivery

The current government policy gives a lot of attention to reducing the maternal mortality rate. In order to achieve this, the HEWs teach and give advice to women throughout their pregnancy and women receive antenatal and postnatal health care from nearby health service. The kebele manager explained that HEWs collect information about pregnant women through the health army (although elsewhere he said that the health army was not functional) and document their name for follow-up. These women are called to the HP and nearby HC for ANC, vaccination, teachings on balanced diet etc.

One of the HEWs was trained last year on how to assist in delivery. About 8 women gave birth with her assistance. There are no known traditional birth attendants (TBAs) in the kebele. The HEWs follow up most of the pregnant women and so the role of TBAs has diminished. They have no support from the government and also work with no one. However, they still can assist if the labour is sudden and so they can help if the mother is on her way to the HP. They are given gloves so as to be able to help in these cases. The TBAs are said not to be happy as assisting women was a source of income for them. Some respondents said that in fact TBAs do assist women to deliver at home, when they beg them.

In November 2013 a number of new measures were reported, all aimed to try and achieve the government policy that '*no woman should die while giving birth*'. The government provided an ambulance in September, with free service. In addition, every development team is supposed to have an ambulance-bed to carry mothers in labour to the road.

The HEWs explained that the health centre was also working to create a friendly delivery environment since September 2012. It provides coffee and food by collecting wheat flour and coffee from the community and adding the remaining expense from its budget. The food is prepared by the families/housemaids and health post workers. The community is happy with the service. Mothers are getting services which help them deliver at the Health Post. They can give healthy birth, and the baby will get vaccination and Vitamin A. However, they reckoned that mothers still preferred to give birth at home, but since the ambulance service started it is more common to give birth at the HP.

They estimated that since April, there had been around 30 deliveries at home – none of them assisted by a HEW; no delivery had taken place at the health post; 60 women had delivered at a health centre, 10 in a government hospital and 5 in a private clinic or hospital.

Mother and infant care

The HEWs have found that women are much more aware of the importance of vaccinating their children. When they advise women to vaccinate their children on time, they reply that they know the importance of it. New mothers are visited by the HEWs and both mother and baby are checked. Advice is given about nutrition and breastfeeding as well as health and hygiene.

Illnesses and curative health services

Government

Health Post

There is one health post in the zone of Akiya. This is considered remote for many in the Kebele.

Health Centre

There is a health centre which has been set up in the last three years in Mecro. It replaced the health post that was there. There are other health centres in the nearby towns.

Hospitals

There is a hospital in Adama.

NGOs

There has been no NGO intervention on health.

Private clinics and pharmacies

There is also a witchdoctor in Chebote zone who seems to be powerful and influential. He is the only person who has a generator for lighting and people call his compound "camp". People were not willing to share any details about him.

Child-rearing

Child rearing for boys and girls was considered to be the same up until late childhood/adolescence.

New born infants

These days, mothers prepare for the birth of their babies by getting clothes ready whereas in the past it was thought to attract bad luck. When the baby is born it is washed and dressed in cotton clothes or put on its mother's naked body to keep it warm. Babies are fed breast milk immediately and are not given anything else until they are six months old. Babies used to be given boiled water and butter but this practice has now been stopped.

When a baby is born in a health centre they are given medical treatment and vaccinations. More care is taken now to keep babies warm and if they are ill they are taken to the health centre.

Babies

Babies are no longer taken to the traditional healer but are taken immediately to the health centre. They also benefit from vaccinations. They are fed a balanced diet and are not given raw or cold foods including cow's milk. They are given special food like *mitin* which is made into porridge and *atimit*. They are given better quality food than they were before. Babies have more clothes and shoes than they did in the past and they are kept clean.

Knee children

The main priority with this age group was considered to be protecting them from danger and risks and teaching them what is good and bad. Special food is served to these children to build their physical and mental health. They are kept clean and fed a balanced diet.

Pre-school children

At this age it was considered important to send children to a kindergarten or pre-school if there was one in order to socialise them. For those for whom that is not possible, the child's siblings care for them. At this age children still do not know the difference between good and bad and need to be taught.

Children aged 7-12ish

Children are sent to school from seven years old and as a result they need more time for their education. At this age mothers start to teach simple domestic tasks to girls; boys start to learn agricultural work skills and herding from their father. Some parents in richer families hire domestic servants and herders to protect their children from having to do too much so that they can focus on their school work and have some time to play with their friends.

Male adolescents 12-16ish

In the past adolescent boys worked hard doing agricultural work for the household. They now have less time due to their school work. However, they continue to be instructed by their father in agricultural skills. They start to need money at this age as they take more interest in their hygiene, clothes and shoes. Parents usually cover these expenses although in poor families they may go out to work to earn what they need. Parents advise and guide their sons but they no longer beat them.

Female adolescents 12-16ish

At this age girls have more of a relationship with their mother than their father. Their mother advises them so that they protect themselves and are not cheated by boys. Their mother provides them with what they need in terms of clothes, shoes and money to have their hair done. All girls of this age are still at school. They help their mother with domestic tasks but once they are 12 years old they do not herd cattle. Mothers have the responsibility of protecting their daughters from being overwhelmed by domestic workload.

Young adults (male) 17-20ish

At this age young men are given increasing amounts of freedom as their parents' influence reduces. Some are still in education at this age but others are struggling to establish an independent household. This involves daily work. Rich parents give land or other properties to the young adults to help them establish an independent livelihood and eventually household. Parents no longer arrange the marriage of their children.

At this age young adults don't want parents' interference. They want to do everything by themselves. Parents give try to give them freedom to make their own decisions.

Young adults (female) 17-20ish

After finishing their education young females of this age tend to migrate to get work in a town or they migrate to an Arab country to find a job. Most of them are not yet interested in getting married. Their parents try and support them financially in what they want to do.

Education

Education overview

There is a problem in the education system locally, in that school leavers do not have a good level of literacy and numeracy. The head teacher of Mecro Primary School believes that this is due to their poor primary education in grades 1-4 when they have one teacher to teach all subjects. The teachers may have weaknesses in some subjects which they pass on to their students. The government policy of trying to keep dropout to a minimum in grades 1-4 means that children are allowed to pass to the next grade even if their standard is not high enough.

The performance of children in his school in terms literacy and numeracy has been improving since 2003 EC. This improvement has come about due to increased effort by teachers to give tutorials to students, and increased families' follow-up of the children's results. There are also 1-5 teams for students which help them to study together, improving low scoring students. Last year only two of 120 students failed their grade 8 exams.

In order to improve standards further, the head teacher believes that the level of books that are

given to students should be revised, so they are relevant to the ability of the year group. Teachers should teach the subject in which they specialised and teachers should be forced to specialise in a subject and not just a language, in order to raise the quality of teachers. Teachers should also be given further training and paid more for the job they are doing.

There is a big problem with children combining work and education; this strongly affects their performance. Children used to start doing paid labour aged 16- 18 but they are now starting aged 5-7 years. Those children who work and are self-financing often miss school on market day and the school tries to give them catch-up lessons. Mecro Primary School has been given support to help with this problem by USAID. USAID pay for all the educational equipment needed by 120 students defined as poor. These children are also provided annually with wheat flour. The programme has also started an income generation project, giving sheep to poor families with children in school.

The primary enrolment rates are high at Mecro Primary School. Reportedly, 100% of the 7-year olds in the community are enrolled in Grade one. Not more than 2% of pupils in the school are not in the grade which they should be for their age; the oldest pupil is 24 years old and is learning in grade four. The dropout rate is low at primary level, with roughly 98% of students never dropping out. This is partly because the school works hard to bring back those who drop out. Those that drop out and do not return tend to be female students who migrate to Arab countries.

The lack of employment amongst local grade 10, grade 12, and college and university graduates is a big challenge for education in the community. It creates frustration for young students who know older people in this situation and it reduces their ambition and work ethic. In the past young people who did not pass grade 10 or 12 could attend private college but some parents no longer see the point of doing this as the children are still unemployed at the end.

Pre-school

There is no pre-school in the Kebele. The nearest pre-school is private and is in Gonde town. The children from the community who attend it like it as it has many toys and materials to play with.

Alternative basic education

No alternative basic education is mentioned in the interviews.

Primary education

The primary schools

Primary schools are found in the four ketena of the kebele:

- Mecro primary full cycle school is in Mecro, nearest to FTC and kebele office
- Begejo primary full cycle school in Begejo
- Chebote primary full cycle school in Chebote
- Lokicha primary full cycle school in Akiya
- Shone primary first cycle school is in Akiya.

School management and staff

The head teacher of Mecro Primary School said that he had no problem getting teachers although he admitted that this was a problem elsewhere in the wereda. However, the school struggled to get hold of paper, pens, chalk and dusters. The wereda has not provided these things since 2004 EC while they did in the past. There are real problems getting equipment and text books. This is particularly difficult in the Amharic language (the school teaches in Oromo and Amharic). There are enough chairs and tables for the students and there has been an improvement in the number of teachers in the school. The school has no secretary or store keeper and the guard is paid by the people of the Kebele (who sometimes fail to pay his salary).

There is a difference in the quality of teachers. Those who graduated from private colleges are

sometimes not as effective as government college graduates. One reason for this is that private college teachers tend to have very poor English and so have difficulty in teaching the language. This contributes towards the poor quality of English amongst students.

Experiences of primary school

Experiences of primary school were generally positive. Parents said that the teaching-learning process was of good quality and that there were sufficient teachers. Although this was not the case everywhere, one school had a shortage of teachers so children would return home or make a lot of noise and play at school. The main area which parents felt could be improved was to expand the primary schools so that children could also complete their secondary education locally.

In November 2013 school staff reported a lot of activity going on in terms of income generation for the school. E.g. land is leased and farmers grow potatoes; students work on their land for nothing but the school gets the lease money and money from hiring out the students. The school also organises an annual school day (8th March) and students make a local drink from roasted barley and bread, and sell this to invited guests and students. Last year they raised 1,500 birr in this way with which they bought an electric bell and two sets of women's cultural clothes so female students can dress for events. The sport club also collects money by arranging football games on their pitch and asking 2 birr to each player so they get 44 birr for each game. The librarian prepared library cards and each student was made to have one, and to pay 2 birr to get it. They bought guide books for different subjects with the money.

Some parents said that schools nowadays became like commercial enterprises, hiring out the students as potato collectors and making them save.

Secondary education

There is no secondary school in the Kebele. Children attend schools in Hetosa Secondary School (c. 12 km away), Kulumsa Secondary School (c. 12 km away) and Assela secondary high school (16 km away). Some students commute on foot to Hetosa and Kulumsa but the student interviewed and who attended school in Assela had rented accommodation there. One mother who had one child at Hetosa school and another at Kulumsa school said that Kulumsa was better than Hetosa because it had more facilities (e.g. a library) and the teachers were experienced and smart. She felt that there was better incentive for students to do well. Those students who travelled to school often also combined this with doing work in the town to fund their studies.

Post-secondary education and adult education

Government TVET

There is no TVET institution in the Kebele but some students go to Assela where there is a TVET. This is dependent upon their family paying for their living expenses and travel costs. The one example of a student who attended TVET (the son of the successful farmer) stayed in his uncle's house in Assela Monday to Friday and returned home at the weekends.

Government universities

None mentioned.

Private colleges

One student was mentioned as having graduated from a private college last year with a Diploma in IT (daughter of successful FHH). Her expenses were covered by her older sister who works in Dubai. Private college was seen as an option for rich parents whose children had not got high enough grades to attend government post-secondary education. However, the number of young people who had graduated from private colleges and were without work was a disincentive to parents to send children there in future.

Adult education

Some farmers were said to be participating in adult education (poor farmer) and it was said to be increasing literacy.

Attitudes to education

There has been a significant change in attitudes to education across the community. Parents are keen to send their children to school from a young age, and there were complaints that there was no pre-school locally. Almost all of the boys and girls in the community now attend primary school and a lot continue on to secondary school. Every family wants their children (boys and girls) to be educated and to succeed.

However, two major problems were raised; firstly the quality of the education was not good enough so that students were failing to reach higher education or even to complete secondary school. Secondly there is unemployment of those who have completed school and college. This was considered to be something the government should address. There were people thinking that many of these university, college and high school graduates living in the community were ready to work if someone was showing them what to do and how, like making floors, cobblestones etc.

Education had also considerably changed the aspirations of young people. In the past youth thought about farming and wanted to be good farmers but now many have ambitions of further education or migrating to work elsewhere. Few people want to be farmers. This goes against what many families want for their children: they are keen for them to be successful but are more conservative and want some of their children to continue with their way of life.

Social re/production domain

Social institutions and organisations

Local informal security regime

None were mentioned.

Community celebrations

The most recent community celebration that was mentioned (by poor and successful FHH) was a big feast when the people finished the community development work. Two oxen were slaughtered; one for the Muslims and one for the Christians; the meals were prepared in the Kebele office. People contributed money as they were able (poor FHH gave 20 birr, successful FHH gave 100 birr) and the rest was made up from the Kebele budget. Wereda officials were also invited to attend the celebration which aimed to strengthen community bonds particularly between religions.

Holidays

The number of holidays celebrated and taken off work has decreased. Both Muslims and Christians have reduced the number of holidays so that there is only one day off per week: Fridays for the Muslims and Sundays for the Christians. Although some Orthodox Christians were said to take Saturdays and Sundays off. Three years ago there were intensive trainings about harmful traditional practices and it was this that brought a change in all aspects social life.

Customary organisations

The two main customary organisations in the community were *iddirs* and *mehabers*.

Iddirs

Most adult community members interviewed were members of several iddirs (between two and five). Men seemed to be members of more iddirs than women. Husband and wife would be members of different iddirs and both would pay a monthly financial contribution to their iddirs (of

between 2-10 birr). Some of the female iddirs varied their contributions according to the season, with a lower rate during the summer season and higher during the winter. There were also iddirs which expected an annual wheat contribution from members (this was between 20 and 35 kg). The kebele manager said that there were 4 male and 4 female iddirs, and 2 smaller ones. He confirmed that most people belong to more than one – this is especially important if someone is seriously ill, so that she or he gets enough money to afford health care. It also “*helps to maintain social relationships with a wide portion of the society.*” There are iddirs with mixed membership in terms of religious faith and other social characteristics, but the Orthodox Christians and the Muslims also have their own exclusive iddir.

The main function of *iddirs* is to support the family of members when they die. Usually financial contributions are given to the deceased person's family as well as food and labour. In addition to the regular contributions, extra contributions were sometimes expected when a member died (e.g. 5 birr in one case or 5 injera most of the times). The iddirs also provided support when there was a wedding in a member's family, lending cooking dishes, chairs and a marquee for the celebration. Some iddirs also provided support to members in times of crisis - money or labour, depending on what was most appropriate.

A group of women explained that *iddir* is like a life insurance. Men's and women's iddirs have their own regulations. They meet regularly and sometimes update the rules. There are two types of iddirs, the main *iddir* (*balewold*) which includes the whole society together, and the clan *iddirs* (*abentu*). The main iddir provides stuff not available in the clan iddir. All married people should be members of the *balewold*. For unmarried people it is not an obligation but it is better. The contribution is 10 birr/month. The main reason why there are two types of iddirs is that Muslims and Christians have different mourning systems. One respondent explained that the Muslim iddir members stay with the bereaved family only for 3 days whereas according to the Orthodox Christian system they may stay for up to a month. The difference between male and female iddirs is largely about the type of activities they do to support the grieving family. Male iddirs put up the tent and do other physically heavy activities; female iddirs do the cooking and provide psychological support to the mourners.

In addition to this insurance role, iddirs were said to ‘*expand their horizon*’ and be playing an important role in development by giving financial assistance to different projects like road, water construction and the Renaissance Dam, and helping orphans when requested. All iddirs have additional activities. For instance the Hulugeb Mecro iddir is well-known for giving relatively large amounts of money – e.g. they gave 30,000 birr for water construction in the kebele. They also have a role in community governance, implementing rules and policies received from the kebele. They mobilise members for PWs and fine absentees.

Mehaber

The *mehaber* are found within the Orthodox churches. There are separate *mehaber* for women and men. These organisations serve both religious and social purposes. Contributions are made when one of the members dies (of food or money). The members also celebrate the saints' days according to the Orthodox calendar. For this they take turns to provide food and drink for all the members and they attend church together.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

Those who were divorced or widowed in the community had established independent households, and in some cases had re-married. The inheritance laws seemed to be respected and some female headed households were doing very well.

There had been a number of marriage ceremonies in the community over the last five years. Some had married very simply. For instance the poor FHH said that her daughter married three years ago with no wedding ceremony; she just went with her husband to her parents-in-law's house and has lived there ever since. She has since migrated to Saudi Arabia having divorced her husband. Her

mother looks after her child.

One of the poor farmer's daughters got married in the last five years, by *gabara* marriage system. The household spent 3,000 birr for the ceremony. Nothing was given to spouse's family but they bought one cow and a heifer costing 5,000 birr and gave them to the new household. The bride's household received 5,000 birr from the bridegroom's family as a contribution. The poor farmer felt that he had spent the minimum but due to inflation the cost was more than what a wedding would have cost in the past. If he had more money he said he would have provided a better ceremony and given more cattle to the new household.

One of the successful businessman's daughters has also married in the last five years, also by the *gabara* marriage system. The household contributed 60,000 birr for the ceremony and for gifts to the new household. In addition to this the successful businessman gave the new couple four of his cattle and six sheep. The successful businessman received 18,000 birr including clothes as gifts in contributions. He said that he spent more than he would have done in the past because this was the first of his daughters to marry. Also the prices of everything had increased which made the wedding more expensive. He said that although he gave less livestock to the new household compared with what would have been expected in the past he gave more household goods such as furniture, a refrigerator and TV.

The successful farmer's daughter also got married in the last 5 years. As the family are Amhara it was the normal wedding system. The household contributed around 30,000 birr for the ceremony. No gifts were given to the spouse's family and only a few household materials were given to the new couple. The successful farmer received no contributions from the groom's family or anyone else. He spent more than he would have done in the past, because with inflation the prices of everything have risen.

Death ceremonies and inheritance

A death in the close family (particularly of the father or mother) was considered a key reason for households to become vulnerable or poor. In the households interviewed there had not been any death ceremony in the last five years. The only example given was the successful businessman who had held a death ceremony for a poor old woman who had begged him to let her live in his house until she died and asked him to bury her when she died. She had lived in his household for her last 5 years. She was buried with an Islamic burial ceremony. He had slaughtered a bull and bought clothes for the burial. In total he had spent about 5,000 birr, which he considered to be an average amount.

Religion

People in the community do not differentiate Oromo from Muslim and Amhara from Orthodox Christian. They consider all Christians (both Orthodox and Protestant) to be Amhara and all Muslims to be Oromo. Therefore religion and ethnicity are very closely linked. There are three religions in the Kebele: people are Muslims, Orthodox Christians or Protestant Christians. Most of those interviewed said that they were active in their religion and attended regularly. It was unusual for there to be more than one religion followed in a household; household members tended to follow the same religion. The different religions seemed to be spatially grouped in different zones. For example Begejo is largely Christian whilst in Akiya and Chebote almost all the people are Muslim and there is no church. As noted earlier this is for historical reasons related to where Oromo and Amhara coming to the area decided to settle when they came, the Oromo first and the Amhara under Haile Selassie.

Overall it was said that the traditional practices and religion were decreasing and people were becoming stricter in their religious practices. There were good relations between the different religious leaders and congregations and there had been no conflict. Overall religion was considered to make people happier and to create a peaceful community.

There had been more government restriction on religious practices over the last five years according

to the poor woman head of household. Currently there are only Sufi Muslims in the community. But the successful businessman (a Muslim) mentioned that there had been attempts within Islam to divide the followers into sects according to how fundamentalist they were. In November 2013 some respondents gave some more explanation as follows. In 2012 there was some when the sheik and a few others told the followers during prayer time that many mosques in Addis Ababa were closed by the government. A number of followers thought that they should not remain silent and should react to the government action. But the mosque administration was unhappy with this and argued that these people wanted to divide the followers into two groups. They informed the wereda police who came and put two men in jail for two months and fined them. Others took a lesson from this and are now silent and since then there are no such tensions in the community.

New community-initiated organisations

None mentioned.

Key social actors and their networks

Kebele cabinet

Table 16: Kebele cabinet

Cabinet position	Livelihood success	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks?
Chair	Farming activities	He is chair of the party in the kebele	Wereda, kebele, sub kebele, cabinets and religious leaders
Vice-chair	Farming activities	Elder	Religious leader, elders, wereda, kebele and sub kebele
Chair of peace and security	Farming activities	Elder	Religious leaders, wereda police, militia, community policing, social court and elders
Chair of women and children affairs	Farming activities She is household leader	Resident	Wereda and kebele officials, women, children, court, elders and religious leaders.

Elders

Table 17: Elders

Main activities as elders	What other elite positions?	Which other elites in their networks?
Conflict resolution: over land, between husband and wife	Important political activist, he is always called upon at big meetings in the kebele to give a blessing and closing speech	Work with Muslim religious and community leaders, orthodox religious leaders, kebele social court and all others.
Involved in problem solving activities. Conflicts arise between neighbours, relatives, husband-wife and other community people.	Respected religious elder in the community	Has network with other elders (orthodox and protestant), kebele social court and wereda court, sharia court (Kadi)
As elder he has participates in any conflict resolution amongst the people. It may be on land or between husband and wife	He is a model farmer, respected person in his religion who works closely with religious leaders, one of respected people in his clan He is development team leader for his zone.	Work with Muslim religious leaders/derasa and Imam, he has strong relations with other community elders in the community in the different zones. Also he has interaction with kebele and wereda officials in relation to community issues.

*Religious leaders***Table 18: Religious leaders**

Religion	Main activities in community	What other elite positions?	Which other elites in their networks
Orthodox	Farming activity and religious leader	He also plays role of elder in the community.	He works with elders, social court, wereda court religious and kebele leaders
Islam	Farming activity and religious leader	He also plays role of elder in the community.	He works with elders, social court, wereda court religious and kebele leaders
Protestant	Farming activity and religious leader	He is also the secretary of the development team.	He works with elders, social court, wereda court religious and kebele leaders

*Clan leaders***Table 19: Clan leaders**

Clan/lineage & main activities	What other elite positions?	Which other elites in networks?
He is from Hambentu clan and Nacha lineage, he is a farmer	He is considered to be an elder who can resolve any conflict in the community.	They work with elders, clan leaders, religious leaders and kebele leaders.
He is from Akiya clan, he is a farmer. He is the chair of the elders in the wereda.	He is considered to be an elder who can resolve any conflict in the community. He is also the chair of elders in the wereda.	They work with elders, clan leaders, religious leaders, kebele and wereda leaders.
He is from Hambentu clan and Nacha lineage, he is farmer	He plays the role of an elder in the community.	They work with farmers, clan, religious, kebele and sub- kebele leaders.

Iddir leaders

The iddir leaders are elected by the community. They tend to be people who are trusted in the community and considered as leaders. Iddir leaders are given the title *danya* which means judge. *Danya* has a secretary and different committees called *shanacha* which oversee the penalty cases of those members who have not paid the contribution fee (*mewaco*) on time. Iddirs are independent social associations so there is limited interaction with elders and kebele leaders.

There are two types of iddir; the main iddir which is called *Balewold* and then sub-iddirs (*Gosaa iddir*) which tend to be linked to clan and religion. The main reason for having different iddirs is that the way that Christians and Muslims mourn is not the same. There are also male and female iddirs; the male iddir participates in putting up the tents and doing other physically heavy activities in preparation for the funeral whilst the female iddir does the cooking and provides psychological strength for those who are mourning. The iddirs also own various items necessary for funerals and weddings such as tents, dishes and large saucepans. Members can borrow these items when they are hosting a celebration.

Balewold is the main and biggest iddir. It includes members of all religions and most of the inhabitants of the Kebele are members. It is obligatory to be a member as soon as someone gets married while those who are unmarried can choose. Each member contributes 10 birr each month. Gabriel is young women's and men's iddir which was established in 1991 EC. Members are Orthodox Christians. The members contribute money and some consumption items such as teff, pepper, shiro and kikk at their monthly meetings.

*Successful farmers**Successful male farmers***Table 20: Successful male farmers**

	Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
1	Farming activities	Sometimes he is called upon to be an elder in conflict.	DA's, traders, elders, religious leaders and kebele officials.
2	Farming activities	Elder role	Kebele, traders and community at large.

Leading farmer

He has been using fertilizer and improved seeds for at least five years. He says that his current production is lower than before due to crop diseases and pests. Also the improved seeds they are using for wheat are not productive in their climate, but work better in *dega*. In the last farm season his wheat harvest was significantly less than usual for unknown reasons (this was the case for all farmers). He says that he used properly all the required inputs and wonders if the reason for this reduction of productivity might be due to the expiry date of the fertilizer.

Last *meher* and *belg* seasons he used a total of 3.5 ha of farmland. He has no irrigated farmland. He owns 2.25 ha of rain fed land. He contracted 1.25 ha more land for two years at a cost of 17,500 birr. He has been farming the same area of land for the last five years.

He grows wheat, barley, maize, peas, beans, potatoes, teff and sometimes also *zengada*. Over the last five years he has started to grow more potatoes. Last year he got fertilizer, improved seeds and weed killers from the Service Co-operative. He also bought pesticides from Adama town. He also gets better improved seeds from the Assela improved seeds organization. He uses tractors and combined harvesters sometimes, by renting them from Iteya wereda. He gets livestock inputs from Oda Dawata kebele vet services.

He works on his rain fed land and has also two full time servants. He employs extra daily wage labour based on the season and the type of work he needs doing. One of his servants tends the livestock during the day but mostly they keep them at home. His wife does the milking and his servants, his wife or him, whoever available at home, cleans the livestock area.

He sold all of his agricultural outputs last year at home or at the farm gate, where traders come and buy it directly from him. He stores his peas to sell when the price is higher but he is only able to store them for a few months because otherwise they are affected by pests. He sells his livestock at Boru market in Hetosa wereda. The only livestock product he sells is milk which is sold to the milk cooperative and also at home. Over five years ago his household was involved in trading cattle and also fattening but now he has stopped it because he did not get time for it with his farm activities.

The agricultural extension services last year advised and trained him on the proper use of modern farming inputs. He feels that the service provided by the DAs could be improved if there was more educated man power in the field and also if they gave more extensive training.

One of his daughters is employed by an NGO at Arsi Negele and no one else from the household has migrated for work elsewhere. He does not hold any voluntary kebele positions but he is an elder in the community.

*Successful female farmers***Table 21: Successful female farmers**

	Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
1	She hasn't role in community issues as she is busy with her own work.	Model farmer Business woman	She has link with from the kebele to regional administrators through her husband's job. She also has interaction with other regions for experience sharing
2	A year ago she had a role in the community. She now continues to be an active participant in the community issues	No	she has interaction with kebele and wereda officials

Woman model farmer

She was chosen as model farmer because of the change she brought to her life through agricultural activities. She volunteers to share her experience of using new agricultural technologies and techniques. Her husband is a government employee at Dera (adjacent wereda), working as a driver for agriculture and rural development office. Therefore he does not participate in the household's agricultural activities.

She has 3 ha farmland and she uses a tractor for ploughing and combine harvester for harvesting and threshing the crops. Usually she produces wheat, beans and maize. She does not have irrigated land so she uses rain fed agriculture for both seasons (*meher* and *belg*). During *belg* she produces maize and vegetables for consumption and maize for her oxen. During the *meher* season she produced wheat and other grains. She uses improved seeds and fertilizer (artificial and natural). She gets her inputs from the service cooperative.

She is also involved in livestock breeding and fattening of oxen and sheep. She has dairy cows and poultry; currently there are about 8 oxen and 15 sheep which are being fattened. She uses a zero grazing system for cattle and free grazing for her sheep.

Most of the time she has 7 full time employees, 2 females and 5 males and during peak agricultural activities she hires some additional daily workers. She has a grain store where she keeps her produce until the grain price increases.

She has other non-farm business activities which help her with her agricultural activities. For example her household owns a grain mill and she uses the residues as animal feed. She does not have any roles in the kebele as she is very busy in her own work. She provides eggs and milk for a hotel in Assela. The main problem that affects her agricultural activities is a shortage of water. She does not have tap water for domestic consumption or for her animals. She wants to engage in vegetable production but does not have access to enough water.

One of her older sons works for the government in Shashemene. The youngest two children are at school in Assela so she does not have any child labour.

*Successful traders/businessmen**Male***Table 22: Successful male traders/businessmen**

	Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
1	Farming activity and also trading crops	Elder role, religious role (chair of k Islamic Council)	Kebele officials, DA's, traders, farmers, religious leaders, elder
2	Farming activity and trading cattle and fattening	None	Traders, DA's and kebele officials

Male Leading trader:

He buys and sells potatoes throughout the year. The main problem he faced in the last 12 months has been a failure to get trucks when needed to transport potatoes. He buys potatoes from farmers at the farm gate and sometimes from traders and he sells them in Adama, Addis Ababa, Harar, and Jijiga to traders. The traders who buy from him sell the potatoes to retailers and transport them deep into the Somalia region of Ethiopia.

He only stores the potatoes in his store for a few days before selling them because they are perishable. He does not have regular employees but he employs waged labour and pays them on quintal basis for transporting the potatoes by Isuzu, which he rents. For one Isuzu he pays up to 400 birr to the group who carries and transports the potatoes on the truck. When it rains, during the rainy season, he has problems due to the poor internal and feeder roads in the Kebele. The trucks cannot get to the village because of mud and flooding so he is forced not to buy new stock. But if he has already ordered the stock before it rained, he does not pay the farmer and leaves him with the crop, but he loses the money he should pay for the wage labourers who arranged to transport it.

He needs to access credit to expand the business but so far he has not received any. He has no problems getting access to land for storage. He has no business license so far and does not pay any tax. When the price of products gets higher there is strong competition among traders in buying from the farmers, so at that time the only way round is to increase the price paid to farmers. In selling there is no competition because they make deals with the large traders who agree to buy and fix a price by phone first. Once the price has been fixed the large traders transfer the money to the bank and they then get the crop transported to the trader. He does not know most of his customers physically, especially those who are far away. There is no co-operation between traders because of competition. Rather he hides everything he is doing in order to reduce unnecessary competition and jealousy. He does not have relations with the Service Co-operative. The main problem he faces is internal roads in the village which hamper his business. If the existing roads were improved (especially as currently it is very difficult in the summer season) and if roads were constructed to connect all villages this would improve their business.

Leading businessman male

The leading business man was not willing to be interviewed. He is involved in trading cattle to different towns in the country. Someone else in the community was interviewed about him instead. The man is involved in selling livestock after they have been fattened. He has a minibus which transports people from Assela to Adama. He also has a lorry which transports stones. He buys cattle from Digsisi in Lode Hetosa wereda and fattens them in Arsi Negele where he has a fattening farm. He then sells them in Addis Ababa and to local butchers. He transports the cattle to Addis Ababa by lorry and sells the fattened cattle to traders there. He employs three men on a regular basis who look after the cattle he buys from different villages, and transport them to Gonde by walking with the cattle. He does not need to access credit to run his trading enterprise because he is very rich.

*Female***Table 23: Successful female traders/businessmen**

	Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
1	She hasn't got a role in community issues as she is busy with her own work.	Model farmer Business woman	She has link with kebele up to regional administrators. She even has links with other regions for experience sharing through her husband's job.
2	Participates on public issues like kebele meeting	None	Works with other traders and big crop collectors in the town.

Leading trader woman

There is no leading women trader although some women are involved in small scale trading of crops and vegetables in the market and others are involved in petty trade including of local drinks.

Model businesswoman

The model business woman owns six grain mills in Kuat, four of which are worked by dynamo. These mills grind different grains separately because a mill for grinding wheat cannot grind other things. She manages the business and has employed workers. She provides a service to people in the community and she uses the by-products as animal fodder. She has a minibus which is used for public transportation. She started using the bus for public transport two years ago and has experienced no problems with it.

She also engages in fattening oxen and poultry, in milk production and occasionally in grain trading. She has access to animal fodder from the by-products of her crop production and grain mill residues. She also buys other animal feeds like 'atela' and fino around the area. She has farming land of about 3 ha which she inherited from her parents. She produces wheat, beans and other crops.

She is involved in grain trading and during harvesting season she buys some common grains (wheat, bean, teff and others). She then stores them until the price increases. She buys from farmers and sells to the flour factory. She sometimes transports crops to Nazareth and Addis Ababa to sell them.

*Women's leaders***Table 24: Women's leaders**

	Main activities	What other elite position?	Who is in their networks
1	Women's and child affairs	1-5 cell leader Women's association leader Command post leader	Kebele chairman, health extension worker, kebele and wereda propaganda, and model families
2	DT leader at her zone in the kebele	Health committee Model family in health extension package	Kebele chairperson, DA worker, health extension workers and others.

*Political activists***Table 25: Political activists**

	Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
1	Farming activities	Head of kebele propaganda, chair of Akiyya Iddir and elder.	Wereda officials, kebele officials, sub kebele leaders, religious leaders and clan leaders.
2	Farming activities	He is the chair of the kebele youth association.	Wereda and kebele officials, youth, sub kebele chairs.

Social interactions within the community

Community-government relations

None of the adults interviewed expressed any opposition or comments on the government's intervention in any area (environment, education, health and governance). There was very little happening in the community in terms of holding government to account. Most of the adults interviewed had not heard of the accountability mechanisms they were asked about (Gingema, Suggestion Box, Citizen's Report Card, Budget monitoring). There was said to be no suggestion box in the Kebele but there had been a gingema in the last year. The successful FHH, poor and middle wealth farmers had participated. The performance of Kebele officials had been evaluated in a meeting run by Wereda officials. The Kebele officials had been highly criticised by the people and the Wereda officials and had been given a warning. However, so far there did not seem to be any change in the way they worked for the community (successful FHH). In November 2013 an official explained that since the last elections there was a change in the rule and both the kebele Cabinet and the Council had to be reviewed through gingema every two months.

Most of those interviewed said that there was nothing they wanted the government to stop doing. There was only one suggestion from the successful farmer who said that the government had stopped the export of pulses and that particularly for beans and peas this was affecting the farmers as it meant that they no longer got as good a price for their beans and peas. Others involved in trade felt that the government should stop setting the price of goods on the market and stop importing wheat for the flour factories and undercutting local farmers. The government policy was felt to be contributing to the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer.

There were a number of suggestions to improve things, which people felt the government should be doing. These included adult education which had been talked about but not yet started (poor FHH). Or, advice and education had been given about some aspects of development but the community had not been given the necessary tools to implement the suggestions like planting in lines but no tools were provided, or women's cooperatives but there was no support or initiation (successful FHH, successful farmer). Rural road expansion was considered key by some and others highlighted the development of safe water supply (middle farmer). The poor farmer said that the constant inflation of farm inputs was becoming problematic as some could no longer afford fertiliser and therefore government should subsidise the fertiliser.

The main area where government was considered not to be doing enough was in relation to women's economic development. Young and older women all said that the government was doing nothing for women. Despite encouraging them to get involved in income generating activities and to be economically empowered no practical help or support was being provided (successful FHH, Middle farmer's wife, poor farmer's wife, successful businessman's wife, successful farmer's wife, middle 13 young female, rich 13, middle 19, poor 19). As a result the relationship between government and young women was considered to be non-existent (poor 19).

Several of the young men also felt that they had little relationship with government as government did not want to engage in the problems of unemployment and landlessness they were facing.

There were a lot of allegations of corruption and nepotism of local officials by different kinds of people. Those accused included the kebele chairman in place in April 2013 (who was accused of taking bribes when involved in conflict management, and of taking land from dead people with children who could not do anything against him because of his strong connection at wereda level); the kebele manager around his role of giving ID cards to people - he was selective and made people pay more than they should; the land administration and justice bodies at kebele and wereda levels - accepting bribes and ruling in favour of those able to bribe them in different kinds of cases; and generally the kebele leadership trying to make money e.g. from money collected for a community celebration and which had been '*swallowed in an ever-opened pot*'.

The kebele women affairs' representative explained that the community knew well who were the corrupt ones, and try to get rid of them, but usually this is hard because these people have a strong connection with corrupt wereda officials who will protect them. During the second fieldwork some respondents highlighted that because of the worsening governance at kebele level, since April 2013 people had stopped coming to meetings. Finally, they complained to the wereda and in this case succeeded and got the kebele chairman to be replaced.

People did not agree as to whether corruption was increasing, because of lack of effective mechanisms to call the culprits to account and lack of follow-up by higher officials, or decreasing because of the frequent change in people holding the posts. One woman said that as there are no effective mechanisms people talk about the cases through rumours, but this too had no effect. Others were quite cynical, saying that the worst happening to people found guilty was that they were sent to another work place –which have them confidence that they could just continue their practices in their new job. Also, corrupt officials resign when they feel they have made enough gain, and other corrupt people replace them.

Local elite-people relations

The local elites are: religious leader (sheiks and priests), knowledgeable people who might be ex-kebele officials, wealthy people, current kebele officials and community elders. The elite will often have multiple roles and responsibilities: for instance religious leaders are involved in kebele structures as kebele officials, community elders and development facilitators.

Ethnic/clan relations

Ethnicity and clan in some ways are not considered significant; young people socialise across clan religions and ethnicity. However, when it comes to marriage young people said that the ethnicity of their future marriage partner would be considered by their parents. Parents preferred their children to marry someone of the same ethnicity. Ethnicity was strongly linked by most in the community to religion and Christians were called 'Amhara' even when they were Shewa Oromo and Muslims were called Oromo.

However, there were a couple of comments in the interviews in April 2013 about increased ethnic tension. One of the youth talked about '*some sort of discrimination in the society on the basis of religion and ethnicity*' and he disliked this (male, middle aged 13). The middle wealth farmer also mentioned that there had been an increase in violent fights amongst men because of land boundaries but also ethnicity. In November 2013 people reported a sudden flare-up between a man from the Abentu (Oromo) clan and an Amhara whose cattle had grazed leftovers from the harvest of the Abentu man in one of his fields. They fought and it rapidly aggravated and involved the two clans and they started to seriously attack each other. This had to be resolved by calling the Federal police. The tension has since subsided but it has not completely gone. Those respondents added that '*they (Muslims?) do not allow the Christians to speak in social meetings and they fiercely revenge against them if their children get in a dispute*'. On the other side, one Oromo woman living in the northern part of Mecro, near Chebote, explained that "*they will never allow the Amhara to mix with them and will not intermarry with anyone except Arsi Oromo.*"

Relations among different religious groups

Relations between the different religious groups seemed to be peaceful. No conflicts were mentioned by those interviewed. Young people mixed and socialised across religious groups. There had been some tension within the Muslim community. According to some respondents this arose when some people tried to split the followers depending on how fundamentalist they were in adhering to their faith. For others it was linked to the incidents in Addis when the government closed some mosques. Some people in Oda Dawata tried to incite others to react to this action. They were stopped by the mosque administration calling the wereda police which jailed two men.

Class relations

The only reference to class was in terms of marriage. Although legally young people now have the right to choose their marriage partner some of them acknowledged that if they chose someone who was from a very different class (i.e. much poorer) their parents would try and intervene to end the relationship. There are incipient class relations between wealthy people and destitute/poor ones working for them sometimes for a very low salary (60-70 birr/month) or no salary at all but being given a place to live.

Interactions affecting gender relations

The changes in the national family law were thought to have brought in increased equality for women in terms of inheritance, land ownership and rights in case of divorce or widowhood. These have had a significant impact upon the way women are seen in the community. It combined with an increased economic role in households and the community. Many were of the view that this meant that women were no longer seen as weak and that female headed households were respected. Women had control over their own earned resources and could also prevent their husband from misusing the household's resources. If a husband forcefully misused household resources the wife could accuse him in front of the gare leaders and he might be punished.

There remained problems with the just implementation of some of the laws due to corruption amongst court officials and bias towards men among elders. There were also a number of respondents less upbeat with regard to women's economic empowerment, which they found limited. Women's political position also had not changed much. But things were changing and women seemed to be gaining confidence in seeking to push for their legal rights.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

Overall inter-generational relations were considered to be good. They respected one another and lived peacefully without tension. The dominant religions all taught that young people should have respect for their elders and obey them (Rich 13) and this helped.

However, the older generation disliked the way that many of the young people dressed and did their hair. They also did not like young women having boyfriends before marriage (poor 13). Groups of young men hanging around the Kebele were considered by some in the older generation as increasing the risk of theft in the community (middle 13, middle 16). The development of different habits amongst some of the youth (middle 19) was said to bring some tension and condemnation by the adults. Young people were keen to be modern and to follow technology in every area of their lives whilst their parents tended to be more conservative and this led to some tensions. Young people were also less interested in their cultural heritage as they were influenced instead by movies, TV and influences from urban areas.

For instance, the middle farmer's wife said that there was tension between one of her sons and her husband, because all of the agricultural work was being loaded on the son whilst the father, who was the kebele vice-chair, spent his time on community work. The son had completed TVET education in metal work and had worked in Addis with this skill but had returned home when he was unable to find another job. He now felt as if he was being treated as a farm labourer.

External relations

Relations with other communities

The kebele has good relationships with all neighbouring kebeles but they have more of a relationship with Gonde town due to the geographical location of the town which is found at the centre of Oda Dawata and provides many services for the community. There are no historic or recent tensions or conflicts within or beyond the kebele. Individual households do not seem to cooperate or have much relationship with households in other communities.

Community-wereda relations

There seemed to be good relationships between the community and the Wereda. The farmers of the Kebele were well thought of at Wereda level as they were considered to have a high awareness and successful implementation of new agricultural technologies compared to other kebeles. The Wereda felt that was mainly due to Oda Dawata's proximity to Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre which provided them with different new improved seeds and farming techniques.

The community tend to think well of the Wereda as they are better off than the other kebeles in the Wereda. Most people in the community people work with government bodies in different activities.

Community – NGO relations

Most households had had no interactions with NGOs over the last 12 months. FAO had connections on wheat farming. Over several years they had been providing improved seeds (cheaper than on the market) to 34-40 model farmers selected according to how hard they worked. This was initially on credit then paid cash. The farmers then sold some of the wheat back to FAO, and some to other farmers, as improved seed. However two of the farmers who had participated (successful businessman and successful farmer) said that FAO was not as active as it had been before both in providing the seed or in buying it back.

Those farmers formed a cooperative and have continued to produce improved seeds, although production has declined since the FAO intervention stopped. They usually buy improved seed from the farmers' cooperative union but this year the wereda agricultural office helped them to buy 11 quintals of improved seeds from the farmers' cooperative. In addition to this they got 40 kg of seed from Kulumsa Research Centre which they would pay back after the harvest. The cooperative sells their improved seeds back to the farmers' cooperative and to local farmers.

FAO also trained some farmers on how to improve the breed and health of their livestock. FAO was trying to reduce sexually transmitted diseases by subsidising artificial insemination (AI) and raising the number of cross-bred cattle. Training was first given to selected model farmers, particularly women to encourage them to use AI for their cows. Training was then given to those who used the service, and covered how to care for the cross-bred calves. FAO focuses on women's participation more than men's because women are the ones who usually take care of the cows in giving fodder, cleaning their homes etc.

USAID has also had a programme at Mecro Primary school paying for the educational inputs (pens, books and uniforms) needed by poor children. The programme also expanded to include an income generating aspect whereby poor families with pupils in the school are given a sheep to rear.

There are no NGO workers in the community. Both FAO and USAID function from Assela town.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

Social cohesion in the community remains strong although some say that it is not as strong as it was in the past when people were more reliant upon each other. People share domestic work at times of big ceremonies or weddings. Household's also share farm implements and oxen during ploughing season (this is particularly important for poor households who may not have their own ox). In times of crisis help usually comes through the household's iddir memberships. However it was recognised that as the community has got wealthier the rich and middle wealth households are less reliant upon labour sharing and support from other households and as a result these practices have declined. This is largely because richer households are able to hire in daily labourers or servants.

Ideas domain

Community cultural repertoires

Major areas of contention

There were no major areas of contention. Overall the change in the community was seen as positive. People were considered to be more flexible than in the past, and more open to change.

However, a number of those interviewed said that they had noticed that social organisation had been decreasing in relation to culture, tradition and religion as people had become busier and more focused on their individual livelihoods and activities. A number of adults interviewed said that people had become more individualistic and selfish and therefore were less likely to help one another (poor FHH, middle farmer wealth, poor farmer, successful businessman's wife). There was increased reliance on *iddirs* and *mehaber* which had become stronger. But customary labour sharing such as *debo* and *jigi* were declining due to most farmers' ability to hire labour and due to increasing individualism (middle farmer). The reduction of the number of feasts, considered a harmful traditional practice, meant that social interaction between people had been reduced (middle farmer's wife). For example, previously there was some meal and drink when *iddir* contributions were made but this has been stopped so people now just come and pay and leave. It seemed that even sharing coffee ceremonies with neighbours had stopped as people were too busy with their work. So people were not aware of whether others were celebrating or suffering a crisis.

The increased layers of government structure were seen by some to give people more opportunity to input into the development of the community (middle farmer) and to encourage people to work together. Others were less positive about them saying that many of the structures were not functional (successful FHH, successful businessman's wife). Others felt that those in positions of leadership within the structures were not competent (successful businessman).

Another problem raised with all the changes was that whilst some households were experiencing significant improvement others, especially the poor, were becoming poorer (successful businessman).

Conservative repertoire

The community in general was seen to be keen to accept new, modern ideas especially when they were related to improving their livelihoods. They had received a lot of training on aspects of development from the DAs, the agricultural research institute centre, Asela malt factory and the wereda agricultural and rural development office. Areas of conservatism remained in relation to marriage and the choice of marriage partner (who should be someone from the same ethnic group and class) and the future of young people. The older generation were keen that some young people should remain in farming whilst the young saw no future in it. Some older people were not happy about the large numbers of young people migrating and some of the urban influences in terms of hair and dress styles, and the fact that young girls were having boyfriends before marriage.

Modern repertoire

Young people in particular are very keen to implement and adapt modern ideas. There has been a change in work habits (people are working harder), celebration of feasts (fewer) and less cooperative work. People are using modern agricultural inputs and are increasingly trying new agricultural techniques as they are keen to benefit from increased outputs.

One young man who was trying to solve the problems related to planting in lines used a jerry can with a hole in its side and connected it to the plough. The jerry can was filled with a mixture of seed and fertiliser and when the oxen dragged it, the mixture was planted in rows. People have started to do intercropping of potatoes with maize but some young men are planting three crops at the same time, potatoes, pulses and maize. Artificial Insemination (AI) has been accepted by the community

and people are happy with the service. The practice of fattening oxen has become common: farmers started feeding their ox/oxen at home, using the zero grazing system, when the oxen get older. Everyone who can afford to tries to engage in ox fattening because it gives good profit and enables people to increase the number of livestock they have. Farmers also engage in livestock trading activities during the off peak agricultural season. They diversify far more than in the past, work hard, and plan their activities.

The government has reduced the number of feasts that are being held and the amount of money that is spent for funerals and wedding ceremonies. Previously both Muslims and Christians slaughtered two animals for funerals and wedding ceremonies but this has been reduced. People no longer eat and drink together each month when they give their iddir contribution but instead they meet outside their house for their monthly contribution and discussion.

Working in cooperatives is a relatively new idea in the community. Young people have started to organise themselves to work together and in this way have accessed credit from government. Now there are about five youth cooperatives in the kebele. Some of them are working hard and doing well for themselves.

The way that people live in urban areas has also been embraced by those in the Kebele and the community now eat more varied food, *injera* is cut and household members eat individually, the house and compound are also kept clean. Households have also started using charcoal burner stoves for coffee, which make less smoke and save energy compared to using wood and dung cake.

Modern ideas

Oda Dawata is very close to Assela, the capital of the wereda as well as zonal capital of Arssi. As a result there are many organisations and institutions close by, which distinguishes it from other rural kebeles in the wereda. It has also meant that the Kebele has had longer and more extensive exposure to modern ideas. The community has frequent interaction with staff from the agricultural research institution on improved seed duplication. They also have contact with the malt factory and the big flour factory at Gonde. Young people get jobs in these local industries. Migration to big cities and towns has also been happening for some time so that many families have children in urban areas in Ethiopia or abroad. Most of the Kebele has electricity so people are also exposed to TV and radio. As a result of all these influences people are easily accepting new things.

However, although people are supportive of government interventions and have received a lot of training on development from different sources, they lack technical support from the local government and the DAs, so that the modern technologies needed by so many of the new ideas are not implemented. The other problem is that all of the support from FAO, the malt factory, the Research Institute and the Wereda is focused on the same small group of model farmers.

Cultural entrepreneurs

Government ideology

Development and political messages are delivered to the community through the sub kebele structures. Cabinet officers deliver the messages to leaders of zones and development teams, and in turn development team leaders deliver them to 1-5 members. Cabinet officers then follow up on the delivery of the messages.

The main ideas said to have come recently from government were the progress on the Renaissance Dam, at national level, and the importance of terracing and check dams, at community level (poor FHH). Ideas had been brought to the community by the DAs about the use of fertiliser, modern bee hives, improved seeds and improved chickens (successful farmer). Farmers had been shown that it was possible to produce spices in the area including Tikur-azmud, and the Kulumsa Agricultural Research Institute was producing improved seed (poor farmer's wife).

A recent idea that had come from the Wereda was biogas. Some model farmers had been chosen to build a tanker to be used to produce biogas (successful FHH, successful businessman's wife, successful farmer's wife).

Ideas had also been brought by Wereda officials about peace and democracy (successful businessman) and about the importance of work simplification and time management. The wereda promoted the idea that cases should be dealt with at 1-5, development team or zone level rather than coming immediately to the Kebele level so that farmers do not waste time waiting at Kebele for their cases to be heard (poor farmer).

Ethnic ideologies

There do not seem to be specific ethnic ideologies; ethnicity is assimilated with religion and so, there are Christian and Islamic issues instead of Amhara and Oromo issues. As mentioned before there are Muslim Oromo and Christian Oromo but the Christian Oromo are considered as Amhara as they are being Christian.

Religious ideologies

Most of the religious ideologies that were brought to the area seemed to relate to living peacefully with one another and about tolerance (middle farmer, poor farmer, successful businessman and successful farmer). Some religious missionaries also taught the community to implement government programmes (poor farmer). Some religious leaders taught that religious institutes would be a source of good ideas or innovation centre for community development.

The Islamic teachers teach followers to be devoted and that even if they cannot come to the mosque five times a day they should pray at home.

There is a rumour that in other places there is conflict between Muslims and Orthodox Christians and so the priests always tell them to pray that such problems do not come to this area.

Other ideologies

None mentioned.

Urban connections and ideas

Oda Dawata is very closely connected to urban areas. The community was therefore strongly influenced by urban ideas as most people travel regularly to the nearby towns for services and market.

There is a consensus that ideas related to modernisation and improved lifestyles came from urban areas (middle farmer, poor farmer, successful farmer). Examples of this include dress style, ways of eating and household materials or goods (successful businessman). Other ideas included budget management, saving, and cleanliness of house and compound (successful businessman's wife). Due to the close relationship people in Oda Dawata had with urban people, many of the ideas were no longer seen as new and had become familiar. The successful FHH said that land leasing had started in urban areas and as a result a person was not able to sell his/her land, only the properties on it.

Diaspora connections and ideas

Interestingly despite the large number of people from the community who migrate the majority of respondents said that no ideas came from them. This may be that the majority do not return. Some migrants were said to advise young people to migrate because of the better money available elsewhere (successful farmer) and the opportunity to improve your life (successful businessman). Others apparently pushed in the opposite direction saying that it is better to live and work in your own country as elsewhere you have no rights (middle farmer, poor farmer). Migrants were also said to return with modern ideas about how you should keep your house and how to dress.

Modern media and ideas

People in the Kebele have good access to TV and radio due to the supply of electricity to most parts of the Kebele. Modern media was said to make people familiar with new ideas more quickly (poor farmer's wife); the successful business man's wife felt that all new ideas came from modern media. The overall message from the media seemed to be that all should be involved in development activities. People had heard about the Renaissance Dam, farming and irrigation through the media. There was also information about people's democratic rights.

Community management domain

Public Works

Environment

Main issues and activities

Due to deforestation and heavy rain there is soil erosion particularly in Akiya and Chebote zones where the land is slopy. Wind and rain are taking away the fertile soil into the river and to lower places. This has been caused by people cutting down the trees to expand farmland and grazing land and to get wood to sell and to use as fuel.

Rust (wag) is a crop disease which occurs due to erratic rainfall. Rust occurs at the end of the growing season when the crop faces rain shortage or it may be brought on by excessive rain. Previously the effect was seen on the stems of the crop, particularly on wheat, but now it has become more serious and affects the leaves and seeds as well. This is having an impact on crop yields particularly for wheat.

Community works initiated by the government related to the environment are: watershed management, terracing and planting trees. People construct soil bunds where the land is dug into contour lines; this helps to break the speed of flood and catch the soil in it. People also use stones to terrace, so as to divert the water flow. Trees are used to prevent soil erosion and as animal fodder as well.

Watershed management and grazing land

There is no communal grazing in the kebele but individual households fence their grazing land to protect it. Due to the of land shortage, zero grazing is usual.

Watershed work started in the Kebele two years ago and the community has been engaged in different terracing activities mainly organised and conducted by development teams and development armies. The government trained people how to build terraces and check dams and explained why they were important and their purpose. The construction of check dams is underway in some places.

There was no agreement as to whether the work done had had an impact or not. Some felt that it had increased the fertility of the soil and increased productivity both for individual farmers and the community at large. But others said the work had not been effective because the check dams had been constructed in the wrong place or were not done properly. This meant that the water was diverted in the wrong direction and still caused flooding.

NRM interventions (trees)

Those interviewed said that there was no pollution in the area and therefore it did not matter that government had taken no action in this area.

They were aware of the importance of planting trees and said that there had been government training about it. Trees had been planted on the check dams and some individuals had planted trees or grasses in their compounds. Model farmers and those who had links with Wereda officials had

been given different species of trees and grasses to plant by the Wereda agricultural and rural development office, Kulumsa agricultural research centre and the Assela malt factory. Those households who had received trees and grasses had benefited but there had not been widespread tree planting as a community activity.

Animal protection

The government have enclosed the bush land around the edge of the mountain to give wildlife somewhere to shelter. Awareness has also been created by government about the need to protect wildlife and there were punishments for those who killed wild animals.

However parts of the community were suffering from animal attacks on their livestock mainly by hyenas and tigers. A man in another kebele killed a tiger which attacked his goats and was jailed for years as punishment and since then people are afraid to kill wild animals.

Soil fertility

Soil fertility was considered by some to have improved thanks to the check dams, terracing and planting of trees. However, others felt there had not yet been any change and that soil fertility was still declining due to erosion.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

This year roads were being paved to connect sub-kebeles and there will be an improvement of internal roads with the participation of people in the community. People contributed about 100 birr for internal road construction. There was bridge maintenance in Akiya zone (which is separated from the rest of the kebele by the Kulumsa River). The wereda gives technical support and advice. For the road 50% of the cost was covered by the wereda budget, including skilled labour and construction materials.

Electricity

The community had not been recently involved in the electrification of the Kebele. Although there were some parts which had not been reached and no further work was planned.

Communications

None mentioned.

Water infrastructure

At Wereda level there are plans to expand the water infrastructure in the Kebele. Whilst the community provides water committees to manage and run the water points once they have been installed they have not recently been involved in construction of water infrastructure.

Public buildings

All buildings in the kebele were built more than five years ago.

Urban development

No works mentioned.

Organising Public Works

Public works are organised by the Kebele officials through the development teams. Whether this is done effectively or not seems to depend on the zone leadership. E.g. in November 2013 one of the Mebro-Begejo zone leaders said that the zone's performance since April had been very poor, putting this in turn down to lack of good governance at kebele level (see below). In contrast, in Akiya and Chebote zones, there were weaknesses in the structures but the zones and DTs had been active in

mobilising people for PWs. In Akiya the zone had also collected 70,000 birr for road construction for a road between Akiya and Kulumsa. The zone leaders control the DT leaders who in turn control the DT members for PWs.

The idea is that all households send a representative to take part, ideally the head of the household, or someone else if he is not available. Landless households are not expected to participate. In Oda Dawata they worked on terracing for two months a year in January and February (off peak agricultural season). The work takes place four days a week; three days for men (Monday to Wednesday) and one for women (Thursday); for five hours per day (3 pm -8 pm). The wereda officials provide technical support and training, and monitor and evaluate the work on the spot. Officials suggest that the work resulted in a decline in the severity of erosion as some bare and sloppy lands have been re-afforested. As a result the productivity of some areas has improved.

Public works are planned according to government policy. The main work in Oda Dawata was watershed management which includes river diversion and terracing (stone or soil bund). Tree planting is planned but has not yet taken place on a large scale. It is carried out only by individuals.

People are not keen to participate in public works as they prefer to do their own work and in some cases cannot see the importance of the public works. The current government policy says that no fines or punishment can be used to make people take part in development work. Instead the onus is upon the government employees to encourage and inspire the people to want to get involved. The people know that there is no punishment and as a result the number of people who participate in public works is limited, ranging between 50 and 100 farmers.

The zone leaders interviewed in November 2013 recognised that while in principle there was a chain of control for PW participation, some people resisted the control 'due to lack of awareness' (Akiya).

Doing Public Works

Most of the people do not want to participate in community work. Economically well-off households and people with relationships with kebele officials do not participate. Those interviewed had been involved in terracing and check dams. The work is hard and the days long and in some households it was said to have disrupted their family work calendar (middle farmer). There were complaints that the work had not been well organised or planned and that they lacked technical expertise and as a result it had not been as effective as expected: the water was diverted not into the river but over different parts of farmland which were now flooding (FHH poor).

Female headed households were expected to participate in public works and the female heads of both households interviewed had done so. Some of the richer households were able to send a servant to carry out their public works (successful businessman).

Taxes and contributions

Land tax

Land tax was the only tax in the Kebele which was collected from all landowning households. There were no other taxes. The total land tax collected every year was about 66,000 birr. The amount to be paid was calculated on a per hectare basis (c. 40 birr per hectare) and land tax was paid by 900 households. The Kebele officials said that there was no problem in collecting land taxes; due to the fines for late payment most farmers paid on time. The successful businessman paid 260 birr and the successful FHH paid 275 birr while both the middle farmer and the poor farmer paid the lowest tax at 65 birr.

Market tax

No one interviewed paid market tax regularly although some of the traders paid it occasionally. For the sale of cattle a tax was paid per head of cattle on leaving the market, whether you had bought them or tried to sell them.

Income tax

No one interviewed paid income tax among the community households. Government employees paid income tax at wereda level.

Licences

Most people did not have licences even those who were involved in trade.

Contributions in cash and kind

The regular annual cash contributions collected by the kebele are Red Cross (5 birr), wereda sport contribution (10 birr) and 12 birr for the Oromia Development Association. All members of the community who pay land taxes have the responsibility to pay these annual contributions. Landless households are also exempted from these contributions. One-off cash contributions are collected by the kebele for local, regional and national projects, e.g. 10 birr for the Oromia hall construction, or 60 birr for the wereda administration building. These one off contributions are also paid only by landed households, and everyone pays the same amount. Landless people are exempted.

The wereda

Wereda policies and budget

The total budget of Tiyo Wereda is about thirty four million birr and this has been increasing yearly. The agricultural sector uses the highest amount of resources from the wereda budget. Despite the annual budget increases all of the Wereda programmes were said to be suffering of lack of budget and the wereda were struggling to pay the salaries of government workers. At times the Wereda has asked for urgent extra budget from the regional government and also borrowed money from Assela town municipality in order to pay salaries in the wereda.

Areas which were mentioned as hampering service provision included lack of car for the agricultural sector, which was important for the transportation of inputs; and lack of budget to construct houses for the DAs in the kebeles which meant that they lived in the town rather than being present at their work stations.

The MDG fund has brought significant change in the wereda especially with regards to rural road construction. It has helped to connect most of the kebeles to each other and also to the main road. This has given rural kebeles access to markets that they previously could not access; it has enabled farmers to get better prices for their production and reduced the amount of crops perishing. Road access has also enabled agricultural inputs to be transported into the villages. Currently, all of the 18 kebeles in the wereda have transportation access to the main road. The Wereda plans to expand the rural road construction in order to connect all villages in the kebele and to finish road construction in 2014 (2006 EC).

The two main campaigns from the Wereda have been the expansion of best farming practice in order to speed up rural development, and environmental protection. Both campaigns have been funded by the government and have called upon public participation for free labour.

Wereda progress

In terms of progress on environmental protection officials at Wereda level say that public works reduced soil erosion and increased productivity. It also increased water discharge and forest coverage. Successes in this and in rural road construction have been thanks to training but also the labour and support of communities.

Three key sectors, namely, agriculture, health and rural road construction, are going equally well in the wereda. The wereda has a reputation for being awarded for their success in agricultural activity at zonal, regional and even national level.

In contrast, safe water provision is a major problem in the wereda. This is mainly because water point construction requires a huge amount of money and the zone did not give enough attention to this problem. To improve access to safe water adequate budget allocation is required from the regional government and through public participation.

Working with NGOs

There are no NGOs which are actively operating in the wereda, except JICA (Japanese Aid) which has been engaged in assisting some health programmes.

Investors in the wereda

There is only one investor from outside the wereda. He is from Lode Tosa wereda in Arsi zone. He was given 30 hectare of land for producing vegetables (tomato, onion and potatoes) and started production. He has created some job opportunities for unemployed people on his farm, mainly labourers and guards. He is also introducing the technology of farming vegetables to the neighbouring rural communities through training and sharing his experience.

There are plans to give land to new investors in the future but the Wereda has not received many requests. For any investor who needs less than one hectare of land a decision can be made at the wereda level by the board of investment and confirmed at zone level. But for those who need more than one hectare the wereda does not have the jurisdiction to offer them land. The investors have to go to the regional investment bureau to make their request and the region refers the case to the zone. The zone in turn passes the request to the wereda. Accordingly, the wereda can either confirm or reject the request based on the availability of the requested land.

Regional and zonal plans for the wereda

Based on the wereda's request the regional government has promised to expand access to safe water in the kebeles and also to strengthen rural road construction. The zone is also working hard by facilitating the regional plan for the wereda.

Wereda relations with neighbours

People in the wereda have good relationships with the neighbouring communities. At Wereda level all are working together for communal development. There are no historic tensions or conflicts with other weredas so far.

The kebele

Wereda report on the kebele

The kebele has similar development performance with most of the kebeles in the wereda. However what is remarkable about is that the farmers in Oda Dawata are keener to adopt new agricultural technology compared to those in other kebeles. This is mainly due to their proximity to Kulumsa agricultural research centre, which provides them with different new improved seeds and shows them new farming techniques. Oda Dawata has a good relationship with all the neighbouring kebeles.

Wereda plan for the kebele

The wereda is determined to expand rural road construction in all zones of the kebele and is working to improve access to safe water. In addition, the wereda is planning to expand traditional and modern irrigation systems in order to assure sustainable development in the kebele. There are plans to replace the traditional irrigation system with a more modern one.

The wereda is looking to provide support for unemployed youth in the rural areas by organising them into groups as small and medium enterprises through which they can engage in different activities such as carpentry, metal work, protecting the forest whilst produce honey with bee hives,

agricultural activities and quarrying. There are also plans to expand non-farm activities for unemployed youth so that they engage in construction work and other service activities like opening stationary shops and hotels.

Kebele and party structures and activities

The Oda Dawata Kebele structure corresponds to the standard structure except that the health and agricultural extension workers are managed by the Kebele Manager. There are three sub-kebeles or zones in Oda Dawata: Akiya, Chebote and Mecro-Begejo. Each Zone is composed of 700 to 1,500 people and is represented by a group of three elected people (who are voluntary) – although the zone leader in Mecro-Begejo described a five-member leadership. They are in charge of organising the people in their zone for development activities, peace and security and good governance. They are also encouraged to try and solve issues that arise at zone level rather than taking everything to the Kebele level.

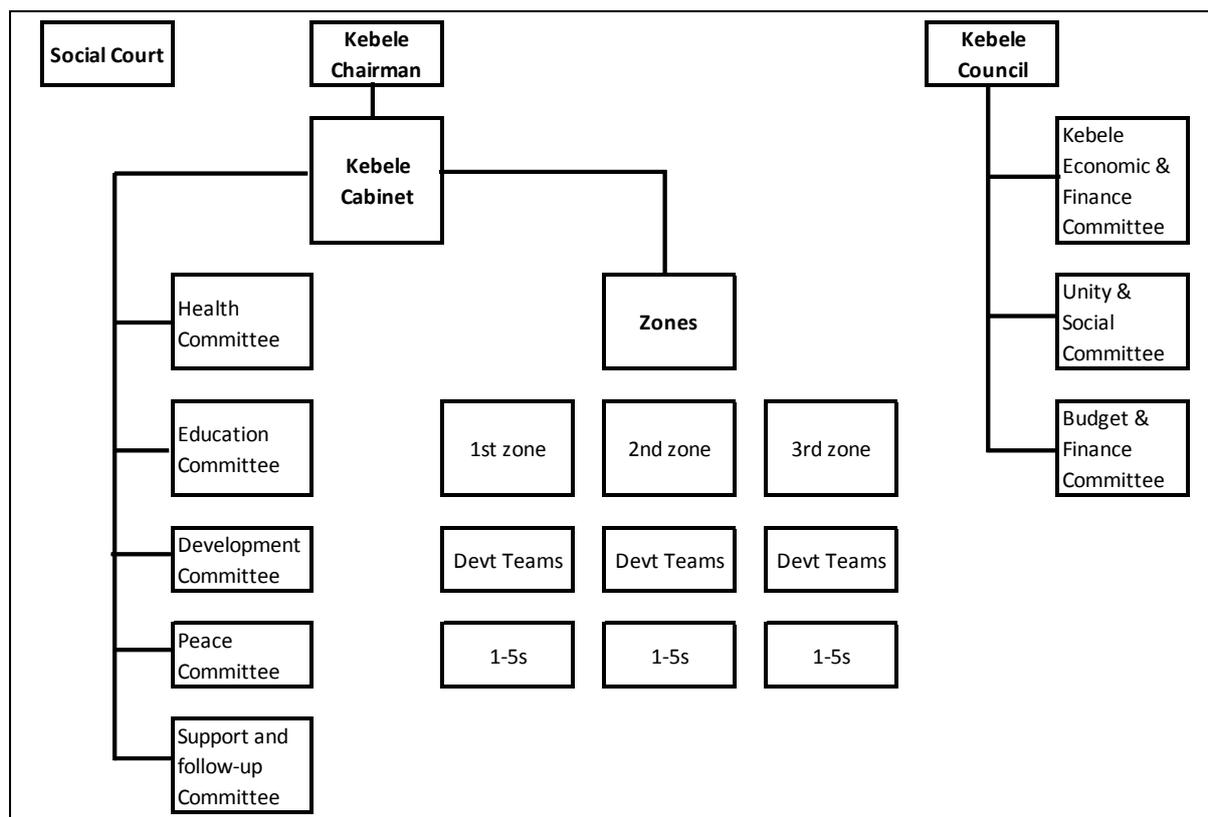
Under the Zone there are development teams, about 29 of them for the whole kebele (zone leaders mentioned 8 each in Chebote and Akiya, and 14 in Mecro-Begejo). The zone leaders, who are five, are each the leader of one of the Development Teams in their zone. The DTs have also a leadership of five, and each DT leader in turn leads a 1-5.

Each DT is composed of 20 to 30 households from the same neighbourhood. Development team members meet weekly to discuss what they have done in the week and to plan what they will do next in the areas of development, peace and security, health and education. Development teams include all households irrespective of their political affiliation. Development teams are supposed to mobilise members of their team to actively participate in development activities. There is also an experience sharing programme in which a development team who has recorded success in different development activities can share their experience with others. In April 2013 people said that both male and female leaders have the same role in development teams.

In November 2013 zone and DT leaders gave a number of tasks that zones and DTs are supposed to accomplish. The *garee* leaders mobilise their members for watershed work and will mobilise them to put the new water pipes underground (for the water point construction expected to take place in the zone). They do this when the kebele orders them to. Everybody should participate except very old and sick; they refer absentees to the kebele who fine them 30 *birr*. More generally, zone leaders should supervise DT leaders to mobilise their 1-5s to involve in development activities. The zone leadership is expected to resolve land disputes, thefts and individual conflicts if it is beyond the DT capacity. As explained in section 6.1 DTs and 1-5s are also supposed to be instrumental in agricultural growth by following up on each farmer's activities.

The development team leaders are also cell leaders, so they can easily mobilise people for both development and party politics. Indeed zone and DT leaders advise ordinary members not to join another party and to work closely with the government. As one respondent noted, in any instance people in the community do not have any other option as there is no other party in the kebele. Zone and DT leaders have also a key role in peace and security. This is done through DT leaders' controlling 1-5 members about where they have been and what they are doing, and also getting members reporting any newcomer. Zone leader give the instructions that they get from the kebele leadership about security. E.g. if a new religious leader comes to their zone they should report this to the kebele leaders, for the security of their zone. During harvest time each DT leader is responsible to mobilise members to give guard service at night in turn; according to some this has reduced theft, especially of harvest, in the next two years.

Figure 1: Structure of the kebele



Cells or 1-5s are the next level down. They meet every two weeks to discuss party politics including the party newspaper which provides an update of party politics at national level for all weredas in the region. The role of the cell in the party structure is to follow up on the implementation of party programmes down at grassroots level, by reviewing achievements and setting out future plans.

In April 2013 some respondents talked about female 1-5s also called the "health army". Their role is confined to the health programme and they work in collaboration with the HEWs. In November 2013 there were indications, including by the kebele manager, that the 1-5s and health army were not functional, and that the structure stopped at the DT level with one volunteer in each, working with the HEWs. But one woman had a different account, explaining that although there are weaknesses the female 1-5s were playing a vital role. (See section 6.2 for more on this).

More generally it was not very clear whether DTs and 1-5s were mixed or separate. In November 2013 a number of responses suggested that thus far, they had not been separate. One person said that "women are members by their husbands and they replace him if he dies". But there was an ongoing process of establishing separate structures, which started after April 2013. This was still "in the process". One woman garee leader said that there were no separate structures but now that female garees were going to be established there would also be female 1-5s.

Overall the structures (particularly the 1-5s and development teams) were not considered to be functioning as planned. According to the officials this was due to lack of knowledge and understanding of the programmes or of their agenda, and a lack of interest by community members of working in the structure. Instead people were keen to spend time working on their own livelihood. One of the zone leaders said that his zone's poor performance in terms of mobilisation was linked to the poor governance at kebele level that had prevailed since April 2013.

Ordinary people had a number of other complaints – also acknowledged by the zone leaders themselves. In addition to disliking the structures for farm work and finding them less effective than traditional labour-sharing mechanisms, people are "not happy with the follow-up and controlling

mechanisms. They do not want to hear about politics; they get bored of it even if this involvement in different meetings and structures is to live peacefully. They say that if you involve in politics the officials always make you busy which has a negative impact on your livelihood. People prefer to be neutral from politics but they cannot due to pressure from the government."

There are about 307 party members in the kebele; every two weeks there are party meetings of the 20 people who are the executives of the party in the kebele. Once a month, there is a meeting with all members of the party. The attendance at party meetings is by far better than other meetings because there are sanctions. Anyone missing a party meeting without permission will be reviewed; if you miss many times you are dismissed from party membership – although so far no one in the Kebele has been dismissed. Party members have to buy the party newspaper regularly; this is done through their membership fee.

Every three months there are training courses for specially selected people in the kebele and wereda. Recently six people were trained at wereda level: the kebele chair, vice chair, propaganda officer, league leaders of both sex, and the peace and security cabinet officer. They were trained for two days about local elections and how to mobilise people to participate in elections.

The community members listen to government messages about government politics and development programmes on the radio. Government also uses model farmers to deliver their messages. Government has trained the model farmers about party politics, so when they share their farming experience they also deliver government messages at public gatherings.

Kebele committees

There are five active committees in the kebele, namely: education, health, peace and security, development, and politics. The development committee is more effective than the others because it has been given priority in all aspects. The education committee is the least effective, mainly in the area of adult education. This is because most people are not willing to attend adult education in the kebele due lack of awareness.

There seemed to be some tensions between the Cabinet and Committee structure and people struggled to work as a team.

Kebele chair

The kebele chair found in place in April 2013 had been in office for the last two years. Before him a man called Aman Hirko was Chair for one year he was ineffective. Before Aman Hirko a person called Addisu Haji chaired the kebele for three years he also left the office due to his inefficiency.

In November 2013 the chair had recently been replaced and a new chair had been in place for ten days. Some people said that the chair had been dismissed because he was not active in organising the cabinet and sub-kebeles. He was determined not to sacrifice his time to serve the community – and was absent from the office most of the time. This was the cause for his failure to achieve the plan of the government at grassroots level. He also got sick and disappeared from the kebele for about a month without telling anyone. He was called to office but remained silent, so the wereda administrators delegated another person and the kebele council confirmed him. One person said he was detained, allegedly on corruption issues.

Kebele cabinet

Once a week all the cabinet members have a meeting at kebele level. Every two weeks they meet with zone leaders, and once a month with development team leaders and with all members of development teams. There are also meetings every three months with all people in the kebele.

Some people in the Kebele do not attend meetings, especially the three monthly ones. In order to improve attendance advice has been given to those who miss meetings. If someone frequently misses meetings he/she will be brought to the social court and the court can fine them up to 20 birr -

this is the maximum punishment for missing a meeting.

The cabinet members are elected by the people and do not have salary. The voluntary aspect of their job is a big challenge for them. The work that they are expected to do for the kebele negatively affects how much time they can put into their farm and into making a living. When they get busy with their farm activities it impacts their work for the kebele and vice versa. As a result it was felt that the organisation of the Kebele would be improved if the cabinet was paid a salary. Currently Cabinet members were only coming to the office two days/week; one day to serve those who need them in the kebele and the other to review each other's performance. Those in post were not equally dedicated to the work and there seemed to be mistrust between them. An example was given of Cabinet members leaking discussions and how decisions were made to make other members look bad.

In November 2013 several people expressed unhappiness about the lack of activeness and involvement of the kebele leadership, due to *"corruption and poor management"*.

Government employees

Table 26: Government employees in the kebele

	Age	Sex	Place of origin	Time in community	Appreciation by the community
Kebele manager	32	M	Kersa-munesa wereda	8 hours/day, sometimes whole week.	Provision of ID cards to k residents
Head teacher	29	M	Tiyo wereda, Denkaka kunicha kebele	9 hours per day 5 days per week	He is determined in encouraging education in the community
HEW 1	23	F	Oda Dawata	8 hours/day and 5 working days/week	Vaccination, monitoring toilet, family planning
HEW 2	24	F	Oda Dawata	"	"
DA Crops	27	F	Ziwa-dugda	Depending on season. Get very busy, working 12 hours per day and seven days in a week in peak season, but much less off peak season.	Improved seed and line planting
DA Livestock	26	M	Arssi-Robe		Exotic/crossbred heifer
DA NRM	28	M	Digeluna tijo		Water shed management activities/levelling bund
Vet	25	M	Assela town	In average 8 hour in a day	Medical service
AI service provider	35	M	Oda Dawata	He is available any time when people need him	Successful in his work, no failure.

In November 2013 two of the DAs, who had diplomas, had been replaced by BSc degree holders, in May 2013. They were seen to have improved all services to the community. The wereda agriculture office was also trying to improve the service by having regular discussions with all DAs, letting them giving inputs on how to move forward and also discussing the challenges they face.

However, it was also noted that there are a lot of strategies spread down from central government to government employees for improvements in society's life styles and standards but they cannot implement them as they are not given enough time. They are in trouble and not timely introducing techniques and strategies and the society is complaining about these new technologies and mechanisms as they are not implemented at the time they have been told.

Government volunteers

Cabinet members, zone chairmen, zone vice-chairmen, development team leaders and 1-5 leaders

are all volunteers. This is causing some problems which were particularly raised at Kebele level in relation to the Cabinet members but are also difficult for those at zone level. All of the volunteers also need to earn their living through farming or other livelihood means and this creates a clash in the way they use their time. The middle farmer who is vice-chair of the Kebele said that he spends 15 days per month on his work and during election season or training courses he has to be at the office every day. This affects the time he can spend on his farm (and his wife said results in a heavy work load being placed on his son). As a result the income of his household is declining.

The poor farmer, who is chair of Chebote Zone, has meetings two days a month throughout the year, plus discussions with zone members about activities in the zone and one day in the month he meets with kebele officials and reports what is happening in his zone. So he works four days a month just to attend the required meetings. He said that when there is conflict in the community he is very busy as issues have to be sorted out before work could resume.

As just said above, the kebele chairman in post in April 2013 was dismissed because he made the choice of privileging his own activities over the work that he is supposed to carry out for the community.

Paying people who work in the Kebele structure was considered the only way to make sure that they would carefully carry out their responsibilities rather than focusing on their family's livelihood.

Kebele council

Since the last local election in April 2013 there has been a change in the Council approach. Cabinet members and kebele officials are now reviewed through *gimgema* every two months to check that they are implementing government policies and are working effectively to serve the people. If someone is found to be ineffective they are given two oral warnings and then the third time they are fired. Under these procedures they have recently fired the Kebele Chair and vice- Chair. The new Kebele Chair was proposed to the Wereda by the Council's administration committee (made up of 20 members). The Wereda delegated him and the Council then approved the decision.

Between April and November 2013 the Kebele Council met twice. They used to meet every two months as was requested by the rules before April 2013. The key issues discussed in the last two meetings were: how to improve the livelihood of the community, the status of their kebele in the wereda and how to become more efficient. They also discussed about school dropouts and lack of teachers in their kebele. No key decisions were made but they were given advice on the implementation of government policy.

Lateness and absenteeism at Kebele Council meetings is discouraged by a system of fines – those who are absent get fined 30 birr. According to government policy if a Council Member is absent from meetings three consecutive times he/she should be dismissed. In reality, they have difficulty persuading members to be and stay on the Council due to the time it takes up. Therefore they cannot implement the rule about absenteeism as otherwise everyone would make sure they got dismissed so that they had more time to get on with their own business.

The Kebele Councillors do not regularly attend the meetings, arguing that as they do not have salary or per diem this is detrimental on their time and livelihood. This is affecting the overall kebele activity because they are very important in making decisions.

Women are now represented on the Kebele Council. One person said that since the April 2013 election about half of the councillors are women.

Kebele manager

The kebele manager explained that he has been in the job for the last six years, since 1999 EC. He does not want to stay in office for more than one year. He is dissatisfied with the amount he works and what he is paid. He is from Tiyo wereda, Hamsa Gasha kebele. His level of education is 10+3 and

he is a diploma holder in natural science teaching. He enjoys his job when he succeeds in implementing the rules and regulations that come from the federal level or the region and he enjoys serving the community.

The problems with his job are low salary payment and that most of the people he works with in the Kebele structure do not do what they are supposed to do and are not motivated. This slows the implementation of the government's plans. He also has no official holiday during the year and he works seven days per week. Moreover, there are no educational opportunities for the managers, unlike in other sectors in which employees have a chance to further study. He is unable to manage all the sectors and is really overloaded and pressurized by the work in the kebele.

He does not get the support he needs from the Cabinet and Committees as they are not motivated and distrust each other. Instead of working as a team there is competition, everyone tries to make himself look good and others look bad.

There is high attrition in the Development Team/Cell – 1-5 structure as people are not interested in working voluntarily as a team. They prefer to do their own private work than being in the teams. The development teams are doing better than 1-5s. People object to others in their 1-5s; hate and mistrust develop among them because when one does not do well or misses some development work he gets reported by the others. There is no punishment for not participating in the structures or not turning up for development work and this makes the management of the 1-5s and DTs difficult. Women tend not to get involved and there is little that can be done to make them.

He said that he has good relationship with the then Chairman (in April 2013); they work together peacefully and as friends. He also has a good relation with the community and they are happy with him because of his determination in serving them. If he could design a new management structure for the kebele, all people in the kebele structures would be paid. Otherwise it is very difficult to make it work.

In November 2013 there were allegations of corruption among kebele officials, including the manager in relation to giving ID cards to people. When people go to see him he says there are no cards in the office. He makes them come to his house and get people to give him some money.

Women's Organisations

There is a women league which gives advice and education to women and encourages them to be empowered economically, socially and politically. This has given women more awareness about their legal rights and about development issues (successful FHH).

A couple of women interviewed mentioned a women association (poor farmer's wife, successful businessman's wife). Only the poor farmer's wife had participated in it. The meetings provided information, education and advice about women's legal rights and their participation in development. The problem was that the meetings took time.

Youth Organisations

Most respondents did not seem to know anything about any youth organisation. Only one of the youth interviewed said he was a member of a youth association (rich 19). The youth interviewed as leader also explained that the youth association is for all youth regardless of their political affiliation. Whereas the youth league is based on political membership and the youth federation is composed of the youth association and the league, and is neutral about party membership. In the kebele the league leader is also a leader of the youth association. The federation supervises and manages both league and youth association. The three organisations work together for the development of youth.

The leader added that the Youth Association has 550 active members and they are engaged in irrigation, mining (stone extraction and environmental protection), selling grass for animal fodder and other developmental activities. The Youth League has 200 active members and they all are

engaged in youth association activities. They are also engaged in different sport activities. However, the league is not as active as the association and that is why they actively engage in youth association activities. The federation is not actively functioning and has no active members. Advantages for young people who participate in local politics is that they are given priority in employment. Others who do not actively participate in local politics might be branded as opposition which is very bad for their future careers, especially if they want to be employed in government offices. The youth actively participate in any decision-making processes in the kebele; they are working for their rights and also those of the communities.

Since July 2013 the Kebele has been registering male and female youth. They have been told that they will be grouped into cooperatives of 5-10 people and will be able to access credit (loans are likely to be small) but so far nothing has happened. The Kebele has been advising young people to start social and/ or economic cooperatives. It is thought that young people will be encouraged to work together on livestock rearing, fattening cattle, poultry and fattening sheep.

Security and policing

Security

The community is a peaceful place to live. Most of those interviewed said that there were no violent fights between men or violent disagreements between groups in the community. There were also no threats of violence from other communities. Only the middle farmer said that violent fights amongst men had been increasing caused by ethnicity and disagreements over farmland boundaries. The poor farmer agreed; in his views the reasons were linked to land shortages and drunkenness amongst the Amhara.

The main problems seemed to be theft and burglary of crops and cattle. This had been happening for a long time. This year a thief stole beans from a field at night, threshing and harvesting them on the spot; this happened in December and about 5 quintal was taken (successful farmer). Theft was however said to be declining due to the threat of serious punishments from the government and increased patrolling by the security forces. But there had been incidents around the town of burglars stealing house equipment and other property from houses. Recently, about 16 corrugated iron sheets and other house equipment were taken from a home over night in the kebele (successful businessman's wife).

With regard to sexual attacks on girls and women most people interviewed claimed there were none. Others said they had decreased due to increased awareness of them being illegal and to severe punishments. Most people had little experience of contact with community policing.

Militia

The militia are local volunteers responsible for intervening in quarrels and taking the case to the Social Court. The three examples mentioned by interviewees were all cases of disputes over land boundaries which had caused fighting (middle farmer, middle farmer's wife, poor farmer). The militia had in each case intervened and taken the parties who were fighting to court. Their role was seen as straight forward and therefore they were not considered to be affected by bias (poor farmer).

Community police

Some interviewed thought that the community police were not functional. The majority had no idea what they did and had had no dealings with them. The middle farmer gave the example of some of his friends who had quarrelled and so husband and wife went to the Kebele. The Kebele referred the case to the community policing committee, a 7-people committee. He said that they were effective and not biased and referred the case on to the community elders for final resolution.

Wereda police

What people knew about the Wereda police is that they would come to the Kebele when there was

a big meeting or any other serious problem.

Some who had had a good experience considered them to be effective and good at keeping peace in the community. E.g. when the beans were stolen they came and asked what had happened and then coordinated with Kebele officials to find the thief (successful FHH). The poor farmer also knew of a case where the Wereda police had intervened in a dispute over cattle grazing a potato farm. The farmer whose potatoes had been grazed then hit the owner of the cattle. The Wereda court had investigated and had charged both parties, one for damaging the potato farm and the other for beating. In another case the Wereda police had taken a case to the Wereda Court after investigation: land had been given by the Kebele to a cooperative of unemployed youth for farming however when they started farming one of the neighbouring farmers complained that the land belonged to him (successful businessman).

Only the middle farmer gave an example in which he felt the Wereda Police were biased and had acted in favour of those who had given them money. This case was also to do with a fight over a land boundary.

Justice

Elders

Overall the elders were respected and held in high esteem by the community. They were not considered to be biased or corrupt. Their role was to solve any kind of conflict that arose in the Kebele, usually about land boundaries or between husband and wife. They were considered to be very effective at solving problems (middle wife) and people cited examples of them bringing divorced couples back together (middle wife) and of land boundary conflict resolved peacefully (poor farmer). They were considered to be good at resolving problems because they had the respect of the community and the community listen to them, and as a result they were able to restore peace (successful farmer, poor farmer).

One elder said that they received a lot of training at wereda and kebele levels, that '*there is no development without peace*'; this helps them to ensure security in the community by actively involving in conflict resolution.

Social Court

The Social Court was not highly considered by those interviewed. Many said they had heard of it but did not know what it did as most cases went either to the elders or the Wereda Court. The poor FHH had taken a case to the Social Court against her neighbour who had fenced off parts of her land. She had been waiting a year but had still had no result and so planned to go to the Wereda Court.

The Middle farmer saw the role of the Social Court as dealing with cases before they were referred to the Wereda Court and therefore reducing the backlog at the Wereda Court. As a result he felt that they had an important role to play in the community.

One person hinted at corruption, saying that people have to pay something to have anything stamped from the social court. In November 2013 there was a quite strong sense of unhappiness, expressed by different respondents, with local governance in general, and with the lack of justice prevailing in the community because of corruption at both kebele and wereda levels. This included the land administration body, e.g. accepting a bribe to give the land certificate that should have gone to children inheriting from their parents, to the sharecropper who was trying to take the land away from them and succeeded.

Wereda Court

Some of those interviewed felt that the Wereda Court was biased and corrupt (poor FHH, middle farmer, successful business man). It was found to take a long time to get justice from the Court. One interviewee knew of a case that had taken three years (successful FHH). Poor FHH said that she had

heard that although the Wereda Court was corrupted it had recently improved its services. But in November 2013 like for the social court a number of respondents were very critical, explaining that the wereda court was biased in favour of those able to pay them in various kinds of cases.

When people were not satisfied with the result it seemed that sometimes the elders intervened afterwards, to restore peace. An example was given of two brothers who had quarrelled over their inheritance of land and eucalyptus trees. One of the brothers accused the other of illegally farming his land and cutting his trees. The accused was put in jail for 7 months but apparently without evidence; the story goes that the judge received money from the other brother making the result biased and unfair. When he was released from jail the elders intervened and through traditional conflict resolution processes resolved the conflict between the two as they feared otherwise there would be revenge. The land and the trees have been equally divided between the two brothers (poor farmer).

Community leaders

Ethnic group leaders

There are no ethnic group leaders.

Clan leaders

There are four clans in the community: Hambentu, Hetosa, Lode and Akiyya clan in Arsi Oromo. The Akiya clan is dominant. The clans have good relationship with each other. They interact or work together during death ceremonies, weddings, dispute resolution and also in development activities. The different clans do not belong to larger clan organisations.

The clan leader interviewed explained that he acts formally as a committee member in his clan. The social court refers most cases to them before they go to the wereda court. In this respect they are similar to the social court and they aim to solve cases peacefully. If they fail to solve the conflict due unwillingness of either party they report their decision to both parties and to the court.

He is also the speaker on the kebele council and a secretary of all farm cooperatives in the kebele. He has good relations with kebele officials and works with them.

He interacts locally with important clan or lineage leaders; they have good relations and work together. They work with religious leaders in resolving different conflicts. When there is conflict or any other problem religious leaders, elders and clan leaders come together and discuss a way out or how to solve the conflict, using someone whom the society fears or respects because he is part of the elite.

There are no main sources of tension between different groups in the kebele and there has been no any recent incident.

Elders

The elders are selected by the community. They have good knowledge about the culture and norms of the society and also have the ability and skills to resolve conflicts. They also tend to be older people aged 40 years or more.

The elder interviewed on this role is Oromo, from Hambentu clan and his religious background is Islam. Different ethnic groups have their own leading elders but most of the time they are all involved together in the conflict resolution process, irrespective of the ethnic background of the disputing parties. He interacts with all ethnic groups positively and as a result they often ask him to be involved in conflict resolution when conflict arises in the community.

The role he has is to resolve any conflict that arises between husband and wife, neighbours and clan or religious groups in the community. He and other elders received training at wereda and kebele level on how to ensure the security of their community by actively involving in conflict resolution.

They were trained that there is no development without peace and that is why the government encourages them to swiftly resolve disputes in the community.

The elders do not function formally as a committee but when a conflict occurs the parties involved invite various elders to form an ad hoc committee to resolve that particular dispute. They sometimes receive cases via the social court, and if they do not manage to resolve the case peacefully they refer the case back to the social court. Whether they resolve the dispute or not the elders send a report to the social court about their verdict and about the issues addressed in their discussion, which serves as evidence for the court to take the final decision about the case.

The wereda court also refers cases to the elders before giving a final decision. This allows the concerned parties to resolve their issue with the elders rather than going to court. It is particularly common with divorces. In addition to this sometimes disputing parties fear the decision of the court and so they invite the elders to review their cases before it goes to court. There are also occasions when the elders intervene and ask the court to give them the case before taking action.

He has no formal positions on any kebele committee. He interacts with clan leaders because they work to resolve different disputes together. They also interact with religious leaders. He said that in many dispute resolutions they make sure the different religions are represented because they provide influence from a religious point of view, and the followers of the same religion respect them and as a result easily resolve their disputes.

There are no main sources of tensions between different groups in the kebele. He has not been involved in solving disputes with other kebeles as there have been no such conflicts in the area.

Religious leaders

Muslim leader

He does not know the number of people who follow Islam in the community but he says it is the majority religion. There have been problems during the last five years due to the introduction of Wahabism (a conservative branch of Islam). This has divided followers. So far the problem is not solved but in other areas the government is working to bring a solution by punishing the fundamentalists. Others who were believed to be fundamentalist were spoken to and reincorporated into the community. Young people are participating more actively in their religion than they did before. Returning migrants from Arab countries are introducing new ideas of Jihadism and extremism. This is because this is what they have seen whilst they were away.

The role of Muslim leaders in promoting development is by teaching followers to actively engage in development activities, reminding them of development programmes and mobilising people for the activities. In terms of supporting the poor and vulnerable Muslim leaders collect money from members on holydays and give it to poor people in the mosques. They also give coins to those who beg at the gates of the mosque.

Islam teaches good behaviour e.g. marriage responsibilities, avoiding drinking and other bad habits. When young people are old enough to marry they advise them to marry on time. However the problem is that the gabara system of marriage is expensive and discourages young men.

Muslim leaders also teach their followers to live in tolerance and respect with others so that peace prevails in the community and they advise members to play a role in mediating between conflicting parties. Disagreements and conflicts within the Muslim community are mainly related to the introduction of wahabism. They have good relations with other religions. They work together in development activities in the community and also with the government they are working together to solve internal problems.

Orthodox Christian leader

There are about 1,700 followers of orthodox religion in the community. Over the last five years

people have become much more interested in religion and are actively engaging in fund raising and other religious activities. As a result church leaders are relatively better paid than before. Young people are much more active in the church than they were before and this is creating awareness for other followers to actively participate in their religion.

New ideas introduced by religious missionaries are that people should identify fasting days. The new ideas are more easily grasped because of the translation from Ge'ez to Amharic, which allows people to easily understand the religious rules. Previously people did not fast due to a lack of knowledge but now as the Bible is taught people are more aware. There are no new ideas introduced by returning migrants as such. However, as those who returned from Arab countries were not able to eat meat slaughtered by Christians when they were away, when they come back to Ethiopia the Orthodox Church baptize them again and then they follow the religion as before.

In the past religious teaching was mainly done in Ge'ez but now they use Amharic which means that people can understand. The church teaches followers to actively engage in all the development activities of the kebele and they also pass kebele messages when they have development programme or mobilisation.

The church feeds those who beg at the gate of the church and followers bring them food and give them coins. When they die they bury them.

The church has a role in promoting good behaviour e.g. marriage responsibilities and avoiding drinking and other bad habits. The church teaches the youth to marry after the age of 18, and to avoid developing bad behaviour.

The church has a role in promoting peace. They pray for the peace of the country and also teach their followers to work for love of their community and to engage in bringing peace whenever there is conflict. There are no conflicts and disagreements within the Orthodox community apart from some procedural disagreements among clergies (for example when they are absent from their work they are punished). The Orthodox congregation have good relations with other religions in the community and also with the government.

Protestant leader

The number of protestant followers is about one hundred and has been increasing steadily. Over the last 5 years there has been an increased interest in religion and people now accept Protestantism. Participation of young people has been increasing and amongst the Protestants most of them are youth. There are no new ideas introduced by religious missionaries because all of them teach from the bible only so there is no opportunity to introduce new ideas. However, missionaries teach us about tolerance towards other religions, to love each other and live together peacefully.

The church actively participates in development programmes and informs others to do likewise. The role of the church in supporting the poor and vulnerable is similar to that of other religions. If there are beggars the followers give them some coins and if it is an extreme problem members of the church contribute money and help them.

The church also has a role in promoting good behaviour e.g. marriage responsibilities, avoiding drinking and other bad habits. People with bad habits should not be allowed but in reality, even if there are some people who have bad habits we informally pray for them and advise them. Regarding marriage they advise young people to marry according to the word of God.

The role of the church in promoting peace is to pray for the world, the country and the government. They also work on bringing peace by resolving conflict peacefully. There are no disagreements and conflicts within the Protestant community. They have good relations with other religions in the community and also work smoothly with the government and have freedom to worship.

Iddir leaders

The leader of the Gosa iddir was interviewed. He explained that this iddir was set up exclusively for Muslims, but membership has now been widened. In the same way Gabriel iddir was set up just for Christian Amharas. Both iddirs were established during the Derg regime when there was religious tension. However, since then other iddirs have been established which accept all members regardless of religion. Most people in the community are members of several iddirs.

The Gosa iddir is different from other iddirs because they stay to support the family in mourning for longer (other iddirs stay for just three days), up to one month. However, the length of time has been reduced from what it was as it was considered an obstacle to development. The Gosa iddir also provide gifts of livestock to the most destitute (as decided by the iddir committee), and seeds to help the destitute to become independent. However they are only able to do this for a few people.

As a leader of iddir he interacts with government officials at kebele and wereda level. The iddir leaders have been given training on peace, security and other development issues. They are expected to advise and train people to work together for the security of the community and to report anything that could threaten this. The iddir leaders also mobilize their members for public works when requested by the government and they give money for different development programmes such as road construction, water supply, the renaissance dam and for school building. He says that there are no major sources of tension between different groups in the Kebele.

In contrast, the leader of the St Gabriel iddir explained that the iddir is an independent organisation and as such it does not interact with elders or kebele leaders.

Other community leaders

There are no other community leaders.

Annex 1: Seasonality Calendars

Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC) Male: Oda Dawata

Xr – Rain Xd – Dry Xhu – Hungry season

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons			Xd	Xd	Xd	Xd				Xr	Xr	Xr
	Heat, frost, wind etc		X	X	X	X	X			X			
Income streams: high/hungry season		Xhu	X	X	X	X	X	X			Xhu	Xhu	Xhu
School/college terms													
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13		X	X		X				X				X
Work on main cash crop Wheat	Land preparation								X	X			
	Planting										X	X	
	Weeding												X
	Harvesting		X	X									
	Selling				X	X							
Work on other rainfed crops Potato	Land preparation						X	X					
	Planting								X				
	Weeding									X	X		
	Harvesting	X	X	X									X
	Selling		X	X									
Work on irrigated crops Potato ²	Land preparation		X	X									
	Planting				X								
	Weeding					X	X						
	Harvesting								X				
	Selling								X				
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats												
	Milk production												

² Potatoes are intercropped with other crops. Farmers keep them in the land so as not to damage the other crops. They also do not want to sell in August at low price.

ODA DAWATA Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
	Other livestock products												
	Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing					X	X						
	Community work mobilised by government					X	X						
	Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...												
Non-farm work	Trade and related business												
	Manufacturing												
	Services												
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Other?													

Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC) Female: Oda Dawata

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
	Heat, frost, wind etc		X						X	X			
Income streams: hungry season		X										X	X
School/college terms						X							
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13			X		X	X			X				X
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation								X				
	Planting										X	X	
	Weeding	X											X
	Harvesting		X	X									
	Selling				X	X	X				X		
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation								X	X	X		
	Planting										X	X	
	Weeding	X										X	X
	Harvesting		X	X									
	Selling				X	X	X				X		
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation		X										
	Planting			X									
	Weeding				X								
	Harvesting						X	X					
	Selling							X	X				
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats			X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Milk production	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Other livestock products		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing													
Community work mobilised by government													
Government meetings – officials,													

ODA DAWATA Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
model farmers, community...													
Non-farm work	Trade and related business	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Manufacturing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Services												
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Other?													