

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

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2013

ODA HARO, OROMIA REGION

STAGE 3 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 4



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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, the second gap-filling fieldwork was undertaken 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 1), 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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Community features

Map 1: Map of the community



The kebele is predominantly Oromo (99%) and the majority religion is Protestantism (65%) followed by Orthodox Christianity (25%) and Islam (10%) (these are estimates by local key informants). The zones of Abicho and Alemgena are flat with slight slopes and are ideal for agricultural activities. In the north and north-eastern zone of Boto the land is more mountainous and hilly but there are some flat areas. Only 5% of the kebele is covered in natural forest and most of this is found in the highland areas of Boto Zone or along the banks of the River Sama. The River Sama is the largest in the kebele and much of the irrigated farming takes place on its banks. There are three communal grazing areas in the kebele which cover a total area of 183 hectares.

Spring and summer are usually the main season for rainfall but the rains have become increasingly irregular and unpredictable. They seem to increasingly often come late and stop early which affects farming activities, reducing productivity and the replenishment of ground water. The replenishment

of ground water is key to irrigation and the sources of water used for drinking and livestock. Irrigation is a key source of income for the population. Although only 5% of the land is irrigated the land can be harvested twice a year and used to grow high value cash crops. The River Sama crosses all three zones of the kebele and as a result people with land near the river in all three have been able to develop irrigated agriculture. Recently some farmers have started to use generators to run pumps as opposed to traditional irrigation channels.

Across the kebele 70% of the community has access to safe drinking water via taps, pipes or springs; the remaining 30% (who are mainly located in Boto zone and some parts of Abicho zone) use river and pond water for drinking.

Agriculture is the main source of income in the kebele, 85% of the land is used for cultivation and 450 households are involved in farming. The main crops grown are maize, red pepper and teff. On the irrigated land a range of vegetables are grown. There are 179 people who engaged in non-farm business and 29 people who work in non-farm employment. The kebele has one full cycle primary school (at Gudina Haroo) and a health post. There is no health centre; the nearest is in Tibe town but it is not considered to be very well equipped and as a result those who can afford use private clinics.

There is very little investment in the area and irrigation is considered to be a major way in which to increase farmers' income. Currently 20% of households are considered rich or very rich as compared to 20% middle, 50% poor and 10% destitute.

Place

Altitude and terrain

The land in the kebele is generally characterised by an undulating terrain. There are however, large areas of plains in the lowlands of the kebele such as Abicho and Alemgena. These are ideal for agricultural activity. However they are also vulnerable to flooding. The north and north-eastern part of the kebele, which the Boto zone, is mountainous.

Flooding is a real issue, affecting teff and maize crops in Abicho and Alemgena zones and maize in some areas of Boto. Since 2011 (according to the kebele manager) there has been a lot of watershed management activity (terracing, digging ditches, planting trees and grasses along the terraces) to try and reduce it. The DA crops believes that where terraced check dams were constructed flooding showed a decline. The Research Officer who saw the works believes that runoff water was reduced and this helped in some areas; although some check dams did not resist and were destroyed by the floods, and tree planting is less successful. Some seedlings are not fenced and so, easily destroyed by animals, like happened in some areas according to the kebele manager; some terraces also do not have trees or grasses on their contour. The DAs explained that out of around 83 km of watershed activities in total, about 30 km are fine and the rest needs improvement.

Soil

The plain areas of Abicho and Alemgena are covered with Red Loam soil which is suitable for growing maize, red pepper and nug. Most of the grazing land in the kebele is situated on black/koticha soil which is suitable for trees, teff and nug production. In the mountainous area of Boto, the soil is brown and suitable for wheat, fava beans, teff, chickpeas and beans.

Ecosystem

A large amount of the forest in the kebele has been cleared. Nevertheless the forest is recognised as important for a number of reasons. It is considered to modify the weather conditions, reducing the heat and helping to produce rain. The flowers of the trees in the forest provide pollen for honey bees during the spring. The forest is also home to different wild animals such as hyenas, Dart, Dikula, Midaqua, apes, monkeys and Bosonu, although their numbers are recognised to have greatly reduced due to deforestation. There are also different kinds of reptiles living in the forests. As the

balance in the ecosystem has changed due to deforestation and resultant outmigration of certain wild animals some animals have started to eat crops. The wild animals' attacks on people and domestic animals have also been increasing in recent years. People have started protecting their crops from the wild animals by building small tents on the trees and using sticks and spears. Trees from the forest are also used by the community for the construction of houses, for firewood and charcoal. The forest also provides fruits from some of the trees such as the Wedessa tree, the Gossu tree (Dokuma in Amharic) and the smaller Hudha (Enkoy in Amharic) and Hagamsa trees. Forests are used as shade for people and livestock. Big trees such as Badessa and Wadessa are used for timber.

There are diverging views as to whether tree coverage is increasing or decreasing. It certainly has reduced considerably compared to decades ago, but there are a number of measures that now contribute to at least stop the trend and perhaps revert it. The kebele manager explained that seedlings planted in 2011 when the community engaged in watershed management activities, did generally not do well. Even now as said above, the RO found tree planting to be not very successful – by observing the watershed sites. One youth cooperative was given land on the Gona mountain, to both protect and exploit it as forest land and according to some respondents this has started making a difference. Many people also have planted eucalyptus trees (in November 2013 there were reportedly 100,000 trees owned by individuals). The wereda agricultural office in May 2013 fenced and categorised two areas on Mt Goma and Mt Mimate as forest land and people who lived there were given residential places elsewhere whereas the kebele was instructed to plant grevillea and other trees on the areas.

Weather and climate

Problems caused by weather

In the last few years the weather conditions in the area have been changing dramatically and rapidly. This has resulted in a number of problems: rainfall has become irregular rather than falling when expected, and the temperature seems to be increasing.

Farming has been impacted due to flooding particularly of the lowland areas. The floods have contributed to a decline in the fertility of the soil and the destruction of crops grown in the lowland areas. Alemgena zone is particularly affected by flooding and the crops there can be destroyed several times each year. Farming has also been affected as the majority is rain-fed. Rains have started to arrive very late: they used to arrive in March/ April but are now coming in May/June. This makes it impossible to start planting until June. The increase in the length of the dry season affects the production of crops particularly maize, teff and red pepper. Reduced rainfall is also impacting irrigation as the levels of water in rivers and streams drop. It is also problematic for the watering of livestock particularly in the dry season.

People reported other negative impacts, notably, that flood waters create ditches and damage roads and paths. The increasing temperatures were also impacting people's ability to work. People also noted an impact on sources of drinking water.

Weather since 2008

People noted that since 2008 the rain has become more unreliable and temperatures have risen. This year had been in contrast to this trend and in stark contrast with the immediately preceding year when the rains had been far too short (June to early September only). This year the rain had been good, starting in April and continuing to October. This led to the prospect of a good harvest by end 2013, even in the Boto zone where the production of maize, teff, barley and wheat was nice. The DA NRM attributed the good amount and regular condition of the rains to the recent (and positive) environmental changes (forest protection etc.).

Table 1: Rain 2008-12 GC

Year GC	Rain season	How good/bad was the rain?
2008	Belg	It was bad
	Meher	It was very good
2009	Belg	It was bad
	Meher	It was fair
2010	Belg	It was bad
	Meher	It was fair but declined than the previous year
2011	Belg	It was bad
	Meher	It was very bad –declined than the previous year
2012	Belg	It was very bad.
	Meher	It was very bad.

Seasonality and work

Table 2: Seasonality of work for men and women

	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rain stops						Rain starts	Rain starts				
Male work		Harvest	Harvest	Thresh	Irrigation	Irrigation	Farming	Farming	Planting/sowing	Weeding	Weeding	
Female work		Harvest	Harvest	Thresh	Irrigation	irrigation			Hoeing	Weeding	Weeding	

The work pattern in this largely agricultural community tends to follow the rains. Usually people would start preparing the soil in late March – beginning of April and would sow maize in May. Harvest would take place in early November once the rains have stopped in early September. At this point in the year schools are closed for several weeks so that the children can help in harvesting and collecting crops. However, with the inconsistent length of the rainy season people are delaying preparing the soil until June and planting until the late spring season (July). There have also been problems with late rains in early November when crops are being harvested. See 0 for detailed calendars of men's and women's work across the year.

Community land use

Land use

The majority of land in the kebele is used for agriculture; 85% of land is under cultivation, 5% of which is irrigated. The total cultivable land is 1,121 ha, with 1,119 ha covered by rainfed and irrigated farming (near 100% occupation); of which in the last farming season (data from November 2013) 550 ha were planted with maize and 125 ha with beans.

There are three grazing areas located in the three zones; farmers from Boto Zone have about 30 ha; in Abicho farmers have access to about 40 ha; in Alemgena zone there are about 113 ha located near the river called Hubo and Bekery. Overall there are about 183 ha of grazing land; this is considered to be 5% of the total area of the kebele. In Abicho 2 ha of grazing land has been given to the Chinese road construction camp.

Forests cover 5% of the kebele's land. The remaining land is used for public buildings and rural settlements.

Settlement pattern

There are three major villages in the kebele and about 16 scattered hamlets. The settlement pattern may be evolving in future, in response to the recent upgrading of the main Addis-Nekemte road that crosses the kebele.

Urban areas

There is no town in the community but it takes less than an hour to walk to the nearest town, Tibe, located at 2 km. The kebele is also near to Sheboke and Jaji market towns, located to the west and east of the kebele respectively, and 8 km away. The Wereda town is Bako and is 17 km from the kebele and the Zonal town is Ambo which is 108 km away.

Community water use

Rivers and springs

The River Sama is the largest in the community and the main irrigation activities take place along its banks. It is crossed by the Addis Ababa-Nekemte road and joins the River Gibe in the neighbouring kebele. There are also two streams: the Walale stream feeds into the River Sama and is located in Boto zone. It contributes to some of the irrigation activities in that area. The Adunga stream runs between Oda Haro and Tibe town.

There are also two swamps, Bakery and Hubo. These are located in Alemgena zone and create a stream called Fecha where small irrigation activities take place.

Underground and harvested water

There are many private wells in the community and people use them for cleaning houses, washing clothes, watering cattle and watering garden vegetables.

It is estimated that 70% of the community members in the Kebele have access to water via taps, pipes, springs or wells. There are 2 spring points and 8 pipe sources found in the kebele. The remaining 30 % of the community are using drinking water from ponds and rivers. This is particularly the case in Boto zone and in some parts of Abicho zone. The Sama spring water in Abicho zone is said to be very pure and rich in minerals. People in this area sell water to cafés and restaurants in Tibet town which in turn cool the water and sell it for a higher price (3 birr for 2 litres).

Irrigation infrastructure

Irrigation was introduced in the area about ten years ago, initially along the River Sama with some other irrigation using swamps or smaller streams. According to the wereda administrator, the most important achievement in Oda Haro has been the expansion of irrigation activities. Particularly in the last few years the people in the kebele have been engaging in irrigation works and are benefiting from the production of grains and vegetables. They are able to produce crops and vegetables at least twice a year using irrigation.

In total about 20% of the households are engaged in some irrigated farming, using water from river, ponds, swamps and wells. For those who have land along the River Sama (which serves all three zones) most have shifted their livelihoods from rain-fed agriculture to irrigation based farming. People are cultivating fruits and vegetables such as papayas, bananas, sugar cane, avocados, tomatoes, potatoes, green peppers, cabbages and carrots. The vegetables are mainly taken to market as an additional income source (one respondent said that more than 90% of the production is sold). Some of the producers send their products to Addis Ababa and other major urban cities and towns using truck transport.

Most of the irrigation activities are based on traditional schemes but recently some people have started using privately modern generator-run pumps. This enables them to gain access to water

quickly even when water levels are low; and to irrigate additional land otherwise difficult to reach using traditional irrigation channels. The kebele has plans to promote irrigation by providing a big modern motor pump.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

The following public buildings are found in the kebele:

1. **Kebele offices** – these are made of wood and mud wall and slash soil floor. There is no access to latrine, water source, electric, telephone, word processor, printer, type-writer, scanner, telegram machine, copy machine and filling cabinet. There is no meeting hall.
2. **Kebele health post** – this is a corrugated iron sheet building with a cement floor, painted white and blue. There is no laboratory, no residential houses for the HEWs, no latrine, no electricity and no water source.
3. **Farmer's Training Centre (FTC)** – this is made from wood with a corrugated iron roof and a cement floor. It has safe and big compound and a training hall. It has two latrines in relatively good condition. It has no access to water or electricity.
4. **Primary full cycle school** – the Gudina Haro full cycle primary school (grade 1-8) is built from mud and wood. It has a corrugated iron roof and a cemented floor (two of the rooms were cemented during the interview period from school grant budget). There is no access to electricity. There is a water tap in the compound which is used for drinking and watering seedlings. Two latrines were built with USAID funding but the one for girls is out of order. There is no accommodation for teachers.
5. **Boto Primary school (grade 1-6)** – this is also built with mud and wood. It has a corrugated iron roof and a mud floors. There is no accommodation for teachers.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

Ten years ago the internal roads and paths in the community were in a poor condition and could only be used on foot. In the last five years the local people have contributed money and labour to improve internal paths and roads. The government has also contributed some money and technical support. This has led to significant improvements. People are now able to move easily from one part of the community to another.

Most places have been reached in the past two years. Half of the cost of construction was covered by the community and the remaining by government (from the MDG fund budget). Now most of the roads are in good condition, although these are dry-weather roads and in some places flooding has eroded them. Most of the feeder roads have been constructed by voluntary public works.

It still can take between 30 minutes and one hour to reach the main road from the most remote village. People's travelling in some parts of the kebele is disrupted by flooding, and some roads and paths are narrow and not suitable for trucks and cars. Some people are not willing to expand roads passing alongside their farm land or compound, and the officials are reluctant to strengthen the existing roads. There are still places within the kebele which completely lack feeder roads and paths, but there are plans to extend the internal road network to all areas. In November 2013 the most needed measures according to the DA NRM were to improve the road connecting the Boto zone to the main road, and the road to Alemgena which was affected by flooding and was not usable.

The improvement of internal roads led to the use of mule carts. They were not used at all until three years ago but now there are about 40 carts in the kebele. These are mainly used for transporting commodities to market, traders and grain mills or to transport maize to the threshing machine. Mule carts are also used to transport crops from the farm to the threshing places where it is threshed by hand. People also use the carts to go to market and to travel from place to place in the community. The mule carts have become an important source of income for their owners and an employment

opportunity for young men particularly those from poor families. The cost of using one was considered to be fair for the community although it still is unaffordable for poor people.

There are only a few horses in the community and these tend to be used for special occasions such as weddings and religious ritual ceremonies. Some people use donkeys to transport crops and other items such as water. As the kebele is near to a main road most people have good access to cars and trucks but there are shortages of public transport.

Other infrastructure

Mobile phones

There are many mobile phones in the kebele (although it is hard to estimate the number). Most men, young people, rich traders and farmers own mobile phones. Generally, the signal is good but there are network problems when there is no electricity in the nearby towns. People use their phones to trade and to communicate with migrants (national and international); they also communicate with kebele and Wereda officials and with other communities. Due to the lack of electricity in the kebele people are forced to pay to charge their phones in Tibe town, this can cost up to 3 birr to charge the phone.

Electricity

Though the main electric line from the Fincha Hydro-electric power station passes through the kebele, people have no access to electricity. The local people reported that they have been asking the wereda authorities for electricity for a long time and are fed up.

Some respondents added that wereda officials are lying; telling the media that 30 out of the 31 kebeles of the wereda have access to electricity whereas the true figure is 4. They were upset as they gave their vote to EPRDF believing that they would soon get electricity but they have seen nothing. They believed that the main issue is the corrupt behaviour of wereda officials who want money to forward the case to the relevant body. They said that over the past 3 years people in the community have contributed 30 birr for solar power; the money was collected by the kebele chairman but so far nothing has been done and the wereda argues that they do not have the budget.

Community economy

Local macro-economy

The local economy is constituted of different types of activity, as follows:

- Smallholder farming: about 450 people
- Agricultural labour: about 100 people
- Non-farm business: 179 people
- Non-farm employment: 29 people
- Food aid: no food aid in recent years
- Daily commuting for work out of the kebele: none but last year there was road construction which was a good opportunity for many young men
- Migration: more than 20 young women have migrated to different Arab countries and there are many who are preparing to migrate. Some 30 young women have migrated to other parts of Ethiopia.

Main livelihood activities and notable changes

Established adult males

Men's main livelihood activities continue to be based on agriculture. For the majority this is rain-fed agriculture. Inputs such as fertiliser, improved seeds, pesticides and herbicides are now readily available and used by the majority. This has resulted in notable changes; most people talked of

increased yields, although the cost of inputs in some cases force poor people to share-crop their land as they cannot afford them.

Both the size of the irrigated land area and the number of households benefiting from it have increased. With the expansion of irrigation a range of new cash crops was introduced into the community, predominantly fruits and vegetables.

Established adult females

Married women tend to support their husbands livelihood activities in agriculture and are still predominantly involved in domestic activities. However, there has been a definite shift in the perception of women. There were examples, particularly from poorer households, of women who produced local drinks for sale or who engaged in petty trade at the market or at home in order to increase the household's income. There are also women traders, trading crops with brokers from outside the kebele, although this still tends to be combined with farming. Female heads of households were necessarily more economically active.

The majority of the community now see women as capable of participating in independent economic activities and this was seen as a good thing.

Young men

The livelihood activities of young men were limited due to shortage of land. The majority of young men have no access to their own land and so are involved in share-cropping, agricultural labour and petty trade. Others migrate in search of work to urban centres or other communities with opportunities in factories or in farming.

The youth interviewed complained that most of the young men who completed grade 10 or 12 stay in the community without a job. They are dependent upon their parents and help farm their parents land. Establishing an independent livelihood was considered to be very difficult for young men.

Notable changes include increased level of education in the community and therefore greater expectations and ambitions amongst young men. Migration has increased, seemingly largely due to lack of economic opportunities in the community.

Young women

Young women are increasingly looking to be economically active and to establish an independent livelihood before getting married. Young women like young men are increasingly highly educated and therefore have expectations of finding work that is relevant to their level of education. However, opportunities in the community for young women are even fewer than for men. Whilst some are involved in wage labour (for example harvesting and weeding at a rate of 2 birr per hour) this work is seasonal. Some have involved in trading crops but this was rare due to lack of capital.

The main solutions for women are seen to be marriage or migration. Increasingly young women are migrating to Arab States to work as a domestic servant and generate savings for themselves and their families. This is a relatively new phenomenon and it has generated significant change for the families getting remittances, which suddenly gained access to significant amounts of money. Migration to urban areas to become domestic staff or to work in hotels or cafeterias also happens but the money earned is small and so international migration is proving to be a more popular option. Marriage is not the solution it was once seen to be, as few young men have access to land, and so it no longer guarantees the ability to set up an independent household.

Notable recent changes

Recent changes that have impacted the local economy are the increased access to external markets through improved roads and communications. This has been beneficial for farmers but has also encouraged the growth of trade activities within the kebele. The development of irrigation has also

been a key recent change. For the concerned households it helped to diversify and improve their livelihood. The ability to harvest twice a year and to grow vegetables and fruit for the market has provided them with new income. The irrigated farms have also provided opportunities for casual labour for both men and women.

Labour patterns have changed. There is less child labour. Almost all children go to school. In addition, farmers admitted that they use traditional labour sharing systems less and are more likely to hire labourers. This was said to be due to the cost of traditional labour sharing systems either in terms of time, paying back the work or the cost of providing a feast for the workers. The pressure to share labour within 1-5 groups of households rather than based on community relations was also raised as a cause for the decline, as people disliked the forced 1-5 groupings.

Independence of farming economy and future potentials

Most of those interviewed were positive about the development of the farming economy; farmers have diversified the crops they are growing (away from just maize), they have better access to the markets (due to improved transport access and communications), those who are doing well are investing their profits in order to generate more income e.g. through sharecropping land or trade activities. People felt that the number of destitute and poor people had declined because now everyone in the community was actively involved in farming and farm related activities. This was considered to have had a positive impact on the livelihoods of most people.

Farmers considered that a major threat to the future of the farming economy was the rate of inflation particularly for agricultural inputs. The money raised from the sale of crops was not keeping pace with the cost of agricultural inputs. Land was also a major problem for the future potential of farming, with increasing numbers of young people moving away from the community due to lack of land. Increased access to education has also resulted in young people being less interested in farming and seeking instead employment with regular income.

Inflation

Inflation was said to have been noticeable since the Ethiopian millennium, and to affect all products across the board.

Whilst this had helped farmers generally to get good prices for their crops they complained that the price of inputs (such as fertiliser and improved seeds) had increased more rapidly. According to one respondent, the price of a quintal of fertiliser is now 1,600 birr which is more than double its price five years ago. The price of improved maize seeds is more than 2,000 birr per quintal or more than five times higher than it was 5 years ago. The farmers have to sell about five quintals of maize (the price of one quintal of maize is 380 birr) to buy one quintal of improved maize seeds.

The cost of consumables had also increased two or three fold and this meant that items such as sugar, oil and pulses were becoming unaffordable for some households. One household explained how they were being forced to reduce their consumption of fuel for cooking and lighting due to its cost which had risen from 3 birr to 11 birr per litre (poor farmer's wife).

Social structure

Demographics

In 2005 EC there were 450 official households and 269 unofficial households in the kebele. The population is 4,138 (2,107 male and 2,031 female). The kebele estimates that 37.4% of households are landless and 17.7% of the households are headed by women. The kebele had not recorded any data on the numbers of young people. Knowledgeable respondents estimated that there were about 1,200 young people (under 20 years).

The settlement pattern shows variations across the zones in terms of religions. The Alemgena zone is

where the first Muslim community emerged; some people said that about half of the households are Muslims in this zone, which is a significantly higher proportion than in the kebele as a whole. There are also some Muslims in Abicho zone, whereas in Boto zone, which is remotest, there are only 2 Muslim households.

Wealth and poverty

Poverty and destitution were considered by the community to have decreased but the gap between rich and poor was felt to have increased. In the last 10 years the number of very rich people was said to have increased due to the use of modern inputs in farm production, the expansion of irrigation and the expansion of trading in farm products and livestock. The number of rich people had also been increasing though the gap between them and the very rich widened. The number of middle wealth households was also felt to have increased in the last few years, particularly after the launching of the GTP which motivated people to work hard and improve their farming.

Again there are quite stark differences between zones. The Alemgena and Abicho zones are wealthier than the Boto zone although the latter is the most populous. In Alemgena wealth is associated with the Muslims who historically were engaged in trade and continue to do so.

There are about 660 tax payers in the kebele, grouped as follows in terms of their wealth status:

- Very rich = 5%
- Rich = 15%
- Middle = 20%
- Poor = 25%
- Very poor = 25%
- Destitute = 10%

Changes in the past ten years in the proportion in the different wealth categories were explained as follows:

Table 3: Explanations for changes in the wealth distribution

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Changes in last 10 years in propns of each category (more or fewer)	The number of very rich increases in the last five years. The top model farmers have been emerged in the last five years	The number of rich has increasing in very fast. The active involvement of the farmers in farming and irrigation and trading business are the main factor for the emergence of this group of people	The middle wealth category has also been improved in the last 5 years. Currently there are more than 200 model farmers in the community. the majority of these model farmers are in the middle wealth group.	The number of poor people has declined because of the improvement in the local economy.	This has also shown decline. People included the very poor are actively engaged in farming activities which helps the very poor to move out of the economic problem	It is also true that destitute are also working hard to move out of poverty and there have been important changes in the last five years

The following table gives an indication of the rough proportions in different wealth categories currently, the types of property found in their houses, the sources of their wealth and also how poor people get by.

Table 4: Attributes and sources of wealth/poverty

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Rough proportions	5%	15%	20%	25%	25%	10%
Household goods found in these houses	Big tin roofed modern, painted house, Bed made up of timber and house furniture made up of wood, kitchen cupboard, plastic and silver kitchen utensils and etc	Big tin roofed modern house, house furniture, bed made of timber and wood,	Simple and less quality furniture, plastic kitchen utensils,	Traditional bed made up of mud called Medeb, small house, traditional kitchen utensils	Traditional bed made up of mud called Medeb, small house, traditional kitchen utensils	Poor and small thatched house, no important household goods except some basic cooking utensil
Sources of wealth	Main source of wealth for this class is crop and livestock production house for rent in the Tibe town, Mule cart, Grain mill, they owned largest size of farmland, livestock esp. cattle, horses, mules and donkeys, irrigation land and irrigation motor pumps, Retailer shops	Main source of wealth is crop own larger size of farmland, livestock production (local breeds) mule cart, irrigation land, retailer shops	They own relatively large size of farmland, livestock the main source of wealth is crop production and livestock production (local breeds)	The main source of wealth is farming and livestock poor people they owned relatively small size of farmland and few cattle and sheep -they may own cattle(cows) of neighbours or relatives so as to share livestock products rearing	They own small size farmland They may have sheep, goat and may be cows in sharing arrangement their main source of wealth is crop production and few could have livestock, they produce on sharecropping , the main source of income is labour	They owned nothing not even labour
How do poor people get by?				Household members work as a daily agriculture labourer during the harvesting season -few young people who dropped out of school to migrate to Nekemt, Ambo and Addis Ababa and become daily labourer in non-farm sector, petty trade, by their good behaviour and good attitudes to work	Daily labour, sharecropping , petty trade	N/A

Social identities

The ethnicity of the kebele is predominately Oromo (99%). The few non-Oromo people tend to intermarry with the Oromo. Clan was not considered as an important part of people's social identity

anymore, as explained by one respondent who said: "*I do not know my clan and lineage. That was the old history; we do not know these things anymore*" (successful businessman). Only some adults and old people remembered their clan. The kebele data shows the following breakdown of the population in different clans: Haben 40%, Mecha 25%, Degam 10%, Wada 10%, Sijo 5%, Gudeya 5%, Ariya 3% and Seda 2%.

There are three major religions in the kebele: Protestant (65%), Orthodox (15%) and Islam (10%). Those who follow traditional religions are now less than 1%. As noted earlier both the settlement and the wealth/poverty patterns show differences linked to religious identities. The Muslim community first emerged in the Alemgena zone, and has since then expanded by the growth of the population and migration from Jimma. Most Muslims are engaged in trade, as they historically were, and they are said to dominate the trading activities (while also engaging in farming) and to be rich thanks to this. The most economically powerful group in the kebele are the Muslims from the Alemgena zone. There are two mosques in the zone, one sufi and one wahabi, so the Muslims are divided into two groups.

In the last year, some Amhara immigrant workers have started to come to the community to work on irrigated farms. They build small tents on the edge of the tomato or onion farm on which they work, and work on the vegetables as share croppers. Whilst the owner of the farm covers all the production inputs (land, oxen, farm tools, irrigation pump, selected seeds, fertiliser, pesticides, weed killer, etc.) the labourers contribute their full labour and guard the farm until the crop is collected and sold. Respondents expected this new trend to continue and increase in the future because the immigrants are very efficient and effective in irrigation work compared to local labourers.

The community in its wider context

Political economy context

The kebele in the wereda

The kebele is one of nine in the Wereda. It is considered by the Wereda to be doing well economically, particularly in terms of expansion of irrigated farming. The kebele has a large number of party members; 200 people pay the annual Party membership of 12 birr. The kebele has strong cultural, social and economic ties with other neighbouring kebeles and towns in the wereda.

External roads, bridges & access

A recently reconstructed external road from Addis Ababa to Nekemte town has divided the kebele in to two, providing people with good access to various nearby towns and market places to the east and west of the kebele. When the road was being reconstructed a large bridge was also built across the River Sama (in Abicho zone) by the Chinese company. This provided an alternative route when the main road was under construction. However in March 2013 this was dismantled, much to the dismay of the community who had found it very useful. It was noted that some of the ditches on the new road are not well constructed, which increases the risk of flooding.

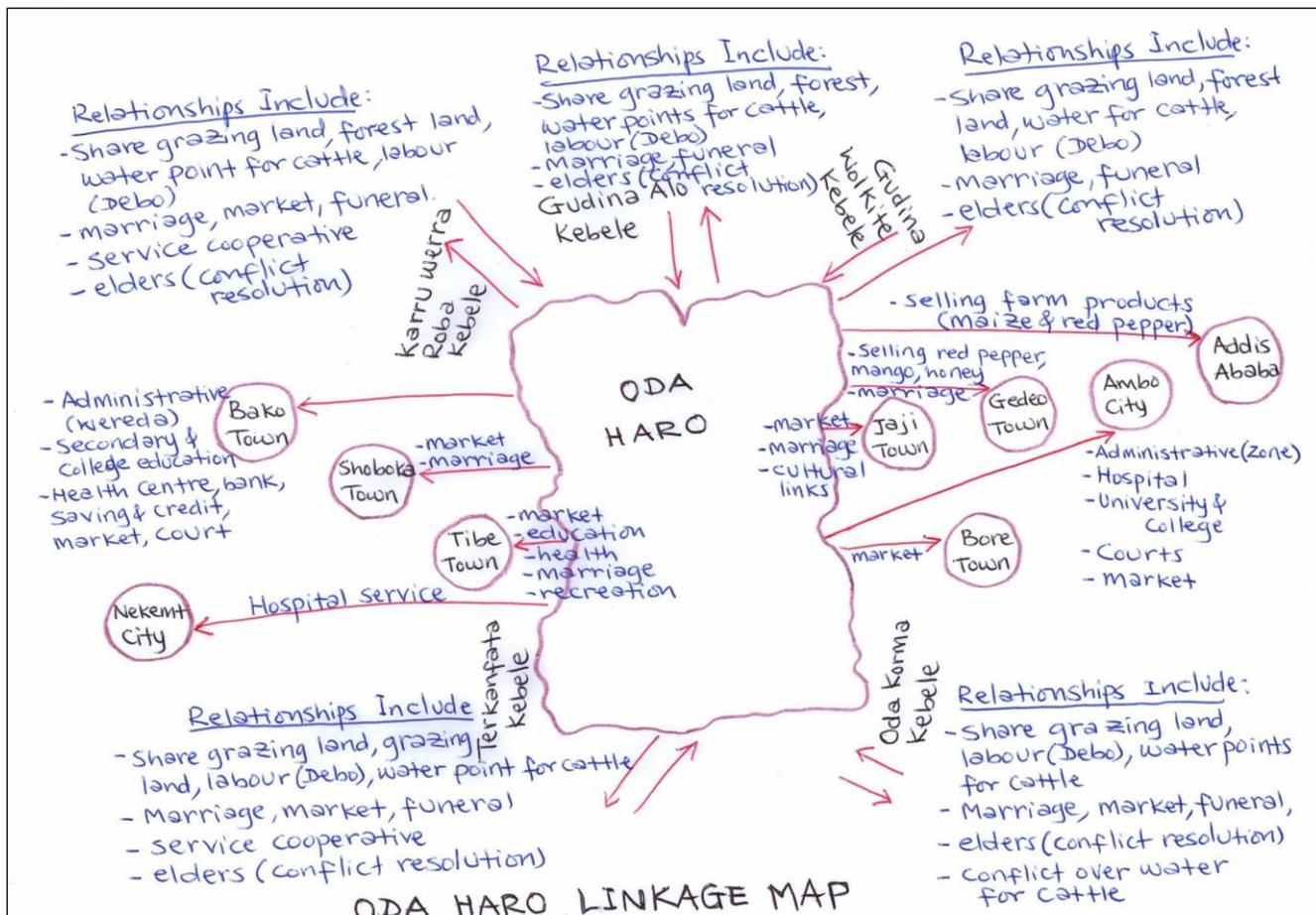
Before the reconstruction of the road, transport was very costly and poor people and students could not afford to pay to go to town. Costs have reduced significantly with the new road. For example the transport to Bako town (17 km away) is now 7 birr, down from 20 birr.

The transport available is predominantly through minibuses, with some middle level public buses. Using them is expensive as the drivers and bus owners do not follow the government tariff standards. Prices increase during the rainy season and on market days. People are also asked to pay extra for loading goods (up to 30 birr). The buses are overcrowded as drivers pressurise people to over fill the bus. It seems that traffic police are unwilling to stop this as they too benefit.

There are more than 16 minibuses from different towns such as Bako, Sheboka, Gedio, Jaji and Tibe. Sometimes the Wereda tariff is totally changed by the drivers. For instance the legal tariff for the Tibe to Bako trip is 7 birr, but people are forced to pay 10 birr. Or from Tibe to Jaji the tariff is 4 birr but people are forced to pay up to 15 birr on market days.

External linkages

Map 2: Map of the community's linkages



The community is linked to Western Ethiopia and Addis Ababa through the main road crossing it.

Rural linkages

Other kebeles

The boundaries of Oda Haro kebele are with Gara-Gona in the east, Gara-Mimite in the north, Tulu-Anko in the north-west, Tibe town in the west, Terkanfeta Gibe in the south west, and Gudina Welkite in the south east.

- With Terkanfeta Gibe the kebele shares grazing land in the winter, water for cattle drinking, labour through dabo, market places like Tibe, and both kebeles use the same service cooperative. There are marriage linkages and people from the two communities go to each other's burial ceremonies.

- With Odaa Korma kebele the community shares grazing land in the winter, water for cattle drinking, labour through dabo; there are linkages through marriages and burial ceremonies. This kebele uses Bore market in the east and a different service cooperative.
- It is the same type of links with Karu Wara Roba kebele and there also is no disagreement reported.
- With Gudina-Alo the community has similar links as with Odaa Korma. Gudina-Alo kebele has its own market and uses a different service cooperative.
- With Gudina Welqite kebele the community has the same links as with Odaa Karma and this kebele also uses Bore market in the east. In addition it uses Illala market, and it also have a different service cooperative.

The elders from these kebeles are involved in reconciliation and arbitration and have monthly meetings in Tibe town. No conflict is reported between these communities.

Rural/agricultural migration

There is limited rural migration as with the irrigation farms and an increased tendency to employ labour there are quite a lot of opportunities locally.

Urban linkages

Towns

The community has links with the following towns.

- Tibe – People visit the nearest town of Tibe every day as it has three market days in a week. Most people go there for market and to grind grains. People also go there for education, health care, recreation, vet service and the service cooperative. There are marriage linkages.
- Bako (wereda town) 17 km away – People travel for the market and to use health centres, for education (secondary and college), for wereda administration, for legal services, savings and credit services and banks.
- Jaji – 8km – Market town, marriage linkages.
- Ginichi - Market for red-pepper.
- Gedee - Market for red-pepper and mango, and marriage.
- Sheboka (8 km away) - Market where people from the community sell cattle, shoats, red-pepper and donkeys and buy some consumption items like traditional household furniture and hand crafts like pots, injera plates, baskets and cloths. Links for social events and intermarriage.
- Ambo (zonal town – 108 km away) - Large traders are able to come from big cities such as Ambo and Addis Ababa, to buy crops and transport them back to the city. There are also links to Ambo for administration (zonal), hospital, university and colleges, legal services and the market.
- Nekemte – People may go to the hospital.

International linkages

There are increasingly linkages to the Middle East as each year more young girls from the area go to Arab States (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon and Dubai) to work as domestic staff. According to knowledgeable respondents, in the last two years between 20 and 40 young girls have migrated to these countries. The girls stay in touch with their families and send regular remittances.

One family also has linkages with the USA as a family member won the DV lottery. He has since taken two of his nieces out to join him. They are being educated there and working. Another individual was said to have migrated to Germany with a scholarship.

Respondents reported that a few years ago some young men migrated to the Sudan illegally through Matama and they have not yet returned.

Cultural imports

Those Muslim young women who go to Arab countries tend to return with more conservative beliefs. This was apparent through their veiling themselves fully.

Young people were said to be influenced by urban areas in terms of the way that they dress and their hairstyles.

Community changes since 2008

Crises

The last drought in the community was in 2008 and respondents felt that since then although the rain had been irregular they had not had a crisis.

The major recent crises in the kebele have been due to crop and livestock diseases. These have seriously affected the livelihoods of households and have led to a change in what crops and animals are produced.

A disease called 'kollera' has been affecting red pepper for the last ten years. It attacks the root of the red pepper and eventually dries out the leaves and seeds. It destroyed red-pepper production which was an important cash crop in the kebele. Mango trees have also in the last 2 years been attacked by a 'kollera' infection which dries the leaves and damages the fruit. This disease spread from neighbouring kebeles to Oda Haro last year. Mangos were also an important cash crop but the disease is now widespread resulting in people stopping eating or selling mangos. No solution has been found to either of these crop diseases although it has been regularly reported to the DAs and the Wereda agricultural office. People feel that no action has been taken by the government and that their only option is to stop growing these two cash crops.

Whilst diseases affecting maize have declined due to the availability of pesticides there is a problem that is increasing with termites. Termites attack the root and stalk of the maize; they can also attack teff and some trees. When the crop falls down they eat the rest of the plant. This problem has been regularly reported to government officials but as yet no solution has been found.

There is also a disease which affects the tomato plant. Despite the farmers' use of pesticide to treat the affected plants, the disease continues to dry the leaves of the plant. This has a big impact on the quality and quantity of the production of tomato.

Since the introduction of the vet service in Tibe town, livestock diseases are not a major problem in the community. However, a chicken disease called Fungil (chicken flu) occurs regularly. It spreads very fast and can kill a large number of chickens in a short period of time. People complain that the vet service gives the same kind of medicine for all kinds of chicken diseases without identifying the type of disease and so the medicine has no effect. They say that the DAs are not helping them to find a solution to this killer disease. Currently there is an outbreak in Boto and Ebicho zones but people have stopped reporting the disease to the DAs as it has no effect. One respondent said that he lost some 60 chickens in this way last year.

In terms of human diseases, five years ago malaria was a major issue affecting the people in the area. Its impact has drastically reduced in the past five years with help from the HEWs and the wereda health office. In addition to distributing mosquito nets at household level, the government spray DDT in farmers' houses and in swampy areas. This brought a huge change. There have been no human epidemics or deaths from disease in the last ten years.

Environmental changes

Forest cover: there has been extensive destruction of the forests over the past few years, which has significantly reduced the forest cover in the kebele. Deforestation has mainly taken place along the borders with other kebeles, which makes it unclear which community is responsible. There are only a few areas of forest that have survived.

Whilst the destruction of forest has been illegal since 1990 EC the Wereda had no guidelines as to how to implement the law. The guidelines were received 3 months ago and the Wereda is now preparing to take action against those who are destroying the forest. Training has been provided by the Wereda and kebele administration on protecting the environment and particularly the forest. The model farmers are also involved in training people and in conserving the environment e.g. through tree planting. This has raised awareness amongst people concerning the links between deforestation and the impact upon the soil and therefore farming activities.

Moreover, the deforestation activities in the area have led to a reduction in the number of trees that produce flowers for the bees. This has contributed towards the decline in the bee population.

Land fertility/soil quality: The fertility of the soil has been declining over the last ten years. This is occurring because people do not use the land in rotation and produce the same crop each year. Before 2003 GC farmers could get a good harvest of maize without using chemical fertilisers but now unless they use fertiliser they will not get a good harvest. The loss of tree cover and irregularity of the rains means that erosion is also removing the top soil.

Erosion: People felt that erosion had increased in the last ten years due to intensive cultivation of the farm land and the conversion of most of the grazing and fallow land into farming land. The reduction of forest cover and increased flooding due to the irregularity of the rain are also contributing factors. However, in the last five years the government and the community have been involved in terracing and building check dams which have reduced the erosion of the soil.

Groundwater: The rainfall in the kebele has become irregular resulting in a longer dry season. This contributes to the drying up of some streams and to lower levels of water in the river. Irrigation also means that the river water is being used more intensively. These factors are contributing towards a decline in the level of underground water.

Pollution: Pollution levels in the river and streams have increased due to the expansion of the irrigation activities and the widespread use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides.

Weather: The weather in the kebele has also changed. Whilst there have been no big droughts the rainfall has become increasingly irregular over the last ten years. Most years, the rain comes very late and it stops very early increasing the length of the dry season. In the past there were two rainy seasons – the spring (April) and the summer. But now the rain mainly comes very late (after mid-June) and it stops early (before mid-September) so there is only one rainy season (summer). Last year the rain started in mid-June and stopped in mid-September which resulted in reduced production of most grain crops. In order to cope with the changes in climatic condition, people have started to sow a type of maize which gets ripe in a short period of time.

Economic changes

In the last 10 years the number of very rich people in the community has been increasing, because of the use of modern inputs in farm production and the expansion of trading in farm products and livestock. The number of rich people has also been increasing although the gap between rich and very rich is widening. The middle wealth category has been increasing in the last few years, particularly following the launch of the GTP as people endeavour to copy the model farmers. The number of destitute and poor people has declined because everyone in the community is actively involved in farming and farm related activities which has created changes in the livelihood of most people- moving them out of poverty.

New crops and irrigation: For a variety of reasons people are changing the crops they grow and the mix of crops grown. Since 2008, people have focused on using improved maize as the availability of seeds has increased. Three kinds of improved maize, called 660, 540 and 543, are used based on the soil type and the length of the rainy season. The price at which farmers are able to sell maize has increased although some say that it is not proportionate to the increase in the cost of inputs.

In contrast, red pepper and mangos which were very popular cash crops in the past are on the decline due to disease. New fruits and vegetables are being produced on irrigated land, including: new banana plants which provide better fruits than traditional ones; avocado plants introduced in the irrigation farms last year; tomato plants called koshoro – introduced in the last two years; a new onion plant called baro which was introduced last year. Irrigation techniques are also changing. Some rich farmers have started to use small irrigation motor pumps which provide more consistent flow of water especially in the dry season. The income from irrigated crops has had a significant positive impact on families with access to irrigated land as they are now able to harvest twice a year.

The use of improved inputs (seeds, fertiliser and pesticides), the advice from the Farmers Training Centre, and public mobilisation have all contributed to increased production. This has led to the improvement in the wealth status of many households.

Availability of land: As the population has increased there is increasing pressure on the land. Most in the young generation are without land and so parents have been forced to share their land with their married male children. This resulted in further fragmentation of farm lands. On one of the small mountains some forest land was given to youth cooperatives to plant new trees on the deforested land and to protect the remaining natural forests. However, there is a shortage of land for farming and grazing which leads young people to leave the community in search of other economic opportunities.

Farm labour: Although family labour is still the dominant source of farm labour for agriculture and herding there has been a decline in the use of traditional labour sharing systems such as Debo (payment with a feast) and Wonfel (payment with labour). Instead people are increasingly using paid labour. This is partly due to the expansion of the labour intensive irrigation scheme but also with the emergence of model farmers who want to spend their time on their own farm instead of being involved in labour sharing systems. As a result some immigrant workers have started to come to the community to get work on the irrigated farms. Last year some Amhara immigrants came, and they share-cropped on some of the irrigation farms. This trend is considered likely to increase as the immigrant workers were efficient and effective in irrigation work compared to local labourers.

Local Investments: Whilst there is no new investment in Oda Haro there are some agro industry investment organisations in the Oda Gibe area. This is far enough from the kebele that it has little impact on its labour system and overall economic activity. However, some of the vegetables and fruit grown by the agro industry are sold on the Tibe market, leading to lower prices for the vegetables and fruit from Oda Haro farmers using irrigation.

Access and Transport: The completion of the road from Addis Ababa to Benishangul region has greatly improved access to nearby towns and cities for the inhabitants of Oda Haro. People now have easy access to minibuses and cars. This has greatly encouraged trade links with other nearby towns and access to markets in other cities. As noted earlier there were also construction activities of internal roads. The better internal network is important for internal access and it led to the introduction of the mule cart transport in the community. There are now more than 160 carts which are mainly used for transporting commodities to market, traders and grain mills or threshing places. This increased access to and availability of transport has opened up new opportunities for people in the community to get involved in trade and it has given farmers access to a bigger market for their products.

Trade: Ten years ago people sold their crops on the market but now they can sell them to local traders. This reduces transport costs for the farmers and saves them time. Over the last five years trade has become equally as important as agricultural and livestock activities in Oda Haro. There are more than 7 big farm traders and 11 farm traders in the community. The local traders buy the crops from the farmers and sell them to big traders who come to the community from cities such as Addis Ababa. The service cooperative also buys crops from the farmers. Some people sell to the cooperative when the price of the local traders is low. This gives the farmers options in order to make the maximum income from selling their crops.

Access to savings and credit associations: Most people in the community are organised in the form of cooperatives and take credit from the Oromia Saving and Credit Association which is located in the wereda town. Based on the economic capacity of the farmers, the maximum loan is 10,000 birr. Some of the wealthy and model farmers complain that this is very small for those who want to borrow in bulk to invest more and so, they are leaving the association. However, for the poorer households the opportunity of access to credit is very important as it helps them to buy fertiliser and improved seeds.

Inflation: Farmers felt that the rate of inflation was threatening the sustainability of improved agricultural production. The price of food crops has been increasing which helps farmers who have surplus to get a good income from the sale of their produce. But the price of inputs has also been increasing. Sometimes the price of food crops declines or stays constant while the price of modern inputs continues to increase. This negatively impacts all the farmers who are totally dependent on improved inputs. The inflation has been noticed across the board on all items including those for household consumption. Some people can no longer afford to buy basic consumption goods such as sugar, food oil, pulses, grains, and so on.

Migration: The relatively new migration opportunities in Arab states have brought a lot of changes in the community. Between 20 and 40 young women have migrated for work in Arab states and send remittances home. The remittances have made a significant difference to the household economies of those who receive them. Young people are increasingly seeing migration either international (usually in the case of women) or urban as one of the few opportunities open to them to establish their own livelihood.

Social changes

Religion: There is a big difference in religious activity as people have become more closely linked to their religion in the last ten years. Religious institutions have also started teaching people more about their rules and what the religion is about. Preachers from all of the three main religions (Orthodox, Protestant, and Islam) preach people and there are some conversions. The conversion rate is highest for the protestant religion and most of the converts are from the Ethiopian Orthodox church. This high rate is mainly due to the strong preaching from the Protestant pastors. Despite this people are living in harmony more than before and it is very common to have followers of different religions in the same household without conflict arising from religious difference.

In Islam the wahabiya/wahabism has emerged as a new sect in recent years and has been expanding. They have constructed their own mosque in Alemgena zone and have brought in new sheiks from other places. Currently there are more than 100 followers of wahabiya in Oda Haro.

The expansion of Protestantism has resulted in the decline of some celebrations such as Maskel and Timket and in particular the Kallu celebration in the traditional religion.

Aspirations and ideas: People's attitudes towards development and self-improvement have changed in the last three years. One factor in this change has been the emergence of model farmers and other farmers seeing their successes. Many poor farmers have made their way out of poverty

through hard work. Rates of change and taking on new ideas varies but it seems that amongst the youth change is happening very quickly as they are keen to accept new ideas.

Alongside this, social acceptance of health services has changed. The community has become much more aware in the last five years of the importance of seeking health care and safe delivery services for birth. This has reduced the number of home based deliveries and improved the general health of the population.

Family structure: There has been a major change in the family structure in the last ten years as norms of the past are questioned. Young people do not feel that they are listened to by their parents and adults feel as though their children lack respect for their parents. This leads to conflict between children and parents. In addition with the expansion of women's rights conflict arises between husband and wife. Family has become a looser structure and parents do not feel they have influence over the way their children live their lives e.g. who they marry.

Changes due to migration: International migration contributes to the emergence of a totally new culture particularly among the Muslim communities in the kebele. The returned Muslim migrant women start to cover their faces with clothes, and to wear long dresses which were alien to the culture of the community. In the past there was no difference between the Muslim and Christian girls but now the difference has been emerging. Some of the international migrants who have returned back to the community wear trousers, which is also a new wearing style.

Young people who have migrated to urban areas and returned back came with new wearing style, fashion clothes, new hair styles, and new knowledge about the other communities. These new ideas and styles have an impact on the young people living in the community.

The proximity of the community to towns leads to change amongst the young generation's lifestyle (dressing and hair style, speaking style, exposure to new information through television, film, cinemas etc.). Young people stop wearing traditional trousers and dresses.

Cultural changes

A number of cultural changes were mentioned by the community since 2008 a number of which are linked to the new religious practice in the community. The area is now dominated by Protestants (over 65%) whilst in the past it was dominated by traditional religion (Waqifata and Kalu). There are also growing numbers of Orthodox Christians and Muslims. In the last two years some Muslims have started to follow the Wahabiya Islam so there are now two sects (Wahabiya and Sofia) and two mosques in the community. This has created some hidden tensions within the Muslim community.

Whilst there is no overt conflict between religions some conversions especially of whole families creates tension. The growth of Protestantism has contributed to minimising religious celebration days, as Protestants do not celebrate all the saints days celebrated in the Orthodox Church. Those who convert to Protestantism drop out of celebrating Saints' days and mahibers. Another change brought about by conversions to Protestantism is that the number of people who spend their income on drinking alcohol has declined as they have become Protestants and now do not drink.

The government has also intervened to try and change the Orthodox tradition of celebrating so many Saints' days, which meant that people did not work. As a result the celebration of Saints' days has been minimised and people have accepted to work the whole week except Sundays. Muslims work every day except Fridays. The number of hours worked in a day has also increased as people have reduced the amount of time they spend in coffee ceremonies.

The amount of money spent on cultural events and celebrations, such as weddings, Debo, mourning and religious feasts has decreased since 2008. Awareness has grown of the need to save money and to consider the family's livelihood when investing in celebrations. In the past people did not save money at all and focused on satisfying the day-to-day needs of their family. Now people have

started to save money. Also, storing crops until the price is high and then selling them is becoming a common practice in the community. An increasing number of people is also getting credit from the saving and credit associations when they did not in the past.

Circumcision is still considered very important for both sexes and is celebrated. Although there have been government training and advice to discourage female circumcision and abduction people are unwilling to change this cultural tradition. Female circumcision continues particularly in the Muslim communities. Some Muslim households even bring the female children of their relatives from Addis Ababa and other communities where female circumcision has been strictly forbidden, to circumcise them in their home in Oda Haro. The community at large still supports circumcision and as a result there are no consequences for those who circumcise their children or those of their relatives. One person said *"female circumcision is one of the golden cultures of our people; it is part and parcel of the beauty of the girls and provides great dignity for their mothers. Therefore, we do not dare stop it whatever pressure comes from the government"* (rich farmer).

People have also developed new ideas concerning domestic work and although the majority is still carried out by women, men are now contributing. Men and boys have begun to fetch water, collect wood, take grain to the mill and also wash their own clothes.

There have also been changes culturally following intervention by government health workers concerning the raising of children. People start to place more priority on what they feed young children and how they look after them. They also take the children to the health post for vaccinations, nutrition check-ups and treatment if they are ill. Care is also taken during pregnancy with women visiting the HEWs for check-ups and more frequently giving birth in health institutions rather than at home. Respondents explained that in the past people did not really care about what the children ate, wore or their personal hygiene. This change in attitude towards rearing children means that fewer children are dying and as a result people are having fewer children.

The aspirations of young people have changed and they are now keen to leave the community to find work. There is also the relatively recent option of international migration. Young people are also keen to continue their education and some aspire to join universities. The aspirations of parents for their children have also changed a lot. Previously the hope for a daughter was that she marries a landowner and rich husband. Now most girls go to school and parents prefer when they have finished school to send them to Arab countries for a while before they get married. In the past parents hoped that young men would become good farmers in the community but now with the shortages of land many accept that the best thing for their sons is to seek work elsewhere.

Young people are also taking more a role in the decision of who and when to marry and much fewer early marriages are taking place. There has been a decline of forced abduction in the past five years, alongside an increase in voluntary abduction as young people choose a partner themselves and via abduction get around the need for family consent and discussion. This has led to a decline in the role of parents and relatives in arranging marriage for their children. It seems that parents also accept this trend as it reduces bride wealth and other marriage gifts, and big feasts related to marriage.

In the past three to five years iddirs have been given an increasingly important role in matters of justice by the people, the kebele administration and the wereda. The iddirs take action against those who have been involved in criminal activities including theft, robbery and fighting by fining them 175 birr. If the person refuses to accept the fine, he is sanctioned and he and his family are excluded from all kinds of social, economic and cultural activities. According to the respondents, the role of the iddirs in justice has contributed to a decline in theft, robbery, fighting and conflicts and even conflicts between wives and husbands.

The Gada system has greatly declined. Respondents were not able to identify any rites of passage.

In terms of housing there have also been changes. In the past people lived in houses made from thatch and mud, and people and cattle lived together in the same house. In the last few years many

people in the community have changed their house into corrugated tin house and have built a separate house in their compound for cattle.

People's diet has also changed. Five years ago people ate twice a day (mainly in the morning and evening). Now people have started to eat three times a day. The variety of food that people eat has also improved. For instance in the past it was not very common to eat vegetables while now with the expansion of irrigation there is increased access to different kinds of vegetables. The variety of meat, milk and fruits consumed has also improved. However, conservatives and old people say that eating meat and milk has declined due to the decline in the livestock population. As grazing land has been changed into farm land farmers tend to rear a small number of livestock.

Political changes

Regarding politics, most of the people in the community support the political ideas of the ruling party. According to knowledgeable informants about 200 people are EPRDF members. Currently there is no opposition party in the area. In 2005, there were hot debates between the ruling and opposition parties. The local opposition party was the Oromo National Congress. Following a clash between the two parties the ruling party took power and people felt that things have started to change as a result of the election. The ruling party has worked hard to improve the livelihoods of the people and to organise people around its political agenda. In 2010, there was another national election in which the ruling party overwhelmingly won the election in the kebele. There was no opposition party participating so people had no choice except to vote for the ruling party. After this election, the ruling party engaged in strengthening the administrative structure at the local level.

However, people felt that there was lack of commitment on the part of the wereda administration to implement the government policies and programmes. They start one programme and jump to another without completing or following up on the previous programme. Respondents gave an example of this as follows. Last year there was a public works programme focusing on watershed management and environmental protection. After three months of engagement by the community in terracing check dams and planting new plants on the terraced land, the wereda and kebele administration failed to follow them up. As a result most of the check dams were destroyed by floods and newly planted trees by cattle. This year they also mobilised people to get involved in terracing work for more than one month and there is a plan to plant trees on the terraced land. But people say that without appropriate follow-up the work will not achieve its objective to restore the old forests and to replant the areas that have been deforested with new trees and plants.

Although the structures of kebele council, Zone, Gare and 1-5s were already established, following the 2010 elections they were strengthened and started to play a key role in administration, development activities, and political participation. These structures also play an important role in preventing the formation of other political parties at the local level because they control the 1-5 or Gare members. Members are not allowed to get involved in any activity without the prior knowledge of the other members. It is the responsibility of the kebele council to pass important government directives to the lower levels. The Gares and 1-5s then mobilise the people for developmental works, for security and for different kinds of meetings and trainings organised by the kebele administration or by the wereda.

According to one respondent, in the last five years the kebele administration has been less active politically. That is because people do not give as much attention to politics and focus instead on the economic activities of their household and community. He felt that even the kebele administration seemed more focused on improving people's economic activities than on their political awareness. This focus on the economy has brought big changes in terms of economic wellbeing as people are now more actively engaged in farming and in using modern inputs. The kebele administration has worked hard to give people access to improved seeds, fertilisers and consumables such as sugar, food oil, and corrugated sheet iron from the service cooperative at a fair price.

The community's households

Household structures

The population of the kebele is 4,138 (2,107 male and 2,031 female). The kebele estimates that 17.7% of the households are headed by women. The smallest households tend to be newly married couples with few or no children. In the majority of households in terms of decision making and management the man still leads although some women said that they share with their husbands. Male heads of household are invited for community meetings and training courses as well as community work. However, in female headed households the women assume these roles or encourage their older sons to take them on.

Both women and men seem to be marrying later and it is now rare for either to marry under 18. This is due to a number of factors including increased access to education for girls and boys and access to new opportunities such as further education and migration. Young men and women talked of the need to establish their own independent livelihood before getting married and with a shortage of land for farming this is no longer automatic. It is therefore becoming more common for young people who have finished school to live with their parents for a number of years in their late teens and twenties, working on their parents' farm and seeking to generate their own income sources before marrying.

There were a number of divorced women amongst those interviewed. They did not seem to suffer discrimination. They had all benefited from the new legislation which enabled them to divorce and keep half of what the couple had owned. It seemed that in female headed households women were often more actively involved in income generation and in some cases they had been very successful. Polygamy is practised in the community mainly amongst the Muslim community but is not as common as it was in previous times due to the costs of living. Wife inheritance has significantly decreased with new legislation and now only occurs with the woman's consent.

Household case studies

Successful farmer's household

DB is the head of a wealthy household. He is married to BD (aged 42) and they have two daughters (aged 14 and 12), a son (aged 7) and their grandson (aged 4) living with them. They also have five older daughters who no longer live with them but have migrated to Ambo or Arsi. The youngest of these daughters (aged 15) is in Ambo with her two sisters where she goes to school. Her older sisters migrated in one case to flee a divorce 3 years ago and the other (aged 16) to escape abduction. The two sisters in Arsi have moved there to look for work as having completed grade 10, they were unable to find work in Oda Haro.

Both DB and BD are Oromo. He is from the Wada clan and she is from the Guddeya clan with whom she has lineage. DB holds a number of key roles in the community. Five years ago he was the head of the militia in the kebele; he is now the head of his 1-5 and a member of the kebele cabinet. He is also a community elder of the Gare Doyo and he is on the kebele administration board involved in conflict resolution. Both he and his wife are protestant (as are the children) having converted from the Orthodox Church seven years ago. DB is a facilitator in the church and helps coordinate things each Sunday. His wife is also very involved in the church serving as an usher and leading the women's prayer group. However, she does not have any role in any of the government structures and is not a party member. The family were selected as model farmers two years ago but thus far have not received any awards.

Both husband and wife agreed that their household's economic situation had improved in the last five years. They now have more livestock than 5 years ago and are producing a greater surplus. This has enabled them to send their children to school in other towns.

The household's livelihood is dependent upon agriculture, the production of maize, teff, nug and sorghum in order of importance and livestock. DB also carries out fattening of cows and oxen as a result of the training he received at the FTC. This has increased his earnings. Last year he sold a fattened ox on the local market for 7,000 birr. They mainly rely on family labour for work. However, DB gets labour in return from a family to which DB lends an ox. He also uses paid labour for harvesting, weeding and threshing and sometimes organises Debo in order to get help from friends and neighbours. For threshing his maize he rents a threshing machine although it is expensive.

Over time they have changed what they produce, because of several reasons. First, sorghum is being much affected by birds and so they have stopped growing it in large amounts. Second, they used to produce red peppers but they were affected by disease and so they have stopped producing them. Third, their mango crop has also been badly affected by disease and so could not be sold. As a result the household has focused very much on maize which they have been producing for more than 20 years. In 2012 they sold their maize surplus for 5,000 birr. Last year's harvest was poor compared to the previous five years, due to shortage of rain. So they kept most of what they produced for their own consumption. They usually sell to local farm traders and some larger traders from Tibe town that come to the farm to buy the crops. They tend to store the maize, treating it with pesticides, until June or July when the price increases and they sell at higher price.

The price of maize and teff has been increasing over the past few years. This has helped DB's household to earn good income. For example the price for teff was 600 birr per quintal five years ago but now it is 1,300 birr. For maize it was 280 birr five years ago but now it is 500 birr during the summer time when the price increases (although this year it is 400 birr).

The family currently has no access to irrigated land. BD grows some tomatoes to exchange but without irrigation. In the future they would like to rent some irrigated land in order to be able to produce vegetables.

In terms of support from the agricultural extension workers they get good support on maize. They are able to buy fertilisers and improved seeds through the service cooperative. For teff and nug there are no improved seeds available. The cost of fertiliser is very expensive (1,600 birr for a quintal) and as a result DB does not use fertiliser on his sorghum; this obviously reduces his production. They have been disappointed with the lack of support on crop diseases particularly red pepper and mango as it has led to a loss of income source for them and in the case of mangos a huge waste of fruit.

The number of livestock the household owns has increased compared to five years ago but the variety has diminished. They no longer own bees, goats or sheep and they now have fewer chickens due to disease. However they own two pairs of oxen, two bulls, 4 milk cows, 5 heifers, 4 calves and 10 chickens. A number of their cattle are lent to relatives who look after them in return for the milk. This is due to a shortage of labour in the household. All of their animals are local breeds. Although the DAs have given them training on hybrids they have not been able to access them. There is a vet service in Tibe town; every six months the vet comes to the kebele and vaccinates the cattle. This has greatly improved the health of their livestock.

DB is responsible and controls the income from the sale of cattle (he has sold two fattened oxen in the last 12 months, for 9,500 birr). His wife sells chickens, eggs and butter and manages the income from them. DB complains that the variety of food they eat at home has declined. In the past they had a surplus of milk, butter, eggs and meat which they consumed at home but they now sell them because they are so valuable. In the past people used butter instead of food oil, now they can sell a

kilogram of butter at 160 birr but they can buy a litre of food oil at 25 birr from the service cooperative and so they cook with oil and sell their butter.

Whilst the price that can be obtained for livestock and livestock products has increased there are challenges in terms of shortage of grazing land and grass. Cattle are also increasingly affected by drought as the dry season seems to get longer. This results in a shortage of grass and water for them.

In terms of non-farm business DB lends money to other households and charges them interest. He makes loans available in the lean season when most farmers face financial and food shortages. He asks 50% interest rate and farmers must pay back within six months. He has also bought a house in Tibe which he rents out at 30 birr/month. As a member of the wereda saving and credit association he also has access to credit himself (last year he received 5,000 birr) with which he buys improved seeds, fertilisers and oxen. The interest rate for last year was 12%. DB also saves 20 birr each month.

DB is a member of 4 iddirs and his wife a member of 2. He pays 2 birr per month for each of them except one which is 6 birr per month. His wife pays 1 birr every month to each. The iddirs are very important in case of death of family members or relatives.

Their house was built 12 years ago and they have three houses - one for cattle, one for the kitchen and the third where they live, with four rooms. They have a wooden family bed, chairs and table, a kitchen cupboard and cooking utensils. The household does not have any electricity and so has no TV or radio or electronic utensils.

The family continues to eat maize *injera* with *Shiro* and cheese. Sometimes they have tomatoes, salad, cabbage and potato. Whilst they now eat more vegetables than they did five years ago they eat less butter, milk and meat as they have become very expensive. For special days they eat teff *injera*. They no longer eat together from the same plate; five years ago they started to eat on separate plates. They tend to eat twice a day in the mornings and evenings due to a shortage of time for three meals a day. With increased prices and lower productivity than in the past they have to economise, they mix sorghum with maize to make *injera*.

Both DB and his wife felt that security and safety in the community had improved over the last five years. Whilst there was still some theft by the poor, the organisation of the 1-5s had helped reduce it as members are responsible to report to the rest of the group all of their activities.

However, both husband and wife reported that sexual violence was still a problem. Although the kebele and village elders in conjunction with the iddirs are trying to solve the problem rape still occurs, and many girls dare not admit it. There has however, been a recent case where the man was found guilty at the wereda court and sentenced to 18 years in prison. Although abduction is illegal it still occurs as well and it is a real problem for girls who are in upper primary and secondary school. Generally speaking DB explained that the law about women's rights is not adequately enforced. A man tried to abduct their daughter when she was 14 years old and on her way home from primary school. He continued to try for two years after which they sent her away to go to primary school in Tibe town. The man followed her there and so this year she has been sent to Ambo to live with her sisters and continue her education. Her father is adamant that he does not want his children to marry until they complete secondary education or college.

They have a son who attends a private pre-school programme. It costs them 50 birr per month and he really enjoys it. Two of their daughters attend primary school which is a 15 minute walk from their house. They like school and they are among the highest ranking students. However, they say that there is a shortage of books and teachers. One of their daughters is attending a private college in Assella where she studies IT. She lives with her godmother who is paying the school fees. DB and BD are attending free adult education. BD finds it particularly difficult to keep up and says her husband is doing better than she is. BD admits that with her children's education she feels a bit disappointed that it has not fulfilled her expectations. At the lower levels the quality is not good

enough; the children go regularly to school but return home without learning anything. The community has placed great expectations in education but now it is "*creating chaos in the community*" by raising the expectations and aspirations of children and young people without bringing them a better life. Many young people in the community become dependent upon their families once they have finished high school as there is no work for them.

DB is a member of the party and pays 12 birr per year for his membership. He says that it brings no benefit to the individual but brings benefit at community level as it helps to elect effective and committed kebele and wereda leadership and cabinet members. DB would not say he is active in the party. BD is not a member. In terms of other contributions or taxes the household pays 166 birr land tax, contribution to the Red Cross of 12 birr per year and a contribution to the school of 10 birr per year. He made a one off contribution towards internal road construction of 96 birr.

Successful businessman's household

MT has one wife KW (aged 40). They have five daughters (aged 7, 9, 16, 22 and 25) and one son (aged 12). Their elder daughter has married and moved to another nearby community. They are both Oromo and she has lineage with Wayyu clan. He does not know his clan and lineage. The household economy is agriculture and trade. They are both Protestant as are their children. MT says that he has no official role as a community elder or in the kebele because he says he needs to focus on his farming and trade. His wife says that he is involved in conflict resolution when there are problems in the neighbourhood or with the kebele administration. KW is a member of a 1-5 and was selected as cell leader although she says that so far she has not been required to do anything except attend one meeting at the outset.

The household livelihood is based on farming, livestock breeding and farm product trading (maize, teff and sorghum). The wealth of the household has improved in the last five years. The household provides support to relatives and friends when they have problems. For example they lend out their ox to those who do not have oxen and offer loans of crops and money when others are in difficulty. MT was insistent that the household's wealth has improved due to his hard work and in particular his trading activities rather than any support from the DAs or the wereda agricultural experts who he felt do not make a big contribution to change in the agricultural sector.

The main crops grown by the household are maize, red pepper and teff in order of importance. Five years ago they also produced nug (niger seed) and sorghum but due to a shortage of land (the cost of renting land has increased) and the birds attacking the sorghum each year he decided to stop producing them. The family has 2.5 ha land they usually combine this with other land that they rent. Both maize and red pepper are produced as cash crops and sold to big traders in Tibe town. He also sometimes sells some of his crops in Addis Ababa along with crops bought from other farmers. They tend to store their crops until the price rises. Last year he earned 2,000 birr from selling the crops that the family had produced.

MT feels that he and his family have not benefited from the work of the DAs and the wereda extension office. Three years ago they provided an intensive training course on how to transform the local economy, including through the use of modern inputs. He was not invited to the training and has received no support from the DAs since. He feels that they should be out helping farmers rather than sitting in their offices.

The cost of farming is increasing due to the increase in the price of chemical fertilisers and improved seeds. MT estimates that the price of inputs has more than doubled in the last five years whilst the price they are able to sell the crops has risen at a much slower rate. This erodes the farmers' profits and has meant that their household has had to reduce their consumption of items such as sugar, oil and spices.

The number of livestock owned by the family has reduced over the past five years. Previously they had 35 cattle but many have been lost due to disease. They now have 10 cattle (4 oxen, a cow, 3

heifers and 3 calves) and their son has 2 cows so in total the household owns 12 cattle. They also have 30 hybrid chickens; five years ago they had many more. The vet service in Tibe and the clinics that they hold in the kebele have not helped to reduce disease amongst their animals. The main disease their cattle are suffering from is Gendi. They also had to reduce the number of cattle due to shortage of grass and the decline in the communal grazing land as the government gives more and more land to farming in compensation for land lost for public buildings. They do not employ anyone to look after their cattle but rather their children taken it in turns depending upon their school shift.

The household has not sold any livestock in the past years and so they have not benefited from the increase in the price of livestock. The price has been increasing because of the increased demand for meat in urban areas. In terms of livestock products they only produce very little milk; KW says that she collects less than a litre per day. She can produce 1 kg of butter with a month's milk. In the summer this increases to 2 kg as there is more fodder for the cows. The chickens have not started laying eggs yet. KW explains that it is her husband who manages the sale of the farm produce and he saves the money in his account and uses it for other business. She has no idea how much capital the household owns but she thinks that in general over the past five years profits have improved.

MT is involved in the trade of agricultural produce. He buys maize, teff and sorghum from local farmers and sells them on to traders in Tibe town or directly to traders in Addis Ababa. Trade is important to the household. It has helped them to improve their livelihood in a short period of time. MT's son helps him with the trade. He completed grade 10 and then could not get a job. Unfortunately at present the profit is low. KW explains that her husband has invested part of the profits in a grain mill in Tibe town. He employs one person to run the grain mill, whom he pays 400 birr per month. When they bought the grain mill it was very profitable but now there is a lot of competition with many other mills and so the main profit comes during holiday seasons and for weddings. As a small business MT pays between 1,000 and 1,400 birr each year in tax and he also has a business licence which he bought from the Wereda administration some years ago. He has not received any advice or credit from government or NGOs to expand his business.

MT seems to have gained exemption from being involved in government or public works. He says this is because he is very busy and this is recognised by the kebele administrator.

The household owns 4 houses in Oda Haro including a main residence with 4 rooms. They also have a house as a kitchen, one for livestock room and for storing crops. The residence and kitchen houses have tin roofs; the other two are thatched. They also own another big house with four rooms in Tibe town which they rent. They have two family wooden beds and six chairs. They have access to tap water which is safe and well maintained; they pay 2 birr per month for the guard's salary. The household have not yet built a latrine. They say this is out of negligence and reluctance.

In terms of food the family regularly eat *injera* made with mixed grains (usually *teff* and maize) and *shiro wot* made from beans. In the last five years they have started cooking a variety of *wot* including vegetables. Beef, eggs, milk and butter, pulses, oilseeds, fruit and spices are not regular food of the household. At certain times of year the variety of foods they eat decreases. Meat and chicken are reserved only for special days and holidays. The household eat three times per day. Children now eat the same as their parents whereas in the past they were given their parents leftovers and lower quality *wot*. KW carries out the majority of household work although the children particularly her daughters share some of it. Her sons give her some support with collecting water and taking crops to the mill. However, KW still spends the majority of the day on domestic work.

The household is a member of the service cooperative; they paid 135 birr for membership at the time of its establishment. Membership gives them a discount on the commodities that the SC sells which are cheaper than at the shops. However, sometimes one has to queue almost the whole day to get things because the cooperative serves around 4 kebeles. MT is not a member of the saving and credit association. He prefers to use his own cash to run his business and will continue to do

this in future. He is a member of three iddirs and KW is a member of one iddir. He contributes 9 birr monthly for the three of them whilst his wife contributes 2 birr per month to her iddir.

MT felt that robbery and violence in the community was increasing; young people continue to stop cars and plunder the passengers and thieves are involved in stealing cattle, shoats, crops and trees. In the past the cases were taken to the social court and this played an important role in reducing the problem. Now the responsibility is given to the iddirs and the kebele administration which MT feels leads to bias. However his wife felt that there was good security and the situation had improved as a result of the Iddir's role.

The household has one child who attends pre-school; the school is located in Tibe town; she walks alone and it takes her 30 minutes. The family pay 50 birr school fee per month. The household also has two children who attend primary school at grade 2 and 7. The quality of education is poor as there is a shortage of teachers. Their son attended grade 10 in Tibe and it took him 40 minutes to walk there. At this level the family also felt that qualified teachers need to be assigned. MT feels that although people are happy with the opening of new primary schools in the community there are regular complaints about the quality. There are not enough teachers for all grades and students do not have enough text books.

No one in the household has any involvement in any political activities or with the kebele administration. KW felt that the large kebele meetings that are held were mainly for show. Issues were raised as a formality in order to satisfy the wereda rather than as a way to bring about change. The example she gives is that although the kebele has set up development team leaders and 1 to 5 cells after the large meeting nothing much has happened.

In terms of taxes and contributions the household pays 350 birr in land tax each year, 10 birr as a contribution to the school and 10 birr for the Red Cross. They also pay 1,200 in business tax and gave wood as contribution for the construction of the school.

They noted that the government has decided it wants to stop female circumcision and a lot of effort has been made by the wereda administration, the HEWs, the wereda health office in collaboration with the development leaders and the iddirs, but the community have refused. It is still carried out illegally. People feel that it is a very important part of their culture and therefore they cannot stop it. This continues even though the church also tries to educate people to stop. Rape has decreased in the last five years but forceful abduction has increased. The community opposes both rape and forced abduction whilst voluntary abduction is accepted as it increases the right of young women to choose their partner. KW says that domestic violence has stopped because of iddir, church and government intervention. She admits that she used to experience domestic violence every night but now thanks to the church's role it no longer happens. Church membership is cancelled if anyone is found causing disturbance in the family.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

MC is married to SD (aged 55); they have five sons (aged 30, 27, 22, 20, 12) and 3 daughters (aged 16, 18 and 25). One of their daughters and two of their sons no longer live at home. The two eldest are married and live in the community. The other son (aged 20) migrated to Ambo two years ago where he works as a daily labourer; he is single. Both MC and DS are Oromo. MC belongs to the Wada clan and his wife to the Warri Hirpa Abba Hora clan. They are both Orthodox Christians. MC is a community elder.

The household depends upon agriculture for their livelihood. Six years ago they started using irrigation and this has made a significant difference to the wealth of the household. MC says that 5 years ago they were very poor but now they are doing well. The family have 1.5 hectares of land and they produce maize and some teff. They used to also produce red pepper but stopped about five years ago as the crop was getting attacked by a disease. The family also sharecrop some irrigated land. Last year they worked 1 hectare of irrigated land on which they produce tomatoes, sugar cane

and green peppers. Water shortage is making production on the irrigated land more difficult. They used to produce potatoes but have stopped recently as the harvest was not very good. The family also have 8 mango trees, 12 coffee trees and trees that can be used for building houses. MC feels that the improvements in the household's economic situation have been the result of hard work and the advice from the extension workers which have helped increase their production.

In the past they sold coffee and mango plants at the market but in the last two years both plants have been affected by a disease called cholera which has seriously reduced their production. Although they have repeatedly reported this problem to the DAs no action has been taken. Pesticides do not stop the pest and as a result many farmers have had to stop producing coffee and mangos. Last year they obtained about 12,000 birr from the sale of cash crops. They tend to consume the majority of their maize crop but sell any surplus to local traders. SD is responsible for the sale of the crops for the family and she manages the household's finances.

The price of agricultural inputs have been increasing; the price of one quintal of fertiliser is now 1,600 birr, and the price of 12.5kg of improved maize seed is close to 300 birr which means that it costs them 2,400 birr for a quintal. Although the price for which they can sell maize also increases (it is now 400 birr per quintal) the family only sells a small amount consuming the majority at home. Last year's shortage of rain also impacted their production and they had less maize.

They got support with their farming mainly through the service cooperative which makes agricultural inputs available locally. Also three years ago MC received training from the government on how to use production inputs and on different kinds of techniques such as planting in lines. Since the training the farmers have been learning from each other how to best implement these new techniques, which have contributed to an increase in maize production. The government has also given them seedlings so they can plant new trees on their private land. MC has planted trees on his compound and on the boundaries of the farm.

The family also breeds livestock. They have a pair of oxen, a cow, a bull and 15 chickens. The children have 4 sheep. There has been some tension in the community due to the reduction in the grazing land. In the past there was vast grazing land for cattle but now the expansion of farming led to shortage of grazing land and grass and as a result, the number of livestock he is able to keep declined. Their livestock owning also decreased as they lost five cattle to disease five years ago and one cow last summer. The vet service is not very accessible and so they visit it just once a year.

Vaccination has helped reducing disease amongst cattle but it does not include chickens. Every year they lose large number of chickens to disease. They have reported this problem to the DAs but they suggest medicines that do not work. People have therefore resorted to the traditional way of treating the chickens giving them food mixed with lemons and the leaves of the Mimi tree (a new tree introduced by the extension service five years ago).

MC feels that the extension service needs to work more closely with the people, identifying the major problems of the farmers and reporting the problems to the concerned bodies in order to get proper solutions.

The family sold one cow at the Tibe town last year for 1,300 birr. The money was used to buy chemical fertiliser. The chickens and their eggs are sold by the children in order to buy the materials they need for school.

MC and his wife are not engaged in any other business or non-farm work. But one of their sons is a teacher in a primary school in a nearby community. He has a monthly salary. Also two of their daughters have recently started paid labour on irrigation farm of a rich local farmer. They harvest tomatoes and earn 15 birr per day. They also have one son who due to shortage of land migrated to Ambo town in search of work. He asked his father for land but MC had to refuse as he does not have enough land to give to all his children. As a result his son is now working in a hotel. He returned last year to visit the family and said that he is leading a good life and will not come back to Oda Haro.

The family live in a compound with four houses; there is one for the kitchen, one for the children, one for the animals and a main residence with three rooms. There is also a new house being built for their son who is a teacher but it is not yet finished. The household own one family bed made of wood, two wooden children beds, chairs, tables and a kitchen cupboard. Two of the children have mobile phones. They built a latrine two years ago. They use spring water for drinking, from a spring which is maintained and protected by an iddir committee, at 15 minutes' walk from their house.

MC says that the variety of food they consume at home has declined although the amount remains the same. They eat *shiro* and lentil sauce with *injera* and have three meals per day. In the summer as there is less food they eat twice a day. SD thinks that in the last five years the family has started eating more variety as they now eat vegetables; potatoes, spinach, tomatoes and lettuce. They no longer eat from one plate but have separate plates.

Before they had children and when the children were still small SC says that MC used to share the domestic work equally with her. He used to clean the house, wash clothes, collect wood and water, make the coffee and help look after children. But now they have a lot of children who are older and so the children do the majority of domestic work.

MC is a member of the service cooperative in Tibe town; it serves more than 4 kebeles. The problem with it is that the cooperative workers are corrupt. They sell consumables to traders in Tibe town which results in shortage for the members. He also finds the price of the agricultural inputs they sell very expensive. To try and solve the problem of corruption people have recently requested that the wereda establish an independent cooperative in the kebele. After discussion with the wereda it has been agreed that this will be done; it will hopefully reduce the problems and the transportation costs for the farmers.

Both MC and his wife are members of 3 iddirs each. They pay a total contribution of 6 birr for all six iddirs. As members of the Orthodox Church they are members of mehabers. MC is a member of one senbete mehaber and his wife of another. They contribute 1 birr each monthly for the senbete. The benefit is that if a family member dies they will get 80 birr, or 40 birr when a relative dies.

There was a crisis in the family six years ago when one of their daughters was hit by a big truck as she walked to Tibe town to grind some grain. Her leg was broken and she was taken to the Korean hospital in Addis Ababa, where she was treated for six months. The driver covered all the medical and other costs whilst she was in hospital. Unfortunately she has become permanently disabled and is not walking properly.

There are three children in the household who attend primary school- two girls and a boy. It takes them 15 minutes to walk to school. The schooling costs are covered by the sale of sugar cane, eggs and chickens. The children are not involved in income generating work but the girls do at least four hours of domestic work each day. They complain about lack of teachers and books. SD feels that the government needs to invest more in rural schools and encourage rural students to continue up to tertiary level. Two of her older children dropped out of school. One son dropped out of grade 7 and went to Ambo and got employed in a cafeteria as a waiter. The other son had to drop out when MC got sick as he was needed to support the family.

MC is very positive about the expansion of the education system which has enabled their children to go to school within the community. There is also a secondary school in the Tibe which is near to the community. SD and MC have attended adult education classes but ceased to go because they found it very difficult and decided they are too old and it is no longer a priority for them.

In terms of security in the kebele both MC and SD felt it had improved in the last five years. There are fewer violent fights amongst men and the Gares and 1-5s have played a key role in controlling this. All of the nearby communities meet monthly in Tibe town to discuss security and safety and this has helped reduce violent robbery. The Gares, 1-5s and iddirs have played a key role in reducing theft and burglary. The iddir has been given power to impose fines and sanctions on those who

commit crimes and as a result theft has almost completely gone in this area in the last five years. Sexual attacks on women have also been reduced through awareness raising by the 1-5s and Gares. In the past there used to be conflict between communities over the use of the forest in the north of the kebele, but these have been reduced due to the involvement of the Wereda administration.

MC is a member of the Party and pays 12 birr annually as membership fee. This is collected with his land tax. His wife is also a member although MC did not seem aware of this. MC goes to the meeting organised by the kebele party organisers once a year. As far as he is concerned there are no major benefits or problems with being a member either for him, his household or the community. This year there was a 7 day training course organised by the kebele administration, which MC attended. It focused on how to improve the watershed activities and how to plant trees to improve the forest cover in order to protect the environment. They were also taught how to improve the productivity of livestock (to focus on quality instead of quantity) and about the benefit of fattening, the use of improved fodder for fattening cattle and for milk cows, and the improvement of farm production through the correct use of inputs. They also discussed the expansion of irrigation, the importance of cash crops such as coffee and the issues with high breed chickens and beehives.

As well as his party membership MC pays 100 birr in land tax each year. He contributed labour to the farming, harvesting and threshing of the school's farm where they produced maize and teff last year.

In the last five years SD was part of a group of women who formed an association involved in farming. Around 40 women had contributed some money as initial capital to buy inputs including improved seeds and fertiliser. The committee then rented a small plot land alongside the river where they produced maize, potatoes and tomatoes. After the crops were sold the money was kept by the chairperson who was also the treasurer. However, she died and although the committee requested to get the box from her husband he has refused, and the association stopped functioning.

Both husband and wife agreed that female circumcision was still happening in the community. It is considered as part of the Oromo culture. Although they had heard about the government's attempts to stop it MC says that in Oda Haro there is no major movement to stop it and people continue to practice it without any problem. He felt that it would be difficult for uncircumcised girls to get a husband. Although rape happens in the community occasionally MC said that people are now afraid of the law which may lead to them being punished. Forced abduction has been decreasing but voluntary abduction has increased and SD described it as a "*headache for many households*". It reduces the parental involvement and is a low cost way of getting married. SD feels that domestic violence is no longer a problem as the iddirs now fine husbands who beat their wife (175 birr). The 1-5 structure means that domestic violence is reported so MC admitted men are frightened of the consequences of beating their wife. As most girls now attend school early marriage has decreased. People are aware that early marriage is not good for men or women.

MC explained how the situation of women has improved as people are more aware of women's rights. Women are now seen to be playing an important role in the economy of their household; they also have legal right to half of everything. The only area where women are still not very involved is the political arena. Women are no longer seen as the weaker sex as they play key roles in their household and also female children attend school alongside male children.

Household of poor farmer

KT is married to FS (aged 45); they have five daughters and five sons. They are both Oromo; she is from Gurdu clan. One son and three of their daughters have left home. Three are married and living in nearby communities but one daughter migrated and they do not know where she is, she left four years ago and has not been in contact. The children living at home are four sons (aged 25, 20, 15, 9) only one of whom is at school (the 15 year old, who is in grade 4). The older two dropped out due to poverty and are working. Their daughters are 12 and 6 years old and the older one is in grade 2 at primary school. Neither parents have any position in the community, KT is a member of a 1-5 and FS

says she is a Party member although she does not pay any membership fee. She is also involved in the church preparing food for events. KT is an Orthodox Christian while his wife converted to Protestantism 10 years ago and so she and the children are Protestant. This causes no problems or tension in the family.

The household's income depends on farming mainly maize and teff. They have got poorer over the last five years as the land is less fertile and the rain is insufficient so they harvest less than used to be the case and yet the price of everything has gone up. They get no support except from their rich neighbour, who lends them his ox. Last year they sharecropped $\frac{1}{2}$ ha of land and planted maize that they shared with the land owner, getting 10 quintals for them. It was kept for family consumption except a small part which was sold to buy other foods. They own 1 ha of land, $\frac{1}{4}$ of which is irrigated. Last year on their land they grew coffee, maize, tomatoes, potatoes and sugar cane. The vegetables are new as five years ago they did not produce any. They sell part of the cash crops to local small traders and FS sells the rest on the market. Last year they made 6,000 birr from selling cash crops. They increasingly have to buy food as they are not producing enough for the family.

The main problem they have with their irrigated crops is that there is a shortage of water. KT explained that those with irrigated land use the water in turn but during the winter season there is shortage of water which means that their turn to access water is delayed. The shortage of water is caused, he thinks, by low rainfall and the expansion of the irrigation activities. The high cost of inputs for farming is also a problem.

In terms of assistance from government KT says that the DAs have helped them to plant new coffee plants. They also provide advice on irrigation - how to use the water, how to plant the vegetables and harvest them. They also get access to improved seeds for maize and fertiliser for all their crops, which helps improve production. On the advice of the DAs he has planted Grevillea trees which are growing very well and will be used for timber. He has also planted Mimi tree, which are very important for firewood and house construction, and Jakaranda and eucalyptus trees. The DAs provide advice on how to protect these trees. They provided the seedlings which are produced in irrigation farms with the help of the DAs and the Bako Agricultural Research centre. This has provided him with an additional source of income.

They own no livestock of their own but their neighbour who suffers from polio has given them two of his cows to herd. In return they are allowed to use the milk produced. The cow gave birth and the owner sold the calf for 2,000 birr. Her husband is worried that the owner also wants to sell one of the cows. They also have 6 chickens but they do not lay many eggs. They used to have 7 beehives which produced 6 kg of honey which they sold at 30 birr per kilo, but now most of the bees have died. KT explained that twenty years ago he had lots of cattle but he lost them to disease. At that time there was no vet service. Since then they have had more children and so he has not been able to afford to buy cattle. He buys medicine for the chickens from a private animal clinic in Tibe town. He also takes the bull that they borrow to the vet's office.

KT is a member of the wereda saving and credit association. Last week he took a loan of 2,000 birr from the association to buy fertiliser and maize improved seeds; he will have to pay with back next year along with the interest which is 10%. He asked for 5,000 birr but was only given 2,000 birr.

KT is involved in paid work, planting seedlings for the agricultural extension office. One of their daughters worked on the irrigation scheme and uses the money she earns for school materials and clothes or she gives it to her mother for household consumables. Their son who is still in school also works on the irrigation scheme with his sister; he uses the money to buy school materials and clothes. Another son who dropped out of grade 7 last year as they could not afford for him to continue, works on the seedling farm on the River Sama. He earns 200 birr per month. Next year he plans to migrate somewhere else in search of work.

The family has two houses in the same compound; one has a tin roof, the other is used for livestock. The larger house has three rooms. The houses were built by the kebele and originally they were used as the kebele office but the office then moved to another place. The household lives in the thatched room located in the same compound; it is very small and they do their cooking inside the same room. They have one wooden chair, a mattress for the children, a plastic plate and dish. They have no electrical equipment. They have access to a well-protected source of drinking water and have a latrine that was built two years ago. The children share the domestic work with FS; the boys help with washing clothes, grinding grain and collecting firewood. FS estimates that she spends about 70 hours each week on domestic work.

The family mainly eats maize *injera* and *shiro*. In the summer they also have potatoes and spinach and in the winter they have tomatoes. They eat twice a day in the lean season and three times a day after the harvest. The variety of what they eat has improved; they now have vegetables and lentils. Most of the time, the family eats their meals on separate plates.

Two of the children from the household currently attend primary school; one is in grade 4 and the other in grade 2. The girl also has to help her mother with domestic chores. They only miss school if they are sick or if the family needs them. Two of the older children had to drop out of school as the family could not afford to keep them there. FS says that some people complain about the quality of the education at the school but she does not know enough to say whether it is good quality or not. KT says that due to the expansion of schools in the community and in nearby areas large numbers of children can be enrolled and his children have had the chance to go to school. However he says that the quality of education is very low as there is a shortage of teachers and text books. FS attends adult classes every Sunday which she really enjoys and finds useful. They learn about nutrition, environmental protection and sanitation; the classes are free.

The family has suffered two crises recently. First, last year when the road to Addis Ababa was constructed it took part of their irrigated land. The land was covered with *Grevillea* trees and the road destroyed some 70 trees. This loss of land and trees has devastated the household's livelihood. Then in 2012 their teff crop was destroyed by flooding and the maize crop was reduced due to a shortage of rain, and also they had sowed late as they were waiting to borrow an ox. As a result they had finished eating their food crops before June and so had to buy food from the market from June until September when fortunately their coffee ripened and they sold it for 5,000 birr. They got no assistance from other households or from the government. They asked neighbours to lend them food or money and they asked for 100% interest or that their children would care for their cattle. KT refused this. During that time they were very hungry and the children were badly affected.

In the last five years the household has had a death and three weddings. KT's mother died five years ago and she was buried in the funeral place of Orthodox Church. Although the iddir covered most of the cost he still had to pay 500 birr from the family income. The three marriages have all been by voluntary abduction. For his daughter five years ago she agreed with her husband and he abducted her. The elders came to the family house and asked KT and FS to accept the marriage. The elders said they would give us some money as compensation. But KT refused, knowing that the husband was poor and preferring that they would keep that money to establish their household. When they met with him and his parents, KT was given one *gabi* (traditional cloth worn mainly by men). His son was married four years ago. He agreed with his wife and then voluntarily abducted her. KT had to pay 3,500 birr to her family as compensation for taking her against their will. A small marriage ceremony was then prepared. The process was similar with his other daughter three years ago that is, she was also voluntarily abducted. He was given 800 birr as compensation and one quintal of maize by the parents of the groom.

KT was a member of the service cooperative but they asked him to pay 130 birr for membership and when he could not pay they cancelled his membership. As a result the family can no longer get sugar, food oil and soap from the cooperative. But they still have access to the production inputs. KT

is a member of the wereda saving and credit association. He takes credit every year to buy agricultural inputs. This year he took 2,000 birr with which he bought fertiliser and improved maize seed. KT saves 10 birr every month in the association. The representative of the association is based in Tibe town and collects money from them every month.

KT is a member of two iddirs and contributes 2 birr each month for each of them. His wife has two iddirs to which she contributes 2 birr each every month. The iddir enables FS to borrow money as well as providing support following the death of a family member. However, KT says that the iddirs are now playing a leading role in security and safety in the community. If a person is involved in crimes including fighting with other people, the iddir fines him 75 birr. If he refuses to pay it, the iddir imposes sanctions which exclude him from iddirs and all social, economic and political activities. His illegal activities and the sanctions imposed on him by the iddir members are reported to the kebele and wereda administration for approval. The sanctions can be lifted only when he regrets his wrong doings and officially asks the people to apologise and agrees to pay the penalties (this time the penalty grows to 175 birr). This gives the iddirs a lot of power.

However the role of the iddirs has helped to establish peace and security in the community. KT says that generally the community is a peaceful place to live and people cooperate to reduce conflicts and crimes. KT says that there is fighting among some people in Boto zone because they drink alcohol and then fight but it has greatly reduced. There was a lot of theft and burglary in the community two years ago but the strengthening of the power of the iddir has led to a significant decline. Both KT and FS agreed that sexual attacks on girls and women had reduced.

KT says that no one in his household is a member of the party although his wife says she is a member but does not participate actively. She sees membership as a benefit for the community as it is important in the governance of the community. KT has been involved in a number of meetings organised by the kebele administration. This includes a training organised in collaboration with the wereda agriculture office on how to protect the environment and training last January at the FTC on terracing works and the planting of new trees. He has also attended meetings organised by the development teams and 1-5 leaders which are mainly about public works.

FS complains that there is no special training to empower women economically and the kebele administration does not give much emphasis to women. She is opposed to the government's decision to ban female circumcision which she says is not accepted by the community. KT complained about the health extension workers who he said are not effective in helping people to improve their health. The main reason for this is that they live in town and only come to the community for a few days a week and even on the days that they come they only stay for a half day. Also because they do not live in the community there is no service at weekends.

Both husband and wife agree that the government should not be banning female circumcision. They feel that it is part of their culture. FS says that it is a pride for young girls. Those who are not circumcised are insulted as being unclean. Circumcision takes place in the traditional way at the home of the girls' parents. The cost is 50 birr per child and it takes place early in the morning. It is practised by all religions. Whilst KT says that there is no rape in the community his wife says that although it has decreased compared to the past, it still happens and that no serious action is taken by the kebele. Forced abduction, both agree, has reduced although FS says that it has just changed form to voluntary abduction which she says is used by young girls who are keen to get married instead of going to school. Domestic violence has declined significantly. FS says she has not suffered it recently. Her husband says that the decline is due to intervention by the iddirs and the social court. Early marriage has also decreased especially as now increasingly marriage is arranged by mutual consent of the couple.

In terms of women's rights both accept that people are far more aware of women's rights than they were before and women increasingly have access to the household properties and the power to control aspects of the household's economy. Participation in political activities is an area in which

women lag behind. KT says that this is because women are too busy with domestic activities to be involved in political activities.

KT pays 187 birr each year in land tax. He pays no other taxes or contributions but contributed 8 pieces of wood for the school fence.

Household of successful woman head

BW is a 55-year old widower, head of the household. She lives with 10 dependents (four of whom were servants employed by her husband but now retired). She has six sons and one daughter. All but one of them have set up independent households. One of her sons is the kebele chairman. She is of Oromo ethnicity and her clan is Warria Hurda. She lives with one son (aged 23), a grandson (aged 17) and granddaughter (aged 14) and seven others who are not related to her but who she looks after. As an older woman in the kebele she sometimes gets asked to resolve conflicts around the neighbourhood or in the church. However she has no official role as a customary leader. As physically she is not well and always feels weak, she does not have any interest in holding positions or roles in the kebele. She has had abdominal problems since she had surgery during birth at Black Lion Hospital 6 years ago. She is an Orthodox Christian as are all the members of her household.

The household is dependent upon rain-fed agriculture. Last year she grew maize and teff. Harvests are less good in both quantity and quality, mainly due to the absence of rain and land degradation. The high cost of fertiliser is also a factor. Last year maize grew much better than teff. She took the crops to Tibe town and sold them using scales; she sold 20 quintal of maize for 6,000 birr. She uses the money to buy fertiliser and seedlings. Some years when she sells her maize the price fluctuates and she makes virtually no profit just enough for fertiliser and seedlings. The household also grows 'Habesha (local) coffee' which produces fruit every other year. There are also different kinds of trees in the compound including Grevillia, Eucalyptus, Mimi/Neam, Sipatoda/Red Flower tree and Trueman tree they were planted in the last ten years. She feels that the only government intervention that has benefited the household is the supply of improved seed and fertiliser but the problem is that the seeds are not of reliable quality; some years they grow better than others.

In terms of livestock she owns far fewer than 10 years ago. She used to have 5 oxen but now has just one having lost the rest to a cattle disease. She has 3 cows (but used to have more than 15). She also has six calves. She used to have 40 sheep but some died and she sold the rest after her husband died. She has two donkeys and 16 chickens (she used to have over 60 chickens). She used to have a lot of milk but now due to the drought she hardly gets any. She has never sold milk but they used to consume it in the household. It is hard for her to produce butter as she does not have much milk. They consume the eggs that are produced. She has occasionally sold skins and hides.

Various factors have impacted the household's livestock activities. Twenty years ago the Derg regime took about one Gasha (40 hectares) of land owned by the household. This loss is still impacting them today as they face shortage of grazing land and fodder. The introduction of education for all children has also affected the household as there was significantly less child labour available. Another factor was livestock disease. A lower household income and high livestock prices have also prevented her from replacing the livestock she lost. Veterinary services are provided only once a year in the kebele. She believes that the administration should look for a solution to support the farmers with vet services more regularly. Despite this she says that livestock disease has greatly diminished now that people have access to vet services in Tibe town.

In terms of initiatives taken by the extension workers to help improve livestock farming, she says that there is no new introduction of fodder even though the shortage of fodder is becoming a severe problem in the kebele due to drought and lower rainfall. Some people buy oilseed residual products from the shops including fagulo, furshuka, molasses and local drinks residual. They also have not been introduced to new breeds of cattle. She has heard that in other places, for example, around Ambo people have a new breed of cows that produce 10-15 litres of milk per day with the help of

Wereda and kebele agricultural extension experts. In Oda Haro she says the DAs are very reluctant and lack commitment. She feels that they "*just get a salary without any relevant function. They can't even make it possible for us to avoid livestock diseases*".

Access to credit is also limited. In the kebele the Oromia credit and savings association provides credit but the farmers find the process of getting a loan difficult. As a result most farmers get credit from the service cooperative to buy improved seed and fertiliser. Even if you manage to obtain credit to buy livestock there is no access to high quality breeds as these can only be accessed by the government agricultural offices.

No one in the household works on non-farm activities or is involved in an SME. However, one of her granddaughters has flown to Beirut to look for work. She is not sending money back although many girls who migrate do.

Her house was the first with a corrugated iron roof in the community. It was built during Haile Selassie's regime. She now owns two houses with corrugated iron roofs. The first has 3 rooms with a separate kitchen, livestock area, food store and latrine. The second has 5 rooms with a separate kitchen, livestock area, food store and latrine; it is not in the kebele. Both houses have ceilings and cement floor. The household has some modern goods such as a solar radio as well as tables, chairs and kitchen boards. She says she has been using them since she got married but that they are "still modern". The house was built with a latrine. She uses spring water to drink and says that it has improved significantly as it is maintained and protected by the Iddir committees. She says that she has around 500 eucalyptus trees and uses the leaves as fuel for cooking food. She uses lanterns for lighting. The situation in relation to domestic work has changed significantly since her husband's death. Before there were many servants in the house and she only had to manage the servants. They had about ten servants who made injera, cooked wot, looked after the children, washed clothes and cleaned the house. However, since her husband's death they have all left and established their own households. The household members now work together to cover the domestic work. She estimates that she spends about 28 hours per week on chores in the house.

Since the death of her husband the household's diet is less varied. Before she regularly ate *doro wot* (chicken sauce), beef, mutton, butter, cheese and milk. Now she prepares *shiro* from beans for the household but she prefers to eat boiled potatoes. They also eat egg, *doro wot* and beef (*milas - sember* a mixture of tongue and stomach) but more occasionally than before. She has had to cut down on the amount of spices she eats due to health problems. The main seasonal variation in diet is that during the fasting season they eat more vegetables to replace the meat, cheese and eggs. They eat three times a day although meals can become less regular during the harvesting season. They no longer share one plate but all eat separately.

Three of the children in the household attend primary school; they are in grades 5, 6 and 8. There are no fees but she has bought them school equipment. When they are not at school they help with domestic work. They do not miss school unless they are sick. They do well at school as they have time to study and do their homework. Improving the quality of education and the provision of work for the educated youth are two areas where she feels the government needs to improve things.

She is a member of the service cooperative and paid 130 birr for registration when it was established. This gives her access to fertiliser, improved seeds, sugar, salt, oil etc. at a lower price than in shops. The only problem is that it is not always available. She belongs to four Iddirs and pays four birr in total each month. The iddir gives her access to credit. She is also a member of St Michael's mahiber and they celebrate every month with a feast in the church. Each year she pays 350 birr for her land tax and other contributions (although she is not sure how these costs break down).

Overall she says that security and levels of crime and violence in the community have decreased significantly due to the role of iddirs and the militia. However, she says that rape and abduction still

occur. There are problems at every level of the justice system, with the elders, the social court which she says is not free from bias, nepotism and corruption, and the Wereda court which she feels is even worse and where "*there is no justice at all*". She says they are very biased and decide in favour of friends and relatives or as a result of corruption. It is here that it is very hard for the poor and for women to get justice.

In terms of violence against women, female circumcision continues in the community starting with children as young as six. People's attitude and understanding has not changed. She believes that what is needed is attitude change amongst officials and development agents. Although she has never received education about the impacts of female circumcision from the HEWs she has a relative who is a health officer in Nekemte who explained the danger to her and she says as she now understands the risk she will never do it again. Domestic violence has decreased significantly due to the intervention of Iddirs. She says early marriage of girls still happens as the government has not taken any action.

In terms of attitudes towards women and women's rights she thinks that there has been a big change. The equal access to land that women now have is significant particularly considering the shortage of land in the community. She gained full rights on the property when her husband died and distributed some to her children and kept her own legacy. Women now have much better economic opportunities but in politics although the idea is there in theory not a great deal has happened in practice. There are only three women locally who participate in politics.

Household of poor woman head

AB has two sons (aged 16 and 25) and four daughters (aged 7, 11, 14 and 23). The oldest two children are no longer at home; her daughter was at school until 10th grade and has got married and lives in Oda Haro. Her son dropped out of school at 8th grade and lives in Bako town where he is working in his own barber shop. Of the children at home only her 11 year old daughter goes to school; her son (16) has dropped out of school and now works as a daily labourer and the others help with domestic work. She is originally Oromo and has lineage with Selale clan. She is not involved as an elder as this role is only for men. She is Orthodox Christian and but has no role in religious leadership. She has no role in the kebele activities although she was one of 200 farmers selected from the kebele and trained in environmental protection some years ago. She is not a party member, but attended training on the election. She is not a model farmer. She said she has poor health and as a result has no plans to play a role in the kebele. Her son is Protestant but this causes no problems in the family.

The main economic activity of her household is agriculture. They have a small farm where they produce maize by sharecropping. She also inherited some land from her family. Last year she grew maize as a sharecropper. She produced 22 quintals in total and got half of this once the other half had been given to the land owner. Last year her harvest was the best she has had in the last five years. She saved 7 quintal for the family to consume and sold the rest to local large traders. She sold the crop for 1,600 birr. She will use 1,200 to buy fertiliser for next year and the remaining 400 birr for household consumables. The major problems she faces are the lack of rain which impacts the productivity of the crops and the high price of modern agricultural inputs.

She has one ox. She had 4 oxen 5 years ago but two died due to a shortage of fodder; and she also sold an ox two years ago for 700 birr. She has one heifer. She had a sheep but sold it last year for 1,700 birr. Although livestock price is higher these days, there are problems with reduced grazing land and the household's livestock was severely affected by disease and drought. The kebele has no vet services and so everyone has to go to Tibe town and pay. It has been 3 or 4 years since the vet service visited the kebele. She felt that the services provided by government could be improved if the extension workers were better trained and more closely supervised by higher level officials to ensure that they are implementing government policy.

She supplements her income from farming by sometimes selling local drinks including *areki* and *tela* although the income from this is not satisfactory. This is partly due to the high cost of the inputs and also her poor health which means that she cannot make the drinks herself. She buys them from other producers and sells it on. Her younger son works as a shoe shiner which she finds not at all satisfactory. He also plants seedlings and is paid 0.25 cents per seedling. She used to get more support from her family; she has a sister in America who used to send remittances but when her mother died she stopped. Her brother and sister also stopped providing her with support since the death of their mother. As a result of this and her lack of livestock and low agricultural production she is suffering from economic problems.

Her older son has migrated in search of work. He travelled to Bako, Nazareth and Addis Ababa to work as a daily labourer and a barber but she says he has experienced problems at his work place and so he is thinking of returning home.

The household lives in a fenced compound where they have two houses with two rooms in each. She also has a separate kitchen and cattle house. There is a latrine in the compound but it is not well covered. They have wooden furniture made of wanza including a bed, chair, table and a cloth set. They have no electrical equipment. She gets safe drinking water from a spring about 30 minutes away from her house. She uses firewood which she collects. She uses kerosene for lighting but it is becoming very expensive.

The household eats three times a day for most of the year and twice a day in the summer. They eat maize *injera* with *shiro*, tomato, potato and beef sauce. They tend to eat tomatoes in the winter as they are expensive in the summer. From mid-September steamed and boiled maize is also available as is coffee. She says that they now eat much more variety of food and that their food is more delicious because they have learned how to cook a range of things. Before there was more food but now it is better quality. Animal products such as meat, milk, butter, cheese, and egg are not available very much except in the holidays. They no longer eat together from the same plate but tend to eat separately depending on the timings of their work or school. In terms of the domestic work she covers most of it herself now that her oldest daughter has left home. Her son occasionally helps by fetching water. She estimates that she spends 56 hours per week on domestic tasks.

One of her daughters was at pre-school in Bako but she had to drop out because she had been staying with her sister in Bako and her sister moved away. She has one child at primary school, in 4th grade, and she really enjoys it. Her son dropped out of 6th grade to work as a shoe shiner. Although there are no school fees she covers the expenses of all the school materials. Her daughter who is at school helps with the domestic work but she also allocates time for her homework. She is rarely absent except occasionally when her mother needs her help. She complains about the lack of teachers at the school and that they spend time in class idle. The school is not well equipped as there is a shortage of books and teachers; this is a major problem and needs to be solved.

During the past five years the household has had a number of large events which have been costly. Her mother died and although she got 200 birr from the iddir and three days dinner she still spent around 1,500 birr. Her daughter also got married - the celebration was huge and cost around 10,000 birr plus an ox, a big sheep and three chickens. Her sister and two brothers gave her more than half of this money. Two years ago she had major economic problems and had to sell her ox and sheep. Things are a bit better as she has received some money from her relatives who live in America. They have just sent 2,000 birr.

She is a member of the service cooperative and pays 12 birr for membership. She is also in three iddirs and contributes 4 per month. The iddirs are very important as they give her access to credit. When someone is mourning in the community she contributes 1 birr and *injera* with sauce. This is very important to strengthen social relationships.

In terms of security in the community she says that crime has decreased since the militia started patrolling the community, and fighting between men has also decreased. There are still some problems with abduction and rape but she thinks it is better than before. In 2004 EC a man stole a ring she had been given by her sister in America. She knows who he is and so she reported it to the police but they did nothing. She thinks that this is due to corruption and bad governance. She has recently taken a case about ox rental to the Social Court and is waiting to hear the result. She rents an ox and the man she rents from refused to give the ox to her.

She pays a total of 141 birr which includes land tax and her regular contributions (party membership, Red Cross, Dam). She also pays 50 birr as a contribution to the school. When there are projects in the kebele she is expected to pay 50 birr and give some *injera*. She sends her son to participate in community work when requested.

She is against the government decision to ban female circumcision. She says it is important to women and benefits them. All of her daughters are circumcised and she recommends that her granddaughters should be too. The whole community are against this ban and continue to practise circumcision. In relation to rape she says that the law is not being implemented and it still happens. Forced abduction has declined but voluntary abduction has increased. Domestic violence has decreased significantly due to interventions by the iddirs and churches. Banning early marriage of girls is something she agrees with as she thinks that girls should go to school before they marry. The community appreciates this legal change, she says. She believes that things have greatly improved in relation to women’s rights. They now have equal rights, which means that they can claim land and property, although she says there is still some bias in the way the law is interpreted.

Structures of inequality

Class, wealth and poverty

Overall community wealth

Overall people agreed that the community had become wealthier, with those who are rich increasing in numbers and becoming in some cases very rich. At the other end of the spectrum those who are poor are working hard and involved in farming activities which is helping to lift them out of poverty.

Table 5: Changes in community wealth - Table 3 repeated

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Changes in last 10 years in propns of each category (more or fewer)	The number of very rich increases in the last five years. The top model farmers have been emerged in the last five years	The number of rich has increasing in very fast. The active involvement of the farmers in farming and irrigation and trading business are the main factor for the emergence of this group of people	The middle wealth category has also been improved in the last 5 years. Currently there are more than 200 model farmers in the community. the majority of these model farmers are in the middle wealth group.	The number of poor people has declined because of the improvement in the local economy.	This has also shown decline. People included the very poor are actively engaged in farming activities which helps the very poor to move out of the economic problem	It is also true that destitute are also working hard to move out of poverty and there have been important changes in the last five years

The launch of the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) was considered by some to be a major factor in this change particularly for those in the middle wealth category. This group has learned a

lot from the model farmers and have improved their farming practices. Others attributed the change to a new work ethic in the community which resulted in everyone working harder in order to improve the livelihood of their household.

Sources of wealth in the community remain predominantly agricultural with the very rich investing in agricultural trade, agricultural processing and in some cases housing to rent out in urban areas. As a result the availability of land to generate wealth is very important. The kebele administration estimate that 37.4% (2005 EC) of the population are landless and this is set to increase as the young are no longer inheriting land from their parents.

Spatial poverty

There seems to be a consensus that the Boto zone, which is remotest, is the least wealthy whereas the Alemgena zone, where Muslims are concentrated in a higher proportion than elsewhere in the kebele, has a large number of rich people, most of them Muslims engaged in trade as well as farming. Abicho zone is also wealthier than Boto. Some officials put this down to the fact that people in Boto are very late in accepting new farm technologies, due to their remoteness. There are also large differences in accessibility between the different zones, and this makes a difference in terms of ability to transport crops and livestock out to markets and to access services in the nearby towns. In relation to markets, farmers whose farms are accessible to local traders have no transportation costs as their harvest is collected from them.

Household wealth inequalities

Table 6: Household wealth inequalities – Table 4 repeated

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Rough proportions	5%	15%	20%	25%	25%	10%
Household goods found in these houses	Big tin roofed modern, painted house, Bed made up of timber and house furniture made up of wood, kitchen cupboard, plastic and silver kitchen utensils and etc	Big tin roofed modern house, house furniture, bed made of timber and wood,	Simple and less quality furniture, plastic kitchen utensils,	Traditional bed made up of mud called Medeb, small house, traditional kitchen utensils	Traditional bed made up of mud called Medeb, small house, traditional kitchen utensils	Poor and small thatched house, no important household goods except some basic cooking utensil
Sources of wealth	Main source of wealth for this class is crop and livestock production house for rent in the Tibe town, Mule cart, Grain mill, they owned largest size of farmland, livestock esp. cattle, horses, mules and donkeys, irrigation land and irrigation motor pumps, Retailer shops	Main source of wealth is crop own larger size of farmland, livestock production (local breeds) mule cart, irrigation land, retailer shops	They own relatively large size of farmland, livestock the main source of wealth is crop production and livestock production (local breeds)	The main source of wealth is farming and livestock poor people they owned relatively small size of farmland and few cattle and sheep -they may own cattle(cows) of neighbours or relatives so as to share livestock products rearing	They own small size farmland They may have sheep, goat and may be cows in sharing arrangement their main source of wealth is crop production and few could have livestock, they produce on sharecropping, the main source of income is labour	They owned nothing not even labour

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
How do poor people get by?				Household members work as a daily agriculture labourer during the harvesting season -few young people who dropped out of school to migrate to Nekemt, Ambo and Addis Ababa and become daily labourer in non-farm sector, petty trade, by their good behaviour and good attitudes to work	Daily labour, sharecropping, petty trade	N/A

Inequality within households

Poverty and wealth seemed to be shared across all household members. The only differences would be towards those such as domestic servants who were not members of the family. But generally speaking the household ate together and shared domestic and farming work. Household assets tended to be communally owned with the exception of some households where the children looked after the chickens and sold their eggs to raise money for their education. Girls were considered to be somewhat disadvantaged due to the heavy burden of domestic work they had. However, in poorer households more was expected from boys in terms of income generation.

There was some acknowledgement of the problem for the young in terms of the breakdown of the tradition of passing on land due to shortage and fragmentation. As a result young people today are not set up in the same way as their parents were to start an independent livelihood and household.

Problems poor people face

Findings in Oda Haro illustrate the common problem that for the poor they are all too easily caught in a downwards spiral as one problem leads to another.

Education

Whilst education is very much open to all, poorer families struggle to pay for the materials their children need for school and the required contributions. One poor FHH spoke of a 50 birr contribution to the school, whilst others had contributed labour to the school farm or materials for improving the school. Young people commented that rich children are well fed, they wear good clothes and shoes, they have better personal hygiene and as a result they are more relaxed. They also have fewer responsibilities at home and so have more time to study and do homework. The young people acknowledged that due to the unmet needs of poor children (particularly food and sleep) and the extra work paid or unpaid that is required of them they tend to do worse in school. The school acknowledged that the children of the poor are more likely to miss classes or drop-out of school early. In the case of young girls they are more likely to be voluntarily abducted or get married early in an attempt to escape poverty.

Hunger and malnutrition

There has been no food aid in the community in the last five years and none of those interviewed said that their children had been found to be malnourished. However, the poor households noted

that they face shortage of food. They often struggled to feed all of the family members in the summer season, just before the harvest, as crops from the previous year ran out. A poor harvest one year (due to shortage of rain or late rain or flooding or poor quality inputs) leads the family to have to buy food before the next harvest. This resulted in hunger as meals were reduced and quantity cut (as food costs are high), loss of variety in diet and debt. One family talked about how their neighbours would charge them 100% interest on loans of food or money during the hungry season.

Impact of inflation

The inflation was something that everyone talked about but it has a particularly severe impact on the poor. In the poor farmer's household they minimised fuel for cooking and lighting as the price had increased from 3 birr per litre to 11 birr. The cost of agricultural inputs such as fertiliser and improved seeds has risen significantly and this has resulted in poor families having to borrow more money to pay for their inputs. Some farmers admitted that they had reduced the amount of fertiliser they were using due to the cost but of course this impacts their harvest. If the harvest is bad, then poor farmers struggle to pay back their loans. As poor families tended to keep a larger proportion of the crops they produced to feed their families they had less to sell and therefore generated less cash to pay for other household consumables or additional foods.

Lack of assets or loss of assets

The poor tended to have little or no land. Therefore even if their harvest was good they still struggled to provide enough food for the whole year. They lacked credit and therefore could not diversify or invest in trade or other SMEs. Several of those interviewed explained how they used to have a lot of cattle but now had few or none. This was due to disease and lack of fodder as the communal grazing land was reduced and the poor cannot afford to buy additional fodder from private shops. Also, they often had to sell livestock during times of crisis such as to pay for a death or marriage in the family, or during times of food shortage. The loss of assets such as livestock gives them nothing to fall back on next time there is a crisis. As a result they have to beg help from neighbours and relatives. The loss of assets also reduces the economic diversity of the household's livelihood (FHH poor household "*facing problems in the last five years due to less production and absence of livestock*"). If a household does not have their own oxen they are forced to borrow one and this can lead to them having to wait and therefore planting late (poor farmer). Some poor households admitted that they were dependent on money from relatives which is a problem if it stops (e.g. sister ceasing to help the poor FHH as she is starting her own life).

It was acknowledged by rich and poor that due to the rise in prices everyone was having to economise and therefore, people had become more individualistic and were no longer helping others.

Those who talked about loss or damage of their assets due to local infrastructure projects and no compensation tended to be the poor. One farmer lost land and trees because of the road reconstruction, and another talked about how the road contractors had passed the underground drainage through his plantation and caused them problems. They had complained but had had no result at all (wife poor farmer). Her husband explained that the road construction had taken part of their irrigated land. The land was covered with the *Grevillea* trees and the road destroyed some 70 trees. This loss of land and trees had devastated the household's livelihood.

Social identity, status differences and vulnerability

Ethnicity

The majority of the community are Oromo (99%) and those who are not Oromo tend to be married to Oromo. Therefore there is currently no tension or difference based on ethnicity. One respondent explained that there are groups of Amhara coming to work on the irrigated farms. Their work is seen by some as better than that of local labourers because they are experienced in irrigation. He

thought that their numbers will likely increase in future. This may lead to ethnic tensions especially if they are perceived to be taking scarce local paid work.

Clan / lineage / family

Generally

Clan and lineage was considered to be increasingly irrelevant. One respondent commented that it was only the elderly who really knew their clan and lineage. Certainly many of those interviewed did not know what theirs was. No lineage structure was reported.

According to the kebele administration the clan breakdown was as follows: Haben 40%, Mecha 25%, Degam 10%, Wada 10%, Sijo 5%, Gudeya 5%, Ariya 3%, Seda 2%.

Craftworkers

No discrimination towards craft workers was mentioned although most of the craft people seemed to be based in the nearby towns.

Slaves

No slaves were mentioned in the community.

Religions

There are three main religions in the community: Protestant (65%), Orthodox (25%) and Islam (10%). Nowadays traditional religion makes up for less than 1%. There seemed to be no discrimination between the different religious groups. There were a number of families in which members followed different religions (usually Protestant and Orthodox) and this caused no conflict or tension.

The traditional religion started to decline under the Derg already. Orthodox Christianity was introduced under Haile Selassie and was the dominant worldly religion for a while. This changed drastically with the emergence of the Protestant church, which grew fast including through conversion of Orthodox Christians. The rapid growth of Protestantism also further precipitated the decline of the traditional religion as Protestant pastors were strongly blaming people for their attachment to it. Islam came last, and was introduced by traders from the Jimma area. The Muslim community of Oda Haro is said to have 'emerged' first in the Alemgena zone, and has expanded through population growth and migration from Jimma. The latest development has been the emergence and growth of Wahabism as a branch of Islam.

The wealthiest group in the community are said to be the Muslims farmers/traders from the Alemgena zone. One Research Officer noted that this made them cautious as they did not want to attract jealousy or even too much attention.

Native/immigrant

As mentioned in 5.2.1 above there are very few immigrants in the community. Therefore and although this may change in future, the native/immigrant divide currently plays little role in terms of status within the community.

Status associated with wealth/poverty

Status did not seem to be significantly impacted by wealth or poverty. Culturally all were to treat each other with respect.

Non-conformity and status

Women without husbands

Women without husbands through divorce or widowhood seemed to be accepted and given status as female headed households in a way that other women did not have. For example they were

invited to training by the DAs and had more access to the economic sphere. They were often cited as examples of why the perception of women had changed as they led their households successfully.

Women who had not married were rare. The only examples seemed to be young women who were no longer expected to marry as young as before. It was accepted that young women should first finish their education and establish where possible an independent livelihood. Single women were migrating in increasing numbers to Arab States. This was considered a prudent economic move and was not frowned upon.

Men without work

Older men without work were rare as most were involved in farming. The problem of unemployment was most noticeable amongst young men who were often educated and were no longer inheriting land and so struggled to go into farming like their fathers. There was concern amongst the older generation about their falling into bad habits (alcohol, chat and idleness). One father talked about how he felt "very uncomfortable" (middle farmer) when his son asked him for land and he had to refuse. But he explained that he did not have enough land for all his children. His son has now migrated to Ambo where he is working and he recently said that he would not return.

Amongst the young men there was some frustration that there were so few opportunities available to them in the community. Many saw their only option as being to migrate in search of work usually within Ethiopia to urban areas.

Children without parents

It seemed not uncommon for households to take in children without parents and to bring them up with their children although these children were usually related to them in some way.

Even if they had a mother, children born outside marriage were thought to be likely to suffer some discrimination and their lives would be harder. These children tended to be abandoned or women would try to abort.

Vulnerable people

Disabled people

None mentioned

Mentally ill people

None mentioned

Old people needing support

Old people tend to be supported within the family or by acquaintances – as is shown by the example of the successful FHH who was looking after several elderly people in her household.

Orphans

Orphans are generally looked after by the extended family. One young man interviewed said that orphans tended to marry earlier (aged 15) in order to escape poverty and to have someone to help look after the younger children in the household (male, middle 19).

PLWHAs

Respondents indicated that there were no PLWHA in the kebele. The young people were more aware that there probably were some, but no one really seemed to know who they were.

Gender-age experiences, differences and relationships

Growing up in the community – boys and girls

Birth and infancy

Those interviewed across socio-economic groups said that infants, boys or girls, were treated very similarly before birth and during infancy. It was noted that there have been great improvements for both the mother and the child. The community as a whole have become more aware of the need for care to be taken with mothers and infants and the importance of health care interventions. One woman explained that in the past people thought that "*children grow by chance*" (poor FHH). Now pre- and post-natal care services are available and women use them. It was known that breast feeding mothers need supplementary food and that babies should be fed nothing except breast milk for the first six months. As a result babies are receiving more breast milk than they did in the past.

Infants are now more closely looked after by their parents, their personal hygiene is better and they are given clothes and shoes. They wear nappies and are changed and washed regularly. More attention is also paid to weaning foods and what knee children eat, they are given special foods such as macaroni, pasta, and porridge made from different types of grain and a kind of soup/*atimit*. Knee children are given eggs, milk and start to eat *injera*.

Children – work, play and education

As children grow more differences emerge between genders and socio-economic groups. At pre-school age the gender difference does not yet fully emerge. Children of this age continue to be cared for, given special foods and washed regularly. At the age of 4 or 5 years some children go to pre-school (usually those from better-off families as preschool is private and located in Tibe town). Several women commented that children of this age are neat and learn to communicate with others.

Children aged 7-12 years start to be involved in household work. Both sexes attend school but whilst boys "*play a lot with friends and herd cattle*", girls start to have domestic responsibilities including "*cleaning the house, looking after the young siblings, making coffee, fetching water*" (poor FHH). Children of this age are also collecting wood, learning cooking, grinding coffee and making coffee (girls). In terms of food they eat what is available, the same as the rest of the family. Whilst children used to be given their parents' leftovers, this no longer happens.

Most children of this age attend school. This was viewed positively; most were reported to enjoy it. However, the youth interviewed highlighted that there was a significant difference between the rich and poor at school. Those from wealthy households focus on their education. Although the girls may have domestic chores they get support from their parents to cover the cost of their schooling. Whereas those from poor or even middle households (particularly boys) may need to engage in paid labour when they are not at school and they are also expected to work for the family. As a result they have little time to focus on their studies. Both boys and girls from poor families may need to find the money to cover the costs of attending school.

Adolescence and youth

Aged 12-16, children of both sexes start to be given great responsibility in the household. The girls are expected to "*take much responsibility in domestic work*" (poor FHH) while the boys herd, collect water and firewood and help with agricultural tasks. In some households at this age they are also expected to be engaged in paid labour when not at school. Most children in this age bracket would still be in school.

Those aged 17- 20 are considered young adults in the community and the boys would be expected to participate fully in farm labour and they would also participate in the household decision making. It is accepted that boys might have girlfriends (successful FHH). For girls both marriage and migration are common at this age, there is also a risk of pre-marital pregnancy, abduction and rape.

Some youth aged 17-20 continue to high school and college, usually those whose families have the means to allow them to do so. Others will graduate from grade 10 and start looking for work. There was now considered to be choice for both boys and girls in terms of who they married and when.

The aspirations and ambitions of young people have changed significantly largely due to education. Most young people now want to leave the community in order find work. International migration is a new option for girls and one which many are keen to pursue. Others are keen to continue their education and go on to university. The aspirations of parents for their children have also changed. Whereas previously parents wanted their daughters to marry a landowner and rich husband, they are now keen for girls to finish their education before marriage and some prefer to send them to Arab countries.

Youth

Male youth trajectories

Circumcision

Circumcision was not discussed at all by the male youth interviewed. In Oromo culture it is standard practice for all boys to be circumcised and usually a party is held by the household to celebrate. Circumcision of boys is carried out when the children are very young.

Boy's work

All of the youth interviewed talked about the work that they were involved in. For the younger boys (aged 13) this tended to be herding cattle. The rich 13 year old only herded cattle in the school holidays. His focus was on his education and so he did not do paid work. He fetched water for his step-mother and washed his own clothes at the weekends but he was not involved in farm or paid work. The middle income 13 year old was more involved in farming, cattle herding, fetching water, keeping the house, watering the coffee plants and vegetables and protecting the crops from wild animals. He herded cattle when not at school but he often studied whilst herding. The poor 13 year old explained that he and all his siblings were involved in farming. He had also done paid work with the China road construction company and had earned 2,100 birr in four months of this work. With the money he bought a cow (1,800 birr) and his school uniform (200 birr) and he gave the final 100 birr to his parents. However he said the work had been very hard (carrying stones and digging ditches and holes) and he felt it had been bad for his health.

Both the middle and the poor 16 year olds admitted being absent from school sometimes to help their parents with farming, sowing, weeding, harvesting and herding. The poor 16 year old also engaged in threshing, watering crops and protecting crops from animals. They both said they did their homework whilst herding cattle. Neither of them did paid work. The rich 16 year old was involved in planting coffee and Grevillea trees, hoeing, weeding, harvesting and terracing as well as herding but only in the holidays or after school.

At the age of 19, all were participating in farming. The poor teenager was supporting his parents full time and was working for neighbours. The middle and rich teenagers were both still in school but they were doing a bit of paid work on the side; watering vegetables on an irrigation farm, herding cattle and sharecropping. The rich teenager had also worked for the Chinese road construction company in the previous summer but he had given up the work to focus on his studies.

Combining work and education

All struggled with combining work and education but perhaps particularly the poor who tended to have to do paid work and work on the family farm. Several mentioned studying and doing their homework whilst herding. All of those who had to combine significant amounts of work and education said that it had a negative impact on their schooling. They sometimes missed classes and were tired in class. It also meant studying late at night and/ or during the weekends in order to get their homework done.

School dropout due to paid work was acknowledged to be a problem. The poor 13-year old said there were 30-40 children who dropped out in the full cycle primary school of Gudina Haro alone, and the reason was usually paid work and/ or the parents not being able to pay for the school materials. Middle 16, who is in grade 8, said that at the beginning of the school year there were 52 students in his class but already seven students have dropped out. Most of them were from poor households and the reasons were poverty although some said that it was due to the poor quality of education in the school (mainly lack of text books and teachers). At primary school level dropout rates were higher amongst boys as many drop out to do paid work. However, at secondary school level it is the contrary. As the secondary school is located in Tibe students need to rent a house and move there to learn; and this is more difficult for girls, who dropout and marry instead. The poor are also unable to afford to rent a house so are also more likely to dropout.

In the words of poor 19 *"when you work you cannot focus on education. In order to be successful in education, it is important to give priority to your education. However it is difficult to learn without working. If you work you can get the money to finance your education"*.

One of the boys (middle 13) thought that combining farming and education was important in order to help you find work when you finished school. He said he knew many young men who had completed grade 10 and 12 and were unemployed in the community.

Inter-generational relations

All of those interviewed said they had good relations with their parents. Most agreed that inter-generational relations in the community were good. Some felt that the older generation listened to the young people and vice versa; but others said that teenagers are reluctant to accept the advice and instructions of the older generation. One young man felt that the main tension was created when young people start to earn their own income from paid work. This income makes them feel that they are economically independent- which is not accepted by adults/old people.

The advice that the young men seemed to receive from the older generation was to refrain from bad habits and to avoid laziness. One young man noted that the kebele administration works to keep the generations together. When the child of a family commits a crime the 1-5 cell leaders call the father and discuss the problem so that everything is controlled. The father may be fined some money.

Living in the community

All said that they felt that the community was peaceful and a good place to live. They were all positive about the future of the community mentioning that there had been change in terms of increased agricultural production, expansion of the irrigation scheme, the public works to bring about environmental protection and the opening of a school in Oda Haro. Several of those interviewed felt that people were moving out of poverty due to hard work.

Only the middle 19 year old male said that he did not like living in the community. He felt that *"nothing is good for young men...the officials at wereda and kebele level do not give practical support to young people"* and also that the allocation of government jobs at wereda level was based on bribes and contacts. He felt that the pace of change was too slow and that too many were still suffering from poverty and this was getting worse with the reduction in rains. Others recognised that despite the positive changes in the community there was shortage of land for young people and no work for those who were educated. As a result the young men recognised that many of them would have to leave the community to seek work elsewhere.

Leisure activities and bad habits

Many of the young men in their leisure time played with friends (younger ones), played sport (football, volley ball), swam in the river. A number of them mentioned that they listened to music. Those in school often spent some of their leisure time studying. Attending meetings at church was also mentioned as a leisure activity.

The older youth mentioned that they would sometimes go to Tibe to listen to music in cafes and bars. There is no place for recreational activities in the community (middle 19). The adults interviewed acknowledged that there were no recreational facilities for youth in the community.

The bad habits described by the young men were chewing chat – which was said to become more common amongst young Muslims - drinking alcohol, smoking and watching bad films. Some of the adults felt that those who spent time in urban areas were more susceptible to these bad habits.

Religion

All said that there were three religions in the community (Protestant, Orthodox and Islam). Recent followers of Islam were said to be divided into Sofia and Wahhabi sects, with the Wahhabi trying to make the religion stricter. A couple of young people mentioned that there were also some people who practised traditional religions (Kallu) but these people tended to also belong to one of the three main religions. One young man felt that the traditional religion was declining due to pressure from the other religions. Someone else suggested that it was because the Kallu leader had died several years ago and had not been replaced.

All agreed that there were no problems between the religions and that people respected one another's religion. Examples were cited of members of the same family following different religions without any problem or conflict. One respondent however mentioned that some years ago there had been a conflict between the Christians and Muslims and the wereda administration had intervened and resolved the problem.

There were differing opinions as to whether most of the community was involved in religious activities or just some. Whilst some of the young people were very interested in religion and involved others said that young people were not generally interested in religion. One young man said that parents strongly encouraged their children to follow the same religion as them and that most children followed their parent's wishes.

Religion in the community was seen as positive thing bringing morality and discipline as well as a sense of meaning in life.

Politics

Most of the young men said they lacked a political voice although some said that the government was trying to encourage them by inviting them to meetings. The younger boys in general were not involved in politics and knew very little about it. But some of the older ones were involved. Middle 19 said that he supported the kebele administration in writing reports and letters as a volunteer. In return he hopes to have a letter of recommendation to help him to get employment in future. He explained that the kebele was planning to establish a youth association and said he planned to be a member. One young man said he had been involved in facilitating the election.

Whilst some of them were very positive about the government and felt there was a good relationship between the government and the youth, a minority was less positive. Their attitude was shaped by what they felt the government was doing for them. Some said that the government supported young people to become educated, to improve their rights and improve their livelihoods. Some of them talked of a plan to organise the youth (who have completed grade 10, 12 and/or college education and are unemployed) into cooperatives in the kebele. The kebele administration would then give some land to the cooperatives to enable members to engage in Income-Generating Activities (IGA) or farming. They would have the land for three years during which time they would be expected to become self-sufficient economically and the land would then be transferred to another new cooperative. This has apparently already happened in Boto zone where a youth cooperative was organised to protect the forest on the Gona Mountain. They planted thousands of trees and will get the benefits from the sale of the trees.

In contrast, one of the older youth said that there was pressure from the kebele and wereda administration to get young people to become members of the ruling party. He said the majority had refused but that if you are not a member it is not easy to get a job. He felt that the government gave very little support to young people and that therefore there would be a strong opposing party in the future.

Community participation

It seems that young men do not have an opportunity to speak and participate in community affairs until they are in their twenties. The successful farmer said that young people rarely participate but when they do they are listened to and respected. Reportedly, some young men had started attending kebele meetings.

Sexual initiation

The younger men (aged 13) did not have girlfriends. One of them said it was more normal in the community to have a girlfriend when you were in your twenties. The 16 year olds also did not have girlfriends. But both groups had had education on HIV/AIDS at school. However two of the three 19-year olds admitted to having a girlfriend and they seemed far more willing to talk about sex amongst their peers. Some relationships at this age were secret from both sets of parents (middle 19); others were not (rich 19). The young people tended to meet in secret places. The middle 19 year-old had a girlfriend in the Gudina Haro primary school and he bought her books and accompanied her to school. They had not started having sex. He was keen for her to continue her education and go on to university.

Amongst their peers they said young men started having sex either with their own girlfriends or "*other women in their neighbourhood*" (middle 19). Few seemed to use condoms as they were not available in the community. Rape was considered to be a widespread practice particularly because it was taboo for women to admit that they had been raped. Rape was particularly common in the houses that young men rented in town in order to attend secondary school there. The risk of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases was noted as was the risk of pregnancy. Pregnancies outside of marriage were said to lead young women to migrate to other places fearing discrimination (poor 19, rich 19). Others have abortions or have the child. According to rich 19 it was uneducated young women who did not use condoms and so became pregnant.

Amongst the adults interviewed the knowledge of HIV/AIDS was scant. Some felt that there was no one in the community who had HIV/AIDS particularly not amongst the young. Those households (poor farmer, poor FHH) also admitted that they had no detailed information and there was no education about it in the community. The more successful adults all noted that due to the increase in pre-marital sex young people were certainly more exposed to HIV/AIDS. Both the successful farmer and the successful FHH felt that more education on the risks and how to be protected against HIV/AIDS was needed in the community. Overall the female adults seemed to have less information and be less aware of HIV/AIDS.

Migration

There was a lot of talk about migration from all age groups; it was a way out for the very poor. For instance: "*some of my friends whose parents are very poor want to migrate in search of a job in big towns and cities*" (poor 13). In these cases construction work in the cities seemed to be a popular option. It was also a way for those who were educated to find work. Migration to continue education or to find work was common (Middle 13, Poor 13) and increasing. Poor 13 said that there had been a change from the past when people migrated to other agricultural communities like Jimma for agricultural work, and now young people migrated to cities such as Addis Ababa, Ambo, Adama and Dambi Dolo to work in construction or in hotels. The older youth explained that although there was migration for work it tended to be amongst those who were aged 18 or more.

The poor and rich 19-year olds thought that overall the migration of young men was decreasing. Rich 19 felt that this was because young men were getting engaged in agricultural work and irrigation by taking land from their parents and renting it from other people. Poor 19 said that it was a result of parents no longer sending their young men away to find work because they realised that education was an important way to improve the livelihoods of young men.

Often those who migrated for agricultural work to places like Jimma and Agaro went for a time and then returned (Poor 16). The young men interviewed felt that most of the migrants were educated at least to grade 10 or 12. Middle 19 said that many did not return which suggested that they had found a better life. There were also some landless young men who had migrated with their families (poor 16); they were not expected to return.

They all thought that migration was becoming far more popular for young women and this tended to be international migration to Arab countries. The remittances they sent back were significant and made a big difference to their family, making them much richer in a short period of time (Rich 13).

The stories the young men told about people they knew who had migrated tended to end badly:

- *"I know one young man who migrated to Agaro last year and was involved in coffee collection and weeding sesame. He stayed there for 6 months. He was sick with malaria and came back. He said that it was a very hot place. He recovered from his illness after getting treatment. He was about twenty and not educated"* (Poor 16).
- *"I know a person who migrated to Fincha sugar factory in order to work in the cutting of sugar cane. As he could not cope up with the high temperature there, he returned back home after a month. Now he re-starts his education from grade 8 and starts to help his family in farming"* (Rich 16).
- *"I know one young man who migrated to Addis Ababa some years ago. He worked in hotels and restaurants. He returned back without any money. Now he is a farmer. He is also involved in trading in mango fruit in Ambo market. He got some credit from the wereda saving and credit association. He transports the fruit by renting a car"* (Poor, 19).

Getting married

None of the young men interviewed were married. They tended to want to get married in their mid to late twenties or early thirties. There were differing views on the earliest age young men would get married. Middle 19 said that young men might marry at 15, due to poverty and family problems. However, getting married at or over 18 was more common. Three of his friends in the village were already married. Poor 19 suggested that the youngest age to marry was 18-20. The importance of marriage was acknowledged. It was considered important to "establish family" (middle 13), "to become rich by working together" (poor, 13), "to have children" (middle, 16); to have one partner and avoid HIV/AIDS (poor, 19) and because marriage was ordained by God (middle, 19).

The main negatives of marriage were thought to be that it could make you poor if you ended up having many children to support, and this was also a pressure on natural resources and land. It was also considered to be costly (preparation of a feast and payment of bride wealth). It therefore required economic means which was another reason why some young men said they would have to delay getting married. However abduction (voluntary or forced) was considered a way round this as it meant that you just had to lobby the girl's parents – this was a less costly option (Middle 13). It was noted that young people now had far more power to choose who they wanted to marry without intervention from their parents (rich, 13). This was considered positive as it reduced the cost of marriage and also increased peace in the family. Several of those interviewed mentioned that the government had made forced abduction illegal.

The young men interviewed wanted to get married after completing their education and/ or having established an independent livelihood. In some cases this was about getting a government job (poor,

13). Marrying early was not approved of as it is bad for the health of the girl (rich, 13) and results in poverty. Whilst some said that only the rich could afford to marry early, others said that the poor young men marry early as a way to escape poverty or because they do not like being alone (rich, 16).

There was only one interviewee who expressed views against marriage (rich, 16) which he said led to in most cases "*poverty, backwardness, and dependence. It leads to the next generation (children) to become impoverished. I do not prefer marriage. I prefer a partner. Marriage should be stopped*".

Those interviewed in the community agreed that marriage was getting more difficult for young people due to the cost and the lack of land.

Establishing an independent household

Traditionally when a young man gets married the couple set up home near the man's parents. The man's parents give him some land so that he can establish an independent household and livelihood. Those parents with livestock also give livestock to the new couple (middle 13). However, the land in the community is now very fragmented and there are very few parents who are able to give land to their children. Instead they give cash or livestock only; the very rich are able to give land to their children and this may be a very small plot (middle 13, poor 13, rich 16). As well as providing assets parents advise their sons on how to establish an independent household (rich 16). For young men from poor families establishing an independent household is even more difficult because assets are needed (poor 13). There is a wedding feast to prepare and bride wealth to pay (rich 13). As a result the poor may have to work longer before they can afford to get married whilst for rich young men their parents have the resources to arrange a marriage and to help them establish an independent household. Alternatively some young men resort to voluntary or forced abduction which significantly reduces the cost of the marriage (rich 13).

Once married the landless have to rent land or sharecrop. If they do not have their own oxen they rent them from others. Others try to earn a living by doing paid work, for example, in the irrigation scheme or by doing construction work; others get involved in carpentry work (poor 13).

The lack of employment in the community was raised as a problem for young men who were trying to establish an independent household. There seemed to be a large number of young men who had completed grade 10 and 12 and stayed in the community without work (Rich 13). There were no formal employment opportunities in the wereda. Some gave examples of people they knew. Middle 16's brother had completed college education and had a diploma but had no job and as a result he stayed at home and helped with the family's farming while continuing to look for a job.

Amongst the adults interviewed there was agreement that the lack of farm land was a major problem for young men (middle farmer, poor farmer, successful business man, successful farmer). There was also declining support from the family due to economic limitations (poor farmer). The successful farmer's wife suggested that the main options available to young men were sharecropping and getting involved in business.

Having children

The young men wanted to have between two and three children but most wanted three (middle 13, poor 16, rich 16, poor 19, middle 19). Among those who specified when they wanted to have children (middle 13 and middle 19, poor 19) all said that they wanted to start having children when they were aged 30.

Middle 19 acknowledged that having any more than three children made it more difficult to bring them up properly. Rich 19 gave the example of someone in his neighbourhood who had "*five wives and thirty five children*". In his view "*such a big family cannot properly up bring children*." He therefore felt that it was very important to plan and to accept the advice of your parents.

Female youth

Circumcision

All of those interviewed said that they had been circumcised as little girls usually between the age of 7 and 9. A few said that they felt no pain or problems in relation to it now (middle, 13, poor, 16, rich, 16). All of the girls knew that the government had made female circumcision illegal. But they had differing opinions about this.

Some were glad they had been circumcised and were opposed to the government ban. They felt that there was no proof that it damaged women's health. Middle 13's mother had told her that it had not caused pain in delivery. She wanted to circumcise any daughters she would have so as to avoid them being a disgrace in front of their friends. Female circumcision resulted in the respect of the community (rich, 13). Also they raised the problem that no one gets punished for carrying on with the practice (middle 16, poor 16). It was considered a tradition for the Oromo people and therefore, the community were against the government ban. As a result despite the awareness raising efforts from the government, attitudes and behavior were not changing (poor, 16). One girl also noted that important members of the community were against the ban (rich 19).

It seemed that the younger girls were against circumcision. One said she had learnt about the biological impact at school and felt it was a "*natural rights violation*" (poor, 13). She felt that more attention needed to be given by government to eliminate the practice. She said that many people do not understand why it is illegal. One girl (middle, 16) said that she regretted her circumcision "*every time she thinks about it*" knowing that it was a harmful practice. But she explained that her family wanted to keep practicing it and no one gets punished.

Girls' work

All of the girls were involved in domestic work but to differing degrees. Girls could be involved in domestic tasks from the age of 6 or 7. Their tasks included: making injera, making coffee, cooking wot, cleaning the house, fetching water and firewood, washing clothes, looking after younger children in the household, going to the grain mill, washing clothes and shopping for food. Some were also involved in work linked to the family's farm such as weeding, harvesting (in season) and cleaning the livestock yard.

Some girls admitted to liking fetching water and firewood as it took them outside the home and allowed them to interact with their friends and "*watch boys swimming in the river*" (middle, 16).

Several of the girls complained about having to grind maize traditionally at home (using a Buko Lanqicha – stone grinder). They felt this was a dangerous task and really hard work and tiresome (middle, 16, poor, 19, middle, 19).

Rich 19 talked about work outside the household. She trades crops sometimes to pay for items needed by the household. She also sometimes sells banana and mangos to cover some of her personal costs like shoes, clothes and hair oil. Poor 16 works as daily labourer during the harvesting season, and as petty trader when she is not at school and in the school holidays. In the last 12 months she has stopped working as a daily labourer as she believes that trading is better than daily farming labour. She decides on what she would like to work without consulting anybody and in the last 12 months she earned roughly 300 birr with which she bought school materials and clothes. Some of the girls complained (rich 16) that there was no work in the community that paid well. Farming work for girls was said to be paid 2 to 3 birr per hour.

Combining work and education

Young girls were considered to have a "big burden" in terms of their responsibilities in the domestic sphere (middle 13). As a result they were only able to participate in school to a limited degree. Most

of the girls agreed that girls would perform better at school if they were given enough time to do their homework and school activities.

Those in the poorer households said that they were also expected to be engaged in income generating activities at home such as producing *tela* and *areke* (middle 13, poor 13). Although the 13 year olds admitted more would be expected of them at an older age some already felt under pressure from their families to generate some income. Poor 13 felt that this would have an adverse effect on her education "*as for example she would not be able to do her homework and study regularly*". She also said that those from poor families often came to school feeling hungry and this reduced their ability to concentrate. Even those who had significant family support to encourage them at school and as a result fewer domestic tasks (rich 13, middle 16) knew that it was difficult to combine work and education as it reduced their ability to concentrate on their education.

One of the girls compared herself with young males of her age (middle 16). She said they were "*extremely free to do whatever they wanted and they get enough time to focus on their education. They do their homework and study properly*". Girls struggled with many domestic chores which left them little time to study and do their homework.

All of the girls who worked and combined this with education said that they would prefer not to but had to either in order to continue to go to school or due to pressure from their family. Those who dropped out of school often did so due to workload or economic problems. As a result there were fewer women than men who completed grade 10 and 12.

Women's issues

The main topics that came up were menstruation, female circumcision (discussed above), rape, abduction and pre-marital pregnancy.

None of the 13 year olds had started menstruating yet neither had poor 16. All of the others had started menstruating. Most said that the school did not provide facilities for girls menstruating, but one of the 13 year olds thought that perhaps this was because everyone was too scared to ask (poor, 13). The girls in some cases had not even told their mother that they had started menstruating because they were ashamed. Others had and their mother's had bought them pads which they washed and/ or underwear. Some complained of slight pain during menstruation.

Rape and abduction were both considered to be an issue in the community. One 13 year old explained "*nobody protects women here unless they avoid every single opportunity for harassment*" (poor 13). Most of them had heard about rapes and abductions but had no idea how common it was. There was a definite emphasis upon women protecting themselves or other women from sexual violence. E.g. "*girls need to work very hard to protect girls from these problems*" (poor FHH).

A couple of the girls (middle 13, rich 19) felt that the frequency of rape and abduction had decreased in Oda Haro. However, voluntary abduction was considered to be increasing and forced abduction still occurred even though it was illegal. One girl gave a reason for this "*we girls are very bad sometimes; we spend a lot of time with guys in relationship and we dump them after we secured a better option for ourselves. This is what I observe from many young females. They give their promise at first and then later change their mind. The situation upsets guys very much which may encourage them to do forceful abduction*" (poor 13). Although forced abduction was recognised to be a crime the girl is often encouraged to marry the man by the family and/ or the community elders. So even if the case is reported it does not get very far as families prefer to solve it peacefully with a customary leader. Another 13 year old suggested that it was those who started relationships early who ended up getting voluntarily abducted (middle 13). Another girl suggested that families accept voluntary abduction because their daughter has already left their household and dropped out of school anyway (middle, 19). Poor 16 had a friend who was also 16 and got abducted this year. Most of her friends who have been abducted agree to get married afterwards; very few wanted to go to court. Instead the matter is usually settled by the customary leaders.

There seemed to be lots of stories in the community about pre-marital pregnancy and most of the girls knew someone in the situation. Middle 16 had heard of a girl who returned from Ambo having got pregnant from her employer. She was a domestic servant in Ambo town and she got pregnant from the household head who had three children and lived with his wife. Most cases were girls who had slept with their boyfriend without using protection. However, it seemed that contraceptives were hard to get hold of; there was no provision to young girls as HEWs would only give them to married women. Two girls knew of girls who had obtained and used contraceptives (rich, 16). Poor 19 explained that girls are afraid to take them from the health post and so buy them from private pharmacies in Tibe or Bako.

For those who got pregnant the options seemed few. The girl could live at home with her parents but this brought poverty and shame (middle 13). Others abandoned the baby as soon as it was born (poor 13); there had been at least two girls in the community who had done this recently. One of the girls knew four girls aged 16 who had given birth recently (rich 16). Others had abortions with financial support from their boyfriend. There were two options; first in early stages, or after the pregnancy was becoming obvious. The former was considered preferable as the pain did not last. The latter was considered very dangerous to a girl's life (poor 13) and several girls had died from the process (poor, 16). Traditional abortions were cheaper and more accessible than those offered by health centres in the towns (Nekemte and Bako). However, it seemed some older girls travelled to get modern abortion medicine from these towns (poor 19).

Inter-generational relations

In general there were not considered to be any major problems between young women and the older generation. The only problems seemed to be with the older generation finding it hard to accept the new ideas of young people and their perspective (middle 13, poor 13, poor 16, rich 19). Similarly the older generation complained that young people do not listen to their advice and ideas (rich 13). Young girls, even more so than boys, are given no role in family decision-making or discussion (middle 16) despite their many contributions to the life of the family (poor 13). There were also few open discussions in the family (rich 16).

Living in the community

Life in the community was considered to be getting better as everyone was working hard to improve their household's livelihood. Women now had a more significant role in terms of income generating for the household (middle 13). There had also been economic change as poor people became rich and those who had been servants of the rich set up their own independent livelihoods (poor 13). Reasons for the increased wealth of the community were remittances and irrigated farming (poor 19). So even though agricultural productivity was decreasing and the cost of agricultural inputs was increasing the livelihoods of some were still improving (middle 19).

The condition of houses in the community has improved as many have changed their house from thatched roof to tin roof. People also have better furniture and kitchen utensils. Environmental and personal hygiene is better and in the last five years the health condition of the community has improved (middle 16). The community was also peaceful and supportive: "*my community could provide me food when I get starved, water when I get thirsty; they are very generous*" (poor 13).

Problems of living in the community were listed as: no electricity, no secondary school, no health centre or other private health facilities (rich 16). Because of this, many young people want to leave. The other major problem was that there were no opportunities for educated, graduated young women at all and no permanent or well-paid work (poor 19). The government had not developed any strategies to assist young people to learn new skills and find work and families are often unable to send their children to private college or to create job opportunities for them (rich 19). As a result many young women are seeking to migrate to Arab countries or big towns to work as housemaid (rich 19) where they face different challenges.

One girl was not at all happy about living in the community and said that there had been little change regarding the status of women other than giving them access to education (poor 16).

Sexual initiation

Some young girls were acknowledged to be sexually active despite the lack of access to contraceptives. One girl suggested that contraceptives should be made available by the school (poor 13) to help young people be more careful and to protect young girls from different problems. It was not common for girls aged 13 to have sexual relations (middle 13). Two of the 19 year olds had boyfriends, although their parents were unaware. One girl went to Bako to meet her boyfriend secretly but said that she refused to sleep with him for religious reasons as it is prohibited before marriage. Both girls planned to marry their boyfriends (middle 19 and poor 19).

Most of the girls were aware of HIV/AIDS but they did not talk about it that much.

Leisure activities and bad habits

There are no recreation facilities for youth in the village. The poor farmer's wife felt that with school and their domestic responsibilities girls did not have time for leisure activities. Others thought that in the past there were no leisure opportunities for women in the community but now as they go to school young women have more time to socialise with their peers. As a result they learn about friendship as well as being educated at school (middle farmer's wife). The only activities mentioned by the young women were studying and doing homework and chatting with friends whilst collecting firewood or water. Some also sung in choirs at church and attended religious activities.

No bad habits were mentioned.

Religion

Religious participation seems to have increased in the community (middle 13, poor 13, rich 13, poor 16, rich 16) and there were more different religions (poor 13). The religions were also said to have become stricter in their rules than they had been in the past (poor 16, rich 16, rich 19). All of the girls interviewed were actively involved in their religion. But there was no conflict between the different religions (middle 13), just some competitions to try and attract new members. One girl (poor 16) cited that there had been tension in the past between Muslims and Protestants when there were plans that a church should be built near to a Mosque. In the end the case was resolved by the customary elders. There is also some tension among Muslims due to the relatively recent split where some have joined Wahhabism (rich 13).

Middle 16 said that women and girls are now more involved in religion than they were in the past. Rich 16 gave an example of how there can be different religious beliefs within the same family. In her family one of her sisters is protestant and the other Muslim; her father is a respected Muslim and son of a sheik and her mother converted when she married him. Her mother has a brother who lives in the USA and is a protestant pastor- he and some of her other siblings were not pleased when her mother converted to Islam.

Politics

Young women said that they were not involved in politics. They had no interaction with the government. There were no local youth associations, leagues or federations in the kebele. Women were reluctant to participate in politics (poor 13) and uninformed. They also did not know of any women participating in politics in the kebele (poor 13, middle 13) or of any activity to try and mobilise young people (rich 13). A number of the young women felt that there were no resources, advice or training provided to young women and they had no benefit from government (rich 16, middle 19). One girl said that there were no young women members of the ruling party (poor 19). Most of the girls admitted that they had poor knowledge of political issues.

The adults agreed that girls had no voice in the community (poor farmer); they were not involved in the meetings and training courses organised by the kebele and wereda (successful farmer)

Community participation

The situation for community participation was very similar to that of politics. Girls were not involved in meetings or training courses organised by the kebele and wereda and were considered to have no voice in the community. Despite this their situation was much better than it had been in the past (wife middle farmer) as they were educated.

Finding work – economic independence

Whilst the girls acknowledged that finding work was difficult most of them were keen to establish a measure of economic independence before getting married. Many recognised that in order to do this they would have to leave the community in search of work (middle 13, poor 13, rich 13). In the past young girls had married older men who owned farmland or had become second wives but this was no longer popular and the girls seemed more interested in marrying men who were not farmers and had government jobs (middle 13, poor 13, rich 13, poor 16, rich 16). Poor 16 recognised that some poor girls might be forced to marry older men or become a second wife for economic reasons.

Finding economic independence was considered to be easier for those from rich households. They tended to be able to stay in education for longer and therefore were better educated; their family could also give them financial support to set up in business. One girl admitted that she did not know any female graduated from a college in the community (poor 13). There were also a lot of girls who had completed grade 10 and in some cases TVET College but they were still living with and dependent on their families due to lack of access to jobs (poor 16, rich 16).

Examples were given of girls in the village who were trying to work to make a living; some selling *tela*, others working as traders (middle 13), and still others engaging in seasonal farm work or petty trade activities (middle 19). But the main options for girls were marriage or migration (middle 16, poor 19). The money raised through migration to Arab countries provided a young woman with a way to start a business in the community. Alternatively migration to an urban area in Ethiopia would provide her with a job opportunity (rich 16).

Getting married

Girls in the community wanted to get married later, after they had finished their education and after they had got a job (rich 13), or when they would be 25 (middle 13). The earliest age girls got married in the kebele was 14 or 15 (more commonly 15). At this age the marriage was carried out voluntarily and usually due to a voluntary abduction. The introduction of education for girls was cited as the main reason why girls were getting married later. The girls felt that between 25 and 27 (middle 16, poor 19) was the latest they could get married without worrying that they would not find someone. Whilst some had heard that there was a legal age of marriage they said that this was not enforced in the community.

Marriage was not seen as a particularly positive thing for women.

Middle 13 thought that "*a married woman will obviously lose her personality, she doesn't get time to keep her personal hygiene, she will become old before her age. Stress will increase as her commitments increase over time. Whereas the man will be more handsome and younger, he takes less responsibility and no pressure at all, he will have less commitment in the domestic sphere, his only one dimensional is as a bread winner*". Poor 13 thought that "*marriage is a kind of diverting every responsibility towards women in our case. Marriage pushes the entire social burden to drop upon women*". One of the reasons for this negative view of marriage is that once married young women are commonly responsible to support in-laws with their domestic work as well as doing their own (middle 16). Also once a girl is married she does not continue her education.

The girls liked the fact that they now often got more say in who they married (middle 13), although some said that parents still had a lot of influence (poor 16). They were keen not to marry farmers but instead doctors (middle 13) or those with government jobs (middle 19), those who were educated (poor 16) or who they met at university (rich 16).

They said that there were still some girls in the community who were willingly getting married aged 14-16 years, because they felt that marriage was their best option. They gave a number of reasons for early marriage: economic pressure (their family could not afford to keep them in school), not being successful at school (poor 13) and /or the desire to escape all the work and responsibilities at home (middle 13). However, marriage to older men was said to have decreased.

Reproductive and productive work after marriage

The girls talked a lot about the burden which fell upon married women and for this reason were not overly positive about marriage. The domestic responsibilities which were put on a woman after marriage were considered to be significant, and she might have to be looking after her own house but also helping her in-laws with their domestic chores. Having children was considered to be the one positive side of marriage for women. Most of the girls accepted that if they wanted to advance in their education this was something they needed to do before getting married. For those who stayed in the community and married a farmer responsibilities involved domestic work and supporting their husband in farming and any other work he did.

Those who talked about other options such as having a job tended to do so in the context of migration, internationally (it was not unknown for married women to migrate) or to an urban area. If they married someone from outside the community they perceived that there would be more opportunity to work: for example becoming an engineer in Addis Ababa (Rich 16); migrating to Arab countries and then returning after two years to marry her boyfriend (middle 19, poor 19, rich 19). Return after migration was usually assumed to bring the financial means necessary for the girl to set up a business in the community or elsewhere.

Establishing an independent household

The adults in the community generally agreed that the only way for young women to set up an independent household was to get married or to migrate (Poor FHH, Wife Middle Farmer). Education was considered by one respondent (wife poor farmer) to be a way out for girls as marrying a man someone with land and livestock was now becoming very difficult.

The lack of income generating opportunities in the area was cited as the main reason for a woman not to establish an independent household (middle 13). Although in the past women had been restricted from owning land unless they got married, this has now changed. However the problem of landlessness in the community affects women as well as men.

Establishing an independent household requires economic means; for young women they can now gain these means through migration (poor 13, middle 13, rich 16, poor 19, middle 19). International migration to Arab States was seen to be the most lucrative and therefore the most popular. The money earned whilst away would allow a young woman to set up her own business on her return.

However, it was rare that young women would set up an independent household on their own. In this society a new household is started by a married couple.

Having children

Few of the girls expressed an opinion as to how many children they hoped to have although most assumed that they would have children. Of those who gave a number they all thought that two children would be enough (middle 13, poor 19, rich 19), which was fewer than the young boys suggested.

Gender inequities

Violence against women

Female circumcision

Female circumcision was considered by the majority of those interviewed an important cultural Oromo tradition. It usually took place when the girl was aged 7 or more. Circumcision is carried out early in the morning in the girl's home. The cost is 50 birr. The poor farmer explained that if the impact on the child was serious she would rest at home for two weeks.

When a girl is not circumcised she would be insulted by the other children. There are a number of sayings locally which criticise uncircumcised girls: "*Dubari ayna hinkebenie, mia'a chabsiti*", meaning uncircumcised girls break utensils; "*Duberi ayne hinkebenie aka ferdati Utalti*", meaning they jump like a horse, referring to the fact that they are considered unable to be loyal to their husband. Some of the young girls interviewed were very much in favour of female circumcision and said that they would circumcise their daughters (middle 13). Only one of the girls was strongly against it as she felt that it was criminal to cut the body of a child without their knowledge (poor 13).

The community also feels that if their daughters are not circumcised no one will want to marry them. Some even believe that uncircumcised girls cannot give birth. As the poor farmer explained circumcision was considered "*part of the beauty of the girls. Mothers feel happy when their female children are circumcised*". Not circumcising your daughters was also considered to be bad for their psychology as they would not be considered clean.

Rape

Rape was considered to have reduced in the past five years but it is clearly still a problem in the community. Forced abduction which may well include rape was considered by some to be increasing (successful businessman). Both rape and forced abduction were considered crimes by the community. Rape tended to be carried out in secret places like the forest and the victims rarely reported the crime as they feared that they would suffer discrimination (successful farmer). As one of the young men admitted, the fact that being raped is taboo makes it easier for rapists to go unpunished. Some of the young girls reported they had been taught that it was up to them to avoid such threats by spending their time in safe places such as school and their home (middle 13).

Rape was also mentioned as a problem for those who migrated in search of work elsewhere. As one woman explained she was employed in Seyo town making *injera* in a hotel but the owner of the hotel (married and 60 years old) kept asking her to sleep with him. Finally one day when he asked her to take him lunch in his room he tried to rape her but she shouted loudly and he stopped. He then tried to persuade her offering her money to start her own business, etc. She refused as she was worried about pregnancy and HIV/AIDS.

Domestic male violence

In the past the majority of women were said to tolerate domestic violence. It usually happened when their husbands had been drinking or were jealous. However this has declined significantly as women have become more aware of their rights and husbands who beat their wives have started to be punished. As a result disagreements are now largely resolved through discussion.

Marriage

Underage marriage

In the past girls were married at 15. This has started to change because girls now attend school and their parents are keen for them to learn before getting married. The young women interviewed felt that those who married earlier either did so out of choice (often to escape domestic responsibilities at home or because they were struggling at school) or due to economic necessity. Therefore they

felt that underage marriage was more common amongst the poor and often happened as a result of voluntary or forced abduction.

There seemed to be awareness in the community that early marriage was not good for the man and the woman (middle farmer). The fact that marriage is no longer arranged completely by the parents and there tends to be mutual consent by the couple also reduces incidents of early marriage.

Abduction

Abduction is still a big problem in the Wereda although there has been a decline of forced abduction.

Traditionally parents chose who their children marry and when but more recently most marriages (according to the Wereda level officials) take place without the involvement of the parents. When there is voluntary abduction (or the couple elopes) the parents have no choice but to accept the decision and to bring together both sets of parents for a *mels* – the ceremony at the bride's house which usually takes place after the bride has already left, traditionally after the wedding. During the *mels* the groom must give a present to the bride's parents. Even so this is considerably cheaper than the traditional wedding when a feast has to be prepared and bride wealth has to be paid.

In Oda Haro some believe that forced abduction has increased (successful businessman) whilst others consider that it declined in the last five years (poor farmer). When forced abduction occurs the elders are involved in trying to convince the parents that it should be accepted as a voluntary abduction and the couple deemed married.

The successful farmer man explained how his daughter had also faced an abduction attempt. The same man stalked her from 2010 when she was 14 years old until 2012. He tried to abduct her on her way back from primary school. After several repeated attempts, her father moved her to a primary school in Tibe town. The same man continued to hunt her there as well so she was forced to dropout from grade 6 last year and was sent to Ambo to live with her sisters and to continue her education there. Her father is keen that she is not married before completing her secondary/college education.

Choice of marriage partner

In Oromo tradition the family and the young man chose marriage partners and women were not involved in the process. However this tradition has changed and is ignored by the majority of the community (except some customary leaders and older people who remain conservative). Women are now more aware of their rights and the Wereda has adopted the new family law from the region which gives equal privilege to women in choosing their marriage partner.

Education of girls has also made a difference as girls have a lot more social interaction with boys and also the girls and their parents are often keen for them to finish their education before marrying. They therefore get married later and so perhaps have more of a say on whom they do or do not want to marry.

Polygamy

Legally the wereda prohibits polygamy. However, culturally polygamy is practised with or without the senior wife's consent. The law provides women with the right to report their husband or bring any case relating to polygamy to court but awareness of this amongst women is low. Men are also using different tactics to avoid the law for example claiming that one wife is a housemaid and presenting an employment contract. The second wife may not claim otherwise as she is scared of the consequences. Some cite religious culture (Islam) as a reason why they are allowed to have a second wife; this becomes difficult to manage legally.

Polygamy has not been given the same priority as other issues such as violence against women at Wereda level or by the Women and Child Affairs office.

Widow inheritance

The law has been changed on widow inheritance. The reformed family law was issued in 2003 and allows women to inherit themselves and not to be inherited by their husband's brother. This has however been challenging in the community as there is an Oromo tradition called “warrsaa/wolgeraa” which allows widow’s inheritance that is, a woman whose husband dies to pass to the brother of the deceased husband. There has been training and education provided at Wereda level by an organisation called HUNDEE. This has been running since 2008/9 and has sought to create increased awareness on harmful traditional practices and legal issues relating to them. As a result there has been a change in the community and women have started to refuse to be inherited and have taken their case to court if they are forced. Those at Wereda level believe that this practice is likely to come to an end in the next few years.

Widows now have the right to keep all the land and possessions of their deceased husband if there are no married children. Married children have the right to inherit a part of what the father leaves. Widows also have the right to remarry. If a widow remarries and continues to live on the farm land left to her by her deceased husband, she has the right to it. But if she leaves the land and moves with her new husband, and her unmarried children continue to live in their father's house, she has to leave the land to the children.

Marriage to dead wife’s sister

There are also no longer cases as per the tradition that if your wife dies you should marry her sister. The HUNDEE training covered this practice and explained why it was religiously prohibited and illegal. The community have come to understand that marriage to close relatives is not advisable.

Divorce

All women now have the right to divorce. If the woman already has a child she has the right to half of all the property and the land (middle farmer). This is a significant change as previously the wife would not have had a right to anything. The case is taken to the Wereda court from where it is returned to the community elders to try and arbitrate. Some of the women interviewed said that there was still some bias when it came to the interpretation of the law (poor FHH). But in theory the couple's property would be divided between them. Women are able to remarry after divorce or run an independent household. However, if she wants to remarry, she has to leave the compound of her ex-husband and go to the home of her new husband (poor farmer).

However, divorce is not common especially among the Muslim community. In Protestant couples there can be disagreements leading to divorce when a man drinks and his wife does not accept as it is forbidden in their religion. Religious differences also may lead to divorce; for example, when one spouse converts to Protestantism and the other spouse refuses to accept this conversion.

There are people saying that divorce is becoming less frequent. It was easier to divorce when living standards were better but now as life is hard people think twice before divorcing. Sharing properties (land and other resources) would affect both parties so many prefer to try and solve their differences with the help of elders, or they tolerate everything to avoid this kind of losses. When they divorce then cases are handled at the wereda level, not by elders.

Widowhood

Widows were previously considered as an object with no say about herself and the property she shared with her late husband. *‘She was inherited by the family’* (of her husband). In contrast nowadays she has full rights to her legacy and can marry who she likes.

Women are now able to inherit all the land and property of their deceased husbands if there are no married children. Married children should be given a share. Amongst those interviewed the successful FHH was a widow and had inherited all of her husband's property and land. She had then given a share to their children – although one of her sons was not happy and wanted to take more

land for himself. Previously all of the land and property would have passed to the male children or to her husband' family.

Different respondents gave different bits of information about what happens when a widow remarries. One said that even then she still has the right to keep the land and property. Another said that she had to leave the land to her children who could stay on it; if the children are small then she can continue to cultivate the land. He added that anyway it is very rare for a widow who remarries, to bring her new husband in the house of her previous husband, as there would easily be quarrels between the new husband and his stepchildren.

Women's economic status

Access to land

In the past women had no access to land; it was considered something that could only be owned by men. Therefore a woman whose husband died or who divorced would be left with nothing; all would remain with the husband or his family. However, land is now owned jointly by husband and wife and therefore divorced or widowed women have the right to land inheritance. There is obviously a tension between this equal right law and the shortage of land in the community. Some suggested that as a result the letter of the law is not always carried out (successful businessman, successful FHH). It seemed to be very rare for a woman to own land without being married or having been married (wife successful farmer).

Livelihood opportunities

Women are creating their own independent sources of livelihood but this is dependent on the individual and her motivation. In the community there were a number of women involved in petty trade, vegetable trading, running shops from home and livestock product trade. International migration was also said to be a support for the families of the girls who migrate, but the rich farmer was doubtful that this would allow them to lead an independent life.

Women's inheritance from parents

Women can now inherit from their parents in the same way that men can. But this is happening less and less for all children due to shortage of land.

Women's political status

Voice in the community

Although in many other areas women's status has improved dramatically, they still have a limited role and position within the community. Traditionally women are represented by their husbands as their role is considered to be only in the domestic sphere. However in the case of female headed households brought about by death or divorce a woman can represent the household in relation to economic issues and within the community. But they still tended not to have a significant voice in the community. If the household had an older, unmarried son he will share the role with his mother. Whilst it was recognised by some that women had the right to be involved in all aspects of the community (successful farmer) what happened in practice was different.

Voice in the kebele

At kebele level women were considered to have even less voice. Although in principle women had the right to attend meetings and political activities, in practice "*it is nonexistent*" (middle farmer). There were only three women who had a position at wereda level across the 35 different sectors. The lack of voice for women in the kebele was considered to be due in part to lack of interest in women's rights and poor representation at wereda level. One of the women involved in political activities explained that women were disinterested and also still felt that they had to give first

priority to their domestic work. Some women were said to have started to participate in kebele meetings and to hold positions in the community but it was still a small minority.

There was said to be one woman on the kebele cabinet but she was considered to have a token role and not actually be involved (successful farmer). There was also no women's association or league.

Some of the women interviewed were Party members and some said that they attended Party meetings (wife poor farmer). But the majority had no involvement.

Perceptions of females

There has been a significant change in the attitudes towards women in the community. The main reason for the change in perceptions of females was stated to be their economic role. Women were increasingly being seen to create independent economic livelihood means; education had also played an important role as the majority of girls were now sent to school before marriage. Women were less likely to suffer domestic violence and were now far more aware of their rights.

In the past as one woman explained, "*we were considered to be an object in front of the husband; we were just like a machine created to carry out the kitchen work*" (successful businessman's wife). Most of them agreed that there had been major change and that women were no longer regarded as weak, nor was there a preference for male children. The kebele women affairs' representative said that there had been many positive changes. She added that under the old division of labour and patriarchal relationships women were only responsible for domestic work and childcare; but now due to recent attitude change women are participating in livestock, crop, butter and vegetable trading. However, she and the others highlighting the positives also felt that more changes needed to occur.

Upward and downward mobility

Males

Those who have been upwardly mobile have tended to make money from farming irrigated land and buying and hiring out mule carts for local transportation. Some have also diversified into grain mills, renting out property in town and livestock trade.

Females

Women who have been upwardly mobile have either done well with their husbands or in the case of female headed households have inherited land and/ or livestock and managed them well.

Age inequities

Youth and adults – male and female

A number of the youth complained that they had no voice in the community and that adults did not consider their views or ideas important. This was even more pronounced amongst young women than it was for young men.

The adults recognised that compared to when they were young today's youth did not receive the same support in setting up an independent livelihood. Most inherited no land when they got married due to land shortage.

Adults and elderly - male and female

Very little was said about the elderly.

Government/NGO interventions to promote social equity

Assistance to poor people

Assistance to poor people tended to come from the community. The government included poor people in training courses and initiatives to help farmers at kebele and Wereda level. At Wereda level officials admitted that they did not have enough budget to support the poor and vulnerable and there was very limited access to credit and savings services for them.

There were plans at kebele level to distribute some of the communal grazing land to the landless young people and some of the landless poor adults via cooperatives. However, the majority of the community were against this proposal as the grazing land remaining was already insufficient.

Those from poor families who were interviewed tended to be reliant upon support from family (poor FHH), from the church (successful FHH) or sometimes from rich neighbours. Neighbours lent oxen to those who had none for ploughing and there were some examples of people lending money or food (sometimes with interest, sometimes not) (wife middle farmer, wife successful business man). However, some of the more wealthy households said that due to the rise in prices they could no longer afford to help others, not even their family members.

There is some charitable support. Muslims share money with poor and needy people during the ids and the Protestants for Easter and New Year.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

Orphans

Orphans and the poorest and destitute children were reported by the Wereda to get some support from INGOs at the Wereda level. This included Compassion International and an organisation called Bussa-Gonofa which supports vulnerable women.

Disabled people

No interventions mentioned.

Vulnerable women

Vulnerable women were defined at Wereda level as being old and ill women without anybody taking care of them, orphans, young women who do not have access to work, poor, disabled women, women who are victims of HIV/AIDS, widows, divorced women and those who have migrated. At Wereda level the respondents said that there was no special government or NGO programme to give support and/or help to vulnerable women at the Wereda level.

The Oromia credit and savings association was said to support women by providing access to credit and savings. The association also provided training courses and advice on starting small scale income generating activities to support women with no relatives to support. An organisation called Bussa-Gonofa was considered the most effective in favour of vulnerable women as it enabled women to establish small-scale business activities. However, it had a limited budget and so it was not able to serve all of the vulnerable women in the Wereda. The organisation and the women involved were also suffering from some problems with accessing the materials needed for them to start-up businesses. One example was given of a group of 40 beneficiaries who had been organised to work on a weaving business but they were not able to access the inputs and so were forced to wait until the materials became available.

Violence against women interventions

Female circumcision interventions

Female circumcision was considered an important Oromia tradition: as a result most of those interviewed said that they resented the government ban. Both the government and an NGO called HUNDEE had done extensive trainings and education on the harmful effects of circumcision.

Everyone interviewed was aware of this and had some knowledge of why the practice was supposed to be harmful. But there had been resistance not only from the community but also from some of the wereda and kebele officials as well as the HEWs. Although legally anyone involved in female circumcision could be taken to court and punished there had been very poor implementation of the law. The community is very conservative and even government officials were said to be against the ban. No cases had been presented to court or to the women and child affairs office in the last year. There was significant social and cultural pressure to continue to circumcise girls. Any change would require greater awareness of the consequences amongst government officials as well as the community as a whole.

Not only was the practice continuing but due to the lack of punishment in the area some Muslim households were reported to be bringing the female children of their relatives from Addis Ababa and other places where the ban was stricter to the community to be circumcised. Households were also circumcising their daughters earlier (aged six or less) in case the ban became stricter.

Only one of the households interviewed agreed with the ban (successful FHH).

Rape interventions

There had been government interventions against rape as well as interventions by donors (UNICEF and USAID). However most of those interviewed admitted that rape was still a big problem mainly because victims do not dare to admit that they have been raped fearing that they would be socially outcast. Furthermore if a case gets to court the victim often did not have the necessary evidence to support her case. The court requires three or more witnesses and a medical report.

An example was given that in the wereda, six months ago a 13 year old girl had been raped. Someone from her own family had witnessed and confirmed the man as the person who committed the crime but the court let him to go out free without clear reason. This case was still being followed up by the Women and Child Affairs Office. It seemed that despite there being the necessary legal structures in place justice was not being enforced.

Domestic male violence interventions

It was widely agreed that domestic violence had significantly declined in the wereda. There had been interventions by the Government and UNICEF. Social institutions such as iddir and religious institutions had also played a major role in reducing domestic violence. Some added that the 1-5 also played a positive role in this respect. According to iddir rules, any women who faced domestic violence could report to the Iddir committee and members would review the case in detail. If the husband was found guilty he would be punished (usually a fine) by the Iddir committee. Cases could also if necessary be taken to the Wereda Court. There were a few problems in that those on the iddir or the Wereda Court could be biased and favour the men. At Wereda level the head of Women and Child Affairs complained that the budget for awareness raising was limited which meant that the programme was not sustainable.

Marriage interventions

Underage marriage interventions

There had been education on the negatives of underage marriage and these were generally accepted and appreciated by the community. Those interviewed said that this practice had largely been abandoned now due to girls going to school and parents wanting them to complete school before marrying. Another influential factor was that girls now had a role in the selection of who they wanted to marry and far fewer marriages were arranged solely by the parents.

Abduction interventions

There had been education on abduction by government and advice and training had been provided. The last five years had seen a marked decline in forced abduction but voluntary abduction seemed

to be growing in popularity. People tended to see forced abduction as wrong but voluntary abduction was seen to provide the young with more choice about whom and when they married. Marrying by voluntary abduction made marriage cheaper and more feasible for poorer young men. It did however reduce the role of the parents and in some cases encouraged young girls to drop out of school. It was therefore considered a problem by the school and by families. As it was consensual by both parties it was very difficult to do anything about legally. Some parents whose daughters had been impacted by abduction or the threat of abduction felt that the government needed to take more action to prevent or punish abduction (wife successful farmer).

Choice of marriage partner interventions

None mentioned.

Polygamy interventions

There had been some awareness raising on this at wereda level but nothing was mentioned at kebele level.

Marriage to dead wife's sister interventions

There has been training and advice given on this. People have been told that it is not wise to marry a close relative and on the whole the practice is declining.

Divorce interventions

Government and UNICEF have both given training courses on divorce and the rights of women after divorce at the wereda level. However there have been some problems in implementing the law. In order to receive full legal provision a woman has to submit a petition letter to the court. This is a document that has to be written by a para-legal and costs 2 birr and 75 cents. Some women find it difficult to afford the money to obtain and is discouraging them from exercising their right to share the couple's property equally. The other issue is that the Wereda Court initially sends divorce cases to the local customary leaders who tend to favour men and believe that a woman should be submitting to her husband in all circumstances. As traditionally women have had no property rights after divorce and have always had to leave their house a lot more education is needed in this area. Women still tend to leave the house after divorce because they do not fully understand their rights. Being homeless makes divorced women still more vulnerable.

One woman felt that the new law on equal land rights had helped to reduce the number of divorces in the community as men were worried about losing half of their land and property.

Widowhood interventions (including inheritance)

Previously when a woman's husband died she received nothing as all of the inheritance went to her deceased husband's family as would their children. This left the woman destitute unless according to tradition she married her ex-husband's brother. Women are now able to inherit everything from their husband. However, although the kebele officials are responsible for following up on whether the law has been followed, generally speaking they are reluctant to intervene unless a woman brings a case to them.

There were five cases related to widows' rights last year; most cases got an appointment in court. Delays can occur if a woman's name is not in the land registration book.

If the widow and her late husband do not have a child then a share of the widow's inheritance will go to the dead man's family.

Interventions to improve women's economic status

Land interventions

No land has been provided by government for women to improve their economic status. However the wife's name is now included on the land certificate for a married couple. The government has passed laws which enable women to inherit and own land which previously there were not allowed to do. However, perhaps due to the shortage of land it seemed still to be very rare for an unmarried woman to own land.

Livelihood interventions

Women were getting increasingly involved in developing economic opportunities such as trading in crops, vegetables, livestock or livestock products. Some made local alcoholic drinks and sold them whilst others did paid labour including weeding, harvesting crops, planting and hoeing. There was however no government support mentioned for these activities. Most women depended upon credit from their husbands or friends. There had been one unsuccessful case of women getting together to form a women's association and raising their own capital.

Women's inheritance from parents interventions

No interventions were mentioned although most people interviewed were aware that both male and female children would inherit equally from their parents according to the law. At wereda level the policy that women had equal inheritance rights was known but there were problems with the implementation of the law and it was felt that officials at wereda and kebele level needed to provide greater emphasis to women's rights. More awareness-raising in the community was also necessary as families often remained reluctant to do what they considered as passing their land to another family – their daughters' husbands. Traditionally people believed that land should not be owned by people who do not belong to the same lineage.

Interventions to improve women's political status

In the community

Traditionally it is the man, the household head, who takes initiative to be involved in politics in the community and the kebele. The involvement of women continues to be limited and little has been done to improve this although legal changes made to increase women's rights have already altered the way women are seen and may in time improve women's political status.

In the kebele

At kebele level it has been declared that women are able to be involved in kebele meetings. But nothing has been done to encourage women to attend or to increase their political participation which is currently low.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth livelihoods- male and female

One of the major complaints amongst the youth (both male and female) was that the government had not developed policies and programmes to impact youth livelihoods. This is seen as a major area of concern for young people and their parents. There is an increasing gap between the expectations and education level of young people and the opportunities available to them.

At kebele level, there has been some discussion with the young people about setting up cooperatives for youth (those who are landless and unemployed). They would then be given a plot of land by the kebele to work and invest in for three years. Over that period they could divide the income from the land but at the end of the time they would have to pass the land back for another cooperative. The aim being that by then they had generated enough capital to do something else.

This idea has however, met with resistance from the majority of the community due to the shortage of grazing land.

One cooperative was formed some time ago, called the Haro Nacho Forest Cooperative. It was established in 2007 by young men from the Boto zone on the slopes of the Gona mountain. They were given 25 ha land with the objective of protecting and improving the forest and in the long run exploiting its products, which they expect to be able to do in about ten years. They have done this by planting a large number of trees – more than 60,000 since the cooperative started. Every year they add more trees. Every year experts from the wereda and zone come to visit the activities of the cooperative. They were asked by an external investor who wanted to rent the land from them but they refused. They employ guards to protect the area, who are members of the cooperative and paid a 100 birr monthly salary.

They are 46 members, all men. They did not face any dropouts and have actually recruited new members, who have to pay 2,000 birr while the founding members contributed 100 birr each. They have a capital of 75,000 birr of which 60,000 is used for loans for the members, with 10% interest. They have also used the capital to rent land and produce and sell maize and teff to generate an income. They have various plans including buying an irrigation pump and engaging in production and selling of vegetables, getting communal land and engaging in fattening, establishing a shop and starting trading in food, and in the long run they will produce honey from the forest and sell it. The wereda MFI office helps the cooperative in financial management, with some technical assistance and auditing. They also gave seedlings at different times. The cooperative also does not pay tax.

In theory the Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) should also organise different groups, including youth and women, to help them to engage in productive activities. But after an initial training and people starting to get organised, there seems to be problems in accessing the AGP budget. This is explained further in section 6.1.5 below.

Community and political participation

There were no specific government actions to improve youth participation in community and political affairs. Young people felt in general that they were not involved in the community decision-making or political affairs. They were allowed to attend meetings but few did. This was even more acute amongst young women.

Youth and HIV/AIDS

All of those interviewed said that they had been educated about HIV/AIDS at school and most seemed knowledgeable about causes and how to prevent transmission. However, condoms were seldom available locally (some young men were said to buy them from private shops). There was concern that the majority did not use protection.

There was also low visibility of PLWHAs in the community; no one knew of anyone who had HIV/AIDS and as a result some failed to see it as a real threat to them. Nevertheless the knowledge and understanding of the youth was far better than that of adults.

Youth recreation

There was no government provision for youth recreation in the area.

Fields of action /domains of power

Livelihoods domain

Local macro-economy

The local economy is predominantly dependent upon farming. In Alemgena and Ebicho zones the main crop grown is maize followed by teff. Red pepper was a dominant cash crop on the rain fed land but its production has declined due to disease. In Boto zone which is higher, wheat, barley and beans are produced. Over the last five years there has been a switch from using traditional maize seeds to improved seeds which have produced better yields. In the last ten years fertilisers, pesticides and weed killers have been introduced and are now used by most farmers. Crop diseases have impacted which cash crops are grown in the area. Farmers have stopped growing mangos and red pepper due to the widespread of disease on these two crops. Both mangos and red pepper were major cash crops in the area but are no longer grown as extensively.

Intensive training was provided under the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) on the use of modern inputs and how to use them to increase the productivity of the farm. This seems to have resulted in a commitment across the community to work hard and improve the livelihood of their household and farmers have started to change their practices.

Irrigation is relatively new in the area; ten years ago there was only one model farmer who used the water from the river to produce vegetables. Then over the last five years, more than 150 farmers have started irrigating their land. This has enabled a range of new fruit crops to be produced.

The community have also started to fatten livestock over the last ten years following advice from the DAs. This has diversified income sources for some households and has increased the amount of money they can sell livestock for.

The following activities were considered to be key within the local economy – the amount in birr is what each activity contributes towards the local economy:

- Small holder agriculture = up to 500,000 birr (24%)
- Specialised farming (irrigation) = 500,000 birr (24%)
- Agricultural labour = 200,000 birr (9.7%)
- Trading business = 300,000 birr (14.5%)
- Other non-farm business = 50,000 birr (2.4%)
- Non-farm employ = 360,000 birr (17.4%)
- Commuting for work = 50,000 birr (2.4%)
- Migration = 100,000 birr (4.8%)

These figures show that whilst farming is still the main contributor towards the local economy trading is becoming increasingly important. There are more than 7 big farm traders and another 11 farm traders in the community. Due to this growth in local trade which has occurred over the last ten years farmers can now sell their produce directly to local traders. This has reduced time taken to transport crops to market and cut costs for farmers. Local traders buy locally and then sell to big traders who come to the community from cities like Addis Ababa. Trade was considered by those interviewed to be one of the major areas of change in terms of the livelihoods of individual households. Those involved in trade had experienced significant financial benefit.

Agricultural labour has expanded in the community in the last five years as farming activities have intensified increasing the demand for labour. The expansion of irrigated farming has contributed to this as it is very labour intensive. Workers tend to be women and children and are paid on a daily basis. Non-farm employment in the community has also increased due in large part to the opening

of the two primary schools, which employ 19 teachers and 4 school guards (the guards are paid by the community). There are also two health extension workers, three DAs and a kebele manager who receive salaries from the government. Work has also been generated by the construction of the road to Addis Ababa by the China Road Construction Company.

Migration is also a significant source of income with particularly international migrants (generally young women who go to Arab States) sending back large remittances to their families. Between 15 and 20 young women have migrated to Arab States and a larger number of young people have gone in search of work in urban areas in Ethiopia.

It was generally considered that over the last ten years the wealth of the community had increased; the number of rich people had increased, which was attributed to modern inputs and the expansion of trade. The number of poor and destitute people was thought to have declined due to positive changes in the livelihoods of most households enabling some poor households to move out of poverty. The breakdown of tax payers in the community (660) into wealth categories is as follows:

- Very rich = 5%
- Rich = 15%
- Middle = 20%
- Poor = 25%
- Very poor = 25%
- Destitute = 10%

From the interviews it seemed that those households that had diversified their sources of income beyond rain fed agriculture were becoming wealthier. Those who had not were struggling with insufficient yields due to poor rain and a decline in the fertility of the soil. The cost of living was also said to have increased significantly as had the cost of agricultural inputs. E.g. in early 2013 GC the price of fertiliser WAS 1,600 birr per quintal and the price of maize 380 birr per quintal, so farmers needed to sell about 5 quintals of maize crop to buy one quintal of fertiliser.

Smallholder agriculture

Land for smallholder farming

The land used for smallholder farming is currently 85% of the total area of the kebele. This has increased over the last five years due to the increasing population and an increased engagement in farming activities across the community. The expansion of irrigation has also contributed towards an increase in the land used for smallholder farming, although only 5% of the land of the kebele is irrigated.

However whilst the total land used for smallholder farming has increased the land per household has declined as parents have distributed land to their male children. The largest land plot is seven hectares and the smallest one hectare.

The building of schools, the FTC and other public buildings took some farming land. People were compensated with an allocation of land for farming from the communal grazing area. Recently some people also lost land to the road upgrading. They were also compensated although they complain that it was not commensurate to their loss.

Land laws

Nothing was mentioned on land laws, except that all farmers had land certificates given four years ago after land measurement and registration.

Access to land

Access to land has become more difficult. Traditionally land was passed from parents to their sons

when they married but population growth has led to an increased fragmentation of land. This has resulted in parents being unable/ unwilling to split their land further and pass it on to their sons (or daughters who now legally have the right to inheritance). As a result access to land has become very difficult for young people and the landless. In some families parents give some land to male children, but most of the young people who got land from their parents do not have a certificate. The only way they can access land is to sharecrop or rent land.

Communal grazing land has also reduced as parts have been given to farmers to compensate for land lost to new public buildings.

Land re-distribution

Land has not officially been redistributed to people since the time of the Derg (1974-1991). However, those who have been displaced from their farms due to the construction of public buildings have been given replacement land by the kebele. Recently two hectares of land from the Ebicho zone's communal grazing land was given to the China Road Construction Company for them to build a store house and residence for staff.

There is a plan in the future (next 10 years) to incorporate the Ebicho communal grazing land into the town of Tibe. This will be a serious loss for those who breed livestock in that zone.

Land registration

All the farmers in the community have land certificate to show that their land is registered. The certificates were given out 4 years ago, after land measurement and registration completed in that same year. Land is now registered in the name of the man and his wife.

After that parents have continued to share some of their lands with their children, and the kebele administration has given some communal land to those people who lost farmland for public buildings such as school, kebele buildings, FTC, health post etc. Most of the young people who received land from their parents do not have land certificate.

Share-cropping, renting and contracting/buying land

In November 2013 the kebele manager explained that 75% of farmland in the kebele is farmed by the owner; 25% is sharecropped and 5% is rented. There were around 30 external sharecroppers/renters. There were also 25 absentee landowners living in Tibe, Bako, Ambo, Addis Ababa and Saudi Arabia, who sharecropped or rented out their land and collected their due by visiting or calling on phone.

In the past it was possible to rent land for up to 12 years. However this has recently been changed and reduced to a maximum of three years. Informally people sign contracts to rent land for up to 15 years but legally this is not allowed. Land rental is very common in the kebele. Generally speaking short term rental of land is more common than long term. Occasionally people rent land for grazing but usually it is for smallholder farming. One land owner said that he rented his land for 1,500 birr per hectare. Written agreements are signed for both renting and sharecropping and officially one copy must be given to the kebele administrator. It is not very clear which, of sharecropping or renting, is more common. Some people said that renting is more common, but the statistics given by the kebele manager suggest the other way round.

When land is sharecropped both the land owner and the sharecropper benefit from the crop that is grown (usually sharing 50:50). The land owner contributes money for inputs (fertiliser and improved seeds) whilst the sharecropper provides the labour and the oxen to plough the land. Some respondents think that people usually prefer renting out as this solves their immediate cash needs; but that wereda officials discourage renting and favours sharecropping, so that both households get some food.

Over the last six months some small renters have started to come to the community (from Addis Ababa and Tibe town) to rent irrigated land and produce vegetables. These private land renters employ migrant farm labourers to work on their irrigated farms. It is believed that migrant labourers have good skills and experience in planting and caring for irrigated vegetables. They are considered to be hard workers and to have the necessary skills and experience to improve the production of vegetables particularly tomatoes.

Agricultural labour

Family labour continues to be the predominant form of agricultural labour in the kebele. Traditional labour sharing systems are still used although not as much as previously. Debo has declined due to the large feasts associated with it and instead Wonfel (equal sharing of labour) is used. Paid labour has become increasingly common for a number of reasons. Notably, education for all has meant that children are not as readily available to provide agricultural labour; the expansion of irrigation demands increased amounts of labour as they harvest twice a year; and finally there are now increasing numbers of farmers who want to spend time on their own land rather than being involved in labour sharing systems.

In the past paid labour was rare in the community and those who were involved in it were given low status. But now, paid labour is common and has become a source of income for the poor particularly for children and women. For some women it has become a way for them to start to declare their economic independence by earning an income. The labourers get paid a maximum of 12 birr per day. Work on the irrigation farms seems to be paid better at 15 birr per day. At the seedling farm on the River Sama one can earn 200 birr per month (poor farmer).

Over the last year, some immigrant Amhara workers have started to come into the community to work on irrigated farms. They pitch small tents on the edge of the tomato or onion farm for which they work, and work as sharecroppers. This new trend is thought to be likely to continue as the people understand that the migrant workers know a lot about irrigation farming and are more efficient than local labourers. There are also other seasonal labourers who come from Gonder, Wollo and Gojjam.

Communal cattle herding is still very important in the community. The cattle are all herded together on the communal grazing land and people take turns to look after them. Some argue that now that the children are at school in the day communal herding helps reduce labour shortage at household level. Each household takes a turn every 15 days.

Sharecropping is a common practice in the community. The rich farmers who may have extra land share-crop out with poor farmers. After the harvest instead of paying rent for the land the sharecropper shares the crop equally with the landowner.

The 1-5 cells are also used for labour sharing. Members are expected to help others in their group with labour especially those who are sick or weak. Some felt that the 1-5 helped with the Wonfel labour sharing; others felt that it was destroying traditional labour systems.

Interlinkages

People in the community share oxen and inputs, often paying one another back once the harvest had been taken in. Increasingly there were informal money lenders in the community who would provide credit (with interest) to enable farmers to buy the necessary inputs in order to plant. These debts would be paid back after the harvest.

Crops grown

Crop mix

The main crop produced, consumed at home and sold is maize. Teff and red pepper are the next most important crops and these are cash crops. Sorghum and nug production is also important. In

the Boto zone which is a highland area people also produce wheat, barley, and beans. In the Alemgena and Ebicho zone maize is the main crop grown.

A growing number of vegetables and fruits are produced on irrigated land (including tomatoes, pepper, bananas, avocados and onions). People are increasingly consuming these vegetables at home but the majority of the crops are sold (one respondent said more than 90% of the irrigated production is sold).

Changes in crop mix

Maize continues to be the dominant crop grown in the kebele but since 2008 people have started using improved seeds. There are now several types of improved maize seed used in the kebele, based upon the soil type and the length of the rainy season. The three most used ones are called 660, 540 and 543. In the most recent season it seems that 660 and 540 showed reduced yields in some places; the 540 dried and burned in some areas. The 543 and another variety called Agar Shone were in very good conditions.

The major change in crop mix has been the introduction and spread of irrigation which has enabled cultivating a range of fruit and vegetables. These are cash crops and are sold as well as consumed locally. Tomatoes, potatoes, sugar cane, cabbages and green pepper are among the most important vegetable crops produced based on irrigation. Some new fruits have also been recently introduced to the area, such as sugar cane, banana, lemon, komtate (sour lime), papaya and oranges.

The amount of potatoes produced in the area has increased in the last five years. This is mainly due to the expansion of irrigation. Potatoes are mainly produced in the Boto Zone. Much of the production is eaten at home. What is not consumed is sold on the market or to petty traders.

There are two widespread crop diseases which have affected the crop mix grown. Both are known locally as "cholera" even though they are not the same disease. One affects the red pepper plants and significantly reduces their yield. Whilst red pepper used to be a major cash crop in the area many have now stopped growing it as there is nothing which seems to cure the disease. In November 2013 people reported that farmers who had planted red pepper in June lost them to the pests; they replanted with teff in July. Some farmers have started to plant pepper in May and sell it in spring when it is green. They made a good income out of it, especially compared to selling dried red pepper (much later in the year) which used to be what they did.

There is also a "cholera" disease affecting mango trees which used to be plentiful in the area and a popular cash crop. All trees have been affected and the disease ruins the fruit, with so far no available cure for it. In November 2013 respondents explained that the good rains seemed to have washed the pests from the mango trees though the leaves had not recovered and they feared that the pests might reappear during the dry season.

The production of sorghum has also been declining as it is damaged by flocks of birds. It is very hard to protect the crop against these birds and as a result farmers have stopped producing sorghum. The production of nug is also in decline as people are starting to give all of their land over to other crops which provide better yields. Levels of production of nug (niger seed) are low.

In relation to the crop diseases, the wereda has taken soil samples and seeds in order to try and find solutions but none has been found so far. The Bako research centre also has not found any solution and the farmers are unclear about what is being done to solve the problems they face. The Bako research centre is now administered by the federal government and this has reduced local links with the kebele. As a result what the centre produces does not always match local demand. For example this year there was Kuleni and Limmu seeds of maize but they were not distributed to all because there was not enough.

In November 2013 respondents noted that some farmers had started to intercrop haricot beans etc. with maize, which is good to improve the nitrogen content of the soil and may have an influence on the crop mix if they are copied.

Eucalyptus is also a popular cash crop. The wereda and DAs do not encourage planting it and tell farmers that it has negative effects on the soil nutrient content but, the demand is very high, the price is very good, so those with a large number of trees can make a really good income – e.g. in October 2013 one farmer sold for 47,000 birr worth of eucalyptus. In addition the tree is good as it regenerates. Some farmers and the schools have started to prepare seedlings on their irrigated land, to sell to others. This practice considerable expanded in the last rainy season, with farmers growing seedlings of gravillea, mimi, eucalyptus and jacaranda in a modern way (putting the seed in a plastic bag and watering it in their garden).

A number of farmers have also started planting good quality sugarcane on a large scale and get a good income.

Some farmers have started producing improved cabbage. This is a good investment too as one gets a good production on a small plot of land and it grows quite rapidly, so it brings a good income in a short period of time.

Inputs

The majority of farmers now use improved seeds (for maize) and fertiliser. Everyone interviewed bought these from the Service Cooperative. In some cases improved seeds were bought from private shops in towns. Due to the differences in altitude and terrain, people use different kinds of improved seeds according to the soil and weather conditions. For example, the maize species called 660 is used for the highland areas. The other species include 540, 543 and Agar and Shone which are more suitable in the lowland areas where the temperature is hot and the rain stops early.

Improved vegetable seeds were more difficult to obtain and were bought from the wereda agricultural office or private providers. The wereda agricultural office also provided improved seeds for coffee. Coffee is grown in manure instead of fertiliser as it is grown on a small scale and in the family compound where the animals are kept; this is a free input.

In November 2013 DAs had started distributed seeds of soya beans and haricot beans which were planted on the FTC land and some private farmers' land. The production technique with two fertilisers was very successful. The seeds apparently came from the Bako Agricultural Research Centre (ARC). There was a deal with the farmers in that the centre promised to compensate them if they faced a loss. Also this year, some model farmers in all three zones started to plant improved teff (kuncho) and the production seems very good. It was not said where the seeds came from.

The service cooperative provides the following inputs: improved maize seed types 660, 540, 543, and Agare Shone, provided in May for the planting season; fertilisers (DAP, UREA) provided throughout the year for irrigation and rain-fed farming; and finally the chemical pesticides called Roundup, used for burning and drying grass and weeds and Pre-Magram which is used for maize to soften the soil and to kill the weeds. Roundup is used before the crops are sown, and Pre-Magram is sprayed on the ground on the third day after the maize is sown.

The farmers complained that it was becoming more and more important to use fertiliser due to the decline in quality of the soil but that the cost of fertiliser and seeds was rising. As a result some farmers had to reduce the amount of fertiliser they used from one quintal of fertiliser per hectare to one quintal for two hectares. The middle farmer explained that the price of one quintal of fertiliser was now 1,600 birr and 12.5 kg improved maize seeds was 300 birr that is, 2,400 birr to plant one ha. Some of the maize produced could not be sold as it was consumed by the household and so, a number of farmers were struggling to repay their debts for inputs. Farmers acknowledged that the price for which they could sell maize had increased but this was not considered to have kept pace

with the rate of inflation of inputs. The successful businessman said that the input price had more than doubled in the last five years. Credit for inputs is available from the wereda savings & credit association, and a large number of farmers are said to take loans.

Story of most important cash crop - Maize

Maize production

Most of the farmland in the community is allocated to the production of maize each year. The crop is popular because it fetches a good price on the market and also because it is a staple food locally. The area of land planted with maize has increased over the last ten years.

There are however, a number of problems with maize production. Firstly maize has been affected by termites which eat the root of the crop and then when the plant falls down, they eat the stalk, leaves and seeds. Secondly the maize crop can be negatively affected by late or early rains. In the last five years the rain has come very late and stopped very early and this has negatively impacted upon maize crop. It was particularly problematic in 2012 when yields dropped by a quarter due to the irregularity of the rains. Thirdly farmers complain that the soil fertility is declining and that this also contributes to a drop in yields. As a result farmers are using more and more fertiliser to compensate for the decline in the fertility of the soil.

The harvest in 2013 was expected to be in big contrast with the previous one, as the rains had been very good. According to the DAs model farmers were expected to get 70 quintals/ha this year, against maximum 40 last year.

In terms of labour for the production of maize most farmers use family labour and sometimes Wonfel and Debo. The use of paid daily labour started very recently. The land is ploughed for maize with an ox drawn plough. Maize is sown in line and needs to be weeded three times. Harvesting in most cases takes place by hand as does threshing. Although one model farmer has bought a maize threshing machine which he rents out (at 4.50 birr per minute) to those who can afford it.

The DAs have played an important role in the improvement of the production of this crop through the advice and training they provided. However, the farmers have noticed more recently that this support has declined. The DAs live in the town and their visits to the community have decreased. Whilst they used to come every week now they do not. The farmers have complained about this in Wereda meetings but no action has been taken by the Wereda Agriculture Office and the DAs have tried to retaliate against those who complained.

Maize inputs

Over the last 10 years farmers have started to use improved maize seeds of different varieties (maize 660, 540, and 543 are the common ones). Maize 660 and 540 have high yields, but in November 2013 there were reports of declining yields in some places; the 540 maize dried and burned in some places. In contrast the 543 and Agar Shone were in good conditions. For the last season ATA introduced two new seed varieties with for farmers and they had a very good production.

The DAs reported the problem of burned maize to the Bako ARC which diagnosed that the soil had become acidic and needed lime, which was not available. Also, the lack of rotation aggravates the deterioration of the soil. So, DAs have started training the farmers in using the land in rotation with legumes. Some farmers have started intercropping with beans and this should also help in terms of soil quality.

Farmers also use fertilisers (DAP and UREA) for maize and as mentioned above some farmers say that they have to increase the amount of fertiliser they use to compensate for the lower fertility of the soil. Recently DAs have started advising using compost and manure instead of fertiliser, on the soil which was said to have become too acidic and some farmers have accepted.

The prices of fertiliser and improved seeds have increased and continue to do so. Farmers (except the rich) tend to use credit from the Wereda saving and credit association to buy these inputs. In November 2013 people reported that loans for inputs had been provided to a large number of farmers.

Most improved seeds and fertiliser are bought from the service cooperative, but there are issues of shortages at times. There is a plan to establish an SC at the kebele level. It is also possible to find improved seeds on the market but the DAs advise farmers not to buy from them because it is difficult to ascertain that what they sell are really improved seeds; at times they sell expired or spoiled seeds so farmers had to use local seeds; and the seeds may be mixed up – e.g. many farmers who bought 540 maize which is good for lowlands found that it was 600 which is good for highlands, and vice-versa. Also the seeds were full of waste – e.g. 6 kg out of 12.5 kg was waste (broken maize). This is because these private sellers focus on their profit and do not think that they have a responsibility of providing quality seeds to the farmers, according to the DAs.

Maize sale

About 50% of the maize produced in the kebele is consumed at home while the remaining half is sold to traders, service cooperatives and on the market. The local traders buy the crop from the farmers and send it to Addis Ababa for selling to big traders. The price is fixed through the brokers or by telephone directly with the big traders.

The introduction of improved breeds of maize and the resultant higher yields has created important changes in the livelihood of the people as people had a larger surplus to sell. With the profits from maize people in the community have improved their houses and some have sent children to the Middle East.

Story of second main cash crop - Tomatoes

Tomato production

Tomatoes are the main cash crop produced on the irrigated land; they were introduced five years ago. Farmers produce two crops of tomatoes each year. As a result it is fairly labour intensive. Most farmers use family labour but the rich farmers use paid daily labourers. They are generally from the local area, although one farmer recently employed immigrant labourers who camped near the farm and protected the crops from thieves and wild animals throughout the growing season.

There are a number of pests which affect this crop and so it is very important to apply pesticides in time so as not to allow pests to spoil the crop.

In November 2013 the kebele manager reported a bit change. Some of the irrigation farmers started producing tomatoes (and onions) on their irrigated land, using rainwater as well. In this way they planted tomatoes in new places and there is also a hope that they might harvest three times in a year rather than two. The production of tomato had also been good compared to last year.

Tomato inputs

Farmers use improved seeds which they are forced to purchase from private traders in Addis Ababa as tomato seed is not provided by the DAs, the service cooperative or the Wereda agricultural office. Fertiliser and pesticide are also important inputs but there is no credit service for this crop. As a result farmers are forced to use their own money to buy the seeds, the fertiliser, the pesticides, weed-killers and to pay for any labour required. For instance this last year there were problems with pests and the pesticides needed were very expensive. They are found in shops in Bako and Tibe.

Moreover, as there is a shortage of fertiliser the cooperative does not give priority to the irrigation farmers; they take excuse like saying that the SC is under inventory. When this is the case rich farmers can buy it in big towns like Ambo but many others are forced to wait to get some fertiliser from the SC.

Water is a critical input. As said above some farmers are now trying to use the rains as well as the water from irrigation. There is a critical shortage of water during the dry season, especially March to May, which leads to conflicts.

In most cases the farmers felt that they got good support from the DAs and the farm experts although there was consensus that this support had declined after the death of the late Prime Minister. The Wereda agricultural office was also considered not to be working properly. In November 2013 this was perhaps going to change: the wereda had established a new irrigation office and was taking some other actions which seemed to be a start in acting on their oft-expressed intention to extend irrigation. See more on irrigation below.

Tomato sale

The main problem with tomatoes was said to be the fluctuations in price. When the price drops farmers face huge losses. This year for example the price was not good particularly in the first half of the year. As one farmer explained, the fluctuations in output prices prevent them from making any stable plans. In November 2013 people reported that the price in September and October was 2 birr/ kg compared to 25 birr in the rainy season. This highly discourages the farmers. The reason may be because tomatoes are produced in bulk all at the same time, but this is a major issue.

The crop is sold mainly to traders from Addis Ababa with the price fixed through brokers. The buyers come to the farm to buy the crops. Smaller farmers sell to petty traders in Tibe town. The majority of the tomatoes produced are sold although a small amount is consumed at home. Some of the farmers rotate tomatoes and grain on the same land within a year.

Story of third main cash crop - Coffee

Coffee production

Coffee is produced on small plots of land by a small number of farmers. Coffee production was started some 10 years ago, and it has become one of the main cash crops in the community. The amount of land given to coffee has continued to increase. Seedlings are produced in the irrigation farm and then transplanted to other places usually in the garden or within the household's compound. This enables the family to protect the crop from animals and thieves. Family labour is used for coffee production.

Coffee inputs

Farmers use improved seeds which can be bought from the Wereda agricultural office. They tend to use manure rather than fertiliser which is easily accessible as it is made in the compound where the animals are kept. Farmers use pesticide to protect the coffee plants but this does not seem to work against 'cholera'. The Wadessa tree can also destroy coffee plants if it grows near them. The Wereda office is encouraging the farmers to expand the production of coffee due to its importance both on the national and international market.

Coffee sale

The coffee produced in Oda Haro is mainly sold and consumed at home because people love drinking coffee and so sell only the surplus. Only a few farmers sell coffee in Tibe market.

Irrigation

Ten years ago there was only one model farmer doing irrigated farming. Over the last five years the irrigation scheme in the kebele has expanded significantly and has become increasingly important to the local economy. The number of farmers involved is thought to be 180 (in November 2013), of which 120 are involved in bigger irrigation activities using river water and another 40 are engaged in garden irrigation. Most of the irrigation is along the River Sama which is the largest river and crosses Ebicho and Boto zones. However, some farmers produce irrigated vegetables, coffee and sugar cane on smaller streams particularly in Boto and Almegana zones. In Almegana zone most irrigation is on

the River Facha'a. The total land covered by the irrigation in the kebele is about 70 hectares but individual plots vary in size, the smallest being $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare.

More intensive irrigation activity first started in 2005/6 when the river was diverted through traditional techniques. Recently some farmers have started to buy irrigation pumps which help them to expand their irrigated land and also to reduce the impact of water shortage when the water level in the traditional canal network is too low to reach them. The owners of the pumps also rent them to other farmers. They were said to be 7 in April and 12 in November 2013, as the interest for irrigation continued to grow. Pumps are becoming essential as the water levels in the rivers are dropping due to the increase in demand from the expanding irrigation scheme. In the last summer the canals filled with flooded water and the farmers had to dig to remove the soil. They helped each other through the cooperatives (see below).

Farmers are growing two crops per year on the irrigated land and are producing a variety of fruit and vegetables (tomatoes, potatoes, onions, sugar cane, banana, mango, orange, papayas and green pepper). As noted earlier, there are farmers who started mixing irrigation and rainfed production and plant tomatoes in new places. The DAs also hope that they might produce three times a year. This technique was also used by an investor from outside who had experience with irrigation. An expanding number of farmers engaged in irrigation are producing tree seedlings for sale.

The irrigated land is ploughed using ox-drawn ploughs. Most farmers use family labour. However the richer farmers use daily labourers. The majority of daily labour is provided by local people, but some of the model farmers have recently started to use migrant daily labourers who come from northern Ethiopia (Wollo and Gonder) and camp on the irrigation farms they work for.

DAs are responsible for giving technical support, educating and advising farmers on how to make the channels and how much seeds and fertilisers to use for each type of vegetable. They have been very supportive of the irrigation scheme and have pushed for its expansion; they have provided training on how irrigation works and how to protect the crops from pests. However there is no provision of the necessary inputs through government so the farmers have to buy pesticides from private providers, which are costly. The DAs have also written support letters to the service cooperative to allow the farmers to get access to fertiliser for irrigated farming. But the problem of the increased price of inputs impacts those farming irrigated land as much as it does those farming rain-fed land.

The kebele administration is responsible to form irrigation cooperatives that should be managing conflicts about water between members etc. In April 2013 there were eight such cooperatives in the community; 4 in Ebicho zone and 4 in Boto zone. Sijo was the first irrigation cooperative to be established in Oda Haro with support from the DAs, about ten years ago. When it started, it had 11 members and now it has 28 members. A second cooperative was established in 2012; it focused on the Walale River which is a tributary of the River Sama and it now has 20 members. The irrigation cooperatives help to regulate the use of water according to a programme so everyone gets a turn. But members of the cooperatives sell their produce separately.

In November 2013 the wereda seemed decided to give a push on irrigation. They had established a new irrigation office just three months before, to coordinate and lead irrigation activities in the different kebele. Its objective is to facilitate access to pumps, seeds, pesticides, and market outlets. But there was no mention of implementing the plan outlined several years ago, of installing a big pump on the Sama river to expand irrigation further.

Most of the fruit and vegetables produced on the irrigated land are sold on the local market. Tomatoes and sugar cane can be sold to larger traders who come from the cities. Some smaller traders also come to the farm to buy the vegetables.

Irrigation has significantly improved the income of those households who have access to it. It has also increased opportunities of paid agricultural labour particularly for women and children.

Women have also become increasingly involved in the trade of vegetables, which enables them to generate their own income.

There are also a number of problems that have arisen. Firstly those who have large plots use a huge amount of water and it takes them a long time to water their vegetables. This has a negative impact on those with smaller plots and can cause conflict especially when water levels are low. Secondly there are no seeds for vegetables or fruits available locally so the farmers have to buy seeds from a private supplier in Addis Ababa. Finally the success of those with irrigated land has resulted in complaints from the farmers with no access; some feel that the government should have equally distributed the irrigation land to all farmers in the community. There is little scope to expand the irrigated land any further due to the shortage of water already created by the increased demand. It is not clear whether the plan of a big pump on the river would address this issue.

For tomatoes that are the main cash crop planted on irrigated land as said earlier one major issue is the huge fluctuation in price, e.g. from 25 birr/kg to 2 birr/kg depending on the season, which makes it very difficult to plan ahead.

Other farming technologies

The farming in the area is very much dependent on traditional technologies. Ploughing is still done with oxen, and planting, weeding and harvesting is done by hand. A BBM plough was distributed to four model farmers last year but they found it hard to use due to its weight. One of the rich farmers owns a maize thresher which he rents out (4.50 birr per minute) for those who can afford it.

Improved seeds for maize (BH660, 540, 240, Agar Shone, Pawuner) have been available in the community for the last ten years and are now used by everyone. Improved teff seed (Quncho) was introduced in the community last year. However farmers complain that there are sometimes problems with untimely supply and that the cost has gone up each year. Two sorts of pesticide are available from the service cooperative (2 FORD and LASO) but they are reported as inadequate to cope with the different kinds of weeds and pests in the community. They have also affected bee colonies which have declined. Fertiliser has been available in the community for the last 20 years; DAP and Urea are available through the service cooperative. However, the cost of fertiliser is high and some farmers are struggling to apply enough to their land.

Farmers are being advised to sow in line. This is done for all the maize, which needs to be weeded three times. For the teff (for which the land needs to be ploughed 6 or 7 times), some farmers have started using improved seeds (kuncho) and sowing in line. For the last season, 22 ha were sown in line. People expected a yield of 18 quintal/ha for the improved seeds against 13 for the local seeds. One of the farmers who planted in line said that he also expected a higher yield from the line-planting technique compared to the scattering one. He said that with both, he expected 9 quintal from a timad (0.25 ha) instead of 3 with local seeds and scattering.

There are no grain mills locally but there are about 15 mills in Tibe town - three of which are owned by two farmers from Oda Haro. Currently the population travel to Tibe to grind their grain.

Livestock

Livestock mix

There are about 6,030 cattle, 300 sheep, 400 goats, 200 beehives and 3,000 chickens in the community according to the farmers. The DAs provided somewhat different numbers: Oxen = 1,640, Cows = 3,940, Bulls = 1,990, Heifers = 2,055, Hybrid cows = 2, Hybrid heifers = 3, Hybrid bulls = 2, Sheep = 191, Goats = 63, Donkeys = 158, Horses = 0, Mules = 67, chickens = 3,700.

The majority of those interviewed had fewer livestock than they had in the past. This was partly due to shortage of grazing land but also as people are being encouraged to have fewer livestock but to

look after them and improve them. There are very few hybrid cattle in the community and shoats are less popular than cattle.

In November 2013 there was said to be an expanding number of people engaged in fattening oxen and also fattening shoats had been increasing. But only one person had hybrid cows and another had a hybrid bull.

Cattle and products

Cattle production

The DAs have been encouraging farmers to move away from traditional cattle rearing systems by providing advice and training on modern cattle production and fattening. They are encouraging farmers to reduce the numbers of cattle they own and focus on the quality and fattening the cattle. Some farmers are reluctant to try this due to lack of fodder and the need to continue to use oxen for ploughing which uses a lot of energy and therefore makes it difficult to fatten them. Some also cited lack of follow up from the kebele as being a reason for not following the DAs advice.

The main problems encountered in cattle rearing is the shortage of grazing land and area to keep cattle safely, the lack of fodder and of regular, local veterinary service. There is also a shortage of labour for cattle rearing. In the past much of the herding, watering and clearing dung was done by boys. But as they are now in school or studying this role has been assumed by the wives.

There are a number of cattle diseases which affect the animals in the kebele, including Dingatagna (which is acute and kills cattle fast), Aba Gorba, Gandi, eye disease and stomach disease. In order to treat these medicines must be obtained from the vet in Tibe town. Vaccination against the Gandi disease can also be obtained at the vet centre and costs 100 birr for three heads. There is annual vaccination of livestock by the vet workers in the kebele. This has helped reducing the prevalence of disease amongst cattle in the kebele.

However recently, with the lengthening of the dry season and the low water level in the rivers and streams, there are more of these small parasites called ulanula (ilkit in Amharic), living in the river, and which enter the cattle whilst they are drinking. This parasite sucks the blood of the animals moving up from the throat into the brain and eventually killing them. There is no medication available for it so farmers use traditional ways to protect the cattle checking their cattle whilst they drink and removing the parasites with their nails.

Cattle inputs

The main source of fodder for cattle is grass. There are large communal grazing areas in each of the three zones, and cattle are kept on this land in turn, usually every 15 days. People also have private grazing land. The supply of grass is inadequate, especially in the summer season, and has to be supplemented. Elephant grass is found along the Sama River and used during the dry season when there is shortage of other fodder. Some farmers use crop and drink-making residues as a source of fodder. The kebele administration sells grass from communal land in Alemgena and Boto zone in the dry season; schools also sell grass; and private farmers sell grass, hay and crop residues to others with large herds. The FTC is experimenting with new fodder.

Cattle are being affected by the change in climate. As the rains have become more erratic the grass in the grazing land is not growing as much as before resulting in a shortage of fodder. In some villages cattle are also affected by the shortage of water.

There is limited vaccination service in the kebele and it does not cover the whole kebele. For any other problems the farmers have to take their cattle to Tibe town for the vet. Some use a fattening tablet called dotoma, which works over a period of three months. These tablets can be bought from government and private drug shops in Tibe. Farmers also buy molasses to help fatten their cattle.

There are very few improved breed cows in the kebele as the supply of new breed cattle, in the kebele and the whole Wereda, is very low - despite high demand. Whilst previously natural mating was the only system available for inseminating cows this can now be done by artificial insemination through an injection. The farmers are keen for this service to be expanded as they think it could improve milk production. But there are problems in rearing improved breed cattle as they require regular vaccination and a good supply of fodder.

Cattle and cattle products sale

There are markets for non-fattened cattle in Jaji and Sheboka but there is no specific local market to sell fattened cattle. The price for cattle is not fixed, and fluctuates seasonally. It increases from March to May and decreases from August to September. Currently (in April 2013) it is between 3,000 and 6,000 birr. This is a significant increase as cattle used to cost 1,500 to 1,600 birr. With the current high prices farmers cannot afford to buy cattle. Cattle prices have risen significantly since 2008. It is estimated that about 300 cattle are sold by the community each year.

Farmers buy an ox for about 3,000 birr and following three months of fattening they would expect to sell it for 6,000 birr. In November 2013 people said that an increasing number of farmers had taken up fattening.

Some hides are sold in the community but as they become available rather than as a trade item. Milk production is low and as a result most milk produced is kept for household consumption. Butter is sold. In April 2013 it sold for 160 birr/kg but in November the price was down to 90 birr/kg. It is fluctuating with the season and availability.

Changes

Compared to ten years ago there are far fewer cattle found in the community. This is due to the shortage of grazing land and persistent cattle diseases. But fattening seems to be on the increase.

Shoats and products

Shoat production

Both the quantity and quality of shoats is better than it was ten years ago. There are about 400 goats in the community and 300 sheep. Goats are an important source of income but cause problems as they damage trees and coffee plants. They used to consume a plant called Areniguama; but it seems to have almost disappeared from the area. The community use boiled fava beans, barley, salt and maize to fatten goats but despite this it is difficult to prevent them from eating leaves. As a result they need looking after in order to protect the environment. The main fodder used for sheep is grass, fagulo, furushka and crop residuals.

Shoat inputs

The fattening of shoats is becoming common in the community. Farmers can pay for an injection to help fatten shoats. The DAs advise that shoats should be vaccinated every three months but some farmers only take them every 6 months as there is no vaccination service in the kebele and they have to be taken to Tibe town. There is no credit and saving service to motivate the community to get involved in shoat fattening and production. It is also not really encouraged by the DAs or the Wereda agricultural office.

Shoat sale

Tibe and Sheboka are the main markets for shoats but there is no market place specifically for fattened shoats. There is no fixed price. The price fluctuates in line with the holiday season; it is high especially at Easter. The price for goat is estimated to be 1,300 to 1,500 birr, and DAs estimated that around 300 goats were sold by the community over the last year.

Chickens and eggs

Chicken production

Chicken production has been undertaken in the community since a long time. However, there is a disease known locally as 'fengil' which affects chicken production every year. There is no cure for it, and it kills large number of chickens each year, as it quickly transmits amongst them. Farmers complain that although they have sought advice from the DAs no cure has been found. As a result farmers are not interested in engaging fully in chicken production.

More than nine years ago improved chickens and chicken cages were distributed to 10 model farmers in the kebele. This breed was very good for egg production. However due to a shortage of improved chickens from the Wereda, this project did not go any further. Most households have a few chickens. No special foods or inputs are provided to the chickens. Chickens and their eggs are sold on a small scale by women or children.

Chicken inputs

There are about 50 high breed chickens in the kebele which were bought from the wereda Agricultural Office for 100 birr each. Those who bought them have received training and advice on how to feed and care for them. The lack of vaccination and drugs discourages the community from being involved in poultry rearing activities.

Chicken sale

Women sell chickens occasionally and sell the eggs in Tibe town. The number of eggs sold on the market has been declining because of the large numbers of chickens that have been affected by the 'fungil' disease.

Bees and honey

Bee production

Pesticides and weed killers seem to be causing serious problems to the honey bee population, killing them and forcing the colonies to leave their hive. One respondent said that the honey bees from six of his beehives died last year. It is not easy to find protection strategies or ways of diminishing the effect, but in November 2013 some respondents explained that the problem had reduced as DAs had advised not to use chemicals after the plants started to flower. People were also advised to give bees food at home.

Bee production has also been impacted by the decline in the variety of wild flowers linked to the change in climate and deforestation. The Wereda administrator felt that the solution was that people needed to use the new breed of bees which were resistant. He complained that the farmers were unwilling to try the new breed. In Oda Haro most people also use traditional hives as they cannot afford the modern ones (costing 1,000 birr).

Bee inputs

Traditionally, farmers smoke the hives with olive, wanza and Beso Bila to attract the bees into the nest. Until the bee colony enters into the hive it is placed on a tree in the compound. Once the colony has entered the hive it is placed inside the farmer's house to protect it from termite attack. Farmers have received training and advice to improve the traditional honey production. Following the training, five farmers received modern hives but no one used them because they could not get the bees to enter the modern hives. Most farmers continue to use traditional beehives as just said.

Farmers felt that a solution was needed to reduce the problem with termites attacking the hive and the impact of pesticides on the bees.

Honey sale

Although the production is mainly traditional some farmers do very well with honey. The school director said that some of them produce and sell large quantities and get a good income that they can re-invest in cattle fattening, farming and educating their children in private schools and colleges. One respondent knew a farmer who had recently extracted honey from 30 hives and sold it for 60,000 birr.

Income from farming

Farming is the predominant source of income for most households in the community. Women were often not clear on the exact income earned by the household as it was managed by their husbands. Wealthy households tended to have diverse sources of income.

The poor female headed household grew maize by sharecropping and produced 11 quintal; she saved 7 quintal for household consumption and sold the rest for 1,600 birr. Of this she would use 1,200 birr to buy fertiliser and the remaining 400 birr for household consumption. The successful businessman grew maize and red pepper and sold to big traders in Tibe; in this way he earned 2,000 birr last year. The successful female headed household produced maize and teff and sold both in Tibe. She sold 20 quintal of maize for 6,000 birr. The money would be used to buy fertiliser and seedlings - the price of which she said had increased.

One issue which influences directly farmers' income from farming is their access to markets. As seen above marketing of highly perishable products such as tomatoes is a major problem. The DAs explained that this affects the poorer farmers more, as they do not have the capacity of searching the market and using brokers to access traders. For those who do use brokers, they lose out as brokers take their margin, whereas the richer farmers are able to directly sell to traders in Addis Ababa. They insisted that in order to motivate farmers and encourage them to expand their activities, it was critical to find ways of connecting the community with good market outlets.

Government smallholder farming interventions

The role of the wereda agricultural office

The wereda agricultural office's role is to support the extension workers in each kebele providing advice and where necessary inputs to the DAs and to the farmers. Three years ago, the wereda agricultural office organised a big training for all farmers in the community. It lasted for two weeks and was credited with encouraging people to get actively involved in farming and development activities (through public works). The course was considered to have motivated many to actively seek to improve their own agricultural activities and production. It has therefore resulted in a shift in the economy and a change in people's attitudes.

Some of the farmers complained that the wereda agricultural office was not providing the support it had in the past, and this change was considered to have taken place since the death of the last Prime Minister. They felt that the office should be holding the DAs to account about their work in the kebele. There were also complaints about the lack of timely provision of farming inputs and of new technologies such as hybrid animals.

Local agricultural research institutes

There is an agricultural research institute in the wereda town Bako. Some farmers talked about receiving tree seedlings from there to plant on their land; there was also a mention of fodder like elephant grass and vetiver which grew well). In November 2013 it was reported that the ARC was also experimenting with haricot and soya beans, on the FTC land and some farmers' land.

But there was a sense that the centre did not provide sufficient training to the farmers. Also, it failed to find cures or solutions for some of the crop and animal diseases which were spreading in the community, like the red pepper and mango cholera. More recently the DAs had reported to it the

fact that some maize was being burned. The ARC diagnosed that the soil needed lime but this was not available. Some people believe that the weaknesses of the ARC arise because it is managed by the federal government, which does not facilitate good contact with the kebele.

Recently (between the two fieldworks) some agro-forestry research activity was also initiated by the Melkasa ARC. The DAs were trained in Adama for 5 days, after which they selected 30 farmers and trained them for 2 hours to convince them. Each farmer was given three mango, avocado, grevillea, and moringa/shiferaw trees, and taught how to plant them 20 meters apart and grow crops in-between. There was no more information on the specific objective of the research.

Agricultural extension

There are three agricultural extension workers (DAs) in the kebele; each one is assigned to follow up the agricultural activities in one of the three zones. One is trained in plant science, the other in animal science and the third in environmental protection, but all three are responsible for a wide portfolio in their respective zone, including farming (both rain fed and irrigation), public works, animal husbandry and environmental protection (including afforestation, soil conservation, forest protection). They are also supposed to act as a communication channel between the farmers and the wereda agricultural office; passing requests from the farmers concerning the type of chemical fertilisers and improved seeds they need and also providing advice and access to inputs such as improved livestock breeds.

The DAs are also responsible for reporting any illegal deforestation that takes place in the kebele to the Social Court. They were not considered to be very effective in preventing deforestation as they lacked sufficient time. They are also supposed to liaise with the health extension workers and the kebele leaders so that they can integrate and back up messages being passed by others in the kebele.

The DAs have definitely made a major contribution in the community. Due to the training and advice they have provided in conjunction with the training received at Wereda level farmers had felt confident enough to start changing their farming practice. Farmers had started rotating their crops and planting them in lines and the majority of farmers now use fertiliser and improved seeds. Following the DAs' advice some farmers started storing their crops which allows them to sell them later for higher prices. Training on environmental protection has led to the planting of new trees, the production of seedlings and terracing (generally done through public works).

Most of the training provided by the DAs is held at the Farmers' Training Centre (FTC) or on the farms. People are informed and mobilised for training by the 1-5 structures and through the iddirs. The DA's work closely with the model farmers by getting them to try and demonstrate new techniques to the rest of the community; others are inspired to try new things. The DAs have started last year to organise a farmers' festival at which community members and wereda officials discuss agricultural changes and problems.

However, many farmers felt that the DAs could do more. As they were not based in the community but lived in the town their visits to the kebele were not frequent enough; they were only coming some days each week and they were often in a rush to return to the town. The farmers have complained about the DAs' lack of support in large meetings organised by the wereda but feel that no action has been taken and in fact the DAs' have retaliated against those who complained about them and are even more reluctant to do their work well.

Some specific examples were given by the farmers of things which the DAs had introduced but due to lack of follow-up had not been taken up in the community. One example was the distribution of modern hives but the farmers could not get the bees to enter them and so gave up trying to use them. Making compost was another example: some households had started doing this but the lack of follow-up had resulted in them giving up. However in November 2013 it was reported that some

of the farmers whose maize was burned because of the acidic nature of the soil had now accepted to use manure and compost instead of fertiliser.

The DA's felt that in order to improve the agricultural extension services in the community the following things were important:

- To create good relationships and connections among the famers;
- To work on the basis of farmers interests and mobilise them to accept new farm technologies and new development initiatives;
- The DAs and vet staff need to work hard in order to improve the main problems of the community;
- To identify people who are still resistant to new technologies and ideas and work intensively on convincing them to change their stance and to catch-up others;
- In order to make the agricultural development sustainable, it is important to continue to mobilise people to protect the environment by planting new trees and protecting the existing forests;
- It is important to use natural fertilisers instead of modern fertilisers which leads to the decline in the fertility of the soil;
- It is important to install a big irrigation pump in order to help the farmers to get maximum benefit from the irrigation activities;
- At the federal level, modern fertilisers are to be produced within the country in order to help the farmers to get fertilisers at a fair price.

The Farmers' Training Centre (FTC)

The FTC is used by the DA's as a base for much of the training they give at kebele level. The areas of training are covered above in detail but include all aspects of rain-fed and irrigated farming and livestock rearing. Training is also provided on environmental protection.

In November 2013 it was reported that the kebele leadership had given 2 ha of land to the FTC. This land had been used for various demonstrations like teff in line; an attempt with haricot beans and soya beans, different maize varieties and red pepper, and some new fodder. However, there was some unhappiness with the experiment with the beans. The seeds were given by the Bako ARC and whereas with the farmers who also tried, they had an agreement that the farmers would keep the product and they would be compensated if they faced loss, with the FTC land the Bako ARC brought on some daily labourers, harvested and took the harvest away.

Mobilisation of local farmers

Model farmers

The model farmers are considered the leading modernisers in the community and are the first to adopt new agricultural ideas and farming technologies. The government's plan in relation to model farmers according to the kebele administration is to eventually change most of the farmers into model farmers. As a result over the last five years the number of model farmers has been increasing. There are now more than 200 model farmers in the kebele of which ten are leading model farmers. The leading model farmers compete with one another to become champion model farmers. The 200 model farmers were selected based on the changes they had registered three years ago following the GTP training that was provided at Wereda level. Since the training course other farmers have also emerged and been selected as model farmers but there is no record of the updated numbers.

Model farmers are given special support from the government in terms of training and advice. Training is held for them once or twice a year at the FTC; the training can last between 2 and 7 days. This year 3 days training was provided in January and was attended by 150 model farmers. Model farmers are expected to promote government programmes and to be an example to other farmers.

In November 2013 it was reported that there should be training for 60 out of the 200 model farmers every six months, so that they then teach other farmers how to improve their activities.

Five years ago one of the model farmers became a champion and was given a medal by the late Prime Minister; he was also given land for a house in Addis Ababa. Now his daughter, who works in the Middle East as housemaid, is constructing a house on the 200m² land in Addis Ababa.

Development Teams

The development teams (or gares) meet every 2-3 months; these meetings are an opportunity for any issues raised by the 1-5s to be discussed. Some of the leaders of the 1-5s are also leaders of the development teams. The development teams are the mechanism through which problems and progress are reported to zone level and ultimately to the kebele administration.

The development teams are used to mobilise the farmers for training from the DAs and HEWs. They also pass information about meetings being held. They are considered by the community to have played an important role in reducing fighting and improving security. This is because through the 1-5s and the development teams, any incidents are quickly reported.

Recent crop interventions

An improved seed for teff was introduced last year in the kebele. The DAs have also started last year to train farmers to practise inter-cropping (mixing vegetables and beans with maize); they hope to expand this practice this year. In the latest season there was also an introduction of haricot and soya beans by the Bako ARC, and of two new maize seed varieties by the ATA with 4 farmers.

Farmers demanded interventions on the cost of inputs particularly fertiliser and improved seeds as they are struggling to afford the current prices. A quintal of improved maize seed now costs 2,120 birr. Whilst the cost of inputs has been increasing at an alarming rate the sale market price of maize crop has not risen - it is still less than 400 birr per quintal.

Recent livestock interventions

Training was provided in the FTC on how to gain maximum benefit from livestock. This encouraged farmers to have fewer livestock and to fatten them before selling them in order to benefit from a higher price. Five years ago there was no knowledge of this practice but it is now becoming popular as the farmers can see the financial incentive. One farmer explained how last year he had sold a fattened ox for 7,000 birr on the local market. However, many farmers complain about the lack of access to hybrid cows and oxen. One woman farmer summed this up saying that "*the government service is poor. There are no resources and follow-up, just training to raise the interest of farmers.*"

Credit for farming

In the past the Service Cooperative allowed farmers to buy selected seeds and fertilisers on credit but since 2011 this is no longer the case as too many farmers failed to pay back what they owed. Now inputs have to be bought with cash but the government arranged for farmers to have access to credit through the Oromia Credit and Savings Share Company (OCSSCO).

OCSSCO is located in the wereda town of Bako but there is an office in Tibe town which provides loans based on the economic capacity of the farmer. The maximum loan is 10,000 birr and the minimum is 2,500. The interest rate is 12%. Some rich people complain that the maximum amount of credit is too low for model farmers who want to be able to invest more. The amounts allocated for certain activities are also outdated and therefore not enough. For example, they will give a maximum of 5,000 birr to buy an ox but ox now cost more than 5,000 birr.

OCSSCO also provides training and advice on how to save and use credit efficiently; a savings service, micro-insurance service for loan clients, and micro-banking service. Some farmers organise themselves into cooperatives (of 4-6 people) in order to spread the risk of taking credit to buy seed

and fertiliser from the Service Cooperative. In this case the group is responsible to pay back the loan when an individual who has taken a loan fails to pay it back. In order to have access to credit farmers have to get a proof of eligibility from the kebele administration and they have to save 20 birr per month. For those who take credit OCSSCO has a supervision programme and carries out home visits to follow up on the activities proposed and to check whether the money has been invested according to the plan submitted by the farmer to OCSSCO, within 15 days of receiving the credit. If the money is not invested according to the plan the farmer is forced to return the money.

OCSSCO serves six kebeles. Some people noted that as they have grown in size and success the level of their technical support and advice to farmers has declined. Whilst in the past they visited and advised farmers regularly, this level of support is no longer forthcoming.

There are no savings and credit associations in the kebele. Some people in the community provide credit service (privately) for those who cannot get enough credit from the OCSSCO. This is not a wide spread phenomenon but traders say that this is very important for them and their business.

In the last five years there has also been a change in terms of attitudes concerning saving. People now realise the importance of saving and they have started to save money in the bank. Others have bought bonds in the Renaissance Dam (for 14,000 birr).

Producer co-operatives

There do not seem to be any of these in the community.

Government Service Co-operatives

The service cooperative serving Oda Haro is called Tetafeta Tibe and is located in Tibe town. The cooperative was established in 1970 E.C. (under the Derg regime). When the current government came to power in 1991 GC, the service cooperatives were re-instituted. The Service Cooperative serves four kebeles officially and 6 kebeles unofficially. Two of the kebeles are not members of the cooperative and have no savings invested in it. In the past it has not been necessary to be a member to access the services although costs were higher. But in 2013 it was decided that in order to access the services of the Service Cooperative people should be members. The membership is a one off payment of 130 birr. Currently the total membership of the cooperative is 2,772 (2,423 males and 349 females). The female members include the first wives of polygamous husbands and widows. The service cooperative is the second largest in the Wereda.

The service cooperative provides the following services:

- Improved maize seed = 660, 540, 543, Agar Shone. These are provided during the farming seasons (in May).
- Fertilisers (DAP, UREA) = provided throughout the year for irrigation and rain-fed farming; although there seems to be unofficial restriction giving priority to rainfed farming in case there is not enough fertiliser.
- Chemical pesticides = Round Up used for burning and drying grasses and weeds, pre-magram used to soften the soil and to kill the weeds after maize is planted, and pesticides for the storage of maize.

The service cooperative also sells consumables such as sugar, oil, corrugated iron sheets and soap at a lower price than the private vendors. The cooperative also buys maize from farmers at a better price than on the market - the aim is to stabilise the market price and ensure that farmers get a good price. Members who sell their maize to the service cooperative get dividends based on the profits obtained from the sale of the crops. Maize is sold on to the farmers' union and then to the federation at a profit.

Only about 25% of farmers sell their maize to the service cooperative because the majority prefer to sell to traders who provide them with credit during the hunger gap. The service cooperative has a

maize threshing machine but it is broken. They have asked the wereda union for maintenance but no response has been provided yet.

The service cooperative staff felt that although the cooperative was being successful in generating profit it was not able to satisfy the diversified needs of the farmers. For example it provides only improved maize seeds and no livestock products. They are dependent on the wereda to provide them with stock and to set their priorities – as it is the wereda which collects information about the needs of the farmers. The service cooperative also struggles to fulfil the demand and often runs out of stock; the main problems are shortage of supply and their limited budget. The items come to the cooperatives through the union so the cooperative has no budget to buy the agricultural inputs and the consumption items. They also have problems with the quality of the seeds. Seeds are affected by pests when they are stored for a long time and over the last five years they have received 580 quintals of seeds which were affected by pests and moisture. These have been stored and they have asked the regional government to eradicate them, but there has not been any response for the last two years. They occupy space in the store and spoil the environment.

Apparently there are plans to establish a service cooperative within the kebele as the community complains that the Tetafeta Tibe service cooperative is far away and they therefore incur travel costs. Some also complain that the workers are corrupt and sell the consumption items to traders at a higher price and keep the profits. The service provided there is also very slow and people have to wait for hours to be served.

Investors

There are currently no investment activities in the kebele. There is some agro-industry in the Oda Gibe area but this is quite far from the community and so has no impact in terms of providing opportunities for labour. However vegetables from Oda Gibe are sold in the Tibe market and this competes with and reduces the price for Oda Haro farmers' vegetables. There is apparently a plan by the government to construct a 4th Gibe hydro-electric power station on the Gibe River, which might in future lead to manmade lakes in some of the low lands of the wereda.

Diversification

Many households have diversified to a greater or lesser extent. Some have diversified in the type of crops or farming they are doing (combining rain-fed and irrigated agriculture). Many families have livestock as well as arable farming. Some families are also involved in trade of crop, vegetables, livestock, livestock products and drinks. Trade is a growing activity in the community. In middle and poor households young men and boys are sent out to work as paid labourers. The majority of people might still be making their living mostly from farming, but there seems to be a trend whereby an increasing number of people get involved in non-farm enterprises. Between the two fieldworks (April and November 2013) one woman had opened a business selling tea, coffee and biscuits.

In April 2013 people reported that the Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) had recently been announced. It will focus on expanding agricultural activities in the rural kebeles. It also gives priority to improving drinking water, internal roads, health services, natural resource protection and expanding non-farm business in rural areas. The training of farmers on how to implement this programme was recently launched and the priority areas were being identified. For the wereda as a whole 11,300,000 birr was allocated for this programme, which will be implemented in 17 rural kebeles where FTC activities are already deep-rooted. The implementation was expected to start with the next (EC) year.

In November 2013 the DAs explained that the training focused on organising cooperatives in a number of areas including spice mills, irrigation, animal fattening, seed distribution etc. A maximum of 20 households were expected to be involved in one co-operative. Part of the AGP money was expected to be given to the co-operatives to buy the necessary things; part would be used for training the members and experts, and part would be used to strengthen the activities of the FTC.

There was also an intention to organise women and youth into SME activities and some women and youth were trained. But by the time of the second fieldwork there was no sign of any budget.

More generally community members interviewed on the AGP expressed unhappiness. They explained that there had been no follow-up after the special training. DAs had registered people into farming and non-farming activity “innovation” and “interest” groups; innovation groups are supposed to involve people who submitted a proposal to create a new technology; interest groups are those sharing an interest in a particular business. It was even said that the budget for the kebele could be increased depending on the kebele’s performance. But then since then nothing had happened, the budget had not materialised. Kebele officials had asked the wereda several times but no reason was given to this lack of follow-up. There was a rumour that the activity had been seriously mismanaged at wereda level and money used for personal purposes by wereda officials. Farmers keep asking the kebele leaders but they cannot give a solution. The respondents said that the community had lost confidence in the kebele officials and was not expecting anything from them.

Trade

Trade is an area of growth in the community. Five years ago there were very few local traders and there are now a number of them. Trade has increased with improved access thanks to the re-construction of the road to Addis Ababa and the improved internal roads in the kebele. Traders are now able to reach more of the farmers in the kebele and to buy produce directly from the farm gate. Communications have also improved as many households now have a mobile phone and this allows farmers to make direct contact with traders and to obtain better prices for their crops.

The main crops traded in the community are maize, teff and sorghum and the main season for trade is from November to April when the farmers sell their crops to pay their debt, land tax and their children’s education. The prices tend to be low at this time as during harvest time farmers sell large amounts of their crops; as the summer season starts the price starts to increase as few farmers take crops to market and many have shortages at home and so they start to buy food.

There are six larger traders of grain crops in the community. All of them trade with more than one crop and almost all of them trade maize, teff and sorghum. The information about market price is obtained from traders in Addis Ababa. There are brokers who check the price every day and who the traders phone regularly for updates. Local prices also have to be taken into consideration as otherwise local farmers will not sell to the traders. The competition between the traders is beneficial for the farmers as it gives them greater opportunity to get a good price for their crops. The traders work completely independently of one another as they are in direct competition. The traders have to factor in their costs for loading and transport when agreeing a price with the farmer. The price is fixed in conjunction with the brokers and then the local traders send the crops to the big traders in Addis Ababa and the money is sent via the bank. Sometimes if the service cooperative or the farmers union in Bako is offering a higher price the traders may sell to them.

Trade in vegetables and fruit has also increased as the irrigation scheme has expanded. Local traders have started to buy from the farms and sell to Tibe town and to big traders who transport the produce to Ambo and Addis. There are however greater price fluctuations with vegetables and fruits.

There are some cattle traders in the community who buy cattle from one market when the price is cheap and sell to another market for a higher price. The two most important cattle markets in the nearby areas are Jaji (to the east) and Shoboka (to the west). The traders trade mainly bulls and heifers but sometimes they trade oxen and cows.

The number of women involved in petty trade has also increased. Women often trade onions, fava beans, maize, wheat, barley, sorghum and nug usually on a small scale as they lack access to credit to expand their business. One female trader who had been trading since 2007 said that farmers

were increasingly selling their produce to larger traders and she feared this might put her out of business. Women were also increasingly getting involved in trading vegetables from the irrigation scheme which they sold in the market.

In November 2013 people explained that traders were continuously expanding their business, creating connections with traders in big cities. Some successful ones bought trucks. Two of the big businessmen had bought trucks during the rainy season and were also renting them out to other traders, earning a large amount of money every month (40,000 birr).

Trading of most important cash crop - Maize

Big trader

He buys maize directly from the farmers on the farm gate; some farmers bring their crop to his shop. He has scales to measure the quantity and the price is determined by the information he has from the market in Addis Ababa and the price of maize on the local market. The maize is then sold to traders in Addis Ababa; a car is rented and the driver delivers the crop to the traders who communicate by telephone and pay via the bank. He does not have access to credit but buys the crops with his own money.

The main problem with maize is that the farmers do not give due attention to the quality of the crop. If there is rain during harvest or threshing time the quality of the crop is affected. Some farmers do not use pesticides when storing maize and this also impacts on the quality and the price that can be obtained. He does not get involved in the cleaning and processing of the crop nor does he store the crop for a long period of time assuming that the price will increase. He needs the money to buy regularly, so storing crops would require a huge amount of money. Due to lack of credit to buy in bulk he buys and sells smaller amounts within short periods of time.

Middle trader

He is currently not trading in maize due to the low price. But prior to this he traded in maize for 6 years. He used to travel around the village and negotiate the price with the farmer and then take the maize to the scales. He would check the selling price to other traders by telephone. But as the price has been fluctuating and the cost of transport has been increasing (it is now 50 birr per quintal) he does not feel it is worth trading maize. He would sell maize at the Gudar and Addis Alem markets (some 80-100km away) where he found that the selling price for maize was good. He used the trucks travelling to Addis Ababa to transport the crops.

The quality of the maize crop is easily impacted by rain or by pests in storage (if pesticides are not used). He tries to buy maize that has been stored with pesticides and which has been threshed by machine as this helps improve the quality.

Small trader

He started his business by selling his sugar cane surplus and some maize surplus. Over time the business expanded due to the good relationships he has with other traders, and with farmers in the community. The farmers trust him and sell him their crops even on credit without interest. He has been trading maize for four years now. When he started he would buy maize 288 birr per quintal and could sell it at 350 birr on the market. Last year and this year the buying price was almost 400 birr per quintal; and the selling price was 520 birr, on distant markets. As a result the profit is not as good especially as costs are rising. When he started the business four years ago, the transport cost for one quintal was 30 birr but now it is 50 birr. When he factors in the cost of loading and unloading, accommodation, food and transport he estimates that the net profit it is about 60 birr per quintal. The fluctuation of market price is the major factor influencing his profit. Sometimes the buying price increases while the selling price declines. In the past 12 months, his total profit was about 15,000 birr. He pays a market tax of 2 birr per quintal although sometimes, the tax collectors do not force him to pay as he gives them a bribe.

In January 2013 he was travelling back home by minibus having sold his maize in Ginchi market. He fell asleep and the 14,000 birr in his pocket was stolen. The shock and stress of this loss made him very sick and has seriously affected his business.

When he started the business he was buying and selling only 10 quintals of maize but last year he bought and sold 40 quintal at a time.

Self-trader

He produces maize partly on his father's land and partly on rented land. He sells it in Tibe town to bigger traders who sell it on to larger traders who transport the crops to Addis Ababa, Adama and Harar using trucks. Each year he sells about 15 quintals; he stores it until the summer time using pesticide to protect it from pests. After the harvest the price of a quintal of maize is 380 birr but in the summer it rises to 600 birr. But fluctuations are problematic because even in the summer sometimes the price drops. He uses a mule and cart to transport the maize to market. Last year he made a profit of 1,200 birr but this year he expects to make a loss because the rains were late and insufficient, and so his yield was not as good. Also the costs of inputs are very expensive (50kg of fertiliser costs 795 birr) and he also has to rent the land.

Trading of second cash crop – Red Pepper

Big trader

In the last 12 months, he made a profit of 2,000 birr from red-pepper alone. He sells the crop to different traders dependent upon the price. The supply of red pepper is good during the harvesting time (December to February) but in the rest of the year the supply declines dramatically as most farmers have already sold or stored their crop. As he has a shortage of capital he does not store red pepper but sells it at the current price. There are no brokers involved in the sale of red pepper so he discusses the price with the buyer on the phone and once agreed they come and transport the crop to Addis Ababa. The crop is sold unprocessed.

The main problem with red pepper is that it is being severely affected by pests and no pesticides are available to protect it. As a result many farmers have stopped producing it. Red pepper is also easily damaged by rain during harvest which reduces its quality.

Middle trader

He started trading red pepper ten years ago and it is the crop he trades; the main trading season is between January and May. He travels round the villages negotiating on price with the farmers; he then takes the produce to be weighed by the big traders in the community and they buy it. He pays 2 birr to weigh 17 kg of red pepper.

In order to buy the red pepper he borrows money from relatives and neighbours without interest. He also borrows from individual farmers. Once he sells the red pepper he returns immediately to pay back the money. He sometimes negotiates with the farmers to pay them when he returns from the market. He buys crops from anyone who is interested to sell to him and tends to sell to the same buyers except if they do not have the money to buy, their store is full or when he cannot agree a good price with them. He would then sell to any new buyer. His main market place is Welenkomi which is located between Ambo (115km) and Addis Ababa (235km). The selling price is good there as there are only few traders. Each time he travels to Welenkomi he takes c. 10 quintal of pepper to sell. In order to transport the pepper he uses trucks which are travelling to Addis Ababa.

The price of the crop is fixed by the demand and supply; there are no brokers so he negotiates directly with the traders. He buys one kilo of red-pepper for 25 birr from the farmers and sells it at 27-28 birr on the market. The transport cost for one quintal is 20 birr. Loading and unloading is 4 birr for a quintal. So, the profit from a quintal is around 50 birr. He pays a market tax of 5 birr sometimes but most of the time he tries to hide his crops from the tax collector.

The problem with red pepper is that production has dropped due to the 'cholera' pest which means fewer farmers are growing it. The pest does not seem to be affected by pesticides or traditional methods of protecting the crop. The crop can also easily be spoiled by rain if it comes during harvest. In the future he would like to buy his own scales and increase the amount of trading he does.

Crop traders' activities

Big trader

As well as maize and red pepper the big trader also trades in teff and nug (niger seed) and honey during the meher season. He uses his own money for trading and in the last 12 months he made 5,000 birr profit from the business. He has a trade licence which he got in 2004 EC from the wereda trade and industry office; it cost 300 birr. Last year he paid 1,300 birr in tax and this year 1,270 birr. He has not had any support from government who he says focuses on farming but not on business or trade.

He does not employ any workers for his business but uses family labour when necessary. He is keen to continue with the business as he now has a lot of experience and the business is expanding. In the first three years he had a serious shortage of capital to run the business. He started by borrowing money from neighbours and relatives.

In the last 12 months, in addition to trading, he has been involved in farming and cattle herding activities. He breeds cattle, (cow, oxen, bulls) and shoats (sheep). He is also one of the leading farmers in the community and produces maize, teff, beans, wheat, and nug. He has about 4 hectares of land. He employs one farm labourer who he pays 7 quintals of maize crop every year. He is a young man so he can perform the activities effectively and efficiently.

In the future he wants to improve the business by storing crops and selling them when the price is higher. In order to do this he will need to get some more credit; he plans to save and to produce more on his land for sale and also to take a loan. The problem is that the maximum amount you can borrow (10,000 birr) from the Wereda Saving and Credit Association is not very much for a large business.

Middle trader

The maize middle trader is involved only in the trading of red-pepper and maize.

Small trader

In addition to trading the small trader is involved in agricultural activities. In fact this is the main economic activity of his household. He produces maize, red-pepper, and teff and sugar cane on his irrigated land, using traditional irrigation methods. He also rears cattle. He has one ox, three cows and chickens.

He started trading in crops four years ago and started with mangos; he then moved into trading maize and sorghum. As he does not have a big budget to trade he buys the crops in small amounts and sells them in distant markets such as Holeta, and Ginchi (150-200km). He buys crops from the local farmers or sometimes when there is a shortage he buys from local big traders who buy and store the crops for selling in the high price season.

He does not have a trade licence and has not been asked to get one. He does not consider himself a formal trader as he trades when he gets crops and stops when there is none available. He considers trade a secondary activity with his main activity being farming.

Self-trader

The self-trader is mainly a farmer but saves money when he sells his crops himself. When he sells them to bigger traders he avoids the market tax. He also hires out his mule cart to others for the transportation of crops which provides extra income.

In the future he is keen to improve his production of the different crops and to increase his income. He has already bought an irrigation motor pump and wants to rent more land and produce more vegetables on the irrigated land in the future. For his family consumption he produces teff and rears cattle, shoats and chickens.

Female self-trader

She has got involved in trade since she became the head of her household. Due to the better access possibilities for trade have increased every year. She does not pay tax or have a licence as it is not necessary for self-traders. She trades crops to buy household consumables rather than to develop a business. She says there are many women who are engaged in selling crops to large traders and their nearest market but they do not do so on a regular basis.

There is no specific season for self-traders as they sell crops when they need to either after harvest or when the household need goods. There have been problems with the quality and the quantity of crops she is producing and therefore selling due to the irregularity of rainfall over the last five years.

Livestock trade

Over the past five years the number of people involved in livestock trading has increased; people are now trading in bulls, heifers, goats, sheep, mule, donkey and even cows. Although the numbers of oxen and bulls sold on the market has declined in the last five years the quality has improved. People are now focusing on fattening the oxen/bulls before selling them which means they get a better price for them. The DAs have given advice on fattening and medicines for accelerating fattening are available locally. However currently there is no specific market for fattened cattle, which is a gap in the area. There is also a distinct lack of hybrid animals in the kebele; there are only 2 hybrid cows, 3 hybrid heifers and 2 hybrid bulls. Farmers say that this is because they are not available at Wereda level. A number of farmers would be keen to try improving their livestock and would like to have access to hybrids.

Those who trade livestock other than their own in the area tend to buy from one market when the price is low and then sell them on in another market for a higher price. They do not buy livestock from local farmers and sell them. The two most important cattle markets in the nearby areas are Jaji (to the east) and Shoboka (to the west). The traders trade mainly bulls and heifers but sometimes they trade oxen and cows. The price of cattle also varies depending on the season; increasing during the winter as people buy bulls to fatten them during the summer and to then sell them in other places.

There are also dedicated shoa traders who buy shoats from the local famers and from the market and sell them in the nearby town of Tibe. Sometimes during the holidays (when demand is greatest) they sell them on the roadside to drivers and passengers travelling to Addis Ababa and other big towns. There are no chicken traders or honey bees traders in the community.

Livestock product trade

There are about five people, including three shops, that collect eggs from the farmers and sell them to larger traders. There are butter and milk traders but this is very small scale; the local breed of cows does not produce very much milk and much of what they do produce is consumed in the households. Four women are involved in trading butter. They collect the butter from Oda Haro's farmers and sell in Sheboka and Tibe markets. Traders do trade in honey. There are no male livestock product traders in the community; this trade is left to women.

SMEs

SMEs in the community

There are three local shops in the community and one maize thresher (which people rent at the

price of 4.5 birr per minute). There are also a few irrigation pumps which are hired out by individuals to other farmers. There are no crop or livestock processing enterprises, and no private education available in the community.

Skilled production

There are 6-10 people involved part-time in carpentry (sources differed as to the exact number). They make beds, chairs, tables, and cupboards; they also engage in house construction. There is no potter; people buy pottery products from the Shoboka market. There is one blacksmith who works part-time and also makes tillers and knives. There are four people who are involved in making baskets for crop storage/gotera, doing this part-time. There are also some women who make sefed (traditional baskets) for household use, not for the market. There are four women who engaged on spinning activities but they do this part-time.

There are also more than 10 weavers, mainly concentrated in Boto zone. Most of them are ex-prisoners; they were trained in prison in Ambo. Only two of them are descendants of the weavers' family in Oda Haro. Those weavers who took training in the prison are more effective in making good quality cloth. They use improved weaving machines to make clothes.

Livestock and products SMEs

Although some men are involved in livestock trade, they tend to buy from one market and sell to another rather than buying from people locally. No one in the community buys cattle and shoats to distribute to other people to fatten. There are no individuals or co-operatives involved in the commercial production of livestock products including milk, eggs and honey, apart from households who produce a small amount of milk in a traditional way for household consumption and butter production. Butter is becoming an important source of income for some women but the quantity is very small because the community has mainly traditional cows and only a small source of fodder.

Local drinks and food

There are around 20-60 (different numbers from different informants) women in the kebele who are engaged in small scale areki production for the market. Some of these women buy the areki from other producers who make better quality and larger quantities. Most of the women who produce areki are also involved in making and selling tella. Most of the areki producers do this throughout the year. One lady interviewed produced twice a month which meant an average of 12 litres per month. She estimated that she makes 100 birr profit on 12 litres. The profits are not significant as the cost of inputs are high especially the hops. The women sell areki from their homes to local farmers and no licence is required.

The small shops sell soft drinks and other consumption goods like sugar, salt and palm oil in their shops. There are also a few tiny tea shops where people sell tea and biscuits from their house.

Productive co-operatives

There are no productive cooperatives in the community except the youth cooperative established three years ago in Boto zone to protect the forest area on Gona Mountain and to earn income from the forest products they sell.

Natural resource sale

Eucalyptus production and sale has become a significant source of income for some households, especially those with a small amount of land. Seeds were distributed by the DAs over the last five years. There are now a number of individuals and the youth cooperative who are producing seedlings for sale in nurseries. There is some concern that eucalyptus trees affect underground water levels and diminish the soil fertility.

There are still a number of people who sell wood and charcoal. In the past this was an important source of income in the community but government regulations to protect the forest have made it more difficult. An estimated 20 people are involved in selling wood; women tend to collect and sell firewood. Charcoal making in the community is now illegal and so the numbers of people involved in it have declined but one informant estimated that there were probably still 40 people involved in illegal charcoal making and sale. The kebele was said not to enforce strict punishment on those involved as particularly for the landless and poor it is their main source of income. The kebele has discharged responsibility to the wereda police who it was felt were easily corrupt. Most of the charcoal is sold on the road to drivers, passengers and traders on their way to Addis Ababa or Ambo.

The sale of grass on Tibe market is another source of income for some particularly those from Alemgena zone where there is good quality grass. The kebele administration has also about 8 hectares of land where it grows grass and sells them to individuals.

There are no stones or sand for sale in the community. But in one point in Ebicho zone (near the Sama River), one iddir sells pure water to the people in Tibe town. People come with mules and fetch the water, and they pay one birr for a plastic container holding 20 litres. It is natural water which comes from a spring. People started to drink the water from this place long time ago but recently the wereda water office upgraded it as gravity on spot spring and installed a pipe for it. The people say that the water from the place is very safe and good for health. In Tibe town hotels and restaurants put this water in the refrigerator and sell two litres for 2 birr. Some mule cart owners also buy this water (20 litres with 1 birr) and sell at 3-4 birr in Tibe town.

Petty production

There is no petty production in the community.

Service enterprises

None.

Food processing services

There are no grain mills in the kebele but there are two Kebele members who own grain mills in Tibe town. There is one privately owned threshing machine for maize.

Hospitality services

There are no local hotels, restaurants or cafés in the community but there are three tea and biscuit houses and other local drink houses where drinks can be purchased and consumed in the owners' living room. Soft drinks and bottled water can be found in the smaller shops.

Health services

There are no government or private clinics or pharmacies in the kebele. There are nine people who are known as traditional medical practitioners in the community. Some of them are popular for their treatment for things like bone settling, ye'ebid wusha (disease caused if you are bitten by a sick dog), kintarot (haemorrhoid), yesew qusil (human wound), yekebt qusil (cattle wound), yeferes qusil (horse wound), yesew qatelo (burns), yensisat qatelo (burned body of animals), etc. There are no private clinics or pharmacies in the community. People use the health extension office or the private clinics in Tibe town for medical services. There are 6 private clinics and a health centre in Tibe town.

Shops

There are three shops in the kebele. They sell kerosene fuel, oil, salt, sugar, lentils, onion, soap and powder soup, soft drink, packed water, charcoal, keys, hand batteries, tea, and hair oil and so on. They are located on the side of the road on the way to Tibe town.

There are also 6 crop trading shops in the community. The owners of the shops buy crops from the local farmers and sell them on to big traders in Addis Ababa.

Leisure services

There are five local football fields including school football field, the school also has a handball field. Due to the lack of electricity some young people particularly young men go to Tibe town to watch television e.g. premier league football games. Children and young people go swimming in the River Sama although this is not common for girls.

Petty services

There is one shoe-shiner in the kebele but he is not busy as people do not regularly seek his services. There is no lottery ticket service in the kebele. There is someone who fixes watches, shoes and umbrellas.

Transport

People use their own pack animals to transport materials. There are about 200 people who use donkey as a means of transport. There are 2 people who own bicycles. There is a mule cart service. It started five years ago and has expanded. Most of the carts are available in Almegena zone followed by Ebicho Zone. It was started in Boto zone last year with the construction of internal roads by the community with some financial support from the government. The construction of internal roads greatly contributed to the expansion of carts. One cart costs up to 14,000 birr. There are more than 60 mule carts available for transportation in the kebele.

Government support for non-farm activities

There is very little government support for non-farm activities. The government does not provide credit, land, input and any other important resources to support non-farm activities in the community. The government also does not demand or enforce the purchase of business licenses and the payment of business tax. There is no specific training or advice provided for people involved in non-farm activities.

Credit can be obtained through the Oromia saving and credit association located in Bako town. The maximum loan is 10,000 birr based on the proposal provided by an individual with a supporting letter from the kebele. Those who are successful in business or trade activities complain that the maximum amount is too small to expand their business. The interest rate is 15%.

Trade activities were said to be expanding particularly due to the shortage of land which led many young people to get involved in trade. Some traders complained that there was a need for the wereda trade and industry office to control trade and particularly those involved in illegal trade (i.e. those without a licence). Although complaints had been made to the wereda office nothing had happened. Some were keen to set up business cooperatives or trade unions but said that there was no support and follow up from the kebele and wereda administrations.

Non-farm employment

There are five people from the kebele who are employed by the kebele and about three people from the kebele who are employed at the wereda level. These posts include: kebele elementary teachers, kebele manager, wereda cabinet, wereda education bureau and wereda agriculture office. There are about 10 people who are educated and employed in non-farm employment elsewhere.

During the construction of the road from Benishangul region to Addis Ababa about 30 people from the community were contracted on the project by the China road construction company.

Inward investment

No investment activities have been carried out in the community. This is one of the kebeles without any outside investment activities.

The government has recently passed an instruction not to give the land along the Gibe River to investors because there is a plan by the government to construct the 4th Gibe hydro-electric power station. When the power station will be constructed the water is expected to create a man-made lake on the lowland kebeles of the wereda.

Migration

Out-migration for work and remittances

Agricultural

Some young men migrate to other communities to work on the land due to the shortage of land in the kebele. They would usually sharecrop in another place; this tends to be young men or landless families. They tend to go for several years rather than seasonally. But migration for agriculture and mining has been decreasing in the last few years and is said to have become insignificant.

Urban

Young men and women are increasingly migrating to bigger urban towns like Ambo, Nekemte, Addis Ababa, Adama, etc. Many do so after they have finished grade 10 or 12 but some go earlier (particularly those from poor households). The young men work as assistant taxi driver or in construction, laying cobble stones, hotel and bar work, tea house work or bajaj drivers, and some get jobs in factories. Young women commonly work as housemaids or in hotels, bars, cafés or shops. One woman is acting as a broker to take girls to Addis Ababa and she says that she will send them to Arab countries once they have acquired the necessary skills. Most of these girls work as bar waiters or domestic workers. There are young men and women also working in factories in cities, like a glass factory in Addis Ababa, or sugar and flour factories in Addis Ababa and Fincha.

Skilled

There was no information about skilled migration. It was not discussed by informants.

International

International migration has become increasingly popular in the community mainly amongst young women. About 15 years ago the first international migrants left the country for the USA (with a DV lottery visa) and Germany (with a scholarship). A number of their family members have since joined them (five relatives have gone to the USA). Over the past five years links to urban areas nearby have raised the awareness of the possibilities of migration to Arab States for young women. The process is long and expensive as they have to get a passport from Addis Ababa and enrol with an agency which has legal status to send people for domestic work internationally. But people are keen to send their daughters due to the lack of opportunities in the community and because they have seen the impact of the remittances on the households that receive them.

International migration is also becoming an important aspect of livelihood. Many young women migrate to Middle Eastern countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Dubai, etc. In the last five years Saudi Arabia has become the main destination. People say that in the last two years more than 20 young girls have migrated to these countries. As they are sending good amount of money for their families, large numbers of other young women are attracted and are ready to migrate.

The young women who go tend to be aged between 16 and 30. To begin with they were often from Muslim households but this is changing. Most of the girls have completed grade 10 or 12. They do domestic work for local families. In the last 12 months the numbers of those migrating have accelerated and it was thought that more than 35 girls had left over the last year. The girls tend to

stay for several years and send back large remittances to their families in Oda Haro who are able to improve their families and start small businesses.

In April 2013, three girls had returned after one year. Two were sick and the third was deported but no one knew why. One of the participants of the interview said that his sister migrated to Lebanon five years ago. She came back to Ethiopia this year but she returned back because she knows that she cannot get such big income if she stays in Ethiopia. She is going to work there for the coming two years. Then she has a plan to come back and to live in Ethiopia. Now she is building a house in Addis Ababa. In November 2013 three young women had returned with some money and started trading in towns; some opened clothes shops.

In November 2013 some respondents did not know about the government ban. Others knew about it but while there was a sense that it was good to act against illegal brokers and 'give training' to the legal ones, everyone was against the government action. People thought that the government should not prevent young women from changing their lives and those of their families – as shown by the changes in the lives of the families of girls who had migrated and sent remittances (iron sheet roofed houses, livestock, houses in town). In addition, blocking migration would fuel joblessness.

Several respondents mentioned young women still in the process of migrating (as if the ban was not in place); e.g. the rich farmer knew around 10 girls who had already paid a big amount of money to the brokers and were waiting for their visas. The poor farmer explained that just 15 days before the fieldwork a broker originally from Oda Haro had come and convinced 5 girls (Gr10/12 or secondary school dropouts) to go to Addis Ababa with her and he knew that many girls were waiting for their visas. Brokers and relatives abroad have a leading influence on the would-be migrants. They are also motivated by seeing the success of those who send remittances. Their families sell crops and livestock to fund their trip, expecting better support in return.

Officials and people linked to the government such as the youth cooperative leader and youth political leader highlighted the many problems faced by the young women migrating – including death; in their views many families are spending large sums of money in vain when the young women return empty-hand. Some respondents also highlighted other negatives such as the fact that the community loses young, educated and energetic individuals who could make a difference for the development of the community, young husbands lose their wife, children lose their mother and boyfriends lose their girlfriend. But it is not clear that these stories and views were the majority.

In the last five years some people (male and female) also migrated illegally to Sudan through Matama and Humera.

In-migration for work

Last year some Amhara workers from South Wollo came to work on irrigation fields. They sharecropped land with a model farmer and grew tomatoes. They camp on the edge of the irrigation fields which allows them to also guard the crops from thieves, and give all kinds of care and protection to the crop. The farmer gives them money for food until the vegetables are sold. He provides land, oxen, irrigation motor pump, fuel, fertiliser, selected seeds, pesticides, weedkiller etc. The labourers farm, prepare seedlings, plant, water, weed and hoe, spray pesticides, guard the fields and collect the vegetables. After the sale the landowner recovers his costs including for the labourers' food, and they share the profit.

The migrants have little relationship with community members; they just focus on their work. Some have wives. The language barrier may be a factor in the loose social relations. They work hard during the day and sometimes at night and return to their place of origin after they have earned a good income. Then they come back again.

They are currently few as they have been employed by just one farmer but some predict that their number will increase as they are very skilled at irrigation farming and more efficient than local

workers. The number of model farmers who want to work with these labourers has increased over the last 6 months and these labourers are now more than 25. They are effective and efficient having skills and rich experience in irrigation work. They are more committed than local labourers who have a lot of social commitments so cannot stay on the farms and work all the time.

Savings, credit and debt

Community-organised savings and credit

People in Oda Haro save at home but the richer farmers save at the bank although as the livestock trader noted, the first bank branch is in Bako at 16 km so this is not easy. There may be around 20% of the community (richer farmers and traders) who save at the bank. It is also common to buy livestock when it is cheap and sell it when the price rises, and some people fatten this livestock. Traders buy crops at harvest and sell them when the price increases – e.g. people store maize with pesticide. In the past there were equb but they have declined due to conflicts among equb members. Other respondents suggested that equb are considered to be an urban culture. Some people explained that usually community members do not save a lot and prefer to invest in producing crops or e.g. buying an irrigation pump.

People who are members of WALKO save 10 *birr* a month.

In terms of credit, there are savings and credit associations where a group of farmers get together in order to take credit from the Oromia Credit and Savings Share Company (OCSSCO, or WALQO in Oromifa). This is described in the next section.

A number of people mentioned that the iddirs were another source of credit for members. Loans usually have to be paid back within a short period of time. The interest rate is more or less similar to that of the private lenders (10% monthly). Most of the iddirs will lend money for special problems such as sudden illness, chronic illness, etc. The problem is that the iddirs have small capital so usually they cannot lend to a large number of people. The Gudina Lagga Mada'a iddir is one of the largest iddirs and due to its income from a water pump it has more capital than the others. Last summer 130 members of this iddir borrowed 180 birr each. They agreed to pay back within 3 months. The interest rate was only 5 birr as was decided by the members. This loans system is a special favour which is accessible only to members.

Amongst those involved in trade, they often chose to borrow money from their neighbours and relatives on a short-term basis. This was also the case amongst the majority of people when they faced problems or crises. Some respondents said that in fact, relatives and neighbours are not keen to lend money as they fear that the borrower will default. So instead, there seems to be widespread recourse to borrowing from people who are known as moneylenders.

In Oda Haro those people lend money with 10% interest on a month, 50% for 6 months and 100% for a year. People able to lend are the rich farmers and traders. Even though the interest rate is so unfavourable, people borrow from them because it is quicker; as long as you have no debt and a guarantor you get the loan. The moneylenders consider assets (the borrower must hand land or livestock) and the borrower's history and behaviour. The rich farmer, for instance, explained that in the last summer he had lent money to more than 20 people. They borrowed between 400 and 1,000 birr with 10% monthly interest rate and 50% for six months, which was the majority's preference as they borrowed to buy agricultural inputs and will repay after harvesting and selling their produce. His selection criteria is that people he lends to must have a guarantor and either farm land or livestock. He tends not to lend to traders as over the last couple of years he lost about 7,000 birr to traders who go bankrupt and cannot pay back.

There are also money lenders in Tibe town who lend money to farmers in different kebeles in the wereda. Some of them charge up to 200% interest for a year.

This private borrowing is secret as it is illegal. Yet it is the most common access to credit in the kebele, because of its rapidity. However as those borrowing have to have some assets and a guarantor, this system does not cover the landless or poor people.

Government, donor and NGO credit and savings

There is a wereda saving and credit association which some farmers are members of. This allows them to take credit every year. It is linked to OCSSCO (or WALQO, which actually provides the credit). The interest rate is between 10-12% and members are expected to save 10-20 birr each month in the association. It seems that the credit is given to groups although individuals use the money for individual and different purposes. The groups are usually small, of 5 to 6 people. WALQO provide loans for fertiliser and also for small traders to engage in trading vegetables and livestock. Most people borrow on an annual basis.

According to the rich farmer, those people who are members of the Oromia Saving and Credit Association can take loans with interest provided that he/she has no debt. It is possible to borrow up to 6,000 birr for the purchase of fertiliser and improved seeds and sometimes the organisation will lend up to 10,000 birr for the purchase of oxen or for trade. The interest rate is 15%. In November he remarked that some farmers who had lost their maize will find it hard to repay the association. According to one (Muslim) livestock trader, Muslims rather borrow from friends or relatives etc., without interest as this is forbidden by the Kuran. One leading trader explained that he has not borrowed from WALQO because the maximum amount they lend is too small for his needs, and in addition the process is long, cumbersome, and costly as one has to go several times to the town. He added that in fact many people need to call on moneylenders (see below) to reimburse their loans from WALQO. The poor farmer was more positive and said that WALQO credit had helped many to get out of poverty; and the interest rate of 10% is a lot lower than with moneylenders.

There are no donor or NGO credit and savings facilities.

Banks

There is no bank in the community.

Debt in the community

Most of those interviewed said they had no debt.

Debt became a problem for the Service Cooperative when it used to allow farmers to buy inputs on credit. Due to lack of repayment this service has been withdrawn.

Insurance

None mentioned.

Harmful Traditional Practices affecting livelihoods

Traditionally people have used wood as firewood and to make charcoal and to sell. This has greatly contributed to deforestation in the community. Much of the deforestation activities take place on the boundaries with other kebeles, which makes it difficult to establish who was responsible and has caused conflict.

Until recently, the wereda struggled to take action against those involved in deforestation because there were no government guidelines on how they should be punished. There was a law declared 10 years ago (1990 EC) but it had no manual/ implementation guide. Three months ago the wereda received the guideline and it is preparing to take action against the deforesters.

Those who live in Boto zone are very close to the unfenced forest land of the community. They have never been convinced about the government's intervention to protect the environment including the forest and as a result they have been using the forest land for farming and grazing for a long

time. Despite the rules put in place by the kebele administration these people still send their livestock and cultivate land in the forest and are destroying it. Not everyone understands the link between the loss of the forest and the climatic change that is occurring in the area.

Theft

Most of those interviewed agreed that theft had decreased in the last five years due to the 1-5s and Gares reporting theft and the iddirs being given new power (by the wereda and kebele administration and by the people) to impose fines and sanctions on those who are involved in theft and other big crimes.

Table 7: Theft

	How frequent?	Change since 2008	Action to prevent stealing	How effective?	Action to catch criminals	How effective?	Punishments
Theft of crops	This is not very frequent in recent years	It has been declined	The kebele administration and iddirs take actions on the thieves which contribute to the decline the theft activities	The sanctions taken by iddir are very effective. People start to fear to involve in theft activities	There is a big monthly meeting in Tibe town where members of 4 kebeles engage in the meeting to discuss on how to control/ catch thieves and other criminals. So if a theft is happened in one community, the others cooperate to catch the thieves.	It is very effective. Theft is reduced in all the neighbouring kebeles due to these actions	Sanction is the major ones. But if it is a big crime the case is taken to the wereda court which is not effective as compared with the sanction. Sometimes the court officials take bribes and release the thieves.
Robbery from people	It is not frequent	It showed great reduction	The monthly meetings in the Tibe town made huge contribution to the decline. People in the neighbouring areas cooperate to hand over the robberies to the police.	It is very effective	Neighbouring people and people in the community are well aware and training to cooperate in any robbery activities	It is very effective	They criminals are taken to the wereda police and the case is seen at the wereda level.
House burglary	This is not very common in the community						
Other kinds of stealing							

In stark contrast, theft seemed to have worsened since April 2013 when the Research Officers went back to the field, including theft of crops, cattle, fruits and vegetables, and money. Theft of money has occurred several times in the past few months, in different kebeles. This is further described in section 6.5 below. Community members accused people from other kebeles and also people from Tibe who come with carts to transport the stolen properties.

Human re/pro/duction domain

Houses and household assets

People in the community tend to have a number of houses (depending on their wealth) which are fenced within a compound. Livestock owned by the household are kept within the compound, grain may be stored there and trees and coffee may be grown around the house. Most of the families visited had a separate kitchen and house for the livestock. Richer households had corrugated iron roofs and larger houses (sometimes with 4 or 5 rooms) and more of them. Their houses were built with better quality materials particularly for the doors and windows, and some had French doors. Really rich families owned property in other places which they rented out.

In terms of household assets there have been significant changes in the past five years. People used to sleep on the ground on grass mats and would maybe have a desk and bench. They now have tables, chairs, kitchen cupboards and modern beds with mattresses. Plastic and metal utensils replace those in clay or wood. Few people had electrical equipment as there is no power. Some of the richer households had solar powered radios. Most households had a mobile phone but these would be charged in Tibe town.

Domestic technologies

Improved stoves have not been introduced in the community so far. However, some households have started to use an improved stove (*lakech mitad*) for cooking injera and bread. Some people own battery run tape players and radios; others have solar powered radios.

Fuel and light

There has been no change in the type of cooking fuel that the community uses: they continue to use wood from the forest and maize residual. Charcoal is used for coffee making. Some people used eucalyptus leaves for cooking and others used gas for light. Kerosene was used for lighting. Due to its high price (upward from 3 to 11 birr) poorer families had to economise on the amount they used.

Drinking water

All of those interviewed said that they had access to safe water. Water sources were maintained and protected in some cases by the iddir committees. There is no water supply from taps in the kebele but there are numerous maintained springs. Among those interviewed most people had water near to their household (between 5 and 15 minutes' walk away). Some mentioned how in the past, when they had been forced to use unprotected water, their household had suffered problems. However, the DA NRM talking about the community as a whole said that most people actually have to travel long distances to fetch drinking water. He added that people were willing to contribute money for water projects and the kebele asked the wereda but got no response so far.

In Abicho zone there is one spring that give very good water. An outlet was constructed in the 1980s under the Derg. When villagisation ended the water point was given to the people of Abicho zone who gave it to the iddir to manage and for earning an income. They started selling water to the people of Tibe six years ago. Currently the iddir has out-sourced the control of the tap and selling of water to one resident who gives 300 *birr* to the iddir every month and keeps the rest. This still gives the iddir a lot more capital than most of the others. In addition to the people of Oda Haro many people in Tibe use the water, buying 20 litres for 1 *birr*.

One household (successful FHH) said that she used a water purifying tablet called Wuha Agar just to be sure that the water was clean.

Sanitation

Most of the households interviewed had latrines. Some were covered and others not and they were in different states of maintenance. Some had built latrines in the last two years following the work

done by the HEWs. They were built with wood and covered with a shelter made from maize waste. Those interviewed recognised that having a latrine had improved the sanitation of their household. However, one household (successful businessman's wife) admitted to having no latrine and said that they used the forest. She explained that it was due to a lack of time that they had not implemented the advice of the HEWs.

Domestic work

It was noted that things were changing and people were increasingly sharing more of the domestic work between man and wife and sons and daughters. However, the majority of the domestic burden was still carried by the women. Men and boys had started helping (in some households) with collecting firewood and water and by taking grain to the grain mill. A lot of the boys said that they washed their own clothes. In rich families where there were domestic staff or many older daughters the burden was shared. However there seemed to be more domestic work in richer households and teenagers complained about the pressure on them especially those in households with few girls. The amount of time wives spent on domestic work varied depending upon who else was in their household. The maximum reported was 70 hours per week and the minimum 17 hours per week.

Only the middle farmer's wife said that her husband had equally divided the domestic work between the two of them from when they first got married. She said: "*my husband has never left me alone to work in the domestic sphere particularly while we were alone; he used to share the domestic burden equally. He mostly used to cover the household work including cleaning the house, washing clothes, collecting wood and water, making coffee and looking after children have been his role in our household.*" They now have older children who participate in domestic work which has reduced the strain on them.

Food and nutrition

According to the head of the Wereda health post the Bako Tibe Wereda is known to have amongst the highest rates of child mortality and malnutrition in the region. This has been due to a lack of awareness about what children should be fed and how they should be cared for. As a response to this the Ministry of Health, WFP and UNICEF have been providing training, advice, supplementary food and vitamin A supplements. Screening activities have also been improved but this programme does not cover Oda Haro. However in November 2013, the HEWs explained that there were house-to-house visits every 3 months to identify malnourished mothers and children.

Amongst those households interviewed none had had an undernourished child who had required treatment.

Overall diet had changed as a result of the growth of irrigation and the new fruits and vegetables grown in the community. Respondents said that they ate tomatoes and more vegetables. Whilst in the past people only ate maize they now mix maize with teff or sorghum. As a result the variety of foods people eat has improved. However, less livestock products (milk, meat, butter and eggs) are consumed due to their costs and the need to sell them to contribute towards household income. Instead households are buying more consumables from the market such as cooking oil. E.g. successful farmer said: *We can sell a kilogram of butter at 160 birr but we can buy a litre of food oil at 25 birr from the service cooperative.* Most families now eat three times per day (compared to twice per day in the past). The regular foods are injera with shiro; this may be supplemented seasonally by potatoes, tomatoes, spinach, beetroot and carrots. Some families also ate lettuce. Occasionally they would eat meat, cheese, butter or eggs - this varied according to the wealth of the household. For special celebrations some families would eat teff injera. After the harvest boiled maize is eaten and coffee becomes cheaper and more widely available.

The practice of eating from a shared plate has declined significantly; most households said that they now had individual plates which meant that people could eat at different times. In the past the children were given leftovers from their parents and different types of wot which was lower quality

than what their parents ate. This has now changed as people have become aware of the importance of childhood nutrition.

The main time of food shortage is just before the harvest in the summer months. At this time some families said that they cut the number of meals and had to buy food from the market.

Health extension

The Health Post

The health post has been built with community labour and material provided by the Wereda. It has no water or electricity, no access to a telephone and no latrine. At health centre level, there is access to clean water in four of the wereda's health centres. In addition, three of the health centres have access to electric power (although for one of these the power line in place is not working yet).

There is one ambulance in the Wereda that serves the community particularly for the transportation of pregnant women in labour to the nearby health institutions. However there is no budget to put fuel in it so it is only used by those households who can afford to pay for the fuel. This is a big problem that hinders access to safe and clean delivery service.

Health extension

Health Extension Workers

There are two health extension workers in the community. Their role is to control health problems in the community through preventative health information. They implement 16 packages to encourage the prevention of health problems. Each HEWs goes from house to house visiting as well as providing health post centred services.

Most of the HEWs and DAs interventions are supported by the community, the most accepted health practices according to the people interviewed are: malaria prevention, family planning and child nutrition. The least popular package is the solid and liquid waste disposal package as the community believes that such waste is useful to prepare manure. The ban on female circumcision has also been rejected by the community.

The HEWs are expected to work very closely with the zone leaders and the leaders of the Gares in order to mobilise people for health related activities. HEWs provide training, for instance to mothers on child care, child nutrition, family planning, HIV AIDS as well as preventative health care e.g. vaccinating children by going from home to home or organising vaccination days at zonal level. They are also responsible for teaching the community about the link between health and sanitation through training and supporting families in the construction of a latrine in their compound.

In the last five years the kebele administrator felt that the work of the HEWs had increased and that big changes were happening in the community as a result. People are now well aware about the importance of birth control and the early vaccination of their children. There have been significant improvements in malaria prevention, personal hygiene, environmental sanitation, the diet of children and there are now latrines in the compounds of many households. The HEWs often target women in their training and teaching as they have greatest influence over the home environment and can easily influence others close to them.

In April 2013 the major problem related to health extension service was said to be the lack of residential house for the HEWs and as a result they lived in the nearby town. This meant that they were unable to provide any service to the people during the evening/night times and over the weekends. They also worked a shorter working day so as to be able to return home. This was particularly problematic for women who go into labour out of hours or at the weekend as they were then forced to travel to the town to seek help. Delivery in the town is expensive and the travel can be dangerous for women in labour. The kebele administration had requested financial help from the wereda administration to help construct a residential house for the HEWs but had not yet had a

proper response. In November 2013 a big change was underway as the kebele had started building a residence on the health post compound.

Community health volunteers

In the past there were voluntary health extension teams who provided support to the HEWs in the kebele. There were 6 health volunteers in the community who served from 2011-2012, focusing mainly on improving child nutrition and reducing malnutrition. However, they stopped work in 2013 and no one including the kebele administration knows why.

Over the last two years women in the development teams and 1-5s have played some role in trying to improve the health condition of the community through sharing information. In November 2013 the HEWs claimed that there had been a big change in the community's acceptance of the 16 packages as the DT and 1-5 leaders had got training from them and then mobilised the community. The DT leaders, 1-5 networks and development health army work together in mobilising. They meet every week and the HEWs evaluate the reports and pass them onto the wereda health centre. However, community members talking about the DTs and 1-5s in general said that there were no women's structures at zone and gare (DT level). There were 1-5s but not active.

Preventive health services

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

Generally

The community has been generally receptive concerning the importance of hygiene and environmental sanitation.

Latrines

There has been generally good acceptance of the need to have a latrine. Those families who had latrines accepted that it had made a difference to their health and that now they had little diarrhoea in their household.

One of the wives (successful farmer) admitted that it had been difficult for the HEWs to convince them to build a latrine but that now they had one she could see the benefits. Two of the households interviewed did not have latrines but used bushes around or the forest. One was the poor farmer's household who said they had tried to dig a latrine without success and now used the land for growing maize and tomatoes. The successful business man's household also had no latrine due to lack of time to build one.

Waste disposal

Waste disposal was one of the packages that the HEWs said had not been accepted in the community as the majority of people wanted to use their solid and liquid waste on their farmland. Those families interviewed were all doing this as they considered it an important fertiliser.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

There seemed to have been a big change in terms of personal hygiene compared to the past. Most people said they showered once a week and washed their hair more often than that. Clothes were also washed more frequently. People in the community had understood the importance of personal hygiene and the link to poor health. One lady said that she had noticed a decline in watery diarrhoea since the behaviour change.

There were no direct comments about washing of hands and dishes.

Kitchen cupboards

The use of kitchen cupboards was becoming increasingly popular; richer households all had them. People were also aware of the need to keep food covered.

There is also increased awareness about food hygiene and the need to take care over keeping leftovers for another meal. Two of the households said that they no longer re-used leftovers instead each time they ate they prepared a fresh meal.

Livestock in the house

All of those interviewed had a separate house or shelter for livestock.

Smoke-free houses

All of those interviewed had separate kitchens.

Pest control

No pest control was mentioned except that provided by the kebele, spraying against mosquitoes, every year or every two years.

Other

Water purification tablets were not available in the kebele. Never the less they were used by one household (successful FHH).

Disease prevention and control

Generally the HEWs felt that the community had been receptive to disease prevention and control initiatives.

Immunisations

There is also an immunisation service provided by the HEWs which supports the prevention of diseases including TB, Polio, tikitik, tetanus, mengaga qolif, flu, influenza, pneumonia and measles /kufung.

The health extension workers said that vaccination for children and lactating mothers were the most popular package in the community. Lactating mothers bring their children to get vaccination based on their own motivation. They also seek vaccination for themselves. In November 2013 they reported that there had been regular mother and children's vaccination, and vaccination campaign for measles in August and for polio in mid-October. The campaign was conducted through house-to-house visits but there were also mothers who brought their children to the health post for vaccination and this is a big attitudinal change.

Malaria prevention and control – bednets, spraying houses, removing stagnant water

There has been significant intervention in terms of malaria prevention and control over the last 10 years. This is partly due to initiatives made at Wereda level after malaria was the top disease in the Wereda every year since 2004 GC, and the situation was getting worse. In 2010, about 6,400 (25.2%) community members were reported to have suffered from malaria; in 2012 this was 9,064 (34.9%) and in 2013 (only 9 months report) 7,553 (42.4%).

Bednets have now been distributed to every household by the Wereda health office and the aim is to have more than two bed nets per household. Twenty nine kebeles have been identified in the Oromia region as high risk malaria areas; 16 of them are identified as the worst risk areas; Bako in Oda Haro is one of these. The Wereda organises spraying of houses and during the recent campaign (March-April 2013) 9,000 houses were sprayed. Training is also being given on the importance of taking patients to the health post as soon as possible and the importance of cleaning the areas surrounding houses and removing stagnant water. The gares and 1-5s are also involved in checking the households within their neighbourhood.

Those interviewed differed in views as to how frequently the spraying happened - Some said every year whilst others said every other year. In November 2013 people reported spraying in many places

since April (farmers' houses, swamps, compounds). Bed nets had been distributed in May – 3 or 4 in the large households.

TB prevention

Community members agreed that there had not been any training on TB prevention in the last 12 months. They felt it was not a major problem in the area and that treatment was available.

HIV/AIDS prevention

Those interviewed agreed that there had not been any training about HIV/AIDS in the last 12 months although they had received training in the past and a number said that they already knew about the disease and its transmission. Conversations with adults about the vulnerability of youth to HIV/AIDS did however reveal some gaps in understanding about the disease. It was generally not considered a major threat in the community and no one knew of anyone who had it. It was definitely still taboo. Young people seemed better educated about HIV/AIDS than their parents due to what they had learnt at school.

First Aid at the Health Post

First aid was provided at the health post but none of those interviewed had used the service in the last 12 months.

HTPs affecting health

The major HTP is female circumcision which is still widely practised in the kebele despite efforts by the HEWs and several other institutions. Those interviewed were clear that the community is not willing to abandon the practice, although there had been a huge campaign at the kebele level. They explained that people, especially women, are not willing to abandon this cultural practice.

People are starting to circumcise girls at a younger age (it used to be from 7 years old) and are trying to hide the practice. However, there has been no investigation or serious action taken against the practitioners so that in fact, relatives living in places where the ban is stricter send their daughters to Oda Haro so that they are circumcised here.

There did not seem to be a plan to address this differently.

Reproductive health & services

Infertility

A number of women mentioned that they had heard that the use of contraceptive injection could cause infertility. No one admitted to being infertile although it was accepted practice that if a woman was infertile her husband would take another wife.

Contraception

The use of contraceptives has been generally accepted although the HEWs admitted there had been some resistance from some men. Those women interviewed felt that it was a very helpful and important intervention as controlling family size was vital due to the shortage of resources. New households were now having fewer children and this was reflected in the future plans of the young people interviewed; most of the girls wanted to have just two children.

Some women said that they had felt some discomfort or headaches from using contraceptives, the most common of which seemed to be the contraceptive injection. Contraceptives were not as easily available for young unmarried women. Condoms could not be bought locally but some of the young men said that they bought them in town. Young girls also felt more comfortable accessing contraceptives in the nearby town as they were worried that the local health post would report them to their family. The HEWs said that young unmarried people did get access to contraception at

the health post but there was a problem related to community perception. They have an awareness creation programme in the school.

Abortion

Abortion was mainly discussed in relation to unmarried girls becoming pregnant. The young girls and the women interviewed knew of cases where girls had gone for an abortion. Traditional abortions were available locally but were very dangerous unless carried out early in the pregnancy and were acknowledged to threaten the mother's life. Those who could afford it tended to go to the towns where modern abortion service was available. Alternatively some girls would have the unwanted child and either move to another place (due to the shame in the community) or abandon the child.

Fistula

Most of the community members were not aware of fistula. It therefore seems that it is not a serious problem in the community.

Other reproductive health problems

None mentioned.

Pregnancy and childbirth & services

Pregnancy

There was acknowledged to have been significant positive changes in relation to pregnancy, due to the interventions of the HEWs. Women were now seen regularly during pregnancy (usually via home visits). They were given advice on nutrition and advised to give birth in a health institution. The HEWs have a follow-up book and ID card for each pregnant woman. This system enables them to estimate the duration and analyse the due date of the pregnant women which facilitates their supervision.

Delivery

There is a strong push from Wereda level to try and get pregnant women to give birth in a medical institution under the care of trained HEWs and skilled health care providers. This policy aims to reduce infant and maternal mortality. Currently the number of women accessing safe and clean delivery services in the Wereda is very low. As a result maternal mortality levels remain high. In 2012 about 3,582 mothers were estimated to access safe and clean delivery at the health institution. According to recent regional statistics maternal mortality ratio is 676 per 100,000 live births and the Wereda has a rate of 37%. The following table shows the child delivery progress at modern health institutional facility:

Table 8: Wereda statistics on changes in infant delivery at modern health institutions 2000-05 EC

	2000 EC	%	2004 EC	%	2005 EC	%
HEWs	292	15.8	386	25.1	302	35
HC	423	22.6	874	51.3	706	65.1
Hospital	-	-	-	-	860	-

In order to try and improve this the Wereda is working on an education programme at household level promoting community based awareness of the importance of institutional delivery and increasing accessibility to the delivery services. The Wereda is also trying to address male household heads and every household member in the community. To implement the MoH policy and strategy, Bako Tibe Wereda is providing monthly education for pregnant women and every member of the family at household level through Gari/DT leaders and 1-5 cells. The education programme helps to identify pregnant women who delivered at home, who have less awareness or cannot afford to take

the initiative for safe and clean delivery service at the nearest health institution. They are also using a peer's experience sharing programme to help change attitudes in families and amongst mothers.

There have already been significant changes in attitude within the community and the number of mothers who deliver at home is now thought to be just 15%. Lack of access and of transportation to health institutions is a major barrier as is the lack of health care professionals at government health centres. As a result many people go to private clinics which are of course restricted to those who can afford them.

There is one ambulance in the Wereda that provides service to support the community in transporting the pregnant women during labour to the nearby health institutions. Unfortunately the Wereda lacks budget to pay for the fuel so at present the ambulance is only used by those households who can pay for the fuel. This is a big problem that hinders full access to safe and clean delivery service.

The HEWs explained that they have been raising awareness of the importance of delivering in hospital or at a health centre or at the health post. They do home visits and are supposed to help the women to access clean and safe delivery in the nearest health centre. The delivery cost is covered by government which, they said, motivates most of the poor people to seek the service. The HEWs have been trained on safe and clean delivery and, they started by saying, this has helped reduce the intervention of the Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). Later on they admitted to the fact that although there is some equipment at the health post, there had never been any delivery there. According to the HEWs, TBAs can continue to help in cases of emergency; but otherwise they should encourage the woman to go to a health institution, as per the government policy. However, this is not 100% implemented.

In November 2013 the HEWs could not provide statistics but they claimed that a good number of women had delivered at the health centre since April and only an insignificant number at home without any professional assistance.

Community members said that the number of mothers delivering at home had reduced but this was not 100% so far (one of them said that about 15% of women still deliver at home). There are problems with government services (lack of free transportation, lack of qualified professionals) and so people who wanted good services had to go far to private clinics that are also expensive.

Mother and infant care

The wereda health office estimates that about 75% of maternal mortality is reduced in providing ante natal care, safe and clean delivery and HIV/AIDS test. Therefore there is increasing focus on mother and infant care. HIV tests are provided and services to prevent mother-child transmission. Mothers are encouraged to have their babies vaccinated and to be vaccinated themselves. The total costs for ante-natal checks, mother's and child vaccination and any treatment during pre and post-delivery are covered by the Wereda health centre.

Those interviewed in the community commented on improvements in hygiene for young babies and that mothers now prepared for the birth of their baby by buying new clothes and nappies. The care of infants was considered to have improved significantly. The HEWs claimed that there were house-to-house visits every 3 months to identify malnourished mothers and children.

Illnesses and curative health services

Government

Health Post

There is a health post in Oda Haro and it is staffed by the two HEWs.

Health Centre

Most of the community use the health centres based in Tibe town. The health centre serves 9 kebeles and according to some respondents the services do not match the demand. Moreover, health centre and health post are both not well equipped for emergencies and provide similar medicine for all kinds of illnesses (paracetamol and quatem). Because of the weakness of government services (no resources and lack of professionals), people are forced to call on private clinics, which are not affordable for most.

Hospitals

A Wereda hospital is under construction in Bako town and 40% of the construction phase has already been covered.

NGOs

There are no NGOs working on health care in the kebele. At Wereda level UNICEF is playing an extensive role and have developed a funding strategy for different kinds of trainings and advice and for the distribution of supplementary food aid, supervision and improving the screening of children.

Private clinics and pharmacies

There are no private clinics or pharmacies in the kebele; the nearest are in Tibe town.

Traditional practitioners

There are a number of traditional practitioners in the kebele who specialise in different areas. The poor farmer's wife explained how her husband had suffered with bad spirits for five days and had gone to the traditional practitioner who had given him holy water which had cured him.

Child-rearing

Overall child rearing practises were considered to have improved as people have become more aware and concerned about how they look after their children and what they feed them. Children are taken to the health post when they are sick or for vaccinations or nutritional check-ups. People have fewer children and the number of children who die seems to be decreasing.

From newborn until children are aged 7 years, child rearing practises seemed to be very similar for male and female. Newborns had good access to health care and were taken regularly by their mothers to health institutions. The mothers ensure that their babies have clothes and that they are changed frequently. Babies are now breast fed exclusively until they are six months old. It was recognised that as a result the mother needed extra nutrition and food. One lady said that babies were also breast fed more frequently than they were in the past.

In the words of the poor FHH "*previously, there was a wrong perception that children can grow by chance. But now child rising is getting better as the community's awareness is increasing*". This awareness resulted in babies and knee children receiving better care, nutrition and person hygiene. Babies after six months were give some solids: macaroni, pasta, different types of grain mixed porridge and a kind of soup/atmit. Knee children started being fed injera, eggs, cow's milk, porridge.

Some children aged 4 or 5 are sent to pre-school. The nearest pre-school is in Bako and is private. Aged 7 children start to attend primary school. They are also expected to start contributing in the household and from this age their gender will determine what chores they are involved in. Boys start herding livestock, fetching water and collecting firewood. Whilst girls help their mothers with domestic work; cleaning the house, looking after younger siblings, making coffee, fetching water and firewood.

Aged 12 to 16 these roles continue but responsibility increases. Boys become more involved in farming activities whilst girls take increasing responsibility for the domestic work on behalf of the

mother. Those from poorer households may start to do paid agricultural work. Both boys and girls go to school and live at home as early marriage is now rare. Aged between 17 and 20 years boys start to participate in the household's decision making. They would also be starting to work out how they will set up an independent livelihood. Some would still be at school and for boys it seemed to be acceptable at this age to have a girlfriend. Migration was common at this age for both boys and girls. Some would also get married and it was acknowledged that young people increasingly choose who they will marry.

Education

Education overview

There has been significant change in the area of education across the Wereda and there are now two or three primary schools in each kebele within the Wereda. The enrolment rate for primary school is 94%. Wereda-wide the gender disparity has decreased at primary level. The community are now sending all eligible girls to school as there are nearby primary schools everywhere. This marks a significant change in attitude.

There are problems in terms of attracting good quality teachers to the kebele and as a result there is lack of teachers and those who are assigned have poor qualifications. This combined with a shortage of materials and particularly books has affected the quality of education provided in the community. As a result the students are not performing well and the majority are unable to progress to higher education.

There is a school grant fund which has been donated by international donors to Ethiopia. Thanks to this, each year there is a budget given for elementary schools in the kebele. Last year Oda Haro received about 40,000 birr. The money can be used to cover school activities such as refurbishing of classrooms' and the purchase of different learning materials. The head teacher felt that the money should be used to help attract and employ skilled and qualified teachers but this is not allowed. The poor quality of education has a consequence in producing poor performance amongst primary school pupils in terms of reading and writing.

Pre-school

There is no pre-school education for children in the community but some people sent their children to a private pre-school in Tibe which opened in the last five years. This costs between 50 and 70 birr per month per child. There is a plan to establish a pre-school class in the Gudina Haro full cycle primary school next year. This has been received eagerly by poorer parents who are keen to send their smaller children to pre-school.

Alternative basic education

There are no alternative options in basic education in the kebele.

Primary education

The primary schools

There are two primary schools (one full cycle primary, one Gr1-6) in the community. One is located in Boto Zone and one in Abicho Zone. Both girls and boys learn together in the same classrooms.

The community is delighted that primary school provision has been expanded; one of the schools became full cycle last year; then in November 2013 people said that the Boto school had also been upgraded to full cycle. Having a full cycle school at proximity means that children can complete their primary education in the kebele near home. This is particularly important for girls' education.

School management and staff

The full-cycle school has seven teachers and a head and deputy head teacher who both also teach. Although the school has shown good progress in terms of enrolment and in reducing dropouts there are some major problems concerning the quality of education provided and a shortage of teachers. There are no language teachers (English and Amharic) although the school has repeatedly reported this to the wereda education office. Recently one teacher was assigned to teach both Amharic and English in grade 7 and 8. However, at least three language teachers are needed to cover the needs. The parents and teachers association (PTA) also reported the problem to the wereda but the response did not come quickly. Then the school was informed that it could not get another language teacher. In the end the school administration and the PTA have decided to recruit a teacher from the community. His salary of 300 birr, which is very low compared with the salary of other teachers (1,427 birr). He has just started work. As he was previously unemployed he is happy to work for this salary. There is also a problem throughout the Wereda with a lack of trained teachers. Some of the teachers do not have sufficient knowledge and skills to get students to the required level in the subjects they teach; many do not speak good English. Moreover, teachers in the self-contained system teach all subjects and are therefore not specialised in specific subjects; this has an adverse effect on students' performance, according to Oda Haro's school director.

At Wereda level they have been trying to improve the quality of education by grouping the students into 1-5s so that the clever students support the weak ones; urging the teachers to provide tutorial classes to students, and; arranging specific trainings for teachers so that they can improve their knowledge and teaching skills. The regional government is also training more and more teachers which is expected to reduce the shortage.

The wereda education office conducts monthly meetings with the head teachers and the wereda experts to evaluate the performance and challenges faced by each school. At the monthly meeting each head teacher presents a report and they discuss on the reports. Then the wereda officials give recommendations on how to resolve the problems and an action plan is prepared and agreed for the next month. This meeting is very important to build the capacity of the head teachers in report writing and in how to manage the schools. In addition to the meeting at wereda level, there is a supervisor assigned to follow up the activities of 4 schools. The supervisor for Oda Haro schools is based in Tibe town and he visits the schools in the kebele at least once a week. The supervisor is directly responsible to the wereda education office.

The school grant money is given based on the number of students who learn in the school. On average the grant is 50 birr per student. The school uses this grant to buy school furniture such as chairs, tables, and blackboards. There are now enough desks for all the children. Each household contributes 10 birr per year to the school; the school also has 3 hectares of land and produce crops for sale. With the money raised the school plans to construct some additional classrooms. The community also recruit and pay for the school guards, cleaners and contract teacher. The community members farm, harvest and thresh the school's farm.

Experiences of primary school

The school teaches in a shift system; one shift for the Gr 1-4 students and one for the Gr 5-8 students. The shift system is used because of the shortage of teachers and classrooms, and the desire of parents to use their children for family and domestic labour. During the harvest season, schools are closed for a week or two and children help their parents with the harvest. The missed classes are covered by catch-up classes during the weekend.

Almost all of those parents interviewed said that their children loved primary school and were keen to learn. However problems were raised in terms of the absence of teachers which meant that they sometimes had nothing to do in class, and the lack of textbooks. Children currently share books with 1 book for 2 students or 2 books for 3 students. The shortage is more acute for grades 7 and 8

(Amharic, English and Maths books). In grade 8 there is one maths book for five students. This is because when the school was expanded the number of teachers and text books did not increase. Some also complained about the quality of the education and the fact that there was no secondary school in the kebele which would make it difficult for some children (without the means to rent in Tibe town) to continue their education.

The school established a water pump for the students and teachers in the school compound with funding from USAID. So, it now has clean water, which is also used to water seedlings of different trees which the school sells to the community. USAID also provided financial support to construct toilets for girls and boys. But the toilet for girls was not good quality and it is no longer functional.

The head teacher was aware of the need for teachers to use teaching aids and to make the school attractive to students. But he said that there was a shortage of teaching aids and only some of the teachers used locally made materials to teach.

In November 2013 there was a rumour that any student failing Gr8 could not re-sit for the exam except privately. Some respondents thought that students disrespected teachers and were taking things for granted, considering education as a right and not as a duty and therefore, for instance, refusing to attend Amharic classes. Generally, they said, both students and teachers had lax attitudes.

Secondary education

The nearest secondary school is in Tibe town; it was established two years ago. This is a great improvement as before children had to travel to Bako for secondary education. Given the distance to Tibe it is possible from some parts of Oda Haro to walk there and back each day.

But there also seemed to be some problems with the quality of the education in the secondary school. At the end of grade 10 and 12 students need to pass and most of the children in the community do not pass. Parents are unhappy that so many students are failing and therefore cannot continue to university or college education. There are a lot of young people who complete secondary school but then return to the community and are dependent on their parents.

Post-secondary education and adult education

There is a real problem with access to post-secondary education in the community as most young people do not pass grade 10 and 12 exams.

Government TVET

There is a government TVET found in Bako town (16 km away). Attending there is a challenge for most of the girls and poor male children, because of the costs of transport and house rent. Parents wish the government would open a TVET in Tibe town in the near future which would make it more accessible to them.

Government universities

There is a government university in Ambo but very few young people from the community make it to university.

Private colleges

Those who have money send some of their children to Ambo and Bako to attend college education in private colleges. They can then get a job after graduation as long as they pass the Certificate of Competence (COC). Unfortunately fewer and fewer students from the community are managing to pass the COC and some fear that these private colleges do not cover the material that must be covered to be able to pass the exam or that the quality of education is not very good in private colleges.

Adult education

Adult education is available in the community and some of those interviewed were attending. The classes are free but some of the adults admitted they were finding it difficult.

Attitudes to education

Attitudes towards education for girls have changed significantly. Almost all girl children are now sent to primary school and many families said that they felt that it was important for girls to complete primary education (at least) before getting married. Education has therefore helped to reduce the practice of early marriage in the community. Girls were, however, expected to combine domestic responsibilities with their studies and this was felt by some to disadvantage them. Also, the opportunities for girls after primary school are very limited as many families cannot afford to send their children to Tibe for secondary school. Therefore many considered their best options to be either marriage or migration.

Education has certainly increased expectations, dreams and aspirations amongst the young people interviewed; most of them do not want to be farmers or farmers' wives. However, the allegedly poor quality of education in the community is causing problems as it is said to lead to young people failing to realise their aspirations of continuing to higher education. As a result some families are being forced to choose which of their children they send to private colleges or TVET as the costs are high. In addition, graduates from TVET and private colleges are also returning to the community having not found jobs, and the lack of opportunities in the kebele means that they remain dependent upon their families.

The number of young people who although educated are unemployed and landless is shaking up attitudes towards education. The head teacher said that children's aspirations are declining as they have seen older siblings who despite their education cannot find work. They fear that the same future awaits them and therefore are less motivated to succeed at school. This he says also impacts upon parents' interest in supporting their children's education. The community has sent their children to school believing in positive outcomes but after 10 years their children are emerging from education jobless and dependent upon their parents. The head teacher felt that this was "*causing chaos in the community*" particularly amongst poorer families who cannot afford to send their children to private colleges. There was certainly growing frustration that they were not seeing the fruit of education in the community as there was still no access to jobs locally.

The quality of education in the kebele was raised again and again as problematic. This limited access to higher education and meant that even if children work hard and are clever they struggle to succeed due to the lack of knowledge amongst their teachers and the shortage of text books.

At the same time, young men explained that some people in the community have started returning to school after establishing independent households. One young woman was hopeful as she noted in November 2013 that in the last exam session, more students from Oda Haro had been promoted to preparatory schools, and a very few to university and college.

Social re/production domain

Social institutions and organisations

Local informal security regime

Both the 1-5s and the gares are involved in informally passing security information (about the behaviour and activities of others in their neighbourhood) back to the zone leaders. This combined with the role of the iddirs is thought to have significantly improved security in the area.

Iddirs are also very important in terms of support to their members, as indicated among others in the households' interviews. Support from children, relatives and neighbours also remain a key

element in the local informal security regime, but there were instances of rich households proposing loans to their poor neighbours at very high rates.

Community celebrations

Most households said that when there was a community celebration they provided support in the form of money, crops or labour. Traditionally Meskel and Timket were the notable celebrations in the community but in recent years, as most of the community members became protestant the number of religious ceremonies and celebrations has declined.

In 2008 people celebrated the Ethiopian millennium by planting trees. The trees are now in good condition and the Grevillea tree which was planted at that time has spread over much of the kebele.

A large number of people were trained in 2010 as part of the GTP training. This included about two hundred model farmers who were trained on how to improve agriculture production for 15 days. At the end there was a big festival and people contributed and slaughtered oxen to celebrate the event.

Holidays

Holidays were considered a time at which people in the community eat special foods like meat, eggs, butter and milk which due to their cost are not consumed regularly. The community celebrates holidays in the way that they are celebrated in many other parts of Ethiopia. However, the increasing numbers of conversions to Protestantism means that people have decreased the number of festivals they celebrate (e.g. Meskel and Timket are no longer celebrated to the same extent as they were in the past). Also for economic reasons, celebrations have become less extravagant across the board.

When Muslims celebrate holidays the Christians go to their home and celebrate the holiday with them. The reverse is true when the Christians celebrate their holidays. During the holidays, the people in the community share many things together. For example, they slaughter oxen or cows or shoats and share the meat. Relatives and neighbours are invited to eat and drink without any religious and social discrimination.

In most cases, the followers of the Protestant and Orthodox religions celebrate similar holidays. The difference is that the followers of the protestant religion do not fast during the fasting seasons and they do not drink alcohol throughout the year.

There are no community based holidays in the community. In the past the celebration of Christmas was not common but recently many people have started to celebrate it.

The Muslims also celebrate their holidays but recently the Wahabiya sect of Islam refused to celebrate the Mawlid (birth date of Prophet Mohammed) which is fully and actively celebrated by the Sofia sect of the religion. There have been tensions between the Wahabiya and Sofia branches of Islam. The followers of the Wahabiya religion have become more numerous in recent years. Until last year money was sent from outside the kebele for the Wahabiya followers to celebrate during their holidays.

For those who follow the local traditional religion (Kallu) there is a cultural celebration (Kello) which takes place in mid-September. People travel from different areas such as Nekemte, Ambo and Bako for this celebration. They spend five days celebrating the holidays in the house of the former Kallu leader. They have their own special songs and ceremonies.

Meskel has long been celebrated by Orthodox followers. It is customary for people to light a campfire in their compound or nearby and people in Oda Haro do this.

Customary organisations

Iddirs

There are seven large iddirs and more than 40 smaller male ones and a large number of smaller female ones. Most people in the community are members of at least one iddir if not more. They contribute to their iddirs on a monthly basis (usually 2-6 birr). The iddirs provide help in times of crisis, for example if someone loses an ox during the ploughing season or when the house of a member is burned. They provide assistance through lending oxen and helping rebuilding the house of the affected family. They also provide financial support if a member's cattle are stolen by thieves. Iddirs support members' families affected by a death in the household, providing cash to cover the cost of the funeral ceremonies. Support can be financial or in labour or in-kind (most often food). Iddirs also provide tents for the funerals. Some of the iddirs provide loans for members.

The larger iddirs play leading roles in burial ceremonies and in times of community crisis, whereas members of the smaller ones, living nearby each other, are better placed to provide immediate support – including some financial support. Three of the seven larger iddirs, one in each zone, are 'leading'. The Wahabi and Sufi have different iddirs so at least some of them are demarcated along religious faiths.

Relatively recently the iddirs have been given power (by the people and the Wereda and kebele administration) to impose fines and sanctions on those who are involved in theft and other big crimes. In doing this they work closely with elders, the sub-kebele structures and in particular, the 1-5s, and the government wereda and kebele administrations which recognise and enforce the sanctions that they give. Respondents were generally favourable to this role, although some questioned the legality of this system which gives a lot of power to the iddir. See more in sections 6.4 and 6.5 below.

One of the iddirs has access to a steady flow of revenue through managing a water point (constructed under the Derg then given to the iddir by the people when villagisation ended). They have a capital of 12,000 birr; bought millennium dam bonds for 1,500 birr; have 4,000 birr at the bank; and gave 8,000 birr of loans with no interest to their members in the last summer.

Mehaber

Mehabers are closely associated with the Orthodox Church and as the number of Protestants in the community has risen their membership has declined. The Protestants see them as being Orthodox and costly due to the number of feasts they observe. Members usually contribute monthly (1 birr seemed to be standard). In addition, other members give money and some food when a family member or relative dies. In contrast, those who were members consider that mehabers are important to strengthen social relations. The mehabers are usually associated with a particular Christian Saint and each month, on their Saint's day, a feast is held in the church for all members.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

Weddings traditionally are expensive events which neighbours and friends contribute towards by helping with the preparations. Relatives are expected to contribute financially. For example the poor FHH said that five years ago her daughter got married. This huge celebration cost around 10,000 birr including slaughtering ox, big sheep and three chickens. She got almost more than half of the money from her sister and two brothers.

Voluntary abduction was said to become more common and as well as giving more choice to the couple as to whom and when they married. It also significantly reduced the costs for the families involved. When the situation was regularised, a gift was made by the groom's parents to the parents of the bride as compensation that she was taken without the will of her parents, based on negotiation. There might be some ceremony but they tended to be smaller.

Sometimes parents do not want to get any compensation. For instance, the poor farmer explained: "My daughter also married 5 years ago...She agreed with her husband and he abducted her. Then elders came to our house and asked us to accept the marriage. They agreed to give us some money

as compensation. But I refused to receive it because I know that her husband is poor so I agreed to leave the money for them to establish the household". He went on to acknowledge how difficult marriage was for the children of poor families as so much money was needed to prepare the marriage feasts and give gifts and bride wealth.

Divorce is not common in Oda Haro, particularly amongst the Muslim communities. It happens occasionally amongst the followers of the protestant religion. The main problem is when one of the partners converts to Protestantism. The difference in religions cause conflict in the couple and the one who is Protestant seeks divorce. In the Orthodox Church divorce is also not common. Also, respondents felt that the frequency of divorce had declined in recent years; they linked this to be more difficult economic context which meant that sharing resources and land would make life harder for both individuals. As a result, they said, people try to solve their problems with the support of the elders and to tolerate one another. Those who were divorced were also not well seen in the community, people did not respect them.

The new family law provides for widows to inherit land and to be able to re-marry who they choose; this has made a significant difference for them. In the past widowed women were considered as an object and had no say about their own future or that of their children. These days widows live peacefully with the community members. If a widow wants to re-marry she can but she has to leave her former husband's farmland to his children. If the children are still young and she takes all the children with her she can continue to keep and cultivate the land. In most cases, widows remarry in other places. It is very rare for a widow to bring a new husband to the place where she lived with her first husband.

Death ceremonies and inheritance

Death was the key time when iddirs and mehabers would provide support to the family of the deceased, as per the custom. The community also provided domestic labour sharing for the funerals. Funerals were costly and whilst some iddirs would cover most of the costs the family also had to provide extra money. The middle farmer five years ago said he paid 500 birr for his mother's funeral ceremony whilst the poor FHH spent 1,500 birr when her mother died and she got 200 birr and three days of dinner from her iddir so she had to contribute the rest.

Inheritance now passes directly to the widow who shares it with any married children. If there are no married children she is entitled to all of the inheritance, including her husband's land. If both parents die the inheritance would pass to the children.

Religion

There are three major religions in the area: Orthodox, Protestantism and Islam. The traditional religion (Kallu) has declined over time due to the influence of the three worldly religions. In the last ten years the two religions that seem to have grown the most are the Mekane Yesus Protestant church and Wahabism, a branch of Islam. Wahabism emerged recently but has expanded and there are now 100 followers in the kebele and they have their own mosque in Alemgena zone. In terms of numbers the Protestant church is the largest in the area followed by Orthodox Christians then Muslims but the proportion of Orthodox Christians has been declining steadily over the past decade. The protestant preachers were said by some to focus on the young generation, which has helped them to get large number of followers in short period of time.

All of those interviewed played an active part in their religion. Some households took turn to attend church programmes as it was necessary for someone to stay and guard the household and the cattle. In some families there were people of different religions and this did not seem to pose any problems. For example the poor farmer explained *"I am a member of the Orthodox religion. My wife and children however are followers of protestant Church... Though we follow different religions we respect the religion of the other. My wife was converted to Protestantism from Orthodox 10 years*

ago. *I refused to change my religion.*" However as noted earlier, some thought that in some cases the differences in religion among spouses could lead to divorce.

A number of those interviewed explained how their religious beliefs improved their lives: "*We have obtained blessing and good health from God*" (middle farmer); "*By going to the Church we communicate with God, and we get blessing and spiritual satisfaction*" (successful businessman). "*I was drinking and fighting with other people and my wife before I accept Protestantism. Now I stop all of these bad acts and focus on improving the livelihood of my family. Our children are also learning morale and spirituality*" (successful farmer).

Although the traditional religion has declined Kalu continues to be celebrated annually. The September 2013 celebration was said by one respondent to be less colourful than in the past because many followers have converted to other religions. But one woman said that different people came from Nekemte, Ambo and Bako, and gathered in the Kalu leader's compound for 5 days. They sang traditional songs using drums and everyone held leaves and flowers. The Kalu celebration is a thanksgiving day for their god, old people bless the community, the livestock and the crops.

New community-initiated organisations

None mentioned.

Key social actors and their networks

Kebele cabinet

Table 9: Kebele cabinet and their networks

Cabinet position	Livelihood success farming + other activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks?
Chair	Middle class depend on agriculture	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
Vice-chair	Depend on agriculture	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
Security	Depend on agriculture	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
kebele manager	Rich class depend on rain-fed and non-farming, irrigation based	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
DAs	Salary pad	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
HEW	Salary paid job	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
Director	Salary paid job	Cabinet members	Wereda and kebele officials and community
Women and child affair	Farming	Women and child affair leader at the kebele level	Wereda and kebele officials and community

Elders

Table 10: Elders and their networks

Main activities in the community as elders	What other elite positions do they hold?	Which other elites are in their networks?
He is respected elder in the kebele. He is known in resolving disputes.	He is model farmer awarded gold Lishan from late prime minister Meles Zenawi	He has good relationship with the community, Wereda and kebele officials
He is well known conflict resolver and selected by Wereda officials as community elder	He is hard working	The community, kebele and Wereda officials
He is well educated as he reached 9 th grade. He is known as dispute resolver in the community	Former Vice chairperson Irrigation committee He is preaching committee in orthodox church and he is a chairman of iddir in the kebele.	He has good r/ship with the community, kebele and Wereda

*Religious leaders***Table 11: Religious leaders and their networks**

Religion	Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Which other elites are in their networks
Head of Wahhabi Muslim mosque	He serve the Muslim community in preaching Koran	NA	Muslim followers
Head of Mekane Yesus church	He preach and serve protestants by preaching bible	He is hard working and rich farmer	Community particularly protestant followers
Head of Orthodox church	He preach to orthodox followers and lead the church	He is a church leader	Community particularly orthodox followers

*Clan leaders***Table 12: Clan leaders and their networks**

Clan/lineage & main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Which other elites are in their networks?
He is known as a Gudeya clan leader	He resolves dispute	
he is known as representative of Ariya clan on behalf of his deceased	He was kebele chairman for long time	He is the older brother of the current chairman and the son of former known kallu leader

Iddir leaders

According to the head of Gudina Mada'a Iddir, there are 7 major male iddirs in Oda Haro. There are also other smaller iddirs in the community. Only the kebele administration has the data on the number of these smaller iddirs and the women iddirs. But the 7 major iddirs are well known by the majority of the people in the community. Some people belong to 2-3 iddirs.

The leaders of the big iddirs are important actors in the community, especially since iddirs have been given a mandate to help with peace and security. This is more fully described in section 6.5.5 below.

*Successful farmers**Male***Table 13: Successful male farmers and their networks**

Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Rich farmer	Model farmer	Community, kebele and Wereda officials
Rich farmer	Model farmer	Community and kebele officials

Female

Table 14: Successful female farmers and their networks

Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Rich farmer and a wife of large scale business man in the community	She doesn't have any position in the kebele	NA
Rich farmer	Model farmer	NA

Successful traders/businessmen

Male

Table 15: Successful male traders/businessmen and their networks

Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Successful traders and beneficiary of irrigation	Model farmer	kebele officials, Wereda officials, community
Successful large businessman	Wahabi Muslim follower	Farmers, Consumers and traders

Female

Table 16: Successful female traders/businessmen and their networks

Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Retailer	NA	NA
Butter trader	NA	NA

*Women's leaders***Table 17: Women's leaders and their networks**

Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Provide education to the community about women right	Women leader	Kebele and Wereda officials Women sector at the Wereda level
She helps	1-5 leader Member of social court	
	Development team leader	

*Political activists***Table 18: Political activists and their networks**

Main activities	What other elite positions?	Who is in their networks
Farmer	Development team leader Member of ONLF party	Community, kebele and Wereda officials
Farmer and trader	Former ONLF party representative	

*Customary leaders***Table 19: Customary leaders and their networks**

What kind of customary leader?	Main activities in the community	What other elite positions?	Which other elites are in their networks?
He is the Abaa Gedda system leader	He resolve conflict in the community and beyond the kebele	NA	Community, Keble and Wereda officials' are in their network
She received the kallu sprit from her mother and she is Kallu leader	She has followers and she is making her living from kallu practice	NA	Her followers only

Social interactions within the community

Community-government relations

There seemed to be little accountability of government in the kebele or little awareness of the means by which people could hold government to account. Gimgema was the only accountability mechanism that some people had heard of and one person said that there was a gimgema programme at kebele, zone, development team and cell level. However no one interviewed had ever participated in gimgema. No one interviewed knew anything about suggestion boxes, citizen's report cards, budget monitoring and no one admitted to having complained to an important figure.

The areas which were raised frequently by the community as needing government attention were the poor quality of education (primary and secondary) and the need to address youth unemployment and landlessness. Generally the community accepted government programmes on the environment, preventative health care and community governance. They were pleased about the expansion of the education system, the increased access to health care particularly for pregnant women and children and the reduction in crime and violence. The one area where the majority interviewed were firmly against government policy was the ban on female circumcision as they felt that this went against their culture.

Other suggestions as to what the government should be doing were prioritising electric power supply in the kebele. Some felt that the irrigation land should be redistributed and shared out more equally across the community. Those involved in trade felt that the government should be providing technical training and support to this expanding area. Opinion was divided as to whether government should be redistributing some of the grazing land to cooperatives of jobless young people. Many also mentioned that government should do something about the general price inflation as it was making life too expensive.

In November 2013 a number of respondents expressed quite strongly their unhappiness with the ruling political party and the government in association, for relaying false information (e.g. about the AGP); agitating people but being unable to help them change their livelihoods; mixing politics with development so that development issues like increased price of inputs are side-lined and not resolved during meetings; and nepotism, that they said was expanding among the party leadership at wereda and kebele level with leaders '*busy searching jobs for their children at wereda and zone level and forgetting that they should stand equal to all people in the kebele*'.

Box 1: An official account of a recent kebele general meeting in Oda Haro

During the November 2013 fieldwork there was a big training meeting organised by the wereda administration for 10 days. It was about evaluating 2005EC and agreeing the 2006 plan. The main topic was how to continue to transform the local economy. Involved in the training were male and female adult farmers, old people, elders, model farmers, traders, young people, members of Women and Youth leagues and associations, kebele leaders, DAs, HEWs. More than 450 people attended the meeting every day. If a farmer was absent for one day he was fined 25 *birr*.

Training had started a month before, when wereda officials provided training to model farmers and kebele officials in Tibe. The model farmers are expected to play an important role in the mass training to give awareness on the government's direction to improve the livelihoods of people in the rural and urban areas. When the training moved to the zone level for 3 days, some said participation was better. The agendas were similar to those at kebele level.

Training was completed by approving the 2006 agricultural development plan; farmers agreed to implement it and improve the production and productivity of their crops.

On meetings, there was for instance quite a contrast between the kebele officials' account of the kebele general training/meeting (evaluation of 2005 EC and planning for 2006 EC) that took place during the second fieldwork (see in the box above) and the opinion of a community member, stating

that *'people hate meetings in the kebele because no improvements take place following the discussion and evaluation meetings'*.

One zone leader recognised that there was a problem with the lack of implementation of the many plans and programmes *'delivered by the kebele to the community in different meetings but which are not functional on the ground'*. People, he said, do not have a problem with the programmes, but with the fact that they are not implemented. He also was encouraged by the fact that people had begun questioning everything which, he said, is an important attitude change in the community.

In somewhat of a contrast one key informant complained that although *'the conditions of politics and religion in the area are not good, they cannot talk about it because of government pressure'*. He added that if he spoke about politics or religion in meetings he could be considered an extremist; so he has stopped going to meetings.

There were also a number of allegations of various forms of corruption (bribery, nepotism, favouring relatives or friends) at both wereda and kebele levels. At kebele level examples included public goods like grass being sold with no accountability for the use of the money; land tax being collected without receipts under the pretext that they were all used up (people were asked to pay a second time but they refused); and this kind of money or money collected for road construction being used for private purposes by kebele officials. The social court was said to side with people and delay cases of others because of corruption. The wereda court released criminals found guilty when they were bribed. The wereda police found ways of not bringing criminals to court if they were bribed.

There were people thinking that corruption was declining, because of continuous evaluation of officials by the wereda and by the people. They saw a big change in the community as ordinary people complained to upper authorities and battled with corrupt people.

Local elite-people relations

No specific comments.

Ethnic/clan relations

This was not very relevant in this kebele as almost all of the population are from the same ethnic group and clan was not considered to be important to people. Many did not know which clan they belonged to.

Relations among different religious groups

In April 2013, relations among religious groups were generally said to be good but a number of incidents were mentioned. In 2010 there was reported to have been some conflict between the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians and the Muslims. The Muslims tried to attack the followers of the Orthodox Christians. Finally after discussion was made with the followers of the two religions, the situation became calm and peace prevailed.

More recently there had been some tensions between the Sofia and Wahabiya sects of the Islam religion. Both groups have their own Mosques in Alemgena zone where the majority of the Muslim live. They accused each other at the wereda level last summer and the wereda intervened and made the situation calm. The tension still existed but there was no open conflict.

The situation as reported in November 2013 suggested heightened tensions along several dimensions, and shows that the government actively intervened.

The tension between Sufi and Wahabi increased; it was said to be even worse in Bako town. Recently for instance, the Wahabi had refused to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet. Several respondents noted that wahabism was considered as an extremist agenda with links with terrorists, by the government at wereda and kebele levels. Government officials or employees like the HEWs, seemed to endorse the government's message. Among community members, some were not

convinced by it. In their views, the difference between Sufi and Wahabi is not about extremism but about those *'who have a good knowledge of the Kuran and amateurs'* (non-farm respondent). One of the explained that *'the government has its own political mission'* but at the community level *'there is no difference between religions; people can lend money to each other, even Christians... (at recent meeting) people said that they are peacefully living together'*. Others (e.g. rich farmer) seemed inclined to align with government seeing a threat in the continuous expansion of *'this kind of strict religion'*, as *'the objective of this movement is to establish a Muslim state in Ethiopia'*. He identified the migrant returnees as people who transmit this message, distributing money to followers and converting Sufi followers to Wahabism.

The government acts in different ways. The 'threat' is discussed at the monthly inter-kebele meetings in Tibe. People who transmit fundamentalist messages are identified. At the kebele level, during the week of the fieldwork the wereda had provided training on various issues including the need to fight against religious fundamentalism. The message was that *'anyone can follow the religion they want but they cannot create problems in the community in the name of religion'*. As one key informant put it: *'During the discussions the wehabi followers kept silent; but they felt discontent internally'*.

There were also problems in Tibe among Protestants when some followers started to create a new sect within Mekane Yesus, which they wanted to be exclusively for Oromo and excluding members from all other ethnic groups. This was condemned and they established a separate church in the town; as they were refused land by the town administration they build the church on the land of the group's leader. The wereda follows up the activity of this sect which is said to originate from Ambo. The number of followers was thought to be about 10 but expanding as they recruit people banned from the church for bad behaviour like drinking alcohol. Nobody from Oda Haro was involved yet.

Class relations

In general people seemed indifferent to class but treated everyone with equal respect whatever their socio-economic status. There were numerous examples of the rich assisting the poor by lending them oxen or getting them to graze their cattle in return for the milk. As a very rich class emerges and the gap between rich and poor widens it will be interesting to see if this changes.

Interactions affecting gender relations

Gender relations as a whole seem to have improved as there has been general acceptance of the emergence of women's rights. This has led to increasing acknowledgement of the need to share work as well as acknowledgement of the role of women in society and the economy.

However, there are still strong patriarchal values. For example men hold most of the leadership roles in the community and were considered most suitable for such roles – e.g. iddir leader, elders and kebele positions. Men also remain dominant economically and in many households women are only allowed to engage in housework. Some women are starting to get involved in income generating activities such as petty trade and selling agricultural outputs produced by their household. But many women still do not have any control over the finances of their household and some do not know how much income their husband's earn.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

Inter-generational relations are being tried by the increasing independence in decision making of young people. One particular example of this is the increasing trend towards voluntary abduction, which has removed the role of parents in choosing who and when their children married.

Interactions around inheritance and the passing of land to the young are also affecting intergenerational relations. The older generation are aware that they are not able to provide land for their children anymore as the amounts of land per household have become too small. As

traditionally this was the way that young men set up an independent livelihood and household this is problematic and some in the older generation feel bad about this.

Education is another area which impacts inter-generational relations. Although many of the parents were not educated, most of them are quick to see the value of it up to a certain point. However, the lack of access to higher education except for those able to pay puts pressure on parents. The question then become whether they will be willing/able to send their children to private college? If they cannot send them all, how will they choose who goes?

Finally the lack of opportunities for employment in the community and the lack of land available for young people mean that many are still dependent upon their families in their late teens/ early twenties. In a community where early marriage is less than a generation ago this is a significant change and puts increased economic pressure on households.

External relations

Terkanfeta Gibe is very close to Oda Haro from its western side. It has strong social, economic and cultural ties with the people in the kebele.

- They share grazing lands during the winter season. People can send their cattle to the grazing lands on both sides of the kebele border. These kinds of relationship have existed since ancient times. The people of the two kebeles also share water points/rivers for drinking their cattle and for irrigation.
- They have also labour sharing culture so people from both kebeles are involved in Debo labour sharing. This kind of labour sharing mechanism was very strong in the past and still exists. However with the focus of many farmers on the use of family labour, paid labour and wonfel (one-to one labour sharing), the role of the Debo has declined.
- When someone dies from one kebele, the people from the other kebele are involved in the burial ceremony.
- The people from the two communities have had strong marriage relationships for a long time. Marrying someone from a nearby by community is a common practice in the area.
- The people of the two communities share the same market place in Tibe town. As this town is very close to the two communities (bordering both), people buy and sell different kinds of farming and non-farming items to each other. They also meet in the market and share ideas about issues related to the two communities.
- Elders and religious groups from the two communities are involved in reconciliation and arbitration when serious conflicts arise between people/individuals from the two communities.
- People from both communities are involved in the monthly meetings organised at Tibe town. The meeting is carried out on 29th of each month in Ethiopian calendar. People from the 9 neighbouring kebeles meet with representatives from the wereda. The main issues discussed are mainly related to the security, farming and livelihoods.
- People from the two communities share the same service cooperative in Tibe town.

Oda Korma is also a neighbouring kebele in the south-east. It has also a strong social, cultural and economic relationship with the people of Oda Haro. The kinds of link it has with Oda Haro is similar to **Terkanfeta Gibe**.

Gudina Welkite borders Oda Haro in the east. The two kebeles have good social, cultural and economic ties. They share grazing land and have the same kinds of relation as the former two.

However in relation to water, they share water points/smaller streams but the relationship is sometimes not peaceful. It was reported that last month there was a conflict about one small stream used by the farmers of Gudina Welkite for their cattle and by some farmers from Oda Haro for small scale irrigation activities. A month ago, one household from Oda Haro started to produce seedlings

on their land just on the other side of the place where the Gudina Welkite farmers bring their cattle to drink. The farmers from Gudina Welkite were against anyone growing crops near where they water their cattle. They reported the issue to the wereda administration. Some officials from the wereda came (they were originally from the Gudina Welkite kebele), and gave instruction to the farmers to destroy the seedlings. When the wife of the person who produces the seedlings tried to prevent the cattle from destroying the seedlings, the farmers beat her and broke her hand. The family took the case to the wereda police, but they refused to see the case as the officials had been involved. The household then took the issues to the zone court but the court returned back the case to the wereda. The wereda then decided in favour of the farmers from the Gudina Welkite.

Gudina Alo is situated to the north of Oda Haro. Most of the time the two kebeles have a good relationship but conflict over the use of forest lands negatively affects the relationship.

There is forest land located on the boundary between the two kebeles and people from both kebeles have fought many times it over the last 10 years. The wereda administration has been brought in to resolve the conflict but officials find it difficult to be impartial about people from their home kebele and this has created huge problems. Although the conflict started 10 years ago, it is still not adequately resolved and during this period there has been wide spread destruction of the natural forests in the area. People from both sides have invaded the forests for farming, construction, and to construct residential houses. The expansion of charcoal in the area is mainly due to the presence of conflict in the border areas. As there is no one control the forests in this area, people from both sides illegally cuts the forests for timber, firewood, fence, charcoal, send their cattle to the forest for grazing, expanding their farming activities to the forest which results in the burning of the forests to clear it from farm activities, etc. The damage to the forest is huge and the people have lost the majority of the old and natural forests within a short period of time.

In relation to market places, with the establishment of another town called Gudina Alo market the people from Gudina Alo mainly go to this new market. Fewer people from this kebele come to Tibe town for market purposes though still they buy some important items there.

Karu Warra Roba borders with Oda Haro in the north-west. The relationship is largely peaceful but sometimes there is conflict over grazing lands. There are no details on these conflicts in the data.

It is important to note that in terms of religion, Orthodox and protestant Christianity have been practised in all the five neighbouring rural kebeles of Oda Haro so, there have been strong religious linkages. Islam is only practised in Oda Haro and Gudina Welkite.

Most of those interviewed said they had no strong connection with people in other kebeles.

Community-wereda relations

There are regular meetings held every month at wereda level in Tibe town which is attended by the kebele leaders, DAs, HEWs, community leaders, religious leaders, iddir leaders as well as ordinary people from nine kebele, and representatives from the wereda security office. At the meetings security issues in the local area and in the wereda as a whole are discussed by the community leaders. These meetings were started in 2005, following the national election which led to unrest in the kebeles and in the wereda. By having discussions on the security issues cooperation between people in the nine kebeles increased and crime and theft have dramatically declined.

Some respondents complained about lack of action at Wereda level. The farmers said they had complained to the DAs and to the Wereda Agricultural Office about the crop and chicken diseases they were suffering regularly to no effect. Some felt that since the death of the late Prime Minister Meles motivation was lacking at Wereda level and that this was also impacting the work ethic at kebele level.

Community – NGO relations

Currently only a few NGOs have worked in the wereda they are:

- UNICEF - working on health, nutrition and education and women's rights.
- NEVA (New Education Vision Association) - working in education.
- WASH cluster - working on the improvement of drinking water.
- World Bank- supporting family health services.
- HUNDEE – provided training and education on the female circumcision ban.

However, currently none of these organisations are active in the wereda.

In the kebele there are currently no NGOs working. The school received funding from USAID to construct a tap and toilets for boys and girls. As a result the school now has clean water however the toilet built for the girls was not good quality and as a result it is no longer functional.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

In times of crisis the community did seem to provide for those in need. Traditional labour sharing practices were still in use although it was acknowledged that they had decreased. So for house building, debo, wedding feasts and funerals, it was common for those in the neighbourhood to provide labour assistance, and for weddings and funerals contributions of food are provided. People also shared farm implements and livestock. Some of the richer households lent oxen to those who do not have them for ploughing. They also lent livestock to poor families who would look after them in return for the milk.

In times of crisis the first support would come from family and from that person's iddirs but neighbours would also help - although not always for free. The poor farmer explained how in 2010 his family's crops had been destroyed by flooding and as a result his family was very short of food for a long period of time. They were forced to buy food from the market from June to September but a lack of money resulted in their facing serious hunger which severely affected the children. When they asked the neighbours for assistance: "*some of them asked us to pay a 100% interest; others asked us to give them our children to keep their cattle in order to eat food from them. I refused to give them my children to provide them free labour. Fortunately our coffee ripened in September. We sold it at 5000 birr and survived the danger of the hunger*".

Ideas domain

Community cultural repertoires

Major areas of contention

Areas of contention seemed to be inter-generational. One such area was that young people seemed reluctant to appreciate and participate in customary beliefs and values which are very important to the community's tradition. Instead they were focused on modern cultures such as following fashion and modern lifestyles. Their parents felt that they considered the old culture to be backwards and not useful. The traditionalists also oppose the expansion of new life style of the younger generation (hair style, wearing style, etc), the practice of strict religious activities by some groups.

Female circumcision was a major area of contention between the government and the community. Most of those interviewed felt that female circumcision was an important cultural rite of passage and strongly disagreed with the government's efforts to ban it. Many young girls were also in favour of circumcision. The community believes that it is part and parcel of their culture and should be practised without intervention from external bodies including the government. They consider female circumcision as part of the beauty of the female children and something their mothers are proud of according to the local culture.

There was growing concern about the value of education. Parents were sending their children to primary school but many felt that they were not seeing the positive benefits of it as many of those completing grade 10 and 12 struggled to find work and many were dependent upon their parents.

Red Cross contribution is the most opposed contribution that people are made to pay according to the informants. The community members have no knowledge of the purpose of Red Cross contributions and have seen no impact as a result of their contribution in the local area.

Conservative repertoire

Older people are considered to be conservative, with customary elders and religious leaders considered to be the leading conservatives. They hold tightly to the culture and traditional ideas and practices of the community, such as female circumcision. Due to conservative views amongst officials there has been poor enforcement of the law about female circumcision and so far no one has been punished. They oppose the expansion of a new life style by the younger generation (hair style, wearing style, etc) and the practice of strict religious activities by some groups.

The conservatives are generally supportive of the government interventions and programmes. They support the modernisation of agricultural activities including the use of fertiliser, improved seeds and the expansion of irrigation activities. They are also supportive of the expansion of education and health services and good governance. They believe that these programmes help to improve the livelihood of the people. They have also benefited from these programmes in the last few years and so have seen their impact. They believe that these government programs have resulted in the local economy growing over the past five years.

Some conservatives do not accept the government's programme of environmental protection. They do not see its benefits, or resist it because they are benefiting from the forests. They consider that climatic change is punishment from God on people because they do not want to respect his commands. These people mainly live in the Boto zone which is very close to the unfenced forest land of the community. They have never been convinced about the government's intervention to protect the environment including the forest as they have been using it for farming and grazing for a very long time. They still consider this area as their own and believe that they have the right to use and deforest them for farming, grazing and charcoal. Despite the decisions passed by the kebele administration not to send cattle and not to cultivate this area these people are still sending their livestock and are destroying the forest.

Traditionally land management was the role of men in order to preserve the land in the family. Therefore a family would not pass their land into another household such as to their daughter's husband because traditionally people believed that land should not be owned by people who do not belong to the same lineage. As a result some continue to be reluctant to accept the change in the law that means that women can inherit land.

Modern repertoire

The model farmers were considered the leading modernisers in the community. They are the first to accept and practise modern agricultural activities and farming technologies. They are involved in soil conservation; they were the first to start using modern fertilisers and improved seeds; to breed new animals' hybrids and fatten livestock; to use modern honey hives to improve the production of honey; to store crops when the price is cheaper and sell at high price later on and; to start the irrigation activities. Recently they have started to use private motor pumps and to expand irrigation farms, producing different kinds of vegetables such as green paper, sugar cane, tomatoes, potatoes, onion, carrots, beetroots, etc.

The modern repertoire includes the benefits of education, which some said were starting to bring "chaos" in the community life (wife of successful farmer) as children who attend school no longer have the same farming experience. The children and young people dream that education will bring

them a better life "*but nothing is true about this yet in the community*". Instead many young people became dependent on their families after they graduate from high school.

Modern ideas were also said to include new standards of housing, sanitation, hygiene and nutrition. Attitudes towards work had changed as people realised the importance of working hard and diversifying their sources of income. Women are now far more involved in the economy of the household and there are female traders in the community. People have also started saving money which did not happen in the past. Social organisation has become more open to including all classes of people including particularly the poor and women.

Cultural entrepreneurs

Government ideology

Government ideas were passed to the community through kebele officials who disseminated them to gares (development teams) and 1-5s. The 1-5s meet every month, and the development teams every 2-3 months. However it was admitted that the regularity of meetings are not always as planned and actually the 1-5s may meet only once a month or less if there are no issues to discuss. General meetings were called occasionally at kebele level especially when officials come from the Wereda to pass new directives. Most meetings were held at zone level and attended by all adult men in the community. Men who do not attend general meetings are fined a minimum of 10 birr. Women are not expected to attend.

When kebele/zone meetings are organised young people are not invited to participate. The administration admitted that this was mainly due to the fact that they raise issues related to jobs and land which are very difficult to answer. As a result young people are largely excluded from the political and developmental discussions of the community.

Party meetings are also held although not frequently. There are about 200 party members in the kebele who pay the annual membership fee. They are passed information about the party's programmes, news and directives through the party newspaper which is distributed every six months. Party members are expected to pass the information to others through kebele meetings. The kebele administration has no mechanism to control and follow-up whether the meetings are carried out or not. There is no mechanism to evaluate the plans against the implementation. So meetings are organised when instructions come from the wereda to do something.

Government ideology is also passed through training courses which are organised once or twice per year for the model farmers. Training is given by the DAs but also by officers from the wereda agriculture, health and micro-finance officials. The idea is that once the model farmers have been trained their new practice will persuade others to adopt new agricultural practice.

The new ideas brought in by government include; the use of improved agricultural inputs, the expansion of irrigation schemes, public participation in environmental protection, improving local infrastructures such as internal roads and drinking water, the expansion of education and health services, and the idea of establishing better security and governance through the use of iddirs and other formal structures.

Ethnic ideologies

Some 99% of the population of the kebele is Oromo. The remaining one per cent is Amhara who immigrated at different points in time. Recently some migrant Amhara wage labourers have started to work on the irrigation farms of rich farmers as share-croppers. As they are hard workers and efficient and effective in managing the vegetable farms, the local model irrigated farmers prefer to employ them. This trend seems to be increasing.

Religious ideologies

In the past the dominant religion in the area was the traditional religion. Now the role of this religion in shaping the life of the young generation is almost insignificant. The other religions (Orthodox, Protestantism and Islam) dominate people's spiritual life. In the last 10 years Protestantism, in particular, has grown significantly and now about 65% of the community are Protestant. Many young people have joined the Protestant church. Islam has also grown and has recently divided into Sofia and Wahabiya.

The conversion of people to different religions has been positive in that it has encouraged acceptance and tolerance in the community but it has also brought conflict. There was said to be some hidden tension between the followers of Wahabiya and Sofia and there are now two mosques in the community (one for Sofia followers and one for Wahabiya followers). Most recently there have also been tensions around Wahabism as the government (wereda and kebele levels) link it to religious fundamentalism and terrorism. Some community members seem to endorse this message and point at the rapid spread of Wahabism and the role of migrant returnees in this, among others; while others state that this is not a correct representation of what wahabism stands for – which is a better knowledge and adherence to the Kuran.

The growth in Protestantism and Islam were said to have been encouraged by visiting speakers from elsewhere. This gave them new insights into their religion and to what the Bible/Quran says. There was said to be a foreign preacher who had come to the Protestant church who explained well what the Bible said.

Other ideologies

None mentioned.

Urban connections and ideas

The community has close linkages with urban areas nearby where they sell their produce and can buy various consumables. Tibe and Shoboka (8 kms away) have grown into urban centres over the last ten years, so that the community has closer urban links than it did previously. Tibe has grown very quickly and now people from Oda Haro visit it every day to grind grain, sell grain and vegetables but also to buy consumables such as clothes, soap, sugar, oil, etc. They also make use of the health centre and private clinics there and the pharmacy. The Service Cooperative is located in Tibe, as well as the pre-school and secondary school.

These close links have resulted in young people adopting new fashions of clothes and new hair styles, and stopping wearing traditional trousers and dresses. They have also started to speak differently due to exposure to new ideas in the urban areas. With these ideas have also come harmful practices such as idleness, laziness, smoking, drinking alcohol, chewing chat and crime.

Young people in particular are very attracted to urban living and ideas. The closer linkages are bringing about a change of attitude in young people. They want a better life as they have seen how people live in the towns. Many are keen to move to urban areas when they grow up.

Diaspora connections and ideas

The majority of those interviewed said that they had not met a returned migrant and as a result felt that their influence was small. However others said that those who returned brought new ways of dressing and hair styles. Those who had migrated to Arab countries often returned covering their face with a veil which is considered strange in the community. They also encouraged the idea of migration motivating other young people to leave. The successful farmer's wife felt that this was particularly true of those who had migrated to Arab countries.

Modern media and ideas

The majority of the population do not have regular access to radios or television due to the lack of electricity in the kebele. Some families have battery powered radios and there were some who had solar powered radios. Others listen to the radio on their mobile phone. The most popular radio station in the community is the Oromia Radio programme. A group of respondents said that listening to the radio helped them to understand the presence of different cultures and traditions in Ethiopia. It also gave them information about the government developmental programmes and news about major problems that happened at the regional or federal level. One farmer had learnt about the harmfulness of female circumcision from listening to the radio (middle farmer). There were also programmes about farming, market information, modern farming systems and women and children's rights (successful farmer).

Some of the young people purchased and looked at magazines.

Community management domain

Public Works

Environment

Main issues and activities

The main issue in the kebele has been the irregularity of the rainfall. The rain no longer falls seasonally as it used to and this has a negative impact upon agricultural activities. It has also brought about a longer dry season (except in 2013 when the rains have been very good) and more risk of flooding. Over the last few years the area has suffered from more extreme flooding events which have resulted in soil erosion and damage to people's crops and property. Deforestation is also a big problem in the kebele. The forest cover has been reduced to just 5% and the climatic change and flooding is in part caused by the loss of trees. Environmental issues have been the main focus of public works in the kebele.

In the last three years the wereda and kebele administration have provided intensive training focusing on the importance of protecting the environment and replanting trees in areas of forest that have been destroyed. Awareness has been raised at the general kebele meetings and by the DAs. Following the launch of the GTP, 200 model farmers were selected and three years ago, they took training on how to implement the programmes and policies of the government, including environmental protection. Following this training people started to get involved in public works to protect the environment from erosion, flooding and destruction of the forest. People became aware the impact of environmental changes on the soil and farming activities. They came to understand that soil erosion and flooding washed away the fertile soil and finally reduced the soil fertility.

Watershed management, trees and grazing land

In the last 5 years extensive public works have been conducted to protect the environment. The development team and 1-5 leaders are supposed to mobilise community members to work on watershed management projects including tree plantation, closing gorges and terracing on community farmland. People are supposed to work for 30 days excluding Saturdays and Sundays. Recently public works was conducted on hillsides. This is expected to reduce the impact of erosion and flooding on farming activities.

The watershed activities were started last year. The kebele manager talks about 2011 as the start date for intensive watershed management activities. Farmers observed that there have already been encouraging results. In the areas that they have terraced it is now possible to divert the running water away, thereby reducing flooding of the flat farmland. Terracing has channelled the rain water from the mountains and highland areas to flow into the rivers and streams. The RO observed the works and concluded that some of it was indeed successfully reducing runoff water.

The DAs were aware that further work was needed to improve around 2/3rd of the watershed structures that had been constructed so far.

There has also been a lot of planting of new trees such as Grevillea, Lukania, Spadota, Mimi and Eucalyptus over the last five years. This started after the celebration of the Ethiopian Millennium (2008). The Wereda provided training and advice on how to organise the activities, and some important materials such as seedlings. Farmers have understood the benefit of planting trees. The Grevillea tree, in particular, has become very popular as it has a high capacity to protect the soil from erosion, its leaves can easily be composted to improve soil fertility, it is said to be good for timber and it seems to modify the weather conditions. Planting of new trees has been increasing while the planting of the local trees has been declining. The wereda do not provide seedlings for eucalyptus but this tree is still popular too; in November 2013 there were more than 100,000 eucalyptus trees owned by private individuals in the kebele.

There are three communal grazing land areas - one in each of the kebele zones. Community members use the communal grazing land equally and each household looks after the community cattle in turn, swapping round every 15 days. There were some comments that the quality of the grazing land was reducing due to the lack of rain. There is no fencing and protecting of grazing land. No land was allocated by the administration as zero grazing land. The kebele is considering distributing a part of the communal grazing land to a cooperative of landless young people but the majority of the community members are against this plan. There is also a longer term plan to give part of the Ebicho zone grazing land to the Tibe town administration so that it can expand. The Town is planned to expand into the community grazing land.

Natural Resource Management (NRM) interventions

Interventions to protect the forest and/or re-afforest have had mixed success.

The kebele manager explained that trees planted in 2011 when the watershed management activities started intensively, were all destroyed by animals and farmers or dried out. The next season they fenced the seedlings after planting, and *gare* were given the responsibility of protecting them against the animals; this worked quite well and although some seedlings dried out, most are in good conditions. A group of youth was given forest land to protect and exploit and this is said to work well also. In May 2013 wereda officials identified land that has now been fenced as protected forest land on Mt Gona and Mt Mimite; people living there were relocated elsewhere. In June-July people planted seedlings provided by the government, alongside terraces and the main roads.

Despite there being a law in place which forbid deforestation since 1990 EC there were no detailed guidelines to bring the deforesters to the court. As a result, large areas of forest land were destroyed by farmers and illegal wood/timber traders. Guidelines have now been put in to place but the kebele are still struggling to implement them over such a large area. Despite the training provided by government interviews highlighted that some farmers are still not aware on the negative side of deforestation. They want to use the forest and forest products and consider all the trees in their farms as their private property.

Last year there was a shortage of seedlings in many places (across the Wereda) and most of the terraced places were not covered with trees and grasses. This year the wereda has been working hard to increase the availability of seedlings in each kebele. Seedlings are being produced in schools, churches, and on public irrigation lands, FTCs and by private farmers. The aim is to use public works to plant trees on public lands in highland areas and terraced lands; overall 13,000,000 trees and grasses will be planted (50% of which can be used as fodder).

Animal protection

There were a lot of wild animals in the kebele including monkeys, wild pigs, hyenas and porcupines. But deforestation has resulted in many of them migrating or changing their diet. For instance,

hyenas and porcupines were reported to be eating maize crops. Whilst there are no public works which specifically target animal protection the planting of new trees will help to protect the wildlife.

Soil fertility

Public works are helping to protect soil fertility through building terraces in the highlands and the construction of check dams. Planting of trees will also help prevent water excess surface runoff therefore reducing erosion. People are also being encouraged to make and use compost although this practice did not seem to have fully taken off.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

Community work has been used to rehabilitate some of the internal kebele roads and bridges and this has greatly improved access to the community. Government provided the materials and the community provided the labour. Most villages are now accessible by mule carts which have become a key form of transport for use within the community and to go to Tibe town.

Electricity

There is no electricity in the kebele and there has been no public works towards this end.

Communications

Communications in the kebele are largely using mobile phone. There have been no public works to improve communications.

Water infrastructure

People have participated in the development of water points. In some places people have dug wells and the government has provided the pumps and experts. A number of water points are maintained and managed by the iddirs.

Public buildings

The community have contributed free labour for construction of different public buildings including the kebele office, the FTC and the community health post. The Wereda provides sand, iron sheet and other materials which help with the construction.

Urban development

None mentioned.

Organising Public Works

The kebele cabinet discuss the types of public works which should be done and report to the Wereda. In this process, the Wereda provides directions on the general public works programme but prioritisation at kebele level depends on the major problems or areas of high demand identified in the community.

There is no fixed, regular and working season although most public work is carried out between September and December. Public works may last for 15 or 30 days. Everyone in the community should participate in the public work except those who are officially exempt e.g. the elderly, disabled, ill, children and students. It is not possible for an individual to choose type of work he would like to do. There did not seem to be any punishment for those who did not turn up. One respondent felt there should be and suggested fines and extra working days.

The work is often organised using the development teams and 1-5 structure. Development team leaders are responsible to follow up the implementation of activities like terracing and plantation by his 25/30-household team. As people understand the importance of the work they are more willing to participate. Most often works are carried out by the whole community together. Thanks to the

lead role played by development team leaders and 1-5s, last year 370 hectares of land were terraced and this year they terraced 200 hectares of land. This is a big progress and there is a plan to expand this in the coming years.

Doing Public Works

Over the last two years the kebele administration noticed that mobilising people for public works has become more difficult. The work ethic has changed and people are now far more focused on their private agricultural work and other income generating activities. As a result they are not happy to spend as much time on public works. The kebele has started to introduce fines for those who do not participate. Even so, certain people still seemed to be able to find a way round. For instance the successful business explained: *"I am not involved in any government works and public works. As I am a busy person all the time with my business, the kebele administration understand this and they do not push me to get involved in meetings and public works"*.

Those who participated were positive about the works; they could see that it had brought a lot of changes in terms of protecting the environment. Some households had contributed 35 days' work to public works and to work for the school construction and farming activities. The public works tended to be done in the winter which was a less busy time in terms of the agricultural year. However, for some households the public works had impacted on the family work calendar or in cases where children were sent to participate, it had impacted on their schooling.

Recently people had been involved on terracing, building check dams and planting trees. They had also built a fence for the school; and one for the kebele office.

Talking about the last tree planting campaign (in June-July 2013, with seedlings provided by the wereda), one zone leader said that people engaged with these PWs for two or three days and were expected to plant between 5 and 20 trees.

Taxes and contributions

In total, 450 households pay taxes out of a total of 719 households. The remaining 269 are landless. The main problems related to tax and tax collection is that people may refuse to pay in time, and the development team leaders are reluctant to mobilise people to pay taxes on the date when taxes are collected. Sometimes those who refuse to pay are imprisoned because if the collection is delayed the wereda imprison the kebele officials.

The major taxes paid by the people in the community are as follows:

Table 20: Taxes and contributions

Type of tax (in birr)	Maximum	Minimum
Land tax	260	15
Internal road contribution	200	29
Oromia development Association contribution	12	12
Red Cross	10	10
Sport	10	10
School fee/contribution	10	10

Land tax

The total land tax is calculated as follows. The total amount needed is given by the wereda to the kebele administration (e.g. it is 33,020 birr this year). The kebele administration then calculates it taking into account the total number of hectares of land owned by the farmers. If the amount of land owned is high, the land tax and the internal land contribution will be high while the other payments remain the same for all farmers. Landless people pay only school contributions.

Market tax

There is no market taxes paid in the community but traders from the community may pay market tax when they sell/buy items in the local markets.

There are 5 big crop traders in the kebele who buy crops in bulk and sell to other traders in big cities. The other traders are small crop/vegetables/petty traders or livestock traders. The government have not forced these kinds of trader to have license and to pay annual tax. However, they have to pay market taxes which are estimated by the tax collectors in the market. The market tax for an ox is 5 birr and it is paid after the person buys an ox/cow. The traders are not obliged to pay market tax when they sell cattle.

Income tax

People who pay income tax in the kebele include the teachers, the school directors, the kebele manager, the DAs, and the HEWs.

Licences

Some of the farm product traders have business licences; there are about five, and get the licence from the wereda trade and industry bureau. They pay the tax at the wereda - not in the kebele.

The big traders are forced to have a licence because they compete not only with the local crop traders but also with traders in urban areas who have licence and pay taxes. However there is no standard at wereda level in terms of who has to be licensed and pay tax and who does not. As a result some are charged and others are not. For instance one trader said that he had to pay 2,500 birr annually for his license (the wereda confiscated his balance to force him to pay) while others earning more than he does did not have to take a license. The community have reported this anomaly to the wereda Trade and Industry Office as it impacts market competition but so far there has been no response or intervention.

It is the wereda custom office which provides an estimate of how much tax should be paid by an individual. But it is recognised that there is corruption and nepotism at wereda level and as a result there is no equal treatment - some are forced to get a licence others are not.

Contributions in cash and kind

Most people mentioned labour contributions to public works and to the school for farming or construction. Some had also contributed materials to the school e.g. wood for the fence. Some included their party fees (12 birr per year) in the category of contributions due in cash. Many mentioned their contribution to the Red Cross (10 birr). The successful businessman had contributed 96 birr towards internal road construction.

The wereda

Wereda policies and budget

The most important regular government programmes, taking most of the wereda resources, are agriculture and road construction (mainly internal roads and paths, and dry weather roads). The internal roads are partly financed by the wereda through using its regional allocation of MDG Fund, and partly carried out with contributions from the community. The wereda also use part of the MDG Fund budget for the expansion of drinking water in urban areas, mainly Bako town. They also plan to construct a hospital in Bako town. This was started four months ago and the construction of the water reservoir was started two months ago, by a German company. Bako town is expected to get drinking water by the end of August 2013. The town has long been suffering from a shortage of drinking water and the reservoir should resolve this problem. The wereda has also used some MDG funds for the expansion of spring gravity in the rural areas. The problem with the MDG funding is that often the projects are stopped before finishing due to the contractors' low capacity which leads

to conflict between them and the federal offices responsible for the follow up of the projects. The Wereda has repeatedly faced this problem in relation to drinking water.

The sectors which suffer from lack of budget include drinking water and education. The small scale enterprise sector also lacks budget despite the fact that there are large numbers of young men who are seeking jobs in urban and rural areas; the wereda is not able to help them to form cooperatives or to get involved in small scale activities. There are new plans to construct a youth recreational centre in Bako but the project has not yet started because of budget shortages.

In April 2013 people talked about the Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) which had recently been announced, to focus on expanding agricultural activities in the rural kebeles. It would also give priority to improving drinking water, internal roads, health services, natural resource protection and expanding non-farm business in rural areas. The training of farmers on how to implement this programme was recently launched and the priority areas were being identified. For the wereda as a whole, 11,300,000 birr was allocated for 17 rural kebeles where FTC activities are already deep-rooted. The implementation of this programme would start in 2006 EC. As noted in section 6.1, in Oda Haro in November 2013 people were deeply disillusioned as apart from the initial training and some registration exercise of people in innovation and interest groups, they had seen nothing in practice. The kebele officials had asked wereda officials many times about the budget, to no avail.

The wereda has a number of plans to improve the livelihoods of the people. These include:

- Expanding small scale enterprises in rural and urban areas by raising funds; the strategy in the rural areas is to organise youths and landless people into cooperatives and help them to work on fattening animals, afforestation and forest protection, development of honey bees, and in business activities including trading.
- Expanding irrigation activities in the rural areas to help people to produce twice on their farm land. It is possible to expand irrigation on the rivers and streams in different kebeles of the wereda. The concern is about potential shortage of water due to the increasing length of the dry season from year to year; and the risk that the use of large amounts of water from the rivers and streams might lead to the decline in water levels in the rivers and streams.
- To use the model farmers as an example in order to mobilise the other farmers for better achievement, and make them self-sufficient in food.
- To continue to improve the security and safety of the people in each kebele.
- To strengthen people's engagement in non-farm business in urban areas including hotels, bars and restaurants,
- To improve the internal roads in the rural areas.
- To continue to work on expanding drinking water both in rural and urban areas, and to try to achieve the GTP target (100% coverage).
- To try to help the people in rural areas to get access to electricity. The GTP plan was to reach 75%. So, it needs hard work to achieve this target in the coming 2 and half years.
- There is a strong commitment on the part of the wereda to improve access to quality educational services at all levels. So, the wereda will work hard to achieve the MDGs.
- The wereda is also working to improve the health stations in each kebele and to help people to get quality health services within the community.

Wereda progress

The Wereda has seen much progress in farming; farmers have adopted modern and improved technologies; the majority of them now use improved seed and fertilisers and this has improved productivity per hectare. The last year's data indicates that on average farmers were able to increase their production (for all crops) by 38%. A typical model farmer was able to produce 92 quintal of maize from a ha (although some farmers said this figure was exaggerated).

Improvements have also been shown in livestock production as farmers have started to engage in improving of milk and milk products and fattening of livestock. This progress has occurred due to the intensive training given to farmers which has helped them to increase awareness of the importance of these activities in changing the livelihood of their household. The extension workers have also played a key role as they have helped the farmers to implement what they have learnt.

The second most successful programme in the wereda has been the expansion of education. There have been good improvements in terms of access and increased gender parity. There are now 2-3 schools in each kebele with high gender parity at primary level. Overall enrolment reached 94% which is a big achievement. There is a problem related to quality. Challenges include: people's low participation in school management and activities, shortage of trained teachers, shortage of budget to employ additional teachers and to buy necessary materials, etc. To solve these problems the wereda has mobilised people to increase their participation in school activities; grouped the students into 1-5s so that clever students support the weak ones; urged the teachers to provide tutorial classes to students, and; arranged specific trainings for teachers so that they can improve their knowledge and teaching skills. The regional government is training more and more teachers which is expected to reduce the shortage. The wereda is also trying to get the schools to properly use their school grant budget for maintenance activities.

Another difficult area is internal road construction. Although the MDG budget started in other weredas in 2004 EC, it has only started this year in this wereda. The budget was not released last year because the contractor was not able to start the work on time. As a result a new contractor was engaged but they have not brought all necessary logistics and construction materials in time. Out of three contractors taken on for road building only one has started work, the other two are still preparing. Therefore last year's plan to construct 31 km feeder roads was not achieved. This year the wereda has planned to construct 48 km; in April 15 km had been completed.

Clean water provision is another sector which is moving very slowly. The wereda plan for the GTP was to reach 100% coverage by the end of the GTP period but so far they have reached only 65%. Budget shortage is the main factor for the delay. There is also shortage of professionals trained in the area of drinking water provision.

Some interviewed in Oda Haro felt however that there was a lack of commitment on the part of the wereda administration to implement the government policies and programmes. They seemed to start one programme and then jump to another without completing the previous one and without proper follow-up. The respondents gave an example of this with last year's PW programme focusing on watershed works and environmental protection. After three months of PWs in terracing-check dams and planting new trees on the terraced land the wereda and the kebele administration failed to follow-up. As a result most of the terraced check dams were destroyed by floods and the planted trees were destroyed by cattle. This year they also mobilised the people to do terracing work for more than one month and there is a plan to plant trees on the terraced land. If the same story repeats this year as well, PWs will not bring about any sustainable change.

Working with NGOs

The following NGOs/ multi laterals have been active in the Wereda in the past but none are currently active in the Wereda:

- UNICEF - working on health, nutrition and education and women's rights.
- NEVA (New Education Vision Association) - working in education.
- WASH cluster - working on the improvement of drinking water.
- World Bank- supporting family health services.
- HUNDEE – provided training and education on the female circumcision ban.
- CUM – working on safe water development in some kebeles of the Wereda.

Investors in the wereda

There are two main investors in the Wereda who have leased land; the Karaturi Agro industry and JAKARANDA agro-industry. Karaturi is of Indian origin. It has started to produce different kinds of grains and vegetables including maize, rice, onions, tomatoes, potatoes and cabbage. Initially it created many employment opportunities for local and non-local labourers. It also introduced new technologies such as tractors and new crops like rice. The organisation also lent its machines to dig deep wells and to protect springs for different drinking water projects in the wereda. The land that Karaturi was given was a large plot (10,800 hectares) in the Bachera Oda Gibe kebele. This was given to them by the federal government with very little involvement from the wereda administration. However the investors were not using all of the land, so that local farmers and DAs complained to the Wereda as land was lying fallow whilst farmers were suffering from a shortage of farm land. The Wereda repeatedly warned the investor to either cultivate all the land or to return back part of it to the farmers but as they had received the land through the federal government, they were very reluctant to accept any advice from the wereda. Finally the wereda and the Region had a discussion and reduced their land into 5,000 hectares and the remaining land was redistributed to the farmers.

More recently the company has reduced the area it is cultivating even more and they now use only 2,000 hectares. Following the death of the owner of the company two years ago, the company's activities have declined; it lacks experts to properly manage the crop production. The Wereda has realised that currently the company is producing an average of 30 quintals of maize from a hectare whilst local farmers produce 40-50 quintals. Pressure continues on the Wereda to release the rest of the land to the local farmers so they can properly cultivate it.

The other major investor is JAKARANDA agro-industry, coming from Addis Ababa. They took 300 hectares of land in Oda-Gibe to produce maize, vegetables, fruits and sheep. They made many local farmers shareholders in the company and have created good job opportunities for local people. The land was originally given to FUB (no one knows what the abbreviation stands for) which finally became shareholder of JAKARANDA and transferred the land to it. The FUB had produced improved maize seeds. As the organisation failed to be profitable, it transferred the land to JAKARANDA.

In the urban areas, there are smaller investors mainly engaged in hotel and tourism, education, fuel/gas station, etc. There is sufficient land to give to these investors. The wereda has no power to give the investment licence. Its responsibility is to identify the potential areas suitable for various kinds of investment and report to the region which has the power to decide on the land.

The wereda has no extra rural land to be given to investors. Although there is some irrigation land along the Gibe River the government wants the Wereda to reserve it as they are planning a 4th Gibe hydro-electric power station. When the station is constructed, the water is expected to create a man-made lake on the lowland kebeles of the wereda.

Regional and zonal plans for the wereda

The future plans of the zone and region are to improve agricultural productivity and production through the use of modern techniques and improved technologies. Moreover, education has been given a lot of focus to raise quality and continue to increase gender parity and reduce dropout. There are also plans to improve the quality of drinking water, improve gender equality in economic and political affairs, and improve non-farm business as a strategy to transform the economy.

Although there is some irrigation land along the Gibe River, the government recently passed an instruction that the land along the river should not be given to investors because there is a plan to construct a 4th Gibe Hydro-electric power station.

Wereda relations with neighbours

There is a monthly meeting with all of the neighbouring weredas to discuss relationships between weredas, safety issues, and how to cooperate in a number of development interventions. This

meeting is hosted in the Bako town. The meetings help to improve the relationships between the weredas. For example, there has been discussion about sharing agricultural inputs between Service Cooperatives if one of the weredas faces shortages.

There have not been any historical and current conflicts among the people of the neighbouring weredas. Although there has been wide spread deforestation activities on the boundaries of some of the wereda but these have been resolved through the monthly discussions.

The kebele

Wereda report on the kebele

According the Wereda Administrator, the most important achievement in Oda Haro is the expansion of irrigation activities. In the last few years the people in the kebele have been engaging in irrigation works and are benefiting from the production of grains and vegetables. They are able to produce crops and vegetables at least twice a year.

Generally the kebele has a good relationship with the wereda and plays an important role in security management at wereda level. However, there has been huge destruction of the natural forests over the past few years in Oda Haro. The deforestation occurs mainly in areas which border other kebeles so the kebeles accuse each other when the wereda intervene to try to stop the deforestation.

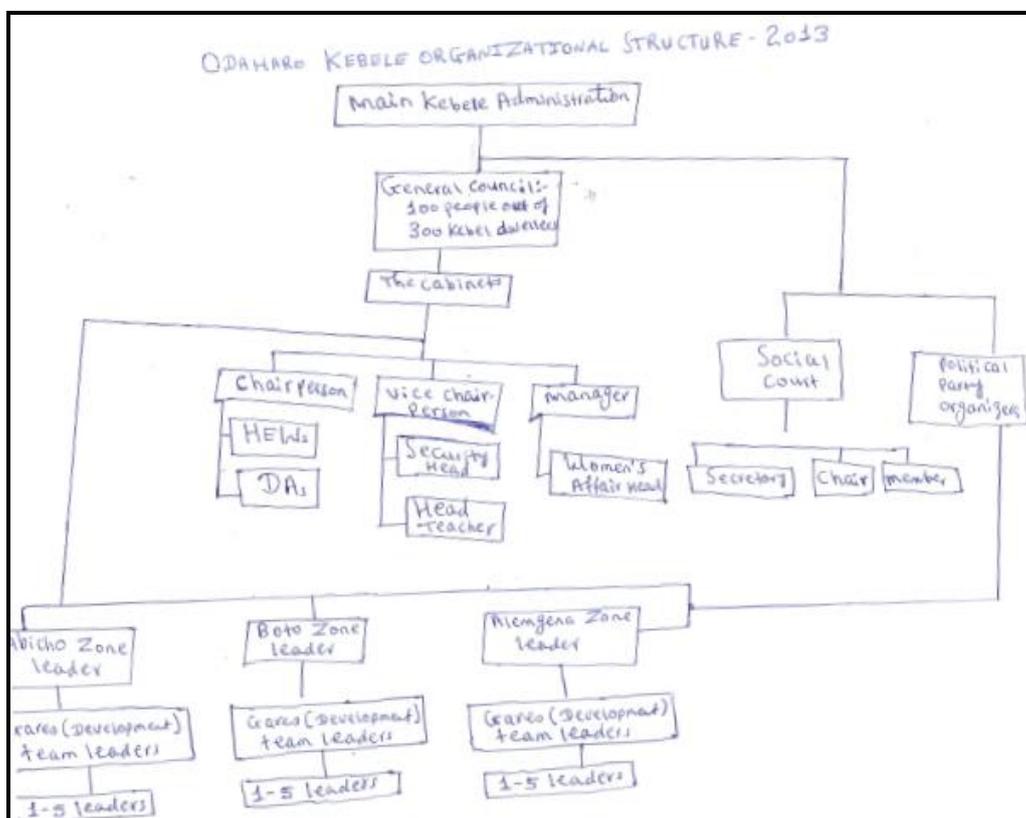
Wereda plan for the kebele

The wereda's plans for the kebele are the same as those outlined in 6.5.3.1 above. They particularly focus upon improving the livelihoods of rural people. Their plan is not specific for Oda Haro; it is rather a generic list for all kebeles in the wereda.

Kebele and party structures and activities

The main kebele structures are outlined in the diagram below.

Figure 1: Kebele structures



Below the main kebele, there are four structures: the General Council, the Cabinet, the Social Court and political party organisers.

Under the kebele the General Council is composed of 100 people (50 men and 50 women). The cabinet members are elected from these 100 people.

Under the cabinet there are 8 offices:

- 1 kebele chairperson
- 1 kebele vice chairperson
- 1 kebele manager
- 1 security/militia head
- 2 HEWs
- 3 DAs
- 1 school Director
- 1 Women's Affair Head

There is no information desk. Instead, the kebele manager acts as the head of information desk and as the secretary of the cabinet.

Within the social court, there are three positions: 1 head (sabisabi), 1 secretary and 1 member.

There are also the political party structures and their leadership.

The kebele is divided into three zones which are led by five zone leaders (chair, secretary and 3 members). The zone leaders are accountable to the kebele administration and are responsible for organising and leading the activities of Gares (development teams). There are 7-8 Gares under each zone (25 in total in the kebele) and each is made up of 25-30 households. Gares are responsible to follow up the activities of the 1-5s and to report to their respective zone leaders. There are 125 1-5s in the kebele. Zone leaders receive messages from kebele officials and deliver them to development team leaders and 1-5s. The 1-5s are responsible for mobilising people to get involved in public works, to be actively involved in farming and to help one another. The 1-5 leaders report to their respective Gare leaders. Wives are represented by their husbands in the 1-5 structure, as the membership is for the heads of households.

In most cases the leaders of the development teams and 1-5s are leaders or members of the political party cells at the Gare level.

In April 2013 some respondents gave a sense that these structures seemed to be working well and bringing important changes in the lives of the people. However at the higher levels mainly in the structures above the Gare, there were difficulties with disorganisation, refusal to accept instructions from above, a lack of link between activities and decisions etc. The main cause of the problems was seen to be that the heads of the development teams are not paid and consequently lack commitment to their tasks.

But in November 2013 opinions were divided. Some respondents explained that since April, DT leaders and 1-5s had '*encouraged better farming ways, provided advice on types of PWs and worked on security and political development*'; and '*ordinary people were cooperative*'. But others explained that the weakness of the ex-chairman (since then dismissed, see below) had impacted on the structures and between April and September there had been no 1-5 meetings and the 1-5s had become '*meaningless*'. However since September, all had been actively involved in various development and public activities.

One sub-kebele leader said that gare leaders do not engage in mobilising their teams for development. He thought this his zone (Abicho) had done better than the others; they mobilised and helped iddirs to impose sanctions on thieves; cultivated the school farm and the FTC farmland;

planted gravillea and grasses; built residential houses for the HEWs, and ; mobilised people to engage in labour-sharing through wonfel and 1-5s. But, he said, both men and women in 1-5s lack motivation and are not interested by cooperation among members; some members are not happy to engage in the labour-sharing system.

In November 2013 people also mentioned that there were female 1-5s but not active, and no women structures higher up in the system. But there was a big move from the wereda to activate these women's structures.

As shown in the diagram, there is a strong connection between the development structures and the party organisation, at all levels. In the kebele as a whole there are 60 political party organisers. The party organisers and the development team leaders meet twice a month to discuss on major issues that have happened in each gare. Most of the development team leaders are also the political party organisers. The party organisers transmit the political agenda of the party through the party newsletters and various meetings.

There are 179 party members in the kebele. One respondent noted that people are not members by choice, and that apart from election campaign time and meetings there is not much work done by the political leadership. One zone leader said that the political leadership had not been very active in the past few years, but this was changing. Recently there was a strong movement to strengthen the role of the political party at grassroots level meaning, the 1-5s and gares/DTs. The wereda decided that the cells should meet to discuss political and economic issues every 2 weeks to aware the people about the overall programme of the government. In the 25 gares of the kebele there are 22 cells with memberships of 4-8 determined by the number of party members in each gare. Party leadership has been advising people to focus on farming, not to sell crops when the price is cheap, not to send their daughters through illegal brokers, discuss with the people on the peace and security of the area etc. On 4th November 2013 political party members were trained and "*told to agitate the people to side with the government in the 2007 National Election*". They changed the Boto party organiser as he was not active in mobilising party members for local development.

In November 2013 there were a number of complaints about the way politics was interfering with development and a number of people were unhappy about the government pressure when it came to politics or religion. There were also a number of allegations of corruption at wereda and kebele levels. This was further described in section 6.3.3 above.

Kebele committees

There are different kinds of committees in the community. These include:-

- The kebele cabinet
- The security administration (militia) committee
- Zone Development committee
- Development team committee
- And the social court.

In terms of effectiveness, the cabinet and zone committees are working effectively. The development team committee is the least effective one because the members of this committee mainly focus on their private activities and they do not give priority to public and government works. As it has no payment, they consider this works as secondary to their private activities.

Kebele chair

In April 2013, the then current chair had been in office for 3 years; his predecessor left office because he was sick and unable to run things but he continued as cabinet member. The previous predecessor was dismissed due to corruption. He failed to protect the old and famous natural

forests of the community from illegal forest product sellers. He gave authorising letters to illegal wood traders, taking bribes from them.

The then current chairman faced various issues, which he reported as follows:

- The cabinet members do not come to meetings on time.
- The cabinet members do not give due attention to the proper implementation of the government directives and programmes.
- There is competition for power among the cabinet members, some of whom want to be Chair and therefore work to try and dispose of the current chair.
- The manager does not have a good relationship with the other cabinet members including with the chairperson. He mainly works from his office and the majority of the outreach work in the community is carried out by the other cabinet members despite the fact that the manager is salaried. He focuses more on his private farm and irrigation works than to the public work. He is expected to work the whole day but most of the time he works only a half day. No one controls him. He is not effective in passing major decisions, because he does not want to be blamed by community members and so, he leaves these decisions to be taken by other cabinet members. He was a member of the opposing political party during the 2005 national election. People, mainly the educated youth said that he was assigned as the manager of the kebele by giving bribes to those who selected the managers at the wereda level. He still opposes the government and that is why he does not give proper attention to the work of the kebele. He is also considered not to have a good relationship with the majority of the people in the community.

The Chair felt that the kebele structure should be more decentralised. In the past this kebele was divided into three independent kebeles. He explained that it is only in the last five years that the three kebeles were merged and became one kebele. So it is very big and it is highly problematic to administer this vast area and large number of people. The Boto zone, in particular, is very vast and should be an independent kebele. Moreover, the people in Boto have never accepted themselves as members of the Oda Haro kebele. They want to have their own administration. The zone is very far from the kebele, DA and HEW offices.

In November 2013 the kebele chair in post in April had been dismissed and replaced. Various explanations were given. Some respondents said that he was not accepted by the people, refused to work with the iddirs, and was unable to stop conflict among the kebele leaders; the kebele sub-structures were dormant because of lack of direction; this led to widespread discontent and the wereda administration suspended him. The vice-chair was put in place on an interim basis, then the Council met and voted him in. These respondents said that he is very loyal, free from corruption and active and effective in solving problems and managing things. He is not educated and cannot read and write so he will have a personal assistant (in addition to the kebele manager). Others alleged that the ex-chair was removed (but no other sanction was given) as he was found to have used several thousands of birr of public money (e.g. money collected as land tax and for internal road construction) for private purposes.

Kebele cabinet

The cabinet members are elected from among the 100 kebele Council Members. The Council Members have the power to elect and get rid of kebele cabinet members.

The kebele cabinet is made up of volunteers. Their role on the cabinet represents a lot of work and this therefore adversely affects the economy of their families. As a result people are unwilling to sit on the cabinet.

*Government employees***Table 21: Government employees**

	Sex	Place of origin	Time in community	Appreciation by the community
kebele manager	M	Oda Haro	His working hours should be 8:30am-5:30pm but he is most of the time not available	Poor
Head teacher	M	Other kebele	He is available throughout the day from 8:30am-5:30pm	Good
HEW 1	F	Other kebele	Not much available during working hours	Poor
HEW 2	F	Other kebele	Not much available during working hours	Poor
DA Crops	M	Other kebele	Available all working hours throughout all days	Good
DA Livestock	F	Other kebele	Less available	Poor
DA NRM	M	Other kebele	Available in the community	Good
Vet		NA	NA	NA
Others		NA	NA	NA

Government volunteers

The issue of who is paid and not paid is a major one at kebele level. Those on the cabinet, the zonal leaders and the leaders of the Gares all feel that they should be salaried. The lack of per diem means that they have to pay themselves for some of the things that they have to do as part of their voluntary job. There is no budget to run the day to day activities of the kebele and so, there are no per diems to take reports to, or attend meetings in the wereda; this means that in addition to losing their time they also have to pay their own transport costs. This is causing problems in terms of motivation amongst the government volunteers.

Kebele council

The General kebele Council is composed of 100 people (50 men and 50 women) who are elected during the local elections every five years. The cabinet members are elected from these 100 people. The kebele council advises the people on issues happening in the community. It follows-up the activities of the cabinet and chairperson. It can elect and dismiss the chairperson and the cabinet members if they commit serious mistakes.

The current council members were elected last April in the local election. In theory, they are supposed to meet once a month but this became impossible as the council members are farmers and so are busy with their own farm work. As a result the Council meets three to four times a year. Since April the council members dismissed the ex-chairman and elected a new chairman.

Kebele manager

The post of kebele manager is paid, and the aim is that the job holder should oversee and organise the activities of the kebele. There were numerous complaints about the man currently in post who was not considered to be doing a good job.

Women's Organisations

The majority of the women interviewed knew nothing about any women's association, federation or league. At Wereda level there seemed to have been some cooperatives set up for women by the Women and Children's Affairs office. But there did not seem to be any such group in Oda Haro.

A few women said that they had been involved in a local women's association which aimed to provide women with an independent income source. The association rented 2 hectares of irrigated land on a contract base from a private farmer, and cultivated maize, potatoes and tomatoes. They had taken improved seeds and fertiliser from the service cooperative, financing this through a 200 birr contribution from each member. All labour needed was covered by the members. They had earned about 1,500 birr by selling their outputs and made a profit of 774 birr after paying back the credit for the initial inputs. However, the treasurer of the group, who was keeping the money at her home, died suddenly and the deceased woman's husband refused to give them back the money which he claimed he knew nothing about. As a result the association disbanded.

Youth Organisations

The young people interviewed knew nothing about any youth association, federation or league. There was no youth affairs' office at kebele level. One young person talked about starting a youth association in order to empower themselves.

The kebele administration had recently held a small meeting with some young people to discuss options for their future. It was suggested that they could be organised into small-scale cooperatives, and given land to help them to start some business. But so far there had been no practical action.

A youth cooperative was established in Boto zone three years ago to plant new trees and to protect the existing forest on the Gona Mountain in Oda Haro. The intention was to help the youth to work and earn an income from the sale of forest products at the same time as protecting the forest. The cooperative has planted some new trees on the mountain but their activity is below expectations because they lack proper support from the kebele and wereda administration.

Security and policing

In April 2013 it was generally agreed that the security situation in the community had improved with a reduction of violent fights, robberies and theft. Most agreed that sexual attacks on girls and women had decreased although as they are very taboo many were unsure to what extent.

There are no kebele police in Oda Haro and the Wereda police were said to have little role in the community. There are militia members who are selected to ensure security in the community, particularly during the night. These men are volunteers who receive training and are armed. They are responsible for reporting any security incident to the kebele administration. The introduction of the militia committee was considered to have resulted in a reduction of crime. The militia are also involved in collecting taxes for the kebele, bringing those who refuse to pay to the court. They also intervene when individuals fight over the boundary of farm lands or over the use of water for irrigation and cattle drinking.

The iddirs had also been given new powers to give fines to those who commit crimes. In this role they work closely with elders, the sub-kebele structures and in particular the 1-5s, and the kebele and wereda administrations which recognise and enforce the sanctions given by the iddirs. This is further described in section 6.5.5 below. Many in the community remarked that this brought about a significant reduction in crime and violence over the last five years. However, others noticed problems with this as there was no trial. A person who was fined (75 birr) for committing the crime, if he/she refused to pay and apologise, would have harsh sanctions imposed on him and his family, excluding them from the iddir and from all social, economic and political activities. The sanctions would only be lifted when he/she would apologise and officially ask the people's forgiveness and

agree to pay the penalties (which rise to 175 birr if not paid immediately). These people thought that this was giving a lot of power to the iddirs.

One iddir can only punish its members. However, when a non-iddir member commits a crime in another place there is co-operation among iddirs. A sanctioned person may accuse the iddir in the court saying there was no proper evidence. However usually, the court returns the case to the kebele administration and the kebele returns it to the iddir. The iddir can change its decision by investigating the case in detail. The person facing the sanction cannot talk to any kebele members except the kebele chair who has the right to pass on important messages.

In November 2013 people reported an increase in disturbing incidents involving losses of big sums of money. This had happened in different kebeles including Oda Haro.

... a group of thieves broke into one farmer's house during the night, beat him with knives and stole 10,000 birr. They disappeared and the police and kebele administration are working hard to identify them. He was taken to hospital in Ambo and he is still recovering. The thieves kidnapped his wives and children for some time releasing them after they had the money. There were six veiled people. In September there was a similar theft in a nearby kebele; they entered the home of a big trader wearing police uniform and a letter holding the wereda stamp and stole 52,000 birr. In another kebele a group of thieves went to the house of a rich farmer who sold oxen and asked him to give them money – he refused by closing his door and they fired a gun at him through the door. He continued to resist and the neighbours heard and shouted and the thieves disappeared.

There was no explanation of why this trend had emerged.

Justice

Elders

The elders' role was well known in the community and considered to be important. They involve in reconciliation and arbitration in situations of conflict. They play a leading role in marriage arrangements and resolving abduction cases and they also try to resolve conflict between married spouses. Cases are often passed to the elders by the kebele, Wereda or Social Court. Elders also contribute ideas and comments in meetings organised by the kebele and Wereda administration. They mobilise people for developmental activities and kebele meetings.

A recent example was given of a case that was taken to the elders. The middle farmer's wife said that her daughter's husband had tried to kill her during the field work period. He had tied her up and tried to kill her with a knife. She was saved by her brother who lives in the same compound and heard her screams. The daughter took the case to the Wereda Court but they advised her to take the case to the elders. The elders' decision was to ask the man to promise not to harm his wife again.

Social court

There was far less awareness about the role of the Social Court and fewer people had dealt with it. In the past it seems that more of the conflict and fighting in the community was taken to the Social Court. However now it was dealt with by the Elders and the Iddirs. The successful businessman felt that passing this responsibility to the Iddirs led to increased bias against certain individuals.

Examples of cases which had gone to the Social Court were conflicts over land boundaries, conflicts between husband and wife or father and son. The poor female-headed household had taken a case to the Social Court. She had rented an ox but the owner had refused to give her the ox.

With the exception of the successful businessman people saw the Social Court as effective and useful. However a number of people mentioned that it was not free from bias, nepotism and corruption.

Wereda court

The Wereda Court dealt with more serious crimes. Examples were given of cases of divorce, group fighting, murder cases, conflict with other communities, serious theft, rape and abduction. However, most people felt that the Wereda Court was not effective due to corruption and bias within the court personnel. Many accused them to be biased, in particular, in favour of their relatives or friends and against women and the poor. They were said to intentionally delay cases when they wanted bribes or to have received bribes from one side. They were also said to hand out inappropriate punishments; e.g. some individuals involved in murder were released after 2 or 3 years in prison. The effect of this was that in general people avoided taking cases to the Wereda Court where possible and instead took them to their elders.

The successful businessman's wife gave an example of her frustration with justice in the community. Her niece who was living in Tibe was raped two years ago. The case went to the customary elders and eventually she married the man. She gave birth to two children with the man. However, he then abandoned her with the two children and went back to his former wife. The girl had no income to bring up her children. She sent the elders to speak to the man but he refused. She then took the case to the Wereda Court but no solution has been given. So she took the case to the Zone Court and still got no response. Finally, she brought the case to the regional court from whom, so far, she has had no response. Her aunt says that she "*will not get justice because she is poor and she is a woman. The man is a rich farmer and he has been winning over the case because of the power of money*".

Community leaders

Ethnic group leaders

Oda Haro is a homogeneous community with 99% Oromo people and fewer than 1% Amhara people. The Amhara are old migrants and have intermarried with the Oromo. As the Oromo are native and dominant, they play key roles in the economic and political activities of the area. The Amhara are a small group of migrant people but they intermingled with the Oromo and peacefully live with them. Religiously the Amhara tend to be Orthodox Christians while among the Oromo there are followers of all three major religions, Orthodox Christianity, Protestantism and Islam. There are no ethnic group leaders.

Clan leaders

There is no longer a strong attachment with clan or lineage in the community, and people are not interested in tracing back their clan. In the past people were strongly linked with their clan as this was a way to secure their social and economic situations. This now has no or little impact and as a result only few people know which clan they belong to. There are no clan leaders.

Elders

There is a council of elders in the kebele. They are mainly Oromo as this is dominant group in the community. The elders represent the community at important meetings organised at Wereda or Zone level. They provide ideas and comments at major meetings on the issues concerning their community. They resolve conflict in the community; they also play a role in resolving inter-community conflicts. Elders have an important role in marriage arrangement, divorce and property inheritance. The elders contribute to the peace and security of the community by advising and disciplining those who commit crimes and illegal activities. Their role is accepted and encouraged by the government. The people also respect them and their ideas are easily accepted and implemented.

Customary elders are expected to resolve conflict situations by consulting with the members of the elders' council. If they fail to resolve disputes or cases presented to them, the community tends to proceed to the formal Court both at the kebele and Wereda level.

Religious leaders

The current government has declared religious equality, and this is said to have contributed to the strengthening of the religious activities of the different religions. The religious leaders of all three worldly religions in the kebele have been given full recognition by the government both at the woreda and kebele level. The government considers these religious leaders as important figures to bring peace and security, and development in the communities. The religious leaders mobilise their members to full participate in developmental works. The leaders have also involved in conflict resolution when conflicts arise among the members of the community. They are invited to major kebele and monthly meetings organised in Tibe town (from the nine neighbouring kebeles) to give their opinion on how they are advising their members for developmental works and to involving in preventing crimes in the area.

However, as explained earlier the data from fieldwork in November 2013 suggests that these good government-religion relationships do not extend to Wahabism, which the government considers as an extremist agenda. In meetings including at community level training is given about the need to '*fight against religious fundamentalism*', a message which Wahabi followers feel is directed at them.

Leader of customary religion

The leader of Abba Gada is aged 55 years. He lives with his wife who is in her mid-forties and with his children. His family depends on agriculture. The Abba Gada institution is formalised and recognised by the Wereda as customary institution. He receives many calls from different kebeles in the Wereda when there are serious disputes which could lead to death. When a dispute ends with a death, the Abba Gada leader is expected to decide what the 'Guma' should be. This is a traditional way of resolving conflict. In the Guma ceremony the accused person and his family should pay back the Guma to the other household, based on the decisions made by the Abba Gada.

Muslim leader

The Muslim leader interviewed was 45 years old. He moved to Oda Haro from Denow Wereda, Seyo town. He is from a poor family and since his young age he was involved in trading salt and coffee in order to support his parents. Then when he was 15 years old, he decided to move to Wollo, in Kemise town, to receive religious education. He trained for 6 years in Kemise and Dewe towns and joined the Aweliya School for three years in Addis Ababa. He spent one year in Arsi (Dida Aro) and two years in Harar. He then began teaching religious education to people around Holeta Welmera for three years. It was at this point that he married and started having children. But he found life very hard there and so decided to move to Oda Haro with his family.

He feels that there is a big difference in religious activity in the last ten years as people have become more involved with religion. The religious institutions have also become stricter about their rules. He believes that these changes have come about because people now get better teaching and understand their religion better. All the religious institutions in the kebele live peacefully together. However, there was some tension between Muslim and Protestant leaders over the conversion of youth and poor households.

Protestant leader

The Protestant leader interviewed is 25 years old and was born in Oda Haro. He is currently a leader of the church youth group and he is also involved in preaching, in the choir and in leading prayers' groups in Oda Haro's Mekane Yesus church. There are 4 Protestant churches in the kebele, with about 450 protestant households. The number of protestant followers has significantly risen in the last ten years. People are attracted by Protestantism and want to move away from their traditional beliefs. People are seeking salvation, good marriage, life and truth. The church does not force people to be converted but when they preach in their neighbourhood people decide to convert.

He says that people in the kebele have become more strict and serious about their religion. There has also been significant attitudinal change away from the traditional religion and this move has pushed people towards the other 'worldly' religions. He says that there are only around ten young people who remain traditional religious followers in the community. Also, young people are more active and interested in their religion than they were before. The Protestants recently had a big 3-day conference in the kebele, at which different guests, including foreigners, were invited. An American pastor preached using a local language translator.

The church does not participate in the kebele development work so far although they mobilised their congregation members to plant trees in the church compound. The church has been supporting poor people particularly during the holidays, providing money and crops. The church prohibits polygamy, sex before marriage, domestic violence, cigarettes, chat chewing and drinking alcohol. Church members found involved in any of these actions have their membership cancelled and will not be served communion.

Orthodox Christian leader

He was born in Oda Haro in 197. He dropped out of Grade 6 at school. He and his family depend on farming. He is married and has 4 girls and 2 boys, three of whom are students while the rest are still at pre-school. He leads the church and serves the kebele both as an elder and a member of the militia.

There are around 350 households in the Orthodox Church in the kebele. Many have converted to Protestantism. Previously most people used to follow the traditional local religion, but there has been a significant change regarding religion due to education, better preaching, beliefs in healing by holy water and so on. In the last 5 years, people are attending church more frequently. Young people are the main participants in church activities as they lead the church and its members.

Once a year, there is a ritual conference for all congregations from the Wereda and the Zone. In the past there was no preaching in the Orthodox Church but now there is widespread religious teaching including on development work. Although traditionally the church has lots of holidays, the Synods decided on five official holidays which allows people the freedom to celebrate other holidays, or not.

The church has three hectares of farming land. Recently, 10,000 eucalyptus trees were registered as the church's asset, up from the 5,000 trees that the church had twenty years ago. Different kinds of modern and local trees are protected by the church.

The church teaches its members to support poor and vulnerable groups as it does not have the capacity to help them directly. The church teaches about good habits and marriage. Regarding marriage there is a problem that the poor fear getting married because of the cost of the ceremony. The church has established a code of conduct on wedding ceremonies, directing people that they should never spend more than the family's capacity to absorb the costs.

Those violating the church rules and orders are punished: a priest will never enter their house, and they will not be allowed access to holy water or given a place for their funeral. However, the ultimate goal of the church rules is not about punishment but about creating social stability.

He said that there is no religious conflict in the community as they share life in bad and good times and participate equally in social congregations and gatherings.

Iddir leaders

Iddirs have a major role in times of crisis for their members. They can also lend money to their members. Some of the iddirs are demarcated along the lines of religious faiths. In addition to their role for their members iddirs have also played a major role in peace and security in the area in the last decade or so.

The iddir leader interviewed is the head of the Gudina Mada'a iddir. He said that there are 7 major male iddirs in Oda Haro, and other smaller iddirs. Only the kebele administration has the data on the number of these smaller iddirs and the women iddirs. But the 7 major iddirs are well known by the majority of the people in the community. Some people belong to 2-3 iddirs. There are no cattle iddirs in the community.

The bigger iddirs play leading roles in burial ceremonies and during times of crisis. The smaller iddirs may help to reduce the immediate problems of their members when there is a death in their family. As the members live near to each other, they are able to help the family of the deceased person with labour and hospitality on the burial ceremony day. The bigger iddirs draw their membership from a larger area and therefore cannot help members practically in the same way.

Among the seven major iddirs, the three leading ones are: Gudina Mada'a iddir (which controls and sells the water supply near the Sama river) in Abicho zone, the Masgid/Chatta iddir in Alemgena zone and the Enchino iddir in Boto zone. The Mesgid/Chatta iddir is for the Sofia Muslims. The Wahabiya Muslims have their own iddir.

The Gudina Mada'a has 46 member households. It was established under the Derg following the villagisation programme of the 1980s. It is one of the oldest iddirs in the area. In addition to the contributions that it collects from the members every month, it sells the spring water from the Lagga Mada'a and raises money for itself. The pump for the spring water was constructed during the 1980s when the Gudina Mada'a iddir was established. It was initiated by a man from Oda Haro who worked in government offices in Nekemte at that time and who, in discussion with the wereda and the Mekene Yesus Church, constructed the pump. When villagisation came to an end the pump was given to the people of Abicho zone as a communal property. They in turn gave the pump to the iddir in order that they manage it and earn an income by selling the water to people from outside. The iddir started to sell to people from Tibe town 6 years ago. At present the iddir has outsourced the control of the pump and selling of the water to one resident. He sells the water and he gives 300 birr to the iddir every month. He uses the remaining amount for himself. Thanks to this income the iddir has been building up capital and it currently has 12,000 birr, which can be used if the pump needs maintenance. The iddir leader has also bought a 1,200 birr bond for the Millennium Hydro-Electric Dam. This money is also used to give members interest-free loans.

The chairperson of the iddir has been in post for four years. He is also the head of the Sijo irrigation cooperative. The iddir plays an important role in establishing peace and security in the community. It investigates any illegal activities and imposes sanctions on those who involved in such activities, including theft.

For example, if one person is involved in stealing cattle and the person whose cattle are stolen reports the incident to the kebele administration, the administration then gives the case to the iddir asking it to investigate and take action. The iddir works very closely with the 1-5 in order to get information about the situation of each member of the 1-5. Once information has been obtained on the stolen cattle/property, the iddir leaders call the accused person and interrogate him. If the iddir are convinced that he is the thief the iddir leaders impose sanctions and penalties on him and his household. The sanctions may go up to excluding the person and his household from involvement in any social, cultural, economic and political activities. The thief is also asked to pay for the stolen property, along with a 200 birr fine which is shared equally between the iddir and the kebele administration. The sanctions are not lifted until the person pays all the penalties. He must then ask forgiveness from the community and the person he robbed. Any sanctions given are reported to the wereda and kebele administration.

In contrast with the formal court, which sees only cases with enough witnesses, the iddir sees cases which are committed secretly and during the night, and even cases which have no witness. An iddir can only punish its members or the family of the iddir members. However, when a crime is committed by a non-member or a member commits a crime in another place, the iddir cooperates

with the other iddir concerned to take actions on the criminal through joint decisions. The person who has been given sanctions can take the iddir to court but such cases are usually passed back by the court to the kebele administration and the iddir. The iddir can change its decision if further investigations bring new evidence to light.

Last summer there was a lot of theft in the community. The Gudina Mada'a iddir was kept very busy in investigating and punishing the thieves. Overall, 58 people were engaged in different kinds of theft activities. After the iddir imposed sanctions on them, 18 farmers had their stolen property returned. Most of the thieves were unemployed young men.

The role of iddirs in imposing sanction on people involved in illegal activities started 10 years ago. In the last 10 years, iddirs have played key roles in establishing peace and security and in creating stability in the area. The iddirs work very closely with the elders and all the government structures (kebele and wereda levels); for instance, elders and 1-5s help in investigating activities. The administrations have accepted the sanctions imposed. Iddirs have few connections with religious /clan leaders.

Annex 1: Seasonal work calendars

Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC) Female: Oda Haro

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	x	x Sometimes the rain ends early in this month						X End of April	x	x	x	x
	Heat, frost, wind etc		X From mid-October	x	x	x	x	x	x				
Income streams: high hungry season											x	x	x
School/college terms		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13		x				x			x				
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation							x	x	x			
	Planting									x	x		
	Weeding					x			x			x	
	Harvesting		X Starting from mid-October	x									
	Selling				x	x	x	x	x				
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation							x	x	x	x		
	Planting									x	x		
	Weeding										x	x	
	Harvesting			x									
	Selling				x	x	x	x					
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation		x	x									
	Planting		x	x				x	x		x		
	Weeding				x	x							
	Harvesting	x					x						
	Selling	x					x	x			x	x	
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats	x	x	x									x
	Milk production	x	x							x	x	x	x
	Other livestock products	x	x	x								x	x
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing					x	x	x				x	x	

ODA HARO Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Community work mobilised by government					x	x	x				x	x	
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...		x	x		x	x					x		
Non-farm work			x	x	x	x	x	x					
		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	X	
Commuting for work				x							x	x	x
Male migration													
		x	x	x									
Female migration													
		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC) Male: Oda Haro

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	x							x	x	x	x	x
	Heat, frost, wind etc		x	x	x	X	x	x	x				
Income streams: high..hungry season											x	x	x
School/college terms		x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x		
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13			x	x	x	X			x				x
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation							x	x	x			
	Planting									x	x		
	Weeding											x	x
	Harvesting		x	X									
	Selling				x	X	x	x	x				
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation							x	x	x	x		
	Planting										x	x	
	Weeding											x	x
	Harvesting			X									
	Selling				x	X	x	x					
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation		x	X									
	Planting		x	X				x	x		x		
	Weeding				x	X							
	Harvesting	x					x						
	Selling	x					x	x			x	x	
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats	x	x										x
	Milk production	x	x								x	x	x
	Other livestock products												
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing					x	x	x				x	x	
Community work mobilised by government					x	x	x				x	x	
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...		x	x		x	x					x		

ODA HARO Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Non-farm work	Trade and related business			x	x	x	x	x	x				
	Manufacturing												
	Services	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	X
Commuting for work				x							x	x	x
Male migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal	x	x										
Female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x