**Interviews with people playing important roles in the Oda Haro community**

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## Government employees

### Kebele manager

He is 38 years old and he was born in Oda Haro Kebele. He is an Ex-Kebele chairman placed in the position from 1986 to 1987 EC and Ex-vice chairman since 1987 - 1993 EC. He has diploma in Law obtained in 2011 through distance learning from a private college called Rift Valley. He had been working as a member of social court committee in the community before he came to the current position. Then he applied for the vacant position of Kebele manager in 2012 and was placed in the position as he fulfilled the criteria compared to the other 5 applicants. He said he has a plan to work as a Kebele manager in the next two and half years. Then he wants to be a businessman. As he said, he is not working for money; but he is working to contribute his knowledge and skill to his community. He said, the salary is very poor which even cannot balance with the responsibilities and roles carried out by him.

He said that there are many problems hindering the total and sustainable performance of development policy in the Kebele. He raised the poor quality of education as the major problem. As he said, government give less attention on the quality of education. As a result of this, there is a lack of teachers and most of the teachers assigned have poor qualifications particularly in the Kebele elementary school. This is affecting the quality of education in the Keble. As a result of this, students’ performance is poor which has led to a complete failure among many students from progressing in their higher education this has been a major problem in the Kebele. There is also shortage of school materials particularly books are not available.

As to his information, there has been provision of school grant fund donated by international donors to Ethiopian elementary and High School every year. Following this grant, Oda Haro received about 40,000 ETB in last year's budget. The money is given to cover school activities such as re-establishment of classrooms’ and different learning material supplementation. However, in his opinion, the money should be utilised in supporting teachers’ employment process. Therefore, the money should be utilised to employ skilled and qualified teachers. The poor quality of education has a consequence in producing poor performance amongst students. Moreover, there is no job opportunity in the Kebele and shortage of land to distribute among jobless people particularly young people who graduated from 10th grade and 10+3. This is creating huge economic burden in the community. On the other hand, there is no critical assessment from the government side to evaluate the performance of different sectors and check list each tasks. Evaluation is very important to see the gaps between planed and performed action. As to the Kebele managers opinion, there is a big difference between the planed action and the performance. Women, child and youth affairs work in the town Kebele only. This situation creates a big gap at the rural Kebele level. In fact, it is part of the Kebele structure at the Kebele level but it is less functional which hinders the development programme particularly in terms of womens empowerment. Moreover, the Keble cabinet is not working hard to motivate the development plan in the Kebele because of poor evaluation and follow up from the Wereda. The Kebele has been planning to distribute communal grazing land to young and poor landless people to organise into cooperatives. However, most of the community members complained about this plan and have turned against it. No one is willing to let go the communal grazing land go to landless people in the community. Development teams and 1 to 5 cells are a very important structure in the Kebele. It is becoming very effective in the promotion of development programmes among the community. They facilitate community development works and check and evaluate every sector performance in the Keble. However, people are very reluctant to attend meeting and to support each programmes under each sectors. Since the last 12 years, the Kebele organised women as health promoters. As a result of these, the Wereda has been provided training.

### Development Agents and vet

There are two types of soil in the community. These are red, clay-loam and semi-black. In the past people said that the soil was fertile, but now it has declined. The main reason for the decline of the soil fertility is the absence of crop rotation, over use of modern fertiliser (instead of manure and compost), decline of fallowing etc. People produce the same kinds of crop (particularly maize) in the same land again and again. We try to advise the farmers to use the land in rotation.

We find different kinds terrain in this community. About 85% of the land is relatively flat which is very favourable for crop production. Only 15 % of the land is categorised mountain and hilly. The dominant grain crops produced in the community are maize, sorghum and teff in order of importance. These are particularly produced using rain during the summer time. Nug and red pepper are also produced on rain feed farming. In the high land areas in addition to maize, nug and peppers, people produce wheat, barley and beans. When we look at the ecosystem of the area there has been huge destruction of forests in the last ten years. Forests are good for soil conservation. It protects the environment but the destruction of forests results in soil erosion, decline in wildlife etc. the majority of big trees and thick forests have been destroyed since 1985 E.C. The changes in the climatic condition (temperature increase and shortage of rain) are the result of forest destruction. Climate change leads to the increase of ozone and ultraviolent ray.People said that in the past there were different kinds of wildlife in the forest. But with the destruction of the forests these animals have migrated to other places. Others were exposed to hunting by the local people. There were also different kinds of birds in the forests. The decline of the forests made them to migrate to other places. They come back only during the mehar season, when maize and sorghum ripened.

In the last few years there has been a focus on water shed activities. Tracing and planting of trees on the eroded highland areas started three years ago. It is to protect the environment and to prevent the crops from flooding. People are organised in to teams and one 1-5 structure. This organisation contributed to the active participation of the people in water shed construction. In the future we want to do terracing and planting of trees on both public and private land. The watershed activities are expected to improve forest coverage, soil fertility and to reduce the impact of climate change on agriculture and other aspects of people’s life. Now farmers understand the importance of tracing and planting of trees.

The flat nature of land in the community is favourable not only for farming but also for livestock breeding. The problem is that the expansion of farming land leads to the decline in grazing land for livestock. The total grazing land (communal and private) is not more than 150 hectares. The communal grazing land is mainly located in Alemgna zone. There are also some communal grazing lands near Tibe town in Ebecho and mountain zone and in Boto zones. The shortage of grazing land leads to the decline of the livestock population. Some people even stopped breading cattle. In the past few years the grazing lands have not grown good grasses as before because of a decline in underground water. As the soil type in the grazing land area is black it has less capacity to hold water. The destruction of forests contributes to the decline in grasses found in the forests.

Change in the forest coverage also means decline in rain fall. This leads to decline in the water entering streams and river. Changes in the rain season also mean increases in dry season which contributes to the drying up of streams and swamps places. As a result farmers face problems of finding water for their cattle. The decline of forests leads to the loss of big trees which were used as shade for livestock. Some of the big trees produced fruit which were used for people and for fodder for livestock now these are declined.

Regarding the production inputs people are organised in to cooperatives to get fertilisers and improved seeds from the service cooperative. We also educate farmers on how to plan farming and harvesting activities. We advise them to cultivate land in time and to buy modern inputs. We advise them to use land in rotation. We advise and trend them to sow crops in lines, to harvest crops on time to collect and thresh properly and to store crops in a modern way (to add pesticide to maize, sorghum and bean in store (gotera).

The training is given either at kebele, zone or the development team level. The 1-5 structures and Iddir are involved in mobilising people for training. Training is mainly given at FTC. We also demonstrate the farming techniques to the farmers at the FTC and on farms. We have not made experience sharing with other farmers in other communities. We conduct farmers feast annually in which community members and wereda officials participate to discuss agricultural changes and problems. The farmer’s festival started in the kebele last year. It was celebrated in Boto zone. It was a good opportunity for all farmers and officials to observe a teff crop sown in line by one model farmer. This new technique of teff crop attracted other farmers to follow his footsteps. The number of farmers who have shown interest in sowing teff crop in lines has increased this year.

In addition to the 1-5 structure and Gare leaders to mobilise people to beinvolved in development activities, model farmers have increasingly become fore runners in bringing economic change in the community. The use of model farmers to mobilise people in development is even more effective than the government structures.

Regarding the use of farm equipment we advise farmer to make and use improved farm tools and to make ready the farming tools before the farming season starts. Generally farmers use traditional farming tools (plough). There is no tractor but most people use a trashing machine for maize crop by renting from private individuals. In the irrigation scheme private irrigation pumps are used. Of course the majority of the irrigated farmers divert the water from the river in traditional way.

We advices farmers to use big plough (BBM) when they start the farming. And they can use light plough in the third or fourth round. But farmers prefer the simple one because the big plough is heavy for the oxen.

People cultivate teff farm seven times. In the past they cultivated a maximum of five times. As this is not enough, we advise to extend it to seven times. This is scientifically proofed. For maize we advise them to cultivate 3-4 times.

Most of the people accept our advice. Some people do not accept.

We advise farmers to sow maize, teff, red pepper, barley and wheat in lines. Most of them accept to sow maize red pepper in line but are reluctant for other crops. On irrigated farmland all farmers sow vegetables in lines.

We advise them to use 1 quintal of DAP and 1 quintal of UREA fertilisers for a hectares of maize, teff and wheat crops. As the fertility of the land has declined we need to advise them to use more and more chemical fertiliser.

We train and advise farmers to do inter-cropping (to mix legumes plants with maize) but it was started just last year and we want expand it this year. Furthermore we advise farmers to use land in rotation. As maize is the dominant cash and food crop in the area, farmers could not accept the idea of crop rotation. However we still urge them that unless they use crop rotation the fertility of the soil will continue to decline.

The service cooperatives provide fertilisers, improved seeds and pesticides. Most of the time farmers buy weed killers from private providers. All the farmers use fertilisers for all crops and improved seeds for the maize crop. Famers understand well that unless they use chemical fertilisers the land will not give them good production. So they have no alternative.

Farmers complain that the input price is very expensive because of this some farmers are forced to use one quintal of fertiliser for two hectares of land instead of one. So the price cannot go with the capacity of the farmers. The other problem is that when there is shortage of rain production declines. This means that farmers cannot get enough crops for consumption and selling. If they do not get good production they can pay their debt which they took from the saving and credit association to buy fertilisers and improved seeds in the previous year.

We help the farmers to sell their output to the service cooperatives which buys the crops for a good price. We also advise them to store the crops when the price is cheaper. And sell when the price increases. We advise them to produce vegetables which can help them earn good income. Their interests are to have big vegetable processing enterprise. Most farmers sell to the services cooperative

The most important extension programme is the irrigation scheme which has been increasing for the last three years ago. People produce a variety of vegetables and fruits in the irrigation farm. We encourage them to produce twice a year. We encourage them to be actively involved in this activity to get good benefits. They are organised into six development cooperatives the problem is shortage of water resulting from increasing demand for irrigation. This leads to some kinds of conflict among the farmers who irrigate. Some of them have small plot of irrigated land while others have a large plot. Those who cultivated large size of land use huge amount of water and it takes them longer time to water their vegetables. This impacts farmers with smaller plots of irrigated lands. The non-irrigated farmers complained that the government have not distributed the irrigated land to all farmers in the community. The other problem is a lack of improved vegetable seeds. Farmers are forced to buy the seeds from a private buyer in Addis Ababa.

The mango tree has been affected by disease in the last two years. The disease affects the leaves and the fruit of the tree. We reported to wereda office two years ago but no action was taken. There is no responsible person at the wereda level to follow up this problem. We are not clear why the wereda office are reluctant to take action. The disease dries the leaves and spoils the fruits.

One of the forecasted extension programmes was to expand the hybrid Borena cow. But we could not get accesses to get the new breed. The focus is mainly to expanding new breeds of cattle, shoat, and chicken and honey bees.

We use the development teams and 1-5s to mobile the farmers. We also go to their home to give them training and advice which is given to men and women together. The livestock training focuses on fattening and milk production. We also advise them on fodder for fattening and for milk animals; to collect grasses during the harvesting time and to store them to use during the dry season. So we help them to give priority to the quality of products obtained from the livestock rather than to have many livestock. And in relation to the watershed activates we help them to plant improved fodders such as vet Varity grasses. This is very important for both fattened and milk animals.

There are goats and sheep in the community. These are local breeds. Many farmers do not want to breed these shoats, because of land shortage to keep them.

People also breed chickens in large number. We provided them with improved chicken. Chickens are mainly affected by diseases. There are medicines which are bought from private providers but they are not effective to cure them. Sometimes the farmers are not interested to buy the medicine. We advise the farmers to clean the residential places of the chicken. The vet staffs live in Tibe town. And they do not want to visit the farmers when the disease is erupted. The chicken diseases are locally called Fengel.

Honey bees are also bred in the community the bee population has declined in the last four years due to the decline in forests, which provided flowers for the bees throughout the year. To solve this problem we advise the farmer to plant trees which gives flowers during the winter season. We advise them to use modern honey hives. The pesticides spread on maize and other crops also adversely affect the bee populations. The weed killer in particular is the biggest blow for the bees.

The followings are the total numbers of livestock in the community:-

* Oxen = 1640
* Cows = 3940
* Bulls = 1990
* Heifers = 2055
* Hybrid cows = 2
* Hybrid heifers = 3
* Hybrid bulls = 2
* Sheep = 191
* Goats = 63
* Donkeys = 158
* Horse = 0
* Mule = 67
* Hen = 3700

In order to improve the agricultural extension services in the community, the DA’s provide the following recommendations:-

* To continue to advise and train the farmers;
* To create good relationships and connections among the famers;
* To work on the basis of farmers interest and mobilise them to accept new farm technologies and new development initiatives;
* The DA’s 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 with those who already entered in the track
* 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.

### Health Extension Workers

There are two health extension workers in the community. The health post has been built with community labour with material provided by the Wereda. There is no water, electricity, telephone or latrine in the health post. Based on the health extension workers information, they play a controlling role in any of health problems in the community and mainly they implement the 16 packages to encourage the implementation of government policy in health control service. Thus, each HEWs has a responsibility to occupy themselves in all health control services in the course of house to house visit and health post centred services. The HEWs mentioned that through home to home visiting they have been screening infant children and lactating mothers and food has been provided for malnourished children in the community. The food is provided to the kebele by the Wereda and the Wereda receive the foods from UNICEF. There is also an injection service which supports the prevention of diseases including TB, Polio, tikitik, tetanus, mengaga qolif, flu, influenza, pneumonia and measles /kufung.

The health extension workers agreed that, child and lactating mothers’ injection/ vaccination are the most popular packages in the community. As they mentioned lactating mothers bring their children to get vaccination based on their own motivation. They also seek vaccination for themselves. Generally, the community as a whole has been showing strong support to the introduction of preventive health services in the community. On the other hand, they mentioned solid and liquid waste disposal, as the least popular package. The community are against the introduction of the waste disposal package because they believe that it is useful to prepare manure. They explained latrine, family planning and contraceptive are the other most important packages in the community. The most challenging and failed programme is female circumcision as the whole community are against this government intervention.

They agreed that targeting women is the best strategy to deliver the health extension programmes successfully. They support this idea by explaining that women can potentially cover the majority of the community since they interact easily with their husband, children, neighbours. Above all, women are the best population to improve the environment as they spend most of their time around their house, with their children and community as a whole. The best and easiest way to deliver messages to women is through development team leaders, 1 -5 cell and model farmers. Large Kebele meetings, religious places and social institutions like Iddir are the best way to deliver messages in relation to health and sanitation services.

As they mentioned maternal mortality has been decreasing but government should enhance the implementation of clean and safe delivery by providing sustainable skills training to health extension workers and provide necessary delivery kits. In addition to this, the Wereda ambulance should be available to utilise at the Kebele level during delivery times. In their opinion, the availability of health centre and private clinics in Tibe towns has been supporting farmers to access service during delivery time. However, lack of ambulance access is hindering the community from better access. As they said, there is no record of fistula and infertility in the Kebele. There is also no medical service provided for this problem in the community. There is no legal service for abortion in the Kebele but people go to the Wereda or Ambo to get modern services for abortion. There is no supply of pads for menstruation in the Kebele.

According to their perception, the community is not willing to abandon the practice of female circumcision. There was a huge campaign at the Kebele level but people, especially women are not willing to abandon this culture. However, there was no investigation and serious action taken against the practitioners yet. People are attempting to hide the practice and they changed their strategy of practicing it. Previously it was from 7 years old that the circumcision practiced but now they also start to practice it even before girls are 7 years old. As they said, when they teach to farmers that circumcision is against government policy the farmers could also argue that government policy is against their culture. The health workers work in collaboration with other sectors, development team leaders and 1-5 groups’ leaders to motivate and facilitate the implementation of health packages.

On the other hand, said the HEWs, except some resistance particularly from husband, family planning has been appreciated by most of the community members and it is also very successful in practice. Women are the main beneficiary of the family planning package as it reduces their household burden and responsibility. It has also reduced economic worries and has enabled women to participate more in the community roles. According to the health extension workers they have been holding meetings on various issues including female circumcision, family planning, preventive health, sanitation and nutrition. As to their opinion, all the above health packages are important to the community. However, they have been facing different challenges especially during their house to house visiting programme. There were many people who were not interested to invite the HEWs into their compound health and sanitation services. They mentioned that there are many people who close their door and let their dogs after the HEWs while they are providing the home based services. HEWs were expected to give pre and post-natal as well as safe and clean delivery services.

### Head teacher of primary school

The school was upgraded to a full cycle primary last year. It is showing good progress in terms of enrolment and in reducing drop out. The wereda education office conduct monthly meetings with the head teachers and the wereda experts to evaluate the performance and challenges faced by each school in the wereda. At the monthly meeting, each head teacher presents a report and discussions are had 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. The meeting is very important to build the capacity of the head teachers on report writing and on how to manage the schools. In addition to the meeting at the wereda level, there is a supervisor assigned to follow up the activities of 4 schools. The supervisor is stationed in the nearest town to carefully overlook the activities of the schools. For example the supervision of this school is based in Tibe town and he visits the school at least once a week. The supervisor is directly responsible to the wereda education office.

The school has been facing a number of problems. There are shortages of teachers in the school. There are no language teachers (English and Amharic). The school has repeatedly reported the problem to the wereda education office. Recently one teacher was assigned to teach both Amharic and English in grade 7 and 8. However we need at least three language teachers to reduce the problem. Therefore, there are still shortages.

The school has 7 teachers, a head teacher and vice-head teacher for all grades (1-8). The head teacher and vice head teacher also teach due to the shortage. The parents and teachers association (PTA) also reported the problem to the wereda but the action is not very fast from there. Recently the wereda told us that it could not get us a language teacher.

Now the school administration and the PTA decide to recruit one teacher from the community. His salary is to be paid by the community. He has just started work. His salary is 300 birr which is very low as compared with the salary of other teachers (1,427). As he has no job, he is happy to work for this salary.

There are also shortages of text books. Students share books 1:2 or 2:3. The shortage is more acute for grades 7 and 8 Amharic, English and Maths books. In grade 8 the maths ration is 1 book for 5 students. The problem is that when the school expanded and the number of students increased, the number of teachers and text books did not increase.

The third challenge is the quality of teachers. Teachers do not have sufficient knowledge and skills to get students to the required level in the subjects they teach. The teachers are not good in the English language. Moreover, teachers in the self-contained system teach all subjects. As they are not specialised in specific subjects, they may not be capable to teach some subjects. This has an adverse effect on students’ performance.

The school uses the school grant budget to buy school furniture such as chairs, tables, and blackboards. Now there is one desk for three children which is enough. 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. This helps to improve the quality of education. Now the schools plan is to construct additional classrooms from the money contributed by the community. Each household contributes 10 birr per year. In addition the school has 3 hectares of land and produce crops for sale.

The school established a water pump for the students and teachers in the school compound. So, now the school has clean water. The water is also used to water seedlings of different trees. The seedlings are sold to the community for a good price. USAID provided the financial support to construct the tap water and toilets for girls and boys in the school. But the toilet for girls was not good quality and as a result it is not functional. USAID donated 183,000 birr for the tap water.

The school has a good relationship with the community. The community members farm, harvest and thresh the farm of the school. They also contribute 10 birr every year for the school. In addition the community recruit the school guards, cleaners and contract teacher.

In school we use a continuous assessment method to evaluate the performance (G1-8). They are also involved in a question and answer competitions in the classroom. In grade 8, children are good in maths. The maths teacher is very good and students are making good preparation for grade 8 regional exam.

Students should learn both the theory and practice. Teachers should use teaching aids. There are shortages of teaching aids. Some teachers use locally made materials to teach in a class. It is very important to make the school a child friendly school. Schools should be attractive to students.

Working children do not have time to study and do their homework. This limits the child’s participation in the classroom. It has also a negative impact on students’ performance. The school repeatedly discusses this with parents. Although we have a plan to improve student performance, their achievement is still very low. The workload at home is the main factor for the low performance. We discussed the issue with parents and we agreed that smaller children should not be involved in work which impacts on their education. Actual children start simple works at the age of 6/7 in this community. They start to do hard work for the family from 10-15 years old.

Some children can start paid work at the age of 15. Most of the children at this age are dependent up on their parents. Most of the time, poorer and orphan children are involved in paid labour which adversely affects their education. There are some 56 orphan children who finance their education in this school. They are either full orphan or semi-orphan. Some of them lost their mother and their father migrated to somewhere for work; others lost their father but their mother re-married. The school provides school materials for four poor children this year.

The school teaches in a shift system. The grade 1-4 students learn in one shift while the grade students 5-8 learn in another shift. The shift system is applied because of:

* Shortage of teachers
* Shortage of classrooms
* Parents want to use their children for family and domestic labour. The shift system reduces the conflict between the school and the community, and the conflict between parents and students because parents/communities can use some of their children for labour in the morning shift and the other children in the afternoon shift.

During the harvest season, schools are closed for a week or two and children help their parents in harvesting. The missed classes are covered by using catch-up classes during the weekend.

Children should start grade one at the age of 7. The total number of children registered in grade one are 120 (64 males and 56 females). Out of the total those who are 7 years old at the time of registration are 34 males and 25 females. Children who are above the age of 7 at the time of registration are 30 males and 31 females. The oldest children in grade one are 5 (3 males and 2 females they are between 13 and 15 years old). Out of the 120 students 3 children were dropped out. One child dropped out because the parents change the place of residence; another child dropped out due to her mother’s illness; and the third child was dropped out because he migrated to live with a relative in another place- the father died and the mother re-married.

Children’s aspirations have been declining because they think that the government could not provide job for their older brothers and sisters. So, they think that they will face similar problems when they complete their education. The decline in children’s educational aspirations also reduces the parent’s interest to support the education of their children. Parents are not encouraged to support their children. Students’ lack of interest also leads to decline in educational performance.

## Government volunteers

### Male youth leader

Young people do not have access to land. Land is in the hand of parents when young men are married parents can give some land to them.

The current government has never redistributed land for to young people. The kebele administration have discussed with the young people many times to organise them in to cooperative and to give some land for business activities. However no practical actions have been taken yet.

He believes that young people have the knowledge and skills to help to change the livelihoods of the people. However there are little opportunities for them to use their knowledge or skills. The kebele and wereda administration have not had help to get land and jobs. The landless youths in their twenties are many. Almost all of them have no land or job. Only those who got some land from their parents and or inherited from their deceased parents have land. They cannot be more than 5 % of the total. Some young men are involved in farming by renting or share cropping. Others are involved in some small scale trading such us trading in goats, sheep and mule carts. Some young men already married, the total unmarried youths in the community is about 30%. One of the main problems facing the young people is the communities attitude towards unemployed youths. They do not give recognition to young people. They consider that is they are unemployed they are involved in bad habits such as drinking alcohol, chewing chat, smoking and theft. It is true that some unemployed youths have involved in stealing cattle shoats and crops but not all.

Unemployment affects both young men and women. The number of unemployed men is greater than that of young women. There are few young women who completed secondary education and become jobless.

The creation of job opportunities in Middle Eastern countries has led to an increase in migration of young women. Although it is difficult to know the total number, the trend shows that young women have been increasingly migrating to Arab countries in the last three years. In the past the majority of the migrant girls were from the Muslim households. Recently girls from all religious groups have been migrating. Young men mainly migrate to urban centres such as Bako Ambo, Adama, Addis Ababa and Nekemt. They migrate in search of jobs. Most of them are employed in private companies.

If there had been job in the community the majority of young people would have stayed in the community.

The kebele administration has mobilised the people to get involved in public works and other developmental activities such as internal road construction, irrigation works, farming trainings, etc. However they are excluded from these important community based development initiatives such as public works on environmental protection, road construction, etc. I have not seen the different kebele structures try to involve young people in meetings, trainings and public works. They are mainly focused on married adult men. When adult people don't participate in public works the Gare and Iddir leaders penalise them. However they do not do anything when young men refuse to participate in any meetings.

Young men who not have a job and are out of school spend most their time either helping their parents or watching films and television in town. Some of them spend their time drinking alcohol and chewing chat. There is no recreational place in the community therefore they are wasting their time in the community or in the nearby town. Some young men have married and established independent households. But marriage without having economic resources means going in to poverty. Most of the time marriage is followed by having a child which is big burden for the new couple who have no farm land, cattle, and job.

Regarding the relationship between adults and young people - adults do not accept the ideas of young people. Young people also do not accept ideas and advice from adults. They do not respect each other. Adults consider young people as useless. Young people want to establish independent livelihood but their parents do not want to share their land with their matured children. So, the conflict between the two generations has been increasing.

Young men’s political participation is also limited there are no youth association, league and federation in the community. the ideas of establishing youth associations was discussed with the kebele administration was some months ago but no practical action was taken. Of course the majority of youth in the community do not want to be involved in politics. In the 2005, national election many young men were actively involved in the election. After the election the government imprisoned large number of them because they supported the opposing political parties. Since then they have become passive in politics.

Getting jobs need relative at the wereda level. If you do not have relative you cannot get the job whatever training and certificate you have. Nepotism and corruption are the main reason.

One of the major challenges facing young people is related to the quality of education. Children cannot be successful on their educational performance because teachers lack knowledge, lack of follow up in the class room and there is a shortage of text books.

At the kebele and the wereda level comments and ideas from young men are not considered because the administrator considers them the ideas of opposing political parties, this creates anger among large number of young people. Elders and adult people have more power to be herd and their decision is acceptable to the authorities. Young people cannot provide concrete decisions about their life and rights. Though they aspire to have wealth, to learn more and to get jobs, they are totally excluded. Therefore the ideas of young people are different from the adult population and the authorities. I believe that young people have good views, aspirations, motivations and plans to change their community. Young people are tough, cleaver, systematic and analytical, critical etc. about things. Adult and older people consider these ideas and opinions of young people as a failure to accept and respect the culture and values of the community. They consider the knowledge of young people as danger for the old traditions. If there is a strong opposing political party in the area, most of us would join it.

Though they are not active in politics young people are fully engaged in religious activities. They visit their respective church or mosque at least once a week. To my knowledge young people respect and accept good culture. They are interested in cultural heritage.

### Female youth leader

There is no youth affairs office in the Kebele. She says she has never heard whether the youth affairs have a link with Kebele structure or not. She is not representative of young people in the community and she has never has any role in the Kebele. However, she including her friends are planning to establish a young people's association to empower themselves. They have a plan to demand support both from Kebele and Wereda level. As far as she is concerned, young people are raising different issues to the Kebele administrator but there is no critical emphasis given to young people both at the Kebele and Wereda level. The Kebele administrator has been planning to motivate government interventions to address young people problems and constraints in the community. As a result of this, the young landless people are demanding the distribution of some land from the communal grazing land in the community though they faced many challenges from older people. There are 30 young people who organised themselves into cooperatives and received communal grazing land around Boto Zone in order to start to working on farm production. The majority of young people in the community are living with confusion. As to her response, the Kebele administrators are very reluctant towards women and young people's issues. There are many constraints that young people particularly young females face in the community. As to her opinion, the only good opportunity for young people is access to primary and secondary education particularly for girls but this has not brought about a better change in the community particularly in the life of young people. Despite its limited positive opportunity, the poor quality and limited access of higher education is creating a trouble in the community as many of young people are becoming a burden on the old people. The community sends their children to school and expects after about 10 years to see the fruit of their children but only negative conditions are happening in the community. Constraints that hinder young people from continuing their higher education and zero job opportunities in the Kebele are creating a great chaos especially among the majority of poor people in the community.

### Male development team leader

This is locally called Gare Misoma. The development team leaders have 5 members- a chairperson, secretary and 3 members. They are directly accountable to the zone leader. They are responsible for organising and leading the 1-5 structures organised under the Gare. There are 30 households under each development team leader (similar name to the Gare leader). The team leaders mobilise the people under this domain to get involved in development activities including public works. They mobilise people to get involved in trainings and meetings organised by the kebele administration and wereda offices.

The problem is that people do not accept the instruction from the leaders. Sometimes, conflict exists among the team leaders themselves.

### Female development team leader:

She is 33 years old. She is a party member as well as a social court member. She said women are not active participants in the Kebele and the political structure. However, there are very few women including herself who are involved in political activities. She plays a role in mobilising women to participate in the community's public work, Kebele meetings and other political activities. As a leader of a development team, she motivates and facilitates the implementation of government interventions in different sectors including education, agriculture, social court and health services. She was selected as a development team leader because she is active and a model farmer in implementing different packages and participating actively in the Kebele meetings and other social role.

She said the development team leader/Gere has 5 members’ – a chairperson, secretary and three members. According to the respondent, development team leaders organise 1-5 cells to promote the community public works and other tasks transferred from the Wereda. Development team leaders are responsible to follow up the implementation of development activities involved by different sectors as well as by 1to 5 cells in the community. Every team leader has the responsibility to evaluate and report the performance of each activity in the Kebele. Each development team leader constitutes 25 - 30 members of households and also a leader of 1 to 5 cells. The team mobilises the community to participate in development work like terracing and plantation.

As she said there are many problems that the development team leaders face when they first get in touch with the community. It is obvious that farmers are very resistant and conservative about accepting new ideas. It takes time to convince farmers about new ideas and it is also hard to see changes after they accepted the new ideas. The majority of community members pretend that they are willing to accept all the new ideas and practice them. When actually they are very reluctant to implement development activities especially in relation to the health packages. The other problem is that women are not willing to participate in community work and meetings as they remain behind doing the domestic work.

### Male 1-5 cell leader

The 1-5 leaders mobilise their members and encourage them to actively involve both in the community and private activities. They meet every two weeks to discuss on the problems that they face in common and individually. In recent months they are not meeting as planned. In some cases they do not meet at all. This has been declined after the death of the late Prime Minister Meles. They are directly responsible for the problems and achievement happened within the members

### Female 1-5 cell leader

The same respondent for development team leader mentioned that there is no separate role and between development team leader and 1 to 5 cell. The leaders of development team are leaders in 1 to 5 cells. These leaders facilitate the five households in their village and mobilise to the implementation of development work in the community including health packages, community labour and so on.

### Woman leader

She is 35 years old; originally from Oda Haro She lives with her husband and 5 children. She is the head of women affairs and chairperson of the women's association in the Kebele. She was elected for the position in 2006. She said that although she is supposed to be a head of women affairs, the structure is not yet functioning at the Kebele level. She has received different trainings from the Wereda but there is no actual movement and activity of the structure in the community. However, she sometimes represents the Kebele women affairs office and transfers different messages from the Wereda in different meetings. Although there is no active progress of women affairs, she has noticed many changes in community's attitudes. She said that there is a big change regarding women issues compared to previous times. As a result of this, the community has a better understanding in relation to women rights. She explained that women have begun participating in the Kebele meetings, sharing some roles in the community. Moreover, women are creating independent economic sources based on their own motivation. As she said, there are many women who have started participating in petty trades, vegetable trading, shops, self-trading and livestock and livestock product trading. There is also widow and divorce property right which was not practiced in the previous times. The respondent said that religious institutions, customary institution and Iddir are working to ensure the rights of women. She said that government intervention in terms of health services has also brought an important effect in improving women’s quality of life. Since the introduction of health packages services, women in the community have started using contraceptives and seeking safe and clean delivery which is improving their life expectancy. However, there are still many women in the community who stay at home during their delivery time. This is because of less mobilisation from the HEWs. The government should keep the supervision of policy implementation at the Kebele level.

She said, “as a result of the attitude change in the community, I became a 1-5 cell leader, development team leader and women affairs representative in the Kebele”. She also said that following the government intervention, she has noticed a big movement in sending girls to school. She said there is now no parental marriage arrangement as young people have already started practicing their right to choose their own marriage partners. There is significant reduction in domestic violence especially since the introduction of 1 to 5 cell and development team. There is recognition of customary and religious institutions as becoming important in resolving women problems in the community. Iddir and churches have been playing a significant role in decreasing the number of cases of domestic violence and women's rights abuse. Government involvement, trainings and meetings have brought a big attitude change in the community. Women are becoming very aware about their rights. Previously, the majority of the female population have been tolerating domestic violence; however, now women present every single right abuse in front of social court up to zonal level.

As a chairperson of a women's association, she worked in promoting women's economic empowerment to enable them to gain an independent income source. As a result of this, the association took 2 hectares of land on a contract base from private irrigated farm land and cultivated maize, potatoes and tomatoes. They had taken improved seeds and fertiliser from the service cooperatives by contributing 200 birr from each member. All labour needed was covered by the members. They had collected about 1500 birr by selling their outputs and they got a total of 774 birr profit after paying back the credit for the initial the inputs. However, they were not successful in continuing their activities as they faced external problems. They did not get the total money they had collected due to the death of their secretary. They had asked the deceased women's husband to pay back the money but he said that he had no information about the money. Because of such obstacles, they were stopped from continuing their work.

Finally, she mentioned some major problems that hinder women's right. She said abduction, rape and female circumcision are some major problems among others. As she said, even though the type of abduction which is currently practiced in the Kebele is voluntary abduction, it is a big challenge for women/girls life. Girls forced to stay behind from their education because of less awareness about their rights. They miss classes and drop out fearing that they will not be successful in the education in the future. Young females become pessimistic about education considering friends experience that they didn’t succeed after graduating high school. So, voluntary abduction has been a big challenge both for the family and school especially in the last two years. There are many women who are forced to drop out of school because of voluntary abduction. Similarly, she said although there was a huge campaign done on harmful traditional practices including female circumcision, it is still happens to the same degree in the community. She explained that the community is very clear about the education provided on HTP particularly on female circumcision but they are not willing to let go of this cultural way. They prefer to stay conservative especially on this issue.

### Service co-operative leader

This service cooperative is located in Tibe town. The cooperatives were established in 1970 E.C. After the current government come to power, it was re instituted. It has money from different organisations.

It provides improved seeds, fertilisers. It provides services for 4 kebeles officially and 6 kebeles which are not officially included in the cooperative. Out of those 6 kebeles, two of them have no savings and are not members of the cooperative. Most of the people in the 4 kebele are the member of this cooperative. There are some people from the kebele who are not members of the cooperatives and they are get services from the private sector and the cooperatives although they are not members.

This year it was decided that those people who get the services from the cooperatives should be members. In order to become a member a person should pay130 birr membership fee. Once he/she pays this amount he/she is the future member of the cooperative and can get all services provided by the cooperatives.

The total member of the cooperative is 2,772 (2,423 males and 349 females). The female members include the first wife of polygamous husbands and widows.

The cooperative provides the following services:

* Improved maize =660, 540, 543, Shona and agri. These are provided during the farming seasons (in May).
* Fertilisers (DAP, UREA)= provided throughout the year for irrigation and train-fed farming
* Chemical pesticides = ROWNDU UP- used for burning and drying grasses and weeds, pre-magram- to soften the soil and to kill the weeds (for maize). It is sprayed on the third day after the maize crop is sown. It is important to prevent weeding and softening the soil.
* The members of the cooperative from each kebele are about 85 % while the noon members are 15 %. The members of the cooperative are increasing from time to time for example 2002E.C the total members were 1207 males and 150 females. This year (2005 E.C) the new members increased by 145 males 5 females.

This services cooperative is a member of the Bako farmers union. It has a share of 225,000 birr which put it the second largest service cooperatives of the wereda (out of 13 members).

The services cooperatives provide improved seed only for maize crops. Irrigated farmers buy improved seeds for vegetables either from the wereda agricultural office or from private providers.

We do not collect information about the needs of the farmers. This is the responsibility of the kebele administration. Our responsibility is just to provide improved seeds for maize and fertiliser. The service cooperative does not give inputs for vegetables or vaccinations for livestock. Vaccination is actually provided by the vet services which are located in Tibe town and directly accountable to the wereda agricultural office.

The cooperatives give services for both members and non-members. Priority is given to the members. Non-members can get the services only when the inputs are more than enough. In addition the payment for members and non-member is different. We impose a transport cost on non-members. This is to force the non-members to become members. All farmers should buy the inputs themselves there is no credit service. The credit services stopped since 2010 because peoples refused to pay back their debt. So the government decided to stop the credit. At the beginning this decision caused resentment on the part of the farmers. But now they realised that they get the service without any problems. Farmers do not get the same services from private providers. They can get other improved seeds such as tomatoes

The cooperatives also sell different kinds of products for the farmer’s in order to establish the market price. These include sugar, oil food, soap and pesticides (for maize storage). We also sell weed killer- which is sprayed on all kinds of weed, except for beans. It helps for maize, wheat and barley. The price is cheaper compared with the one provided by private organisations. We sell at 60 birr per litre and the traders sell at 86 birr. The quality of the weed killer is different. We provide quality weed killer. Farmers buy from private providers only when there is shortage in our stock. There are other services provided by the wereda agricultural offices and improved vegetation seeds (like onion) from private organisation. Farmers have the view that the vet service is part of the service cooperatives. In practice this is not true. The name of the service cooperatives is Tetafeta Tibe service cooperative.

The services cooperatives buy maize crops from the farmer. We buy with a better price as compared to the market price. For example traders buy with 380 per quintal but we buy with 405 birr. This is in order to establish the market price and to help the farmers to sell their crops for a good price. We sell the crop to the union with some profit it then sells to the federation. The services cooperative does not buy livestock.

The farmers who sell their crops to the service cooperative get dividends from the cooperatives this is based on the profit obtained from the sale of the crop. This is to encourage the farmers to sell their farm products to the cooperatives. We also buy crops from the non-members but they do not get the dividend. The number of farmers who sell their crops to the services cooperatives are not more than 25% of the community. This is a very small number. The reason is that they prefer to sell to traders who provide them with credit during the shortage of food crops. This forces the farmer to sell to the traders.

The services cooperatives are becoming successful in terms of getting profit however it cannot satisfy the diversified needs and requirements of the farmers. For example it cannot provide improved vegetables and fruit seeds for the irrigation farm. The problem existed with the wereda. In addition the services cooperative cannot buy livestock and livestock products from farmers. The wereda administration does not allow providing such services.

The service cooperative has a threshing machine for maize, but it was broken. It needs maintenance it worked for more than 30 years. We asked the wereda union for maintenance but no response has been provided yet. The services cooperative sells consumption items (sugar, soap etc…) but they do not have enough to provide for the demands from the farmers. Shortage of supply and budgets are the major problem. The items come to the cooperatives through the union so the cooperative has no budget to buy the inputs and the consumption items. There is a problem of quality with the improved seeds. The seeds are affected by pests when they are stored for a long time. In the last five years we have received 580 quintals of maize improved seeds which are affected by pests and moisture. These are now in our stock. We asked the regional government to eradicate them, but there has not been any response for the last two years. They occupy space and spoil the environment. The service cooperative has also no budget to construct an additional store.

We have a plan to prepare seedlings of different crops and trees and to sell to the farmers. But there is serious shortage of water in the town of Tibe.

### Credit organiser

An Oromia microfinance credit and saving service which is located in Tibe town has been serving more than 4 kebeles together in the Wereda. It is a government affiliated private credit services. The criteria to screen out the eligibility of farmers to access the credit services are carried out by Kebele administrator. It is the Kebele officials who are responsible to justify whether one is eligible to take credit or not. According to the formal credit organiser representative, group collateral is important to access credit and saving services from the organisation. The collateral group should contain 4 to 6 individuals. All Kebele members who have Kebele ID card and those who could submit collateral including household assets, land or group collateral are eligible to access the credit and saving services. Regarding the age criteria, members of the community who are above 18 and below 60 years old are allowed to take credit based on their collateral. However, those households who are segregated (due to involvement in crimes)from the community are not eligible to access any services from the organisation. Farmers could access 500- 10,000 birr credit based on their collateral and they can save 20 birr every month. The pay back arrangement is three times in a year failure to pay leads to punishment. The organisation also provides savings and insurance service. The organisation saves 10% of the savings for insurance purposes. Insurance is given for those who die naturally only. Those who die as a result of an accident including flood, car and fire accident cannot be considered to get insurance services. People who commit suicide are also not covered by the insurance. The formal organiser didn’t have any idea on the logic of insurance criteria.

The credit and saving service started before 10 years at the Wereda level. Farmers including women who satisfy the criteria can access the credit and saving services. Before five years ago, there was organised women association who took credit and attempt to work on farming. The group collateral is very important and secured criteria as it protect from debt crisis so far. The rest of the group members are forced to pay back the debt of the other group members if he/ she fail to pay back. There are around five people from the Kebele who left out the community after they failed to pay back the debt. However, their family and group did pay it back.

## Elites

### Leading farmer

I am a farmer. I produce different kinds of crops. These are maize, teff, nug, red-pepper (recently declined due to pests) and sorghum (production declines due to increase in birds eating this crop, and people giving more priority to maize crop). The red-pepper pest could not be prevented though farmers use of pesticides.

As compared with 2008, the productivity of the land is declining. Although we use the fertilisers, the production cannot be increased unless we use the land in rotation. Most of the time, we sow the same type of crop again and again. This should be changed in order to increase the productivity of the land. The use of the same crop on the same farm from year to year leads to a decline in productivity and production. The teff production is not good in recent year because of lack of rotation. The decline in the production of red-pepper in the last 10 years is however caused by the pesticide called cholera. I have stopped the production of these crops, and most of the farmers have already stopped producing it.

We produce maize crops using the chemical fertiliser and improved seeds. We are getting the inputs from the service cooperative. Last year we obtained the production inputs on time and used them properly to produce the crops. However the production was not good as there was shortage of rain. The rain came very late and stopped early which led to the reduction of the production. The production reduced by 1/3 in most places and by half in some places. Two years ago the rain was good, and we produced up to 35 quintals of maize from a hectare but last year the production was reduced to 28 quintals per quintal. Rain is the main factor in the amount of crops produced every year.

I have two hectares of farmland on which I produce grain (mainly maize). I also have some irrigated land on which I produce different kinds of vegetables such as tomatoes, potatoes, onions, sugar cane, banana, mango, orange, and green pepper. The mango tree is also grown in my compound in large numbers but in the last two years it has been affected by pests which dry the leaves and spoils the fruit. We have not used any pesticide to protect it because the agricultural extension office has not provided us with the pesticide. The pest has affected the mango trees all over the wereda. The name of the disease is called cholera.

My irrigation farm is one hectare. In the last 12 months, I have produced vegetables on the irrigated lands and have not got good benefits from them. We have produced twice a year which means that the production is being doubled as compared with in the past when we produced only once.

I also produce maize and teff by renting land from poor households. I rent it for three years and I renew the rental agreement after three years. The wereda declared that farmers can rent their farm land for a maximum of three years. I rented a hectare of land with 800 birr per year. Last year I rented one hectare of land and produced maize and teff. The price of land rent increases from time to time. This year the price reaches 1500 birr per hectare.

Share cropping is also one way of getting land for crop production. Last year I share cropped half hectare of the land with another poor farmer. It is a rain-fed farm and we produced maize crop on this land as well. in the share cropping system, the owner of the land should contribute money for the fertiliser and improved seeds; the sharecropper provide the labour and oxen. But I contributed the money for the purchase of the fertiliser and improved seeds. Then we divided the product equally.

We have a written agreement for both the renting and sharecropping. One copy of the agreement is given to kebele administration, another copy is given to the owner and the third copy is kept by the renter/sharecropper.

Irrigation activities have become important in this community in the last five years. The number of farmers involved in the irrigation activities has been increasing from time to time. The amount of land converting into irrigation farm is increasing. The production of vegetables is changing the livelihoods of many people, the expansion of irrigation leads to a shortage of land from the river. The irrigation activity is carried out in all places along the Sama River, the biggest river crossing the community and finally joining the Gibe River. The decline of the water forces some farmers to buy irrigation motors for their farms. Preciously we use a traditional way of diverting the water from the river to the farm. Now those who have the pumps are using them to irrigate even land located distant places from the river. Those who do not have the pump also rent it from the others. So, the irrigation activity is becoming an important farming activity in the area.

Regarding the farm inputs, the service cooperative provides fertilisers and improved maize seed. In addition to the inputs, the cooperative also sells soap, sugar, food oil, and corrugated iron to the farmers. It buys crops from the farmers with better price. It is beneficial for the farmers in many aspects. Most of the farmers in this community are members of the cooperative. We have an ID card and a membership paper. The service cooperative gives service for farmers from 4 kebeles and it has 9 smaller cooperatives. We can get pesticides and weed killers from the cooperative but since the amount is not enough for all the farmers from different communities, we buy these chemicals from private providers as well. The service is not enough for all of the people from all of the four kebeles.

Land size has not changed in the last five years. Land was officially distributed to the farmers during the time of the Derg regime [1974-1991]. However, when the land is needed for public buildings such school, health station, etc., a replacement is given from the public land. Of course, this redistribution has led to the decline of communal grazing lands.

Recently about 2 hectares of land from the Ebicho zone's grazing land was given to the China road construction company. The company built a store house and house for staff residence. The construction of internal roads also reduces the farm land of some farmers.

In the future there is a plan to incorporate the Ebicho grazing land into the town of Tibe. It is said that this will happen within the coming 10 years. This will create huge blow for the breeding of livestock mainly for the people in Ebicho zone.

For the farming, we use the traditional oxen drawn plough and other farming materials to cultivate the land. I have a maize threshing machine. In addition to using it for threshing our maize, we also rent it out to other farmers and obtain income. At the beginning I took it from the wereda agricultural office in the form of credit. Through time I paid back all the money and made it my own property. I have my own irrigation motor which I bought recently. We use it to expand our irrigation activity.

Some years ago, I took a hybrid cow from the wereda extension office and I am still breading some of them. The problem is that the hybrid cow is easily affected by disease. In the last 7 years the hybrid cow has given birth to five bulls and 2 heifers- three of the bulls died due to illness, now we have two bulls and two heifers. The cow gives up to 6 litres of milk per day. We breed goats and sheep but they are all local breeds. We started to breed new chickens some years ago but they are easily affected by disease. As a result we returned back to breeding the local ones.

Regarding farm labour, we mainly use family labour for the rain-fed farming. We also organise Debo in which neighbours and relatives help us to harvest the crops and to cultivate the farm. I have also farm labourer. During the harvesting times and for irrigation work, we employ paid daily labourers. Most of these labourers are from the community and we pay them on daily basis. We can pay them up to 12 birr per day. Recently we started to employee migrant labourers on the production of tomato plants in the irrigation farm. These migrant Amhara labourers are very efficient and effective in irrigation work as compared with the local ones. So, we are now focusing on them for the irrigation activities. They provide the labour service to the irrigation activities and we share the profit after the vegetables are collected.

Concerning the division of farm labour, both men and women can get involved in weeding, hoeing, and collecting. Men are involved in farming and harvesting. Women mainly do domestic works. Both men and women can keep the cattle. We keep them on the communal grazing lands. We keep them there turn by turn. On the day of our turn any member of the household (men, women or children) can keep them. The turn is every 15 days.

We consume most of the grains at home. We sell the extra ones to the service cooperative and to the local traders. We mainly store the crops and sell them during the summer time when the price increases. The price of grain crops is very high in summer because most of the farmers have already finished their crops and start to buy from the market. We sell to the service cooperative only during the harvesting time because during this time the cooperative buy with a good price as compared with the market price. But in summer we sell to the traders- the service cooperative cannot buy with high price. Even during the summer time the cooperative itself sells the crops to the farmers and the traders.

I store my crops in a gotara (grain store) which is made of wood, mud and grass. I have also a modern store made up of wood and cement/sand. It can hold up to 100 quintal at a time. It was constructed with the help from the wereda agricultural office five years ago after I got award from the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in Addis Ababa. I was awarded a medal for becoming a model farmer in this community. I was also give 200m2 of land for residential house in Addis Ababa.

I sell livestock to the Shoboka and Jaji markets. I also sell in Tibe town during the holidays. I sell shoats mainly in Tibe town. My wife sells honey in Tibe market. I have both the modern and local honey bees. The problem is that the bees are being affected by chemicals mainly by weed-killers. My wife also sells butter in Tibe town. We do not sell milk. We use it for family consumption.

In order to improve the agricultural production and productivity, we get training and advice from the DAs and wereda agricultural office. The training includes farming and livestock production as well as environmental protection. They advise us on how to expand the irrigation activities.

In addition to my active involvement in agricultural works, I am a community elder. I am involved in conflict resolution within and outside the community. I represent the community in case big meetings are organised at the wereda or zone level. So, I have participated in a number of meetings organised by the kebele and wereda offices. I have played leading roles in customary activities in the community.

### Woman model farmer

She is in the mid of forties and originally from Oda Haro Kebele. She lives with her single daughter whose age is 26 and with three agricultural labourers including one female who cooks for the farmers. According to her perception, there is a positive change in her farming production particularly in the last five years. She has been producing different crops including red-pepper, maize, teff and nug for many years. However, she stopped growing red-pepper since it has been affected by local diseases called cholera. As she said, many years may be a maximum of 10 years has been counted since the community noticed cholera infection in red-pepper production. However, she produced 200 kg red-pepper in last summer and she didn’t take it to the market as she found it very poor quality. As she mentioned she used to get good income from red-pepper which was the major income source for her household.

Comparing with 2008, she said the productivity of the land has declined. However, there is government intervention such as the provision of fertiliser which is expected to support the productivity of the crops. The other coping mechanism she has learned from her experience is rotating crops every year to support the quality of the soil. There is fertiliser and improved seed service in the producer cooperatives but the price is increasing every year. She noticed the tremendous change in the area's weather which is affecting the peasant life in the community. She produces about thirty five quintile from one hectare although there has been a slight change in the last year production regarding the quality. She said those farmers who have irrigable land are producing vegetables and fruits including tomato, sugar cane, banana, mango, cabbage and green pepper. Mango and orange are being affected by cholera diseases and the extension workers did not provide any support to prevent the problem. She said the infection started from the Wereda and was transmitted throughout Kebele.

Those who have irrigation can produce twice a year. There has been no major change in the land size in the last 20 years in the community. Land was distributed during the derg regime but there are minor changes of land size. The Kebele has been taking land from the farmers for public buildings and so on. However, farmers have been provided with replacement from the communal grazing land which affects the size of the grazing land in the Kebele. There is a service cooperative that provides fertiliser, improved seeds, weed killer, pesticide, corrugated iron sheets food oil, soap, sugar, food crops. It is very important for the community. The majority of the community members have received a membership ID after they paid registration fee which is 130 birr (one off). The farmers could also get pesticides from private shops though it is expensive. The service cooperative provides service for four Kebeles which is creating a shortage of farming inputs. There is no farming technology as they still stick to ploughing with ox but they have started to use machine to thresh maize. She has employed two male and one female daily labourers. Most of the time the female worker supports her with the domestic work. She sometimes participates in farming when there is weeding and harvesting. However, the two male labourers cover all the farming work together with her. She pays labour both in kind and in cash. She also produces crops using the sharecropping system. She does livestock rearing of cattle and shoats. She sells most of her farming outputs during summer season when the market price is high. She has crop and grain storage room and she use chemical to prevent her crop from insect (pest) locally called neqezi.

She was chosen as a model farmer because she is a hard worker and productive in her farming outcomes. She said she has been working hard even though she has no husband or responsible son to take care of the farming activity. She owns about 2 hectares of rain fed farm land where she produces maize, red-pepper, nug and teff. Her land has decreased by 0.5 hector since she has reserved this for her cattle’s grazing land. As she mentioned it is been too long since she started utilising fertilisers and improved seeds on her farm land. She has been taking improved seed such as 543, 540, and 660 of maize, dup, urea and weed killer called round up in the last few years. She has also started using improved farming technology i.e. maize thresher by renting from private owner. She pays 5 years per minute for maize thresher which is one quintal per five minutes.

### Leading male trader

I mainly trade in grains. I buy maize, teff, sorghum and nug from the farmers and sell to bigger traders in Addis Ababa. I buy the crops from the farmers at my shop in the community where I have scales. I have a temporary store where I can accumulate the crops before transporting them to Addis Ababa for selling. Sometimes I sell to larger traders from nearby towns if they come to my store to buy. But most of the time, I sell to big traders in Addis Ababa. We decide the price by telephone with the traders. We also use brokers to find better prices and better market places. The brokers take 5 birr commission per quintal for their service.

The price of maize has been fluctuating from time to time and season to season. Sometimes, the price fluctuation leads to bankruptcy. When he sells the price declines, and then he makes a loss, when the price for which he sells increases he gets a good profit. Traders can get profit and may face lose. This is natural.

Sometimes, it is very difficult to know why the price changes. For example, this time the price of maize crop is low. The local price is high while the national price is low which impacts on our selling price. The low price in the national market means, we are going to lose out. The local market is high because the Service Cooperative is buying from the farmers with high price. So, farmers sell to the SC unless we increase our buying price.

As a trader, he has lots of costs when trading. These include transport costs, labour (for loading and unloading the crops), cost of packing materials, brokers cost, etc.

As a traders we do not get any financial and technical support from the government. We work with our own initiative and we are doing good things as we have already developed good experiences in the business and have created good links with national traders in Addis Ababa and Adama. We also sell to traders in Adama (100km to the east of Addis Ababa). Sometime the price in Adama is better than the price in Addis Ababa.

One of the challenges we face in the business is the change in the transport costs from time to time and from season to season. Normally the transport costs are high between December and June because this is the season when large amount of crop products are moving from place to place so the truck owners increase the transport costs as they have options and there is high demand for trucks.

Most of the time, I rent the trucks which can transport 100 quintal because although there are trucks which carry up to 400 quintals, I have no huge capital to buy and accumulate up to 400 quintal at once. I can buy only up to 100 quintal at a time. So, there is a shortage of capital to buy the crops in large quantity.

I do the business with my family members. Sometimes, I employ paid labourers to load and unload the crops and to take the crops to and from the balance. I pay them per quintal. I do not employ labourers on regular basis. Mainly I employ one person.

Sometime I borrow money from friends and neighbours. I borrow without any interest. As a Muslim, it is not allowable to borrow money with interest. I borrow today to buy the crop and I return back it tomorrow after selling it. I do not borrow them for a longer period of time. We borrow from each other. It is for the common interest with the neighbours and friends. We are all involved in similar activities.

The wereda saving and Credit Association can give credit to farmers but I do take it because the interest rate is high and I prefer to borrow from friends without interest.

I trade on my own land. I do not have any problem. I have a trade licence which I obtained from the wereda trade and industry office. I paid 500 birr for the licence. I pay 2000 birr tax every year. I also pay a market tax of 10 birr per quintal when I sell the crops to Addis Ababa. I also pay commission to the brokers.

There are many competitors in the area. They trade in the similar crops and sell them in the local and national markets. The competition leads to an increase in buying price. It increases demand for crops it also leads to increase in price. On the other hand the competition is good for farmers who sell the crops because they can sell at a good price; some traders also buy the crops from the farmers’ house which means there are no transport costs. Most of the time I buy the crops at my shop but sometimes I go to the road side and buy the crops from the farmers

In the future the trade system should be organised in such a way that the wereda trade and industry workers should control the illegal traders. Even though we have reported the impact of illegal trade to the wereda offices, no action has been taken yet. One of the problems is that we have no trade union. There is no any business cooperative. The traders are interested to establish business cooperatives but there is no support and follow up from the kebele and wereda administrations. If there were cooperatives, we could play a role in reducing illegal competition; we can buy necessary services including cars; we can get organised support from the government.

Regarding the plan to improve my business, I have financial shortage. If I have sufficient amount of money I can buy the farm products in bulk, store and sell them when the prices increases. So to improve it I have to work hard and to cooperate with other business men in the locality. I also need to get credit.

The other problem is that the government is not committed to provide trade licences to all traders. Some traders have licences, others do not. Some traders pay taxes, others do not pay them. The local government and the trade and industry office of the wereda do not accept complaints from traders. So there is very limited support from the government.

### Leading female trader

I buy the farm products from the farmers in the community. I have credit to buy them. I mainly buy maize on the road to the market. I sell the crops to bigger traders coming from Addis Ababa and Tulu Bolo. They come directly to my home and buy the crops. Sometimes I sell them to the service cooperative. When I sell to big traders, the brokers play roles in facilitating the market and in fixing the price. We pay 2-3 birr per quintal sold to the broker.

There is competition among the local traders. The number of farm product traders has been increasing from time to time. The competition adversely affects our business. I have a trade licence but most of the traders in the community have no licence and they do not pay taxes. They are competing with us without paying the taxes. This has a negative impact on our profit. The competition leads to an increase in the buying price. People do not want to be involved in diversified activities. Most of them want to be involved in trading in grain crops. This is bad for all of us. It would be good if some traded in vegetables while others trade in grains, etc.

Sometimes the price of maize is cheaper in summer in the community. This is good for the traders because the selling price is high at the national market in summer. For example, last summer the price of maize crop was cheap here because people were selling it in bulk in order to buy fertiliser and improved seeds. As a result we were able to get good profit. I also trade in sorghum but not in large quantity as there are shortages of this crop in this community. The production of sorghum has been declining because the seeds are affected by birds before harvesting.

Most of the time, we buy the crops from the farmers during the harvesting and holiday seasons. People sell crops in large quantity during these times. Farmers sell crops to buy clothes and educational materials for their children, to pay taxes (land, etc), to pay debts or credit, etc. Others sell to prepare marriage and other ceremonies.

I store the crops in my home only for few days. Then I sell and buy again. I have little money to buy the crops in large amount and store for a longer period of time. I buy the crop myself. I do not employ anyone. For loading of the crops on trucks, we employ daily labourers. We pay them 5 birr per quintal for loading. We also pay the brokers. The trucks are brought by the buyers. So, we do not pay for the transport.

The farmers bring the crops to my grain shops using a horse cart. They pay the transport by themselves. The constructions of the internal road by the people contribute to the emergence of mule cart in the community. Now people can transport their crops and other items from place to place without problems. The main problem is that the truck drivers do not want to penetrate deep into the community using the internal roads. This is because the roads are very dusty during the dry season and muddy during the rainy seasons. To solve the problem of muddy during the summer, we limit our trading season to September to May. On the other hand, the completion of the main asphalt road to Addis Ababa across the community helps the trucks to come very easily to the community.

I am involved in business using my own money. Sometimes, I borrow the money from my relatives and friends. I have not taken credit from the wereda saving and credit association. I pay the tax to the government. After I took the trade licence, the revenue office gave me the title of ‘B’ tax payer category.

In addition to trading business, I am involved in farming. I have 2 and ½ hectares of farm land. I produce two different kinds of grain crops. I have some livestock (oxen, cow and goats) as well. Though I mainly live in the Tibe town, I have also a residential house and a crop store in the community. I have two grain mills in Tibe town.

In the future I want to change where I live my plan is to live in Addis Ababa. Then I can expand my business there. As the competition on the trade of farm products increases, the business will not be profitable in the future. So, it is better to change the place of business and residence.

Population increase is the main reason for the increase in competition. As there is a shortage of land for farming, young people are increasingly involved in non-farming business. In order to make the current development activities sustainable, the government needs to intervene to reduce the population size. The government should also work on bringing all the traders in the formal trading business (all traders should have trade licence).

### Leading businessman – NA

## Knowledgeable people

### Best local economists

Male economist

The local economy is mainly dependent upon farming. They mainly produce maize crops. The next one teff followed by red-pepper. Sorghum and nug crops production is also important. In the Boto zone of the community people also produce wheat, barley, and beans. This zone is located in a relatively highland area which is favourable for these crops. In the Alemgena and Ebicho zone maize production is the main crop grown.

Ten years ago, farmers used local maize seed to produce maize. In the last five years this has changed. They use the improved seeds of different variety which gives good yields as compared with the local one. 10 years ago most people did not use fertilisers, pesticides and weed-killers. But now most people use these modern inputs which are important to control pests and weeds.

People mainly produce maize in this community because the production of this crop has been increasing in the last few years provided there is sufficient rain. Teff is also produced in good quantity though not like that of maize. The production of red-pepper which was one of the dominant crops grown using rain, has declined. This is due to the fact the crop has been affected by a pest called cholera in the last five years. In the past we used manure to produce red-pepper but after we started to use the chemical fertiliser the yield started to decline. Though the DAs gave us some pesticides to treat the crop, it is not effective in controlling the disease. The majority of the farmers already stopped producing this crop as it has little benefit.

The production of maize and teff start to increase after the farmers were involved in intensive training at the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP). The training was focused on improving the production and productivity of the farm products by using modern inputs and by getting intensive support and advice from the DAs and wereda agricultural extension office. The structuring of the kebele administration into Zone, gare and 1-5 cell also played an important role in helping the weak and ordinary farmers to learn from the model once. After the GTP training most people showed remarkable commitment to work hard and improve their livelihood of their hhs. They started to accept any piece of information and advice from the experts and change their practice. The expansion of irrigation activities also contributed to the growth of the local economy in the last five years. Ten years ago, only one model farmer was producing vegetables using the water from the river. In the last five years, the farmers engaged in irrigation and reached more than 150 farmers. The varieties of crop produced in the irrigation farm are increasing from time to time. Now we produce tomatoes, potatoes, onions, cabbages, green paper, sugar cane, bananas, oranges, and papayas. Mostly of the farmers produce irrigated crops on the Sama River. We divert the river in traditional way and irrigate large plots of land; recently some farmers started to buy private irrigation pumps which help them to expand their irrigated land and also to reduce the impact of water shortage. People rent the pumps and water their vegetation when the water level declines and so the water doesn't come out through the traditional canal. I have ¼ of hectare of irrigated land and I produce mainly tomatoes twice a year.

Sometimes, tomatoes are affected by pests but when we use pesticides the impacts can be reduced. The mango plant is also affected by a disease called cholera. It was started to affect the plant two years ago but this year it has been spread to all mango plants in the kebele and other neighbouring kebeles. It attacks both the leaves and fruits of the mango tree. It was first observed in Bako area of the wereda and gradually it spread to all kebeles and in the wereda and beyond. The wereda agricultural office and the Bako Agricultural Research Centre have not made maximum effort to the save this important cash crop from destruction by the pest.

In the past five years the community has been changing. The primary school was upgraded up to grade 8. Previously it was only up to grade 6. This helps to increase school enrolment. Another school (up to grade 6) was constructed in Boto zone. A secondary school (up to grade 10) was opened in Tibe town two years ago. This helps to secondary school students to get education in the nearby area, and greatly reduces girls drop-out rate at the secondary level. FTC helps to expand agricultural production and to increase the productivity of the land. The trainings and advices organised by the DAs and wereda agricultural office contribute to the increase awareness of the farmers about the importance of using modern agricultural inputs to increase production. This contributes to the improvement of the wealth status of many households. Of course the production inputs are very expensive which adversely impacts the farmers. As a whole the followings can be reasons for the growth of the local economy:-

Use of modern agricultural inputs - part of a new package to get high production from small plot of land by using fertiliser, improved seeds and pesticides and weed-killers.

Training and advice from the DAs and wereda agricultural experts

Public mobilisation to improve productivity and production

The support from the DAs is also very important.

In order to make these economic changes sustainable:-

The support from the DAs and agricultural experts should be strengthened

The use of modern inputs should be continued and strengthened and all farmers should apply them

The mobilisation of family labour is very important to secure labour shortage-this should be strengthened.

It is important to strengthen the 1-5 structure in order to bring change at the household level.

In the past most of the people in the community used livestock for farming and consumption. People did not have the knowledge of how to get income from the cattle by selling them and their products. In the past 10 years people start to fatten livestock and sell them at good price. There was no tradition of fattening animals in the community in the past. Now they fatten them for three months and sell them at good price and get good income. People start to focus on the quality of the animals than on the quantity. It is important to breed a small number of cattle and get good benefit from them by fattening them than breeding large quantity of them. The main challenge is that there is still low awareness on improve the animal products such as milk and milk products. Still people use local cows to for milk which give small amount of milk. There is also lack of knowledge to improve the milk even from the local ones. People sell butter in the market but they do not sell milk.

The percentages of community income coming from the following activities are:-

* Small holding = up to 500,000 birr. The main cash crop is maize
* Specialised farming (irrigation) = 500,000 birr
* Agricultural labour = 200,000 birr
* Trading business = 300,000 birr
* Other non-farm business = 50,000 birr
* Non-farm employ = 360,000 birr
* Commuting for work = 50,000 birr
* Migration = 100,000 birr; 15 young women have migrated to different Arab countries.

Trading is equally important as farming and livestock activities. More than 7 big farm traders are found in the community. There are also 11 farm traders. Before 10 years people sell crops in the market but now they can sell them to the local traders. This reduces the transport cost and the time to take the crops to the market. No single local trader existed in the community 10 years ago in the last five years this has changed. The local traders buy the crops from the farmers and sell them to big traders who come to the community from distant places like Addis Ababa. The service cooperatives also buy crops from the farmers. Some people sell to the cooperative when the price of the local traders becomes low.

The small holding land size has been declining from time to time. This mainly due to the fact that parents distribute their lands to their married sons (it is not common to give the land to married girls although married girls have the right to inheritance). In the last 10 years the population of the community increases which greatly contributed to the fragmentation of family farm land in the community. Communal lands have declined because of the expansion of public building on the farmers land.

Regarding agricultural labour, 10 years ago, people were not actively involved in farming activities. In the last 5 years farming activities have intensified so, the need for farm labour increases from time to time. In addition to the expansion of rain-fed farming, the irrigation activity which helps to produce twice a year uses a large amount of labour. So, it becomes difficult to focus only on family labour and the traditional labour sharing system. Paid labour is becoming an important alternative mainly for the rich and model farmers who are increasingly engaged in farming. The numbers of daily labourers are also increasing in the community. Most of them are children and women. The increasing numbers of landless people contributes to the increasing number of paid labourers in the community.

The non-farm business, except trading in farm products and livestock, has shown big changes. There are some blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, spinners, basket makers, etc. however, their activities have not shown big progress because they have got training and advice from the government and they do not have the knowledge on how to expand the business.

As to the non-farm employment, it has shown big progress. There are 19 teachers teaching the two primary schools in the community; there are two health extension workers, 3 DA workers, and one kebele manager who have formal salaries from the government. There are also 4 schools guards who are paid by the community. So, in the last few years, the non-farm employment has shown great improvement.

Commuting for work has also shown some progress. In the last two years the China Road Construction Company has been working the road to Addis Ababa which crosses through the middle of the community. Some young people who completed grade 10 and 12 have been employed in the company.

Migration- large number of young people who completed grade 10 and 12 have migrated to urban areas in search of government and private work. International migration for young women also increased in the last three years. Until now more 20 young women have been migrated to different Middle Eastern countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Dubai, etc.

The total tax payers in the community are about 660. We put this in terms of wealth status, the following figures may explain it:-

Very rich = 5%

Rich = 15%

Middle = 20%

Poor = 25%

Very poor = 25%

Destitute = 10%

In the last 10 years the very rich people have been increasing, because of the use of modern inputs in farm production and the expansion of trading in farm products and livestock. The rich people have also been increasing though the gap is being widened with that of the very rich. The middle wealth category has been increasing in the last few years particularly after the launching of the GTP. These people are following the footsteps of the model farmers. The number of destitute and poor people has declined because all people in the community are actively involved in farming and farm related activities which has created changes in the livelihood of most people. So, the destitute and very poor people are moving out of poverty.

Female economist

She said trade is becoming the main source of income in the community. As she mentioned since she started to work as a trader her household has benefited a lot. She said she has improved her living standards as she changed her house condition, furniture, tin roof. She said the farming products she produces is for household consumption as it becomes less productive compared to the last ten years. She said, the rain has declined every year but the small plot of irrigable farm land is an additional income source. They produce cabbage, tomatoes and green peppers for the market. She said it has been 5 years since she started to be involved in trading vegetable including green pepper, Garlic, Ginger, Onion, Potato, tomato and sweet potato and butter. She said she found the trading business very profitable as she moves to different local markets outside the Keble. The main market is in Jaji, Tibe and Sheboka located to the maximum of 8 km distance from the Kebele. She transports her market goods using minibuses. She mentioned the raining season as the barrier during her movement to the market place. She collects the additional inputs from the farmers of different Kebeles. She also sells tomato, green pepper and cabbage from the household irrigable land. She said her customers are both large traders and consumers from each market town. She explained the types of inputs depend on different season such as tomato is winter fruit/bega/ but all other products are available throughout the year. The price is not fixed rather it rises and fall at different times in the years. She doesn’t have regular employment as she runs the business activity by herself. However, she regularly employs daily labourers/ kuli. The daily payment depends on the quantity of the product but mostly she pays 15 birr at least for 50 kg load. She would like to access credit service in order to expand her business into large scale. As she explained she could take loan from neighbours and relatives. She has fixed premises in each market where she supplies her goods. She pays 10birr per month for the each premises and 30 birr including all. She never asked to get separate land to expand her business so far. There is a bit competition among the suppliers. Some could supply with a little amount of discount and some may try to attract customer by supplying the quality and quantity of each product. As she said there is good co-operation among the business persons. In the near future, she is planning to open an oil retailer shop.

### Opinion leader with urban links

The community has linkages with different urban areas. The linkage helps young people to adopt new fashions of clothes, new hair styles, etc. People buy different kinds of consumable items from the markets in the urban areas. They sell their farm products in the urban centres. These activities help the rural people to establish strong bond with people in the urban areas. The rural people learn and adopt new lifestyles from people in the urban areas. They learn how to keep their house clean; they get experiences from the urban traders how to improve non-farm trade business.

In the last 10 years the linkages between this community and urban centres have been improving rapidly. Before 10 years, there was no important urban centre near to the community. People had to go to the distant towns of Bako (16km to west), and Jaji (16km to the east). Now there are the towns of Tibe and Shoboka (8km) which are becoming important market centres to sell farm products and livestock.

Tibe in particular has been developing very fast. 10 years ago, it was a very small town. Now people from this community visit it every day. People have access to the Tibe market. They sell grains and vegetables to consumers and traders. Specifically they sell maize, teff, sorghum, nug, tomatoes, mango, sugar cane, green pepper, cabbages, coffee, honey, butter, chickens, eggs, goats, sheep, etc in the market of Tibe. In return, they buy consumable items such as clothes, soap, sugar, food oil, and household utensils. They get health service (health centre and private clinics) and pharmacy service. They get grain mills in Tibe. The service cooperative which sells fertilisers and improved seeds is found in Tibe. Some people send their smaller children to attend pre-school in Tibe private school. The secondary school (established 3 years ago) is also found in Tibe in which children from the community go after completing primary education in the community. There are some restaurants, bars, tea houses, Tej houses where the people enjoy over the weekend. Before the establishment of the health centre and secondary school in Tibe town, people got services in the wereda town of Bako.

Young people are reluctant to appreciate and participate in customary beliefs and values which are very important to continue the traditions and cultures of our fore fathers. Young people rather want to focus on modern cultures such as following fashion and modern kinds of lifestyle. They consider the old culture as backward and not useful. On the other hand, old people are not happy with the change of the attitude of the young people towards traditional beliefs and cultures.

In the past traditional religion was the dominant religion in the area. Now the role of this religion in shaping the life of the young generation is almost insignificant. The other religions (Orthodox, Protestantism and Islam) are dominating the spiritual life of the people. In the last 10 years Protestantism, in particular, has shown great expansion and now about 60% of the people in the community practice this religion. The pastors and preachers of this religion are very strong in convincing the young people to join this religion. Many young people have been joining Protestantism from time to time. Orthodox is the second largest religion followed by Islam. The main centre for the expansion of Protestantism is the Bako town. The head of the protest church is located there. Recently, Islam is divided into Sofia and Wahhabi which is showing fast expansion and injects new ideas into the Old Sofia sect of Islam.

Regarding farming, in the past people focused on producing crops by cultivating large plots of land. Now the trend is changed. The focus now is to get high production from small plot of land by using modern technology’s and farm techniques. They start to use improved seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and weed-killers. The production techniques include planting in lines, proper storage etc.

The non-farming activities have been increasing in the past few years. A considerable number of people have been engaged in trading in products and livestock. The local traders buy crops in the community and sell them to big traders from far away. These traders are becoming richer and richer. The other big change is the use of mule cart transport in the community. This transport reduces the problem of local transport. People rent mule carts to transport farm products to the market and grain mills. Trading in livestock has also been expanded.

There has been big attitudinal change towards education. Most of the people in the community have developed good awareness towards the importance of education for the future of their children. People are able to send their male and female children to school.

People’s aspirations towards development have changed in the last three years people are becoming hard workers. The emergence of successful model farmers contributes to this change. Many poor farmers have made their way out of poverty through hard work. Some are changing very fast, others show moderate change, still others show slow change but few of them are still sleeping. It seems that the attitude of young generation change faster than the adult once.

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

As to health the health extension workers play important roles in creating awareness about personal hygiene, environmental hygiene, family planning and child nutrition and care. Therefore in the last five years people have constructed private toilets throughout the villages. Feeding mechanisms have been changed. In the past people ate only maize now they start to mix maize with teff or sorghum which contributes to the improvement of the diet. The expansion of irrigation scheme also increases people’s access to vegetables and fruits. This helps the people to get vitamins and minerals. Of course, in the past, people widely consumed livestock products (butter, milk and meat, etc). Now the consumption of these products is declined because people mainly sell butter and livestock in the market, instead they buy food oil, and other consumable items from the markets.

Concerning leisure young people are increasingly attracted to modern information. They visit towns to watch television programs, football games, films etc.

There has been a major change in the family structure in the last ten years. Young people do not respect their parents. Sometimes they consider themselves as if they were more knowledgeable than their parents. This leads to conflict between children and parents. Adults still do not accept the ideas of their children. In addition with the expansion of women's rights conflict arises between the husband and wife. Family has become loose. Parents cannot properly manage the life of their children.

Regarding migration, in the past ten years many young women have migrated to Arab countries including Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Dubai etc. they have migrated to work as domestic labourers. Young men mainly migrated to Sudan. While most of the young women migrated to other countries most of the young men migrated with in the country. They migrated to urban centres such as Ambo Nekemet Addis Ababa and Tibe. Lack of job for young men and women contributes to the increasing of both international and internal migration.

The following can be mentioned as the positive aspects of linkages:-

* Traders relationship helps to connect people living in different cultures
* Connection with urban centres helps to improve the attitude of people to wards modernisation
* Urban linkages help young people to get jobs in urban area.
* The expansion of trade helps farmers to sell their products at high price.

The negative side of linkage include the dissemination of harmful culture and practices such as idleness, laziness, smoking, drinking alcohol, chew chat, systematic theft suicide and madness.

### Irrigation expert

I was a vice chairperson of the kebele from 2000-2007 I have been the head of a local iddir called Gand Ma’da. I am now the secretary of the irrigation cooperative call Sijo.

As a whole there are 8 irrigation cooperatives in the community (4 in Ebicho zone and 4 in Boto zone). These are the two zones known for irrigation activities. The Sama River crosses these two zones.

The irrigation activity was started in 2005/6 in this community. The government’s plan to improve agricultural production and productivity contributed to the establishment of the irrigation. Irrigation was one of the important intervention areas to increase production and to reduce poverty at that time. Sijo was the first irrigation cooperative established in Oda Haro. It was established with the support from DAs. When it started, it had 11 members. I was one of the members. Now it has 28 members. Really it has been expanded in the last 10 years.

The second irrigation cooperative call Walale irrigation cooperative was established in 2012. It was mainly focusing on the Walale River which is one of the tributaries of the Sama River. It was also started with small number of people and now the members reach 20. After this time a number of irrigation cooperatives established in Boto and Ebicho zones.

Irrigation shows good progress after the Ethiopian Millennium. After the launch of the GTP, the government provided intensive training in the FTC of the kebele. The training focused on all aspects of people’s life (rain-fed farming, irrigation farming, livestock production, environmental protection, health, education, women and youths, etc). At the training the officials and the people agreed to irrigate all the farm lands around the Sama River and other smaller streams. This has greatly contributed to the expansion of the irrigation works in the community in the last three years.

When the irrigation activities were started they started with the traditional method. Still tradition way dominates the activities. We divert the river to the farms by manually digging the channels. But recently some farmers started to buy irrigation pumps which help them to irrigate their lands which are located farther away. It also helps them to water their crops when there is shortage of water. As a whole there are 7 smaller private irrigation pumps in the community.

The total land covered by the irrigation farm can be around 70 hectares. The total hhs involve in the irrigation activities can be around 160. The most important crops grown in the irrigation field include tomatoes, potatoes, sugar cane, onion, green pepper, cabbages, banana, mango, maize, papaya, etc.

We produce crops twice a year we use ox-drawn-ploughs to cultivate the land we do not use tractors. People usually use family labour for the irrigation farms, however some farmers use daily labourers. The majority of the daily labourers are local people some model farmer use migrant daily labourer who come from northern Ethiopia (Wollo) these migrant labourers built small house (tent) around the irrigation farm and produce vegetables. Some farmers produce some vegetables on smaller streams. This is particularly common in Boto and Almegna zones. They produce coffee and sugar cane. In Almegna zone is practices mainly on Facha’a River.

The irrigation cooperatives help to use the water according to a program. The cooperatives members sell the irrigation products individually. The agricultural extension workers have provided us with training on how irrigation works and how to protect the crops from pests, but most the time we buy pesticides from private providers which are costly. The DA’s do not help us to get-rid of the pests. They write supportive letters for us to service cooperative to get improved seed and fertiliser. The price of these inputs has been increasing from time to time. Shortage of water is also a major challenge. With the increasing number of irrigated farmers, the water from the river starts to decline, particularly during the dry season. This forces us to use the water by turn. So the shortage of water is becoming bottle neck for the irrigation activities. The shortage is acute when the dry season becomes longer. The shortage leads to competition among the farmers over the use of water. At times we use the water during the night because the water level increases during the night. The Sama River is originated from high land areas in another community. So people use its water or irrigation all the way. So farmers located in the upper stream of the river use more of its water. This adversely affects farmers on the lower stream.

The training shows that there is little scope to expand the irrigation activities because of the shortage of water. Some people even have planned deep-wells to reduce the shortage.

The role of the government is mainly focusing on providing advice and training to the farmers on the use of irrigation.

The price of vegetables fluctuate from time to time, sometimes it increases other times it decreases. We sell most of the vegetables at the local market; however tomatoes and sugar cane can be sold to larger traders who come from distant areas. Smaller traders also come to the farm to buy the vegetables. The irrigation activities help us to increase our income.

### Experienced migrants

There are no women seasonal migrants in the community.

Male seasonal migrant

I was born in this community. As I could improve my livelihood in the community, I decided to go to Fincha to work as a paid labourer in Fincha sugar factory. Before I migrated I lived on farming but this could not help me to improve my livelihood.

My friend was working in the sugar cane farm before I migrated there. I decided to migrate after I got information from him. I migrated there together with another friend in October 2008 to work as paid labourer in the sugar cane farm.

My first week was followed by unexpected problem. My friend with whom I migrated was critically sick and died within a week. I brought his dead body back to his parents. Then I returned back after staying here only for a week. I worked there for 8 months and came back home in summer as there was no work there in summer. My salary was 300-400 birr per month. It was paid on piece rate basis. During the summer time of that year, I bought fertilisers and improved seeds and produced maize by renting some land. So, I was able to save some money to buy the farm inputs in my first migration.

I retuned back to Fincha in October 2009. I returned back in summer again. As a whole I migrated there 4 times. In my first migration, I travelled there with a car. The problem I faced was the death of my friend. When we first reached in Fincha, we went to the human resource office of the sugar factory to apply for a job. Then we immediately got the job. I was involved in cutting the sugar cane and in weeding the sugar cane farm.

Before I migrated there I knew two people who migrated there earlier from our neighbouring kebele. These people helped us to get the job, and even helped me a lot when my friend was sick and died.

The work was hard but it is not as such a difficult job. The salary was good. In some months I got up to 1000 birr per month. It helped me to improve my living condition. Every time when I came back home in summer, I bought fertilisers and improved seeds and produce crops. So I was saving money and used for buying improved farm inputs. My migration was a good decision because it helped to improve the livelihood of my family. My wife and child were living here, and I had to support them by sending money back home.

My last migration was in 2010. I returned back home in the summer time. As usual I bought fertilisers, improved seeds and oxen. I produced maize, teff and red-pepper. I have had two hectares of land and I produced these crops on my land.

I had a plan to return back in 2011 but I could not do so because I was sick for a longer period of time. The illness was pneumonia. Since then I have not gone back there. I continue to farm and breeding livestock. Now I have an ox (it is being fattened to sell and to buy a pair of oxen), a bull, a cow, a heifer, 4 traditional honey hives, and 10 chickens. I am producing maize, teff, and red-pepper. I also have avocado trees.

Generally migration is good because it helps to get money and to have assets at home provided that the migrant save the money and sends it back to home. Migrants either sent back remittances or they came back home with money.

The problems related to migration include:-

* Separation from family
* Problem of adaptation to the weather condition in the new environment
* Problem of adapting with new cultures and way of living- people drink, chew chat, smoke, etc. they try to influence you to do so which needs critical decision unless otherwise you can achieve you aim of improving the livelihood of your family.
* Possibility of exposure to health problem including HIV/AIDS.

The benefit of migration include:-

* It helps the individual to become self-reliant economically
* It help the individual to learn different kinds of work
* It helps the family/household to move out of economic problems
* It helps the community to reduce jobless people
* It helps the individual to learn work culture- migrants can become harder workers and when they come back to their community they can easily adapt to the changing situation and improve the livelihood of their family.

Female Urban Migrant:

She is 20 years old. She had left the community to Addis Ababa, Bako, Ambo, Jaji, and Sayo in different years. She worked as a house maid in all these places except for the last one. She was injera maker for the hotel during her last migration time in Sayo. She grew up in a very poor and extended family with 10 household members including 8 children. Her husband is a farmer and he produces maize and teff on 2 hectares of land. Her mother was involved in Areqi production which is not even enough to support the household consumption. As she said, she decided to migrate to the city because she needed money to support her family. She was a grade five students when she decided to move to the urban cities. The immediate cause that motivates her to migrate to urban cities was hunger. She often goes to school without eating anything and her younger siblings also remain home without food. As she said she usually feels terrible about her family suffering especially for food. This is the only reason that forced her to drop out from school. As she said, “Despite the fact that life didn’t allow me to go further; I was among outstanding student; I was very interested to continue my education. One day, may be one day my dreams will come true”.

As she said it was her teacher who initiated her to migrate to Bako. She introduced her with her sister who lives in Bako town where she started her first house maid experience. She was employed for 40 birr per month. However she didn’t stay long with her first employer since she was not comfortable with her employer’s religions attitude. As she said her employer was Muslim and she wanted her to convert to Islam. Then because of this she decided to move to another house. She got the second house with the support of her employer's neighbours. She was employed with the same salary as a child care giver. Then the money was not that much to send to her family because of this she becomes very pessimistic. She decided to look for a better salary however, her neighbors connected her with someone who could send her to school in reward for her labour. She accepted the offer and joined grade 6 at Bako elementary school. But she was not able to continue with her deal since she was planning just to support her family. Then she decided to return back home in 2011 and she returned back. She stayed with her family supporting her mother just for three months. After a while her uncle helped her to get another job in Ambo town. She went to Ambo and joined a family with 5 members. She covered all the domestic work including cooking, cleaning and so on. She also sold bread for the owner local cafeteria with the total salary of 50 birr per month. Then finally the household blamed her for the loss of money from their cafeteria. They lost 15 birr and they refused to pay her, her full salary. As she explained, though she stayed one year, the employer paid her just a three months’ salary only that is 160 birr including her transport costs. Then she decided to move to another city and she asked people if they could find her any work. Then she was employed in Seyo town, Jaji wereda as injera maker for the hotel. She always gets early and starts making injera at 6:00 am until 5pm the whole day. It was very hard work but the salary was better than her previous experiences. It was 300 birr per month but the owner didn’t agree to pay me every month rather once every six months. She insisted to get paid every month but the owner refused by saying it is the hotel regulation. As she said, the hotel owner tried many times to enforce her to sleep him. He has a family and children even the same age with her. She said the man could be 60 years old. He has two houses including his rooms in the hotel compound. He didn’t bring his wife and children in the hotel but he often slept in his room. As she mentioned her employer was attempting and threatening her after she rejected his question several times. One day, the hotel manager went out to visit her relatives and that same day he asked her to bring his lunch in his room. Then she took his lunch to his room, it was this time he attempted to rape her but he stopped his enforcement when she shouted loudly in the compound. He insisted her to sleep with him and he could give her money to start some other business like he could open her shop and so on. However, she sticks with her words. She said I was very informed about similar experiences and many housemaids shared their experience. She said, in her experience she found HIV/AIDs victims, pregnancy and so on. She always prays not to see those extra sufferings in life. She said, “I always pray saying, God I am your dearest daughter, never try to let me down” especially I always was carful from those problem. Finally, the man become upset with her action and wanted to hurt her. But she decided to drop out her job before does something bad to her. Then she heard of her grandmother's death and she made it the reason to take her salary. However, he refused to give her money. It was 6 months’ salary which was 1800 birr but he only gave her 450 birr. She bought small cloth bag, shoes, and cloth for herself with 355 birr and she took 120 birr back home. She stared with the money petty trade i.e. onion selling.

She said that she was not successful to bring remittance back home because she faced very bad employers except the first two employers who pay her salary regularly although it was very small amount. Now she has decided not to go any place including Arab countries. She said, she is much harmed and has lost her confidence in people. As she said she never expects people to be such cruel on other people particularly on poor and vulnerable people. She said she is realising that it is poor people who even cannot exercise their right. She said, “I wonder what could happen to those people who go to Arab countries if we face such a terrible experience in our country by our people” though she hears some successful stories from Arab migrants,’ majority of the young people are suffering badly. She said, the government should give a critical attention to stop all the suffering of these young females outside their home. She said, she never even heard these issues raised by government and there is no intervention made by women affairs in the community. However, there are many women returned back with children having been raped. There could be many young people in every house who are being deprived their rights and who are harmed physically. Finally, she said, she returned back to the Kebele because she felt people were not fair and migration was not necessarily a solution to solve poverty. She said, “Most of the time migration is a source of an unhappy life, economic violence, violence against your rights and psychological crisis”. Now she would like to be involved in small scale business. She already started selling onions in Tibe market and she has a plan to get credit and expand her business. She wishes if she could continue her education but it is not easy for her. However, she said, one day life could come in another way for her and for her family as well. She aspires to revenge poverty and pay back her younger siblings in order to make life possible for them; they at least should eat three times per day and be able to attend their school.

Male Urban Migrant:

I migrated to Ambo town (zone capital) in 1999. I migrated because of poverty at home. I have had only a half hectare of land which was not enough for my family. I had a wife and a child at that time. I migrated together with my wife and my first child aged one. After I migrated I rented residential house. Then I stared trading business. I was trading in maize and red-pepper. I bought the crops from this community and sold to Ambo markets on Monday and Thursday.

Later on I became involved in illegal timber trade which led my business into bankruptcy. It was a highly controlled illegal trade. The police men plundered the timbers several times and finally I lost a lot of money.

I decide to migrate to Ambo because of different reasons: the weather there is good for health; my relative was living there so that it was easy for me to adapt with the urban life.

The major problems I faced after I migrated included:-

* The illegal trade with timber put me in stress and strain, and finally I became bankrupt.
* Thieves took large amount of red-pepper from my store in Ambo which led to the loss of large amount of my money. This led to the decline in my capital for trading.
* The price of maize crops was very cheap from 2001-2003; so it was not possible to get good profit from it. That why I involved in illegal trade. We bought a quintal of maize with 18 birr from the community and sold at 30 birr in Ambo. The transport cost was 10 birr. There are also other costs such as renting of store and loading and unloading. So, it was not possible to get profit.

Due to the above reasons, I could not improve my livelihood there and I decided to return back home.

When I migrated there I was able to get a renting house with the help of a friend who lived in Ambo. He was also a red-pepper trader. He bought red-pepper from Oda Haro and sold it in Ambo. He also helped me to start the business. At the beginning I started the business with red-pepper but later on I also engaged in maize trading and an illegal trade with timber. I bought the timber wood from Jaji town and sold to carpenters in Ambo. The policemen took my timbers several times between Jaji and Gedoe towns. Sometimes I gave the timber to the carpenters in the form of credit. After sometime the carpenters refused to pay me the money which was another challenge.

I enjoyed the migration at the beginning but at the end I turned back after I faced a number of problems. I had never sent back any money to support my father and mother. I did not take back any money after a number of years because I faced bankruptcy.

After I came back to the community, I re-started my farming activities. Before I migrated to Ambo, I had not been involved actively in farming activities. I was a lazy man. I was not interested in being involved in some works which were considered as a low status works such as paid labour. My migration to Ambo helped me to understand that all works have equal status if you do them seriously. While I was there, I met with two young men who lived with their mother by doing shoe-shining. Their father died when they were very young so they were responsible to sustain the life of their family by doing this work. They also learned in secondary school. At the end, these two children successfully passed the national exams in grade 10 and 12 and joined university. I learned from them that the road to success is full of challenge and at the same time it is important to do any works that can change the livelihood of your family.

Therefore, after I came back to the community I started to do all kinds of work that I believe will help me to improve the livelihood of my family. I even started to do all the works which I had considered as a low status work before. I was mainly involved in farming on my small plot of land. But I also started to cut wood for the people in the community to get some income. I involved in any kind of paid work that can help me getting income. I am involved in brokering between the farm products traders (maize and red-peppers) in the community and big traders in towns. The broker activities helped me to get a good income.

Now my livelihood is improved and I have stopped cutting trees for people as it is not good for my health condition. Now I am focusing on farming and my broker activities. I now have a pair of oxen, two cows and two honey hives (local). I am cultivating my own farm land, and I am sharecropping with other farmers

There are no returned male international migrants. There were international migrants to USA and to Arab countries but they have not returned back yet.

Female international Migrant:

She is 27 years old. She was born in Sheboka Kebele and moved to Oda Haro because of marriage linkage in 2005. She dropped out from 7th grade to get married. Her husband is a farmer and she is a trader. Currently she trades butter, crops and vegetable by collecting from farmers in the community. She went to Kuwait in 2008. She got free visa from her sister in law. She travelled to the same household where her sister in law worked. She was employed as cook. She found that she was pregnant after she arrived there. She then consulted with her employers about her situation but the household let her to stay working until her due date. Since she was in the same house with her sister in law; she was taking care of herself and she had a very good pregnancy. She appreciated the house owner very much for their good treatment during her stay with them. When she decides to come home after 8 months, her employers provided her with a ticket, luggage and presents for the baby. She said her employers were very kind and good care givers. She said she never forget their concern about her condition as they even purchased her Ethiopian food from an Ethiopian restaurant when they went out shopping. She said “I am the luckiest person ever as my first travel experience was totally different and great than what I have heard from different people.” She said, they still call and check with her if she wants to go back. It is been five months since she returned back but she doesn’t have any plan to go out again just because of her children. Her sister in law is still working in the same house since 2010. She said, she only invested 3000 birr to process her travel and she earned about 24000 ETB within eight months.

But she argues all employers are not the same. Some might be bad but some are good. However, the major problem she noticed is that job seekers who migrate to Arab countries have no detailed information about their employer’s behaviour and general image of the working environment. Some do not know how to do the domestic tasks and find it hard to become familiar with their language. She said, there is a big difference between Ethiopian and other migrants in Middle East countries. For example those that come from the Philippines are very professional and dedicated to their job. They are highly paid and very experienced. They are more secure when they come to the employment contract since they receive training and advice from their national agency. She said she heard many bad things about Ethiopian girls’ experience in the Arab countries. She said she wishes if she went again she would work for some years in order to establish her own business after she comeback.

## Customary leaders

### Elders

There is a council of elders’ institution where disputes are presented in the community. Every case including marriage, land, violence and property dispute are presented to the council of elders in the community. Customary elders are expected to resolve the situation by consulting with the committee members. If the customary elders fail to resolve disputes or cases presented to them, the community tend to proceed to the formal social court both at the Kebele and Wereda level. The elders are also important in community decision making activities and they are recognised by the government.

As the Oromo is the dominant ethnic group and the Amhara are a minority, Most of the elders are from the Oromo. There may be some Amhara elders’ between as they live together for many years, they work together in the conflict resolution and other important occasions. As the Amhara in Oda Haro speaks Oromiffa perfectly, they is no communication barrier among the elders of both ethnic group.

The elders represent the community in important meetings organised at the wereda level or zone level. They provided important ideas and comments on major meetings regarding the issues concerning their community. They play roles not only in arbitrating the people in the community; they also play roles in resolving inter-community conflicts. Elders play important roles in marriage arrangement, divorce and property inheritance.

They greatly contribute to the peace and security of the community by advising those who commit crimes and illegal activities. As their roles are accepted by the government, people also respect them and they ideas are easily accepted and implemented.

*Ethnic groups*

Oda Haro is a homogeneous community with 99% Oromo people and less than 1% Amhara old migrants who already mixed with the dominant community members through marriage. There are two ethnic groups in the community (the Oromo and Amhara). The Oromo is the major ethnic group (99%) and the migrant Amhara (1%). As the Oromos are native and dominant, they play key roles in the economic and political activities of the area. The Amhara are small migrant people but intermingled with the Oromo. They live with the Oromo in a peaceful way. Most of the Amhara have married the Oromo women. Religiously the Amhara are more of Orthodox Christians while the Oromo are follow are distributed among the three major religions (orthodox, Protestantism and Islam.

### Clan lineage leaders

The strong attachment with clan linage has been declining in the community. People in the community seem less interested to trace back their clan. As to the respondent, previously people where strongly linked with their decent in order to secure their social and economic situations. This has been remaining old especially among the young people. Only few people know to which clan do they belong to. They almost forget their clan and lineage.

### Other customary leaders

Customary institutions like Abba Geda, elders and Iddir have been recognised by the government in order to mobilise government intervention such as public work, health packages and security.

## Religious leaders

### Orthodox Christian leader

He was born in Oda Haro in 1974. He was a student and dropped out at 6th grade. His bread winning activity depends on farming. He is married and has 4 girls and 2 boys, among the children three of them are students and the rest are still at pre-school. Since the last 5 years, people are attending church more frequently. He leads the church and serves the Kebele both as an elder and militia police.

Around 350 households are members of the church; however, half of the families have turned in to another religion particularly to Protestantism in different times. There is a significant change regarding religion due to education, preaching, belief in healing by the holly water and so on. Previously most people used to have traditional and local religion. However, preaching brought almost most people to modern religion. Young people are the main participants in church activities as they lead the church and its members.

The church prepares a ritual conference once in a year for the congregants gathered from the Wereda and zone. This day’s professionals such as teacher, DAs and others are become more participatory in the religious activity. Previously, there has not been preaching in the Orthodox Church but now there is a wide spread religious teaching including development workers around the church. Although there are lots of holidays, the SINODOS decided on five official holidays. Previously people used to be forced to celebrate, but now people are at freedom to celebrate or not. The church has three hectares of farming land. Recently, 10,000 eucalyptus trees were registered as the church's asset. It had 5000 trees twenty years ago. Different kinds of modern and local trees are protected by the church. The residents of the Kebele participate in the Kebele public development work when there is call from the Kebele and not by the church. The church teaches its members to support poor and vulnerable groups as it does not have the capacity to help. The church teaches on good habits and marriage, although, the poor fear getting married because of the cost of the ceremony. However, the church established a code of conduct on wedding ceremonies. People should never spend more than there capacity to absorb in the family as it was before. The punishments for those violate church rules and orders are like, priests never enter in the house, and no holy water and absence of funeral place. He said, the new code of conduct encourages marriage even for poor people. Still no one is punished for breaking this rule. People are helping and educating each other and the ultimate goal of the church rules is not punishment rather it is creating social stability.

The church has never faced disintegration. He said that there is no religious conflict as they share life in time of bad and good, moreover, same level of participation in social congregations and gatherings. As far as he knows he doesn’t know other conflicts. There is no other problem; we just need to protect the church’s interest. The church needs to participate in developmental activities. This desire needs to be supported from government side, with help like provision of land for funerals and provision of electric power.

### Muslim leader

He is 45 years old and moved to Oda Haro kebele from Denow Wereda, Seyo town. He is from the poor family. He was involved in trading salt and coffee in order to support his parents in his early age. Then when he was 15 years old, he decided to move to Wolo, Kemise town to receive religious education. He trained 6 years in Kemise, Dewe town and joined Aweliya School for three years in Addis Ababa, one year in Arsi Dida Aro and Hara for two years. Then he began teaching religious education to people around Holeta Welmera for three years. He establishes his own family when he was in Holeta Welmera but he found life very hard to lead his family. Then he decided to move to Oda Haro with his family.

There is a big difference in religious activity in the last ten years. People become more linked with their religious activity. Religious institutions become strict in their rules. In the previous time, people were not strong followers since they did not have any knowledge on teaching. As he mentioned all religious institutions live peacefully together. There is no serious conflict so far although there have been some tensions between Muslim and Protestant leaders over the conversions of youth and poor households. However, the Muslim leaders had required for a meeting to discuss with Protestant leaders this hasn't happened yet. These different religions have been a member of one Iddir and of other social events. However, there have been differences among the different sects of Muslim religion. There are Wahhabi and Shirki/suni groups. The major difference happened on the issue of one God/Allah. He said Muslim followers have a tradition of supporting poor people. Better household provide Zekat to poor household particularly during Arefa holidays.

### Protestant leader

He is 25 years old and was born in Oda Haro Kebele. He is a leader of the church youth group. He has mixed role in the church including preaching, choir and leading prayers groups in Oda Haro Mekane’yesus church. There are 4 churches in the Kebele containing about 450 protestant households. The numbers of protestant church followers have been increasing significantly in the last ten years. As he said, people become attracted by Protestantism and tend to have a huge interest to move from traditional believes. In his opinion people are seeking salivation, good marriage, life and truth. As he said, the church did not enforce people to be converted but they preach to their neighbourhood, friends and family members. It is people themselves who decide on what to believe and what religion to follow. From the way he see it, people become more strict and serious in their religion. Attitudinal change towards traditional religions is the major factor that forces people to stick with Protestantism, Orthodox and Muslim. In addition to this, religious rules are becoming stricter than the last five years. This helps to protect and make people very strong in their religion. Those members who are not strict followers of the rules will be excluded from different church service including funeral places and prayer services. Young people are more active and very interested in their religion including Muslim, Orthodox and protestant followers. Traditional religions have been decreasing since the expansion of different modern religions. There are around ten young people who remain traditional religious followers in the community. There was a big conference in the Kebele in the last year. Different guests’ including foreigners had been invited in the conference which was held for three days. An American citizen pastor was preaching using local language translator. There is a change in the preaching system. As the respondent mentioned, the new preaching system has been focusing on delivering messages including about holy marriage, salvation and good life of the people. The church did not participate in the Kebele development work so far. However, the church has mobilised the followers to plant trees in the compound. The church has been supporting poor people particularly during the holidays. The church provides money and crops to the poor people. The church prohibits polygamy, sex before marriage, domestic violence, cigarette, chat and drinking alcohol. Church members found involving in any of these actions are cancelled from their membership. They are not served at any of the church services.

### Leader of customary religion

He is Abba Geda leader, aged 55 years old. He lives with his wife in her mid-forties and with his children. He is leading his family they depend on agriculture. As he said, Abaa Gadda institution is formalised and recognised by the Wereda as customary based institution. He receives many calls in different kebeles of the Wereda during serious disputes which could lead to death. When a dispute ends with a death, the Aba Gadaa leader is expected and responsible to deicide Guma which 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 Abaa Gada.

## NGO worker

No NGO activity exists in the community. The school director said that the USAID gave the school to build toilets for male and female children but it has no formal activity in the community. The people who gave them the money came through the wereda administration.

## Informants selected by Research Officers

### Household sanctioned by the iddir

Household head

I am a farmer; my life is dependent on agriculture. I produce maize, red-pepper and teff. I have ¼ of a hectare. I also share crop with other farmer. I have some livestock. As my land located near the irrigation scheme I produce crops twice a year. My family and I don't have a good relationship with the community or with the kebele administration. The problem started five years ago. I am an enemy with the kebele vice-chairman who was also the head of my iddir. He always finds the possibility to put me in problems. In addition I was quarrelling with one of my neighbours over a boundary of farm land.

One day I went to the wereda administration for personal affair on that particular day an ox of my neighbour with whom I quarrelled become sick and died next day. The person accused me at the iddir, saying that his ox become six after eating grass in my grazing land. The suspicion was that I deliberately sprayed chemical on the grass to poison his ox. However they knew that I was in the wereda on that day. The iddir penalised me 175 birr and to pay the price of an ox (2100 birr) plus 375 birr for pushing the boundary of the person. This means the iddir made me guilty of killing his ox. I refused to accept the decision because I know that I did not commit the crime. The decision was passed without investigating the truth. And with the personal influence from the iddir head and the kebele chairman. After the decision is passed I appealed to the kebele administration. The kebele administration did not give me any solution as it was still under the influence of the kebele chairman. Following my refusal to pay the above fines, the iddir passed the following sanctions on my family and me.

* Not to take fire from neighbours.
* Not to greet people in the community
* Not to talk to the members of the community
* Not to fetch water from pipe
* Not to graze cattle on communal grazing land with other people
* Not to be involved in burial ceremony and not to get support when my family member is died.
* Not to get any support from people in the community when any crises happen to my family (burning of house, death of cattle etc…)
* To move out of any social institutions (iddir, equb and mehaber)
* To move out of any formal organisation (saving and credit association, irrigation cooperative)
* Loss of my farm land to be used by the iddir members as grazing land

At the beginning I tried to migrate to another place. One day the iddir members decided to demolish my residential house. I immediately reported to the zone which wrote a letter to the wereda to suspend the decision. The wereda passed information through telephone to the kebele administration to postpone the plan of demolishing the house. After this time my crops have been stolen several times and people have sent their cattle to destroy my crops. When I reported this problem to kebele administration no one came to hear my case. I have had no right to take any case to the kebele administration and social court. For example last week the kebele manger was the ex-vice- chairman came to my compound during the night and called me to come out. He was with gun and three unknown people were with him. I refused to come out but they stayed outside more than three hours waiting for me, then they returned back. So my life and the life of my family are in danger. In the last five years the following things are happened to me:-

* I have been kicked out of my iddirs and other social institutions.
* I have never participated in any of kebele/zone/Gare/1-5 meetings.
* I have never participated in any agricultural training organised by the kebele and the wereda administration.
* I have never obtained any technical advice from the DA’s.
* Last year the kebele penalised me 300 birr for not being involved in public work. However, not one was informed me to participate in the public work. Though I complained that I did not know about the public work, they imprisoned me at the kebele administration for one day and forced me to pay it. The same history repeated this year as well. The kebele administration also passed my name to the wereda administration as if I were not support the developmental activity of the kebele.
* The kebele administration has not passed my name with the lists of other farmers to the service cooperative where the production inputs (improved seeds and fertilisers) are sold. I buy these inputs through my relatives who live in another kebele.
* The ex-kebele chairman (now the kebele manager) and I are followers of protestant religion, and we attend the same Church (Mekaneyesus). This person convinced the pastors and prevented me from getting proper service from the church.
* I cannot participate in any marriage ceremonies in the community
* I cannot be involved in community activities including labour sharing activities such as Debo and wonfel.
* I cannot get any loans or credit from individuals or the government
* I am not a member of 1-5 structure so that I could not get any new government plan on local and national development
* My mother faced similar problem because I helped her when she was sick last year. As she was seriously sick, I too her to hospital in Ambo city. After she was recovered from her illness and came back to her home, they pushed her out of her iddir and other institutions. My brother has no any relationship with me because of the sanction. He cannot come to my house, and I do not go to his house. If we do so, he will face similar sanction for violating the decision of the people.

In the past there were many other people who faced similar sanctions for committing different kinds of crimes such as theft. Most of these returned back to the normal life after the people excused them for the mistakes and after they had paid all the penalties imposed on them. I could not take similar action because my heart knows that I did not commit the crime (I did not spray a chemical on the grass to poison the ox of the person, and I believe that his ox died a natural death).

Now my family and I are feeling lonely within my community and relatives. They all become cruel to me and my family. The wereda and zone authorities have not helped me to move out of the problem though I have repeatedly reported to them that I am not guilty of the issue. Still I am appealing to the wereda administrator. I need justice from the concerned bodies. My wife and children are facing huge discrimination for things which has nothing to do with them. My children are not free to learn at school as other children and teachers are not positive to them. We all are receiving such big punishment without committing any mistake but due to the illegal pressure from irresponsible local administrators and individuals. I want to fight it in a legal ways until I declare my freedom provided that I will be alive.

Wife

She is 20 years old and dropped out of 6th grade because of marriage. Their livelihood depends on farming. She said they mostly depend on crops like maize, red pepper and teff though they stick with the maize crop only in the last two years. She reported that her family owns 0.5 hector rain fed farm land. They had sharecropping with other farmers before her husband outreached. She said her husband's mother, brother and sister are reserved silent and have no any connection with them. They own two oxen, a cow but they cannot let their livestock outside their compound they are forbidden from using communal grazing land. As she said they have irrigation farm land which supports the family they cultivate it twice a year. As she explained since the last five years the household did not receive any support from sectors in the Keble. She said they have access to buy fertiliser and improved seed only from producer co-operatives but not other services like sugar, oil and so on. She said her husband is not eligible to receive any services including advice and training from the Keble concerning agriculture, health and sanitation packages.

She explained the reason behind why the household faced rejection in the community. She said, an ox died in one of the farmer’s house in 2008/9. As she said, the owner of the ox suspected her husband and accused him by saying his ox was pursuing grazing land on her husband farm land. As to her report the ox got sick and the owner took it to get veterinary service in Tibe Town just the other day nevertheless he was not an able to save his ox. Then the owner of the ox said his ox got poisoned by her husband. Following the owner application, the Keble asked her husband to pay off the estimated amount money for the ox. However, her husband did not accept the decision made by the Kebele. Her husband testified that he doesn’t know anything about the case. However, the Kebele did not want to consider her husband's statement. Because of this the Kebele manager led the case to Iddir in order to make the last decision. As a matter of fact, said the women, the Kebele manager intentionally send the case to another iddir which doesn’t her husband doesn't belong to. As to her information, her husband had been in a quarrel with the ox owner on farming land border. As she said, the owner of the ox was attempting to push his land into their farmland. Her husband did ask him to keep his distance from their farm land but the man did not want to stop his attempt. Then, she said, her husband took the case to the Keble social court but the Keble didn’t give him any solution over the case. Then he took his case to Wereda court but nothing was different from the Kebele decision. Finally, her husband took the case to zonal court but the zone passed the case to the Keble social court. In this process, the current Keble manager was a former social court secretary of the Keble during that time. Unfortunately, her husband has quarrelled with the Keble manager because he took over their land forcefully when he was a Kebele social court secretary. So he was the one who rejected her husband's case. Similarly the Kebele manager was the iddir leader who got the right to pass over the last decision on her husband. He delivered a decision by stating that her husband should pay 2475 birr which estimated to be the price of the ox but her husband refused to accept the decision as he didn’t commit any crime. Then the Kebele manager as the iddir leader disclosed the last decision at the Keble level it contained a lot of things including:-

* Not to take fire from any households and any household from them
* No one should not give any greetings to all household members including children
* Not to fetch water from the community tap
* Not to send their cattle on to the community grazing land
* No to get burial ceremony and place during anyone’s death from the household members
* No to get support during crisis and happiness time even from relatives and family
* And to overtake ¼ hectare land used for grazing by the iddir members but the household is forced to pay the tax for the land as it is registered by his name.

She also said that the Kebele had attempted to burn down their house in order to get them to flee from the Keble. However, they saved their house by reporting to zonal court. She said, the zone wrote a letter to the Wereda to stop the Kebele action. However, the Kebele manager didn’t yet stop his attempt as he still sends people to take or destroy their crops. The household is sticking, reporting every action but no one is helping them even at the Wereda level. She said her husband is restricted not to present any of his case to the Keble administration and Keble social court. On the other hand, the household has been asked to participate at community public work. She said her husband refused several times to participate at community public work since he is not involved in any of Kebele services. However, he has no any right to reject any Kebele call. As a result of this, three militias came to their house and forced him to gout for public work.

One day, they forced him to pay 300 birr because he didn’t participate in water shed management work after they hid the working programme from him. She said the household is restricted from participating in any of social institution including iddir and other social interaction. They never participate in any of Keble large meetings, Wereda, zonal, development team leader and 1 to 5 cell activities for the last five years. In terms of religion, the household is protestant followers. She said, she including her children could go to church but not her husband. Moreover, she could receive the blood and flesh of Jesus Christ but not her husband. The household is not allowed to get any credit and saving service. She said his mother was very sick and he was the only responsible person to look after his mother since he is the oldest son in the house. He has taken his mother to Addis Ababa for better medical support. Because of this connection, the iddir terminated her membership. Following this decision his mother forced to stop her relationship with her son. She also said the household is also restricted from health care services. She said, her foetus was found to be malnourished during her pregnancy time and HEWs provided her a treatment service. However, the Kebele accused HEWs for providing to her. She said, the family are feeling very lonely and they don’t feel security around them. She explained deeply and emotionally that the household is in trouble for many things; life becomes very terrible for them. She said that she feels very shameful about the situation happening onto them. There is no justice in this community at all. She strongly claimed that they are abused very much and their natural right has been violated. She said they never speak about the situation with their children as they are very small but they feel very lonely as they cannot play with neighbouring children. They also want to go in the grand families’ home but we never do it as it is impossible for us. As she explained, the older son who is 6 years old sometimes feel conscious and tries to know about the situation. He is very confused as they don’t communicate with anyone around them including their parents. He feels very unwanted by the people around them. They are never involve in social events like wedding and some other social obligation but they sometimes attend funeral ceremony though they stand separately away from the community. No one communicates with them even though they attend funeral ceremony. They don’t pass and receive greetings from anybody even from their mother, father and siblings though they see me on the street.