

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS  
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 1**

**COMMUNITY SITUATION END 2011  
GARA GODO, SNNP**

**STAGE 2 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 4**

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This report is one of eight Community Situation 2012 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage Two of the '*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*' research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Gara Godo in Wolayita, SNNP at the end of 2011 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in late 2011 and early 2012. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Stage 2 Final Report Methodology Annex. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with wereda officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 29. (Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs). The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE 1), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage Two Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net).

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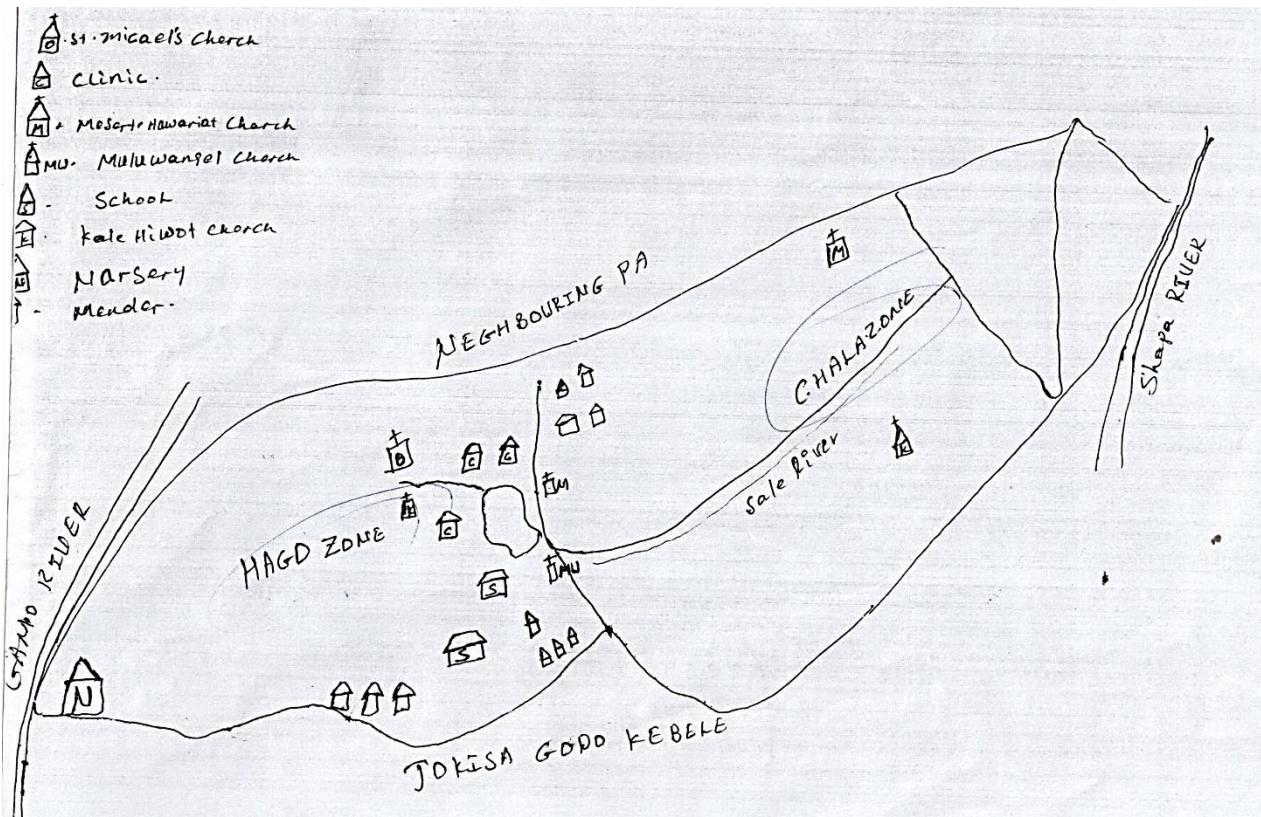
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## Community as a whole

### Community parts making the whole in 2012

Gara Godo is a long-standing community. In the early 1910s a Catholic Mission was constructed and started giving clinical services. The town of Areka was established in 1959 and Areka primary school started in 1962. Between 1971 and 1975 the Wolayita Agricultural Development Unit (WADU) was introduced. It was financed by the World Bank and operated until 1984. Its main aim was the improvement of agricultural production through a variety of extension and support services. By 1980 more than half the population of Wolayita was participating in WADU.

**Map 1: Gara Godo**



The previously larger-sized Gara Godo kebele had been reduced in size with some sub-communities established into new kebeles. Gara Godo town became a municipality.

### Terrain and environment

In Gara Godo and the wereda more generally the topography is relatively flat with a few rivers. Nearly 75% of the area is gently sloping plain while the remaining 25% is undulating. There are two perennial rivers crossing the kebele – the Shapha and Gamo. Except for a few spots of rock outcrops along river banks the extent of erosion is insignificant. Shapha river separates Gara Godo and Hadiya Zone. Gamo stream separates Gara Godo and Gara Tokisa and Sala river separates Basa Gofara and Gara Godo. There are about 15 hectares of forest land bearing eucalyptus, podocarpus and grevillea.

### Climate and weather

In the wereda generally the weather conditions are *weyna dega*. Now rain falls seasonally between March and October.

### **Food aid**

A kebele official said that both PSNP and Emergency Food aid are provided in the community. PSNP provides food for two months during times of high deficit at the rate of 15 kg per month per head and cash for four months are the rate of 50 *birr* per month per head which is not enough. Wheat or *boloke* are common food aid items for PSNP participants. The wheat often reaches on time whereas the cash lags behind. Nutritious food, plumpynut and BP100, is given to mothers and children for up to 8 months through interventions by IMC and IRC.

A wereda official said that they distributed nearly 50 tons of food grain and 450 litres of edible oil as emergency aid. Recently the number of households seeking emergency aid is declining. The main problems were that the amount of food aid was much less than needed and the supply was delayed.

A poor man said that PSNP food aid and emergency aid are usually targeting the poorer sections of the community but very limited to a few. Many people are eligible to receive food aid during hungry seasons resulting from changes in weather conditions. The aid received was not used for more than a week. Poorer people have no other options during peak hungry seasons and demand food aid as a temporary solution.

A rich woman said that she received emergency food aid two years ago when her crop was damaged by snow; only 2 kg of flour was given for the whole family which was inadequate. The middle-level respondent's household also only received 2 kg. A poor woman said she appreciated the timeliness of food aid she received during crises but it is inadequate. Family size and wealth status should be considered in the distribution of food aid.

### **Spatial patterns**

People in Boloso Sore wereda live close together. The area is nationally recognised as very densely populated. Small landholdings averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$  hectare, are aggravated by an extreme population growth rate. Every male child can receive a portion of land when he marries. Each household builds its house adjacent to its field; often close relatives settle nearby.

### **Internal roads, paths and bridges**

There are internal roads and paths linking households within the community. There is motorbike, horse/donkey and cart, and car transport. The roads and paths are seasonal and difficult for bigger cars. The walkways have problems during the rainy season. In the rainy season bridges constructed from wood are filled with river flow and not safe for cars to cross.

A rich farmer said that the roads, paths and bridges linked to neighbouring PAs, wereda and within the community have been improved. For example, Gara Godo to Boditi is linked with Gamo River Bridge; and other areas are interconnected. Road access from Gara Godo to Areka is now improved. Recently, the community is using newly upgraded roads that link Gara Godo to Areka, Sodo, Shanto, Boditi, Hadiya Zone, Adero and other regional and federal areas. Households have easier access to marketing in neighbour wereda towns with no transport problems. In earlier periods, it was challenging for the community to get market or education access in neighbour towns like Sodo or Areka in shorter distance. However, there is still poorer access to bridges during rainy seasons. The interviewee is witnessing that rural road access in Gara Godo community has solved the challenges the community faced due to lack of car transport to other areas demanding at least half of a day time. People suggested that an improvement of bridge constructions linking the kebele with other neighbour PAs and wereda will further encourage market based linkages of the community with other zonal market places.

A middle-wealth farmer with smiling face responded that, in general, public resource access is improved in the kebele when compared to earlier periods. He exemplified that Shappa River (bridge) that exists between "Challa gotte" and Badwacho kebele is constructed in cooperation between Gara Godo kebele and Hadiya Zone. There is ongoing activity to construct to link Damote Fulasa

wereda and the Gara Godo kebele through bridge. In earlier period most paths used for walking are now improved and horse and donkey carts and cars are using to enter into the community for transporting materials or people who are sick. The journey was taking longer time for our household and the community when they want to go to market or social affairs existing in other PA s or wereda, but this day there is no as such time taking road, path or lack of bridges.

A poor farmer said that five years ago road, path or bridges were not appropriate in Gara Godo kebele, but today we have good access to these resources. Before a few years, robbery at roads or bridge paths was serious, but this day roads, paths or bridges are improved and people or our household can move from one place to other market places or relative homes with no problem. He remembers that before some years in summer season, there was a challenge to cross from Gara Godo kebele to other neighbour areas due to river over flow and lack of bridges. He suggested that in the kebele there are still potential areas demanding improved road networking and bridge reconstructions that will enhance our household or community easier movement for work, market places or other social affairs.

### **Community land use**

A kebele official said that the land is occupied as follows: smallholders land – 569 hectares; land for the kebele centre – 1.4 hectares; grazing land – 102 hectares; and other communal land – 46 hectares.

In Gara Godo there are no idle land resources due to high population growth. There are 8 hectares of shared grazing land. These grazing areas are not for the whole community but small groups of households use the land surrounding their homes. For each family private grazing is no more than 0.25 hectares. The settlement pattern is spurs whereby each household builds its house adjacent to its field. Often close relatives settle nearby. Sizes of landholdings and of the communal grazing areas have decreased since 2005.

A wereda official said that 3 hectares of land was leased in 2003 to an investor who came from Sidama Zone to establish a coffee shelling plant. The plant is believed to provide job opportunities and build the revenue of the local government. A kebele official said that 2 hectares were given for an investor. A second coffee-washing plant at the opposite end of the kebele was working in December 2011.

### **Public buildings**

A kebele official said that the public buildings are in fairly good condition. The kebele offices have an iron sheet roof, electricity, water and a latrine and the Farmers' Training Centre has the same except for water, though it has no chairs. The Vet office also has no water. The high school is well built and has electricity and a latrine. The primary school has water and a latrine but the building is sub-standard. The school also has land which it uses to generate its own income. The health centre has electricity, water and latrines and new buildings are under construction. A new primary school was under construction in one of the sub-kebeles.

However a rich man said that the old kebele compound has been given to the kebele municipality and now there is no well-organised kebele building. Lack of access of offices and formal workshop areas for the DAs packages is a bottleneck limiting the DAs from providing services. The health centre is over-exploited by nearby weredas in Hadiya Zone and the outreach is not meeting the demand.

A rich woman said that the kebele office, the town municipality and the FTC buildings are located in the same compound at the entrance to the town, while the health centre building is near the market. Though the floor and roof of all buildings is of same material (cement/concrete and corrugated iron sheet, respectively), the wall of the HC building is made from hollow concrete blocks whereas the rest from wooden poles plastered with mud. Buildings of the Kebele office, the town

municipality, veterinary health centre and the schools (both primary and secondary) are all in good condition and serving well. The FTC building, on the other hand, does not have enough rooms to accommodate large numbers of farmer trainees at the same time. Even the available rooms are not equipped with basic facilities such as chairs and tables. Apart from providing training for a few farmers in one or two rounds, the FTC has not been fully functional as it should be. Rather it is becoming more and more neglected despite her expectation to benefit from it. Thus, she suggests that the FTC be expanded with more rooms and equipped with desirable materials for best interest of the farming community. Similarly, the construction of health centre building, designed to meet the standard, has not been completed as it was scheduled, lagging two or three years behind time. Admitting her being beneficiary of the HC, she complains that it could have been well equipped with bed and other medical facilities to serve more patients better than it does currently if it were completed on time.

### **Modern infrastructure**

There is electricity in Gara Godo kebele town and a mobile phone service. Access to electricity has enabled the community to use Ethiopian television, digital satellite television, radio and other electrical products. Young people watch films and football. Beauty salons, barbers, grinding machines, wood work activities, hotel and cafeteria services are significantly improved due to electricity access. Mobile telephone access in the area is motivating young and educated people to use the internet

### **Population**

There are 1,248 households in the community and the total population size is 6,693; 3,312 males and 3,381 females. 274 households are female-headed (22%). There are 828 taxpayer farmers (66%): 764 male and 64 female. The remaining households are landless and not asked to pay tax. There were said to be 265 dependent youths in the community. Among the total young population more than 30% migrate for seasonal jobs.

## ***Community whole in context in 2012***

### **The wereda**

In 2011 Wolayita Zone had 12 rural weredas and three town administrations. The capital is Sodo which is 130 km from Awassa. Bolosso Sore wereda is 303 km from Addis Ababa with a population of 201,000. The wereda used to have 44 kebeles but as a result of re-structuring now has 29 kebeles. Poverty levels are high and over-population is a major problem. Since 2005 there have been changes to health centres and posts, schools, roads, churches, kebele centres and sub-communities.

### **External roads and bridges**

Two main roads, constructed before 2005, link the community with Areka and Bodity towns within the Zone and Sike town in Hadiya Zone. The road to Areka has recently been upgraded,

Gara Godo is also linked to Damote Gale and Shanto with recently upgraded roads. Damote Pulasa and Gara Godo are connected through three bridges: two wooden and one cement. Smaller roads and paths link to neighbouring kebeles. In 2009 a bridge was built across the river Gamo which made year-round travel to Tokissa kebele easier.

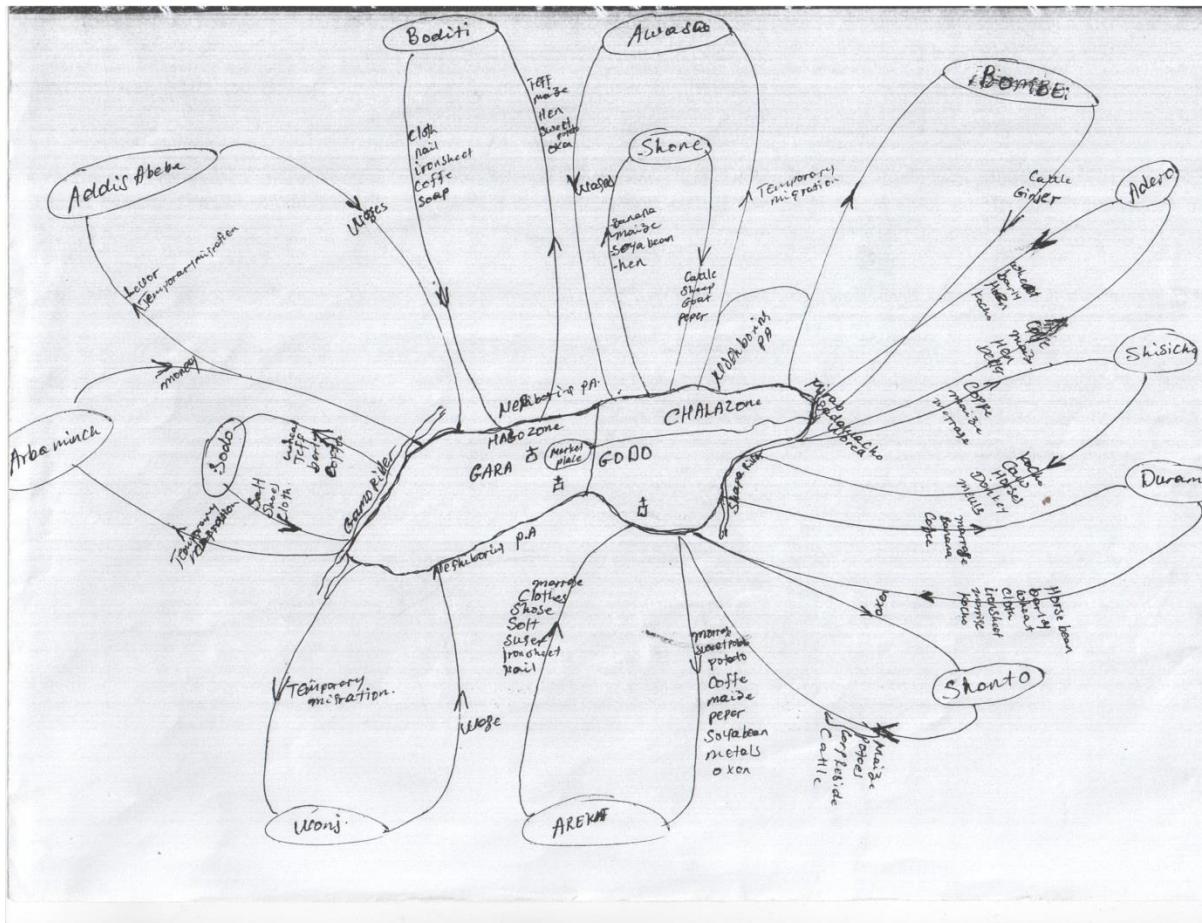
### **Neighbouring and more distant kebeles**

Residents are linked with neighbours and other ethnic groups outside their territory for many social and economic affairs. It is common to use schools or health centres in other weredas or even PAs in adjacent Zones. Marriage, funeral and mourning, religion, marketing, and secondary and college education are the main reasons for linkages with other rural communities. The first two are the

social capital where the community interacts with other rural kebeles. There is a peace and security joint committee among neighbouring kebeles.

### Main linkages

**Map 2: Gara Godo's external linkages**



### Towns

The rural community frequently uses Areka and Sodo towns. The reasons include attending schools and colleges or broader weekly markets and visiting relatives. In Areka they also seek justice at the wereda court and higher medical service at the hospital. They use the town's bus station to travel to other places. People used to walk to Areka (2 hours) and Sodo (6 hours) but this is now unusual because both towns have transportation services. There is a bus from Gara Godo to Areka three times a week. People go to market places usually in the morning while those going for schooling travel once a week or month. The journey to Areka costs 6 birr, to Sodo 10 birr, and to Addis Ababa, where they go for job-seeking, butter trading and to migrate abroad, 90 birr. A few older people go to Addis Ababa while youth engaged in shopping or petty trade go to Addis Ababa, though the linkage is not strong.

A middle-wealth woman said that before 2008 transportation by car was almost non-existent due to the roughness of the road. This condition was worse in the rainy season during which time the road became slippery for any vehicle including donkey and horse cart. In those times we transported farm products on donkey back, one sack at a time, for each market day. Thus, selling all of our products at Areka or Boditi markets required several journeys which could have been done in a single market day had the road been well constructed in the past . Since completion of the road construction in

2008, however, we use car or at least donkey cart any time we like to transport our farm product for marketing. These days we take all our farm products in one or two journeys to market places . The construction of the road allowed us to save our time and energy as well as utilizing better market opportunities.

The community has links with people living in other towns: Boditi, Shanto, Adaro, Wada and Durame. People go for marketing, attending religious conferences and visiting relatives. Depending on the purpose the link is with businessmen, relatives, religious fellows, policemen, lawyers or medical personnel. There is transport to Boditi and Shanto which takes about 30 minutes; it takes about 2½ hours to walk. There are also good road networks and transport to the other towns.

#### **Public services outside the kebele used by community members**

A wereda official said that Boloso Sore Wereda, and hence kebeles in the wereda are eligible to use seven Health centres, within their wereda, one Hospital (Areka), more than 4 secondary schools (Areka and Sodo), many colleges and one University (Sodo); all are accessible in the nearest distance possible. Another official said that a health centre and secondary school found at Areka town whereas, the prisons and hospital are located at Bolosso wereda. TVET colleges and university are also found in the zonal town. Wolayita Sodo University was established in 2007. Recently, many students have joined the university in regular programmes for the whole country and continuing education schemes for students from the zone and nearby areas. Currently the university has more than forty thousand students. Dubo St. Mary hospital is a modern building and staffed with qualified medical personnel. The problem is inadequacy of modern medical equipment like microscopes. In Hawassa they can also visit parliament members and attend schools and colleges; the transport cost is 50 *birr*.

#### **Migration**

There were reports of seasonal migration for work on large farms in Awash, Brayle and Arba Minch (SNNP), Aradayta and Dupti (Afar), Setit and Humera (Tigray) and Gambela. It is very common for young men and women to migrate to towns to seek jobs for longer or shorter periods, including Wolayita Sodo, Hawassa, Shashemene, Ziway, Nazret and Addis Ababa. A few young women have migrated to Arab countries. There are many push factors for migration the most common being shortage of land and lack of jobs with attractive wages. On the other side, urban wages are better. Youth who have completed high school education or college diplomas lack job opportunities in the area and prefer to live in towns with relatives or in rented houses.

#### **Comparison with other kebeles in wereda**

A wereda official said that Kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda are socioeconomically better performing, except one. Ofama Garo Kebele is remote, the climate is not good and infrastructures like mobile networking are not functioning well when compared to the other 28 kebeles in the wereda. The wealth of the community in most of the kebeles of Boloso Sore Wereda depends on cash crop production. Access to schools and health services are nearly evenly distributed among 29 kebeles, at least one health post per kebele. Traditional paths and rural kebele cross roads and bridges, electrification of rural small towns, telephone service, harvested water, bore hole water and spring water, are in similar feature for all kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda. In fact, most rural areas of Wolayita Zone share similar nurtures, except diversified agro-ecological zone and climate variations.

However, the kebeles share landlessness in common. Drawing youth effort into alternative development non-farm cooperatives will improve land shortage and reduce the challenges of rural development like food insecurity, illiteracy, enterprise underdevelopment and weakly enabled environment for effective administrations. Indeed, transparency of public good service and anti-corruption movement would contribute to significant changes and development, besides strengthening community-government linkages. In general, the kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda are situated in better areas for development, given the aforementioned challenges. The major reason

for better kebeles status is partly due to ecological advantages favouring cash crop production, location advantage to the zonal, regional and national market places, and better administration when compared to the earlier periods. In specific to the question of interest, Gara Godo Kebele, the situations are similar to the other kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda.

Female Headed Households are much fewer when compared to the male headed households. Wealth of the community is not similar across the kebele: the poorest, the middle and relatively richer are living in the kebele. Gara Godo Kebele is not as much remote as other kebeles in the wereda. The climate is almost all *Woina Dega*. The kebele has seasonal roads and paths and bridges connect inter-kebeles and kebele with other wereda and nearby zones.

Rural electrification is at very earliest stage to say access, but some part of the community near the kebele office gets electric service. The kebele has full mobile network coverage. Access to health centre is good, but there is no health post in the recent Gara Godo Kebele. Water for drinking and washing clothes is accessed in good condition, but there is still some shortage in distribution. The question of land shortage is weakly answered for the kebele in particular and the wereda in general. However, the development potential of the kebele is relying on cash crops, non-farming income generation activities and improved farming approaches. The wereda is strongly working to capacitate the kebele system of administration through structuring and re-structuring. Some non-governmental interventions centred at zonal level support each kebele in the wereda, but still there are weaker approaches in household capital formation. Potentials for development of the kebeles still rely on the improved farming system, beyond the traditional one.

Another wereda official said that among the six better kebeles Gara-Godo is said to be the best In terms of closeness, roads and bridges, electricity, mobile network, access to health service, and access to secondary education, and development potential as compared with other kebeles in the wereda. On the other hand it is average in terms of wealth of the community, climate, availability of water for drinking, food security, development challenges, level of cooperation with wereda, PSNP participation and strength of kebele administration and council; and worse in availability of water for irrigation, and development partners/donor programmes. Whereas, from the rest of the kebeles Dangra Madalcho is relatively worse in road accessibility, secondary school, electricity, mobile network, health centres and development potential.

### **Conflicts with neighbours**

Land-related conflicts were common before land certification and confirmation of ownership. Household conflict is still common if cattle cross boundaries and destroy neighbours' crops. There are other sources of conflict between neighbours including quarrels between children, divorce-related conflicts, and failure to repay debts. Religious conflicts are now very rare and ethnic conflicts eliminated due to better governance and awareness of legal rights. Conflicts are now better controlled due to recently emerging good governance, increased social capital, and the participatory conflict management approaches of elders, religious leaders and government.

### ***Important events/changes affecting the community***

Many economic, social, political and cultural changes are affecting the community. Agriculture as one of the economic sectors in the area is changing through time. Farmers are using improved seeds, fertilizers, new ways of farming, and focusing on commercial crops. Enset is no longer the main livelihood crop in the area. Social networks of households, individuals, and younger people are somewhat organized and institutionalized. People have better awareness about the political agenda. A few harmful traditional cultures are now reduced. Expansion of religion is underway. Infrastructure is now improved. Commercial activities are now better than the previous time. Income generation activities are emerging for youth in the community.

## **Crises since 2005**

There was a severe drought in 2008/9 during which crops failed and grass vanished resulting in severe hunger and causing some human and livestock deaths. 2011 was a bad year for rain. In both 2008 and 2011 crop and livestock diseases presented significant challenges. Persistent crop diseases have been affecting *enset*, *tef*, sweet potatoes, and coffee since 2005.

The vice-chairman said that his livestock suffered diseases and death in 2008/9. During the time poorer people gave him many rental lands due to famine; the agreement was to work in share-cropping and both the owner and he would gain benefit. He compared the impact of the 2009 with that of 1985 although the period in 2009 was shorter. 2010 was a better year.

A small group of men said that in 2005 malaria was a significant problem and this continued to be the case until 2009. Since then the problem has been reduced by health intervention activities.

## **Other important events and changes since 2005**

### **Cultural change and events**

A group of men said that youth are wearing imported but low cost jeans and coats. Recently, manufactured household assets and consumption goods are introduced to farmers.

Rural community members frequently go to towns for leisure activities. Young people have a 'shopping mentality' adopted from peers in urban areas.

Some years ago HTPs were highly practised and there were many traditional practices but these have reduced. One important observation in the community is the change of attitude towards festivals, including Meskel. It was taking more than a month for Meskel festival celebration in earlier periods, but nowadays it was just three to four days duration. Celebration of Meskel festival was happening with large scale collection of consumables for the period, but nowadays it is not staying beyond three days. In the previous time, the community took ceremonies' duration for a Meskel festival up to solid fifteen days.

People regard religious issues as independent from other business and make it private; otherwise it helps the community for social co-operation and conflict management, beyond belief and faith.

Regarding house building, in the past the community persistently build hut houses made up of grass and wood, however, now houses are changing into tin-sheet roof buildings, though there are some who believe hut house are better than the tin-sheet in terms of preserving culture, best for livestock's dwelling and it is more durable.

### **Economic change and events**

A leading farmer said that there is really better change with regard to infrastructure. Some years ago, road networks were poor, there was no electricity in the nearby town, telecommunication had not been introduced, health centres had not been constructed, schools were outside the community, farming was not based on new approaches. But there is better development concerning the above items. His wife said that the construction of new roads and upgrading the existing ones are good for the community. People in the community have better health services. New schools which opened in the area created good opportunities for children. The number of children attending school increased.

New agricultural products, *teff* and banana, were introduced in 2008. The productivity of *teff* increased. High yielding varieties of *teff* and maize were distributed to the farmers in 2011, but the production was not successful due to their incompatibility with the agro ecology.

Existing commercial crops, particularly coffee, have been highly demanded in the market and their prices have improved. Land usage in the community is becoming tight among family members. Since 2007 a micro-credit programme has been functioning in the community; recently credit is available

for individuals on a package basis as well as groups.

Access to transportation in Gara Godo has improved. Bajaj motor bikes, Bajaj 3 tyres and car transport were introduced in 2008. Young people rent motor bikes for transportation from Gara Godo and Areka towns. In Gara Godo people have access to roads, shops, the mobile network, coffee processing plants, electricity in some houses, health centre, private clinics, schools and various development programmes.

The livelihood of the community has been changing, but at a slow rate. Some young people have been motivated to set up some new businesses. The change of attitude began as a result of improved training opportunities in Vocational School programmes.

#### **Political change and events**

Recently public services have been improved; for example the justice office, councils and mobile *chilot* are rendering civic justice service at kebele office level.

During the election period the most popular political figures representing the area visited the people. The community have clear awareness about elections and the importance of the citizen's role. This was reflected by the community in the last election when they elected members of the House of Representatives and regional government councils.

Many socio-economic factors influence the political effectiveness of the community. Very recently some decentralisation of power and leadership responsibility is observed in kebele office levels and in the community itself.

There was a great meeting held in 2008 where the whole community gathered to discuss the construction of a secondary school in Gara Godo and the contributions they could make. The school was built in the same year and hydroelectric power service was provided.

#### **Social change and events**

A group of women said that a festival was held in 2008 to revitalise the culture and customs of the Wolayita. On this occasion traditional clothing, decorations, household furniture and tools etc were displayed, as well as dances performed. In the Wolayita nation, the most common celebration is Meskel festival. People celebrate also other national festivals. Religious festivals for the concerned members of the community are also significant in number. Religious conferences are celebrated.

The community have been in good order in face of conflicts due to stronger peace and security system established in the recent time.

People often go to towns for leisure occasions.

People regard religious issues as independent of other affairs and make it private. Otherwise it helps the community in terms of social co-operation and conflict management, as well as belief and faith

#### **Development progress**

The wereda administrator said that in line with the MDGs, and GTP in particular, the prioritized sectors of health, education, rural finance, water development, peace and good governance have been indicating significant changes and developments. However, farm-based employment, smallholder farm production or income generation and saving habits of income and off and non-farm income earning and diversification are at early stage of development due partly to land shortage, over-population, mostly rain-fed agriculture and credit mismanagement emerging from vulnerability to income shocks.

In general, development progress of the kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda is partly determined by factors like replacement of stronger administration system, networking all kebeles, involvement of religious leaders or respected elders in "peace and security committee" between the centres of two neighbour kebeles, expansion of full primary school (1-8 Grades) per kebele, awareness creation

training to farmers in kebeles in 'one to five' structures, recruitment of credit and saving accountants in each kebele, income earning rural project enhancements (dairy farming, ox fattening, poultry, beekeeping, butter retail trade, goat and sheep fattening) and establishing a farmer training centre per kebele, are some of remarkable changes and development indicators among kebeles in Boloso Sore Wereda.

Government budget support, community participation and donor efforts played great roles in this development progress. Significantly, grassroots empowerment of households through diversified development interventions (sufficient credit service, saving habit promotion and household capital building and scale-up, inclining to off-farm income generation and diversification trend) are forms of development activities.

Another wereda official said that the livelihood development is currently better since they are near town and main road which cross from Addis Ababa to Wolayita Sodo. The community has better transportation access, health services, education services, micro-credit, administration and peace and security compared to the other kebeles. The wereda has a potential mainly on cash crop production; dairy farming, cattle fattening, poultry, beekeeping, milk and milking production. Besides, the wereda has a better access in micro-credit and saving services. On the other hand, the major constraints are limited access of job opportunity, environmental change and dependency on food aid programme likewise PSNP aid. The budget constraint and less NGO participation are among the challenges that delay the intervention implementation.

A group of men said that community members feel that there are significant interventions in infrastructure development, land use, environmental rehabilitation works, livelihood policies and agricultural and health packages, participation of poorer people in PSNP, borehole and spring water development, stronger health intervention, expansion of education and eliminating harmful traditional practices. However, the interviewees are not comfortable with some part of infrastructure status (no irrigation, no standard school, no health post, weaker health centre service).

### **Wereda plans for the future**

A wereda official said that the wereda faces the challenges the country strives to escape: poor saving habits, leisure time outweighing work time, weakness to adapt new or improved technologies and seeds, while family planning practice is at infant level and land and population size is incompatible. In the midst of these development bottlenecks, in the Wereda, cash crops (coffee, ginger, boloke and maize) are promising agricultural products and farmers achieved to establish agro-processing industries (E.g. coffee processing). Still there is development potential if rural electrification is fully achieved, thus, youth cooperatives can engage in non-farm income generation activities. The reason for the better wealth of the wereda is the existence of cash crop potential. Poorer people demand food aid interventions during dry season. Development challenges are emanating partly from traditional farming habits and people's resistance to adopt newer technologies as much easier as possible. In general, as the wereda head reports, Boloso Sore Wereda is in a better condition when compared to other Weredas in Wolayita Zone.

Another official said that the wereda is better in terms of relative wealth, development achievements, and development potential. The wereda has a better potential in terms of cash crops products such as coffee, ginger and grain respectively. Also small rural towns like Gara Godo and Woibo have become independent, governed by their own municipalities, and generating their won income. The wereda is average in food security needs and PSNP participation, and development challenges. Though the wereda consists of a food insecure area, it is not considered as bad as the other weredas are. Therefore, the PSNP programme is average compared to the other weredas. The wereda is worse in involvement of development partners-NGOs and donors. According to the wereda official, Bolosso-sore has a better potential and it is nearly accessible wereda. Consequently, development partners' programme involvement is better in those inaccessible weredas.

A wereda official said that recently, due to strong pressure of MGDs, donor interventions and citizen's development demand, sectoral developments (in particular health and education) are playing a key role as development priority areas and share major funds for financing the programmes and their specific projects. In fact, this is witnessed in some form of expansions and improvements of infrastructure, manpower and civic services related to these prioritized sectors.

A wereda official said that the following development interventions are planned in the kebeles: roads that link within and around the kebele, improvements of older bridges and the construction of new ones; one health post per kebele; and improvements of school buildings and the kebele office. The government budget and some forms of community participation (money and labour time) are expected to cover the fund and inputs required. Through the food for work programme some forms of water-shed management activities will be undertaken. On some occasions, the community will be asked to contribute their labour time and money for public service development or improvements. Another official said that different soil and water conservation measures such as terraces, micro-basins, trenches, cut-off drains and afforestation are planned to improve watershed management. However, there is no budget allocation for this programme which will be done through C/FFW and voluntary community labour.

The development potential of the kebele is relying on cash crops, non-farm income generation activities and improved farming approaches.

### **Community opinions about plans for the future**

Government has been doing a lot of things for women but the implementation of policies is insignificant. They should do more for women's empowerment, such as better access to credit. The middle-wealth wife said they should provide improved seeds of garlic, onion and cabbage so women could increase their incomes.

The head of the poor household said that they should replace the health post which was given to the newly established Tokisa kebele. Fertiliser and improved seed distribution is not targeting poor people.

A small group of men said that there is a demand for improved farming technologies, bee-keeping, fattening of cattle, goats, sheep and poultry, and a shift from rain-fed agriculture to micro-irrigation.

## **Key sub-system: households in 2012**

### ***Household structures***

The average household size is 5.3 and 22% of the 1248 households are female-headed. In a household, usually male or female head is a senior family member who decides upon family budget, child education, farm production or any household affairs. Tax payer farmers are 764 male and 64 female and the total is 828 (66%). The remaining household are landless and are not asked to pay tax. Among the total young population, nearly 30% and above migrates to other towns for seasonal jobs, and a few leaves the area permanently. In a household, approximately 4 - 6 children are dependent up on a household farm income for their education, health care or daily consumptions.

### ***Households in Gara Godo: some examples***

#### **Important political leader's household**

ZL is 35 and his wife UA is 33. ZL is currently the kebele vice-chair and the local political party chair; he also deals with propaganda and Public Relations and works as the OMO micro-finance extension worker in the kebele. He is a very active party member. The wealth and ethnic status of his family is better than other community members. He has been head of the kebele social court and is chair of the high school's family-teachers-community elders committee. He is also better at performing farming activities and a model farmer. In 2006 he was a Grade 9 student and started his college

education in 2008. He is a third year college student and goes to Areka every weekend to study; he pays 180 *birr* a month which is covered by his wife. He is clever and doing well.

His wife is wealthy and from the Goka Mala Wolayita clan. She is a committee member of the women's association and a member of the league. She is an active member of the EPRDF and a model farmer, but not a champion. She completed Grade 4.

They have 8 children. Two daughters with Grade 10 education have left home: UZ (20) works as a daily labourer in Beirut and NZ (18) works in Awassa.

Daughters: SZ (14) is in Grade 5; SZ (13) in Grade 4; NZ (11) in Grade 4. Son ZZ (9) is in Grade 3, daughter TZ (7) in Grade 1 and FZ (5) has not started school. Also living in the house are his brother's sons who are orphans: BB (16) in Grade 6 and UA (12) in Grade 3. His wife's brother's son (5) also lives with them. One of the sons dropped out temporarily because of being unhappy that new clothes and shoes were not bought for him. The other children like to go to school and attend regularly.

Crops grown for own consumption include *enset*, maize, *teff*, *boleke*, potatoes, cabbage, green peppers, bananas, avocadoes, and mangoes. There has been an increase in the last two. *Enset* is a drought period crop which both people and cattle eat. Vegetables and fruit are sold with a very small portion consumed at home. Coffee is the best cash crop, followed by *teff*.

Extension advice and the full package of inputs helped ZL to increase output six-fold. His wife was trained how to use improved seeds by the DA NRM. She used urea and DAP and improved seeds of *teff* and maize. She used compost to decrease the cost of fertiliser. He is a member of the farmer co-operative and buys fertiliser with 50% advance payment and the rest in borrowing. Recently members were told to collect 50 *birr* dividend after selling *teff*.

In 2009 there was a drought season and he faced livestock disease and 6 oxen died. He has two oxen, one traditional dairy cow, more than thirty chickens and one donkey. UA herds the livestock around the house; they are not in the field as they were five years ago. Grazing land has decreased and the cost of fodder has increased and as a result the production of milk has declined. The wereda agricultural office gave training on how to plant and prepare elephant grass for animal feeding but there is no improved seed supply.

The government dug a borehole in his compound which went 15 metres without reaching water. He extended the hole to 22 metres and found water. He borrowed 2000 *birr* with 300 *birr* interest (15% pa) a year ago. He used the money to send his daughter to Beirut two months ago and ox fattening. He has not yet repaid it. He also borrowed some money from individuals. She is supported by someone in Beirut.

There is an orphan in his house and people gave him 2,500 *birr* to support him. He added some money and bought an ox for 4,000 *birr*. The Catholic Church gave 100 kg maize and 300 *birr* support for an orphan in his house.

His wife used to sell maize and wheat flour; she stopped and started butter trade last year because her husband was attending his college study and she needed more time. She used to get 100 *birr* profit from 100 kg flour but only gets 10 *birr* from 1 kg of butter. She also buy and sells *teff*, maize and coffee etc. This year she bought 300 kg maize and 100 kg coffee to sell when the price increases at some later time. She plans to borrow from OMO MFI and has started the process. Wereda officials have promised a marketplace and she wants to open a tin-made roadside shop with other women but the place has not yet been given. Credit advice and help with marketing and organisation in co-operatives is part of HABP. Her husband said she is a member of Saving and Credit Association; she has saved 700 *birr* and borrowed 3000 *birr* for the petty trade of butter. The interest rate is 15%. She said she had saved 1500 *birr* and should be able to borrow 7000 *birr* but has not got it. The process is prolonged without reason. She said they encourage people to save but do not lend the appropriate

amount of money at the required fast rate.

He is a member of an *equb*; people contribute 100 *birr* four times a year. He could receive 2000 *birr* this month. He could take land for rent with the money. His wife has a butter *equb*. Members contribute a handful of butter per week. She took 2 kg 45 days ago and sold 1 kg for 80 *birr*. She bought shoes for 40 *birr*. The other kg of butter was used for home consumption.

He is a Kalehiwot church member and his wife belongs to Hawariat (the apostolic church). There is no conflict regarding religious affairs in the house. She was a follower of the Hawariat church five years ago but converted to Kalehiwot because Hawariat opposed people who rented and worked on other people's farmland.

He is a member of Kalehiwot church *iddir* (1 *birr* a month) and Ketema Kuter *iddir* (5 *birr* a month). She is a member of two *iddirs* and pays three *birr* for the men's and two *birr* for the women's.

There is a culture in the community to support one another in many aspects - lending oxen for farming, interest free credit service to the poorer and even giving food items in severe hunger cases. Both his family members and the neighbours receive some money from him for trading purposes. His wife said the household's economic wellbeing has improved.

Their house in Gara Godo is in good condition but the one in Areka has deteriorated. She wants to build a big tin roof house in Areka but did not get permission from the municipality. In Gara Godo livestock live in the house and the kitchen is not separate. She uses fuelwood to cook so smoke in the living-room is not reduced. She has bought a table, chairs and a radio in the last five years. They use the electric mill in the municipality and get drinking water from the water tap which was put in recently. Sources of drinking water vary during the year. Piped tap water is the safest; the nearest is 5 minutes' walk. She used to pay 25 cents for a jerrycan but now it is free. They contribute 2 *birr* a month for maintenance and a guard. During the hot season people spend a lot of time fetching water. They have a latrine made of wood and all the family use it.

Women and girls spend a lot of time on domestic work but less than they did five years ago because of the modern mill and piped water. Husbands do not do domestic work but son's participation is improving. She is doing more work as her daughters go to school. She and they do more work on the farm and she works in business.

The household eats more maize, vegetables and taro than five years ago and started eating fruit which it did not do. *Enset*, milk, butter, egg and meat consumption has decreased as their prices have risen faster.

She used to use a contraceptive implant, but now she is using an injection. Her daughter who married last year is pregnant. There is no tradition in the community to inform about the marriage of a daughter to the kebele or wereda office. A go-between was sent to his house and the ceremony was conducted at the groom's house with a fair level of expenditure. The groom's family gave the couple household equipment costing about 1000 *birr*. There was no contribution from his family.

Meskel and Christmas are important times to get together with family and neighbours. Contributions are not more than 600 *birr*.

The vice-chair is an enthusiastic meeting attendee but his wife is more sceptical. She described a party meeting in April 2011 when only 30 out of 50 members were present. It took about three hours but 'nothing is useful because nothing which was planned is implemented'. She is a member of the health volunteers' committee and works 2 days per week. She convinced two households to construct latrines and constructs public latrines with public participation.

They listen to the radio and would like a TV if the electricity is extended to the rural part.

### Economically successful man's household

NB is 39 and has two wives NN and UU. He completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade. He has had 14 children, 8 with NN (Grade 6) and 6 with UU (pre-school education). One son MN (21) is in Awassa town after graduating with a Diploma in Nursing – he is looking for work. They plan to help him follow a degree programme if he cannot get a job. Four sons (15 – Grade 9; 10 – Grade 5; 9 and 7 – Grade 3) live at home and six daughters (15 – Grade 8; 12 – Grade 5; 8? – Grade 4; 6, 5 and 5 – Grade 1).

The household has 20 oxen, 15 cows, bulls (not improved) 6 goats, 6 sheep, chickens, and 1 donkey; also a corrugated iron house, mobile phone, radio, 8 timads of land and 200 coffee trees. He is relatively better off and owns all possible assets for a rural household. He is a model farmer and ranked second of the champions. He said that if asset comparison rather than cash were counted he would have been the champion. He has the responsibility to develop similar model farmers in the community; in this regard he is involved in buying cattle for other farmers, share-cropping and credit support. He is secretary of an *iddir* and is chairman and secretary of five kebele co-operatives. He is chair of the PTA committee and a cell secretary. He is cashier of kebele party contributions.

One wife was interviewed; she is a party member and member of the peace committee in the Orthodox Church.

In the last five years prices of grain and cattle have increased which has been good for his farm. *Teff* was harmed by bad weather conditions but its high price makes it profitable. Maize, *boleke* and *teff* are the common food; maize is consumed when it is fresh as well as from stored stock. Cabbage and carrots are being produced for consumption and sale. Yields of vegetables and fruit are improving. To accommodate all possible agricultural seasonal products the household has to engage in share-cropping or mixed farming. *Enset* is very important for livelihood but no farmer is happy to plant much as it takes a long time to grow for consumption and further production to sell many of its products. Last year the cash crops grown were coffee, *teff*, maize, *boleke*, avocado, mango and eucalyptus. Coffee is highly priced and attracting farmers to plant more than ever before. The fertiliser and improved seeds are not coping with the area. She said the extension workers gave support in farming work, preparation of dry grass for livestock, coffee seedlings and coffee seeds.

The wife said that there are some problems with herding as grazing land has been reduced. The number of milk cows has increased and the production of milk improved. He said that extension services advised them to grow special grasses but they have not practised it.

He supports many people in the community: hungry people with food; buying oxen for share ownership when some lack an ox; lends money to people to buy iron sheets for their houses. He helps relatives and friends with cash and crop advice. He covered the whole expenses of a funeral for a man whose wife had died and could not afford the ceremony. He spent 2000 *birr* last year to celebrate the Ethiopian Epiphany.

The husband borrowed 3,500 *birr* from OMO MFI on the wife's responsibility to launch a kiosk business in Gara Godo town where his wife has been engaged in retail trade. The interest rate is 11%. He also has a debt of 1200 *birr* for fertiliser and personal debts of 300 *birr*. He is planning to repay the debts within the specified dates. He saves 10 *birr* a month. He contributes 20 *birr* a week to an *equb* and received 300 *birr* three months ago. His wife spent it on household consumption. His wife has both cash and butter *equbs*. She contributed 20 *birr* a week and saves 10 *birr* a week for Meskel. She received 300 *birr* in August. She contributes ½kg of butter per week. They share the butter every six months.

They are both members of the Orthodox Church as are all family members. He is a member and secretary of the church *iddir* (weekly contributions 50 cents). His wife has 2 *iddirs* and contributes 1 *birr* a month to each. The church has a kind of *mehaber* for teaching religious education and providing other support.

The house was built five years ago; it has a tin roof and was maintained two years ago. Livestock live in the house. There is a separate kitchen at the back of the house. Within the last five years they have bought a modern bed, kitchen cupboard, chairs, table, furniture and cooking equipment. They do not have a TV. They get safe water from a tap 150 metres away; she pays 2 *birr* a month. The latrine is made of wood and everyone in the family uses it. She uses only firewood for cooking. The main food they eat is maize and *teff* in the form of bread and injera. The amount of *enset* and vegetables eaten has reduced. They eat avocado and bananas and less eggs, butter, milk and meat because of their high prices.

Women and girls spend time on domestic work; husbands and sons do not participate. She works more when her daughters go to school. The wife uses contraceptive injections. She said that her 3 children in primary school like going; she paid 20 *birr* for all three. Her son in secondary school is doing well. The household paid 25 *birr*. Her son of 21 attended a private college in Sodo and graduated in clinical nursing. He lives in a rented house and his father sends him 300 *birr* a month. He won an award and was a champion but he could not find a job.

The wife is a member of the women's association which is working on socio-economic issues. They produced cotton products for the market. The women's league focuses on the political participation of women. The head and both wives are party members. Members read newsletters and participate in discussions. The wife participated in a party meeting attended by about 60 people which lasted for three hours. It was about development, health and HTPs and was successful; there is no difference between government and party meetings.

### **Household of farmer of middle wealth**

CD is 50 and married to SH (35). He stopped his schooling in Grade 6. They each say they have had seven children. Living in the house are six 'sons' and three 'daughters' and there are two sons, 30 and 28, who have left the household and are living in Awassa and Arbaminch. Both have degrees. Two of the daughters living at home are married (one has had four children and the other 2) as is one son (21 – Grade 9). There is a daughter 18 in Grade 7, and sons 15 (grade 5), 12 (Grade 4), and 9 (Grade 3) and 7 and 5 (not in school).

Maybe there is another wife.

The household has not achieved any of the better wealth-ranked farmers' groups in the kebele; there is land shortage. The head and wife are party members (though below she says she is not). The head works on his own farm, share-crops on another person's farm and also does daily labour activities in Awash when his personal activities are finished. Last year he went to pick cotton; 1 kg is 50 cents. He sent 100 *birr* for family support.

Last year they grew maize, *boleke*, *teff*, *enset*, mangoes, avocadoes, bananas, coffee and *papaya*. *Enset*, which had disappeared from the farm five years ago due to a disease, started to grow on the farm. They sold coffee, *teff*, *boleke* and avocado; the prices have much improved. There is advice from DAs, distribution of fertiliser and some improved seeds and orientation about how to use compost but they were not given to the wife. The supply of fertiliser and improved seeds is not compatible with the area.

They own an ox, cow and goat. They owned more in the past they died. His wife said that the economic wellbeing of the house has improved; they bought 1 milk cow and a share in another. Grazing land has decreased; they herd in the community field or near the house. The milk yield has reduced.

The wife started selling her own green pepper, ginger and garlic in the market five years ago. He has been involved in butchering on market days. Her son worked in the nursery site for a month and earned 500 *birr*. The household has no debt. He said his wife contributes 20 *birr* to an *equb* and received 700 *birr* last week; she had to repay some money used the rest to involve in retail trade.

She said she was not a member of a saving and credit association.

They both belong to Hawariat (Apostolic) church. He belongs to the church *iddir* and contributes 1 *birr* a week. His wife contributes one *birr* a week to her *iddir*.

The conflict in the household has increased, especially with her husband who does not give appropriate support for the growth of the children. Three years ago her son wanted to start education and she supported him but his father opposed the idea. They quarrelled and the problem reached the elders who supported her and resolved the problem.

A new tin-roofed big house has been constructed. Livestock live in the house but there is a separate kitchen. Firewood is used for cooking. The household is aware of the importance of latrines and prepared it and use it properly.

The household gets water at a distance of 20 minutes' walk. The nearest source stopped functioning a year ago and still is not maintained. There is a shortage of water December–February. Spending a lot of time to fetch water is the main problem. In the last 5 years they have bought chairs, table, furniture, metallic cooking dish, radio and equipment. The consumption of maize has increased but the amount of *enset*, vegetables, fruit, milk, butter, eggs, pulses and meat eaten reduced. Women and girls spend a lot of time on domestic work but sons have started participating. The burden increases when daughters go to school.

She does not use any kind of contraceptive methods. She wanted to use it, but when she hesitated she became pregnant. After she gave birth she thought to use it. Before she made a decision she became pregnant. She missed the right time of using it again and again. As a result of these she has had all these children. Her daughter gave birth in November 2010; she had her son at her mother's house and her mother helped her during delivery. The boy is not healthy and neither is the mother though she has been treated at the health centre, a private clinic and Dubo hospital. She spends most of the day in bed in her mother's house.

Four of the children attend primary school; they like it and attend regularly. She paid 25 *birr* for all of them. Her son 23 attended Areka preparatory school which cost 20 *birr* a year. He did well and is studying in the field of education at Arba Minch university where he went in October 2011. She does not mention the other son at university in Awassa (?).

The wife is not a member of any women's organisation. The head is a party member and appreciates the opportunity; every decision is inclusive of party members' feedback at cell level. The newsletter creates better awareness about events in the country. The concern and consent of party members has some importance in influencing kebele officials, though the meetings are time-consuming. His wife is not a member of the governing party.

They have a radio but it is usually off due to lack of batteries.

### **Household of poor farmer**

EC is 45 and his wife BL 35. They have each had nine children. He completed Grade 7 and she completed Grade 2. One daughter (18 – Grade 8) works as a daily labourer in Awassa; she left in 2010. They live with five children aged 13 to 6. BE (girl - 13) is in Grade 7, FE (boy 12) in Grade 3; CE (boy 9) in Grade 2, DE (boy – seven) in Grade 1 and FE (boy 6) has not started school.

He said he owned the lowest possible household assets amongst the community members but there are many similar households with subsistence livelihoods. He serves as cashier for the church *iddir* but is not involved in kebele structures or a party member. His wife is from the Tigre royal clan but poor and with no community roles. The household is mostly dependent on farming activities and sometimes on daily labour. During drought seasons they borrow from relatives; in the last year he borrowed 3000 *birr* from a relative. He supported his children studying at college with 2100 *birr*. (His wife says there is no-one following post-secondary education).

The wife said that the economic wellbeing of the household has decreased and so has their acceptance in the community. Support from family and friends has decreased. He said they grew maize, taro, *enset*, avocado, *teff*, sweet potatoes and coffee, but his wife said this year only coffee and small beans have grown on the farmland. The number of avocado trees has increased and mango production was recently started. Cabbage production was available. He said they sold coffee, *teff*, avocado, maize and eucalyptus. Coffee production was better because there is an improved variety and the price has increased. The DA advice focused on model farmers who regularly receive fertiliser and improved seeds. They are not affordable for poorer farmers. His wife said she tried to use compost. He said the only reason for some improvement in his farming was the increasing demand coming from the household. The wereda agriculture office also created awareness on improved planting techniques and harvesting systems.

They have one dairy cow, one sheep and five chickens. Two years ago he had an ox, two cows, one bull and four chickens. There has been a promise from government for poor people to be able to own an ox by borrowing but it has not been practised. For three years his wife has been buying taro and maize and re-selling them in retail markets. She said she also buys *teff* and coffee. She buys salt, fuel, tomatoes and ginger. He owes 200 *birr* he borrowed for household consumption. The wife has been saving in OMO MFI since November 2011 and has saved 170 *birr*. She can borrow 2000 *birr* with an interest rate of 10%.

He said his child is involved in daily labour work in Gara Godo town and his son went to Awassa last year to look for work but has not begun any job. He was given 150 kg of wheat last year from food supporters; it was not F/CFW. The wife and two others worked on road maintenance, terracing and building the community police house with mud as part of PSNP; they received 150 *birr* and 15kg of wheat per month.

They both attend Hawariat (apostolic) church. He is a member of a church *iddir* paying one *birr* a week. She contributes 3 *birr* for a male *iddir* and 2 *birr* for a female *iddir* per month.

The house is a grass-roofed hut; it has deteriorated. Livestock live in the house and there is no separate kitchen. She uses an old bed, table and chair and nothing has changed; there is no kitchen cupboard or radio and she uses cooking dishes made of clay. She uses tap water which is 10 minutes' walk. The household has a latrine made of wood and not covered. All female household members use it. Her husband said that people have mostly not adopted latrines and use open places which results in pollution in rainy seasons. She uses firewood for cooking. The consumption of maize has increased but reduced on other kinds of food like *enset*, vegetables, fruit, milk, butter, eggs, pulses and meat.

Women and girl's time on domestic work has not changed; sons participate but husbands do not. She works more when her daughter goes to school. She does not use any contraceptive method as she is waiting for her period; she has not had one since she gave birth to her last son a year ago (he is not in the roster). She followed the health herself and had the infant vaccinated. She gave birth by herself at home; no-one helped her. The infant has no problem and is monitored at the Health Post.

Two children in the household go to pre-school; they like it and can identify letters. The wife said two children are attending primary school; one in Grade 2 and the other in Grade 1 (this is not consistent with the information in the roster). They like going and attend regularly. She paid 25 *birr* for both. No-one is going to secondary school.

The husband is an Apostolic church member and is not allowed to take part in festivals. His daughter married without any information to the family. The husband's family spent about 2000 *birr* for the ceremony which is not expensive when compared with earlier types of ceremony. His religion does not allow any gift giving or receipt.

The wife is not a member of any women's organisation nor is she a member of the governing party, though her husband is. The members of a cell meet and decide about neighbourhood issues, read

the newsletter and report the feedback, pay membership fees and learn much about politics and development.

The household has no telephone or radio.

### **Household of successful woman head**

FD is 53 and has had five children. She is rich. She is a member of the Women's Association and League and a party member. The community want to give her a party leadership position but she doesn't want it because of her family responsibilities. She is a committee member of a women's *iddir*.

She lives with two daughters 18 (Grade 6) and 15 (Grade 7), three grand-daughters (5, 5 – Grade 2 and 2) and a grandson (7 – Grade 1). A son BB aged 25 lives in Addis Ababa where he went to educate himself by engaging in the butter trade. He is a second year accounting student and is married. He visits his mother three times a year: at Meskel, Christmas and Easter.

The household grows for its own consumption in order of importance maize, cabbage and avocados; they also grow and consume sweet potatoes, boye and taro. The consumption of *enset* has decreased. The production of maize, cabbage, bananas and coffee has increased because the use of fertiliser and improved seeds is better than five years ago. There are fewer eucalyptus trees. She benefited from extension advice and bought urea and DAP from the agriculture office; she did not use compost or the service co-operative. The extension workers advised her to plant grevillea. Her farmland has decreased in size because of the terraces constructed on it but the effects of erosion have decreased.

The households' economic wellbeing has improved in the last five years. She has bought an ox, sheep, donkey, milk cow etc. Now she has two oxen and two dairy cows, one bull, six sheep, three goats and four chickens. Five years ago she had only one ox. Her livestock holdings increased because of increased demand for oxen and milk and eggs and higher livestock prices for bull fattening, sheep and goats. Drought affects livestock products because of the shortage of water and grass.

She has a place in the market to sell local beer and paid 30 *birr* for the space in October 2011. Two of her daughters are involved in trade buying and selling fruit; they started in 2009. One of the daughters has a bull which she bought with the profit from the trade. Both girls cover their own expenses and save some money in a wood-made bank. They spend their time between trading and school.

She borrowed 2800 *birr* form OMO MFI in 2010 which she has repaid after a year and then borrowed a similar amount. She saved 400 *birr* when she took the credit and she also saves 10 *birr* very month. She has been borrowing for 11 years for different purposes. The interest is 4%. She contributes 50 *birr* a week to an *equub*. She received 900 *birr* two weeks ago which she used for business purposes. She bought 100 kg of barley and made *embubush* – a local drink – for sale. In addition to the regular contribution they give 10 *birr* a week and the share the amount at the end of the *equub*.

She has two *iddirs*; in one she contributes 10 *birr* a month and in the other 5 *birr*. She is a Protestant and attends Hawariat church. All family members are followers.

The house has deteriorated and she is building a bigger tin roof house. Livestock live in the house and there is no separate kitchen. She has bought a modern bed, four chairs, 1 table, 2 cooking dishes a radio and grain mill. The household uses tap water and stream water; the amount of water reduces between January and April. Tap water is safer but when it is disrupted they use surface water. The source most used is about an hour's walk; the nearest source is not maintained. They have a latrine made of mud and wood. All family members use it and wash their hands with soap afterwards. She lights her home with electricity but if it is absent uses kerosene. She uses firewood and charcoal for cooking.

The kind of food they eat has changed. Maize eaten in different forms has increased as have vegetables and fruit. *Enset*, milk, butter and meat have decreased. Domestic work has changed; the grain mill is closer and work time has decreased. Husband's and son's participation in domestic work has improved. Women are doing more as their daughters go to school; but husbands can help in some work. Female involvement in farm, business, and daily labour work has increased. Both her daughter and daughter-in-law gave birth two years ago and they were helped by a TBA. They both now use contraceptive injections.

She was seriously ill last year with asthma and kidney problems. She was treated in Dubo hospital staying 7 days and paying 1400 *birr*. After some time she was ill again and treated in Addis Ababa. Her two grand-daughters, 6 and 7, are Grade 1 students but her three daughters dropped out permanently because they want to be in trade. The good thing about the school is that they are controlling students' behaviour, teaching properly and contacting parents frequently. Her son is studying accounting at a private college in Addis Ababa. He covers most of the cost himself by selling butter; his mother also helps him. He is now a second year student and doing well in his study.

Only the head is a party member; she attends meetings.

Her daughter has had a mobile phone since 2011 and she has had a radio since 2009.

### **Household of poor woman**

BH is 47; last year her main activities were farming and PSNP work. She has born seven children and lives with five sons (18 – Grade 8; 14 – Grade 8; 13 – Grade 7; 10 – Grade 2; and 4) and two daughters (16 – Grade 6 and 6 – Grade 1).

The household is not doing well economically as now the children are older they need a lot of things including school materials.

They have 0.125 hectares of land. The household grows maize, *enset*, taro and bananas for its own consumption; the production has decreased. They have used their eucalyptus trees for house construction. They sell some maize, *teff* and coffee. As she cannot afford to pay for fertiliser and full payment of improved seeds she does not use inputs. Terracing was done on her land by DAs and coffee and grevillea given to the household to plant. She does agricultural work on other people's land. She has two bulls with other people to share the profit. She had one ox and one dairy cow shared with another person. After her husband's death she sold the share to pay debt and cover the cost of the burial ceremony.

Her son of 18 migrated to Gewany for a job in charcoal production a year ago; he heard the announcement of work in Areka. He returned without any savings but spent some money on clothes, shoes and school materials. Her daughter traded coffee, garlic and other vegetables from August to September to cover her own wants. Her 14-year old son went to Awash for cotton-picking in November and December 2011 and was expected to go back to school on his return in January.

She has no debt. She is a PSNP beneficiary and worked on road maintenance, bridge construction and terracing on individual farmland. She received 50 *birr* a month for four months and 15 kg of wheat for two months. Neither payment was made on time so she borrowed at the highest interest rate.

Her house has deteriorated; in September 2011 it collapsed but she got no help. The family members were trapped under the collapsed materials and were only freed with the help of neighbours. She and her daughters live in her relative's house and her sons live in a neighbours' house. She plans to build the house when she gets PSNP cash payment. She has only an old table and chair.

Tap water is about 2 km distance; the nearest source broke a year ago but has not been repaired. She has a latrine without roof and side covers; all household members use it. She uses firewood for

cooking; it is not as easily available as it was before. The grain, *enset*, vegetables and fruit eaten by the household have decreased. They rarely eat milk, butter, eggs and pulses and they eat less meat. Her 6-year old daughter suffered from malnutrition last year and was given plumpynuts (6-8 a week) and 8.4 kg of high nutrition value food per month for two months. The food was given in the health centre by the NGO MCF. They measured and she put on 1 kg of weight.

Her daughter attended pre-school; she liked it and learned numbers and letters. Six of her children are attending primary school and mostly they attend classes regularly.

If the household gets food they eat; and if they do not they do not eat. They suffer from hunger between December and June; they spend most of the days with a small amount of food or without food.

Ten years ago they held her husband's burial ceremony which was too expensive. She contributed 150 kg of wheat, 5 kg of chickpeas, 100 kg of maize and 25 kg of *teff*. The cost was covered by 300 *birr* cash in hand and 800 *birr* borrowed. The ceremony continued for seven months. The household sold two cattle shared with another person. She belongs to two *iddir* and pays 50 cents to each per month.

She is an Orthodox Christian as are all family members. They contribute 1 *birr* a month. She does not know anything about women's organisations. No-one in her family is a party member. Though last year she attended party meetings for 3 days, four hours per day. It was about development, sending children to school and tax obligations; more or less it was useful. She prefers to get traditional treatments when they work better than modern treatment: e.g. removing milk teeth and cutting uvula and tonsils. She treated her stomach-ache by burning with hot iron; bleeding also cures stomach-aches.

They do not have a telephone or radio.

## **Structures of inequality in 2012**

### ***Wealth, poverty, class and household composition differences***

#### **Overall community wealth**

There has been some change in standards of living. The youth are wearing imported but low-cost jeans and coats and recently manufactured consumption goods have been introduced to farmers. Customary household assets – beds, houses, utensils and other equipment – are replaced with manufactured and processed goods. Rural people move frequently to urban areas for leisure.

In the past people built huts made of grass and wood but now houses are changing into tin-sheet roofed buildings. Although there are some people who believe that huts are better as they preserve culture, are good for livestock to live in, and are more durable.

#### **Household wealth/poverty and class and household composition differences**

*Enset* production is an indicator of wealth rank in rural areas: its concentration, diversification and long-term existence around their homes. However, in recent time *enset* disease is challenging the amount of production and the varieties.

Respondents said that a few model farmers have better livelihood conditions but many with larger families and small land areas face a challenge to cope with the bad seasons and demand FFW activities. 11% of households are PSNP beneficiaries.

A mixed group of men said that approximately 10% of households are relatively **very rich**; they have corrugated iron sheet roof, 2-3 oxen, 2-3 cows, 4-5 sheep, donkey, improved bed, tables and chair, kitchen utensils, mobile phone, better clothes and shoes. They help poor people. A few joined this category as a model farmer. Rich households send most of their children to school, take health care

and manage family size. The successful household had 20 oxen, 15 cows, 6 goats, 6 sheep, and 1 donkey, and a corrugated roof, mobile phone, radio, 8 timad of land and 200 coffee trees.

The **rich** and **middle-wealth** households own the same kind of assets only fewer. Poor, very poor and destitute lack many of these assets ‘except their very poorly made home which they use when they return from daily labour work for the night. The politically active man said that the poor in the community are very large in number.

A mixed group of women gave the following estimates:

Very rich	2%
Rich	5%
Middle class	28%
Poor	15%
Very poor	40%
Destitute	10%

They said that in the last ten years the proportion of the first three decreased and the last three increased. The wealth source of the very rich is the large land scale which is more than 2 hectares. Poor households have 0.25 has of land and the very poor less than 0.25 has. Poor, very poor and destitute hhs have small huts with holes in every part. Destitute households have a bamboo carpet to sleep on, a water bottle and grainmaker plate; the poor and very poor have mattresses made of grass.

A rich woman respondent said that rich households have 1.5-2.5 has of land. A middle woman respondent said that middle household landholdings range from 0.5-1.5 hectares: 0.25 hectares each are each for home garden and family grazing. A poor woman said that poor households own from 0.125-0.5 hectares: 0.125 hectare is used for the home garden. A poor man said that the poorer sections of the community have very small or no land. Other factors affecting food security are disability, disease, old age and orphanhood.

Another poor respondent said that government services are subject to conditionality like sufficient land ownership, livestock ownership, or personal wealth accumulation. For example smaller-size landowners were not allowed access to fertiliser and improved seeds. Eligibility for the livestock intervention depends on other asset ownership. Poor people get no consideration for general public interventions if they are not targeted at the poorer. Those who lack land or livestock resources are excluded.

One rich household owned 20 oxen, 15 cows, 6 sheep, 6 goats, 1 donkey, a corrugated iron house, a mobile phone, radio, 8 *timad* land and 200 coffee trees.

Asked about household risk management a model farmer said that there has been variation in farming which is a very challenging situation which farmers face. He personally faced livestock deaths in 2009 due to rain failure. His family situation has been in good order because of grain saved for bad seasons. However, the shocks to neighbours has been a common challenge. They request food support or credit and it is a humanitarian responsibility to support them. Usually the farm products are stored for future consumption and income earning

An average farmer said that household risks have included consumption shortages and income shortages. Risk mitigation options for poor people include doing daily labour work, begging if elderly or disabled, support from relatives, and borrowing from private lenders at expensive interest rates with land as a guarantee. Personally he has curtailed early unwanted consumption for future use invested income in important assets for future sale, and borrowed from OMO MFI or private lenders.

A poor farmer described his risk management practice as mainly related to food shortage. They consume root crops in dry seasons when there is no maize or *boloke*. *Enset*, taro, and cassava are

available on all farmers' plots and poorer people begin to consume *enset*, in most cases, until the next better season arrives. They also borrow maize and *boloke* in the hunger season. During health problems poorer people borrow money from richer ones with land as the guarantee.

### **Problems poor people face**

A farmer said that poor families have very low aspirations about future life. Most daughters are involved in the labour market and/or petty trade to support their livelihood. A very important challenge in the community is that the poorer aspire to lower living systems and the lower their aspirations the poorer they will remain.

Poor families have a problem sending students to TVET or private university studies even to the nearest possible. A poor man said that he cannot afford to send a child to college study using his own budget but if s/he scores admission points it is compulsory to try to cover transport and other miscellaneous expenses. The poor students' problem is that because they want to finance their livelihood or their families' expenses they engage in other activities in addition to school work.

A poor farmer said that land shortage is aggravated by lack of income to invest in agricultural inputs which forces members to rent their land for shorter or longer periods for share-cropping. Another poor farmer) said he could not afford to buy fertiliser or improved seeds (maize, *tef*, sweet potato, and *boloke*. Using an ox is good but because the price of meat is increasing poorer farmers can't afford to buy one. A poor woman complained about the unfairness of the contributions and membership fees she is supposed to pay which are equal to the amounts paid by the rich.

The MHH Poor household, which used to be richer, said that the household's acceptance in the community had decreased. A landless man involved in share-cropping said that a person with poorer land-holding can speak very little in the community. Rights to take any kind of support are related to wealth or land-holding. Goods that are public are free to his family like others but those resources considered as interventions to the community from the government demand some kind of asset ownership to ensure the person can perform the desired activities. He has no such assets and is not eligible to ask for fertiliser, improved seeds or extension services. Model farmers are forced to participate in the interventions while poorer people cannot ask and are not asked.

### ***Social identity***

#### **Ethnicity**

All members of the community are from the Wolayita ethnic group.

#### **Clan / lineage / family**

A special feature of the SNNP is the diversity of ethnic groups, religions, languages and cultures. In recent times slavery and higher clan status differences have been almost removed following strong government interventions to empower citizens equally. For instance Wolayita is an ethnic category with many groups of clans or lineages of families. In Gara Godo the community counts more than 25 types of family groups. In each group more than 20 households may be included. The community does not perceive wealth and family group as related.

Almost 2% of the community are craftworkers, called *Dogalla*. In the past they were not allowed to cultivate land or marry members of the *Malla* clan. However, for the last 10 years they have cultivated land and inter-marry with the *Malla* or *Goqa* community member.

There is no marginalized ethnicity in the present political situation. However, some of the community elders were asked how the people like *Fuga*, *Wogache*, and *Ayle* are treated in the community. One of the community elders reported that it is not ethical to ask this kind of question in the present situation. He reported that there is some kind of marginalization during marriage. No person from a better ethnic family is happy to marry a girl or a boy from a previously marginalized family. He said that "Wolayita *Mala*, *Kawona* and others who consider them themselves as superior

families never take into account the present politics, which neutralises class. He was asked about his personal perception about marrying people from marginalized ethnic families and answered that it is difficult to accept and compromise the class. Thus, he ensured that there is marginalization; however, the government direction is not encouraging the harmful fact that it still exists in the community.

Except in marriage relations, the respondent said, there is no other discrimination against those people like *Fuga*. He said that we eat together, create common iddir and equb membership together, which is highly different and dependent on the wealth status of the person. *Fuga* people can earn better income and hire, for example, the poorer Wolayita *Mala*, which indicates that the ethnicity is difficult only for marriage. For instance, the respondent said that the landless, but better in ethnic category, are not eligible to participate in many government interventions in the kebele, while the better off *Fuga* are eligible to take fertilizer, improved seed, and other extension services due to landholding and other asset guarantees.

This response was indirectly conducted with a person who is an elder and ethnically originates from a better family, because the kebele people considered that the interview about *Fuga* violates the local norm and grounding of politics. They considered it illogical to raise this kind of question to those people where the government is striving to ban the norm harming the community.

At present, there is no consent from kebele managers to approach the person since the government has been working on marginalised people, ethnic groups, or religions. Therefore, it is ethical to report the existing situation. As observed during field stay, and personal experience in the areas, there is still impossibility to engage in marriage with people from a lower clan if she or he is not a wealthy person. In the study area, marriage between ethnic groups is practically marginalised as one can observe that higher clans are not willing to marry someone from a lower clan. It is legally forbidden to say a person is *Fuga*.

### **Religion**

All are Christians: 55% Protestants, 40% Orthodox Christian and 5% Catholic. There are many Protestant churches: Kalehiwot, Orthodox, Mulu Wengel; Hiwot Kale; Hawariat; and Meseret Kristos.

### **Native/immigrant**

There are no clear status distinctions between natives and immigrants.

### **Vulnerability and social exclusion**

A small group of men estimated there were nearly

### **Disabled and chronically and mentally ill people**

It was estimated that up to 10% of adults and children are disabled and 3 mentally ill. They lack special needs support and mentally ill people cannot access reliable health care and support. They are cared for by parents and relatives.

NH was injured during the war with Eritrea; one of his legs was cut and he cannot work at anything that needs physical ability. Personally, he has not been engaged in any job, but at present he is working as a daily worker in the kebele bus station on market days at Gara Godo. He supervises the order of cars in a bus station and collects a commission from each car, which is a part of his income. He could not support other family members through his hard work and support. Aged 35, the respondent completed Grade 3 and currently he has 5 family members. He could not work like able people.

Interventions (fertilizer, improved seeds, training) related to agricultural development in the community are conditional on the land resources owned by the person. He feels that the kebele administration do not take care of the landless in relation to farming interventions, because they

consider the landless as incapable of repaying any interventions provided in terms of loan. Thus, the respondent has very small land size and could not get the supports. Moreover, he could ask for the support, but the kebele people were not willing to give any kind of support or interventions after checking the land resource he has. There is no NGO support extended to his family or himself, but he is a PSNP member since he is physically disabled and eligible for the direct support scheme.

In previous times, there was free health service, but now there is no such kind of service and paying all kinds of contributions has become mandatory. He pays 60 birr for taxes and other contributions. He is not eligible to render labour services demanded by the kebele. Therefore, he is working in bus station coordination activities. He is not a 1-5 group or party member. He has iddir membership in the community. His relatives and friends, kebele officials, and other community leaders support him in case of family consumption shocks. For instance, he said, the present work in the bus station is through their cooperation.

A disabled woman said her body part was swelling. She went to the health facility and a minor operation took place to discharge pus and blood. After treatment the operation created a hole around her waist. The problem happened 15 years ago. She was trading by travelling long distances. She has stopped trading and is unable to help her husband with the farm work. She does not move freely from one place to the other. She does not attend weddings or burial ceremonies. She worries about not helping her husband. She has 6 children. The income of the household depends on the work of her husband. She cannot help him. The income has reduced and as the result of this children drop out of school. The household has not benefited from agricultural extension package, livestock, vet or NRM. She is benefiting from transport, drinking water and electricity service. In the past there was no transport access, currently she can find it easily, she is getting drinking water nearby and electricity for mill. She received wheat, sorghum, flour and oil from food aid programmes 3 years ago. She got health extension advice. She uses health centres for treatment, but is not exempted from health payments. She sends her 3 children to primary school. There is no help from NGOs or church. She paid 25 birr in November 2011 for the children's school. She contributed for land tax, Wolayita Development Association, and Ethiopian Red Cross Association 15 birr, 5 birr and 5 birr respectively. She participated in making mud for the wall and her husband gave 1 piece of wood. She has no role in the kebele, women's organization or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member and does not attend meetings. She goes to neighbours for help and advice. There is no serious problem that has occurred regarding social interaction and within the household. The main source of livelihood is farming. Her husband also works as a daily labourer on other person's farm land.

D is a young man who is deaf. He could not mention other people facing the same problem, but the community members were asked about other members. Currently, they have no additional person known for deafness like D. Churches and the community people support in some occasions like illness and there is no special help intended for people like D. The translator of D's speech reported that he became deaf after birth due to disease. He has not married, but he faces a problem to learn, since there is no special needs education access near the community. He can show by signs what he wants to say, or speech. Barriers are visible in work places, during schooling, even for getting married and participating in any kind of community affairs. He could use sign language, but the communication was not easy with him to get detailed information.

There are two blind women in the community, but they do not know blind men and children. They are blind from birth. They work at different things at home and near the house. Her brother's children help her. Sometimes neighbours, friends and other individuals also help her. She does not get any help from church. She is a beneficiary of PSNP. After the death of her brother she has lived in his house with his children. She gets 200 birr per month for the household from PSNP. She is doing domestic work, since she unable to walk freely. She does not want to get married. She is not able to participate in community work. It prevents her contributing labour. If she needs advice, or help or faces a problem, she discusses with her brother's children.

### **Residents in remote parts of the kebele**

The farmer is living in the remotest part of the kebele near to Shapa stream. In the summer the farm is affected by flood. There are 6 households in the area; his house is found at the border of the kebele. The crops and enset are attacked by monkeys and other animals. He is far from relatives and the other households. He is at the border of Badawacho wereda, in Hadiya zone. He lives in fear if some problem happens with a person from Badawacho wereda; there is no one to protect him and his family members. His wife travels long distances to market, health centre and mill. Since there is no school in the area, his children did not get access to education. He did not benefit from extension advice, fertilizer, or improved seed because he wanted to avoid debt problems. He has no access to livestock advice. He vaccinated his cattle, but the vet assistance is far from the area. In July 2011 his cow s died on the way to the veterinary centre. There is no access to NRM advice.

To use transport and the mill he goes to Gara Godo. To get drinking water the household travels to the kebele of Badawacho wereda. The source of water is found at a distance of 3 hours walk. He is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid. The household use bednets and latrine. There is no house to house service by health extension workers. They teach about the packages in meetings. The family members can get treatment after 4 hours walk. His 8 year old daughter learns at primary school. Since the primary school is in Gara Godo and far from the area, he cannot send his other children for education. He paid 25 birr for farm land tax. He contributed 5 birr for Wolayita Development Association and 5 birr for Ethiopian Red Cross. He participated in the preparation of mud for walls and gave 2 pieces of wood for the construction of a new primary school. He has no role in the kebele or 1-5 cells. He is not a party member and does not attend meetings. His second wife was a widow. Relatives of her deceased husband had created problems. He accused them at the kebele social court. Finally the problem was resolved by elders. For advice or help he goes to the 5 households in the area. He is suffering rather than benefiting from living in the remotest part.

A woman living in a remote part of the kebele said the place is exposed to flood. Monkeys attack the crops. The soil is not fertile. At harvesting time she spends the night alone. Sometimes she helps her husband. It created a pain in her chest. Her husband spends the night on the farm to protect the crop from monkeys and other animals. Since the land does not give better yields, the income is not enough to cover living expenses. Related to economic problems her 5 children migrated to other areas. Four of them have gone to Addis Ababa. One child trades at Gara Godo. Agricultural advice and livestock advice helped to improve production. She vaccinated her cattle. Using NRM advice, checkdams and terracing have been done on her farm land. The family benefits from transport, drinking water and electricity (mill), but is not a beneficiary of mobile phone. She is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid programmes. The household has a latrine, use bednets, removes stagnant water and keeps personal hygiene. She and her husband use the health centre for treatment. The school in the area improves access to education, but no one from the family is attending school. Her husband paid 25 birr for farm land tax and contributed for WDA and Ethiopian Red Cross association, 5 birr for each. In addition to these the household has contributed 2 pieces of eucalyptus wood and worked on the preparation of mud for the new school construction. She has no role in the kebele women's association or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member. Her husband is a chairperson of Iddir. If the household needs help and advice about problem she goes to neighbours. She explained that she has no benefit from living in that area.

### **Immigrants**

There is no one considered as an in-migrant in the community. All households in the Gara Godo kebele originate from there and the usual trend is out-migration for seasonal labour work.

### **Landless/non-taxpayers**

A kebele official said that 34% of households did not have land. Another said that nearly 30% of the community have no or very little personal land which pushes most of them into agriculture labour.

LL said his father had many children and the land size was not sufficient for all the male children to form independent families and own a personal land resource. His father gave him land for establishing a home only. He has four family members (two children). Less than one-quarter of the land holding made the respondent landless and involved in share-cropping with his neighbour. He is also responsible to pay land tax for this smaller sized holding.

His family members are not living a sufficient life due to insufficient production of food items. His family members cannot regularly eat food, it is difficult for them to go to health centres in case of illness and they lack sufficient income to spend on any kind of household basic needs. He said that lacking land by itself is a good indicator of marginalization in the community, because those who own land have the right to decide upon what, how or when to produce. However, it is very difficult in share-cropping to prioritize personal interest.

The respondent has uncovered the reality that any kind of government service is subject to conditionality like sufficient land ownership, livestock ownership, or personal wealth accumulation. For example, fertilizer and improved seed access is not allowed to smaller size land owners. Eligibility for the livestock intervention is dependent on other asset ownership. He said that the poorer people get no consideration for general public interventions if it is not targeted at the poorer. His comments reflect exclusion of the poorer sections, particularly those who lack land or livestock resources. No one in the community believes those without sufficient household resources.

He reported that his family is equally responsible for sharing money for water use in the kebele like any other person. He was not available when the committee was selecting the beneficiaries for PSNP. As usual, he said, education and health services are common to all households in the community. All pay a significant amount of money to receive health service, except for special health exemptions. He has not come across any kind of NGO support. Including cash and kind services, the respondent pays about 30 birr per year for land tax. In the FFW/CFW programme, the respondent was also involved in labour contributions. There is no additional responsibility in the community. The respondent is a 1-5 group member and reported that they cooperate with each other to help in work.

His feeling regarding a benefit from party membership is not visible, and he attends a meeting only when there is a call. His friends and people like CC, (woreda official) NG, and ZL (vice chairman of the kebele) are a great help to him. As he reported, Z is helping the poorer people in the neighbour by giving oxen for farming, or fattening.

Another landless man said he has no more land than the place where his home is constructed. He got this land from his father and his father pays the tax including for the respondent's land. The respondent has his own family, but is not subject to tax payments. He said that the taxpayer is a "real citizen" as he can do his own farming, sell farm products, consume from his own farm products or move to better landholding. He was very angry while responding to the interview due to the pain of land shortage he currently faces. He said, "do not ask me about the issue of fertilizer or other farming aspects, because I do not have my own land". He is a PSNP participant, but pays for all other social services as like others in the community. Nothing is free for his family, even; free health service is not possible. He served the kebele for 10 years as a militia, but at present he has stopped because personal and family management is demanding his effort. He has participated in many kebele development works like bridges, road improvements and environmental protection tasks. Currently, he has no other role in the community. He is 1-5 group and political party member. He approaches his father for all support.

### **Destitute people**

A destitute male respondent has no home or land resources. The respondent does not have sufficient land resources or wood and other inputs to make a home. He reported that shortage of land is the reason he has no personal home, because, he said, there is no possibility to plant a tree

and no capacity to buy a tree for making a home. There is frequent hunger including his five family members. He purchases maize to eat from the income he earns as a skilled carpenter. The respondent has completed 8th grade of school education. He reported that he has no ox, cow, food for eating, shelter or household utensils.

He has access to water and other infrastructures in the community, but all are public and uniform. He is not using PSNP and is not exempted from social service expenses. As usual as for all the community members, he also pays all possible contributions requested by the kebele. There is no NGO helping him. Since he has no land holding, he is not paying land taxes. He paid school contribution of 10 ETB and made labour contributions free of payment like road improvement and office construction for the kebele. He has no role in the kebele, but he is a member of a 1-5 group as well as a party member. He has not seen any effect of party membership. Like any of the community members, the respondent attends public meetings when the whole community is called for them.

His relatives and his friends support him during very serious hunger in the family by lending some money or grain. He said that his family faced very serious hunger some months ago and he could go to these people one by one to get some support. He could get food for one month and recovered to work to earn some income from his daily labour work. Finally, he could tell that the poverty is very visible and aggravated by land shortage. He wishes to be displaced to resettlement areas.

A destitute woman said her husband died and she sold their farm land to cover the cost of burial ceremony, she has no supporter or farm land. She suffers from hunger. Sometimes she begs food from others. She cuts and carries grass to sell it in the market. It is her main source of income. She travels long distances to get grass and to sell it. Some people do not respect her hunger, and lack of rest exposed her to malaria repeatedly. Her husband died 2 years ago. She sends her 3 children to school, but when they need exercise books and pens she may not have money to meet their needs. In this case they cry and do not want to go to school. Other students laugh at them and their old clothes. As a result of these problems her 3 daughter have gone (migrated) somewhere a week ago. She has benefited from an electric mill, but is not a beneficiary of drinking water, transport or mobile telephone. She is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid programmes. Health extension workers taught her about personal hygiene. She is treated at the health centre, but is not exempted from health payment. She has not received help from NGO or church. She paid 20 birr for land tax. She is not asked for other contributions, since she is poor. She has no role in the kebele, women's association or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member and does not attend meetings. If she wants advice, help and support she goes to neighbours.

### Craftworkers

It was estimated that 5-8% are craftworkers. Craftworking is not encouraged by the community due to 'weak perceptions' of the activities but craftworkers are not undermined as they were in earlier periods. They can cultivate land and marry other community members.

CD is engaged in **blacksmithing**. There are three potters and some people prepare hides and sell them to traders who sell in Addis Ababa. CD said exclusion happens on some social occasions although it is not visible. For example it is rare to marry someone from another category even though the government has created better awareness. There is no visible exclusion related to *iddirs*, *equbs*, or eating together. He said better wealth status helps all categories of family in the community to sit, work or celebrate festival occasions together. Access to interventions depends on landholding and other household assets and not related to clan status. He is a party member though that has not personally helped him.

A **potter** said that there are pottery workers, woodworkers and a number of blacksmiths. They are a family and six in number; potters make pots, cups etc from clay, wood workers make tables, chairs, and beds . Blacksmiths make knives, sickles and ploughing materials etc. They do not have any role in the community. They are not discriminated against in Iddir, or wedding ceremonies, but

intermarriage is not possible. They do not want to make marriage tight with them. They also accept the culture and marry with other craft worker families. They eat and participate in iddir with others. She is not a beneficiary of agriculture advice or livestock extension advice. She does not have cattle. She has not taken any training in NRM. She is a beneficiary of transport, drinking water and electricity (mill). She is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid programmes. She applied to be included in PSNP, but was not included, she is poor. She does not know the reason why is excluded. She is a beneficiary of health extension packages (malaria, latrine, personal hygiene) and the health centre. No one from the household has attended school. She pays when she is treated at the health centre. She does not get help from NGOs or church. She did not contribute cash, kind or labourer, but she contributed 10 birr and 2 eucalyptus tree for the construction of the security post. (Centeriya or small community police station) 5 years ago. She does not have any role in the kebele, women's association, youth association, or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member.

### **'Slaves'**

This category of clan exists but they do not serve in a landlord's home as they did in the past. The term 'slave' is not a significant factor in classifying an individual as vulnerable. In recent times slavery and higher clan status differences are almost removed following strong government interventions on empowering citizens equally. However, they are socially excluded when it comes to marriage.

### **Servants**

It is rare to send children for massive herding of cattle or other household animals. Most households use the grazing land in front of their homes. Due to increasing attention to education by the government rural families' perceptions of child education outweigh the former child labour exploitation for herding or other activities.

A **child herder** said he was currently employed but not on a wage basis. He lives with the family for benefits like clothing, food, shelter, and education. The child herder is living with his supporter. There is no money exchange between his family and his supporter gaining his labour service. He appreciates the family (supporter), because they have improved his life status when compared to his life in his family home. Previously, while he was with his family, the child used to live in a poorer home, eat not on a regular basis, wear not neat clothes and education was not in his life agenda. He serves the family in shift times. If his schooling is in the morning, he serves the family in the afternoon in herding or in household work like fetching water. The child respondent reported that he has equal access to public resources like the family he lives with.

The family where he is serving are better in economic status and support him like one of their permanent family members. He could not distinguish any exclusion from them. There is no other organization helping the child. Health services are provided at their cost, because he is not considered as poor as his original family. He was born in Gara Godo and began child labour work in his earlier childhood, aged 10. He was born to a very poor family and faced various challenges in life. Thus, he approached this richer family for food and they admitted him as a permanent member of their family in order to help them in herding activities and other simpler household work. He is currently a fourth grade student and the family guaranteed he could pursue education in order to improve his personal as well as his family life after better education.

The child is feeling happy to live with the current family, because they have improved his life in good order. He has no other person he asks for advice except his recent family supporting his life, education and all other aspects. Actually, the family supports the child's family during some severe shocks of consumption or income shortages to finance their life. Most of the time, the child is engaged in herding cattle and sometimes he supports other members in fetching water.

An **agricultural labourer** said that bad employers do not supply additional things such as food and coffee in addition to cash payment. Good employers provide coffee, milk and food. He works on others' farm land from January-March. He gets 10 birr per day. He does any kind of work like wood

cutting and wood chopping. He works all days of the week. The payment is very small as compared with the difficulty of the work. He does not use transportation because he has no money to pay for it. There is access to electricity (mill) and drinking water. He has no mobile telephone. He is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid programmes. He has a bednet and washes his clothes and body. He has a latrine and uses it properly. He takes medical treatment at the health centre. Children also have better access to education. He is not exempted from health payments. He has not received help from NGOs or church. He chopped wood, supplied water and made mud when a school was constructed. He is not a party member. He started working as a labourer 6 years ago because he had no other choice and had no other skill, in order to support the economy of household. He started this job when he was 20. Now he is 35 years old. He had been to school in the Derg regime, he was a grade 5 student. He is not going now. He plans to stop this job and wants to start a business like ox fattening. He goes to his brother if he wants advice or help. He has no permanent day to day activities as he explained, but throughout the years he visits the more urban area within the community to find out the above mentioned activities.

A **domestic servant** said she worked as a domestic servant in different towns and in different households for 4 years. Bad employers do not treat servants as human beings: they pay a low salary and kick servants. Before she came to Gara Godo (community) she worked as a servant for another employer. At that time she quarrelled with her employer over a minor issue and the employer refused to pay her salary and she accused her at police station. The police gave a warning to the employer, but she was unwilling to pay her salary and finally by their consent she left that community without any problem as she explained. Regarding servant-kicking, the general descriptions of bad and good employers are as she explained. Good employers treat servants as family members and pay salaries properly. Good employers let servants attend night school. She is working with good employers. She earns 300 birr per month. Except salary there are no other benefits. She is a waitress, serves clients of a restaurant. She works from 8AM up to 10PM, about 12 hours per day and all 7 days of a week. Salary payment is made to her. She did not face any other considerable problem apart from the above explained. She wishes to open her own restaurant. Working on one's own business improves the work situation. She has benefited from transport, electricity and water service, but does not use mobile telephone. That is, in the past there was no transport access, currently she can find it easily, she is getting drinking water nearby, and electricity for mill and lighting. She is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid. Since she has not lived in a constant place, she was not aware about packages, but she uses a latrine properly, keeps personal hygiene etc. She used health centres near to her work place. She has not been to school. She is not exempted from health payments. She did not get help from NGOs or church. She did not participate in voluntary community work. She is not a party member. She started working as a servant in 2007 since her business (flour trading) was not profitable. She is 26 years old. She started the job when she was 20. She plans to work hard and save money to open her own restaurant. If she wants advice she goes to other servants. If she gets problems she goes to police. In September 2010 she accused her employer at the police station because the employer was unwilling to pay her salary. The police gave a warning and ordered the employer to pay her salary, but the employer refused to pay and she went to another place without receiving her salary.

#### **Unmarried mothers, widows, divorcées, wives abandoned by polygynous husbands**

22% of households are headed by women. Women heading households are as equally treated as other women. Some women heading households are supported by the PSNP.

A divorced woman respondent was born in the community and got married to a man who is a resident of the kebele and gave birth to a child. She has never gone out of the community. She has been trading different crops such as maize, teff, coffee etc. But he has one child from another woman. There was high interference by the husband's kin in their marriage and they are the ones who initiated the divorce. As she says, her husband was in a relationship with another woman who lives in Addis Ababa before they got divorced. The couple shared common properties including

farmland and other equipment. He gave his share of farmland to his mother. After they openly divorced, he got married to the woman. Although the woman got a farmland, she had never worked on it. The respondent says that he had been visiting her frequently in times of divorce. After a month of divorce, he apologized and returned to his first wife. However, as she explained, he has continued his relationship with his second wife; he goes to Addis to visit her. The child was not affected by the divorce as his mother has been taking care of him.

She does not have land or identity card. When they divorced they faced problems related to rearing the child as he was confused about what happened between his parents. Besides this, she did not face a problem associated with her marriage. In the future she is planning to build a new dwelling in her homestead area and open a local restaurant. The respondent says that she has never contacted wereda people.

Another poor divorcée said she and her husband had no agreement over different things. Finally, both agreed on divorce. The household has not owned farm land. However when they divorced, they shared whatever they had in common such as livestock, furniture and cooking equipment, but she was selling her milk cow. She is living in Gara Godo with her children in a rented house; living in a rented house with children is difficult. The children dropped out of school. Her husband was poor, did not have income. After she separated from him the living standard of the family was improved. When she was living with her husband she was not happy and he could not afford household consumption. His family members were not happy with the divorce, but they could not change it. She and her children are happy with the divorce. Since she has no farm land or livestock she is not a beneficiary of agriculture-related advice. She has no credit or saving. She is a beneficiary of electricity and drinking water. She is a beneficiary of PSNP too. She is implementing different health packages such as bednet, using latrine, personal hygiene and food hygiene. She has treatment in the health centre. There is a school in the area, but her children do not attend school and they dropped out. She is not exempted from health payments. She has not received help from NGOs or church. She does not pay tax because she has no farm land or business. She makes no contributions in cash, kind or labour. She has no role in the kebele or women's association. She is in a 1-5 cell. Health education is given in 1-5 cells. She is a member of the ruling party, but it does not affect her programme. She attends 1-5 cell meetings which are held once in 15 days. She goes to her neighbours if she wants advice or for help goes to the head of the church, but she does not face any problem which requires others' support.

A poor widow said her husband was illegally migrating to South Africa. He died on the way due to hunger, but the real cause of his death is not known. He did not receive any medical treatment. He was a polygamist. The burial ceremony was held at the oldest wife's house. As a result of this she does not know the cost, but his body did come home. She does not know about burial ceremony cost. The household livelihood and income was reduced, and as a result of this her children are exposed to hunger and she cannot meet her children's schooling costs. Household expenditure has also changed. After she became a widow, the household expenditure on different food items, clothes and other related necessities, has reduced. Looking after the children is her responsibility. She sells oranges at the market. She has also works providing water with a donkey. She has two children who learn in primary school. Sometimes they are dropping out from school due to hunger and other problems. There is no disagreement with his family. Since she has no farm land, she does not get any agriculture-related advice. Sometimes she uses transport. She uses an electric mill. At first officials permitted her to be a beneficiary of PSNP and then they cancelled her name from the list saying the quota was filled. She uses the health centre for any health problem. They start learning at the school whenever the conditions improve. She pays for health service. There is no help from NGO or church. She does not pay tax since she has no farm land. She did not contribute in cash or kind. She has no role in women's organization or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member and does not attended meetings. She goes only to her neighbours. As she explained that she has no relative in the community, if she needs advice, has a problem or needs help, she goes to the nearest neighbour.

Another poor widow said her husband died of liver problems on May 14, 2011. He used to drink alcohol. He had not received medical treatment because of economic problem. The cost of the burial ceremony was about 600 birr. He was an employee of Oxfam. After he died the salary stopped. As a result of this the income and livelihood of the household decreased. The expenditure has reduced. Following his death three children dropped out from school. Though the economic problem is aggravated, there is no disagreement within the household members. She does not get any advice on agriculture, livelihood, or NRM, or vet assistance. She has no livestock and she does not know about why other advice is not given. She received wheat and oil from the food aid programme 3 years ago. She has benefited from transport, drinking water and electricity. She has a latrine and bednet. She uses the health centre to for treatment; her children were attending school, even though now they have dropped out. She is exempted from health payments. She does not get help from NGOs or church. She did not pay tax for the land because she gave the land to another person as a contract. She contributes to Wolayita Development Association and Ethiopian Red Cross, 5 birr for each. She also contributed labour and 3 pieces of wood for primary school construction. She has no role in kebele, women's association or and 1-5 cells. For any advice, problems or help she goes to her relative who live in Sodo (the capital of Wolayita zone).

### **Divorced men**

YF and AA were a couple one year ago, but now they have divorced. She instigated the divorce due to a life challenge solely managed by her. Her husband was not supporting her to manage the family. She preferred to live independently since she was running her life alone. They had a house constructed with corrugated iron sheet, 3 cattle, half hectare land, coffee, eucalyptus, avocado, mango, and other trees. He had two wives, but the senior one left home and went to another area with one of her children. She left 5 children with him. The one divorced from him shared family resources of 1300 birr. She has also received an equal resource share, because half of the children are living with her. He reported that life is challenging, because he is used to work in all household activities. He feeds his children living with him. There is additional expenditure due to food purchase from the market when there nothing to eat in the home. All his children living with him are pursuing their studies. However, he faces some pain to manage his family.

He said, "Frankly speaking there is no discrimination from the kebele during fertilizer or improved seed distributions or any other social services". Access to other social services is as it was before the divorce. He has not come across any NGO support. He had paid 43 birr for tax, which includes other contributions like Red Cross Society and Wolayita Development Association membership. He contributes his labour time for development activities in the kebele which give no wage or food support. He is "cell leader" and 1-5 group and party member. When called to public meetings by kebele officials, he attends the meetings. BL is his neighbour who regularly supports him with ideas. He regularly contacted him to get advice relating to the divorce initiated by one of his wives. He helped him much with legal advice relating to the divorce. The person supporting him with ideas was one of the go-betweens and received the case from the wereda court and handled the case with one of the elders selected from both sides.

### **Outcasts**

There is no norm to eject people from the community for bad behaviour.

### **PLWHAs**

A poor woman interviewee said that As a person living with HIV/AIDS, she gives attention much more than the rich and the middle woman. She is seriously employing each and every disease prevention and control measures. An NGO adopted her four children and they are in Addis Ababa attending primary school and living in better conditions.

There is a man suspected of having HIV/AIDS but he has not disclosed. Thus, the kebele people could not allow the interviewers to ask the person. The kebele officials could mention some aspects of the

signs from the suspected person, like using medical service outside the community. They have information about this person and a few other people who are very much secret about their use of ART. Thus, the RO could not break the research ethics regarding local norms and human subject's right to participate in research activities. The consent of the kebele officials was asked, but they feared to take into account this kind of interview, which would spoil their social life.

However, they could give some information about the person's life situation. His brother was also asked about the person, not in direct way. He could manage the secret and not be willing to disclose information about his use of ART. He is an ex-soldier and might have been infected during battle. The RO could discuss with the kebele officials that there is still some stigma in the community in relation to diseases like HIV/AIDS, fistula and other sexually transmitted diseases. A person who is very poor and cannot go to other places as a stranger gradually discloses the case and those who can afford the cost directly go to other places to get health services where there is no one who knows the person. Thus, they related this person with the same situation. The kebele manager did not allow me to interview him since he was not willing to disclose the issue. Therefore, I could only take rough information from the kebele manager.

### **Orphans/ stepchildren**

Around 10% were estimated to be orphans and respondents said that an increasing number of orphans face a shortage of the necessary accommodation. Some orphans are taken to the adoption centre at Wolayita Sodo. The proportion of orphans has increased during the last ten years. Some are taken to an adoption centre in Sodo.

### **Elderly people without relatives to help them**

10-15% of people are old and need support; they do not have sufficient care. The proportion of elderly people increased over the last ten years. Old people are supported by the PSNP.

An elderly woman said she has been living here since she came with her husband and she has no children. Production of crops is reduced. She does not get enough income to live on. She has no one to go if she needs support. No one visits her even when she is sick. She is not a beneficiary of agricultural extension advice and is not a beneficiary of NRM advice. She has no livestock. She uses electricity for lighting and mill. The source of drinking water is not near to the house. She is not a beneficiary of PSNP or other food aid programmes. She has a latrine, use a bednet, and covers food with clean cloth. She gets medical treatment at the health centre. There is access to education in the area, but she has no children to educate. She is not exempted from health payments. She has not received food aid from NGOs or church. She paid 20 birr for the tax on farm land. She contributed to Wolayita Development Association, sport and Ethiopian Red Cross Association 5, 3 and 5 birr respectively. She has made no contribution in labour or in kind. She has no role in the kebele, women's association or 1-5 cells. She is not a party member and does not attend meetings. If the household need help she goes to Hawariat church and asks for support. She has not faced any problem because she is a woman.

### **Genderage**

#### **Growing up in 'Community' – boys and girls**

##### **Birth and infancy**

Newborn infants feed from breastmilk. Later they eat what the family is eating. Five years ago they drank cows' milk in addition. Small children eat a balanced diet if possible. Child-rearing practices have not changed; infants and babies feed on breast milk and others eat any food available at the table. The poor wife had a baby a year ago. The extension workers advised her to feed him solid food but she does not yet do so. The others eat all kinds of food.

### **Growing up – work and play**

Child work has decreased; they attend school but starting from about 3 years of age they help the family with different work such as herding animals, and collecting firewood and grass for cattle. In the last ten years child labour abuse is decreasing.

### **Completing education**

In the past families did not sent their children to school at the right ages. Now most boys are enrolled in school aged 6 and girls aged 8 according to the poor wife. Education opportunities are good but graduates are missing jobs. People used to go to Areka, Boditi and Sodo for high school but now secondary school is available in Gara Godo and distance learning in Areka.

The poor young man (30) said that in the past there was a very high rate of dropout from schools; now the follow-up of dropouts is very surprising. Teachers themselves now worry about dropouts. The rich young man (25) said that attention to education was very good even when he was 13; but the number of teenagers studying now is very many compared with his experience. A poor young man (21) said that students from poorer families have to participate in business in order to support their livelihood. Due to better access to education there is tight competition among students but those engaged in more than one activity cannot compete with those who are solely involved in education.

### **Adolescence and youth**

Young people today need friendship rather than to form a family and have children. There is concern from the government urging youth participation in development or other social affairs which did not exist in earlier periods.

A middle-wealth young man (19) said the general problems of both boys and girls are lack of good access to fresh information, recreational centres, income-earning activities and active involvement in creative activities.

### **Growing up male in ‘Community’**

#### **Circumcision**

The wife of the vice-chair circumcised her son in the traditional way but in future plans to use health facilities. The middle-wealth wife said that the health centre does not circumcise boys at the time the parents want so some people do it the traditional way. The rich woman household head said she circumcised her sons in a private clinic and the poor woman household head used the health centre.

#### **Boys’ work**

Boys aged 3-12 participate in cattle herding. Once they are 12 they are doing farmwork while also attending school.

#### **Completing education**

Young men in their thirties combined education with income-generating activities. For example the rich young man (30) repaired bicycles while the middle-wealth young man (30) who was the oldest and had five younger brothers, went to Nurer for daily labour work. He said it was not attractive to live without a job and the situation strongly pushed him to depart to look for daily work. He completed Grade 10 in 2008 but his grade was not sufficient to join further college study. He supported his family in many aspects because he was the oldest. He used to work on his father’s farm in the morning and go to school in the afternoon. After a few years while he was at school he began small trading and earned 2000 *birr*. He bought a donkey for 450 *birr* but it was stolen; 600 *birr* was also stolen one market day.

A poor young man living in Gara Godo town is working in a DSTV rental shop for 200 *birr* for income to help with his school expenses. He said there was shortage of support for orphans and dropout

was a result of lack of support.

#### **Sexual initiation**

The rich young man (25) said that these days interest in girls begins at an early age but he could not do the same as the others as he is shy when talking to girls. The rich young man (18) said there is earlier sex by many of the boys at school which is new. He had a sexual experience with a girl three years ago; she is his neighbour and studying in the same school. She has an interest to get married after completing study in the long future.

A middle-wealth boy of 19 said that he began love of a girl near his family home a year ago but he has not proposed; he plans to marry her after completing college study. He is in Grade 8 and has no income-earning experience outside of education.

The poor young man (17) said having a friend is very important for both sexual and health requirements, but he has no-one. He plans to marry the present girlfriend after some years when he has a better livelihood.

#### **Leisure activities and bad habits**

There is a severe shortage of recreation facilities for youth. One man said that drinking, chewing chat and some kinds of theft are not eliminated but there is now better security. The wife in the poor household said that bad habits among young men have increased. The rich girl (17) said young men are exposed to criminal activities.

#### **Finding work – economic independence**

The rich young man (30) said that earlier boys mostly supported their families but these days there is freedom to get involved in personal business. Now there is positive peer pressure to study or engage in personal business. However, there is a high concentration of boys in the area and many of them search for readymade job options rather than creating their own. This is also affected by lack of seed money. There is an emerging idea that young people can get credit access and launch personal or group enterprises which is new for older people. His aspiration is to pursue his education and be involved in government office work. He wants to send his children to university.

Land resources are very limited and it is not easy to run a personal life except through education or working in non-farm jobs. There is better access to education but many of them are job-seekers. There is lack of creating their own jobs. They do not understand their weaknesses.

The middle-wealth young man (30) said that farming system improvements have been very important for traders like him as the increase in production opens a great opportunity to supply the market at better prices.

The rich young man (25) said that young men ask their family for land to do their own income-earning activities. In the past they used to work according to their family's orders; now they are self-administering.

The rich young man (18), who is the son of the vice-chair, rents a motor-bicycle from Gara Godo to Areka; he was given the bike by relatives. He is in Grade 9 and plans to study at college. He has no work experience outside education because he is not allowed to run other activities except education. His aspiration for the community is that there should be better access to food, shelter and clothing; many community members lack at least one of these three important aspects of basic life.

The poor young man (17) said the work environment in the area is very stagnant; he found his job in the DSTv rental shop through a relative. He is intimate with the kebele chairman for every kind of advice and the business he is engaged in. He lives in his workplace because he is financing all his expenses from his wage. In 2011 he went to Addis Ababa with his friends for daily labour work but was sick and his friends contributed for transport for him to come home. He is now a Grade 6

student and chose to repeat the grade to improve his academic performance. He has a plan to go to University.

The rich woman (30) said that in earlier times young men were forced to help the family in farming and it was their main activity with only a few young men having a chance for education. Now young participate in business and provide transport services such as donkeycarts and motorbikes. These opportunities were not available when she was young.

The rich young women (mid-20s) said that young men not only work on the farm as they did in her days but also on off-farm activities. They migrate to other areas at a higher rate than they did when she was an adolescent.

The middle-wealth girl of 17 said that young men's land size has decreased. They work on farms and other daily labour and as kebele militia, soldiers etc.

### **Getting married**

In the past families were involved in finding a wife; there was rape and forced marriage. The poor youth (30) said that in the past young people married in order to get land from their family. These days staying with the family and inheriting a piece of land is not so desirable; many young people now want to pursue education or run a business and engage in friendship with schoolgirls and boys rather than marriage.

Early marriage (under 20) has decreased. Young men do not dare to engage in marriage due to shortage of resources. They can marry anyone they like. They are not willing to marry unless they are from a richer family.

The middle-wealth young man (30) plans to marry his girlfriend in the near future. He plans to strengthen his retail trade with sufficient capital and launch another business in Gara town besides pursuing college education in a distance learning programme.

The poor young man (30) is not married so far because he cannot even finance his personal life. He does not have a girlfriend. He has no personal home and no work. He lives with his widowed mother and five younger siblings. He completed Grade 10 last year but the result was not sufficient to pursue college study. He used to do family farming alongside his education. At present he is a very strong religious follower (MuluWengel) and leading the church as a teacher. The church helped him during his education by giving him stationery and gives him some cash for serving the church. He aspires to pursue college education, continue his religious job and establish a shop in Gara Godo; and get married once these are achieved.

### **Establishing an independent household**

Young men can set up independent households but most live with their parents until they get married. After marriage they start their own life by having a separate house, usually near their parents' house. The rich young man (30) said that boys are less interested to marry early and not eager to own land unless they are getting married. The family are forced to allot a portion of land to a boy if he is forming his own family. His father died when he was four. He completed Grade 10 and working simultaneously on bicycle maintenance for some years. He has been involved in business activities including renting and maintaining bicycles, retail trade and carpentry. At present he is busy with retail trade in maize, coffee, *boloke*, and *teff*. He married in 1999 and had his first child in 2003; now he has four. He has many friends engaged in similar business; they all support each other, for example lending money.

The middle-wealth young man (30) said that in the past youth had no clear awareness about their right to resources; but today young people are very conscious of the rights and responsibilities of the citizen.

The rich young man (25) said that some of the present generation of young men in their late teens

are highly dependent on their families because they are busy with education; earlier young men were also engaged in income-earning activities. However others are working micro businesses in Gara Godo town including shoeshine boys, motorbicycle renting and Jotone/table tennis renting. He is a shopkeeper in Gara Godo town and lives with his parents and three younger siblings. He has completed Grade 10 and would like to attend further college studies in the near future. He began trading in the market place while he was a Grade 8 student.

A poor young man (21) said he is a Grade 9 student who has lived with his parents all his life. He has plan to go to college to change his life. He has no work experience and has not started any kind of relationship of interest with girls.

The rich girl (17) said young men who work on their own businesses or as daily labourers have independent households but most young men students live with their parents.

### **Having children**

In the past there was a weak perception of family planning by young men. Now child-bearing is not the primary agenda; couples stay for a few years without children until they have ensured their livelihood. Two (unmarried) young men said that it is up to the husband to decide when to have a child. The rich young woman (mid-twenties) said now husbands have children in discussion with their wives.

### **Community participation**

Highly disciplined youth are respected and people accept that they want to say. In the past young men were not involved in social and political affairs but now such involvement is becoming accepted in public. There is at least a voice for boys in public affairs.

Boys now have the firm right to follow their own religion which was not the case earlier when involvement in family religion was common. Now each family member may belong to a different religious fellowship. Boys are participating better in religion which is partly influenced by education. Many young people are engaging in religious leadership.

The rich young man (30) said that now all community members have some kind of awareness about politics which was not the case some years ago. Party membership is compulsory and he is engaged in it. He is part of the youth association whose establishment is under way.

The rich young man (25) said that the current generation of teens are better in community participation. They have a kind of freedom to express their interests and they are aware of their legal rights. They have better information about the external environment because they have a chance to follow TV and other information sources.

The middle-wealth young man (25) said there is still a tradition to exclude teenagers from community decisions considering them too young to involve in public matters. Families prefer teen involvement in religious affairs to other recreation as it leads to better behaviour so involvement in any church programme is accepted.

Now young men participate in the construction of roads and schools. They do not respect elders. The middle-wealth woman (30) said participation in social life and religion has improved. Young men were not allowed to preach but now they do and lead committees. They are not ready to listen to what elders or parents say to them. They do what they want to do.

### **Growing up female in Gara Godo**

#### **Circumcision**

The wife of the vice-chairman said that girls are not circumcised; but then that they are usually circumcised between the ages of 7 and 12. Government has banned circumcision because it creates problems during pregnancy and delivery but due to negatives attitudes towards uncircumcised girls

some people want to continue circumcising their daughters. If a girl is not circumcised those who are and their mothers can insult the girl and her mother. Five of her daughters have been circumcised. She has not circumcised her 8 year-old daughter but has fears about her.

One of the wives of the successful farmer said that girls are circumcised between the ages of 3 and 10. Some people want to continue circumcising their daughters to protect them from stigmatisation in the market, water-fetching area and school. She said she plans not to circumcise her last daughter.

The middle-wealth farmer's wife said that circumcision is not practised on most of the girls. They are circumcised when they are less than 10; it causes problems during delivery but some want to continue the practice so the daughters are not insulted by circumcised girls. In the ceremony people contribute money for the household and some people want just to get back the money they gave to other households in the past. If her daughters had not been circumcised she would not have done it. Her husband said female circumcision is becoming rare though there are some who send daughters to a relative's home saying she is sick.

The wife in the poor household said that circumcision has stopped. They are circumcised at an early age and it takes place in the backyard. She had already circumcised two of her daughters before the ban; she said she plans not to circumcise any more daughters (she doesn't have any?).

The richer woman household head said girls are circumcised at different ages depending when the parents have enough money for the ceremony. In this area it is done during Meskel and some people want to continue since they believe uncircumcised girls misbehave, break equipment etc. All her daughters have been circumcised but now she does not want to circumcise her grand-daughters and wants to respect the government ban. The poor woman household head said circumcision is practised during the Meskel festival in backyards inside *enset*. She said the ban is good but she is still not sure about her youngest daughter.

### **Girls' work**

Girls from 7-12 fetch water, collect firewood, herd cattle, clean the house and after 12 they do domestic work helping their mothers in cooking food, washing clothes etc and work on the farm. They are also attending school. They can do different kinds of work depending on their skills and the competition. The middle wealth girl of 16 said that girls work in domestic work and farm work but the burden is not like that of 10 years ago. Their participation in office work, daily labour and trade has improved.

### **Completing education**

The number of young women attending school has increased and their attitude to education has improved. Many do business besides education if their family is weak in supporting their purchases. They have knowhow about the importance of schooling through observing older brothers and sisters who joined college or university with better results.

The rich young woman in her mid-twenties lived in a nearby kebele with her family; she attended school by travelling from home to Gara Godo. She completed Grade 10 and supported her family with domestic and farm work.

The poor young woman in her mid-20s said that attending private college or university depends on the economic background of the parents.

### **Sexual initiation**

The rich young woman (30) said when she was a girl sexual attacks were considered normal and the right of men but now it has improved. Girls are not economically strong and want to follow fashions; this may expose them to migration or prostitution.

The middle-wealth young woman (35) said she had her first sexual experience with a boy in her

neighbourhood when she was about 15. She married her husband 20 years ago by her own choice; a person sent elders to her parents to discuss it and she got her parents' permission.

The rich young woman (mid-20s) started taking an interest in boys when she was 15; her husband was her first boyfriend and she had her first sexual experience with him. She chose him and wanted to get married and he asked her and she agreed. He sent church elders to her parents and they agreed; she was married in February 2011 and in December was eight months pregnant with their first child. She has been helping him in his shop. She wants to continue her education after having the child. She plans to expand her husband's shop and send her child to a better school.

A young man said that there is now little chance to rape a girl when she is coming from school, market-place or her neighbourhood as there was in the past. Adolescent girls attending school are exposed to friendships with boys and early sexual practice.

Now girls have access to contraceptives and can determine the time of having a child and the number of children.

#### **Leisure activities and bad habits**

The middle-wealth woman (30) said that when she was an adolescent girl if they made any mistakes parents would punish them harshly, but now girls discuss with parents to solve problems.

Young women have recreation in cultural dances and songs. On some occasions they do unsafe sex and become pregnant. The head of the poor household said it is still taboo for females to have recreation in public areas; they should stay at home even if they have spare time.

#### **Finding work – economic independence**

Family support is not the major duty for girls now. The competition to find a good job is high and as a result they work on construction as daily labourers.

The rich young woman married her husband against her mother's wishes and after she moved to Gara Godo started a restaurant (7 years ago).

The poor young woman in her mid-20s lost her parents when she was a child. After they died she lived in their home at Dache with the help of neighbours and relatives; she married when she was about sixteen. Her husband was by her choice. He left her and went to another place. She came to Gara Godo in 2007 in search of work and started working as a servant. She has a baby son in 2009 and he is living with her sister; she is working as a cook. Her employer is her important person. Her aspiration is to send her child to a better school and to achieve this she works hard and saves money.

#### **Getting married**

There is two-way communication between girls and boys for friendship and getting married.

Early and forced marriage has decreased. Girls do not marry at an early age or without their choice. They can choose their husbands and the time when they get married. They like to marry as early as possible if they are not in education. If they return from education without sufficient grades to pursue further studies they get married.

The rich young woman (30) said that now girls can determine their marriage time and choose their partner. Her mother chose a husband for her and tried to force her to marry him. She refused and married her current husband by her own choice; her mother and relatives were not happy. She now has seven children. She plans to open new restaurants, send her children to a better school and improve the living standard of the family.

The poor young woman said she married her husband 20 years ago. He took her forcefully home and married her; at the time she was a 13 year old virgin. Beyond her husband were the hands of her mother and father who motivated him to take her as his wife. She lived with him for about eight

years and then he died and now she is a widow. She did not go to school but started her own petty trade business ten years ago.

The middle-wealth young women in her mid-20s married her husband in 2009. She was born in the kebele but lived for a while in Addis Ababa with her aunt. She completed Grade 6. She did not choose her husband and did not want to get married; he forcefully took her to another place and married her. Her parents were not happy and want her to come back home and divorce him. She lives with him and her child who was born in August 2011. She has been working in her husband's shop since September. Her aspirations are to open her own business, crop trading, and educating herself and her child properly.

### **Establishing an independent household**

A woman said that young women cannot set up independent households unless they are married. However the rich young man (30) said that if a young woman is involved in trade she can rent accommodation in the town area.

### **Having children**

Getting pregnant before marriage is taboo. Getting pregnant before marriage is decreasing as young women have been made aware about contraceptive methods.

The poor young woman in her 30s has lost five of her eight children to death. Two boys died from choking and a girl from diarrhoea. The other two died of different diseases. She lives in fear of losing her remaining three children.

### **Community participation**

Young women have a voice in the community and are participating in different issues though they rarely exercise their rights. The successful man said that there is principle and advocacy about women's equality but it at grass-roots level women voice is not yet accepted.

The rich woman (30) said when she was young unmarried girls were not allowed to participate in wedding or burial ceremonies but this has changed. She said she did not want to be a party member but conditions obliged her to be a member of the women's association.

### **Gender inequities**

The poor FHH said that the situation of women in the community has changed. Women know about HTPs. Most of them avoid HTPs. She partially accepts avoiding HTPs. Women have access to land. They share land, equipment and wealth equally. Widows have the right to lead their household and farm land and to look after their child. Women work in different places to improve their incomes. There are women who are active participants in local politics and become leaders. Their ability to carry out hard work, decision making ability etc. are some of the areas in which women get recognition from men, women and government. Young women have better access to education but a job is not obtained easily. There is no early or forced marriage. They can marry any one they love and choose as their spouse. There is no independent house for young women, they live with other family members. The number getting pregnant before marriage has reduced because some of them use contraceptive methods. The number of new HIV/AIDS affected young women has decreased. They are better aware about protection. Women have no recreation place, but they have recreation in different ways like playing. They know their rights. Most of them do not participate in community affairs. The voice has an insignificant effect on the decision making process.

The richer FHH said the women in the community have changed in various aspects. Regarding HTPs they know about their effects and do not want to practice them. Women have access to land. They know and exercise their rights. Women take their share of land, equipment and other wealth after divorce. They also decide on the children's futures. The widows know and exercise their rights. They are responsible for the children, therefore inherit the property and land of their husbands and lead

their households without the intervention of others. Women can do whatever they want to do. Many women participate in trade, daily labour work etc. They also spend money on anything they like. They borrow money from OMO microfinance institution to start their job. The political participation of women has improved. They participate in women's league, association etc. Women have recognition from men and others in their ability to make decisions, lead households, participate in construction, farming, government work , etc. Young women's access to education and their school enrolment has improved. Getting good work requires a lot of effort. For any job, priority is given to women. Women can marry by their choice. Early marriage has been reduced. They can set up independent households. But most of them live in their parents' house. Getting pregnant before marriage has been reduced because they use one of the contraceptive methods. Young women's awareness towards HIV/AIDS transmission and protection methods has increased. As a result of this new HIV/AIDS cases among young women have reduced. There is no recreational place but, they have recreation in talking, singing with friends. They have had a voice in community affairs. They are participating in political, social and economic issues.

The vice-chair said that there is better know-how about women's rights in the community and themselves. Information about HTPs regarding females has been clearly promoted. Land rights are now a visible fact for females. Legal protection is in good order and those who violated it as usual were punished, which has drawn some lessons for others. Many women who have good education background becoming leaders in many public sectors, as an example he recalled the school director - Lebenesh. Socio-economic positions of the women are good, but socio-cultural strengths need some interventions. There is improvement to look them as not weaker, but it has not been generally accepted. Young women like to marry as early as possible if they are not in education. Males are better with regard to voice to be heard than females. Many are getting married as well as pregnant in the earlier periods of their marriage. There is clear information about HIV/AIDS, but there is the same situation as for young males young people with regard to practice.

His wife said that women's awareness about HTPs has improved. They have been reducing the practice of HTPs. Women have rights to land. They cultivate their own farm land. Following divorce women ask for their share of land, equipment and other wealth. The case can be seen by the community elders or social courts. They can take half the property. Widows also have the right to manage the household and the farm of their deceased husbands. They have right to look after their children. Women's participation in different economic activity increased. They have the right to generate their own income and spend it based on their own decisions. Women lead households in a better way. They are strong in farming. There are a lot of women chosen as model farmers and who become champions. The numbers of young women attending school has increased. Their attitude toward education has also improved. They can do different kinds of work depending on their skills and the competition. Young women can choose their husbands and they can also decide the marriage time. Young women cannot set up an independent household unless they are married. Young women are aware about contraceptive methods, furthermore getting pregnant before marriage is taboo. They are also aware about HIV/AIDS. They can protect themselves from the disease. New HIV cases among young women have been reduced. They have recreation in cultural dances and songs. Young women have a voice in the community. They are participating in different issues.

A poor farmer said that HTPs, access to land, divorce rights, widows' rights participation in economic resources are better introduced to the community as harmful for women livelihoods. There is better legal protection for women. The young females are not like the males. There is a lack of jobs for many of them, but they prefer to form their own family and marry as early as possible. It is still taboo for females to have recreation in public areas, they better stay at home though they have spare time. Lessons are given in many options for all categories of the community.

His wife said that women are not circumcised. It will reduce problems related to circumcision. Government has created better conditions for women to exercise their rights to land, divorced and

widows. The implementation depends on the strength of the women. There is a lot of economic access for women. They can participate in farm, business, or daily labour work. Women's ability in leadership positions and in farm work is recognized. Young women have better access to education. They have been encouraged to attend school. They get good work competing with the young men. Early marriage and forced marriage have been reduced. They can choose their marriage partner. They are protecting themselves from pregnancy before marriage and HIV/AIDS. There is no recreational place. They have recreation in different traditional ways such as singing and playing.

A champion farmer said that HTPs are being reduced, women's land ownership rights have been introduced, divorce or widow's property rights are clearly known, women's resource/asset ownership is also known, many women are coming up in political positions, and women are becoming conscious about their strength. His wife said that women are made aware about HTPs. Female circumcision has largely decreased. Some women have their own land. Divorced women have also started to exercise their right to an equal share of land and property. Widows have inherited the wealth of their deceased husbands. They lead the household and manage farm land. A lot of women have started their own businesses. There are credit facilities to support women's economic activities. Women are participating in politics, and better performance of women in government office work, farm land, peace and security are the main areas in which women get recognition.

### **Age inequities**

A poor FHH said that young men get better access to education, but finding good job is still challenging. Government should create job opportunities. Youth can get married to one he loves and wants to live with. Youth also live with family members (old girls and child) together. Young men who have developed bad habits are increasing over time. This is the result of unemployment. They know how protect against HIV/AIDS. Some of them use protective methods, others do not. But the number of new HIV/AIDS cases has reduced. There is no recreational place for the young men. They have voice in the community affairs but, their voice is dominated by elders. Some of them also do not have interest in participating in such cases.

A richer FHH said that there is better education access for young men. Finding good work is difficult, but they can work by organizing in different packages. Most young men live in the house together with other family members, but when he marries a young man leads an independent household. Drinking alcohol and chewing chat are developing. New HIV/AIDS cases among young men have been reduced because they know about protection methods. They have recreation by drinking and chewing chat. They have a right and voice in the community.

A middle-wealth woman said that young men have better access to education; finding a good job is difficult. They get married to girls they love. They live with their parents mostly, but they set up independent households after marriage. The bad habits developing in young men are increasing over time. New HIV/AIDS cases are reduced. They have recreation with drinking. They have a voice in community affairs. Their participation is also improving.

The vice-chair said that there is better access to education, but many of them are job-seekers. Indeed, they do not dare to engage in marriage with shortage of resources. They need their own life, but land resources are very limited and it is not easy to run a personal life, except through education or working in other non-farm related jobs. Drinking, chewing chat, or some kinds of theft are not eliminated from the community; however, there is better security in the community. At present, no young person is misinformed about HIV/AIDS issues, but they are reluctant about the implementations of the awareness they have. Indeed, there is severe shortage for youth of recreation facilities in the community. There is no exceptional voice of the youth, but those highly disciplined youth are frankly respected and people accept what they want to say. His wife said that young men have a variety of education access. Getting a good job requires a lot of effort, but they can work in different packages. They can marry any one they like. Most young men live with their

parents until they marry. After marriage they start their own life by having a separate house, mostly near to their parents' house. Bad habits are the major problem for young men. They know all about how HIV/AIDS is reduced. There is no recreational place for them. They recreate by drinking and chewing chat. They have a voice in the community affairs.

A poor farmer said that young men are highly involved in education activities, but very many lack job opportunities. They are not happy to form new families and marriage due to lack of sufficient assets. There is some irregular behaviour among the younger people due to lack of subsistence jobs. There is no recreation centre in the community for rural people, but some are available in Gara Godo town. The issues concerning HIV/AIDS are well promoted; however, there is still negligence by many of them. His wife said that young men have better access to education. They have different work packages. Most young men marry by their choice and have independent households after marriage. Bad habits among them have increased. They have recreation by drinking and playing with friends. Young men have better voice in community affairs. New cases of HIV/AIDS have been reduced.

A champion farmer said that education opportunities are good, but graduates are missing jobs. The young are not willing to marry if they are not from a better off family. There is lack of creating their own jobs, the young people develop bad habit. Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is severe with respect to young people. There is no recreation centre for younger people. They do not understand their weaknesses. His wife said that young men have better access to education. Finding good work is difficult, but they can participate in small scale enterprise packages. There is no problem in getting married except the economic problem. Young men can set up independent households, but most of them live with their parents. The spread of bad habits among young men is increasing. Young men are made aware about HIV/ AIDS. New HIV infection is reduced. They have recreation in different ways. Some of them spend their time drinking and chewing chat. Young men have a voice on community issues.

The middle-wealth young man (30) said that the young now have better life options than there were in earlier times when education was not easy to access and farming one's own land was not taken for granted.

### ***Social equity interventions***

#### **Assistance to poor people**

There are no health cost or other fee exemptions for poor people. A wereda official said that the poorer and weak are given priority to be supported in any of the interventions targeting the community. Community supports their livelihood costs during serious vulnerability to income shocks, housing if fallen, food during hungry.

A kebele official said that vulnerable women suffering poverty, destitute or disease have been supported in the kebele in cooperation with wereda offices and NGOs. The kebele recommends and supports these women to the right organisation for support or helps them in initiating the community to support them in constructing their home. Another official said that There are at least 137 HHs which are poorer and supported by PSNP and/or World Vision Ethiopia (NGO). They are selected by community members as eligible to receive support. Grain and oil support is occasionally provided during shock seasons. However, a few poor community members who seek support are excluded due to the quota to support in the intended programme. Another kebele official said that although 34% of the households in the community are landless poor none them get support except some benefit from C/FFW.

A poor man said that poorer people are becoming dependent on those very small-scale support programmes. Food-aid is a temporary intervention and very limited too few people in the kebele, however, there are many people who are vulnerable to poverty and some are destitute. For example, people who are suffering from diseases and malnutrition are supported by NGOs like USAID, IMC, and Red Barna.

### **Interventions to help vulnerable people**

A wereda official said that in Boloso Sore Wereda a street child empowerment programme is weak or not available. Nowadays, due to the democratization and the development of awareness on human rights, there is no class difference between mankind. Discrimination and social exclusion have been removed approximately to 90%. Ethnic differences are approximately limited factor in marriage partnerships. Wealth and the two partners' interest dominate the matter of marriage decisions. For example, in Boloso Sore Wereda, there were two marriage cases happened with ethnic mismatches between males and females. The cases were handled by Wereda justice office. Finally the decision was laid on the partners' interest to marry. However, the elders in the community have not yet removed the attitude inherited from the elder families.

Another wereda official said that disabled adults and children, mentally ill and their families, too old people, and orphans get aid in the form of either cash, food or both from Catholic Church and Wolayita Development Association. With the help of the aid they live relatively better lives. The vulnerable groups do not get regular support. There should be organized intervention to help these vulnerable people.

A kebele official said that in the community 10% of the people are disabled adults and children who demand support. Both the kebele and NGO intervention to support them are not sufficient, but a few of them receive support in the form of food aid, exemption of health costs or constructing their home if failed. The change is not significant and the interventions have no sustainability feature. However, these portions of community feel themselves as eligible to receive support targeting the poor segment of the community. Intervention in different forms and amount would help their livelihood. There are very few individuals (not beyond 3 in number) suffering from mental illness in the community. The kebele helped them in giving support letter for free health service.

This day, orphans have some NGO interventions in a near town. We recommend organisations willing to support them. Women heading households may request kebele community to help house construction if she has oldest shelter falling. Craft workers are not exposing them as productive section of the community due to poorer perceptions developed in earlier periods. However, there have been interventions on awareness creation about people who are vulnerable (slaves, child herder, agricultural labour, domestic servants, migrants, sex workers) and demand support. Very elder people have still the perception of class difference among family in the community. For example, slave is reflected during marriage partner requests.

Another kebele official said there are a total of 57 vulnerable people in the community. 14 of them are disabled people, 3 mentally ill, and 40 old people needing support. None of them, however, get any support from the kebele nor other organization, governmental or NGO.

A group of men said that it is not usual but disabled people suffering from sleeping sickness are supported by *Redd Barna* and child orphans get nutrition and other logistic support from NGOs.

A rich man said that we have knowledge about people who are vulnerable: disabled adults and child, mentally ill people and their child, old people needing support, orphans, women heading households, crafts makers, slaves, child herders, agricultural labourers, domestic servants, sex workers and migrants. These all are the categories of people who seek support due to their respective problems. Truly speaking, there are interventions for some of these people categories among the many listed here. It is no common practice to help sex workers rather the community is not in a position to treat this kind of individuals. These days, there is no as such popular class of people to be called higher class and slave. However, those who have good wealth rank in the community are influential and slavery is now not into people's consideration to say he/she seeks support.

Some NGOs are highly interested to support the orphans in the community. Agricultural labourers are also eligible to receive support if he/she has a health problem and is unable to support his/her

own livelihood. The support of these categories of people should be well structured and designed for sustainable changes. The interventions are rather inviting some more people who can work and change their livelihoods, but it is not good to seek support from NGOs which are creating dependency syndrome. My suggestion for improvements is a stronger attempt to engage these categories of people into productive activities if there is a possibility to change their capabilities. A poor farmer said that

A middle-wealth farmer said that in the community disabled adults, orphans, old people needing support, widows, or people facing a challenging disease are socially accepted for support and many NGOs give them nutrition, food-aid, cash or free health care. A poor farmer said we people moving and looking healthy have also hidden burdens of life. We accept these people are poorer due to other reasons, but some people are poor due to severe shortages of land resources. I suggest that the supports of NGOs or other government interventions are not sufficient and effective. For example, the crafts people are still vulnerable to social exclusions even though there is awareness creation to consider these activities as a kind of income earning and respected means of job creation. The problem is that the awareness creation should be supported with innovative productive instruments and changing those traditional approaches to modern means of productions.

Agricultural labour is a compulsory duty in the rural areas, because these people are lacking land resources and engaged in labour selling activities. Some people also migrate to urban areas for daily labour works due to lack of income earning means in their home. There are no sufficient interventions for these people from the government or NGOs. I suggest that in the community there are no free land resources and people should involve in off-farming activities for the betterment of their livelihoods. Enterprise developments are important means to resolve these challenges. If these people involve in their own enterprise activities, it would be an important means even for others who are lacking job in the community get lesson to follow the same trend and unemployment or underemployment problem will not appear. These days some attitude changes from the younger people are developing and these would be very important asset for productive investment on their labour force.

A poor woman who is a widow living with HIV/AIDS said that an NGO based in Sodo adopted her four children to share the burden and now they are attending primary education and living with better conditions in Addis Ababa.

The Mulu Wongel church leader said we help orphans during festivals and illness and send them to school; we organise a committee to support income-generating vulnerable people in the community. An Orthodox Church leader said that they have been involved in undertaking share-cropping with poorer people on about 6 hectares of land and contributing money to build houses for poorer people and send poorer people who are ill to the health service. They helped four men and 1 women in this support scheme last year. An *iddir* leader said that poorer people whose relatives are members of the *iddir* were supported with 1500 *birr* recently.

A group of men said that some interventions by NGOs and government have brought valuable changes in form of health care and support for disabled adults and children, orphans and women headed households. A group of women said that in the past, most vulnerable people got help from relatives, neighbours, rich households, and rarely from government. During the last ten years, however, the relative importance of all except the government has been declining sharply. In general vulnerable people are eligible to participate in health service, food aid, education and tax exemptions.

Recognition of the marginalised by government and NGOs has led to some improvement in their status beyond the actual interventions. Some NGO interventions have brought health care and support for disabled adults and children, orphans and women-headed households. People with sleeping sickness are supported by *Redd Barna*. Child Cross Connection and Oxfam support child orphans with nutrition and other logistic support.

### **Promoting equity for women**

A wereda official said that in the wereda long-term and annual plans gender affairs are mainstreamed. Under-aged women marriage is given much attention through legal protections. For instance, in Woibo Kebele in Boloso Sore Wereda female a circumcision happened. Police followed up the event and submitted the case to the justice office. Both the family of the girl and the circumcision craftworker were imprisoned for 2 - 3 years. Nowadays, forced marriage is very rare because the penalty is very harsh. Women's involvement in political or development activities is strengthened by the women association, women federation and women league.

Another said that women associations are included as a structure in the wereda and kebele but advocacy in employment creation, income generation and enabling their environment is totally weak.

A kebele official said that access to public goods or preference of girls to education is highly supported since the agenda of establishing or mainstreaming women or gender affairs into development plan. However, the poorer rural families have no opportunity to send their girl to school due to many reasons. Most of the poorer family daughters are involved in the labour market and/or petty trade to support their livelihood and resist future income in sacrifice of present consumption. The poorer have very low aspirations about future life.

In the kebele, women's participation in kebele or wereda structures has been increasing. In many opportunities of public meetings women have been participating and outshining witnesses their effectiveness. Thus, the community in the kebele have accepted their leadership capacity and effective role, beyond participation.

Vulnerable women against poverty, destitute or disease have been supported in the kebele in cooperation with wereda offices and NGOs. The kebele recommends and supports these women to the right organisation for support or helps them in initiating the community to support them in constructing their home.

### **Legislation and awareness-raising**

A kebele official said that female circumcision is legally addressed as a harmful activity in recent time. Both government and civic organizations have advocated it as one of harmful traditional practices (HTPs) among rural communities. Community members who have better awareness about HTPs cooperate to teach or protect people from involving in HTP activities, but those who are negligible to accept the advocacy (very few) do HTPs in secret, in night time or in sending the female to other places/relatives home. Rape, abduction or violence against women has also significant intervention from government and the NGOs. Specifically, rape or abduction is recently a crime and the penalty related to it results both into prison for longer periods and cash for compensation. The kebele community have fully accepted the advocacy in this regard and the implementation is very effective, except for a very few random effects occurring from a few young male individuals. Underage marriage (below 18 years) has been introduced to the community in many public conferences as a serious crime.

Another official said that a policy prohibiting marriage before the age of 18 for both sexes and abduction as well as rape was implemented. A person found guilty of either abduction or rape would be sentenced up to 10 years imprisonment. Though under-age marriage is common still, the number of cases of abduction and rape diminished to a minimum at present as a result of the law enforcement. Women who have land certificates or a member of a family with no sons are eligible to claim land rights. Recently, women's rights and equality is becoming a serious agenda come into front in development schemes.

Another said that households have land got land certificate which bear the photos of both the husband and wife unless divorced or either of them is lost. The certificate insures couples equal right

for using the land and serves as collateral for getting credit. The rights of widows and divorced women improved considerably since 2005. Widows own and manage belongings of the family including all properties or assets and land after the husband deceased; while divorced women share all the property of the HH equally with their ex-husband.

A rich man said that women's rights is what we hear in our everyday activities. Women circumcision, rape and abduction or male violence or their under-aged marriage are clearly oriented to the community during public meetings as harmful activities against women's rights. They are introduced as eligible to public service. Girls' education is introduced as one of the means to alleviate poverty. Women who are vulnerable to poverty are given priority to participate in any food aid without involving in FFW programme actual service. This day the land right is very important intervention introduced to the kebele community. Women or any household member holding land certificate owns land ownership. Even, women can inherit land in case of the widow, no family with male, or unable to marry due to diseases or divorced. This day, we have women participating in kebele administration. For example, the school director is very strong enough in school management. We could also see women working in wereda offices. There are some women very strong enough even beyond the males. Women's participation in managerial positions highly motivates our girls at school. They prefer to be a leader when they study. In earlier period, women were expected to be household mothers and did not expect to hold the positions to be leading in the public sectors. There is a women's association teaching about women equality, but it is not strengthened. They should be strongly supported to create their own business.

A middle-wealth man said that interventions to materialize the awareness created to empower women are weak. A poor man said we hear about women association, league, and federation in the kebele, but there is no clear thing about their activities.

A rich woman said that she has heard about the rights of females to education, to access government services, to be involved in kebele as well as wereda structures, and to land ownership. However, she complains that each and every woman in the community is not given equal opportunity to be involved in the kebele structure. Involvement is not on the basis of capability and effectiveness, rather determined on family or clan relation/attachment. A poor woman said she strongly doubts the rights are equally applicable, at any level of administrative structures, to all females regardless of economic, political and social status. Therefore, emphasizes the need for regular monitoring on implementation of the law.

The woman Research Officer concluded Women's property rights are their rights to own or acquire through purchase, gift or inheritance. It is an important aspect of social stability and development. It is also important within the fight against HIV/AIDS. Violation of these rights makes women more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and speeds their death when their homes, land and other assets are taken. Women's property rights in the Gara-Godo kebele are not applied properly. Low levels of awareness of their rights, the time expense of pursuing claims and the social stigma of being considering greedy or traitors of the culture if they assert their rights are among the factors that contribute to the violation of women's property rights. Furthermore the implementation problems of the law, the customs of the area, such as inheriting only to males and not inheriting to a woman who has no son, not rejecting elders' decisions, biased attitudes, and unresponsive authorities also among the major factors that contribute to women's property right violations.

The following points are recommended in order to stop or reduce women's property right violations:

- Improving women's awareness about their rights through training, women's organization meetings, and school education.
- Empowering women economically by creating access to credit, providing training in business skills and organizing different business packages.
- Improving the implementation level of the law; by organizing the court into a better special court for women, staffing it with skilled human power.

- Reducing the influence of culture, customs and traditions that contribute to the violation of women's property rights through community conversation.
- Finally, integrating the efforts of individuals, community, government organization and NGOs.

### Packages

A kebele official said that women's packages are focusing on enterprise development related to non-farm activities

### Women's organisations

#### Women's co-operatives

The women's co-operative organises women's spinning. It has 55 members. The government provided 100 kg of cotton and 15 spindles. The members give their output to the wereda women's association who will sell it in bids. The money will be saved with the OMO micro-finance organisation in the co-operative account. Until now they have not received any payment and as a result the exact amount is not known. Since their output has not been sold they do not have any saving. Their output has not been sold as expected; however it serves as collateral so members can borrow up to 2000 *birr*.

The co-operative leader forwards problems to the concerned bodies at the wereda and is responsible for facilitating a conducive working environment for the women. She works once a week for three hours with no salary or benefit. The problem is that the members do not work in a responsible manner; they lose hope.

The leader is 30 and got the position in October 2010. She has a 10+1 certificate and took part in training organised by the wereda women's association for three days. She is the wife of the head of the kebele administration and has a political role in the organisation of women. She gets advice from the chair of the women's association at wereda level and the head of the municipality at the kebele level. The members accuse their leaders of misuse of their money. The problem is handled by the wereda women's association but the decision has not yet been given.

### Youth policies and programmes

#### Youth organisations

A wereda official said that youth associations are included as a structure in the wereda and kebele but advocacy for employment creation, income generation and enabling their environment is totally weak. There is more on youth organisations on page 133.

#### Youth livelihoods

A wereda official said that the kebeles share landlessness in common. Drawing youth effort into alternative development non-farm cooperatives will improve land shortage and reduce the challenges of rural development like food insecurity, illiteracy, enterprise underdevelopment and weakly enabled environment for effective administrations. Recently, one important improvement in youth or women side is the intention to involve in job creative activities rather than seeking jobs. Indeed, there are some younger people holding diplomas or degrees seeking government job rather than creating jobs. There is also significant effect of infrastructure shortage for these category of people to engage into own income generating activities. Most young people request electric access for metal or wood works in rural areas. The reported achievement of the wereda office regarding the youth association is that there are some forms of business projects organised by small and medium business enterprise in the wereda- woodwork shops, metal workshops, Barbary, petty trades and others. There is still huge demand for intervention to change the young effort into productive activities in the form of cooperatives in non-farm or off farming activities and alternative income generation and diversification schemes. For information, the wereda youth officer reports, the association of both women and youth are not much supported to the required productive

potentials. The good thing is that the associations have got recognition as part of organization in the wereda, but real productive activities are not to the expected directions from the women or youth.

Another wereda official said that in Boloso Sore Wereda the youth population is very dense and the largest among other weredas in Wolayita Zone. The Wereda has provided credit and other inputs and training in the underlined youth packages. Awareness creation on job creation is part of the youth package. However, a large portion of youth have a job seeking approach rather than job creativity. Further strengthening the awareness creation and providing sufficient credit or seed money is not yet achieved by the Wereda. Another official said that to improve the livelihoods of youth in the wereda, the local government provides support to those organised in groups. The support include financial credit, supply of hand tools and inputs, and access to working places. As the wereda officer stated, the youths are not committed to expand suggested ideas or works. They don't have their own initiation in solving the problems they are facing. On the other hand, the youth livelihoods intervention should be enhanced in order to create a better opportunity to the wereda youth members.

A kebele official said that there are no youth co-operatives. Most youth packages are focusing on enterprise development related to non-farm activities although there is also a package that involves a cattle fattening programme. The youth organisations are at 'infant level'. Very recently the youth association established a woodwork enterprise which is better equipped with machines. They have received credit service for establishing the business.

A group of men said that a group of youth with nine members was given training in 2011 at Sodo TVET college in wood- and metal works, but did not get any support in terms of accessing work place, input or credit service. These days some attitude changes from the younger people are developing and these would be very important asset for productive investment on their labour force.

The vice chair said that male youths are currently starting some kind of enterprise like a woodwork shop in Gara town. Some have taken credit from OMO MFI for retail trade. However, these organisations have weak activities in the kebele.

The son of the successful household is a member of the youth league but has not received any credit. There are very many youths without jobs in the community and the recent project could not include all of them due to limited capital. The youth need a big push investment for their development/job creation.

A rich man said that there is good awareness about the youth development. We have been introduced to create our own project proposal to create a job and ask a support from kebele for various types of packages. Land, credit access and training on business plan development are activities undergoing. Many young people are seeking the interventions, but there are still no as such practical activities from the kebele or the wereda offices. Kebele youth office is organizing the youth association, league and federation, but it has not begun actual interventions. The problem is not only from government side only; the youth themselves have also job-seeking behaviour rather than job creating culture. Most young people who completed the college study seeks job from government, rather than creating his/her own work and asking support for various packages.

EE is a young businessman in Gara Godo town aged 20. He began the business when he was in grade 7 with seed money of 2000 birr, in the year 2005. He has owned a kiosk business in Gara Godo town. There are adult people engaged in similar businesses, but this respondent is younger and competing with the adults. The shop is filled with household consumables and the input for his retail trade is brought from Areka town. He reported that there was no credit access when he began his business. Transportation is very good in Gara Godo town from Areka to the place where he works. Bajaj motors, horse carts, minibus cars and sometimes other cars are regularly available on market days each week. He let me know his business profitability as follows: he began the business with initial

capital of 5000 birr and now the business is estimated to be 7000 birr after paying all annual shop rents and personal consumptions. He is competing with other adult people working in this category of business and the competition is not easy as he reported. According to his feeling, the problems are also many like shortage of personal capital, and missing other jobs in his young age (he is also engaged in education).

Many people engaged like him in this category of retail trade have not as much capital as in other places. He is not married and the credit institution is not willing to give him credit. He said that those with family have easier access to credit when compared to the younger people in the community. A rental house is also another challenge making it difficult to earn much profit from the business. He is now approaching the kebele people to get acceptance from them and recommendation for credit service. He has hired no worker and personally undertakes the business every day. He begins the work in the morning and continues up to evening. He mentioned that the rewards are personal business development and expansion through time. The problems occur when there is no income for the community to purchase items from shops. The business has been taking his personal time from education. He wishes to expand the business and hire a person to substitute for him in his education hours. The respondent plans that the retail trade will be improved with further expansion to supply all possible items in the shop at least at similar prices to other places after receiving from the wholesalers.

He has no other role in the community. His brother, FN, is a manager of service cooperative in the kebele. He mentioned that there is no one supporting him and there is no child involved in this business. He wishes to expand the business as well as his education in future. For some support from individuals, he approaches his friends/ peer groups like NM as well as NG. However, he mentioned that he has not faced any recent problem. He has no networks or contacts regarding his personal business with wereda or kebele officials.

A group of women said that they had never heard of any livelihood or other interventions aimed at young women in the community.

A young business woman said her business is small crop trade such as maize, coffee, beans etc. There are 10 business women in the locality. She buys crops from farmers and sells them in the community (Gara Godo kebele) including farmers if it is profitable. There is access to credit from individuals but she does not want it. Transportation is available, both modern and traditional transportation but she does not use it. She is trading in the market and she does not use any transport services. She buys products from farmers at lower prices by going to their houses and sells at high prices, it is profitable. She gains about 25% profit; competition among businesses is high. They compete with each other, due to shortage of supply. She competes with others equally. There is no problem in work and being a woman. She buys different crops from various producers and sells them to different consumers. There is no employee; she carries out the job by herself. She works every day. She buys at any time of day if she gets a crop and agrees on the purchase price. At the same time she sells what she has if she gets a better price. This is her day to day work. She works about 4 hours per day 3pm-6pm. She gets profit, that is her reward recently. There is no problem with the work. Hard work can improve the job. She is 20 years old. She started the job in 2008 because she had no other job. Neither she nor her family members have other roles in the community. She faced no problem in the job. Building a new house and buying cattle are her future aspirations. There is no one at the wereda or kebele levels to whom she goes to in order to get advice, or help for problems etc. but inside the community she goes to 10 other business women, she goes to butter and spice traders outside the community for similar purposes. There is no one among the community leaders to help her. She faced no problem recently.

#### **Youth and HIV/AIDS**

A wereda official said that youth targeted HIV/AIDS club are organized in all schools. Campaigns in all official conferences is becoming common practice. Community meetings are available per month.

Recently youth awareness on HIV/AIDS transmission is at a higher order. However, a few have less care on implementing the lessons into practice. Another official said that clubs working on HIV/AIDS were formed in 10 rural kebeles, one in each. The clubs create awareness on the pandemic through peer group discussion, advocate the adoption of preventive methods by youth and distribute condoms. There is selected youth coordinator who runs the club. The achievements of the club is moderate which is only limited to awareness creation. They need strong support.

A kebele official said that in recent times special intervention of health service to adolescents is a provision through HIV/AIDS or gender clubs in a school. The mini-media programme has a significant effect on youth awareness. For effectiveness, stronger intervention on capacitating their implementation is important.

Another official said that there is a HIV/AIDs advocacy programme under the youth association in the kebele, but it is not as such strong enough due to weak facility. However, the health centre of the kebele is now working hard to improve it. In fact, the youth have created good awareness from the advocacy offered under this programme. There is a need of resources to organise mini media to teach them and expand the outreaches. Unlike in other kebeles, such as Hemecho, there is no anti-HIV/AIDS club that could create awareness among youth through peer group discussion. Rather, only health extension workers provide lesson on the pandemic through house-to-house visit.

A rich farmer said that that young people are exposed to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases; therefore, it needs awareness creation and peer group intervention to train them. The problem is that the intervention is not materialized into practice with interventions.

#### **Youth recreation**

A wereda official said that the wereda did not have enough recreation centres. Only one is available in Areka town. A kebele official said none of the youth from Gara Godo use it. The youth use some private centres providing recreation including DSTV and table tennis. Budget shortage is considered as a serious problem of the kebele.

A middle-wealth man said there is a severe shortage of recreational opportunities for youth in the community. His wife said that young men have recreation by drinking and chewing chat and young women by playing with women of their age.

## **Fields of action /domains of power in 2012**

### ***Cross-cutting***

#### **Climate change**

Various respondents said that the temperature had increased and the rainy season and amount of rainfall have changed. Rainfall variation and temperature were said to be unpredictable 'which is not good for farming and its production'. One group said that some years ago the rain season started effective as of October but recently rain starts as of March or April. Then, wet weather conditions persist from March or April up to October. In earlier times, when weather becomes slight frosty the rain season stops, but nowadays the community faces unexpected rain which damages the harvestable farm products.

Some women said that the climate is changing since 2005 as a result of which the rain does not fall seasonally as usual; some years it comes early while in others late. Besides, the amount and distribution is not favourable to crop production. Similarly the temperature is ever increasing, making the area more and more hot.

## **Environment**

### **Main issues**

A kebele official said that erosion and floods are not a severe problem except for the catchment areas of water sheds. A farmer said that erosion protection, watershed management, forestation and grazing land management activities are some of the activities undertaken by community members. Even though the community has water resources there is no access to irrigation.

A rich woman said erosion has never been a serious problem on her farm land as well as on others, and hence she does not feel its effect on her household and on anyone's she know in the community. Similarly, considerable flood, which caused loss of human or animal life, damage of crop or property, has never occurred at Gara Godo. Though not involved yet, she has heard of some watershed management activities such as terracing being carried out by members of the community. Her household, together with close relatives, own family grazing land surrounded by a wooded area where some tree species such as eucalyptus, podocarpus, grevillia, cordia africana and olia abicinica are grown. They manage the grazing land and wood area efficiently as the relatives feel equal responsibility for it.

### **Watershed management**

Work was done in Watera and Hago by voluntary community labour. A woman involved in PSNP said that erosion was a serious problem affecting her family's land as it lies along the banks of the river Gamo where crop yields have declined as a result of loss of soil through water erosion. Terraces with grass planted on them and waterways were implemented on her farm and she has benefited through the work but also because her soil has been conserved from erosion.

The NRM committee organised community members to do terracing beside the Chala river in March 2011; they constructed checkdams, paniyju and protectors. These activities reduce the size of farmland and some farmers are not willing for the activities to take place on their land.

A number of farmers said the wereda agriculture office gave training on how to manage erosion. A rich farmer said that watershed management is known for its importance to protect the streams of water in the kebele. The environment protection activities are both important for individual farmers and the community in conserving the fertile soil, keeping the greenness, maintaining water flow for cattle and home animals for drinking. The community regularly face shortage of water during sunny seasons and the farmers go longer distances to access water for their cattle to drink. Grazing land with no grass coverage demands a protection for sustainable use. The mismanagement of these environmental resources has been harming both the individual farmer in particular and the community at large. The community have no more green environment like the situation a decade ago. Timber production is almost nil in the area. Seasonal variation is not predictable for farming purpose. People tell that the tree leaf recovery time used to indicate rainy season, as indigenous knowledge, but at present time this kind of tree species are deforested. Environmental protection activities are helping the community in rehabilitating the degraded areas.

### **Trees, community forest and grazing land**

A wereda official said there was no policy regarding community forests but there are regulations that govern the management and use of communal forests and their resources. The rules are more or less effective. The law is approved by the kebele officials and the community. Anyone can be punished with a fine or imprisonment by the kebele leaders for an act that could harm the communal forest. The forests provide wood and other products for construction and fuel at reasonable price for individuals in the community and generates public income to use for communal purposes. All households questioned about fuel for cooking said they used firewood; one mentioned charcoal.

A kebele official said that afforestation activities in the community are becoming an important

participatory approach. Even though the activity is at an early stage the community understands its impact on weather change. The community is not allowed to cut a single tree without permission from the kebele leaders. Anyone found doing so is considered a criminal and punished in prison. The policy is working well, The community forest provides wood at a reasonable price for individuals and free of charge for constructing public facilities.

The forest guard said that the kebele and wereda administrations are beneficiaries of the sale of the trees; the money goes to run government office work. He controls inside and outside the guarded area; he visits at convenient times, about three times a day. He is paid a monthly salary. He is not able to visit at night because he has no weapon to protect himself from people and wild animals and he is the only guard. He started the job in 1996 because it is near to his house and he had no better alternative. He also serves in the local militia. Some people cut trees in the protected area which is a problem he faced recently. He reported it to the kebele chairperson and the DA NRM.

A rich farmer said that there is protection not to exploit community forest. Awareness is created on the importance to protect community forest in relation to environment and development. At individual level, the existence of forest is important in protecting the greenness of environment. Many places around the river catchment areas are free; therefore, the kebele would initiate the community members to contribute labour time to cover these places with trees.

A middle-wealth farmer said that community members are aggressive in selling trees; it is not as earlier time to keep bigger trees around their home. People in the kebele perceive that trees are a means of income earning and not reserved for longer periods. In the earlier time, a reputed family in the community keep the tree alive for very longer periods. These categories of people are respected and the community use the tree areas for community meetings and festivals. The community forest was planted by the community four years ago. If an individual uses the forest with no permission from the kebele, there is a penalty (prison for 24 hours and 50 ETB). The advantage of the forest is that the community members or a household can buy a tree from the kebele. The forest is common resource for the community and managed by the kebele. If there is any fire accident damaging a house of an individual in the community, the kebele provides trees free of cost to construct a house by the community support. Bridge construction or maintenance is regularly done by using trees from the communal forest. The respondents suggest that strengthening the legal ground and expanding the experience of forest protection/ management to other areas of the kebele land is an important intervention needed.

A poor man appreciated the importance of the community forest during house damage for the poorer community members. The kebele grants free of cost tree for constructing a house for vulnerable community members. A woman said that all members of the community do not respect the policy. She has observed many twigs left after cutting trees without permission from the kebele leaders. The tree cutting usually takes place in the night by some illegal individuals. Nevertheless, most of them were not caught, thus she suggests the need for guardsman to watch the forest.

A farmer said that there is planting of trees on bare land and around individuals' homes. Some places have been covered with trees in recent time. Another said that environmental protection activities are helping the community rehabilitate the degraded areas and watershed management is improving the water source. He appreciates the ongoing green neighbourhoods. Nevertheless it is not sufficient to introduce the idea that environment protection is important; rather the community needs to implement the activities at individual and community levels with the support of government or other agents. Another respondent said that attention to environment protection is weak.

All community members use communal grazing land equally. They use cut and carry mechanisms in the hot season (winter) and free grazing in the summer (rainy season). A kebele official said that a few communal grazing areas are available. People are informed to protect these areas. A farmer said that customarily there is a consensus among community members to protect the communal grazing

land. Community members never allow individuals to use communal areas for private use.

However, there were different reports from women respondents. A rich woman said that though the communal grazing land covers an area of 4 ha, there is no policy governing its use and protection. Every household in the community can let its cattle graze on the land throughout a year regardless of herd size and seasonal variation. Thus, the potential of the land is reduced as a result of overgrazing. She used to let her cattle graze only on family grazing land. However, as a result of the rising cost of hay due to the depletion of the communal grazing land, she is spending too much money to buy feed during the dry season for maintaining her cattle.

A woman of middle-wealth also only let her cattle graze on family grazing land. Unable to afford buying supplementary feed she reduced her cattle size to the capacity of family grazing land. To cope with this problem she suggests that high yielding forage plants should be introduced and planted in family grazing lands. A poor woman with no family owned grazing land was forced to sell her cattle as a result of the depletion of communal grazing land. The women suggest the need to have a policy which regulates the utilisation and management of communal grazing land in addition to rehabilitating it with high yielding forage plants. Another woman with 2 sheep who uses communal grazing land said the grazing land size is reducing as part has been taken by farmers. Kebele official know the problem, but they do not take any measures against the famers. A woman with an ox and a milk cow also said some parts of the grazing land have been included in the nearby farm land by farmers. They have acted illegally, but the kebele did not take any measures to stop them.

The kebele vice-chair interviewed a couple of months after the women above said that those who extended their land into the communal grazing land were penalised; the elders involved judged the amount.

A richer woman head of household said Government interventions that affected her livestock holdings are redistributing land to farmers (reduced grazing land), and watershed management/environmental activities improving soil fertility and amount of grass

### **Animal protection**

The only wildlife in the community forest now are hyena and other smaller animals. There is a rule not to kill wildlife introduced by the wereda agricultural office.

### **Soil fertility**

The quality of the soil has improved due to recent farming systems like mixing crop production.

### **Infrastructure**

#### **Roads and transport**

Roads have been upgraded and community members use transport to get to market and for other purposes. MHH Pol – it was difficult for people to get to market places but is now possible with cars and other local transport.

#### **Electricity**

Access to electricity was provided in 2008. The construction cost of the power line was covered completely by the federal government. Every household in the town is entitled to access provided they cover the cost of devices for connection. People pay a service charge for the consumed power.

A rich man said that there is electricity in the kebele town and most of the people living there are demanding the service, particularly those with houses with corrugated iron roofs. He has electricity and highly appreciates it as less costly. He tells the story of earlier forefathers' challenges of smoking lights working with gas. Some people are renting light from his at the cost of 21 *birr* a bulb which is less costly and a safe light for household consumption. He said the government should further

expand rural electricity to meet the significant demand from the community.

A man of middle-wealth said that access to electricity and telephone is income-constrained and that the poorer section hears about them rather than accessing them. A poor woman living in the town said she benefited from the electricity supply. The use of electric light allows her to work longer hours in the night and saves the family from health problems related to seeing and breathing which were common when they used kerosene lamp or fire. The town community has benefited through running different business activities such as grain mills, wood/metal shops, barbery, and audio-visual facilities that require electric power such as DSTv and video shows. At night the street lights are helping to prevent security problems.

### **Communications**

Access to mobile phones arrived in 2008. A fixed line was also provided at that time but now it is not working. The vice-chairman showed his mobile phone; his daughter in Beirut calls him at home which was impossible a few years ago. Now more than 500 individuals are using the network. A poor man said that the wireless network itself requires electricity access.

### **Water infrastructure**

Shapa river separates Gara Godo from Hadiya Zone. The newer coffee-washing plant pumps up water from this river. Gara stream separates Gara Godo and Gara Tokisa while Sala river separates Basa Gofara and Gara Godo. The older coffee-washing plant pumps water from this river.

### **Urban development**

The centre of Gara Godo has become a municipality.

### ***Livelihoods and recent events/changes***

#### **Generally**

##### **Balance of livelihood activities and recent changes**

Livelihood activities are diversified into crop production, livestock and animal husbandry, FFW, and retail trades while a proportion of youth migrate to town for seasonal work. Maize production is in good condition as people use improved seeds. The staple has shifted from enset to taro. Production of the cash crops of coffee, ginger, chat and *boleke* dominate the other production and have changed livelihood income. The sale of eucalyptus increased. Improved *teff* seeds introduced in 2008 have improved productivity. Nowadays farmers allot a large portion of land resources for the production of commercial crops. Traditional fruit plants are replaced by improved ones.

Agricultural labour is very common as are non-farm businesses like carpentry, cereal retailing, house building and other smallscale businesses. There is a FFW programme. Young people migrate seasonally for work to Algeta, Nazret, Awash, Addis Ababa, Gambela and other places to harvest farm products and for income-generating business.

A woman described the following changes since 2002: a decline in the production of enset and other subsistence crops; a considerable increase in cash crop, livestock production, though not improved breeds, and seasonal migration; and no change in levels of activity in FFW. She said that non-farm labour activities have become a means of income generation for some community members in the last five years. A small group of men estimated that 40% of males and 25% of females are engaged in daily labour. 55% of young men and 75% of young women do their own business. Poorer men and women participate in FFW activities.

A rich man in his early 30s said that in the past boys mostly supported their families but these days there is freedom to get involved in personal business. Families are strongly interested in supporting boys' studies and boys are interested in schooling. There is positive peer pressure to study or engage in personal business. He has been involved in a number of business activities including renting

bicycles and maintaining them, carpentry, and retail trade. At present he is busy buying maize, coffee, *boleke*, *tef* and other profitable grain that can be bought from farmers and sold in retail markets nearby or outside the community. There is an emerging idea that young people can access credit and launch personal or associate enterprises. A poor man in his early 30s said that now there is a better perception that girls can take part in any kind of income-earning activities.

A 25 year-old shopkeeper in Gara Godo town said that earlier teenagers used to work following their family's orders but now they are 'self-administering'. Gara Godo town used to be very small and not appropriate for business but the government has upgraded the town through road access, electricity and the mobile network opening opportunities for smaller businesses that need electricity.

### **Independence of the farming economy and future potentials**

A small group of men said that cereals are harvested once a year following the rainy season. Depending on farm size and volume of production in 2010 on average the community consumed its stocks in 4-8 months. In 2009 which was a bad year the volume of output could not cover more than 2-3 months and market prices for consumables were high; 70% of households demanded food aid as population size and farm output mismatched. A small group of women said that in 2011 65% of households relied on food aid to survive.

### **Effects of inflation and other events affecting livelihoods**

Some male respondents said that when farm production increases output prices decrease. However, input prices remain the same and the prices of manufactured household consumables never decrease. The cost of transport to nearby towns also increases. Unskilled labour wages are less sensitive to labour market supply or demand. A small group of women said that since 2008 inflation is getting high. Prices of agricultural inputs, coffee, butter, oil, salt, and transportation and the wage rate have increased radically in the last few years. This change has affected the community at large and particularly the middle class and poor. For rich farmers inflation is both an advantage and a disadvantage. They are disadvantaged since the prices of agricultural inputs has doubled in the last few years but when they sell their outputs they earn more.

## **Smallholder Agriculture**

### **Land for farming**

#### **Farm land allocation**

##### Land laws

Wereda and kebele officials do not seem to be interpreting the law that gives daughters equal rights to inherit land as sons (see below p 157).

A middle-wealth farmer said that land inheritance to a son during marriage and family formation is a cultural mandate.

##### Irrigated land

None

##### Rainfed land

A rich farmer said that land shortage is an unavoidable problem. There are three categories; with access, medium access and no access.' A kebele official said that 34% of households were landless. Those with access on average hold not more than half a hectare. A middle-wealth farmer said that land inheritance to sons during marriage and family formation is a cultural mandate and the grazing area usually takes some portion of landholdings. Most of the community members wish a re-settlement plan for alleviating land shortage.

Rich, middle and poor farmers in common reported that the current system and family feature

enforces the rural family to use land resource wisely, not as usual. All respondents have family members who will claim land ownership during new family formation and that will further aggravate the household livelihood. Indeed, in the community the major distribution of land resource is for farming and the other issues (communal grazing land, etc.) come into the next best. The interviewees further inform that land shortage is not a new phenomenon in the community, but it is aggravated by lack of family planning. They suggest that a resettlement programme for those interested individuals should be implemented to solve the problem. It was seen as an important approach as witnessed by the respondents who tell the stories of successful households with earlier resettlement interventions.

A rich woman respondent said that rich households held 1.5-2.5 has of land. 0.125-0.25 has is allocated to the home garden for cultivation of coffee, *enset*, taro, cabbage, sweet potatoes and some spices and about 0.125 has is left as family grazing land where grass and some trees such as eucalyptus are grown. The remaining 1-2 has are used for the major cereal crops such as maize, *tef*, wheat and beans. The household uses all the food items produced in the home garden with some grain from the main field for family consumption and sells most of the coffee and grain.

A middle woman respondent said that middle household landholdings range from 0.5-1.5 has with 0.25 has each allocated for home garden and family grazing. They produce similar crops to the rich hh but less, In good years the produce from the home garden and the main field satisfy the food requirements of the family and enable them to get money as well to meet other needs. In bad years they are vulnerable to food deficit. In order to improve their living standard producing crops of high market value is crucial.

A poor woman said that poor households own from 0.125-0.5 has: 0.125 is used for the home garden. Even during good years the food she produces cannot sustain the family for more than 6 months and they rely on food aid for the remaining 6 months. Poorer sections of the community have very small or no land.

### **Land registration**

A wereda official said that since land registration started in 2005 surveying was carried out in 4 kebeles (not Gara Godo). Until now land certificates have been awarded to 29,862 households out of 30,015 households registered in the kebeles. The certificate displays photos of husband and wife except for polygamous household heads. The certificate ensures maintaining one's boundary and right of inheriting. No refusal was observed from farmers during the process of certification. Surveying is ongoing in the remaining 25 kebeles.

A kebele official said that more than 80% of the community members have land certificates. Due to dispute cases some household land is not measured and certified. Among those who have certificates some have no couple photos due to lack of photograph access during the time of registration. The certification created a borrowing guarantee, a contract guarantee, insurance and equality and inheritance right in the community.

A woman said that every household who has land has got a land certificate which bears the photos of both the husband and wife unless divorced or either of them is lost. The certificate insures couples equal right for using the land, serves as collateral for getting credit. A rich farmer said registration was undertaken in the kebele, but some households missed to register due to lack of photograph or conflict among family members. Clear information was given to the community members on land registration needs and its advantages. However, land registration is a useful recent approach in confirming the ownership of households and the certificate reduces conflict among the household members or the community. Since land registration certificate helps to borrow money from the richer community members, the poorer household uses it as a guarantee scheme.

Territorial conflict among the community members is reduced. But, still many households have not been registered. There is no known harm to the community members to register the available land

resource. All households should register their land resource after resolving the existing problems.

A middle-wealth farmer said that land registration information was introduced to the community in public conference. The procedures to register land were clarified to all households. Recently, many of the community members know about the certificate and its contribution to conflict resolutions, if any. The respondent tells the story of his own experience after land registration. He developed clear confidence and pure information about land asset available to him. There is no serious conflict between or among the community members regarding a territory of land since the individual land ownership registration. There is no harm in land registration for individual or the community. The importance of it is rather the improvement of legal background of landholding of all community members without any discrimination. At present time, there is no one to raise a conflict or claim a piece of land ownership without the certificate. It would be very important if the remaining households missed to register or who have not posted their couple photos on the certificate finalize the certificate issuance from the kebele.

A poor farmer said that for households who have land, the registration is advantageous, but still there is huge shortage of land for most people in the community. Before the registration, there was a conflict between household heads residing each other in the territory. At present, those who registered their land size and received the certificate of registration live peacefully. However, some of the community members who have not received the certificate due to conflicts of ownership still face a problem and need interventions to settle the dispute. Land registration is a good improvement, because in the earlier time those household heads with smaller land size tries to expand without any government permission. At present, there is no free movement for expanding land use.

A rich woman said that after land was demarcated and delineated, she received an ownership certificate bearing her photograph with her husband. The certificate, besides avoiding dispute over farmland boundary, allow them use their land without any restriction for crop production, as collateral for credit, and inheritance for their children. Moreover, the certificate ensures her as equal right as her husband over the household's land. Thus, she believes that households who own land in general and women (wives) within these households have benefited from the certificate.

A woman of middle wealth said that land registration was a headache for heads of polygamous households. Since the certificate was designed to bear the photographs of a husband and a wife, it was hard for a husband to decide which one among those 2 or more wives. The choice of either obviously disappoints the rest. Some household heads admitted that land certification had caused dispute in their polygamous family.

A poor woman said she owns only quarter of a hectare registered in her name for which she bears a certificate. She has the right to use it herself, share with someone or rent the land as she wish. In the past, a person adjacent to her farm land used to expand his own by pushing her boundary. Since land registration, however, the dispute was avoided and hence her boundary was fixed and the land size was maintained.

A widow said she had a land registration certificate 6 years ago. She inherited the land from her deceased husband. She wanted to pay tax on the land in her name. She applied to the kebele for the registration and it was approved by the kebele. The kebele did not create a problem in the registration process. It was not biased. She gave half a hectare to a person in a contract for 10 years, but he acquired the land in his name. Since he had land registration certificates, she did nothing. Economic problems and lack of confidence by women are the major factors that contribute to women's property right violations.

#### **Sharecropping, renting and contracting (buying) land**

A rich man said that recently people are confident enough to rent our land for two years for 500 *birr* if they face an income shock. Certified land owners sometimes rent land for shorter periods and look

for daily labour in a town. When s/he returns after the period has passed there is no problem getting the land back. This is a good improvement over earlier periods for both the landowner and the renter.

### Crops and changes – subsistence and cash crops

#### Sources of cash from agriculture and market demand and linkages

Coffee is the highest source of cash for the majority of the community followed by grain (maize and *teff*), chat and butter

#### New crops

The poor FHH grew maize, *enset*, taro, and bananas for its own consumption and *tef* and coffee for sale. The richer FHH grew maize, cabbage, *godere* (taro? yam?), sweet potatoes and avocadoes for its own consumption and bananas, coffee and eucalyptus. *Enset* was the staple food but its production has declined significantly as a result of unfavourable conditions for its growth ‘due to climate change and *enset* diseases’. The community has shifted from *enset* to *boye* (taro?, yam?) and cereals. A middle-wealth farmer said that *enset* which had disappeared from the farm 5 years ago due to disease had started to grow. *Enset*, maize, *tef*, *boleke*, potatoes, cabbage, green peppers, bananas, avocadoes and mango are very common subsistence crops. *Enset* is a drought period crop which both people and cattle consume. More *tef* vegetables and fruit are sold. The purchase of bread for children, gas for lighting, spices for coffee and salt are used daily and mostly financed from selling vegetables and fruit. *Enset* varieties and its size have reduced in the last 5 years,

The vice-chair said that coffee is the best cash crop for all and *tef* second for richer households. Those who have planted many eucalyptus trees sell them for income-earning; other hhs only sell if facing an income shock. Coffee production has been much improved due to its sky-rocketing price; newly-supplied seedlings have made the production period shorter and the establishment of coffee-washing and processing plants in the area; now many people cultivate coffee plants on their plots and more land is allocated to coffee. A poor farmer said an improved coffee variety is growing on every hh plot.

Maize production is in good condition; the community uses improved seed (CG type changed to DH type). Cash crops – coffee, ginger and *boleke* (haricot beans) dominate other production. Chat is also grown. However a wereda official said that the area has potential to grow cash crops like ginger but households are not willing to use land for this kind of plant since the duration for harvesting the output is longer. However, they know its income-generating capacity. The same applies to fruit-planting like mangoes. However, the vice-chair said that there are many mango plants per small-sized farming plot.

An ‘average farmer’ said that recently farmers have been highly motivated to produce cash crops. Using improved seeds and fertiliser in the last farming season he produced 300kg of maize, 160 kg of *tef* and 400 kg (?) of coffee which are better production levels than he used to achieve without these inputs. A respondent said that 1 kg of coffee sold for 120 *birr* and 100 kg of maize for 600 *birr*. The model farmer had 200 coffee trees.

The ‘most successful’ woman farmer said that *tef*, *enset*, sweet potatoes and eucalyptus were the most profitable ways to use farming land. The MHH middle grew maize, *boleke*, *enset*, *tef*, mangoes, avocadoes, coffee and FAFAYA (papaya?). Better income-earning opportunities come from crops like coffee and *tef*.

A model farmer said that *tef* production is becoming good because of its high price. Maize production not increasing or decreasing as product is regularly consumed when fresh and from stocks. To increase production the household has to engage in share-cropping. The general trend in farming is to produce products which are highly demanded in the market. *Enset* is very important for livelihood but no farmer is happy to plant much because it takes a longer time to grow for

consumption or further production to sell many of its products.

A group of men said that earlier there was no attention to commercial crop production but now farmers allot a larger portion of their land for such crops. A group of women said that the highest source of cash is coffee, followed by grain, *chat* and butter. Before 2005 *enset* was the second important source of cash.

### Farming technologies

A small group of men said that the forefathers' farming instruments have been used. There is no irrigation scheme in the wereda even though there is potential and no improved farming instruments but only the previous ways of ploughing. Recently there have been improved seeds and fertiliser. In earlier time farmers prepared seeds from their own farm product for the next season but now crop extension and packages at the kebele agriculture office provide the required seeds for payment. Plant diseases have some forms of curative activities. Farmers use fertilisers on a regular basis; earlier they used natural fertilisers prepared from household wastages. Traditional fruit plants have been replaced with improved ones. There is a demand for improved farming technologies and a shift from rain-fed agriculture to micro-irrigation.

The men said that farmers prepare land using the traditional hoe and ox-plough. Since 10 years ago farmers have begun to use improved seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. Regarding the improved farming input farmers have been trained by model farmers to enhance their productivity and as a result use improved seeds mainly for maize and fava beans and local seeds for the remaining crops. Almost all farmers apply cow dung to the homestead plot and commercial fertilisers (DAP and Urea) to the main field. DAP was not adopted before 2005. A well-known Model Farmer said there are new farming approaches including planting systems to prevent erosion; separating seedlings from fertiliser; and crop variation. New utensils supporting farming activities have been given.

An average farmer described a number of problems. Land has got used to fertiliser and newly introduced seeds; the traditional way of farming is weaker and productivity is less. Farmers, particularly the poorer ones, are not able to adopt new seeds and fertiliser or the care needed during harvesting seasons. Land shortage is a problem and irrigation has not been introduced. It is not possible to control crop diseases. Farmers are not well-informed about new technologies even though the FTC is newly established. On some occasions farmers appreciated the older seeds as disease-resistant.

A poor farmer said that the fertiliser price is not fair for poorer farmers and he cannot use it regularly. He could not afford to buy last year's supply of improved maize, *teff*, sweet potato and *boloke* seeds. Diseases are damaging *enset* and coffee. Irrigation access is not available. Poor farmers cannot afford the increasing price of oxen. He said he is not a food secure, shelter secure or clothing secure farmer.

### Irrigation technologies

#### Irrigation

A wereda official said that there are three surface (furrow) irrigation schemes in the wereda at Matla, Tiyo-Hembecho and Weybo kebeles. Farmers of these kebeles produce different cereals and vegetable crops such as maize, onion, tomato and pepper during dry seasons. This production enables the producers to ensure not only their food security but also to earn additional income from sale of the produce. It is believed, however, that the schemes are not efficiently utilized for lack of skill. The wereda office of agriculture planned to alleviate this draw back and improve the production system by providing training and technical assistance..

#### Water harvesting

A wereda official said that almost all of the water harvesting schemes established in 2005 are not functional at present. Most farmers abandoned the structures as they were not consulted for their

willingness and interest in the construction.

Farmers in Gara Godo said there were no irrigation schemes in the wereda despite the potential. A kebele official said that water harvesting was introduced in 2005 and there were 26 beneficiaries. They were collected water from rain in a well-constructed by the agriculture office and using the water for vegetable production. The problem was lack of awareness about the scheme.

On the vice-chair's compound there was a government intervention to dig a borehole. They went 15 metres but did not find water. The respondent himself extended the hole to 22 metres and found sufficient water.

### **Livestock contributions to livelihoods**

There is not much poultry or bee-keeping. Rearing cattle, shoats and poultry are still a means of livelihood though the community is sticking with unimproved livestock production;

The prices of milk, butter and other milk-related products have risen as have livestock prices. The problem of grazing land hinders livestock production. However, there is a better livestock population now due to attractive market prices in the short-run. These attract smallholders to get involved in share oxen fattening businesses.

A kebele official said that the livestock extension package is not that efficient. Vet technicians provide medical treatment on station and move house-to-house providing a delivery service and treating seriously ill animals. However a farmer said the vet does not have a formal office in the kebele and is a mobile worker. The service delivered is too weak and not regular. The lack of veterinary service is a challenge to the community; the working place is poor and there is a lack of materials to render the service. Another said that the availability of the kebele office and FTC is not sufficient to get a good veterinary service. The vet is a mobile worker due to lack of a formal office in the kebele. Another said the service delivered by the vet is too weak and not regular.

The vet, who is 26 said that the office is in the co-operative building. It is not adequate; it has electricity but no water supply. Lack of microscope and forceps are the major supply problems. Lack of transport affects the provision of the service. He gives treatment and vaccination to domestic animals and is also responsible for awareness creation among the farmers. His salary in 1427 *birr* a month. He has been in the job since 2008 and is qualified in animal health at diploma level (10+3). He has not training in livestock. He won the chance of education given by the government and wants to continue with a degree programme. He wants to change his working area not the profession.

Medicine for bulls being fattened is not provided at the kebele level because of its shortage; however it is given in the wereda and sometimes the community gets a house-to-house service. Unless it is a serious case they do not go to the wereda and the death of cattle has been greatly reduced. One of the big problems is that the farmers bring animals to the vet centre after they have tried cultural medicine so the animals are not treated when symptoms first appear.

A middle-wealth farmer said that they currently own an ox, cow and goat. He owned a number of livestock some years ago but he lost many of them due to death. His wife said that they herd the livestock in the community field near home. Grazing land has decreased and the milk yield has fallen. He said that the government does not provide a sufficient service for livestock development in the area. For instance the kebele vet does not provide both clinical and advisory services. A poor farmer said the veterinary services are not meeting the demands of the community and a rich one that a veterinary service is available but it is not sufficient and the quality of service is not good to meet the demands. A remote resident said he had vaccinated his cattle but the vet assistance is far from the area. In July 2011 his cows died on the way to the vet centre.

A kebele official said that recently the community Model Farmers are planting improved grass to use for cattle consumption during the dry season. The vice-chair said that the wereda agricultural office gave training on how to plant and prepare elephant grass for animal feedings. The major problem

lies in the lack of improved seed supply. There have been no PSNP-related packages or credit to support livestock. Another farmer said extension workers advised the farmers to grow special grasses for livestock feeding but it is not practised much. New breeds were heard of as important for productivity but the farmer has no access to them or ability to buy them.

A kebele official said that youth benefit from a package that involves a cattle fattening programme.

#### **Inter-linkages – share-cropping, working parties, oxen exchange and sharing etc**

A group of men said that it is still common to work together for larger farming activities between neighbours during peak farming seasons if there is shortage of oxen. The community have still a practice of exchanging: between farmer utensils, share cropping or rearing and ox or other household asset exchanges. A group of women said that there are two working parties, a small one called zayia and the large one dagua, which comprise on average 10-12 and 20-30 individuals, respectively. Moreover, labour exchange among farmers, share of crop for cultivating ones land, and sharing ox during plough are coping mechanisms of labour shortage in the community. These working parties were vastly adopted in the past, however, the level of exercising these practices diminished. The community abandoned the practice because of the current scarcity of economic potential.

#### **Agricultural labour**

##### **Daily labour**

Agricultural labour is very common; it used to be very cheap but wages have now improved.

A farmer said that one of the investors has a coffee nursery which distributes improved coffee plants; there is daily labour work for younger community members. It employs eight people.

Poorer households send their child labour to investment areas to participate in daily labour coffee washing. A son from the middle-wealth household worked on the site for a month and earned 500 *birr* which was used for the retail trade of household consumables.

##### **Longer-term agricultural employment**

The head of the nursery supervises the work of the eight employees, observes the seedlings and reports to the wereda agricultural development office. He works eight hours a day seven days a week. He has no salary but gets 87 kg of wheat at the end of the month. He is 45 and was appointed to the position in 2002. He networks with the wereda agricultural extension officer and the DA.

#### **Government farming interventions**

##### **Development Agents and veterinarian**

A wereda official said that there are development agents for crop extension and packages, livestock extension and packages, veterinary service and natural resource management in each kebele. The agents are formally recruited by the wereda. The farmers are supported technically by these agents at all times. Improved fertiliser and seeds are distributed through the DAs and further technical support is offered to the farmers.

Another wereda official said that there are 36 crop extension, 33 livestock extension and 30 natural resource extension workers as well as 9 vet technicians serving the rural community. Crop extension workers introduce and demonstrate new farm technologies to farmers such as row planting, mode and rate of fertiliser application, and weeding and tillage practices. Livestock extension workers introduce farmers to new and improved breeds of poultry, beehives, forage and pasture plants. NRM workers introduce different measures of soil and water conservation besides rehabilitation of degraded lands and provide technical support to the community in the implementation of measures. The vet technicians treat domestic animals when they are sick.

A kebele official said that in the kebele crop extension and packages, livestock extension and

packages, veterinary and NRM extension are present. They work in the community as trainers and technical supports of the farmer, besides distributing fertiliser and improved seed. The kebele collects money from farmers and provides or facilitates fertiliser, improved seeds, poultry, sweet potato seed, coffee and other supports. Model farmers propagate the improved seeds and distribute to other farmers.

Another kebele official said that there are four development workers, one for each of crop production, livestock production, natural resource management and veterinary service. The crop DA introduces new farming technologies theoretically at farmers meeting, demonstrates on plots, provides technical support at field, and follows up their implementation. Similarly, DAs of livestock production and natural resource management do so in their respective professions, while vet technicians provide medical treatment on station, except moving house to house for delivery service and treating seriously ill animals. Livestock extension package and natural resource management extensions are not that efficient in their modes of working. They are less committed to implement the development intervention in the community. However, crop extension packages and veterinary are performing their task very well as they are appreciated by the community. Desirable inputs for crop and livestock production are fairly available and sold to farmers on credit basis whereas vet medication is delivered on cash.

Interviewed in December 2011 the DA Crops said that in order to distribute their work the DAs divide the kebele into 3 *ketene* and each DA works for six months in one *ketene* and then goes to another one. They work in rotation. The DA Crops is 43 and has been in post since 2011; his salary is 2,151 *birr*. He works mostly on crops but also works on livestock and natural resource conservation and development. Last year he distributed hens to farmers and worked on watershed management. He works for eight hours in a day from Monday to Friday regularly. During the busy times such as input distribution, input debt collection etc. he works Saturday and Sunday. Lack of cooperation makes difficult the provision of services to farmers. The career structure of workers is not arranged on time. For example he acquired a first degree but he still gets a diploma level salary. These are among the problems he faced in doing the job. If the problems are resolved quickly things can be improved easily.

His family are farmers; he has helped them since his childhood. As a result of this he developed an interest in agriculture and joined the sector. He acquired a first degree in rural development. He was also able to develop his skills by the trainings which are given for five days every year during cropping season. Teaching farmers about politics is his other role in the community. Like him no one from his family has other roles in the community. He wants to continue his job and give a better income to the farmers; he also wants to see the product of farmers improved. Additionally he hopes to upgrade his education to masters level.

The head of the crops development office at wereda level and the kebele administrator, the manager of the kebele and the head of the municipality at the kebele level are some of the people who advise and help him. In addition to this the leaders of development teams, the leaders of 1-5 groups and model farmers are the persons with whom he is working at the community level. From March to June 2011 the kebele suffered from shortage of rain. Farmers did not get product they expected. As a result of this they were not happy and not willing to cooperate with DAs. These are the big problems of the jobs. They are resolved by discussion. They accepted that the loss of the crop was due to the natural problem.

The DAs of livestock production and NRM work in their respective professions. The DA Livestock works mainly on livestock but also participates in other development work. There are three *ketenes* and he works for six months in one and then in another for the next six months. In his *ketene* he distributes improved seed and fertiliser, teaches how to sow and demonstrates activities on farmers' land. He works for 8 hours a day for 5 days a week from Monday to Friday. Every Monday he provides reports to the wereda agricultural office. He earns 1587 *birr* a month. The improved seeds

and fertilizers are low quality. The distribution of such input affects the relationship between DAs and farmers and there is shortage in supply of vegetable seeds. These are the main problems. In farming informing problems to higher officials on time can improve the job.

He is 30 and started the job in October 2010 because it is related to his field of study and to serve farmers. He has a diploma. In addition to this he took training on crops, NRM, livestock, irrigation and the household asset building programme (HABP). He serves the community on the PSNP committee. Neither he nor his family members have other roles in the community. Seeing the farmers eat four times a day is his future aspiration. If he need something, wants advice or there is any problem he goes to the head of the wereda agricultural office and the kebele chairperson at wereda and at kebele levels respectively. At the community level he goes to the ketene development teams. There are 12 persons in three sites. The respondent explained that he didn't face any problems.

The vet said that the veterinary office is in the cooperative building in Gara Godo town. It is not adequate; it has electricity but does not have water supply. Lack of microscope and forceps are the major veterinary supply problems. Medicine for bulls being fattened is not provided at the kebele level because of its shortage; however, it is given in the wereda now a time the community get the house to house service at the kebele. Unless it is a serious case they do not go to the wereda and the death of cattle has been greatly reduced, these are the major achievements of the community. Lack of transportation and equipment are affecting the provision of the service. The service can be improved if the problems are resolved step by step.

The vet gives treatment and vaccination to the domestic animals. Awareness creation among the farmers is also the responsibility of the vet. There is no other benefit except the salary of 1427 birr per month. The farmers bring animals to the veterinary centre after they have tried cultural medicine and animals are not treated at early stage of symptoms. These are the big problems. Better understanding by the farmers about the health of the animal can improve the job. The vet, who is 26, started the job in 2008. He qualified in animal health at diploma level (10+3). He has not got training on livestock. Neither he nor his family members have other roles in the community. He won the chance of education given by the government. He will continue his education degree programme. He wants to change his working area, not the profession. If he wants any advice, he goes to the wereda assistant vet at the wereda level and he goes to the kebele chairperson at the kebele level. He goes to no one at community level. The respondent explained that he didn't face any problem

The DA NRM said that in one site crops, livestock and NRM are done by one DA. He also does seasonal NRM work such as trenches, terraces, watershed management and forest seedling planting that are done from January to March. In other months he participates in different work although as he is has only been in the job for fifteen days he has not yet done this. He works 8 hours a day from Monday to Friday and his salary is 1427 *birr*. The development agent NRM is 25 years old. He started the job November 15, 2011 because he had no other job opportunity. He trained in his previous work area but not here. Neither he nor his family members have other roles in the community. He does not want to continue in this job. After studying in another field he wants to change his job. This is his future aspiration. Since he is new in the position (he started the job 15 days ago) he as contacted no one at any level. In these 15 days he has faced no problem in the job.

A rich farmer said that FTC, crop extension and packages, livestock extension and packages, veterinary and Natural Resource Management activities are available, but the service is weak. These are important interventions and all the community members demand effective supply of improved seeds, fertiliser, and veterinary, oxen for fattening or cow for better milk production. However, the service delivered by veterinary development agent is too weak and not regular. Improved seeds and fertiliser access is not sometimes compatible to the soil available or the distribution is not on time. The farming activity is available at rural areas, but the DA workers live outside the kebele. He

recommends improved seed in-time distribution, fairly-priced fertiliser supply, new production approaches augmented with access to water for irrigation.

### **Model farmers, Development Teams and 1-5s**

#### Model farmers

A wereda official said that government policies and programmes are usually introduced to the community through community conferences. The GTP introduction was undertaken in various forms. 250 Model Farmers from each kebele were selected for 13 days training for awareness creation. In particular, the recent approach to allocate one model farmer to five farmer households is a smooth way to communicate issues related to party, health education, and plan commenting and any other social affairs.

A group of women said that regarding to the improved farming inputs, farmers have provided training by model farmers to enhance the productivity. Consequently, the farmers use improved seeds mainly for maize and fava beans, and local seeds for the other grain crops. A group of men said that on average a few model farmers have better livelihood conditions.

People are aware of the model farmers' award from the Prime Minister.

Recently the community model farmers are planting improved grass to use for their cattle consumption during the dry season.

Model farmers propagate the improved seeds and distribute to other farmers.

The one-to-five linkage is very important network in for communications relevant for kebele affairs. The model farmer categories are given training about the GTP issues to create awareness about the plan. The GTP plan was discussed among the community members in the presence of the model farmers. The party meeting is done among cell members living in neighbourhood. The model farmers introduce the message of government or the kebele in discussion time.

ZL is relatively one of the most successful farmers and produces maize, coffee (10 quintals per year), banana, enset, avocado, mango, ginger and spices. Asked about technology improvements he reported the following issues:

- Plotting systems to protect erosion, separating seedlings from fertilizer and crop variation are recent in farming approaches;
- Wereda agriculture supplies maize, teff, boloke and sweet potato improved varieties/seeds;
- Farming machines are not new, but other utensils supporting farming activities are given;
- The wereda agriculture office/DA in the kebele introduced farming improvement training at FTC in the kebele last year; the model farmers in the kebele attended a training on utilization of improved seeds and fertilizer;
- It is good to have improved seeds/fertilizer, but in some cases the seeds and fertilizer are not compatible or have expired and remain incompatible;
- Farming by forefathers was poorer than from using improved technologies, but there was productivity due to natural land fertility.

He said farming production will be improved much if people in the community are willing and able to use fertilizer as well as improved seeds. He reported that all his activities are highly dependent on fertilizer as well as improved seeds. He has experience to plan his farming season, besides communicating to the development agents supporting the farming activities in the area. He wants to use irrigation, but there is no possibility as he reported. He uses farm by-products from maize, teff, and other products for his cattle. He underlined that the market for cash crops like coffee is becoming active and attractive to motivate the further expansion of farming in cash crop areas. 1 kg of coffee is 120 birr and 100 kg of maize is 600 birr. He said that this year maize seed is not good and is incompatible with the land as well as the weather condition. Fertilizer was very costly amounting

to 600 birr for 50 kg. He has knowledge of credit access from OMO microcredit service.

Regarding productivity growth in farming activities, the respondent shared the following:

- At the present time, none of the better farmers in the community misuses the improved seeds/fertilizer;
- Crops are the same as the crops a few years ago, but there is improvement in varieties introduced: maize, teff, boloke, sweet potato;
- Introducing fertilizer and using improved seeds is now an obligatory means of farming; land will not yield without them;
- He has not used share cropping so far, because he has better land size;
- Hard work is important, besides the available agricultural inputs; many idle men are still poor with land access; he accepted his better position among the farmers by disclosing available assets when compared to other similar model farmers.

The vice-chair is also a champion farmer. He said that there from eight kebeles in the wereda more than 200 farmers have been recorded as champions. The selection process was based on farm production and the assets we own. The benchmarks were farmers who could produce better outputs and change their livelihood, those who can support other poorer segments of the people and asset estimation, indicating upper sections in the rank. Information about active farmers was collected from the DAs and kebele officials.

He mentioned many activities he had undertaken. In 2000 he took improved seed and worked hard. He used to own a house covered with grass. He has changed things significantly and is now better positioned in farming and owns land in Gara Godo town. He grows maize, *tef*, *boloke*, coffee, potatoes, sweet potatoes, *enset*, bananas, mangoes, avocados, eucalyptus and other trees useful for wood. He has two cows, though not improved ones, and bull/oxen fattening is a regular duty.

He has been a champion for the last three years but only received certificates. There are farmers in other areas in the wereda who are better than him and won prizes like clothes and money. He is happy in his status in the community: having a better house, his children all at school, personally studying for a diploma in accounting (he pays tuition fees), and he bought a house in Gara Godo town at 14x36 square metres for 6000 *birr*.

The champion farmers are expected to play a role in guiding other weaker farmers, to distribute improved seeds from their own harvests, and to create awareness about improved farming approaches and about how to live a better life and use the health and education packages available in the kebele. He gives oxen to young people for fattening to earn a profit, lends money without interest, and offers jobs to agricultural labourers in the neighbourhood. Many poorer people in his neighbourhood eat in his home during hunger periods.

There are some advantages to being a target in farming activities. Any better seed or improved technology or applications arriving in the area first reach the active farmers' home. Rather than the advantages the responsibilities are many. We are committed to help other poor people in the community, pay more tax, and contribute for many issues. We are the first target for any good or bad affairs calling for community participation. There are problems. For example, if the farmers take new seed which is incompatible with the area the first one attacked is the model farmer who adopted it first. Other problems include theft at night-time, the irregular climate, death of cattle and that many people are engaged in begging for daily bread.

He said that living costs have increased much. Coffee and other cash crops are very good and motivate people to work in this farming area. Farming packages are important, but sometimes result for the farmers in unwanted losses due to lack of compatibility with the land that the community have. He reported that there is access to credit from OMO Microfinance, Wisdom Microfinance and also from private borrowers. The interest rate from private borrower is expensive, but easier to get and does not demand a guarantee like other microfinance institutions.

As a farmer, he consults a development agent, and another farmer (CC) for farming affairs. Kebele officials and the wereda security office are familiar sources of support and advice. For instance, he faced a loss of maize due to a bad season and consulted the development agent; however, there was no solution. He advised me to pay the debt for fertilizer and seed and improve the performance in other years.

#### Development teams and 1-5s

A farmer said that the 1-5 linkage is a very important network for communications relevant to kebele affair. The model farmer categories are given training about GTP issues to create awareness about the plan.

There is more on Development teams and one-to-fives on page 133

#### **The Farmers' Training Centre**

Kebele officials said that the FTC was built in 2006/8 on an area of 0.25 hectares. It trains farmers in improved farming technologies such as planting space, mode of fertiliser application, and tillage practices. The land serves as a demonstration plot where the trainees practice the theoretical lessons in the field. A farmer said the FTC was constructed but the intended training was not aided with training materials. The FTC house has no chairs. The existence of the FTC is considered as the recent improvement in the kebele. Community members get training access per year as an important advantage and perceive the scheme as good for building farming awareness. They appreciate access to DAs – vet, crop, NRM, livestock in the kebele but reported that lack of access to offices and formal workshop areas for these packages is a bottleneck limiting the DAs services.

A rich woman said that the FTC does not have enough rooms to accommodate large numbers of farmer trainees at the same time. The available rooms have no chairs and tables. Apart from providing training for a few farmers in one or two rounds the FTC has not been fully functional as it should be. Rather it is becoming more and more neglected despite her expectation to benefit from it.

A model farmer said that the wereda agriculture office/DA introduced farming improvement training at the FTC last year; the model farmers in the kebele attended a training on the utilisation of improved seeds and fertiliser. A poor woman said that she was involved in the FTC and learned improved cropping practices such as row planting, mode of fertiliser application, weeding and cultivation, harvesting and storing products. But she didn't benefit due to the liability of her plot which is so far away from home that her crops are frequently damaged by animals. An average farmer said that farmers are not well-informed about new technologies; though the FTC is newly established.

The DA Crops said that the building is not adequate. It has access to electricity but no water supply. It has a 0.01 hectare demonstration plot but mostly the land of the farmers is used for demonstrations. In January 2011 the wereda agriculture office conducted an education and training session. The training given by the official focused on how to construct channels and drainage, the application of fertiliser, and coffee planting and the processes from land preparation to harvesting. A *teff* and maize package was provided to farmers in addition to a haricot bean package. All packages were successful and *tef* and haricot beans took third place. The success may be due to soil, climate, and farmers' and DAs' efforts. No package failed; the modern farming system is working well.

The farmers in the system work hard on their land and use improved seed and fertiliser (urea and DAP) in a better way than other farmers. There are no weeds on their land. They harvest the product on time and store it to sell it at a better price some other time. The big problem in service provision is that, except for the model farmers, a package is not used due to financial problems and some farmers do not properly work on their land – removing weeds and harvesting at the right time. Some other farmers do not attend the training sessions or do not apply what they have been taught.

### Crops interventions

A group of farmers said in earlier periods farmers prepared seed from their own product for the next farming season but now crop extension and packages at the kebele agriculture office provide the seed for payment. Plant diseases have some curative activities and farmers use fertiliser on a regular basis; previously people used natural fertilisers prepared from household wastage. There was no attention to commercial crop production but now farmers allot a larger portion of land resources for commercial crop production. Traditional fruit plants are replaced by improved ones.

A Champion famer said that there are many improvements in farming practice; full packages supported by DAs helped many farmers to be productive. A model farmer said that farmer training was given a year ago. This was important in creating some skills relating to fertiliser use and improved seeds. Almost all farmers are now using improved seeds due to the awareness created from each other after training. Another farmer said that the wereda agriculture office supplies improved varieties of maize, *teff*, *boloke*, and sweet potato. Another said he could not afford to buy them last year. Some farmers said that most of the improved seed distributions are not compatible with the land, or have expired, and fertiliser is not provided at the same time as the improved seeds to allow them to maintain the right farming season. The fertiliser price is greater than the output sale price and the farmer faces a challenge to pay back the debt. A model farmer said that regularly uses interventions available to the community and is now dependent on compulsory use of fertiliser, improved seeds and planting techniques. Another farmer said that on some occasions they appreciate the older seeds because they are disease-resistant. And another said that poorer farmers are not able to adopt new seeds, fertiliser, or even the care needed during harvesting seasons. The richer FHH said that the household's maize, cabbage, banana, and coffee have increased because of the application of fertiliser and improved seed usage is better than five years ago. She buys fertiliser and improved maize seed form the agriculture office. A poor FHH said she does not get any extension advice and has no financial capacity to pay for fertiliser and for full payment of improved seeds. She has no access to credit.

A middle-wealth farmer said that the problems are land shortage, and shortages of seeds, fertiliser, water for irrigation and awareness. There is advice from DAs, distribution of fertiliser and some improved seeds, orientation about how to use compost. A poor farmer said that the farming advice and inputs are merely focused on model farmers and farming interventions are only targeting households with better income to spend on improved seeds, fertiliser and livestock. Most of the poorer households cannot afford this. Access to credit to buy inputs is required. The wereda agriculture office is an important agent in improving agriculture through awareness creation training on improving planting techniques, harvesting systems and improved farming.

The vice-chair said that extension advice helped him in many aspects. One timad of farming plot used to yield a proportional amount of output but now it yields six-fold given that there is a full package of inputs. Fertiliser supply is common in every year of the farming seasons with 50% credit. Improved seeds are mandatory for most people in the community. It is rare to use compost; if there is a big shortage or high price of fertiliser in the market. He said that there are also many problems harming the farmers' production and productivity. A quota is used to distribute the fertiliser; outdated fertiliser are sometimes distributed, and improves seeds are not suitable or compatible with the soil or weather conditions in the kebele. His wife said that last year she was trained to sow improved seeds by the DA NRM. She used urea and DAP and improved seeds of *tef* and maize which improved the output. She applies compost to her farm to decrease the cost of fertiliser.

Rich and middle-wealth women had been shown techniques of cultivating vegetables in their home gardens. The middle-wealth woman now produces cabbage, onions, tomatoes and peppers. Both have improved family nutrition and sell some of the vegetable

A poor farmer said that coffee production is better because there is an improved coffee variety growing on every household plot. Improved seeds are brought by the kebele office but the price and

quality do not meet the required demand. The price of fertiliser and improved seed is not affordable for poorer farmers. The interventions are also not timely and the quality of the seed and fertiliser is not compatible with the soil. Many farmers face challenges repaying their fertiliser and seed debts.

The model farmer said that almost all farmers are now using improved seeds due to the awareness created from each other after training. Cattle waste is a traditional fertiliser, particularly for enset crops and coffee. However the problem with the fertiliser is that it is mostly incompatible with the plot or has stayed too long in store. Improved seeds are also not coping with the area. His wife said she used both urea and DAP and improved maize seeds.

One of the coffee-shelling investors has a nursery producing coffee seedlings; it grows about 87,000 seedlings a year. The major users are farmers, religious institutions and schools. A seedling costs 0.75 cents. The success of the seedlings can be seen in the colour of the leaves and their height. The nursery loses about 20% of the seedlings between November and March due to the lack of hot climate. It has created job opportunities for eight people. The services of the nursery could be improved by increasing the efficiency of the workers, by using improved technology and by increasing the number of seedlings. The head of the nursery's networks include the wereda agricultural extension officer and the DA at kebele level. The head of the nursery's responsibilities are supervising the workers (how they carry out their duties), observing the seedlings and reporting to the wereda agricultural development office. Increasing the number of workers, improving their benefits and providing different training to enhance their skills:- these are among the major factors that could improve the job.

### **Livestock interventions**

Many farmers said that the veterinary service was not adequate. For example, a Champion farmer said that a veterinary service is available but it is not sufficient and the quality of the service is not good to meet the demands. A middle-wealth farmer said he owned a number of livestock some years ago but many of them died. It is not sufficient service that the government provide to livestock development in the area. For instance, the kebele has not defined the veterinary service for the community to provide both clinical and advisory service. A poor farmer said that the veterinary services are not meeting the demands of the community. A farmer living in a remote part of the kebele said that he vaccinated his cattle but the vet assistance is far from the area. In July 2011 his cows died on the way to the veterinary centre.

A poor farmer said that there has been a promise from the government that poor people will be able to own an ox by borrowing money but it has not been implemented. Veterinary services do not meet the demand from the community. Two women said they manage their cows and calves in line with what the livestock workers told them about feeding. One said that nutritious and high-yielding forage plants should be grown on communal and family grazing land with an appropriate management system so that better draught power, beef, milk and milk products are obtained.

Poultry and bee-keeping activities are not much emphasised but people said there is a demand for bee-keeping, fattening of cattle, goats and sheep, and poultry. A group of men said that poultry, dairy farming and ox fattening were very limited activities but important for a wereda that faces land shortage with over-population. It is harmful to depend on crops in Gara Godo where there is a severe shortage of land. But it is difficult to afford improved cows or goats and sheep for fattening.

### **NRM interventions**

A wereda official said that if a community member is not present during the activities to recover wooded areas the kebele parliament decides upon a penalty of 100-500 *birr*. There is still lack of awareness to protect grazing areas in the communities.

A kebele official said that the community members have been involved in land terracing, grass planting, nursery work, bridging, road and path maintenance that have been organised by the

Agricultural Research Institute of Areka Branch and the Wereda Agriculture Office. More than 500 hectares of land have been improved for farming around the Chala, Hago and Watirro sub-kebele zones. However, lack of awareness among farmers in the community regarding the importance of land terracing is reflected in their request for compensation to work.

Another official said that the kebele organises various environmental related works. In attempts to control erosion, the community built a soil bund along the bank of Gamo River; planted seedlings of eucalyptus, podocarpus and grevillia in closed areas considered as community forest, and prepared canals to divert or drain runoff to natural water ways. Recently some of the activities are incorporated into the PSNP. As a result of these activities, soil loss is reduced; bare grounds covered by vegetation, wood products became available; mosquito breeding centres sprayed.

### **Non-farm occupations**

#### **Local non-farm employment opportunities**

The vice-chair of the kebele is also an employee of OMO Microfinance.

A child from the a poor household is involved in daily labour work in Gara Godo town.

A man is employed as a leader of the Service Co-operative.

#### **Local non-farm business and trading opportunities**

##### **Wood and grass sale**

A destitute landless woman travels long distances to cut and carry grass to sell in the market; it is her main source of income.

##### **Trading**

Cereal retailing is common. The daughter in the Poor Female-headed Household sells garlic and other vegetables from August to September to cover her own wants such as soap, shoes etc. In the richer FHH two daughters are involved in trade buying and selling fruit after school. They started in 2009. One of them bought a bull with the profit. Both girls cover their own expenses and save some money at home in a wood-made bank.

Five years ago the wife in the MHH-Middle started selling her own green pepper, garlic and ginger in the marketplaces; she makes a small profit which she spends on fuel, salt and flour. Her husband has been involved in butchering on market days.

The vice-chair's wife sold maize flour for 17 years and used the small profit to buy salt, spices and gas for lighting. She stopped last year and started trading in butter as her husband is attending college study. In order to get enough time she stopped flour trading. From 100 kg flour she could get 100 *birr* profit but profit from the butter trade is not satisfactory – only 10 *birr* from 1 kg of butter. She also buys and sells *tef*, maize and coffee. This year she bought 300 kg of maize and 100 kg of coffee to sell when their prices increases at some later time.

The wife in the poor household buys *tef*, coffee and maize and re-sells them in retail markets; she has been doing this for three years. She buys salt, fuel, tomatoes and ginger.

The destitute woman (Mod8) sells oranges in the market.

##### **Services**

The very poor woman has worked providing water with a donkey. In Gara Godo town shops include a barber and a DSTV rental shop. Women undertake beauty salon activities. Teenagers work in microbusinesses including shoeshine boys and table-tennis renting.

##### **Transport**

Access to transport in Gara Godo is improved. Bajaj motor bicycle, bajaj 3-tyres, and car transport

are very familiar since 2008.

The renting of motor bikes for transportation is an emerging business for some youth in the community; some do it when not in school or college.

### **Production**

Carpentry and house construction are common activities.

### **Government non-farm livelihood interventions**

A wereda official said that woodwork and metalwork shops were established in 2008 for organised youth groups. The groups were provided with hand tools and a working place. Similarly, various business groups, especially of females, dealing with different activities such as barberry and women's hair dressing and trading were established and given assistance including credit service to run by their own. Generally, a total credit of Birr 500,000 was issued for 27 business groups in 2005. Nonetheless, most of these business groups collapsed even before paying back their debt. Until now only Birr 100,000 was collected back through law enforcement.

A kebele official said that women or youth packages are focusing on enterprise development related to non-farm activities. Credit is supplied to the household based on the selection criteria: returning the credit, investing on development activities and able to work. Women's packages include vegetables, better trading, and spinning, and youth packages, ox fattening, petty trading, wood work, and metal work. Enterprise development by SMEs is in progress. Non-farming interventions are environmental protection, training deemed to create awareness, empowering young, vulnerable women, child and elder. Another kebele official said that woodwork and metalwork are the only non-farm interventions exercised in the community. The kebele organises interested young men and supports them in accessing work place, electric power supply and credit service.

A poor man said that access to non-farming interventions has not been available in the kebele for the last three to four years. A rich woman said she would like to run a retail shop near the market selling various grains. A middle-wealth woman wants to sell vegetables. Neither of them can get land. A poor woman interviewed runs a local café and rents a room which serves as a shop. As there is non-one except herself to support her family since her husband died engaging in non-farm activities appeared to be the only means for survival.

### **Marketing**

#### **Output markets**

A group of men said that existing commercial crops such as coffee have been highly demanded in the market and their price has been improving. Agricultural production and productivity are now improved due to adopting some new technologies (improved or new seeds, fertiliser, pesticides and training) when compared with four or five years ago. On average, except in shock seasons, the community sells or saves more agricultural products than in the past. Prices of farm and non-farm products have improved compared with 5 years ago but agricultural input prices have also risen.

A group of women said that the quantity of grain, potatoes, vegetables and other food stuff, livestock and livestock products sold has decreased compared with 2005. Sale of coffee, chat and eucalyptus has increased. In the past people exported outputs to the wereda market but now the petty trader uses the kebele market which takes place twice a week. Outputs have decreased compared with 5 years ago.

A farmer said that the market for cash crops like coffee is becoming active and attractive to motivate the further expansion of farming in cash crop areas. 1 kg of coffee is 120 *birr* and 100 kg of maize 600 *birr*. A middle-wealth farmers sold coffee, *tef*, *boleke*, and avocado in the last year. The cash crop price in the market has been improving much. The vice-chair said that coffee production has been much improved due to its sky-rocketing price. There is increased demand and higher prices for

maize, *tef*, and coffee. Milk, butter and milk-related products have higher prices. Livestock prices are better which attracted the smallholder to be involved in share fattening businesses. A poor farmer said the price of coffee has also increased which greatly attracts the community to produce coffee. People with larger farms also work on *tef*; its price has greatly increased. A champion farmer said that prices of grains, oxen and cows have increased which is good for farmers. Some years ago the prices of *tef*, maize, and other cash crop products were not attractive but these days all have been lifted up.

### **Input and consumption markets**

A group of men said that farmers observed that the price of fertilisers and improved seeds increase while their output in the market is not equally responsive – the price fluctuates up and down. The output price the farmer sells at is most of the time lower than the input price,

A group of women said that people buy more staple food, like enset, and other food stuffs, improved seeds, fertilisers and pesticides these days compared with 2005. However the capacity to buy household goods is very limited.

The vice-chair said that prices of improved seeds and fertiliser are higher. A champion farmer said that clothes are very costly compared with earlier times.

### **PSNP and other food-for-work**

#### **PSNP**

A wereda official said that PSNP has been operational in all 29 kebeles in the wereda since 2005. The local government plan different activities to be included in the programme and number of beneficiaries on the basis of which the Federal Government allocate desirable resource sufficient for 6 months (January to June) each year. The wereda officers in collaboration with kebele council and community identify beneficiary HHs on the basis of total assets. Until now 8206 HHs, comprising 32625 individuals, has benefited from the programme and 1848 HHs were graduated during the last three years. Since 2005 to present a total of Birr 225,156,800.00 and 80.1234 tons of food grain was distributed to the beneficiaries in the wereda.

#### **Selection of beneficiaries**

##### Selection generally

A wereda official said that a household whose per-capita share of its members is less than Birr 2998.00 would be selected to benefit from the programme.

A kebele official said that people who participate in food for work (FFW) programme are selected in a public conference. The poor who cannot eat 3 times a day are eligible to participate in the FFW. Out of 1248 households only 133 are participating in the PSNP. Beneficiary selection is done by a team organized from religious and kebele leaders and agricultural workers and a public meeting is conducted for the decision. The community at the meeting elect and select the poor that can participate in the programme. Replacing individuals in the FFW programme is only possible for widows.

The HEW on the targeting committee said that the quota for last year included separate quotas for public work and direct support beneficiaries. The quota was for number of households. It was 4 households, two for female-headed households and two male-headed households. The quota was not large enough. Last year 30 households (people) needed it, but due to the quota problem the kebele officials were unable to make them beneficiaries even though they believed in their inclusion. There is no recent change in the quota. The quota system should not depend on the size of the kebele population. It should be determined by the number of poor in the kebele. This would improve the quota system. The kebele has no right to improve the quota.

She said that direct support beneficiaries are less poor than public work beneficiaries. More

graduates should be from direct support beneficiaries in order to include more poor people who are not beneficiaries.

A kebele official said that the kebele has an annual plan to replace those people who leave PSNP due to death, moving away or graduation.

Public works selection and graduation

A kebele official said that currently 108 households (8.65%) are benefiting from the FFW programme. A HEW said there are nine members of the PSNP targeting decision-making body including herself. They are the kebele food security task force members, namely: CN (land administration), BM (justice and peace cabinet), UA (kebele chairman) and ZL (OMO micro finance and vice-chair). These are the kebele cabinet. Other members are UE, land administration secretary, TM, DA chairperson, AH and XC, members. All of them are party members. They identify PSNP beneficiaries who do not participate in public works and tell those beneficiaries to participate in public works. They give quick solutions to problems, identifying the poorest households and retargeting PSNP beneficiaries. Since all kebele officials are the member of the body. It is not independent. Nothing has changed recently.

Together with other members, the HEW checks the list of targeted beneficiaries and approves them. She started this job in Oct, 2010. She has served for a year. There is no incentive, she serves without payment. She does not enjoy the role because households or persons who are not included are always complaining without any reason. She received no training. Nothing has changed.

For advice, help support or to solve problem she goes to the kebele administration and to the members of the PSNP targeting decision making body.

She said that the poorest households are targeted. The selection benchmarks are the availability of land size, not covering annual food needs, being unable to work due to age or other problems, having no ox, etc. The kebele administration assesses each sub kebele and identifies beneficiaries. After that the community members discuss and approve the list of beneficiaries. The names of targeted persons are passed to the wereda. Any problems related to targeting or retargeting PSNP beneficiaries can be resolved by the committee and by the community meeting.

Retargeting has taken place every year. Retargeting is also carried out in the quota. The total number of retargeting households is divided into the sub kebeles equally. The retargeting was carried out in February 2011. Each sub kebele retargeted 16 households from 4 sub kebeles. It was not successful. Out of 16 households only 8 households have been included as beneficiaries. Another 8 households applied to the kebele committee. Beneficiary status change is monitored every year based on death, moving away, and resettlement. Last year their status was not changed. Based on changes, PSNP support responses are updated every year. The retargeting process is not changed. If asset registration of beneficiaries is clear the retargeting process will be improved.

The vice-chair/peace and security officer said that the PSNP decision-making committee includes the kebele chair, kebele information, kebele political affairs, kebele peace and security, religious leader, DAs, School director, and public assembly.

People who have moved from the area and those who have died were replaced by increasing the size of public work family groups and not by admitting new individuals. Three people were reconsidered for replacement.

Last year, three people from PW left the membership and the committee decided to resize the family size of the existing PW members. The quota was given for number of people in a household, not for additional households. As usual, the committee reconsidered the family size reasonably larger and registered for PSNP only fewer for the new quota. The quota is by no means sufficient to meet the demand of people to be beneficiaries. The demand for beneficiary membership is very high, but the quota is very small. There is no recent change in the PSNP programme, except the work

in progress, i.e. the usual replacement in place of those who left the membership by family members of existing beneficiaries. For us, he said, the improvement of quota means including many households, but it is difficult to do so with the existing situation. It would be good if the wereda allowed us to reconsider new families, but it is not allowed.

The selection was made for the first time in the year 2005 and there has been no other selection of candidates for PSNP. During the first selection processes, the team members and the public assembly together screened the poorer segment of the community. Wealth ranking was made among the poorer community members. The duty was independent of kebele administration and happened once in the past. No new selection has been made or replacement with new entrants, rather the members are leaving from the programme through a little graduation and some have exited due to death or leaving for other areas.

The respondent's role is as member of the team since its establishment in the year 2005. There has been no additional remuneration from this duty, because it is the responsibility of the community. However, the bad thing about the task is that it results in conflict with individuals who missed the chance during the screening processes. Regarding the PSNP programme, there has been no training arrangement.

For any affair related to the PSNP programme, the kebele officials come together and discuss or contact the wereda agricultural office head. The community elders are members of the committee and usually share the ideas during a demand for consultation. There was a request to admit additional household members due to the death of other family members. However, the committee members are informed about the request and consultation was made to give the opportunity to those people more eligible to be admitted to the vacant position. It was not a new admission, but sharing the vacant quota with those larger families who registered only a few members.

The DA livestock said he is a member of the PSNP committee.

A wereda official said that regarding the Appeal system, the community mainly address appeals to the kebele. Then, the kebele officials forward the appeal to wereda officials.

A woman member of the kebele PSNP appeals body said it has seven members: Other members are Ato BM (kebele cabinet), Woyzero B (cabinet), Ato TM (cabinet), MH, Woyzero XC and Woyzero FZ. All are party members. The appeals committee has regular meetings once a month. They discuss individual/ household complaints about PSNP inclusion or exclusion and graduation. They collect information and check whether the appeal is right or not. Finally they give their decisions on the issue. It is not independent, but part of kebele administration. There is no recent change in the appeals body and in its functioning. She has served as a committee member for 5 years. She gives free service. She enjoys the role because this responsibility is given to her by the kebele people. She is happy to serve these people. She received no training. There is no recent change. If she needed advice, help or had a problem she would go to the kebele officials

She said there had only been one PSNP appeal; in October 2011. A man appealed against his graduation from PSNP. According to the appeal the record of his wealth status was wrong. He appealed to the committee since he was poor. His graduation was not fair. The appeal is still in process. The decision has not been made yet.

A man said he has been serving as PSNP appeals decision maker since 2005; he is a party member and play some roles in a church. There are five other members of the appeals committee who are not members of the cabinet (elders?). He reported that those people who were not selected during screening and selection used to submit their appeal to the committee. The duty is independent of kebele activities. There is no recent change, except the large number of appeals which were made at the earlier stage. Some appeals still come when the beneficiaries are asked to graduate. As a chairman, he plays a role like calling the committee members for meeting and looking at the cases one by one in order to decide on them. Since 2005, while the PSNP programme began, he has been

engaged on the duty. There is no remuneration from the kebele, but it is the responsibility of the community to serve the public. In the beginning of the programme, the wereda gave training on "How to screen and select the beneficiaries and handle the appeals". He said that the committee has very clear information about the selection processes as well as the handling of appeals in any kind of a programme that targets the poor. He reported that the kebele DA for agriculture is an immediate person asked about any vague issue related to the PSNP appeal management. The community elders are working with the committee and their idea support is great. For instance, the first selection processes of the PSNP beneficiaries were done with the active involvement of the elders and the other community members.

A poor woman complained about not benefiting from the programme despite her eligibility. She blames the kebele officials who are supposed to select target beneficiaries but choose individuals based on their blood or clan relationship or other lineage irrespective of the criteria.

The vice-chair provided statistics showing 50% of PW beneficiaries were poor, 29% of medium wealth, and 21% rich. 80% of direct beneficiaries were poor, 20% of middle wealth and 9% rich. 98% of PW recipients were party members (though he later said they all were) and 100% of direct support beneficiaries. 3 households graduated in 2010 and three in 2011. A Public Works participant said that beneficiaries are party members.

EE is aged 34 and completed grade 10th. He has 8 household members including himself and is married to one wife. He is engaged in farming and the other household members are dependent on him. He serves the kebele as a guard. The head of a poorer household, Ato Dereje has no other role in the community; however, there is a party membership commitment. He reported that there is a church network. In 2005, Ato Dereje was excluded from the PSNP programme, because of his personal arrogant behaviour. He said that he had no good respect for the community members or the kebele officials when he returned from the military. The kebele directly rejected him, since his personal behaviour was not good, as he reported. He could submit an appeal to the wereda, but the response was identical to the kebele's. The appeal processes if the kebele can create sufficient awareness to the community. The personality and poverty were informally linked. There is high demand from every household excluded from the PSNP. Many of the members are party members. The respondent has no information about inclusion of new members. There is a very small quota that includes only a few households. Recently, there is no new change observed.

Another poor farmer said he was excluded because of his poor relations with the kebele manager.

A wereda official said that community members hide their assets during the graduation assessment period. A kebele official said that in 2011 three households graduated. The criteria for graduation are the achievement of household asset estimation amounting at least 2980 birr. Agricultural workers, kebele leaders and development agents rank the wealth of the household to identify the status for graduation from FFW programme. Respondents report that the major reason for graduation was the hardworking of farmer households. However, there is still weak aspiration by farmers to change their livelihood. Saving habit is very poor in the community. Money or food release delays to respond to the beneficiaries demand.

Another kebele official said that four people had graduated; these households were said not to have accumulated the level of wealth set for graduation but the kebele graduated them as ordered by the wereda. Kebele officials complained that the community is not benefiting from the programme equally with other communities. A rich farmer said that community members do not want to graduate from the programme and sometimes there is a quarrel between participants and kebele leaders when they inform those who are successful.

He said fulfilling food security and becoming less poor are the benchmarks for graduation. The numbers of livestock, fruit trees, beehives and crops are assessed in each household. The amount of assets is calculated in terms of money, then based on the total amount of assets the products

identified, less poor households would graduate. The graduates were better than other in wealth. There was a quota for graduation. The number of graduates came from the wereda, but the kebele can modify the number of graduates. For example, last year the wereda gave 6 households for the kebele as the quote for graduation, but the kebele graduated only 4 households

Last year the graduates in the kebele were selected by the committee. The committee members consulted the households about the graduation, why the household were selected and the conditions of others or potential beneficiaries. They did not refuse in front of committee members, but they refuse graduation in different places in different ways. The graduates did not get any prize, but supports are given for a year to strengthen them. The wereda is involved in graduation. It gives a quota for kebele graduation, but the kebele committee decides who the graduates are. There is no change in selection process for graduates. Graduation should not be based on quota, but should be on poverty status. For PSNP graduates the support is given for one more year. There is access to credit from OMO micro finance institution, though it was not actualised. If they want to, they can borrow. There is no other support. Most of them did not achieve sustainable food security. As a result of this the support continues for one year. There is no household readmitted to PSNP after suffering shocks. No recent change.

He said there were other appeals during graduation from persons like FH and HD These people were not accepting the graduation, even though they are better off relative to other programme members. The committee decision was not changed and the candidates were eliminated from the programme. The committee could convince them that their actual asset position was better when compared to others. They reported to the wereda; however, there was no change in decision. The final decision has been made by the committee and the kebele approves the decision. In fact, the beneficiaries have some perception problem related to the benefit. They are not willing to escape from [leave] the beneficiary lists. Not only them, but also the others who are not eligible are also willing [keen] to be admitted to the programme. The gradation time is worse to evaluate, because it results in a conflict with the beneficiaries.

FH said he graduated in the year 2010. The kebele informed him that he had a resource that fulfilled the graduation requirement, which was not sufficient as well as being different from the previous situations. The kebele chairman and other kebele officials visited his home and estimated the asset at about 3000 birr. Actually, they informed him that the wereda required them to identify beneficiaries who have relatively better assets than other members. It was not due to attaining the benchmarks, but the relative assets owned by a beneficiary compared to other members that were considered. He said the graduation process was direct by enforcement, rather than by his achieving the required level of food security or independence. He said, "I am still poor".

The kebele officials informed him that they were required by the kebele to graduate beneficiaries based on the quota. They have not given the beneficiary any benefit. The involvement of the wereda was mentioned by the kebele officials even though it was not direct. At present, the beneficiary is involved in his personal activities/farming. He could not offer possible improvement options.

He said that food security is a matter of personal farming or working on other business, but the benefit was not sufficient, and insignificant to bring about a change. It was not possible to admit. He said, "I am food insecure".

#### Direct support selection

The HEW on the targeting committee said that direct beneficiaries are elderly people who are too old to work and have no supporters; very poor disabled people; and orphans who are too young to work and have no support.

An elderly blind direct beneficiary died but his three family members continued as beneficiaries.

### **Support provided**

#### Overall support provided

A wereda official said that each of the selected households participates in various activities of the programme for which the family is paid at the rate of Birr 50 per month for each of its members. The duration of the programme may vary depending on the length of drought (scarcity of food), for instance the programme was extended up to October for about 9 months in 2009. In such circumstances beneficiaries collect food grains instead of cash.

A kebele official said that he FFW programme is implemented as: 50 Birr per person in a household per day; in hungry seasons, three times food (15 kg per person) and 3 times cash is provided. Kebele officials said that payment is not delivered on time. It can be at least two months late. The vice-chair said that the provision is 15 kg of wheat per person or 75 *birr*(starting in 2010), although recipients all said they got 50 *birr* per person.

The HEW on the targeting committee said that the PSNP support (food/cash) arrived at the kebele in January last year. As compared with previous years the food arrived on time. Cash did not arrive on time. She does not know why. She does not know how much food/cash arrived at the kebele, but the food was 15 kg wheat and 50 *birr* per beneficiary. She does not know how much was promised and how much arrived. There is no recent change. In 2009 only 3 months' cash arrived. Beneficiaries did not know the exact time when they would be given the food or cash, but they did not get cash on time. If late, it was late up to 3 months. When cash payment was late, beneficiaries borrowed money from individuals at high interest rates. It landed them in debt. Beneficiaries did not know how much food would arrive and whether it was the promised amount or not. The amount of food has not changed, but the amount of cash increased to 50 *birr* per beneficiary.

A man with two wives having four family members registered for PWs said the PSNP supports come very late and the kebele deducts some quantities for any contributions. The quality has been good, but the beneficiaries engage in much borrowing activities guaranteeing to the local money lenders that they will repay the credit when they receive the benefit from PSNP. He reported deductions like school contribution (6 *birr*), labour during the distribution of support (4 *birr*), saving (15 *birr*) and party membership (20 *birr*).

#### Public works support provided

For Public Works support only some members are considered.

#### Direct support provided

The vice-chair said that all family members of direct support beneficiaries are eligible for the PSNP.

An elderly direct support beneficiary is 80 years old and does not know whether she is a party member or not. She was selected for her poverty status and has received PSNP support for five years. All members of the household were registered to receive three months support last year. In total the household received 650 *birr*. She prefers cash to food because she is weak and unable to resist the forces of strong beneficiaries in the distribution centre. She also received foreign wheat.

The quantity of food and cash was not sufficient for the household. It did not cover the needs of all family members. She had food gaps for 2 or 3 months. She needed additional support from government. If she no longer gets PSNP support, she will wait for her death from hunger. If food distribution is on time PSNP direct support will be improved. Neither cash nor food came on time. Deductions for fertiliser, improved seeds and other government debt are taken from the cash but she has no such debts so nothing was deducted.

The PSNP support did not reduce or stop asset selling and getting in to debt. She paid debt when she received cash. The household covered health costs by PSNP support. She needed more support from relatives and friends, but they have their own problems. Therefore, their support was reduced. The

support of others decreased after she started receiving PSNP support.

She said that not everyone who needed PSNP support got it because the number of beneficiaries was limited. The quota was too small. Only the poorest of the poor were included. The less poor who needed support did not receive it because of the quota.

A woman direct beneficiary who is not married and has a sight problem lives with the children of her brother. The household has no main livelihood activity and used to be supported by the Catholic Church though this has not stopped. She has been getting PSNP support for six years; three members of the household were registered and she received 6 months support last year; she received 650 *birr* but no food. The cash was not sufficient. It was meaningless. It could not buy enough food. She had food gaps for 6 months from January to June. She needed additional support from the government. If she no longer gets PSNP support, the problems of the household will be aggravated. If food support is given to direct beneficiaries, the PSNP direct beneficiary support will be improved.

A disabled ex-soldier who is a direct beneficiary said that deductions are usual for the school contribution, party membership and sport (14 *birr*). Another person in a direct beneficiary household said that contributions for the school, OMO MFI savings and party membership contributions are deducted.

#### **The Public Works work**

A wereda official said that work activities focuses on conservation and rehabilitation of natural resources, such as construction of terrace, soil/stone bund, water ways, forestation, etc. According to the wereda officer, during the PSNP work, the PSNP beneficiaries and the kebele leaders will discuss on what activities should be covered with the given duration. Hence, based on the agreement the activities will take place. Mostly the activities lies on watershed management and road maintenance.

A kebele official said that the work included road improvement, wooden bridging, terracing, nursery and planting, watershed management. Work is done for six months for five days a month. A household with one family member works for 5 days per month and the working days increase as the family number included in the programme increases. People work in the FFW programme from January to June every year.

A 45 year-old woman with two members registered said all household members took part in the public work. They worked 5 days per week in public work for about 4 hours per day from 8 AM-12 AM. All members of household worked on the same days. Beneficiaries are divided into different groups. She works with her group. She and the group members worked equally 4 hours per day until the given work was completed. She worked 5 days per week for 6 months. She was not given training. She used her own tool, but the kebele officials provided tools for persons who did not have their own. Terracing, bridge and road construction or maintenance was hard work. Tree planting was medium work. Women and men worked equally. Attendance was taken every time at the work place. They were not effective. They did not mark as absent persons whom they know. They did not take appropriate records. If they treat all PSNP public work beneficiaries equally monitoring will improve. There is no change in the monitoring system.

There was no conflict from people doing more or less work. All were expected to work equally. If someone worked less and the group members gave information to kebele officials, they would give a solution. She did not feel exploited. The wage rate or food is not equivalent to the amount of work she did in public work. It was not fair. If the wage rate was 100 *birr* per beneficiary and food increased by 10 kg per beneficiary, the rate would be fair. She went to a development agent if she needed advice or support. She and other household members did the same public work. They participated in tree planting (grevillia and Tid) on the bank of Gamo River.

She preferred working on road construction or maintenance, leaning road and tree planting, because it benefits all community members. Tree planting was the most useful public work for her because, it was easy. The least useful public work for her was making terraces on individual farms, because it did not benefit her. Road and bridge construction were the most useful public works for the community, because all community members use the bridges or roads equally. Making terraces on individual farms was the least useful public work for the community, because no one benefited from it except that farmer and household.

A man of 48 with two wives and four family members registered. They work 4 days a week 16 days a month. Every morning from 8:00am -12:00am the PW workers remain busy. There was no training given to the workers, however, the activities are supported by DAs who need some more guidance. The kebele manager and DAs supervise the work of the PW; however, the workload is not bad. There is no conflict among the workers, but those failing to attend are considered as absent and penalized during the benefit. The members are told to ask permission if there is a problem beyond their control. There is no other kind of remuneration, except the benefit during support distribution. The kebele manager is an immediate contact person for any case related to PSNP affairs and related benefits. He worked on tree planting, terracing, roads, bridges and school building activities under PW. He said that road construction is very important for the public, thus, it is better to appreciate this work. He said none of the works mentioned are bad, but road construction is preferable for the public benefit at large. Market access is easier, sending a child to school become simple and transporting or networking with other categories or parts of the community become possible because of better road access within the community. He said that the same is better for the community too.

#### **Contingency PSNP**

A wereda official said that the programme was extended for up to nine months in 2009. A kebele official said that there was no contingency PSNP between 2005 and 2011.

#### **Emergency Food Aid (FFW)**

A group of men said that 65-70% of hhs demanded food aid in 2009 and 2011. In the year 2009, the farming outputs were not sufficient and the volume of output could not cover consumption period beyond 2 - 3 months in average. People could purchase the consumables from market with inflated price due to shortage of the farm outputs. Indeed, 70% of households demanded food aid because the population size and farm output mismatched. PSNP food aid and emergency aid are usually targeting the poorer sections of the community, but very limited to a few people. However, many people are eligible to receive the food-aid during hunger season happening from weather condition changes. The aid received was not used for more than a week. Most of the time, the food aid is white. The poorer people have no other options during peak hunger seasons and demand food aid for temporary solutions.

A wereda official said that the number of beneficiaries of emergency food aid decreased from 14,000 in 2007/8 to 3,000 in 2011.

A kebele official said that there is fragmented support with flour, oil and other nutritious food donations from NGOs through the wereda health office as mentioned by the kebele manager. This kind of support comes once in two years or so and is not related to PSNP.

A rich farmer said that sometimes emergency food aid is given to poorer households or vulnerable people. There is food aid for children and breast-feeding mothers during hunger seasons.

#### **Compensation aid**

No mention.

## Impacts on the households and the community

### Impact of PSNP and EFA on households

The vice-chair said that they use the support for consumption, but it is not possible to stop borrowing after exhausting the benefit within the given six months and paying some past credits received from local money lenders. Actually, it is a visible fact of the PSNP benefit to send children to schools, and pay for family members' medical service, though it is a short-run effect. The beneficiaries sell part of the benefit to purchase other household consumables like gas, spices for coffee and other grains useful for breakfast. For instance, they sell 2-5 kg of wheat and buy some maize, every day gas for home lighting and spices for morning coffee. Actually, he said, the former supporters neglect to support these people, because they consider the beneficiaries as supported by government. The beneficiaries are also not willing and feel shy to ask for support from relatives or neighbours since they are now considered as supported by government. The support is not sufficient. It is obvious that the beneficiaries have no other option to searching for support from the community or working as labourers or for some, engaging in begging.

An elderly woman direct beneficiary said it improved the livelihoods of the beneficiaries directly. If she no longer gets PSNP support she will wait for her death from hunger. A blind woman said the existence of the household was unthinkable without PSNP support. Another direct beneficiary said the impact is visible in five months consumption-smoothing.

The vice-chair mentioned the following issues as part of the impact of the programme:

- Those who eat less than three times a day could eat up to three times a day;
- Those who used to live in a traditional home could change their home into a corrugated iron sheet house and separate their room from cattle/ become non-smoking home - very few beneficiaries;
- Owned goat, sheep and some household assets;
- Those who could not send their children to school now have started sending them;
- They used to borrow from local money lenders at the highest interest rates; they could reduce from this kind of borrowing;
- However, he said, the beneficiaries are not willing to change their perception towards sustainable changes;
- Most of the beneficiaries have a syndrome not to detach themselves from the beneficiary list

The HEW on the targeting committee said the support per person was not sufficient. They did not stop or reduce asset selling and getting in to debt in hard times. Some beneficiaries got sufficient months of support in the year, but some households do not feed their members for 9 months or more. These households do not get sufficient months of support. The support is for 6 months. They need 9 or more months' support. Beneficiaries need to find additional support. They needed it in the kebele, but did not know the exact source, it can be from government or NGOs or both. If they did not get PSNP support they would have migrated to other areas, families would have separated. They would have been exposed to more hunger, starvation, disease and death. If the support reaches the beneficiaries on time, problems related to these will be resolved. OFSP/HABP packages are important to improve the living standards of PSNP support beneficiaries. These packages give a chance to beneficiaries to diversify their income sources with different business activities. They make short their graduation time. This creates the chance to include others in PSNP.

A woman on the appeals committee said the PSNP protected the community against food insecurity and destitution in a limited manner. It reduced hunger-related death and migration. It reduced asset selling and getting into debt, but did not fully prevent such problems. Most of households in the kebele want to be included in PSNP support, regardless of sex, age or wealth status. Beneficiaries also do not want to be graduated. They do not give correct information about their wealth; rather they keep cattle and other assets away from their house.

A poor woman said she wanted to be a PSNP beneficiary. She was excluded without her consent. She did not know why she was excluded, because she did not know where to go and whom to ask about the reason. She did not receive any support. She makes areke to sell. It is the main source of income for the household in order to cover its costs. She works without rest. Due to this and the effect of heat and smoke of firewood she has become unhealthy. The family members do not get enough food. As she cannot cover the cost of schooling, the children do not attend school. If she had got the support she would have started another safe business and could have sent children to school.

### **Impact of PSNP and EFA on the community**

A wereda official said that for sustainable pro-poor development, investing on enabling their production and productivity environment plays a crucial role. The achievements in food aid scheme might be the short-run effect on consumption. Recently, in the wereda relatively better people are not willing to take food aid when compared to the poorer. There is no sufficient food aid that meets the demand of people willing to get aid. Indeed, there is no as such difficult situation to distribute the food aid, but some people relatively eligible to get food aid miss the opportunity due to insufficiency. Emergency food aid is always targeting on children or mothers suffering from lack of nutritious diet. The aid approach is not a sustainable one and building aid-free community is a direction we have to work out. The poorer sections are highly expecting the aid from government or non-governmental organizations, mostly, in income or consumption shock times emerging due to natural catastrophes.

The HEW on the targeting committee said that PSNP support protected the beneficiaries against food insecurity and destitution, but PSNP improved opportunities, livelihoods, better jobs for the community, and the construction of roads and bridges have positive impacts. Beneficiaries do not want to be graduated. Others also want to be included in PSNP even though they have achieved food security, therefore it created a dependency culture in the community. It did not increase conflict within the community, but conflicts among people increased, especially in male-headed households with more than one wife. Mostly food and cash were not distributed equally. Conflict arises between husband and wives following distribution. Most non-beneficiaries have set [gained?] confidence. They have developed less dependency culture than beneficiaries. There is no recent change.

A woman on the appeals committee said the terraces, roads, bridges and other things which have been done in public works are necessary for the community. They improve the livelihood of the community and the beneficiaries indirectly and directly. PSNP support has created a culture of dependency. It reduced conflict. The impact of PSNP support is the same in different groups. All groups need PSNP support. The culture of work is reduced among different groups. The community members have connected everything with aid. For example when they were called for discussions about health, education or agricultural issues they did not want to participate if there was no incentive of cash or food.

A rich farmer said that recently, people have awareness about the importance of safety-net programme and its duration of use. Indeed, it is important to support vulnerable people through this kind of programme, if not, there will be theft or we are morally responsible to support the individual as one of the community members. There is also a food-aid oriented approach among the members, which is a bad habit. Increasing food productivity is an important solution to cope with increasing prices. A poor farmer said that the aid is not satisfactory, but it is important to solve the recurring challenges of food insecurity and hunger.

A poor direct beneficiary woman of 80 said that PSNP support helped poor households. It protected the community against food security and destitution in a limited way, but the community was not fully protected. It reduced selling of assets and getting into debt, but it did not prevent it. It improved the livelihoods of the beneficiaries directly and other community members indirectly. It

created a culture of dependency. Most of them considered it as a monthly salary; the community did not want to change their living standards through other means. It did not increase conflicts. All community members, even the rich households, also needed PSNP support.

### Savings, credit and debt

#### Savings by individuals

Leading businessman saves 40 *birr* a week with a microfinance institution in the kebele.

#### Community-organised credit

A number of people reported being involved in ***equb***. For example a leading businessman deposits 100 *birr* a week in an ***equb***

Private **money lenders** are easily accessible but the interest rate is high and the return period low. For example a lender of 100 *birr* receives 200 *birr* in return.

The poor household head said that during drought seasons he takes credit from **relatives**. For instance last year he borrowed 3000 *birr* from a relative.

A leading businessman involved in collecting timber from rural areas and selling it in urban areas. He faced a financing shortage to buy timber worth 30,000 *birr* and had to borrow 15,000 for 15 days. He returned it with some interest.

#### General government, donor and NGO credit

A wereda official said that a credit service for farmers is organised by the credit and saving institution in the wereda but the households' attitude to use the credit for productive activities is weaker. Another wereda official said that a private enterprise known as Wisdom microfinance (affiliate of World Vision) provides a credit service for individuals organised in a group of 5 members at an interest rate of 20%. OMO microfinance lends to individuals in a group of 5 with an interest rate of 15%.

A small group of men said that since 2007 a micro-credit programme has been functioning in the community; recently the credit supply is not only for groups; individuals can receive it on a package basis. A kebele official said that both OMO and Wisdom, which are based in the wereda town, are providing credit service to households in the community. The eligibility criteria are kebele residence, hard worker, no loan from any other organisation, no debt accumulation, no default history. Saving helps the household to pay back the principal and their own capital. The interest rate is less than the rate in informal credit markets in the kebele.

The leader of OMO MFI said that the organisation has 109 members and a committee of five members. A person who wants credit must save 20% of the amount of the credit. Money that is saved is transferred to the wereda by a person who represents the kebele in the OMO micro finance organization. The saving interest rate is 5%; the credit is short term credit. The organization teaches about saving and credit to the community members by house to house visits, in iddir meeting and in religious institutions. It gets resources from government financial and technical support. Last year 109 individuals benefited; out of the beneficiaries 60 were females, the remaining 49 were males. It serves community members by providing loans at very low interest rates as compared with the interest rate of individual lenders. The organization is successful by creating credit access for the poor and protecting farmers from higher interest rates of individual lenders.

Teaching the community about the importance of saving and encouraging them to save, and facilitating credit for the persons who have saved are the work done by the organization. He works 9 hours per day for five days a week. He gets 610 *birr* per month. The organization does not cover the transport costs for the person who takes reports to the wereda. This unnecessary expense for the worker makes problems on the job. Improving the salary of the workers and having an (adequate) office are very important things to enable them to serve the community in a better way.

The security chief, who is 40, said that OMO Microfinance Gara Godo kebele branch is offering a credit service in group lending modalities. The branch has recently been established at kebele level which was previously based at Boloso Sore wereda office. There are 42 members and 6 sub-groups with 7 members. People prefer private borrowing to the OMO MFI because the default rate in group lending has been risky. There is also Wisdom Microfinance and Saving Co-operatives Institution.

He borrows money from OMO to buy oxen and fatten them for re-selling in a better market which only takes 6 months to earn profit. He borrowed 2,500 *birr* in 2008 and bought an ox for 2,300 and gave 200 to his wife for retail trade. He received a second loan of 3000 *birr* in 2009. After buying an ox for 2,300 *birr* again he invested 700 *birr* in *tef* and maize seed. The results were attractive. He sold the ox for 3,300 *birr* making a profit of 1000 *birr*. His wife is still in retail trade from the initial loan; the profit is allocated to household expenses. She saves 20 *birr* a week in an *equb*. The interest rate is only 14%; it would have been 100% from a private lender.

Elderly people, adults, young women, youths, vulnerable people and poorer households are not taking part in the institutional credit market, because they are not active enough to repay loans. Richer households, model farmers, petty trade groups and craftsmen are regular participants in the credit market. The reason to include these groups is to minimize the default rate. The wealth of the credit applicant is estimated before giving a credit.

The participants are active persons in productive activities and the return is better for participants. He reported also that the group members participating in the credit have a communication and meeting about the progress. All have an intention to proceed with additional borrowing, which also confirms that the participation has a positive impact on participants' livelihood improvement.

Asked about personal experiences of the respondent in this participation, he reported the following success and failure stories:

- Farmer participants have been engaged in oxen fattening; he is also part of it.
- Merchants involved in cash crop retail trading are taking more than six rounds of credit.
- Among participants in their group, one farmer is involved in ginger production, which has supported him to buy a home in Areka town;

Institutional credit access has been benefitting the community in many ways. Before this access, people were borrowing from individuals at expensive prices.

Participants have been undertaking the following major activities:

- Farmers- are mainly involved in buying improved seeds/fertilizer or fattening of ox/sheep;
- Traders are involved in cash crop retail trade;
- Shopkeepers have improved their shop capital;
- Government officers are also taking credit by forming groups with others.

He reported that the default rate is not available [that there are no defaults?], because the group members included are in better financial positions. He also reported problems related to credit programme participation: Other categories excluded from credit access are also in need of it, but they have no guarantee for repayment.

He said that women borrowers most of the time transfer the money to their husbands if they are not active traders. Youth are good in business making. Farmer borrowers included in group lending are assessed for their productive activities. Those who are extravagant in consumption are not taking credit; people do not allow including this category of people.

A man of 35 who borrows said that community people forming a group do not need to include those with fewer guarantees because the default amounts will be distributed among the members as debt. Borrowers prefer OMO for the following reasons:

- Repayment rate is in year basis;
- Interest rate is lower than private borrowers;
- Saving is highly motivated in this microfinance institution;

- Possibility to receive a larger amount of credit, from 1200 birr up to 5000 birr per individual.

The clients involved in this category of borrowing are at present in good status.

Participation has the following success and failure stories:

- Bought ox for farming and then fattening after some years; the remaining money was saved.
- When credit is sanctioned, the institution obliges to save 10% of the principal, which highly encourages saving habits.
- 320 birr has been saved so far cumulatively from 10 birr saving per month.
- Saved total amount is returnable [?].
- The group members: 45 male and 4 females in one group ; and there are 60 females in another group in total there are 109 members/clients in the community.

Male and female merchants are better beneficiary client groups and the model farmers are the next best client group in terms of success.

There was one person who lost his business and could not repay the credit. He left the area in order not to repay the credit. His group members (#49) paid the debt of this person. This kind of debt is a failure story for the group members.

The respondent reported his personal success as follows:

- Household consumption and expenditure for all household demand has become easier due to better asset ownership. The credit business refreshed the mind-set to save money and reinvest for further development. He gave his personal experience as an example: he buys teff and saves it till it becomes expensive. Until it becomes expensive, the respondent uses the borrowed /saved money partly for consumption and partly for reinvestment.
- There is a real change for persons who use the money for productive activities.

A man of 49 said he borrowed from the World Bank. Ten people were grouped in one group and selected one person for each other as a guarantee. He borrowed 1,500 *birr* four years ago. He prefers OMO MFI. Model farmers, traders and hard workers in any area are beneficiaries of the programme.

He used to give his land for share-cropping to a person with oxen but after receiving the credit he could buy an ox and stopped share-cropping. Household consumption is better because farming has improved. Household saving is better and expenditure on health centre (malaria) better. Other assets and expenditure better. Supporting vulnerable people – not implemented.

A rich man said that there was no formal microfinance institution operating in the kebele though the World Bank provided a credit of 1500 *birr* per household to 88 households. Poorer management was a challenge to the clients. Recently OMO microfinance has started operation and some people started saving.

A middle-wealth farmer said that there has been no access to credit at the kebele level. However, the government plan is good and the enterprise in the kebele is teaching about the importance of saving. OMO MFI is available; I received 2,500 *birr*. When my house was damaged by fire last year I involved in trading with the help of the credit market and reconstructed my iron-sheeted home immediately. I received a second credit of 2,900 *birr*. I bought a smaller ox for 1,600 *birr* and used the 1,300 for trading.

A poor farmer said that community members are facing severe shortages of financial resources. At the moment there is the beginning of OMO MFI in the kebele. It should supply enough credit for lesser cost than that from individuals. For example customarily one pays 400 *birr* after borrowing 200 for a few months. This is the only option if one has no relative to give credit free of interest or at the normal bank rate. There has been a promise from the government for poor people to be able to own an ox by borrowing money but it has not been put into practice.

A rich woman said that credit is available to the community in general and women in particular from

OMO MFI in Areka. Women who are organised in groups of 5 can access the service. She was not much eager to get the service. A middle-wealth woman was organised in a group of five women seeking credit but didn't get the service. Experts from women affairs in the kebele came several times to their village to organise them in a group. Though 2 or 3 years has passed since they were organised the promised service remained futile. A poor woman borrowed 2000 *birr* to run her café. The problem is the payment system is designed to collect the debt all at once just at the end of the payback period of 2 years. This system is not appropriate for poor women living in rural areas where savings mechanisms are poor. There should be a system allowing one to pay the credit on a monthly basis. The richer FHH took credit in a group from OMO microfinance in 2011; about 2800 *birr*.

A woman 45 who borrows said lending by individuals, informals, relatives, neighbours and microfinance institutions (OMO and Wisdom) is available in the community. She prefers OMO microfinance institution. It lends to groups. A group can be 5-49 persons. Individuals in the group can borrow up to 5000 *birr*. Most of the community members also prefer OMO to Wisdom microfinance institution, because OMO unlike Wisdom does not have compound interest. The procedures are simple (easy and short). She borrowed from other sources 10 years ago. The interest rates charged by individuals and informal lending were high. Lending by relatives and neighbours has lower interest rates, and as a result of this they do not want to lend.

Adults and petty trade groups have benefited from micro credit participation. Before participation they were exposed to high interest rates from individuals and they did not get enough money to start ox fattening or petty shop trades which are their activities. They built new houses with tin roofs. They were able to send their son or daughter to college. Some farmers have been harmed. They bought fertilizer and improved seed to apply on their farm. Due to the bad weather they lost their production. They sold cattle or other assets to repay the credit.

All participants prefer to participate in OMO Finance Institution, because its interest rate is less compared with others. It provides relatively enough money and better service. Women participants are effective because they are strong in saving. Elderly people are the least effective, because they borrow for consumption, not for productive activities. Youth participants may spend the money on clothes or bad habits.

Household consumption, saving, fixed asset building and clothing expenses have increased. The expenditure on child education and during festivals also increased. The changes are due to access to credit.

A woman 35 who borrows said that OMO microfinance institution lends to groups. She does not know how Wisdom microfinance institution works. Most of the community prefers OMO microfinance institution, but she does know why it is preferred. Adults and farmers have benefited from microcredit participation. Adult women buy and sell butter, coffee and crops. Farmers buy oxen for fattening. She does [not] know which category of the community have been harmed by micro credit participation. All participants prefer to borrow from OMO microfinance institution. Women and men participants are effective groups, because they are engaged in different types of business like tea houses, small restaurants, and maize and teff retailing. Household saving, clothing expenses and consumption have increased. After borrowing, participants engage in different businesses to diversify their sources of income.

A woman 22 who borrows said OMO and Wisdom microfinance institutions are available to provide micro credit services to the community. OMO lends to groups. A group can include up to 49 persons. OMO microfinance institution gives a longer time for repayment, one year. It has 5 *birr* saving per month. The OMO microfinance institution interest rate is about 10%. The repayment time of Wisdom is 3 months. The number of beneficiaries of micro finance institutions has increased. Adult farmers, youths (who have assets) and petty trade groups are participating in the credit programmes. They have house, land, and livestock. These assets are used as collateral. They borrow to start new businesses or to develop existing activities. A woman who has no husband, a man who

has no wife, poorer people who has no assets and persons who have no trading skills do not get credit from OMO microfinance institution. The individuals are identified by kebele officials. A person who borrowed once wants to continue borrowing in the future.

Young woman and men, rich households and farmers have benefited from micro credit participation. They may have no sheep, goats, beehives or ox, before participation. They buy goats, sheep, and ox for fattening and trade crops and coffee. They have built new houses and have better shoes and clothes. They are also able to send their sons or daughters to higher education. Most of them are successful. A young man who engaged in crop trading has opened a petty trade shop. A woman also has opened a restaurant. A youth borrowed 4500 birr and began crop trading, but it was unsuccessful. He lost it and was unable to repay the debt. As a result of this he disappeared from the kebele.

Women and men participants prefer OMO microfinance institution because it lends only one time to a person annually. They are also effective in groups. They have better skills in different business activities. Buying something at a lower price and selling it at a higher price is their common activity. Household fixed asset building, clothing expenses and purchasing improved agricultural inputs have increased. The changes are due to their diversified income improvement. They have engaged in different business activities by borrowing from OMO microfinance institutions or elsewhere.

A woman 47 who does not borrow said she knows about lending by individuals, relatives and neighbours. She does not know about OMO or Wisdom microfinance institution. She borrowed from neighbours for flour trading. She does not know which categories of the community are participating in the credit programmes. If a women borrows from an individual for trading, she repays debt from the profit. All participants prefer to participate in lending from neighbours and relatives. She does not know which participants are effective. Household consumption and clothing expenses increased. Expenditures on children's education also increased. These changes are due to the improvement of her income. She is trading flour at the market as her income source. She began the trade by borrowing from her neighbour.

A woman 35 who does not borrow said lending from individuals, informal lending and lending from relatives are available in the community. She borrows from them. She prefers relatives because they charge no interest or less interest. She does not know how to borrow from microfinance institutions. Adult women have benefited from microcredit participation. They have milk cows. Vulnerable people and poorer households are suffering from lack of credit. The creditors do not trust them and they have no assets for collateral. If all participants fulfil the criteria, they prefer OMO Microfinance. Women and men participants are effective because like, milk cows, better trade, petty trade and males borrower. Household consumption, fixed asset building and clothing expenditure has increased, and expenditure on children's education. Agricultural inputs and [expenditures] during festivals have increased.

A woman 22 who does not borrow said the community borrows from individuals, neighbours and relatives. These are the only types of micro credit access that she knows. She prefers lending from neighbours. She borrows from neighbours to sell potatoes in the market. She shares the profit with the lending neighbours. She does not know which categories of the community are participating in the credit programmes, but she knows that the poor who can work and are able to repay the debt can borrow from neighbours and start businesses and share the profit with the lenders. Youth, poorer households, elderly and vulnerable people are suffering from lack of credit, because they do not know about the availability of microcredit services. Household consumption has increased, because she can get additional income from potato selling. She borrowed 200 birr and bought 100 kg potatoes. She sold it for 230 birr. The profit was 30 birr, but it was shared equally with the lender. She took her share, 15 birr, and spent it on household consumption.

### **OFSP/HABP for agriculture and non-farm activities**

There has been no credit service provided solely to PSNP beneficiaries but the DA Livestock has been trained on the HABP. According to him and kebele officials HABP beneficiaries have been selected from the kebele; they were among PSNP beneficiaries able to work. The beneficiaries were listed according to their wealth rank then from the poorest were selected as 2011-12 beneficiaries of the HABP. The kebele selected 63 beneficiaries and prepared a business plan for each and sent their list to the wereda food security department. However, the wereda accepted only 16 of the people proposed by the committee: 7 female and 9 male.

The committee has 9 members including the kebele chair, the kebele manager, the justice and security cabinet, the kebele head of youth affairs, the kebele head of women's affairs, a community elder and the 3 DAs. HABP beneficiaries have their own business plan including both farm and non-farm activities. Each beneficiary can borrow 4000 *birr* from OMO MFI but HABP is not yet implemented so it is not possible to say whether it is successful.

### **Debt**

A wereda official said that the community owes a total debt of over 11 million *birr* accumulated over years. The loans were taken in the form of fertiliser to the value of more than 6 million *birr* and cash. There is no plan or means for recovering the debt other than assisting and enhancing greater farm yield so that farmers can repay from the sale of their products.

A kebele official said there is not as such a big debt history in the community; a few have at most up to 3000 *birr* debt. Another official said that government gives a year for debt recovery. Another kebele official said that the community owes a total debt of 700,000 *birr* accumulated over the last two years. There is no opportunity or plans for recovering past debt other than motivating farmers to maximise production so that they can pay back the loan from product sale.

A rich farmer said that it is not easy to estimate the amount of debt in the community. The informal credit market is harmful because the costs are very high and people have become accustomed to them. But they feel the access is flexible and regular. About 75% of the money lent by the World Bank, approximately 600,000 *birr* has not been repaid. People prefer to go to prison than returning the money because they are so poor.

A middle-wealth farmer said that people in debt may be around 30-40. PSNP users are addicted to borrowing money on a regular basis in recognition that they will repay from their transfer. They borrow money in the presence of witnesses but regularly fail to repay and are accused. Maybe around 6000 *birr* is the amount outstanding. A poor man said that usually the final option is to give land for a temporary contract and repay the debt.

A poor woman said that a total of 33 women, including her, owe 2000 *birr* each to OMO MFI at Areka. They are supposed to pay the principal plus 6% interest by the end of January 2012.

During the fieldwork period all the kebele cabinet members were engaged in a campaign to collect fertiliser debt from farmers amounting to 160,000 *birr* and land tax of 15,000 *birr* (rather than the planned 22,800 *birr*). The respondent felt happy with this achievement given that the farmers are strongly resistant to paying debts.

### **Insurance**

Wereda officials said there is no formal insurance scheme in Boloso Sore Wereda and no intervention related to damage or loss of crop or livestock. However, Iddirs, Equbs, and other social capitals formed and inherited are helpful if house of a neighbour is fired by accident, or stolen, contribute money and materials in funeral ceremonies, wedding and other social occasions.

A kebele official said there is no insurance in place, or plans for insurance in the kebele.

A group of men said there is no formal insurance scheme in the community, however, the Iddir,

Equub and other social networks are some of helpful means to share risks among the community members. For example, if a house of one family fired due to some accidents, the community members or the kebele itself supports to reconstruct the home. If there is any death in the same religion, there is a contribution from the community members to perform the death ceremony. If an ox is dead due to serious disease the community members share their own oxen for farming purpose.

## **Co-operatives**

### **Service co-operative**

A wereda official said that there are 6 service co-operatives with 2022 members which provide agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides as well as herbicides and buy farm products from farmers at a reasonable price compared with the market. The co-operatives are increasing the quantity of the inputs they supply and the farm products they purchase in parallel to the profit. 70% of the profit would pass to their members. However, they have not yet formed a union.

A kebele official said that more than 150 members have joined the service co-operative. Damota Farmers' Union in Sodo town directly communicates with the co-operative in Gara Godo. The co-operative sells fertiliser but it is not possible to sell improved seeds. Due to its quality and guarantee people prefer to buy farm inputs from the co-operative.

A rich farmer said that there is a farmer's co-operative which has bought 18 shares from Sodo Farmers' Union. The members received a sale price of 33,000 *birr* from *tef* and coffee and are waiting for the dividends from this sale. There is also an advantage in buying from co-operatives which supply improved seeds and fertiliser at a better price than the market. The co-operative is supporting non-members and those with no share are not much benefiting from additional sales. The membership fee of 25 *birr* is not enough to earn profit from sales and the members are discouraged.

A middle-wealth farmer said that the farmers' co-operative supports fertiliser and improved seeds and recently earned a better income from the sale of *tef* and coffee. The community will benefit if the co-operative includes many households and works hard in facilitating agricultural markets. For example the price is not consistent for the community agricultural products in some seasons.

A kebele official said there was a service co-operative of 360 members which buys food items while the price is low and sells them at reasonable prices when their market value soars. In 2009 the co-operative got a total profit of 24,000 *birr* from the service.

A rich woman said there was a service co-operative which sold various food grains, coffee, fertiliser and building materials such as corrugated iron sheets and nails. It stopped service after its materials were stolen by thieves and its cash by leaders. A middle-wealth woman said that in the past she was a beneficiary of the service co-operative when it supplied consumables and essential commodities at a reasonable price. However, since it was closed due to robbery and looting she spends extra money to buy consumables from greedy retailers.

A service co-operative leader said that the service co-operative has 332 members and covers coffee, *tef*, maize, and *boleke*. Each member contributed 25 *birr* when they joined: 5 *birr* registration fee and the remaining 20 *birr* for organising. The co-operative provides input – fertiliser and improved seed. It also purchases oxen in package and gives oxen to farmers on long-term credit. The 15 committee members arrange purchasing bids for inputs and buy from organisations that provide the minimum price. The fertiliser that is provided by the co-operative is relatively cheaper than in the market. Other goods are also sold at a lower price and the farmers get a better price for their outputs. Dividends are given to the members but not on a regular basis. The profit is used for different purposes: 50% dividend, 30% administration costs; 20% refreshments. The profit from 2009-11 was 7,625 *birr* and out of this payment was made to the members. Each member received

50 *birr*. There is shortage of a store so sometimes they are unable to purchase the planned amounts of crops.

The leader, who is 40, works on the financial flow of the SC monitoring and evaluating the income and expenses. He works 8 hours a day 5 days a week and if necessary on Saturday. He earns 300 *birr* a month. He completed Grade 12 but has a lack of accounting skills; training could fill the gap but it is not given. If he needs advice or has a problem he goes to the head of the co-operative association organiser committee in the wereda and the kebele chairperson.

A richer FHH said that fertiliser is not cheaper than in the market because it has 10% loan interest. Goods like *tef* and coffee are sold at a similar price to the market; they do not buy outputs at a better price than the market. The dividend was given after 3 years in 2011 and it was 50 *birr*. There was a ceremony with food and drink. The vice-chair said that most model farmers are part of the service co-operative. The fertiliser is supplied on credit to members. It is a very recent SC which is under way to organise all potential farmers under it. He is a member and buys fertiliser with a 50% advance payment and the remainder borrowed. It is not cheapness that attracts members but the 50% credit for the fertiliser. He remarked that the market channelling and systems have not been well-established and create some wastage with respect to market performance.

A model farmer said that fertiliser is expensive when compared to the market price. Since the price is not cheaper it is difficult to involve the poorer section of the community. A poor interviewee said he was not a member. The coffee prices is very good when compared with other market prices. The members started receiving a small amount of dividend, 50 *birr* last year. There is no other output sold in the co-operative.

## **Migration**

### **Migration opportunities and remittances**

Young people seasonally migrate to Algeta, Nazret, Awash, Addis Ababa, Gambela and other places for harvesting of farm products and income-generating businesses. Also mentioned – Hawassa, Shashemene and Wolayita Sodo. A group of men said that the wage earned was said to be insufficient to bring significant changes. Mostly work harvesting for large-scale private limited farming companies (maize, cotton, lemons, sugarcane etc) absorbs the labour force with low skills; the wage is low but better than landlessness. When the season ends they return home and may engage in petty trade; the wage is mostly spent on clothes, shoes and family support and is not enough to establish a productive business. Some go to urban areas to work as shoeshine boys, daily labour or any other unskilled job for low wage rates. When the living situation in the community becomes harsh due to shocks in household consumption they migrate to earn income to finance their life needs. It is not enough to support the family or relatives though they send something for festivals (Meskel etc) or illness.

Long-term migration within Ethiopia is a rare opportunity for educated people or merchants. There is no popular long-term migration that returns some form of remittance though a daughter in the household of the vice-chair had recently migrated for work to Beirut. Her father borrowed some money to send her and she was supported by someone working in Beirut. She had only been there for two months and had not started sending remittances. International migration is not easy for the young in rural Wolayita except for a very few who win the DV. A very few move to Southern Africa illegally. The maximum remittances is 1000 *birr*.

A small group of women listed large farms in Brayle and Arbaminch in SNNPR; Asayta and Dupti in Afar Region and Setit and Humera in Tigray for weeding, tillage and harvesting. They work there from September to January for about five months and using the wage they have earned the young men buy a cow or an ox back home. Girls often move to towns such as Sodo, Awassa, Shashemene, Ziway and sometimes Addis Ababa where they work mostly as housemaids and sometimes daily labourers on construction sites. They migrate at any time of year and may stay for two years but

come home for Meskel. Since 2005 due to drought and lack of job opportunities the number of migrants has increased. It is not easy to enter the urban job market with low-level skills.

A returned migrant described his experience of migration to Ziway agriculture centre. In 1992 the means of livelihood was not sufficient and this was the push factor that forced him to leave for Ziway. He travelled to the place with his own transport costs. It is not easy to establish life when one changes place with no relatives or money, he said. He tried to stay with friends who went from the same place and got his personal rental home after 15 days. He worked many hours in order to earn much income. Because the daily work is effort-based to earn much and no one pays more than is worked. Harvesting agricultural products was the usual job he got. The work was not easy, as he said, and demanded much time to earn much money. He worked for 10 years and came back to his family house to begin personal business side-by-side with farming. He brought 600 birr and clothes to his family. Aged 35, he does not wish migrate again. Rather he is interested to work hard in retail trade alongside farming. A friend from his neighbourhood was there for regular contacts and communications about their personal life. He appreciates his present life more than what passed during his migration time, because the work was very hard and returns were less. He aspires to work in farming on his farm as well as in share cropping to compensate for land shortages. In his locality, he is engaged in iddir and equb, besides his church membership (Protestant). The network has now changed into the neighbour people in the community. He has a friend and regularly communicates with him regarding business and the means to earn income. However, he has no recent problem to share with his friend for seeking advice.

Another migrant aged 32 described how he went to Awassa in 1990 and Addis Ababa in 1993 where he worked for four years as a construction worker. Then in 2006 he went to Ziway as an agricultural development daily worker. There was transport access for daily workers during harvesting season, which was arranged by the Agricultural Development Company. He worked as an irrigation development agent. The income depended on the effort exerted to bring irrigation to plants. Irrigating one hectare of land was resulting in 50 birr for him. Many people went to this place and earned the same income. He mentioned, for instance, preparing stone brickwork per day was 40 birr and 15 days' income was 600 birr. Most of the time, he said, the travel cost was personal and sometimes the organization calling for people to harvest grain arranged a car. He mentioned some major problems: household utensils useful for preparing food items were bought, the additional expense for house rent and adapting to a new work environment was challenging. The good thing was that hard workers earned better income. He migrated for many reasons, including hunger. Many friends migrated to this place and all used to support each other, because they came from the same area and were living in a stranger environment.

The reason for returning was, in fact, to work and develop personal business. He owned two timad land and prepared to farm for a better future life. He recalled many achievements like constructing his personal house with a corrugated iron sheet amounting to 6000 birr. On his return from Ziway, he brought 600 birr and reinvested further in agriculture. Actually, the respondent highly appreciated the return to his life here, which is ever better than working for others at subsistence income. The indicators of better life he could mention were such as owning a better house, cattle and also grain from his personal landholdings. The respondent could not clearly mention his future plans, but he pointed out his aspiration as doing better business and doing farming in improved ways.

Usually, the kebele officials are very friendly to consult with for any personal problem; however, there has been no recent problem he faced to needing their support. Finally, he added that he has two wives and children and all are dependent, thus, working hard is required.

A son in the poor FHH migrated to Gewany (in Ethiopia – Afar?) a year ago for a job in charcoal production. He heard about the job in Areka and went to Gewany with them. He produced charcoal and they paid 2000 *birr* for 500 kg. He is a student and spent the money on clothes, shoes and school

materials. A son in the richer FHH migrated to Addis Ababa 7 years ago for trade. He comes three times a year to sell butter during Meskel, Christmas and Easter. He is a second year student in college.

The middle-wealth head of household was preparing to go to Awash to work on a cotton farm as a daily labourer when his personal farm activities were finalised. Last time he was paid 50 cents for 1 kg and sent 100 *birr* for family support. A son from the poor household went to Awassa last year to look for work but had not begun any job. The father said his son should finance his personal life before sending support home. The oldest son from the rich household went to Awassa after graduating with a Diploma in Nursing but could not get a job related to the nursing profession so was looking for another kind of job. The respondent said his son should support himself rather than family members. They had a plan to help him to pursue further study on a degree programme if he could not get a job.

Two of the youths interviewed had migrated temporarily. One went to Nurer for daily labour when he was 18 – it was not attractive to live without a job and the situation pushed him strongly to depart to look for daily work. He is now 30 and of middle-wealth earning his living by trading agricultural products. Another, who is 17 and poor, went to Addis Ababa with his friends for daily work in 2011 but he was ill and his friends contributed for transport to return home. He is currently working in a DSTV rental shop in Gara Godo town (he found the job through relatives) and attending 7<sup>th</sup> grade.

### **Re-settlement experiences**

A wereda official said that as the wereda is known for its high population density and hence scarcity of cultivable land a good number of landless households were re-settled in different parts of the Southern Region. Nevertheless, in recent times, there has been no re-settlement. Another wereda official said that between 2004 and 2001 379 households were resettled elsewhere. The wereda has a plan to re-settle 98 households in *Connta* special wereda in 2011. Among the 2011 re-settlers 26 have returned home because of health problems and dependency on the PSNP. They have got their land and house back.

A kebele official said that some re-settlement activities were undertaken before 2005 due to land shortage. Among five re-settled three returned immediately as they faced non-conducive work conditions. More than 40 households were expected to re-settle in other places; however there was a limit to PSNP participants.

A small group of farmers said that most community members wish for a re-settlement plan for alleviating land shortage. It was seen as an important approach as witnessed by the respondents who tell the stories of successful households with earlier resettlement interventions.

A rich woman said she was not interested to re-settle. A middle-wealth woman said she is fairly interested to re-settle provided there are better opportunities for growth in the area and her family are willing to move. A poor woman said she is strongly interested to re-settle wherever provided she is given enough land and desirable support until well-established.

### **HTPs affecting livelihoods**

A wereda official said that extravagancies during wedding and death ceremonies have been reshaped to smaller size, but not eliminated, totally. For instance, social capitals developed throughout the time (Iddirs, Maheber, Equb, Tsebel) have created strong bondage among the community and considered as a means of risk sharing informal scheme that reinforces celebrations such as festivals (meskel, Lidet and others) death and weddings. The most common, but intrinsic harmful practice of the community are still active. Production and productivity of labour time is poor, consumption outweighs saving (no saving), and awareness creation activities are weakly practised.

Another wereda official said that extravagance and destruction of crop following a death were HTPs of the past eradicated through years of awareness creation. Ten years ago during the funeral day, very close family member and relatives, felt to express their sorrow by scratching their face using their cloth and hard leaves. Moreover, the families in laws are expected to provide chana, minimum of 100 k.g maize or teff for deceased family. The community were not willing to leave this traditional practice; however this HTP is declining since the last 10 years. Recently, anyone who is found practising this tradition will be punished by the wereda leaders.

A kebele official said that wedding and death ceremonies were very expensive during 1990s and the earlier periods, but currently religious and organizational interventions influenced the wastage to be reduced. Awareness creation by government, religious education and the challenge of living system itself have contributed a lot to change the attitude of the community regarding harmful traditional practices.

Another kebele official said that extravagance following a death is said to be the main HTP affecting livelihoods of the community until recently. Despite a by-law being formulated and agreed upon by the community to give up the ceremony, some people still refused to accept it.

A rich man said that there was an awareness creation meeting with the kebele community on HTPs like extravagancy during wedding, a gift for birth, or death as harmful traditional practices. There are some improvements on HTPs, but still some people do those activities secretly. No one benefits from these traditional approaches, rather they are wastage and result a household in unexpected debt or loss. The community members accepted the practices as harmful and almost all started implementation with strict follow-up from the kebele.

A rich woman said that extravagance following death of a relative is the major HTP affecting livelihoods in the kebele. Often each relative give a *chana*, about 100 kg of food grain, to the family of the deceased person so that the family serve meals for everybody who come to the home to express sorrow/mourning. The food grain is consumed extravagantly during the mourning session at the expense of the poor relatives. Each of the rich, middle and poor woman perceive *chana* as an HTP affecting livelihoods. The community agreed to abolish *chana* and decided that anyone who have seen/ caught somebody carrying *chana* shall inform to kebele or *iddir* leaders so that the *chana* be taken off the person carrying it and issued to the kebele office. In spite of the decision made by the community following the agreement reached, a good number of people in the community, however, carry *chana* at night, and even at day under the pretext of marketing the product. She don't deny of her carrying *chana* at night to the family of her deceased uncle after the decision made by the community. A middle-wealth woman said that she also delivered *chana* to the family of her deceased mother-in-law. She admitted that a kebele leader caught her carrying 100 kg *chana* by day. She was released, nonetheless, with the grain pretending it for market. Although each and every member of the community perceive *chana* as HTP affecting livelihoods, and thus accept the decision arrived at, it is not as such simple, she argues, to abolish the practice soon. Indeed it takes time but she is sure that *chana* will not last this decade. A poor woman said she too had broken the agreement to abolish the practice. She accepted *chana* from relatives when her husband died.

A group of men said that extravagance during the celebration of holidays has been introduced as a harmful traditional practice and a wastage of resources.

The poor FHH who is an Orthodox Christian said she does not work on Sunday or on annual festivals of St Mary, St Gabriel etc. The religious leaders do not support working on these days but they do support working on other days. The vice-chairman said that the days 19, 21, 24 in every month are very idle for Orthodox church followers. The champion farmer said that there is a good consensus between religious leaders and the kebele regarding development activities.

### **Theft and burglary**

A group of men said that theft of crops, livestock, household, assets, robbery in the street, and other

kinds of crimes were happening few years ago. Recently, community security is kept by the community members in cooperation with police. Community policing is the best approach effectively preventing the criminals. Peace committee organized in the community is regularly dealing with the criminal matters within the community. One important occasion of actions to control crimes in the community was the establishment of common peace committee been Gara Godo Kebele with one kebele from Hadiya Zone, i.e. in the border. Indeed, a strong structure is established in the community with the help of kebele militia to protect robbery, theft and burglary occasionally happening. Some people from the community involved in robbery activity were punished from three to five years in prison.

A group of women said that Stealing crops while at field particularly of coffee, maize and taro is a common problem at maturity. Robbery often occurs by the time farmers sell their produce. Despite the community attempts to harvest their crops early; returning home from market before the night fall; establishing security posts (locally known as 'Centria')at road junctions where militia men keep standby as a preventive measures, theft and robbery are getting worse. Though the community follow seriously the movement of suspects pace by pace, it is hardly possible to catch the criminal once the theft or robbery or looting took place.

### ***Human re/production***

#### **Houses and household assets**

Some people have built larger tin roofed houses though most still have their livestock living in the house. A few use their old house as a kitchen but most respondents said they still had smoke in the livingroom.

Richer people have bought modern beds and furniture. In poor households there are old beds and furniture and cooking dishes made with clay.

#### **Domestic technologies**

A group of women said that now there is access to grain mills (2) and drinking water from wells and streams. The majority use boreholes. There are no modern stoves. Wood is used for cooking.

#### **Fuel and light**

#### **Drinking water**

A wereda official said that the wereda water resource development office, with JICA, Entread France, and WODA, has achieved approximately 52% access to safe water while feasibility schemes have been done for 38%. Rural water resources are managed by the community. Another official said that there are about 189 water schemes that provide safe water for 107,150 people (56% of the population). Most water points are located at an average distance of 1.5 km. The majority of schemes were constructed between 2005 and 2009 by NGOs. Currently Acts of Compassion, JICA, UNSF and Entread are working on water development.

A small group of men said that the community has access to smaller rivers, streams, springs, wells, boreholes and reservoirs. There is no piped water. Households with corrugated sheet roofs collect a small amount of water for home consumption. At present people don't use stream water for drinking or washing house utensils as there was awareness creation not to use unsafe or untreated water for drinking which used to happen earlier. There are 14 water points in Gara Godo accessing spring water and boreholes.

A rich man said water access is somewhat good now compared with earlier times. Access takes no longer than 30 minutes. The cost is shared by the community (10 cents for 20 litres of water) and maintenance is the responsibility of the community. For simpler maintenance community members contribute; otherwise the wereda water development office takes responsibility. But still there are water points which are not protected or damaged and the out-reach to peripheral areas of the

kebele should be improved. Access to water for animals is not much considered in the kebele.

A rich woman says boreholes are prepared at seven points in the kebele and water committees manage the schemes. They arrange watering times suitable for different groups in the community, control the safe use of pumps through recruited guards, and maintain schemes using revenue from users. She walks for about 20 minutes to fetch water at the nearest pump and pays 6 *birr* a month.

The poor woman heading a household said the nearest source was broken a year ago but has not yet been mended. There is a water shortage from October to August. The person who manages water distribution does not have good relations with clients. The committee does not want to discuss the problem and resolve it. The richer female household head said the amount of water reduces from January to April. When tap water is disrupted they use surface water for drinking. The source used most is an hour's walk. A number of people said that spending a lot of time to fetch water is the main problem, particularly in the hot season. The vice-chair's wife said that a source 5 minutes' walk from her house was recently maintained by Redd Barna.

There was an event when due to water pollution people faced diarrhoea. A man said sometimes the community faces infectious diseases due to water pollution. The wereda health office gave training to the community to protect the environment to eradicate the disease.

### **Domestic work**

Women and girls spend less time on domestic work but as daughters go to school the burden of work on women increases. The grain mill is closer and there is piped water. Participation by sons and some husbands has improved. Female participation in farm business and daily labour work is also increasing.

### **Preventive health services**

#### **The Health Post**

A wereda official said that currently, health posts work for 75% on vaccination and prevention within the community where as the remaining 25% service is at health post. There is integrated working environment between health centres and health posts. The first health intervention for a family at any time (including mother's delivery support) is provided at health post and referred to the health centre for advanced treatments. There is no distance between health post and the people around it. Moreover, women involved in health extension works are members of the community and easier for them to follow-up or support their neighbour in any of the emergency cases. Recently, prevention is taking a lead position. However, the problems among staff (weak communication) and lack of commitments by health workers due to insufficient remuneration (wage) discourages health service mission and demand further effort interventions.

There is no Health Post in the new, smaller Gara Godo since the one in old Gara Godo is now in the new kebele of Tokisa. It is a medium building with water supply and a latrine but no electricity. The service is given by two people which is not enough for the kebele population size. There is a plan to build a new Health Post in Chala sub-kebele in Gara Godo but it has not yet been implemented.

#### **The Health Extension Workers**

A wereda official said that health extension services have been playing a great role in delivering health education. A few decades ago harmful traditional practices dominated due to lack of modern medical services. Vaccination and pre-natal tests in line with sixteen health packages reached 100%. There are 61 health extension workers in the wereda and 31 health posts, at least one per kebele. Diversified approaches have been followed. For example for fifty household heads one role model farmer is selected to teach his or her experience with the help of one supervising health service worker appointed for visiting ten households. Another important part of the health extension service is a community discussion forum including fifty households which discuss HIV/AIDS issues. A

door-to-door service of health education is implemented in all aspects of health extension packages.

The vice-chair said that health extension is a door-to-door service.

One of the HEWs said that she works five days a week from Monday to Friday regularly for eight hours a day and sometimes Saturday and Sunday. She allocated her time for work and leisure properly in a typical month. She worked in child and mother vaccination in family planning, in delivery service and in mothers' health follow up and scored 100%, 70% and 80% respectively. She has also taught about HIV through community conversation. She earns 906 birr as a monthly salary and occasionally has other benefits. The community cooperation does not reach the required necessary level. Their participation is high in the latrine package and malaria prevention and control by removing stagnant water. The community members are not participating at the required level. This is the main problem that affects the job. If the kebele members and others coordinate with the health workers and take active participation the job can be improved. She is 27 years old and was appointed to the position in 2007. She got the job in order to serve the community honestly and encouragingly. She has a certificate, in addition to this she took training in different job related areas such as mother and child nutrition, infant child health and vaccination. Neither she nor her family members have any other role in the community. Seeing the kebele free from malaria and food shortage is her major future aspiration. At the wereda level the head of wereda health office and health extension supervisor are the persons whom she contacts if there is something she needs, she wants advice or has a problem. At the community level she works closely with community elders. She explained that she didn't face any problem.

The second Health Extension Worker works 40 hours a week from Monday to Friday and if necessary works on Saturday and Sunday. She allocated her time in the typical month in a proper manner. Last month she did nothing as she was on annual leave. She earns a monthly salary and sometimes gets other benefits. The community co-operates with her in family health, mother and childcare and family planning. Females are more co-operative than males.

She is 21 and was appointed in 2008. She got the job in order to serve the community in the health sector. She is certified from a recognized health training centre and got various training opportunities in the vaccination of less than five year old children: i.e. anti-eight vaccinations. In addition to her regular job she also serves the community as the health cabinet. Unlike her none of her family members have other roles in the community. Her future aspirations are eliminating all existing problems through education and improving her education level. She gets advice or something she needs and consults over any sort of problem with the head of the wereda health office, kebele administrator and kebele manager. There is no other community leader she goes to recently. She did not face any problem.

A poor respondent said there is no house-to-house service by health extension workers; they teach about the packages in meetings. She is a member of a 1-5 cell and health education is given in these cell meetings which are held every fifteen days.

### **Community health volunteers**

One of the HEWs said there are 28 health promoters who identify malnourished children under two years and during vaccination periods they visit house to house. They tell the households to prepare toilets and also advise the community members how to use the bednets. In the kebele there are 278 1-5 groups or leaders. There are 1390 health development armies; they teach about the sixteen health packages such as latrine package, bednet package, hygiene package, decreasing mothers and infant and child death package, family planning package, environmental health package, and adolescent package.

A health promoter said she works two days in a month for about four hours per a day but, during some kinds of disease outbreak she works on a weekly basis. After she finishes her own work she goes on house to house visits and checks houses whether a latrine is available or not. She teaches

households about washing hands after using the toilet. She also vaccinates 50 households. She allocates her time to these activities. Last month she got 15 households to dig latrines. She taught 50 households about the use of bednets. She got 20-50 households to vaccinate their children. She serves the community freely without salary and other benefits. The cooperation of the community is high particularly on latrine, malaria, vaccination and family planning packages. The participation of males and females is almost equal. When she performs a house to house visit, some say unnecessary words like "you left your home and visit others' homes because you are a paid salary or get some aid, you are not voluntary" etc. and they do not want to accept what she teaches or her advice. These are the major problems; however, when there is a problem repeated visits can change their attitude and improve the job.

A kebele official said that Volunteer Health Messengers are model households selected from the community; one for fifty households are represented and they teach and follow them up. They have immediate contact with each household in a *got* and they collect data for children below two years old.

A health army member said she works one day a week for about four hours in the working day. She allocates her time between her own work and public work. The time given to the work depends on conditions. During a campaign she spends a lot of time on public work. Last month through house to house visits she taught about latrines, hand washing, bednets, vaccinations and drinking water. She gives free service. The community co-operate in hygiene package, family planning, malaria package, vaccination and tetanus. Both males and females co-operate equally. There is no problem recently. Since the area is exposed to malaria, providing bednets to all and using them properly can improve the job. She is 37 years old and started the job in 2009.

The wife of the vice-chair said she is a health volunteer committee member. She works two days a week and was able to convince two households to construct a latrine. She has also constructed public latrines with public participation.

#### **Hygiene and environmental sanitation**

A wereda official said that local development committees organised from the community totalling 805 in number manage hygiene and environmental sanitation, but it needs strong formal administration. The kebele health cabinet said that all households have better awareness about the importance of hygiene and environmental sanitation but very many have implementation problems. Still there is a huge demand for interventions on expansion and strengthening of activities. People have no access to resources, for example, to reconstruct their smoking homes or separate livestock from their living-rooms.

A rich farmer said that the basic problem with all these important issues is that the households in the community are at the early stage of attitude change to practice and not yet practised to the required standard as what was thought by health extension workers. Water supply, followed by latrines are the best performed of the interventions. A poor woman said that as she lives in the town she adopted hygienic practices as a normal way of life and maintains relatively better sanitary conditions than those of the rich and middle household respondents who live in the rural area. All the household respondents interviewed in depth said they tried to follow most of the HEW advice on hygiene and environmental sanitation.

#### **Latrines**

The wereda health officer said that use of latrines with hand-washing amounts to 60% and at household level the general latrine access is more than 96%. One-sixth of the total farmer households won graduation and became role models for the community using the one-to-five proportion approach.

Another wereda official said that following extension work 55% of households have built their own

latrines and use them effectively. Communities have built public toilets in marketplaces and along roadsides.

The kebele health cabinet said that 10% of households had graduated from latrines. Another health extension worker said that each household has built its own latrine which is being used effectively; 1360 toilets have been built in the kebele.

A rich farmer said that many public latrines are constructed in public work places and accessed to the community members, like schools, health centres, kebele offices, other public meeting places. The latrine access improves the family sanitation and the environment where we live. The family members have drawn a good lesson from health education regarding latrine and other sanitation issues.

Most other respondents agreed that the use of latrines was the first and best done of the interventions. One said some households have no latrine and another that she plans to reach neighbours about the importance of latrines and their proper use. A poor respondent said that people have mostly not adopted latrines and use open places, which results in environmental pollution during rainy seasons.

#### **Waste disposal**

The kebele health cabinet said that 80% of households had graduated from waste disposal. Another official said that every household has prepared a waste disposal pit which is being used effectively.

A rich man said that it is not easy for older people to dig deep holes for waste disposal.

#### **Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes**

The kebele health cabinet said that 90% had graduated from hand-washing. Another worker said that about 100% of the kebele members' personal hygiene was poor but now their awareness has increased and they are starting to keep their personal hygiene.

#### **Water purification**

A wereda official said that some households use water purification tablets though the kebele cabinet said no-one in Gara Godo had graduated.

#### **Kitchen cupboards**

The kebele health cabinet said that no-one had graduated from kitchen cupboards. A rich man said that these demand assets and aspiration to make the living environment neater.

#### **Healthy home environment**

##### Livestock in the house

A wereda official said that families live in the same house as cattle though the kebele health cabinet said that 70% had graduated from livestock not living in the house. Another kebele worker said that every family lives in the same house with its cattle.

A rich man said that most rural community members are not living in iron-sheeted houses and the remaining about 60% live in the same room with livestock and smoke.

##### Smoke free houses

A wereda official said that most rural households do not have smoke-free houses. The kebele cabinet said that 70% had graduated from smoke-free house though another official said that kitchens are in the house. People still use traditional stoves; no improved ones have been introduced.

#### **Pest control**

The kebele health cabinet said 90% has graduates in pests and insects control.

### **Illnesses and disease prevention and control**

The wereda health officer said that the Integrated Family Health Programme focuses on disease prevention and control. A wereda official said that two teams, each with fifty members per kebele were organised and each participated in workshop sessions on preventive measures after which community attitudes changes, particularly with regard to using condoms.

A kebele official said that presently, immunisations, bed nets, spraying houses, removing stagnant water, HIV/AIDs prevention, TB prevention and First Aid at the health centre (no health post) are major activities under the disease prevention and control programme. The community in the kebele have better awareness about HIV/AIDs and the others are almost highly demanded health services.

A rich woman asked to rank the different services in order of importance replied:

1. Immunisations
2. Bednets
3. Spraying of house with insecticides
4. HIV/AIDS prevention
5. Removing stagnant water
6. TB prevention
7. First aid at the health post

A middle-wealth woman agreed with this ranking except that she does not spray her house with insecticides. A poor woman respondent who is living with HIV/AIDS ranked HIV/AIDS prevention first and TB prevention second.

Everyone asked about the disease prevention and control programme was well aware of what they should do in relation to the different packages.

### **Malaria**

A wereda official said that all kebeles in the wereda are malaria-prone. All seven health centres provide tablets, bednets, remove stagnant water and use Deltrametrin spray. For malaria rural people use traditional plants. A group of women said that from 2005 to 2009 the malaria problem was significant but recently the problem has reduced due to health intervention activities.

One of the coffee-washing investors said that the big problem that affects the job is malaria. The workers are attacked by malaria three times a month. The problem is not solved yet. A farmer said that the water-harvesting scheme harmed the household through initiating malaria. A poor widow said that hunger and lack of rest exposes her to malaria repeatedly. A young man said he suspended his Grade 8 education when he was seriously ill with malaria which harmed his health. Another said he had not been ill apart from malaria which frequently emerges in the area; everybody faces the same challenge. Another said malaria has been a frequent challenge requiring health service but this was not easy for finance due to lack of family income.

### **Bednets**

A wereda official said that almost all kebeles use bednets, one per two in a household. A rich farmer said that bed net supply is the best done of the disease prevention measures. A health extension worker said that about 90% of households use bednets.

### **Spraying and removal of stagnant water**

Wereda officials said that draining of stagnant water together with spraying houses in all kebeles is done twice a year. The measures were found to be 88% successful in preventing malaria outbreaks. The community attitude has changed and now their response is positive. In the last three years the communities have started demanding the spraying activity. Recently DDT spray was changed due to the adaptation of mosquitoes to Deltametrin. All in all stagnant water in non-rainy season is removed by community participation.

A kebele official said that drainage to remove stagnant water was constructed between September and November 2011 by voluntary community labour. The community members participated actively in the work and were happy with the results. Since the area is swampy the community has been highly affected by malaria but this year cases have decreased as a result of activities like drainage. A health extension worker said that spraying is done in about 95% of households.

### **Immunisation**

The wereda health office runs a house-to-house immunisation programme throughout the 29 rural kebeles. Mothers are well-informed ahead of each schedule and welcomes the programme with high interest, thus contributing their part to the 100% achievement of the programme. At the beginning of the awareness campaign mothers were not willing and actively participant but now they are 100% interested.

### **HIV/AIDS**

A wereda official said that ten years ago the community did not understand HIV/AIDS as a disease but assumed it is caused by God's punishment of evil deeds. Moreover people officially identified, or suspected, of HIV/AIDS were highly discriminated by community members. Recently attitudes have changed significantly. The community is aware that HIV/AIDS is a sexually transmitted disease and even the old people are willing to use condoms. They now discuss the advantages of condoms without retiring and there is no stigma and discrimination in the society. Though the result is very interesting it needs further awareness creation programme. In the wereda there are 55 people with HIV/AIDS only who are using tablets. VCT has been conducted on 95% and 11 men and 45 women were found to be HIV+. Health workers have identified 55 men and 68 women who are HIV+.

Another wereda official said that through the integrated family planning programme for disease prevention and control the stigma of HIV/AIDs and STDs has shown significant changes. People who have been tested and identified as test result positive, use treatments, both counselling and health services. Other STDs are seldom happening in wereda, as reported by wereda health officer. Death from AIDS is not a significant number in the wereda. However, there is a demand for intervention to work on removing some level of HIV/AIDS stigma in areas of weak and remotest social environment. There is not a large number of people suffering from HIV/AIDS in the wereda, but in previous year the health centre had some people admitted to treatment after checking their health status. Counselling and health treatment is available at wereda health centres. There are very large numbers of people not employing the awareness created into practice and demands further effort to remove negligence. There is, in fact, a stigma related to HIV/AIDS in the community

Another official said that in 2011, 24 cases of HIV/AIDS were reported in the wereda. There is no stigma and discrimination following the pandemic. Consultation service is available at Dubo St. Mary Hospital and every health centre, while availability of anti-retroviral treatment ( ART) is limited only at Dubo St. Mary Hospital and the Areka health centre. Recently, 3 deaths from HIV/AIDS were reported. In the same year 200 cases of STI were identified in the wereda. Advice and treatment is available at every health centre. According to the wereda health officer, though the wereda had achieved a lot of changes; awareness creation has to be continued to enhance the complete achievement in the community.

Youth-targeted HIV/AIDS clubs are organised in all schools. Campaigns in all official conferences are becoming common practice. Community meetings are available per month. Recently youth awareness on HIV/AIDS transmission is at a higher order. However, a few have less care on implementing the lessons into practice. Clubs working on HIV/AIDS were formed in 10 rural kebeles, one in each. The clubs create awareness on the pandemic through peer group discussion, advocate the adoption of preventive methods by youth and distribute condoms . There is a selected youth coordinator who runs the club. The achievements of the club is moderate which is only limited to awareness creation. They need strong support.

The health cabinet reports that the community has improved attitudes toward the worst disease, HIV/AIDs, and the stigma has reduced due to stronger health education. Health extension workers provide a house to house education where they teach adults about HIV/AIDS, its modes of transmission and preventive measures, besides disseminating condoms. The community brought a change in attitude particularly with regard to using condoms.

An official said that there were three known deaths from HIV/AIDS and still there is some part of stigma in the rural community. This day everybody in a household knows all about HIV/AIDs and its transmission. Some people have known their status as a result of HIV/AIDs tests. In the kebele health service extension workers teach about HIV/AIDs, the community discusses on some occasions, religions advocate about its harm and schools and other socioeconomic sectors have mainstreamed HIV/AIDs in their activity. There is access of medical treatment for HIV/AIDs infected individuals at the health centre. Improved attitudes to HIV/AIDs by the kebele members can be considered as an important change. However, there are still bigger proportions of the population who are negligent to care for their life.

The proportion of people with HIV/AIDS is not known yet except three deaths from the pandemic were reported. Thus it is hardly possible to estimate the level of stigma in the community. The Health Centre provide advice and ART drugs which are being used by two patients. Apart from two individuals reported suffering from STDs, there is no additional data on the case.

A health extension worker said that the number of people who practice unsafe sex and use sharp materials has decreased. The poor woman heading a household said that the members were aware that sharp materials in common can transmit disease and do not use needles, knives etc obtained outside. The richer woman heading a household said they have been made aware of HIV/AIDS prevention and control (safe sex, not using sharp materials in common etc), voluntary testing (before marriage), behaviour change (not discriminating against patients). One woman said that they had learned not to share clothes with a PLWHA since lice can transmit the virus.

### **Tuberculosis**

There are 48 people with TB+HIV/AIDS. Community-based TB prevention is another approach. Health officers and extension workers educate the community on modes of transmission and preventive measures of TB in public gathering occasions and at health centres; and carryout surveillance in suspected families to detect TB incidence so that a patient can start treatment soon before contaminating members the family. A surveillance carried in 2011 reported 132 cases . The community awareness is highly increasing; as a result significant number of TB cases have been found through pre-inspection. The community has a positive response towards TB test. The wereda has a limitation in enhancing the service among the wereda community. To overcome the problem, the wereda need further activities to cover all the kebele particularly the rural kebeles.

A health extension worker said that 16 TB cases were expected in 2011 but only two were found. The richer woman heading a household said they are aware that TB is a curable disease and is transmitted by using bed and drinking materials in common.

### **Food security, diet and malnutrition**

#### **Nutrition interventions**

A wereda official said that Community based Nutrition (CBN) for children (80%) above 6 months and below two years, and breast-feeding community Health Day (CHD) which is meant for screening of children, pregnant and mothers for identifying nutrition gaps nowadays has become a common campaign. The Wereda health officer reports that health education, a door-to-door service, is implemented in all aspects of health extension packages more than 85%. The problem of nutritional interventions is not free of challenges due to weaker practice of the households to the required standards. There is still a demand of intervention that targets on scaling-up practice beyond awareness creation.

Another wereda official said that Wereda health officers, health extension agents as well as other concerned bodies such as NGO staff give nutrition lessons regularly to pregnant, breast feeding mothers and children. When mal-nutrition is observed, different organizations including USAID, MCF and Catholic Church provide supplementary food until they attain the desirable body weight. The supplementary food includes Plumpynut, powdered milk, grain flour and edible oil. Some beneficiaries do not use the supplementary food aid for themselves but rather sell it for cash while others do not feed their children fearing that they would be discarded from the programme. The community has become aware of the benefit of nutrition to children and lactating mothers. The problem is that mothers are selling the supplementary foods because they fear that their children would be excluded from the aid. Since 2008 the number of beneficiaries, who were provided the supplementary food has been declining as a result awareness created in the community by the health extension agents. According to the health officer, awareness creation should be delivered to the community members via visiting house to house, meetings and so on

A kebele official said that the only nutrition interventions existing in the kebele are nutrition education, supplements, nutrition of pregnant and breast-feeding mothers and children nutrition. Health extension workers and volunteer Health messengers are teaching health education. Volunteer Health Messengers are model households selected from the community and one for fifty households represented to teach or follow-up the households. They have immediate contact with each household in a "gott" and they collect data for children below 2 years old.

At the Health centre in the kebele, maternal test and screening of mother and child per month are undertaken. Wereda Health office supports the activities under CBN programme (Community-Based Nutrition). Given improved awareness, the community have weaker responses to intended changes and the traditional way of child feeding is not avoided. However, it has been resulting in unwanted diseases and death. Under the Integrated Family Health Programme (IFHP), the intervention reduced diarrhoea and other infectious diseases. Parallel intervention in the form of awareness creation and prevention /curative activities should be strengthened.

Another kebele official said that Health extension workers provide nutrition education as to nutrient sources, formulating balanced diet, preparing food, importance of breast feeding. Children with malnutrition get supplementary food composed of ground nut while pregnant and breast feeding mothers obtain grain flour and edible oil quarterly from an NGO, called MCF, delivered through governmental health centre. It is suggested that creating a high level of awareness on nutrition through adult education is a better strategy of reducing malnutrition.

A woman said that Crop extension workers introduced and demonstrated her the techniques of cultivating vegetables in her home garden, while livestock workers taught alternative feed sources and better ways of feeding a lactating cow. The services enabled her improve family nutrition and income from the sale of vegetables as well as milk and milk-products. Following the introduction and demonstration of vegetables by Crop extension workers, she produces cabbage, onion, tomato and pepper. This enables her to improve her family nutrition and further generate income from the sale of produce in excess of their consumption. Similarly, she used to manage her cows and calves in line with what the livestock extension workers advised her. Since their intervention her life improved to some extent in many ways.

A rich man said that nutrition education, supplements, child nutrition, nutrition of pregnant and breast-feeding mother centres are available seasonally. All household have access to health education, child and mother nutrition is provided after screening their weight and height. The poorer household or children benefits from nutritious food supply. But, it is not a sustainable solution rather it occurs some seasons and disappears other times. Nutrition education is very important in creating awareness for the community or households. For example, eating fruit or vegetables is supposed to protect against disease, but it was not considered as a category of basic diet. Some of the interventions mentioned are not available in the community, but they seem

helpful if accessed. For example, there is no school feeding programme, but it would be better if available. Indeed, the effect of these interventions is that people remain food-aid dependent and discouraged to work in their farm.

A middle-wealth respondent said nutrition interventions are available through the health centre in the kebele. During breast feeding, my wife used nutrition education and some supplements from the health centre. The amount and its duration are not sufficient as real intervention to bring sustainable changes. During bad seasons, the community will benefit from this kind of seasonal nutrition interventions. A poor man said that some amount of supplements is provided to his family by the health centre in some seasons but the amount is not sufficient. Sometimes people are not properly using the nutrition supplied for the said purpose rather they sell in the market at cheaper price.

A rich woman said she learned nutrition taught by medical staff at the health centre since her first pregnancy, and by the health extension workers at home-to-home visit. The lesson include the need for protein, vitamins and minerals for pregnant and breast feeding mothers, the importance of feeding additional to breast milk for children from the age of 6 months. Accepting the importance of the lesson, she asserts that she has improved her family diet following their advice. A middle-wealth woman said she has learned about nutrition and uses different food sources at home. The poor woman said she had had nutrition lessons but never attempted to implement them for which she blamed her negligence.

#### **HTPs affecting health**

A wereda official said that HTPs in rural parts of southern Ethiopia in general and in Wolayita Zone in particular were persisting for a long time in the past.

#### **Circumcision**

A wereda official said that female circumcision is legally forbidden and wider interventions have been undertaken by the women's association, women's league, women's federation and health extension workers, NGO interventions and legal protection through awareness creation training and prevention. Legal interventions contributed a lot to eradicate female circumcision, in particular.

Another wereda official said that the wereda council decided on the abolition of female circumcision. Following the decision the practice has fallen significantly. Nevertheless, there is suspicion that a few families do so under pretext of other disease. In the past, female circumcision was very common in the area of Wolayitta. The activity was implemented by well-known elder people in the community; such as traditionally practitioner's people or by community member locally known as 'chinasha or Fuga'. The activity was implemented in the practitioners' house. However, recently the wereda council declared a law to abolish the HTP activities. According to the law, any community member who is participating in the female circumcision practice will be punished. The Women's association and women's league has been participating in awareness creation activity in the community. This has played a pivotal role to minimize the practice.

For instance, in Woibo Kebele in Boloso Sore Wereda a female circumcision happened. Police followed up the event and submitted the case to the justice office. Both the family of the girl and the circumcision craftworker were imprisoned for 2 - 3 years.

A kebele official said that it has become rare to undertake female circumcision. It results in legal punishment of the girls' family and the traditional practitioner. Another official said that in the past girls were supposed to be circumcised between the ages of 10 and 15. Female circumcision has ceased through educating the community at large and mothers in particular. Religious leaders are involved in condemning female circumcision. Another official said that those who do not accept the advocacy of government and civic organisations practice circumcision in secret at night time or by sending the girl to other places.

A woman respondent said that everybody is well aware of the effects of female circumcision but nevertheless she still lets her daughters be circumcised secretly but customary practitioners despite condemning female circumcision in official venues. A middle-wealth woman who is attending Grade 10 said the same. A poor woman defended the value of circumcision in the society. Girls would not be chosen by men for marriage unless circumcised. The chair of the HTP committee said that female circumcision has not been eliminated from the community.

The poor FHH said that mostly girls are circumcised in their childhood during the Meskel festival in back yards inside *enset*. The rich FHH said that some want to continue circumcising because they believe uncircumcised girls misbehave, break equipment etc. She plans not to circumcise her granddaughters. The vice-chair's wife said that circumcision had decreased but not because of better awareness but because of fear of legal measures. Five of her daughters have been circumcised; she has not circumcised the 8-year old but has fears about her though she plans not to circumcise her.

#### **Traditional medical practices**

The wereda health office informed that traditional medical practices and body scarring branding were undertaken due to lack of health services. To remove HTPs from the rural community, the integrated approaches of interventions both from health sectors and other community-based organizations will be important. The underlined activities majorly done to the community members are awareness creation and the required supply of health service to the nearest areas at the reasonable cost possible.

Another official said that cutting uvula, pulling out milk teeth, body scarring for condolence and other HTPs known in the past were successfully ceased. Furthermore, the activities against HTP have to be sustained in collaboration with NGOs, government and community members.

A kebele official said that it has become a rare occasion to undertake cutting uvula, pulling milk teeth, body scarring or branding. Due to many interventions (GOs, NGOs, religious education), the attitude of people changed to adopt formal health service. A poor man said that it will be important to easily access the health service to totally remove HTPs.

*Iddirs* are involved in minimising body scarring following a death.

#### **Reproductive health and services**

##### **Infertility**

A wereda official said that Boloso Sore Wereda is the most populous and population growth rate indicates that almost all male and female are fertile; except one female and male who requested health service for infertility problem in recent time. However, medical treatment is not available at the wereda health centres. Another official said that one woman was officially registered infertile and referred to hospital for treatment. A kebele official said that infertility is not a problem of the community.

##### **Contraception**

A wereda official said that two teams each with 50 members per kebele were organised. Each team participated in workshop sessions where preventive measures were dealt with after which community attitudes changed, particularly with regard to using condoms. Another wereda official said there has been a shift from 10% to 85.7% achievement in contraceptive use. In all health posts and centres, women can access the health service and trainings. In fact, health service education is playing a great role in improving family planning attitudes by both male and female in a household.

Another wereda official said all types of contraceptives, injection, implant, morning after, pills and condoms, are available at hospital and health centres. Clinics and pharmacies sell only the last two items which the hospital and health centres distribute free of charge. The number of women using contraceptives rose in 2011. The use of contraceptives is ever increasing since the beginning of this

decade following awareness (attitude change) and economic limitation. Another wereda official said that family planning is a much known preach of the wereda health office, but the practice is not as expected as possible.

A kebele official said that in earlier periods, illiterate rural people consider using contraception as taboo and child-bearing was considered as God's gift and not limited by a household willingness to bear child. But, in current times family planning education has changed the attitude of the family to think economically. Contraceptive service delivery (pills, injections, implants, condoms, morning after pill, abstention advice, teaching about the contraceptive at school) are becoming popular in all health posts and centres. Another official said that pills, injections, implant, morning after pill and condoms are available at the health centre where each is provided with advice as to how to use, advantage versus disadvantage. Roughly pills, injections, implant and morning after pill are being used by women in the proportion of 10, 60, 17 and 3 %, respectively. The attitude of not only females but also those males towards contraceptives has improved significantly in the past few years.

According to the health centre officer report, the approximate per cent of women using pills, injections, implants, condoms, morning after pill and abstention advice are 10%, 70%, 20%, 80% (Youth), 3% and 5%, respectively. In both secondary and primary schools, there is teaching about the contraception. However, there are poorer attitudes by females (fear of infertility) and males (right to bear child) regarding contraception.

A rich man said that contraceptive services are available in the kebele and he has used the service for the last two years. Condom usage is easier and accessible; therefore, most people prefer it. But, the problem is that the demand to use family planning instrument is not only the interest of a husband or wife. Sometimes it results the husband and wife into divorce if one of the two partners wish use of the reproductive health service instruments during sex and the other denies. We can get access of reproductive service instruments in the health centre and sometimes health service workers distribute to every house during teaching health education. It is economical to think in family planning directions for healthy family and wise distribution of the scarce land resources. Two other men admitted the importance of the lessons but did not use contraception. One said awareness creation has progressed but the implementation is a major challenge to the community. Rich and middle-wealth women said they had been using implants which were effective but had the side effect of body weight loss.

### **Abortion**

A wereda official said that Legal abortion is not as much as illegal one. Nowadays medical centres are established outside the Boloso Sore Wereda that work specifically on Marie Stopes and family planning issues. Even though, there are no figures indicating people who use customary abortion methods, some young women who are not using reproductive health services and doing unsafe sex at rural areas at night time while they return from market places or other social affairs or at urban areas prefer traditional abortion. Commonly, these women face unexpected infectious diseases from unsafe abortion and are admitted to health centres. They explain their use of traditional abortion during admissions to health centre for health service, but it is difficult to know their practice of traditional abortion if they employ it with in ways which do not lead to infection.

In most cases, informal pregnancy by young aged women causes unsafe abortion through traditional medication. However, in poor health conditions, women whom are pregnant die while she attends traditional abortion. There is higher demand of Improvements of health service and health education interventions targeting to access Marie Stopes at each wereda or in the nearest possible place.

A group of men said that traditional abortion still takes place in rural areas. Rural women who have illegal pregnancies do not want to be publicly exposed so abort in secret perceiving it as a taboo. A

kebele official said that there is a demand for abortion by young women but very few rural young women who have accidentally become pregnant use secret customary methods to abort. Deaths or other problems are not reported by the respondent. In the kebele, there is no medical abortion, but one can go to nearer wereda hospitals with Marie Stopes. Safe abortion or effective plan for contraception will be achieved if a medical option working on Marie Stopes is accessed in nearby the kebele.

### **Mother and child services**

According to the wereda health office pre-natal advice and monitoring, maternal vaccinations, help with delivery, and advice on infant care have recently achieved more than 95%. A kebele official said that traditional ways of infant care including unreliable feeding, child delivery, negligence of mother's vaccination or ignoring pre-natal advice and monitoring are problems which still persist in the community. Rural families are not easily responsive to health service education and sometimes they provide a child with heavy meals during breast-feeding, or nutrition-less feeding. This results in child death.

A rich man said that recently my wife used all the mother and child services and safely delivered a child with no tension and unlike what was happening with our older mothers. Traditionally it was taking two to three days with high tension to give birth and mostly the baby or mother died at that time. Health Extension Workers are available in the community and provide service even at night times. Even though there is weak perception of the service importance, for myself or the community members, care for mother and child is very significant and remarkable changes have been made. The problem is inefficiency of households to implement the awareness created into effect. I suppose that teaching our child in school is helping us for continuity of the awareness creation and it would be great if schools also teach students to take some responsibilities to discuss the issue among family members during evening, coffee time or sitting in common.

A middle-wealth man said during earlier periods, first, second and third child bearing, we did not use any of the care mentioned above. The reason was lack of awareness about the service. It is not considered as a challenge to bear a child, or feed it. Traditional approach was common, but we don't perceive it as harmful. By chance, mother or child succeeds during birth and no one knows full information about what will happen in the birth. But, this day information about the baby or mother is known by the health worker. We have not yet removed some weak traditional approaches regardless of many health educations.

### **Pre-natal care**

A wereda official said that pre-natal advice and monitoring was used by 90% of women.

### **Vaccinations**

A wereda official said that maternal vaccinations had reached 95% of women.

### **Delivery**

The wereda health office said help with delivery has achieved to 80% performed by HEWs and by 19% professional health workers. Another official said that help with delivery has reached 60%. A kebele official said that help with delivery had reached 50%. There are three TBAs in the kebele (see below p 179).

The wife of a model farmer said both her daughter and daughter in law gave birth two years ago. They were helped by a traditional birth attendant. The children are healthy and in good health status. There is child growth monitoring at the health post. The mothers noticed that the health extension workers in health posts advise breast feeding. A woman from a middle-wealth household said that her daughter gave birth in November, 2010. She was not monitored while pregnant and was not vaccinated. She had a boy at her mother's house. Her mother helped her during delivery. The boy is not healthy. She took him to the health centre and private clinic, but the boy did not fully

recover. The mother of the boy also is not healthy. She has been suffering from uterine and gastric problems since she gave birth. She has been treated at different health facilities, but she is unable to recover and become healthy. As a result of this she spends most of the days in bed in her mother's house. The vice-chair's wife said that her daughter, who married last year, is pregnant. She follows up her health at the health centre. Advice for herself and on infant health is given by health workers. The wife in the poor household It [the baby] came at full term. She followed the health herself and had the infant vaccinated in the health facility. She gave birth at her home. No one helped her, she managed it by herself. The infant has no problem. The infant is monitored at the health post. The extension workers advised her to feed the child solid food.

#### **Infant care**

A wereda official said that 95% of women have received advice on childcare. The number of infant deaths has declined considerably. One of the HEWs said there are a few mothers who give additional food to babies in their first six months; this is the major problem encountered which can be improved by creating better awareness.

A kebele official said that at the Health Centre maternal tests and screening of mother and child each month are undertaken. The wereda health office supports activities under the Community-Based Nutrition programme. Given improved awareness the community has weaker responses to intended changes and the traditional way of child feeding has not been avoided. However it has been resulting in unwanted disease and death. Under the Integrated Family Health Programme (IFHP) the intervention reduced diarrhoea and other infectious diseases.

#### **Fistula**

A wereda official said that no fistula cases have been reported. A kebele official said that there has been a demand for fistula service by three residents in the community, but they could not get the access. There is only one Hospital, Yirgalem Hospital with fistula service. Improvements on health service demanded in the community should be established nearby the community. A health centre employee said that two cases of fistula were identified in the community demanding medical service which is not available at the health centre, thus, both of them were referred to Yirgalem Hospital.

#### **Other reproductive health**

A wereda official said that there is early pregnancy, condom distribution and reproductive health service education at wereda level health centres and health posts. It would be better if wereda youth centres were available in all areas to expand special services for youth. Recently, there are improved attitudes to reproductive health services in the community and fully introduced to the whole community. The health sector is facing a problem of implementing some reproductive health service schemes to the young due to negligence of practice. There are diversified approaches not fully implemented and the health sector of the wereda will be working on these aspects.

Another wereda official said that the seven health centres provide reproductive health services such as contraceptive service: pills, injections, implants, condoms, and morning after pills. However, there is no special service provided to adolescent. It would be better if the wereda manage to build a youth centre which give special services to adolescent.

A kebele official said that reproductive health services (contraception, health education) are available at health centre in the kebele. Recently, the service is well introduced to the rural people through health extension workers. A major achievement in reproductive health service is an awareness created among the people about how reproductive health service is important. Indeed, the basic problem among the community is effectiveness in implementation. In recent time, special intervention of health service to adolescents is a provision through HIV/AIDS or gender clubs in a school. The mini-media programme has significant effect on youth awareness. For effectiveness, stronger intervention on capacitating their implementation is important. Another official said that

the community have suggested that a special service for adolescents should be provided.

### **Curative health services**

#### **Government**

##### **Generally**

A wereda official said that at kebele level health extension workers supply pain killers such as Paracetemol and curative drugs for malaria such as Quartem and Quinine. Recently quinine and quartem have not been available due to scarcity in the market. A kebele official said that the health post was now in Tokisa, the newly established kebele. Some drugs necessarily available at health posts are Albendazol, Mebendazol, Vitamin A (Mother and children), iron tablet (prenatal test), Quartum, Bacterium tablet, RDT, ORS and other vaccination items. Both International Medical Corps (IMC) and IFHP supply the health post drugs in addition to the wereda health office. The kebele health cabinet reported that the supply shortages of drug to the health centre in Gara Godo is one of the very important challenges hindering the outreach of health service to the required standards in the kebele.

##### **Health centre**

Wereda officials said that recently seven health centres are fully functional in the wereda. The Government's capacity-building is augmented by some NGO interventions. In the past the local government allocated the budget for running costs for the health centres but since 2008 each centre covers its own operating costs using their revenue. Each of the health centres is well-staffed by health professionals and equipment although a few instruments such as microscopes are lacking in some Health Centres. Recently manpower and material supplies have improved though the supply of drugs which are scarce on the market is still insufficient. Often the Health Centres are busy throughout working hours, particularly before noon. Some referrals are made to hospitals outside the wereda.

A kebele official sad that the health centre is well-constructed recently and there is better staffing though there should be at least three health officers and currently there is only one. Since the centre manages its own revenue there is no problem in accessing all demanded drugs. Seasonally when there is disease in the community between September and January the centre becomes busy.

A wereda official said that poor people could access free health services if recommended as eligible by kebele officials but currently there is no clear policy as to how the poor can access medical services and the wereda health cabinet says there is no plan. A kebele official said that poor people who have a support letter from the wereda are exempted from paying health costs. The head of the health centre said there is no exemption for poor people.

A farmer said that a few years ago people had to go outside the kebele to get to a Health Centre. Other respondents said that access to the clinic and pharmacy is weak and not enough to meet community demand. People from other weredas are using the health centre. A woman said that the construction of the new health centre buildings have not been completed as scheduled and are lagging two or three years behind time.

The head of the health centre said that the old building is not adequate due its age and small rooms. It has access to electricity and water and has latrines. The BPR requirements are for 4 health officers, 5 midwives and 9 clinical nurses but these numbers are not achieved. The staff include pharmacy technicians, a laboratory technician, clinical nurses, midwives, a health officer, a financial officer, a cleaner, and a guard. The number of patients is normal except from September to January because of malaria. The maximum cost of a visit is between 35 and 40 *birr*. The health centre buys drugs directly from the government at a discount so prices are lower than those in the market. Sometimes there is a shortage of quinine. Patients prefer private clinics; maybe because they have modern equipment such as microscopes and attract experienced workers by providing better incentives. In

private clinics there is no shortage of drugs because they can buy from different companies in addition to government drug stores. He said that the health centre is working on the 16 health extension packages and its achievements are increasing year after year and reaching the highest level. For example the latrine package has achieved 90% of its goals and mother and child immunisation reached 100%.

The leader is involved in managing the health centre and providing supporting services to the health post. He works 12 hours a day five days a week and earns 2,989 *birr* per month. Shortage of transport is the main problem that makes it difficult to provide supporting services to the five health posts. By using a participatory approach and sharing jobs among the case teams it would be possible to improve the job.

The health centre leader is 28 years old. He wanted to be a health professional and got this post in 2005. He was awarded a first degree and he also attended different training such as in HIV blood testing, community based nutrition (CBN), and integrated re-fresher for health extension workers (IRT) and trainees (TOT). He has no other role in the community. No one from his family has other roles in the community either. In the near future he wants to specialize in public health and he also wants to continue his education up to PhD. If he needs advice or help he goes to the kebele chairman, manager, and municipality and wereda health cabinet respectively. He explained that he did not face any problem.

The richer woman heading a household said that a new health centre has been constructed in the area and the community has got better health services; it has reduced the deaths of pregnant women and infants. The poorer woman heading a household said the services are not satisfactory while the wife of the model farmer said he suffered from malaria for a month last year and went to the Health Centre. They had a malaria tablet shortage and he bought them from a private pharmacy in Areka. A rich man said that recently a family member got typhoid and was tested at the Health Centre; for tablets they were sent to a private clinic where the cost was twice that in the health centre (120 *birr*). A middle-wealth man said he paid 65 *birr* for a tablet at the private clinic. A poor man said most of the time he chooses to go to the Health Centre but the treatment is not full. All medicine should be available at the health centre but they send people to the private pharmacy which is very expensive; he recently paid 40 *birr* for a tablet which was 25 *birr* in other places.

A rich woman took her son to the Health Centre three months ago because he was wounded on his leg while running to school. She paid 12 *birr* for dressing the wound and an anti-biotic injection. A poor woman went to the Health Centre two weeks and was found positive for malaria. As Quartem, the drug for treating malaria, was not available in the Health centre, she went to the pharmacist. The examination at the Health Centre cost 5 *birr* and the drug 20 *birr*.

### **Hospitals**

Dubo General Hospital in Areka, established and run by the Catholic Church development programme has been functional since 2002. It is not public and the cost is expensive compared with government hospitals established at Sodo.

### **Private clinics and pharmacies**

A wereda official said that in the last two years private clinics and pharmacies have been emerging as small-scale legal businesses. They are regularly inspected by government experts from the wereda health office. Kebele officials said that there are two private clinics in the kebele; both are popular for treating malaria and pneumonia. A farmer said that services and tablets in private clinical services and pharmacies are more than three times the price of the health centre.

The head of a private clinic said it started to give service in September 2010. It gives full diagnostic and treatment services for 24 hours a day every day. The government service is only open for 8 hours. As a result people prefer private clinics. The private clinic has no relation with the

government health centre or hospital but it does have relations with the health office. Government policy encourages private clinics in the health sector.

Cleaning equipment and rooms, helping patients at any time, and giving diagnostic and treatment services are the work that is done day-to-day. The working time is not limited; service is given whenever a patient comes to the clinic. The work is carried out by the owner. People's ability to pay equivalent to the service is low. They do not come early but when the case has reached a bad stage. Some patients come in the middle of the night. These are the major problems. Better education can improve the job.

The owner wants to have his sons taught in a higher health institution and to improve the clinic to a higher level. He is 45 and opened the clinic because he and his two sons are health professionals. He is also motivated by the profit. In addition to his job he also serves the community as a cashier for a church. His future aspiration is to upgrade the clinic to a higher clinic and provide a better service for the community. If he gets any problem or wants advice he goes to the head of the wereda health office and the technical sanitary worker.

### **Traditional practices**

A wereda official said that poorer people lacking financial access to buy public health services perceive traditional medication to be the best option if the case is not severe. It has been common to approach traditional practitioners "Wegesha" when legs, hand or part of a body is harmed by accident. For problems such as stomach ache, malaria and intestinal worms and others rural people use traditional plants for curative activities. Abortions by customary methods are seldom happening. Now the poorer lacking financial access to buy public health service perceive traditional medication to be the best option if the case is not severe.

A group of men said that self-treatment, use of herbs, bone setters, holy water, spiritual healers, and traditional abortions are gradually reducing in effect of use. Indeed, the poorer people prefer to go to traditional medications as an option for easier diseases. Very religious people prefer to use holy water as a medication means. Traditional abortion is not removed in rural areas. The reason is that the rural women who have illegal pregnancy do not want to get exposed to public area. Thus, they prefer to abort in secret due to perceiving it as a taboo. However, there are significant improvements of attitude towards traditional and formal health care services in the community.

A group of women said that members of the community often treat themselves whenever they fall ill using herbs, or otherwise visit traditional healers such as herbalists, bone-setters, physiotherapists (called 'wegeisha'), and spiritual healers even if the patient can afford the medical fee. Though the proportion of members of the community using traditional medication is decreasing as compared with the past, still 20% of them do so. However, when the problem gets worse they go to modern health services. Yes, there is a change compared to the last 10 years. In the past, people were mostly dependent on traditional curatives practices but now people tend to visit modern medical centres to get better services.

A kebele official said that there are still a few traditional practices in rural areas like drinking stomach work killer made from plants.

A traditional healer said he treats broken bones, and deals with joint or blood vessel problems using " Wegesha" and traditional medicine. He deals with broken legs, hands and hips, returning misplaced joint or blood vessels. He also provides a similar service for domestic animals. No cost. In addition to the above, stomach problems are also brought to him. All kinds of people (rich, poor, males, females, young) seek his services. Mainly the government health centre wants to strengthen their work jointly, but he is not willing because he does not like any meetings.

Government regulations do not have any effect on his job, day to day he works on his farm, but if someone needs his service it is given. He works about 1 hour per day, for one patient three or four

days in a week. His service charges are the benefit. He charges 10 birr for a human and 20 birr for a domestic animal. He gives the service by kneeling down. As a result of these he feels pain in his knee. This is the problem he faced recently, still now he suffers from the pain. If government provides training and other help, the job can be improved. The man is 70 years old. He started the service during the imperial Haile Selassie regime before 1974. He has no other role in the community but his son serves in the kebele social court. He wants to stop the service in the future. He has 3 children, from his income he wants to save and educate them. There is no one at wereda, kebele, or community level to whom he goes to for help, advice etc. He faced no problem in his job recently.

### **NGOs**

A kebele official said that NGOs such as IMC, the International Rescue Committee and *Redd Barna* have been intervening in preventive and curative health services in the community.

### **Child-rearing practices and changes**

A group of women said that the practice of nursing infants and child-care have improved. Mothers get their infants immunised, feed them properly and provide supplementary fee as desirable. Generally infant mortality has declined. They send them to school at the appropriate age and provide them with adequate food and clothing as good as possible regardless of sex. The burden of work on children, especially girls, has reduced significantly.

### **Education**

#### **Pre-school**

A wereda official said that there are two KGs in the wereda, one in Areka and one in Hembecho a rural town 17 kms from Areka. In the 2010// academic year 353 children enrolled in the school. Despite an increasing demand for pre-school education no additional KGs are planned.

During the last three years twenty zero grade primary schools were established and run by communities in rural kebeles. Although these schools provided space for a good number children the quality of education delivered is considered very low, due to scarcity of budget for employing skilled teachers. Recently the respective communities discussed on the matter and agreed to raise the amount of money a member should contribute as school fee so that professional teachers can be recruited

In Gara Godo there was pre-education which served until last year. As the number of students went down significantly they joined the primary first cycle. A kebele officials said that zero grade school is available in the kebele compound where 25% of eligible children attend. A rich farmer said there is no pre-school teaching in rural areas. A daughter in the poor FHH attended pre-school; she liked it and learned letters and numbers. A son from the middle-wealth household attends pre-school; he likes going but has not learned anything. A daughter of the vice-chair goes to pre-school. She likes it and did not agree when the family wanted her not to go to school. She can identify letters of the alphabet. Two children from a poor household attend pre-school; they like it and can identify letters. A daughter from the model farmer's household attended pre-school; she like it and learned the English alphabet.

#### **Primary education**

##### **The primary schools**

A wereda official said that in 2011 three more primary schools were built bringing the number in the wereda to 39. The number of students enrolled increased to 2,300 and student achievements improved. The major problem is shortage of textbooks.

A kebele official said that recently one main primary school was established near the Gamo river. The school covers Grades 1-8 and 40% of students are female. There are 25 teachers and a morning

and afternoon shift lesson delivery system. Automatic promotion for outstanding students is still effective and self-contained teaching is functional. The PTA (see below p 129) and school management staff have regular consultation meetings on the quality of education, staffing, cost-sharing contributions and other school affairs.

Another kebele official said that there are 1770 students of which 48% are female. There are 24 teachers giving lessons in two shifts: Grades 1-4 in one shift and Grades 5-8 in the other. Self-contained teaching is practised from Grades 1-4; in all levels promotion is based on the student's achievement.

A rich farmer said the school was built in 2005. In earlier times children went to school when they were older and did not go until strong enough to walk to distant schools so additional years of schooling were missed. Now parents send children with less cost and distance but the quality is not sufficient with regard to chairs, buildings, teaching and learning materials and even teachers. There is a committee meeting and the activities of the school annual plan are discussed for decisions. Resource shortage is always on the agenda besides the annual performance evaluation of the school management. What is good about the school is the income generated from its own farm. It has gone some distance in being established but very many investments to qualify the school are needed.

The vice-chair said that education is accessible near to people's homes. Teachers worry about school drop-outs. There is strong follow-up of dropouts by the family, teachers and kebele officials. There are two primary schools one for the first cycle Grades 1-4 and the other for the second cycle Grades 5-8. The school is built of wood with corrugated iron sheet roofs. The head teacher said that the building is not adequate. The water supply was disconnected in 2009 and though there is electricity the power is not strong enough for plasma TV education. There are latrines. There are 2,873 children attending the school and the male female ratio is almost 1:1. Shortage of desks and chairs, lack of teaching aids and shortage of textbooks are the major problems. There is no school fee. Education service is free for all students but students costs are exercise books, pens, pencils and uniform. Reduction of the number of school dropouts, increasing females' schooling and improving the students' achievements are the achievements of the schools. Even though the community participation in the education sector is improving over time, it has not reached the required level. For example, the number of parents who do not participate in the meetings that are called in school is still high. Financial or labour contribution of the community is not satisfactory.

The head teacher is the head of first and secondary cycles. He carries out mainly administration work at the two schools. He also participates in any kind of work in the schools. He works almost all days in a week including Saturday and Sunday for ten hours per day. He earns a monthly salary, it is 2934 birr. There is no other benefit. The participation of the community is less. Sometime the school members contribute their own money for school work. This creates a big problem in the job. Community awareness creation is the key point to improve the educational work.

A male teacher said that the teacher-student ratio is not proportional with the required standard; there is one teacher for more than 50 students. A teacher submits a lesson plan for each week/year he teaches, besides undertaking additional tasks like home room teacher responsibilities. He is a home room teacher for the Grade 3 students. Most important equipment like desks and text books is available; however the resources are not comfortable to stay for a long time. He is teaching general science and there are regular morning and afternoon sessions. He is 31, has a diploma, and was appointed three years ago. He shares ideas for future improvements with a friend in the community and talks to other teachers for peer-communication.

Students are not allowed to miss a class without permission from the homeroom teacher. The teachers behave well but spend a lot of time playing. The quality of education is not maintained to the required standard because the school does not have the additional facilities found in schools in town areas. The school is accommodating many children who lack access to a school in their locality but many children in the rural parts fail to attend. The problem is still a lack of sufficient quality of

schools in terms of qualified teachers, textbooks and students' attitude to cope with schooling regardless of the various problems. Dropout is the responsibility of teachers and the school administration. Parents should take much responsibility for their children.

A female teacher said that the building is improving now and the teacher to pupil ratio is about 1-40/50. There is a shortage of furniture, equipment and books and there is no free classroom for tutorials. Students attend the class properly because teachers check them twice a day. The behaviour of the students is good but the quality of education is not achieved at the required level. Parents' attitudes to education are improving over time. The participation of students, parents and teachers is better here than in other kebeles in the wereda. The number of children going to school is increasing and the results improving year on year. Shortage of teachers is the main problem; their load is high and they more than 30 periods a week. She teaches Amharic and English in the second cycle. She works 7 hours a day for 6 days a week for a salary of 1573 *birr*. A better educational environment could improve the job. She is 26 and started teaching in 2009. Teaching is not her interest, which was in the health sector. She wants to improve her educational status and change her profession. If she has a problem or wants advice she contacts the head of the wereda education office but there is no-one in the kebele or community who she goes to.

The poor woman heading a household said her six children are all attending primary school although one recently dropped out to go to Awash to collect cotton. Sometimes they are absent to help with domestic work. She paid 25 *birr* for all. The quality of education is medium. The school does not follow up on students' achievements and teachers miss the classes and do not control absent students. The richer woman heading a household said her grand-daughters were attending Grade 1. The good things about the school is that they are controlling students' behaviour and teaching properly and contacting parents frequently. The vice-chair said five of his children were attending primary school though one of the sons dropped out temporarily because he was unhappy that new clothes and shoes were not bought for him. The household contributes 25 *birr* per year which is fixed regardless of the number of children. The quality of education is good; the school controls students and checks attendance. Teachers try to create harmony among the students and the school has good relations with parents. The wife of the model farmer said the quality is medium and there is a shortage of textbooks. A poor woman said that she sends her three children to school but when they need exercise books and pens she may not have the money to pay for them. In this case they cry and do not want to go to school. Other students laugh at them and their old clothes. As a result of these problems her three daughters migrated somewhere last week. Another poor woman said she has two children at primary school but sometimes they drop out due to hunger and other problems.

A middle-wealth farmer said there is a goal of accessing an additional primary school nearer to those households are a great distance from the current school. In December 2011 the wooden frame for a new school was in place.

### **School management and staff**

In the first cycle there are 24 teachers: 15 males and 9 females. In the second cycle there are 30 teachers: 19 males and 11 females.

### **Experiences of primary school**

#### **Secondary education**

A wereda official said that there are three secondary schools in the wereda: one in Areka, one in Gara Godo and one at Hembecho. The last two were built in 2008 raising the number of students enrolled by 32% from 950 in 2008 to 1400 in 2011. Students' achievements showed improvement comparing 2011 with 2008. A major problem in all three is inadequacy of textbooks and lack of electricity supply is a problem for Hembecho, which however, scored the greatest achievement in the Grade 10 exams.

A farmer said that access to secondary school in the kebele is a recent improvement. The cost has reduced and students no longer travel a long distance to Areka. People also used to go to Boditi or Sodo for high school.

There was a great meeting held in 2008 when the whole community gathered to discuss about and contribute their share for the building of the school, which was built in that year. The school looks good having class-rooms, a compound structure and a gate-door. A kebele official said there are 270 boys and 123 girls attending the school and there is no cost-sharing. Another said that 459 boys (95% of those eligible) and 298 girls (91% of those eligible) attend classes on a daily basis. Students pay only a registration fee which is 30 *birr* for Grade 9 and 25 *birr* for Grade 10.

Many people in the community have completed Grade 10. A respondent said the number of students joining preparatory school from the high school is small. Much effort is needed to maintain the required quality as seen on other high schools. Many students need to go on to preparatory school. The school facility must be fulfilled since it is an institute of manpower development centre. The son of a model farmer is a Grade 9 student in Gara Godo; the household paid 25 *birr* and he is doing well. The school controls the teaching-learning process properly but has a shortage of textbooks and a shortage of reference books in the library.

Students go to Areka or Boditi for preparatory school. The son of a middle-wealth respondent who is 23 attended Areka preparatory school. The cost was 20 *birr* annually and he did well and is now studying education at Arbaminch University.

#### **Post-secondary education**

A few people in the community have college diplomas. It is still a problem for poor people to send their children to TVET, University or private college studies, even the nearest possible. A number of people suggested that there should be scholarships for poor students. A rich man said there is a problem of unemployment for our children who learned for many years with personal costs. Government jobs are not accessible. A poor man said that poor students have to work in parallel with studying and cannot compete with those who only study.

#### **Government TVET**

There are two government TVET colleges in Sodo, one for agricultural training and the other for technical training at certificate and diploma levels.

#### **Government universities**

The establishment of a university in Sodo helped households to send their children with lower transportation costs. Some years ago they used to send their children to Hawassa or Arbaminch universities. Now is an ideal opportunity to send them to Sodo which is only 29 kms.

#### **Private colleges**

A private college was established in Areka in 2011. The vice-chair is studying accounting in Areka every weekend paying 180 *birr* a month. There are a good number of private colleges in Sodo which is 29 km from the wereda capital. A son from the model farmer household attended a private college in Sodo and graduated in clinical nursing. He won an award but cannot find a job.

#### **Distance learning**

Distance learning programmes are an important chance for poorer households. Government officials are also keen to pursue distance education as it has been difficult for them to get study leave given their family responsibilities.

#### **Other training**

A wereda official said that 29 adult training centres were established recently in the wereda but due to lack of attention from responsible bodies none of them is functional at present. A kebele official

said there is no other training apart from some fragmented adult literacy, tax-payer training, or farmer training. A group of men said they had all attended farmer training, health education, saving promotion and other agricultural issues. A woman of middle-wealth was trained in midwifery and has helped a good number of pregnant women give birth safely at home for which she feels happy and proud. She complained about lack of equipment and consumable items essential to help labouring women. A poor woman attended training at the FTC and learned about row planting, how to apply fertiliser, weeding and cultivation, harvesting and storing products. But she didn't benefit as her plot is far from how and her crops frequently damaged by animals.

### **Attitudes to education**

#### **Attending school**

In earlier periods community members preferred child labour to child education. But government and NGOs have been intervening to expand education. Rural and urban households are sending their children to school though there is still some gap regarding the attitude to education. Many of them see it as a means to escape poverty because there are few farming option in the community due to lack of land.

The community has a better perception of girls' education than in the past. Most believe there is no difference in educating boys or girls. Community members prefer college or university education since the returns are better than to school education. A boy or girl who has completed college education is highly respected.

#### **Education and economic problems**

A group of men said marginalised people cannot send their children to school because of the lack of capacity to help them and the need for the child's labour. Community members who can afford it send their boys or girls to private college, which was not possible in the past as such colleges did not exist.

### **Community management**

#### **Wereda**

##### **Wereda structure**

A wereda official said that administratively, Wolayita Zone, a former Wereda under Semen Omo Zone, was established in the year 2000. The area includes the eastern Sidama Zone, Western Dawro Zone, Northern Kembata zone and in the Southern Gamo Gofa Zone. Above sea-level, the zone exists at 501-3000 metres height, with climate: dry (35%), medium (56%) and wet (9%). Yearly average rain ranges from 801 up to 1600 millimetres and temperature 21-86 degree Celsius. The total land size is 4511.7 square km. Currently, the Zonal total population is about 1.7 million with a slightly higher female population. Boloso Sore is the largest populous wereda in Wolayita zone with a total population 180,952 and total land size 288 sq km. The population density per sq km is 628. Total rural population in the zone is 1.3 million while total population in the urban areas is 172, 514. In general, Boloso Sore Wereda was the largest populous and re-established into Boloso Bombe, Areka town, Boloso Sore, and Damote Sore weredas.

Among twelve rural Weredas (Boloso Sore, Damote Gale, Damote Woyde, Humbo, Sodo Zuria, Kindo Didaye, Damote Pulasa and Duguna Fango) three self-administering reform towns (Boditi, Sodo, Areka) existing in Wolayita Zone, Bolo Sore is recently re-established, and resized. It is the most populous Wereda in the zone, even in the country. The Wereda accommodates a total population of 166,565 with annual growth rate of 2.9%, and the Wereda has 628 persons per square kilometre.

A decade ago Boloso Sore Wereda was facing a challenge of overcrowding of population, severe cases of criminals, infrastructure shortage, and public service supply and demand mismatches. Due to weak family planning aggravated by land shortage, population density brought Boloso Sore

Wereda nationally to the forefront as food insecure, with many youth unemployed, and poor opportunities to earn income and finance livelihood. Relative to other Weredas in Wolayita Zone, Bolosso Sore Wereda has shown gradual changes in relation to security, peace and good governance, self-administration of public service, expansion and development of socioeconomic sectors. For instance, according to the Wereda chairman, health centres in Boloso Sore Wereda have increased (Achura, Gara Godo, Matala Himbecho, Woibo, Afama Bancha, Legama, and Dangara) and improved (manpower and materials, service delivery), agricultural production and productivity have been enhanced with new technology adoption (improved seeds, cash crop production, farmer investment on agro-industry like coffee production and processing in Himbecho and Basa Gofara Kebele) and rural electrification and expansion of socioeconomic sectors are major changes and development. Government capacity building schemes, strengthening of public service administration and good governance, donor interventions, emerging demand of development agenda have been contributing a lot and indicating the development progress for the citizen.

Another wereda official said that the former Boloso Sore Wereda (with 44 Kebeles) was further classified into three independent weredas: a smaller sized Boloso Sore wereda, Boloso Bombe wereda and Damote Sore wereda. The intention of resizing the wereda was to minimize the effect of large size on administration and development of socioeconomic sectors, and to create location advantage of the communities to the nearest market, town areas, and other public sectors.

Thus, Kebeles in their respective Weredas are fairly distributed and formally structured, partly, for administration purposes. For instance, a kebele principal is accountable to a wereda principal, a kebele manager is directly reporting to civil service office, a kebele cabinet (composed of officers from youth, information, women, peace and security, Agriculture and Rural Development, school director) is authorized to decide upon budget and development agenda of the respective community. The Kebele cabinet chairman with vice chairman leads 200 members and conducts monthly assembly. The Kebele cabinet chairman is accountable to the Wereda level cabinet chairman.

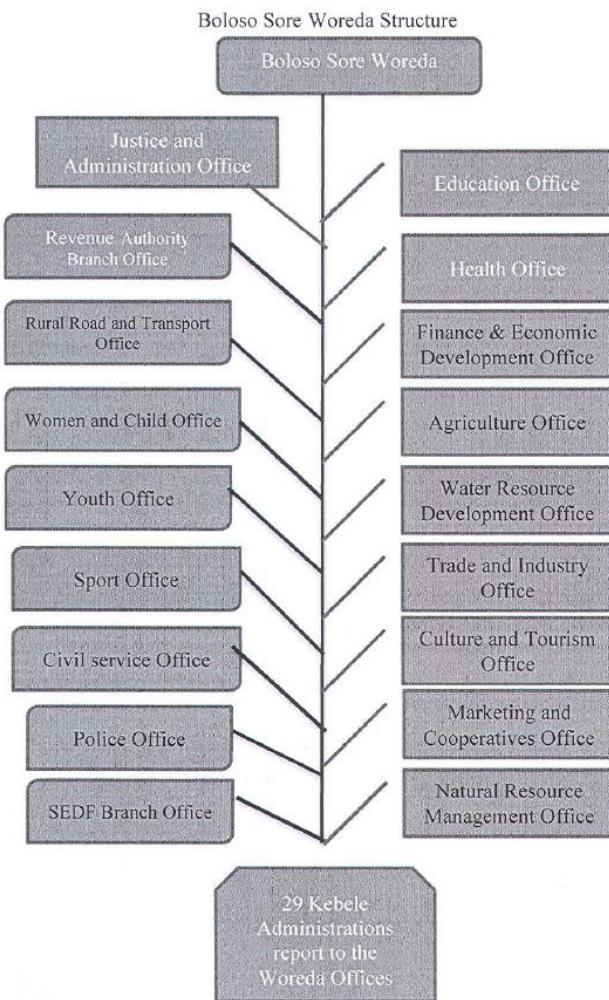
Another official said that before the re-establishment of Boloso Sore Wereda, it included 44 kebeles or localities and composed the larger number of population, land size, and natural resources. After resizing the wereda into 29 kebeles and further classifying the broader kebeles into smaller independent kebeles, in general, administration of resources become easier and resource allocation and decision up on locality development is appreciated. Indeed, small scale urbanization has been emerging and infrastructure developments and development projects are replicated to individual weredas. In effect, while kebele boundaries get resized, the most common approach is to re-organise the population for the intention of fair distribution of resources. Apart from administrative importance to bounding kebeles or weredas, there is a pushing effort of the community to be re-organised as independent kebeles, or a kebele movement from one wereda to other, or restructuring a group of kebeles as independent wereda from the main. The keen interest partly lies on social or economic importance; in some cases conflict of the community raises the need for restructuring the kebeles or weredas.

Another official said that six years ago the wereda was composed of 44 kebeles. In 2005 the wereda gave away a total of 20 kebeles to two newly formed weredas; 8 kebeles to Damot-Sore wereda and 12 kebeles to Bolosso-Bombe. Later, each of the 5 largest remaining 24 kebeles were divided into two and make the total number of kebeles to 29. The change has a role in simplifying administration and deliverance of public service very easily.

Another wereda official said that following the introduction of Business process Re-engineering (BPR), Boloso Sore Wereda is structured (Figure 1) into various offices in targeting sectors and services. Indeed, the restructuring significantly contributed to public service efficiency; public service delivery is now specific and clearly identified to the customers. For example, in recent year capacity building office has been restructured independently into education office, health office and

civil service office. Former sport office divided into youth office and sport office. Moreover, rural small towns, like Gara Godo and Woibo become independent and governed by their own municipalities and generate their own income. Areka town is self-administering and independent of other rural areas. However, this newly emerging structures and administrative approaches are not free of challenges, the right personnel at the right place position has not yet been achieved to the reasonable state when compared to some other better performing Weredas in Wolayita Zone.

**Figure 1: Boloso Sore woreda structure**



Another woreda official said that the advantages of this structure are: the woreda court is free from any political influence by the woreda administration since its accountability is to high court and the judge are assigned by regional judiciary. Another advantage is that sector offices are accountable directly to the woreda administrator. Each prepares its own plan and acts accordingly after approval and can give appropriate decision soon in consultation with the woreda officials. According to woreda official the disadvantage is that all sector offices except the administration office and the woreda court are not allowed to purchase any item by themselves so they face problems in rendering immediate service to customers.

### **Wereda Administration and the party**

Various officials were fairly critical. One said that there is a gap between actual achievements and reports of woreda officers in some respects. Another that there is no innovative management or sufficient educational background for woreda officers. There is very weak implementation capacity of the development plan. I couldn't see any special and actual scheme for the implementation

beyond the awareness. Another said that in general grass root empowerment is very weak in wereda level. The household capital creating project is not observable as a scheme.

### **Justice and security**

A wereda official said that the security office, policy and justice office at wereda level has formed a steering committee that conducts monthly meetings. Due to co-operation among the three offices the service quality of security and policing has improved. However the structure is not well-empowered to deliver a scaling-up demand for court, peace and security service from the rural people.

Another wereda official said that the wereda court interacts with the kebele social court and peace committee. Since 5 years ago community awareness has changed significantly; The budget allocation is not sufficient. There is no basic equipment such as vehicles and insufficient manpower. The wereda court is planning to employ a lawyer.

A kebele official said that the wereda court works well at wereda level and receives appeals from kebele members. Land-related cases are commonly treated at both social court and were court levels. There are still some problems with the full functioning of justice at both kebele level (manpower, lack of awareness, transparency) and wereda level (manpower, transparency).

A middle-wealth farmer said that the wereda court has a great role in the community; many people demand legal interventions unreachable by the social court or peace committee. His wife said that the wereda court is not biased. When the elders took the case of the boys who kicked her son back to themselves the wereda court respected the elders and let them resolve the problem. If the problem had not been resolved by the elders it would have returned to the wereda court.

The wife of the vice-chair said that the wereda court is not biased against women. She gave the example of the decision to give a woman half of the property of her husband who married another woman. She shared cattle, equipment etc equally. The case was presented to the court last year and the decision was reached this year.

The champion farmer said that the effectiveness of the wereda court is unquestionable. Currently there is an arrangement for mobile courts (*chilot*) which helps address the cases on time as well as comprehensively.

### **Kebele and party structures**

A wereda official said that given the immense advantages of grassroots-level empowerment, the kebele structure faces severe problems. Manpower is not willing to render administration service at kebele level due to insufficient remuneration and poor working environments. Various kebele committees are organized in each kebele and assigned for their responsibilities. For instance, peace and security committee is working together with the community members. It demands further effort to work out to improve compensation and work environment attractive to qualified personnel services.

Another wereda official said the kebele structure is composed of kebele council, kebele chair, kebele cabinet and kebele manager. Recently the chair, two cabinet members and the manager earn monthly salary and serve the community as full time workers while the rest of cabinet members who are not paid become disappointed and less motivated to carry out their responsibility. Thus, the cabinet members who do not earn monthly salary shall be compensated for their time they spend serving the community. The Kebele council members elected by the people for a five years term and they are responsible for the residents of the Kebele. The Kebele chairperson is elected from the members of the council. The cabinets are appointees and the manager responsible to the wereda civil service and to the chairperson. Since the new structure is formed, women's participation has been increased; the justice and security issue became better off. The structure should be improved in terms of regular remuneration

### **Recent changes to Gara Godo kebele structure**

Gara Godo kebele is now smaller since one sub-kebele has become an independent kebele; the centre has become a municipality. The kebele manager mentioned that the collection of contributions and of tax has been shifted to the kebele municipality. He reported that the kebele now has no means of income. Gara Godo town is becoming an independent town separate from rural areas; therefore, an independent municipality is functional to collect income/tax/contributions.

The structure includes a manager, procurement and payment office, cashier, urban cleaning, human resources, an accountant, record officer and guard. The kebele municipality reports to the Wereda trade and industry office. Budget is allocated to the kebele municipality directly from the zone. The good side of the recent kebele structure is that it has created responsibility and specific labour division among the civil workers in the kebele. But, the disadvantage is that there is no income generation means for the kebele after municipality become independent. According to the kebele manager, the job description is limited and small-sized to the kebele administration. Another advantage of the recent kebele structure is that awareness-creation improved among the community members and development activities are enhanced in rural areas.

The kebele and party structures are related through the holding of positions in each by the kebele chair and vice-chair. The kebele chairman is also chairman of the political party and the kebele party sub-committee and the vice-chair is the head of politics. The kebele peace and security cabinet member is also a member of the political administration.

A kebele official said that the inclusion in the new structure in 2005 of a Justice and peace cabinet has reduced the incidence of crime. The Women affairs cabinet empowered women to play a management role, to secure their rights, and to access credit services. As most members (6) are not paid salary, their involvement in office work for their respective assignments is low.

### **The Kebele Council**

A rich farmer said that the kebele council, along with the cabinet, militia and party officials, is important if we have an immediate demand for public interventions. The kebele Council has 200 seats; there are 99 active representatives as the other 101 joined the newly-established kebele Tokisa which was a sub-kebele of the larger Gara Godo kebele a year ago.

The Council chair said that both Gara Godo and Tokisa kebeles have incomplete representation on the council and are expected to decide on the remaining representatives in the near future. The kebele council has a speaker and a vice speaker. In the meeting conducted on October 14, 2011 the council decided on issues concerning timing of kebele social court replacement (done) and the pre-school establishment in the kebele (people contributed wood for house construction and the school is currently launched). In addition to this, the kebele vice council chair was appointed, who had left for other jobs. In fact, there was an attendance problem. To resolve this, 10 people representatives were elected among the council representatives and assigned to follow up 10 people attendance in every council meeting.

The chair appreciates the recent well-organized reporting system of the kebele council as a good achievement. Truly speaking the council representatives are not happy with meetings during peak farming /harvesting seasons. He expects many improvements: having the full number of council representatives, in office facilities, stationery, and providing some compensation at least for meeting days. The chair calls the council representatives for meetings once a month after organizing an agenda for discussion and required decisions. With zero compensation, all the kebele council members spend one day (depending on the length of the agenda) a month for meetings. As chair, he is responsible for assembling the council members for meeting and passing decisions on issues. In the course of these activities, the chair also misses his personal activities like other members during peak /farming/ harvesting seasons. He said that shortening the duration of meetings as well as using Sunday (not recommended to work) will reduce the pay-off of the council and himself as chair

incurring a trade-off relating to working on their/his farm.

### **The kebele Cabinet**

The kebele has nine management committee members:

1. Kebele chairman ..... not paid
2. Kebele vice chairman ..... not paid
3. Justice and security ..... not paid
4. Political structure ..... not paid
5. Agriculture cabinet member.....paid
6. Health cabinet member ..... paid
7. Education cabinet member ..... paid
8. Kebele council chair ..... not paid
9. Vice kebele council chair ..... not paid

There are regular meetings of the kebele council (once a month) and kebele management committee (once a week). The kebele cabinet are responsible to discuss an agenda of sectoral developments (e.g. Education, health, agriculture, etc) when the cabinet members conduct a meeting. For instance, in the first 2 - 3 months of the new budget year, the kebele cabinet discuss education in the presence of committee organized from student families, teachers' representatives and community elders. It gives a good opportunity to the community through their representatives to decide upon the quality of education, school development, student fee decisions and any other matters of education during the meetings. It is similar in other development sectors.

In the last recent meeting, the kebele leaders decided on tax collection, returning fertilizer credit and community security issues as the major agenda items. Those working without any payment are not happy to attend meetings regularly. However, in recent times all kebele leadership committee members have engaged in a campaign to collect fertilizer debt from farmers amounting to 160,000 birr, and 15,000 birr (not 22,800 birr as planned) land tax successfully. The respondent felt happy with this achievement given that the farmers are strongly resistant to repaying their debts.

Given the challenges of the kebele management team's resistance to take part in kebele leadership responsibilities, he suggested that the wereda government should take into account some amount of salary for effective participation and motivation of kebele workers. He remarked that not paid members prefer to leave the activities after serving the community; indeed, they believed and gave us the responsibilities. Moreover, debt repayment activity is very challenging; therefore, government should sell fertiliser on a cash basis directly to those interested farmers willing and able to buy at the time of supplies.

A kebele official said there is no women and child affairs representative. A woman said she was the women and child affairs representative is 30 years old. She was elected by the community and started the job on March 15 2010. No education or training has been given. She wants to work hard to improve her living standard and wants to see a better country. For advice and help she has no-one at the wereda or community levels. At kebele level she goes to the kebele administration of the manager. Some women, who did not take any food aid, refused to vaccinate themselves and their children saying give the vaccinations to the people to whom you gave food. They wrongly associated food aid with vaccination. The kebele officials discussed the problem with them and finally they agreed and took vaccinations.

### **The kebele chairman**

The kebele chairman has both political and administrative responsibilities.

With regard to political activities he leads 27 "Cell", which is at the lowest level of political structure. The chairman twice a month receives the news letter sent by the wereda government (South Voice Newsletter) and distributes it to each cell leader in order to inform study of recent events and

achievements regarding economic development, political activities and other important information for the community. There are 262 party members who pay 12 birr each for membership and 2 birr for newsletter expenses.

The kebele administration also gives assignments to each cell leader to follow up on the security and development activities of each household in the neighbourhood. Thus, the cell leaders report their reflections on the newsletter and other information relayed to their neighbours and party members to the kebele chair. The kebele management team give feedback on information collected by 27 cell leaders in the kebele and also transfer additional information received from the wereda.

With regard to administrative affairs the kebele chair is responsible for following up the health, education and agriculture kebele offices. He is also the leader of the NRM committee and a member of the school training board committee which follows up the school director, teachers and student teaching-learning facilities.

The chairman works all the days in a week when there is tax collection, debt repayment and other wereda official orders. In other regular seasons, the chairman works 4 days a week (political issues = Monday and Friday; Administration = Wednesday and Saturday). There is no salary, but it is an appointment by the community that we should accept. The problems related to the job are that at large it harms personal improvement that would be achieved through farming, trade or education. There used to be some amount of payment to the kebele management team, but it has now been transferred to the kebele manager who is recruited by the wereda. Missing the chance to achieve personal development because of doing public work is harmful; therefore, government would do better to take allow some salary to kebele officials working the whole time in the office.

#### **The kebele vice-chairman**

The vice-chair is 35 and was appointed in 2010. He said he was the immediate boss in the kebele structure and in the absence of the chair acts as chairman. Much of his responsibility is kebele politics and its structure. Except in a campaign season to collect taxes, debts and contributions, the chairman attends the kebele office four days a week. Similar to other officials, he has no salary or other benefits intended to compensate for his labour time as vice chairman. He faced many challenges like other kebele officials during debt repayment from farmers. He reported that the wereda government should take into account the capacity of farmers when distributing fertilizers and other farming inputs, which were distributed on a quota system.

#### **Kebele manager**

A kebele official said that the first kebele manager came to the Gara Godo kebele in 2005. He was Abera Sisay. Between the present kebele manager (Ato EE) and the former manager, there was no kebele manager appointment. But, the head of the municipality was managing both offices. The kebele manager is responsible to undertake kebele activity plan, reporting, records meeting minutes, kebele statistical profile development and following-up peace and security of the kebele.

The kebele manager has many interactions with cabinet and councils, association and sub-kebele structures:

- The manager records all meeting minutes
- The manager participates in kebele planning
- The manager is responsible to follow-up sector officers in the kebele
- The manager supports associations and sub-kebele structures directly or indirectly.

Another kebele official said that the manager is responsible to follow-up public services, gather and compile data and information. There is good interaction between the kebele manager and cabinet, council, women's and youth associations. With regard to sub-kebele, there is not any structure which refers the sub-kebele arrangements.

The kebele manager said that the kebele office is not well-built-up it uses water from a borehole,

and electricity is available. There is a public latrine and office furniture, however, access to telephone is interrupted.

He attends the kebele offices 8 hours per day and offers the following services.

- Organizing kebele information
- Receiving applications from customers
- Accepting appeals
- Following up good governance in the kebele

The kebele manager, aged 31, discharges civic service, besides other political commitments in the community. As a kebele manager, he reported that the kebele official activities (e.g. providing kebele membership ID-cards, planning kebele development activities, preparing various types of kebele reports and being involved in different kinds of kebele committee (political and administrative) are his duties whereas the kebele chairman is more inclined to administrative as well as political activities. The kebele manager is experienced in personal businesses and government official activities and he reported that he even has exposure to NGO activities. Thus, he is not happy with the present salary which is too low given his experience and education status (Diploma plus one degree training). He aspires to lift up his education and family life with investment and trade.

The kebele manager is fully networked with the wereda office head, other kebele officials (chair) and community elders. For instance, the manager consulted the wereda office head to establish a new kebele office, the present one was transferred to the kebele municipality office. Thus, the wereda office temporally distributed the office among kebele officials and the kebele municipality.

### **Committees**

#### **Development Committee**

The DA Crops said that the Development Committee used to function but currently it is not. The kebele officials have no idea regarding this issue.

#### **Education committee**

The school training board committee has five members from the community including the kebele chair. They control students and teachers who are absent from school and manages the school farm from the preparation of the land to the sale of the product. It leads the community participation in the harvesting of *teff*. The school obtained a high yield last year. It fenced the school yard in 2009. The committee wants to work on different things but the shortage of budget is its big problem. If active participation of the community can be improved the work of the committee will be improved. The leader calls and leads meeting and if any problem happens he discusses with committee members and gives solutions. There is no fixed working day but the committee works one day a week. The hours depend on the type of job; mostly it takes from one to three hours. All members of the committee give free service. The members do not attend meetings properly nor do they come on time. If each members understood their responsibilities and carried out the job properly the work of the committee would be improved.

The leader is 38 and was appointed to the position in November 2010 because, according to the structure, the manager of the municipality becomes the head of the schools training board. His educational status is 10+4. He didn't get any kind of training. He does not want to continue in the position because he is busy in different committee work. If he needs something he goes to the head of the education office and chairperson at wereda and kebele levels.

#### **PTA**

A primary school teacher said that the PTA has created very strong linkages between the school and parents and it is becoming a participatory activity between parents and teachers to follow-up on dropout and other problems hindering learning. The PTA has a chairperson, cashier and two control

and development agents. The chair is the representative of the parents and reports to the school directors. The members are the school director, the parent representative, teachers, and student representative. He determines the amount of money that is contributed by students and leads the community participation on the school farm and maintenance of the school fence etc. They committee meets twice a month on Fridays. The members are respected in the community and have the power to make decisions on different issues relating to the school, teachers and students. They planned to build additional classrooms but did not get enough money.

The leader organises and facilitates conditions for the farmers ploughing the school farmland with their oxen. He calls meetings and discusses with concerned bodies to solve problems. He checks whether the contributions from the students have been collected. He works about two days a week with no reward/ The job of the PTA can improve if all stakeholders carry out their jobs in a responsible manner.

He is 34 and was appointed to the position in August 2011 after being elected by the people. He has had no education or training for the job. He also serve the community as secretary of the co-operative association branch and his brother is the chair of an *iddir*. He plans to improve the service of the PTA and encourage the participation of the community. If he needs anything he goes to different levels. At wereda level there is a focal person for four schools in the education office. He also contacts the kebele administration and community elders.

#### **Justice and security committee**

There are 10 security committee members including kebele officials, elders and religious leaders (for more see below. They took action on community security: by religious leaders created awareness among their respective followers, elders used their influence, and 1-5 groups in school discuss the importance of good governance when they consult on youth and adolescent affairs. The leader said there is a problem with younger community members who are not aware that law is superior and are disobedient to their family and elders in the community. The security committee leader follows up militia and local policing centres and supervises the manpower assignment to guard local policing centres with day and night shifts in partnership with the community and militia. He works with the kebele chair, elders, development teams and 1-5 groups and cells.

#### **Natural Resources Committee**

The leader of the NRM Committee facilitates conditions for voluntary works, supports committee members work and prepares a person who allows his land to be used for NRM activities. He works two days a week for 4 hours per day. He has neither salary nor other benefits. NRM activities are done at the distance of every 10 metres. On the farmers' land they have been doing different kinds of watershed management activities such as terracing, drainage, etc. These reduce the size of farm land. As a result of this some farmers are not willing to have NRM activities on their land. This is the major problem to carry out the job effectively. The leader of the committee is the kebele chair and he started the job in January 2011 when he was appointed as chair. The head of municipality and the wereda cabinet at wereda level and NRM committee at kebele level are the persons to whom he goes to for help, advice and to discuss problems, but there is no one at the community level. When he carries out the job, according to the respondent he didn't face any problems.

#### **Drinking water committee (s)**

The drinking water committee has 4 members; they are farmers and other community members. The committee solves any drinking water problem through community participation. They report the problems to the wereda water office. They work with a plumber who is sent by the wereda office. Three water pipes have got problems. The committee reports to the wereda. The wereda water office also has a programme to send workers. The committee is successful in identifying problems and in reporting them to the wereda's water office. It is improving community participation. Since there is a shortage of skilled workers in the wereda water office, sometimes the committee does not

get a fast response. Spare parts are not available in the local market. These are the main problems that affect the work of the community. If people take care of pipes, and other materials and fetch water according to the time schedule the job will be improved.

The leader of the drinking water committee leads the work of the committee meetings, collecting water fees from collectors, works on income and expenses and deposits them in OMO micro finance. He works seven [days] in a week, about two hours a day. He monitors and evaluates how water distribution goes on every day. He serves without any kind of rewards or benefit. There is no problem in doing the job. The leader of the drinking water committee is 40 years old. He was elected by the people and started the job in 2009. He was trained by the wereda water development office in the system of proper water utilization. In addition to this he is also the head of the kebele justice and security office. No one from his family has other roles in the community. He encountered no problem in the job. He wants to serve the community members in a better way if the community trusts him and lets him continue the job. He goes to the wereda's water development office worker to discuss drinking water related issues, but there is but no one at the kebele and community level to discuss with. Recently three water supply centres have not been functioning. As a result of this other water centres are crowded. People spend a lot of time to get water. These are the major problems that the community suffer from and since the wereda water development office does not send workers the problem is not resolved. If the office sends workers quickly the problems will get resolved.

#### **Other committees**

BB is the leader of the HTP committee; there are 50 members including the vice-chair of the kebele, religious leaders, *iddir* leaders, the leader of the elders' committee, and women and youth organisation leaders. There is a community discussion session once a month on the 15th. The major intention is to alleviate the challenges of the community in relation to HTPs. During funeral ceremonies, unwanted extravagance is limited and becoming extinct. The problem is that female circumcision has not been eliminated from the community. There is now some improvement concerning HTPs. The committee leader leads community discussions based on a manual. There is no salary; the kebele/project heads provide 200 birr for tea/coffee/ refreshments. There is no appropriate place to discuss with the community. It needs to incorporate local radios, and other means of communication for effective transmission of information about the HTPs. The members pay 25 cents per week. The leader is aged 35 and was appointed in 2008. The kebele elected him. He has completed 10th grade. He used to be a secretary for youth affairs. He has an aspiration to change his personal education. The leader is linked to the wereda KMG head, kebele administration and the community. He reported that there has been no traditional extravagant expenditure since the lesson given during awareness creation.

#### **Mass Associations, Leagues and Federations**

##### **Women's organisations**

A wereda official said that the former women's office has been changed into the Women's Association (political members and non-members), the Women's League (political members only), and the Women's Federation. The wereda women and children office is a formal part of the wereda structure. The Women's Federation is established in both kebele and wereda offices.

There are more than 5000 members of the women's association but the change rose from lack of awareness and shortage of budget support. There are business activities: cotton processing, retail trade and fattening of oxen, goats and sheep.

Another wereda official said the are 3,700 Women's Association members and 2,500 Women's League members. These organisations have empowered and supported women to participate in decision-making and play a leadership role at various levels. Though there are numerous changes that the Women's Association has brought women are not active participants as they are expected.

They usually tend with the burden of domestic activities. The activity of awareness creation has to continue more effectively.

A kebele official said that the number of members in the three organisations is not above 100. Though recently the attention to, and involvement of, women in leadership, politics or other matters have been improving. Major activities of the association are a savings unit, teaching and counselling about women's rights in the community, and income-earning activities. The association works out duties sent from the wereda offices. It is their achievement to be recognised in every system of administration from federal to kebele levels. However, there are still not sufficient resources and lack of attention to involve the organisations to become fully operational. There is no formally allocated budget resource and their office system is not well-organised. Another kebele official said the Women's Association had 150 members, the League fifteen members, and the Federation five.

The Women's Association leader said that the association has 150 active members; it gives training to improve the skill of members and arranges public ceremonies for trainees. It teaches about saving, hygiene, and female genital mutilation, and encourages women to stop marketing at night. Members save 25 cents every two weeks. They save one birr per day when their income is improved. 2% and 1% of the total income is sent to wereda and zone respectively. The remaining income is used for administration costs by the association. There is no material resource but it has 1000 birr in the account. The women's league has 210 active members. It takes active women from the association and federation and makes them its members. The league teaches women about politics. It has no material or financial resources. The women's federation has 30-50 active members. It works with women if there is a problem in free association. It also works with the wereda to solve problems. The organizations are related to each other. They work together on organizing women and improving the economic status of women. There is no achievement. Members are not changed by training and they did not get any result.

A woman leader said that the Women's League has 210 active members; it takes active women from the association and federation and makes them its members. The league teaches women about politics. It has no material or financial resources.

A rich farmer said his wife was not a member of the association but he heard about the activities of others. It is under establishment and needs support. There is a beginning of saving but it is still not supported with many other income-earning activities. A rich woman said she was a member even if she is passive. She has no interest in the association and would not have joined had her friends not agitated her. A woman of middle-wealth said she joined the association by her own motive and was active at the beginning. However late she became a passive member after finding the organisation had no voice to influence decisions on socio-economic matters. A poor woman said she was a member of both the association and the league and still participates actively. She met leaders of the associations many times during the last few months and discussed several issues. To mention one she asked the association to support her in ensuring her right to benefit from the FFW programme for which she is eligible. However no solution was obtained from the kebele council in spite of the attempt the association made.

The richer woman household head said that the women's league organized female households into 1-5 groups but the women's association and women's federation did nothing recently. The three organizations have their own purposes or focus areas. The women's league works mainly on politics and political evaluation. The women's association mainly works on the social and economic condition of women. The women's federation provides support to the league. The three organizations have created better awareness among women about equality, freedom and in some socio- economic affairs. But they should have greater roles in the community. Women's league has a greater role in creating political awareness.

### Youth organisations

A wereda official said that youth associations are well-structured from wereda to kebele,. The males in youth associations are technically supported and have at least one hectare of land to produce *teff* and other crops. The members use OMO MFI for savings and credit services. However, credit supply is not sufficient and members lack awareness and work motives.

Another official said that youth are organised into three bodies: youth association, youth league and youth federation. Under these associations they meet weekly and discuss on social, political and economic matters and participate voluntarily in various social services and conservation as well as rehabilitation activities which benefit the society at large. Recently, one important improvement in youth side is the intention to involve in job creative activities rather than seeking jobs. Indeed, there are some younger people holding diplomas or degrees seeking government job rather than creating jobs. There is also significant effect of infrastructure shortage for these category of people to engage in their own income-generating activities. Most young people request electric access for metal or wood works in rural areas. The reported achievement of the wereda office regarding the youth association is that there are some forms of business projects organised by small and medium business enterprise in the wereda- woodwork shops, metal workshops, Barbary, petty trades and others. There is still huge demand for intervention to change the young effort into productive activities in the form of cooperatives in non-farm or off farming activities and alternative income generation and diversification schemes. For information, the wereda youth officer reports, the association of youth are not much supported to the required productive potentials. The good thing is that the associations have got recognition as part of organization in the wereda, but real productive activities are not to the expected directions from the youth.

Another wereda official said that youth are organised in three bodies: youth association, youth league and youth federation. Under these associations they meet biweekly and discuss social, political and economic matters and participate voluntarily in various social services and conservation as well as rehabilitation activities which benefit the society at large. The new structure is composed of the youth association (13 men leaders and 1 female leader), youth league (4 men leaders and 1 female leader) and youth federation (12 men leader and 2 female leaders). Recently, the number of youth association, league and federation members are declining. This is happening because of the less job opportunity in the wereda. There should be intervention based on job opportunity creation which helps to minimize the number of unemployed youths in the wereda.

A kebele official said that in the youth association there are 150 male members and 100 female members. Very few young people in the association are involved in productive activities like wood and metal works. It needs larger effort (training, awareness creation and interventions) to transform younger labour into productive activities.

Another kebele official said that the youth association has 52 male and 10 female members; the youth league has 12 male and 3 female members; and the youth federation 4 male and 1 female members. The Youth Association is involved in organising youth groups so they can access credit services for running a business while the YL and YF carry out political activities.

A group of men said that the youth association is at the earliest stage to function and not supporting younger people. e. However, the young people are very large in number and we seek support for involving them in productive activities. The good things about the association is that it is just a beginning and it will help to create job opportunities if there is support from government. We are seeking support from the kebele or government in creating service or other youth development packages. A rich woman said she is a member of the YA but has had no recent contact for which she blames the organisation.

The youth association leader said there are 45 active male members and 15 active female members. There is no actual work going through the association and there are no resources allocated to it. The

association has planned to undertake activities like a nursery, producing vegetables with micro-irrigation and forest protection, none of which have been implemented to date. Environmental sanitation is another planned project. There is no youth recreation centre in the community and that also needs our effort. There is a regularly monthly meeting for the members; the usual agenda items are awareness creation, job creation (not job-seeking), youth and adolescent affairs. The leader said that there is lack of motivation from government or other organisations to support their actual needs to launch the projects. All that is said is not done.

The youth association includes both party and non-party members whereas the league is entirely for party members. Neither the league nor federation are involved in any of the development activities proposed. No resources, including office space, are allocated to any of the organisations. The purpose of the federation inclines to political involvement although it includes both young party members and non-members. The league and federation both have fewer active members.

The kebele office call the leaders of the organisations for meetings if any besides their weekly one-day meetings with members. Not only do they lack benefits or salary for their work but the members are challenging them because there have been no achievements so far.

#### **Sub-kebele structures, development teams and one-to-fives**

Sub-kebele organisation leaders include Development Team leaders, cell leaders and 1-5 group leaders. Development activities involve the kebele chair -> kebele manager ->Development team. The party structure involves the kebele chair ->kebele vice-chair ->cell leaders ->one-to-five. Sub-kebele leaders play a key role in development/kebele administration in the neighbourhood and political duties. They:

- are a channel to communicate with individual households in the kebele
- facilitate development and political activities
- take responsibility for community security affairs
- give and take feedback from their neighbourhood and report to the kebele officials directly responsible for the issues concerned.

It is the appointment by the community that forces people to render a required civic service for a specified term. The smallest structure of the kebele administration extends down to 1-5 groups, which is the easiest through which to approach an individual in a household both for development and political participation. Awareness creation related to health, political or new participation in the community, advocacy, training or calling for public works in the community remains active and effective with the effort of the leaders at the lowest levels. He gave the newsletter distribution and the intended feedback from each 1-5 group leader as an example of good administrative achievements.

However, the sub-kebele organization is similar to other kebele officials working with no compensation or benefit. Moreover, individuals participating in each administrative level are not willing to act in the peak farming/harvesting season. He suggested that improvement of sub-kebele organization is partly possible if the kebele strengthens the capacity of sub-leaders through training as well as establishing a sub-zonal administration office with better exposure to rules and regulations at grass-root level.

Sub-kebele organization leaders (Development Team leaders, cell leaders, 1-5 group leaders) undertake a coordination role in development, social, or political affairs, besides a specific mission allotted to each leader to carry out. Usually, as the leader reported, sub-kebele organization leaders including him act based on messages (development, political or any /task) channelled from kebele officials, which might be the orders of wereda officials. For instance, tax collection, contributions for party membership or fertilizer debt collection are done with a taskforce organized both from kebele officials and sub-kebele organization leaders for their respective sub-kebele community.

Working hours are not fixed, rather the leader(s) undertakes voluminous duties in specific seasons

(tax, fertilizer debt, party membership contributions) and regular assignments day or/and night (security of the sub-community). As a leader, I am responsible to accomplish assignments given by kebele officials even day/night or any season including peak harvesting times while all the sub-community are working in their personal business. The community should learn to participate in the sub-kebele organization: individuals should be willing and able to pay the contributions, tax or debt on time if possible; they should submit to the kebele or sub-kebele officials on a given schedule. It will be easier for leadership (coordination) of sub-kebele even though there is no wage for tasks.

### **Development teams**

There are 27 development teams and each one has around 42 member households. There are also 27 cells with leaders. The team leaders are directly responsible to the kebele chair and vice-chair. They usually report to the chair of the local political party (the kebele vice-chair) in relation to all political affairs and to the kebele manager and chair on issues pertaining to the development/administrative agenda.

Development team leaders are given no remuneration. The duties are to co-ordinate members in development activities, for example public work to build bridges, and political affairs, for example sending the newsletter received from the kebele to the 1-5 group leaders. He has 5 households actively participating in political affairs; they pay party membership fees and facilitate tasks in their neighbourhood and the rest are not involved in membership. He said there is no exclusion of community members in any matters relating to and targeting the community except those tasks liable to be done by party members.

Recently the development team has undertaken many public works on bridges, road improvement and environmental protection in the last year which are good achievements as he underlined. A major aspect is that all development team leaders are busy collecting fertiliser debt from the community which has resulted in the leaders being in unwanted quarrels with households not willing and able to pay the debt.

The work of development teams would be enhanced if the sub-community were better connected to important information, and rules and regulations obliging an individual household to take part in development work as well as its administration.

A leader who was interviewed said that with no wage there is no specified hour or day to work as a development team leader. However the duties are co-ordination of development team members in community development, political affairs and any task given by kebele officials. Usually the kebele missions demanding leaders' efforts to accomplish sub-kebele tasks do not take account of personal seasonal activities and thus it harms his farming. The appointment should be for a specified duration and tasks should not overlap. The development team leader post is not well recognised even though it involves very specific social , economic or political activities that require a great deal of participation beyond the leader's discharge of civic service.

### **One-to-five groups**

One farmer said that the one-to-five linkage is a very important network for communications relevant to kebele affairs. The model farmer categories are given training about the GTP issues to create awareness about the plan. The leader of the land conservation administration said he is also a leader of a 1-5 development group; it has 43 members.

A leader of a 1-5 Group said that the local political party office played a significant role in organising the 1-5 network. The aim is small self-help groups in the community. The groups act on such issues as joint farming, harvesting, newsletter study and feedback, and reporting to and from the kebele officials. It started two years ago and to this day it has great importance for public information outreach (newsletter supply) and follow-up of individual and household tasks. He said that we achieved that the kebele could implement the farming input distribution and use. However, there was a

problem with incompatibility of seeds and fertiliser. It would be good to supply environmentally-friendly inputs.

He leads the group through the information fed by wereda, kebele, or community members. There are no specified hours for work but the team/group leadership task is similar to that of other sub-kebele organisation representatives. He works 3 hours on one day in a week though there is no salary or benefit. The problem is that the farmers are not happy with incompatible fertiliser. It would be good to take part in 1-5 group tasks as de-centralised as possible to influence the group.

The kebele political party leader communicates through cells as well as Development Teams. As an example, he said that an individual who resisted paying a fertilizer debt got into a quarrel with the chair of the local political party. Fortunately, the elders and kebele officials resolved the problems and the individual was penalized in cash both in relation to the kebele official and the kebele itself.

A landless sharecropper is a member of a 1-5 group and said they co-operate with each other to help in work.

#### **EPRDF party structures and membership**

SEDF (Southern Ethiopia Democratic Front) has an office in the wereda structure.

A woman said she got no benefit from her contribution to the women's association and EPRDF party. An ex-soldier said he was a member of Kinijit some years ago but had been advised to join the EPRDF. The poor FHH said no-one in her family was a member of the governing party but that she has attended party meetings for three days for four hours a day. It was about development, sending children to school and tax obligations; more or less it was useful. She did not know the difference between party meetings and government meetings.

The richer FHH said she is a member of the women's association and league and a party member; even though the community wants to give her a party leadership position she does not want it because of her family responsibilities. Party meetings reduce her time of business activity. Except knowing about rights and obligations she did not get any benefit from the spread of party membership.

A middle-wealth household head said he is a party member. He appreciates the membership opportunity: every decision is inclusive of party members' feedback at cell level. The newsletter message comes directly to party members and creates better awareness about events in the country for the members. The concern and consent of party members has some importance in influencing kebele officials though it takes the scarcest time of farming or harvesting peak seasons due to regular meetings.

The vice-chair is 'a very keen person about party political affairs'. His wife has been given responsibility in the women's association but she said that the last party meeting she attended in April 2011 was not useful because nothing which was planned is implemented. She does not know the difference between party and government meetings. The Champion farmer is a party members and so are his two wives. One of the said she did not know the duties of female party members. A married rich young woman said political intervention is high; she did not want to be a party member but conditions obliged her to join the women's association. A young man said that party membership contribution is compulsory and he has engaged in it. Another said he is a member of the party and mentioned that the young have a chance to speak their voice and vote for their life choice, which was missing in the earlier period.

#### **Governance interventions**

##### **Accountability**

A wereda official said that the wereda prepares the budget distribution and the detail is sent to kebele officials to announce to the community. Development activities are introduced to wereda

offices through brochures, campaigns, posting on boards and all other possible means. There is a very strong debate among the wereda officers during the *gimgema* on the good and bad performance of the kebele officials. The wereda officer weaker to perform both the political and development commitments is removed from the position if riskier than tolerable standards. Recently, the community as well as the wereda officers are clearly aware about the fate of corruption in development activities and the involvement in these activities is limited when compared to the earlier periods. However, there are still some problems in notifying development activities to the community by relevant means, or collecting secured suggestions and analysing the information to incorporate the constructive ones into future plans. Appeals against decisions of the wereda is not well-practised by many of the wereda community members. The budget posting is a very recent approach, but the rural community have no information in this regards. This budget posting habit is not practised in rural areas at present time.

Another wereda official said that the most common event at wereda and kebele levels is continuous *gimgema*. There are four sessions a year. During each session the performance of sector offices is evaluated in relation to quality and quantity of planned activities. Members of the wereda and kebele councils and all public servants are evaluated based on a checklist focused on work achievements, ethics and corruption. Punishment or corrective measures decided on are strictly implemented. A number of suggestions boxes have been provided at each office but people do not use them to express their opinions or complaints. It is *gimgema* which is more or less believed to be effective. This year the local government posted the total budget allocated for the wereda along with its distribution to sector offices and development projects.

A kebele official said that *gimgema* is done quarterly and any appeals to the wereda against decisions are undertaken on demand. Sometimes *gimgema* is not transparent and looks like subjective judgment. Citizen's report cards, suggestion boxes and budget posting are newly introduced. If there is a need to replace people who have a weaker side in public service or corruption *gimgema* is the appropriate way. There is clear awareness among kebele leaders and personnel that they are accountable for public service; *gimgema* in a public meeting will show the shortcomings. In most cases kebele leaders and the manager participate in the meetings about development reports, budgets and other public issues but further communication with the community is weak.

Another kebele official said that *gimgema* is the only tool used by the community to evaluate accountability. It is held once a quarter to evaluate members of the kebele cabinet with regard to performance and ethics. In 2011 six members were dismissed from the cabinet following *gimgema* decisions: 5 of them for poor performance and the other for misusing public money (fertiliser loans). One of the officials leading the *gimgema* session said that the candidates took feedback from the session for improvement. A person with a lower result was disqualified from cabinet membership.

A rich farmer said that *gimgema* and appeals against decisions are possible. Items like citizen's report cards, suggestion boxes, and reading budgets posted on boards are not practical in our kebele. Most of the time there is regular *gimgema* in the community and sometimes the kebele chair is removed due to identified weaknesses. However, the kebele managers are educated and do not stay for long.

A middle-wealth farmer said he had no participation in accountability but had friends who have been involved. The good thing about *gimgema* is that we have the right to present the weaknesses during the annual meeting for *gimgema*. The problem is that there is no motive for people to get involved in kebele activities due to the lack of sufficient compensation.

No women interviewed knew anything about accountability.

A kebele official sad that all kebele officials are party members. The kebele structure is more responsible for administrative matters. The political party structure is totally inclined to political

development. However the party structure is strong enough to evaluate the kebele official performance through *gimgema* and to show directions.

Suggestion boxes, report cards, budget posting and other publicity aspects are not familiar at kebele level. A model farmer said that *gimgema* sessions are very customary in the kebele. The suggestion box was available a year ago but he has not seen it. The kebele has no budget.

### **Planning and consultation**

One wereda official said that they prepare plans based on community interest on development sectors prioritised to secure food and alleviate poverty. Commonly a plan is presented to a community conference for commenting and approval. The budget plan is posted on a board. A development committee at kebele level consisting of 40 people debate the plan and farmers leaders and followers also discuss plans on education, health services and other socioeconomic sectors in 1-5s consisting of role model farmers and followers. Another wereda official said that the wereda does not have an official policy governing the role of communities in planning development work. Nevertheless the wereda council and sector offices consult knowledgeable people and/or the community at large when planning projects of public interest, such as choosing watershed management activities. Also according to a wereda official during the PSNP work the beneficiaries and the kebele leaders discuss which activities should be covered with the given duration; most activities are on watershed management and road maintenance.

A kebele official said that it is very common practice to call the community, religious leaders and elders for consultation meetings on matters such as selecting households to participate in FFW, project works, development activity screening, and matters related to the peace and security of the community. For example wealth-ranking for the FFW programme is a controversial issue but easily resolved by community meetings. Community-representing committee members are very serious about resource-sharing issues among the community. However, the implementation of the community decision itself is not in the required time and standard.

Another official said that during the initiation of the FFW programme the community was consulted at a general meeting to identify local problems affecting its livelihood, proposing possible interventions (solutions) including watershed management activities according to the community base plan and selecting the best ones which are desirable to the community. Likewise, heads of households decide the type of project he/she adopts for building the family asset after advice from experts. Inadequacy of knowledge on project management and lack of determination were the main problems which accounted for poor achievement of the project. Regarding to the achievements, the community awareness is the major one.

A rich farmer said there was a kebele meeting to discuss community development plan development. There was also a community meeting to select households for the FFW programme. Community members are called for meetings to develop possible directions or strategies related to peace and security. A middle-wealth farmer said that the kebele chair calls the community for meetings about FFW activities, peace issues and the community development agenda. It is good for us to discuss our matters as we wish in public conference. The problem is that members do not participate fully in peak farming seasons even though there are serious agendas. Three women respondents said that they had never been consulted over proposed development interventions.

### **Security and policing**

A wereda official said that the security and policing activities are strong enough and well-structured in the wereda. Policing and maintenance of security works are in different forms: militia, community police and wereda are functioning. In Boloso Sore Wereda, there are five-sub police centres. The structure is also extended to kebele level. Two persons per centre in day time and 4 persons per centre in night time work security work at kebele level within the community. Recently, the state of security in the wereda is improved, particularly, due to community participation. Community

policing has been contributing a lot and is effective due to its inclusive approaches of the community efforts. However, there is still some forms of crime happen in the rural areas of the community. For example, street robbery during night times sometimes happens.

Another wereda official said the state of security is very good, no serious conflict was observed in the wereda this decade. However, a special security problem was reported from Gara-Godo, the research kebele. In 2009, there was a conflict between two individuals in the market. The security structure is composed of Militia (in rural kebeles), community police and professional police. The former operates in rural areas whereas the latter two are functional in towns. With regard to effectiveness community police are found better, followed by Militia. The major limitation for the effectiveness of professional police was the small number of policemen and lack of vehicles. To overcome this limitation in part, recruitment of 7 additional policemen is under way

A kebele official said that policing and maintenance of security work of the kebele is performed by the militia organized from the community. Community policing is working in collaboration with the community members and wereda police assisting the militia. All of them contribute to maintaining security in the community. There is no notable incident in the kebele. In the kebele, local prison and community member in prison are not many. This day, there is better security in the kebele when compared to earlier periods. Theft and robbery were very popular in the kebele some years ago.

Another official said the community is living a stable life where the level of theft, looting, robbery, assault, rape and abduction is becoming negligible. Currently, there are 20 Militiamen and 2 community policemen who keep the peace and security of people in the kebele. The militiamen, stand by at each 'sentry' (check point) and watch the surrounding rural areas and protect people from any attack.

A rich farmer said community policing has reduced crimes in the kebele. We support the policing activities in the kebele in cooperative work. The wereda sends one police to the kebele on a regular basis. This further strengthens the security status of the kebele. However, we still seek support for some occasions of crimes. We are now safe to go and come back to our home due to security in the kebele. In earlier time, it was very difficult to come back at night from the market place due to robbery. If we sell ox in the market, we take additional care for our home or come to home at day time due to lack of security or robbery expected at night time. But, this day we are lucky in this regard.

A middle-wealth farmer said the kebele security work is not left only for the kebele leaders, but we all cooperate with the kebele militia in securing our community and neighbour. We appoint militia among our community and work with the appointed militia together in night times. These days the achievement in security regard is good in our kebele when compared to the earlier periods. We still seek further effort to eliminate occasional events of some crimes from young people in the kebele. When the young lacks job security, in some occasions they commit crime in the market place or in night times.

A poor farmer said that kebele security is not left for kebele managers rather the community people are cooperating for the benefits. During 10 years before, we were really not coming back from market with peace or we were not passing our night time in good sleep due to robbery. However, this day the situation is good. We appoint the militia people and work together with them in night times. This is very nice achievement in our kebele context.

A group of men said that a few years ago theft of crops, livestock, household, assets, robbery in the street, and other kinds of crimes were happening. Recently community security has been kept by the community members in co-operation with police. Community policing is the best approach effectively preventing the criminals. Peace committee organized in the community is regularly dealing with the criminal matters within the community. One important occasion of actions to control crimes in the community was the establishment of common peace committee been Gara

Godø Kebele with one kebele from Hadiya Zone, i.e. in the border. Indeed, a strong structure is established in the community with the help of kebele militia to protect robbery, theft and burglary occasionally happening. Some people from the community involved in robbery activity were punished from three to five years in prison.

A group of women disagreed. Stealing crops from the field particularly coffee, maize and taro is a common problem at maturity. Robbery often occurs by the time farmers sell their produce. Despite the community attempts to harvest their crops early; returning home from market before the night fall; establishing security posts (locally known as 'Centria') at road junctions where militia men keep standby as a preventive measures, theft and robbery are getting worse. Though the community follow seriously the movement of suspects pace by pace, it is hardly possible to catch the criminal once the theft or robbery or looting took place.

A rich woman said she saw a thief, last market day, escaping after he stole somebody's money. Immediately she called a nearby community policeman and indicated the thief. Soon after, the policeman caught the thief while running away. She suggests increasing the number of community policemen to control crime and hence achieve better peace and stability in the town.

A poor woman said while returning home alone after shopping from Areka, she came across a gang. All of a sudden he squeezed her to attack her, probably to rape. Fortunately, a militiaman arrived soon and saved her from the gang's attack.

A poor woman heading a household said that violent fights in the community, robberies involving violence or threat, theft and burglary, sexual attacks on women and girls and threats of violent from other communities have reduced. The place has become safer. This is because of integrated efforts by community, militia and government. She said that the militia are effective. They keep the peace and reduce criminal activities. On November 28, 2011 they had a rape case to investigate. A person accused his nephew of raping his daughter. They arrested the boy and took the 18 years girl to have a medical test. But the result did not confirm she was raped. Finally the militia released the boy freely. She said some members of militia are biased. She did not know about the community police.

The richer woman household head agreed that robberies, theft and burglary have decreased because of the collaboration of the community with kebele security. Attacks on women and girls have decreased compared with five years ago but there is still a problem. More than 18 people have been arrested for such attacks. She said the militia is important; three years ago two cows were stolen from her and the militias supported her in the search and investigation. Most of them are biased in favour of their family members and some members are not ethical. She said the wereda police are effective though some are biased and favour their family, friends and the rich.

A middle-wealth farmer said the militia are working for the public with no benefit. The vice-chair said that illegal violence in the community has reduced by more than 90% due to strong government interventions. The emerging penalties for crimes are very harsh. He said that one wereda policeman is serving for five PAs and the major task is the co-ordination and follow-up of kebele peace and security task forces.

The co-ordinator of the militia said there are 22 militia members organised based on their personality and code of conduct employed for screening purposes by the kebele management team. Except during campaigns such as debt and tax collection no weapon is allowed to the members. In fact the kebele only has two weapons (clash) frequently in use for security work such as when a militia is given an official order to bring a person to prison for a specified case.

The co-ordinator said the incentive is not satisfactory though there is a per diem if a militia carries out an official order of imprisonment of an individual who has committed a crime. There are many problems including: the work is regular day and night; the compensation is nil; there are not enough weapons, even during difficult night time crimes.

There is smooth communication with the community police; community policing involves communication between five neighbouring PAs to discuss cross-PA security affairs. Through the community police the militia are responsible to the wereda police. The militia are highly appreciated by the community for their integrated effort to secure good governance of the kebele.

The community policeman said he co-operates with kebele militia and plans kebele security and manpower requirements and carries out kebele and wereda missions by taking individuals to the justice posts. Three policemen are appointed to five kebeles; he is the leader of the other two working with him. They all have regular salaries. The militia collects their respective kebele information and discuss with the policemen if any effort or intervention by the police is required. He said the job would be improved if one policeman was appointed to each kebele. The militia are not willing to engage in night jobs when there is a crime due to lack of sufficient weapons for self-protection.

### **Justice**

#### **General**

A wereda official said that *iddirs*, elders and customary justice institutions, religious leaders and groups are stronger social capitals appreciated for their conflict management in a sustainable manner. More than 30 files a year are resolved by customary organisations. Elders, religious institutions and parental discussions are vital in resolving disputes among marriage partners. They may settle cases already handed to the court.

A farmer said that recently public services have been improved; for example justice office, councils, 'mobile *chilot*' are rendering civic justice service at kebele office level. Whenever a dispute arises within a family often relatives of both sides, friends and/or village elders settle the matter. Disputes among neighbours or others are dealt with by influential elders or the community court so long as it is not so serious as to go to the wereda court. These local dispute resolution mechanisms are more functional and effective than those in place ten years ago.

#### **Social court**

A wereda official said that the social court at community level solves some forms of community conflicts for example land-related and easier community cases. It used to decide any case presented to it but now it is limited to 500 *birr* and accountable to the wereda court. The challenge is lack of compensation for the four members – chairman, left and right courts, and registrar – for the two days regular serviced per week.

A kebele official said that the social court is recently well-formed; land or credit cases are commonly treated. The leader of the social court, SF, said the members are chairman, vice-chairman, and member and the court has no registrar or woman member. The court reports to the wereda justice office if a case is more than 500 *birr*. They do not handle criminal cases. The court and elders are strongly integrated: elders receive cases from the social court and resolve neighbour and family cases much more easily than the legal offices. He appreciated the work of a few elders: JC, XF and HG. The court is linked with the peace committee for the criminal cases.

The leader organises information files and job division among staff members. With zero salary the leader and group work on Wednesday from 1.30-5.00 and Saturday. Lack of office facilities is the major problem and more material and financial support is required. He is 30 and appointed four months ago after his Diploma in Law (10+3) was checked. He prefers to serve the community and get job experience. His brother is leader of a Development Team. He gets regular advice from the wereda court as he is new to the position.

A farmer said that the social court is important for solving small-scale cases within households or between neighbours. We ask the kebele manager to resolve such cases as it minimises costs of going to wereda or zonal courts. However, the court is not fully functional. The people who work in it are

busy with their own work and sit only on weekend days or twice a week. But people want their regular involvement in case management. It is important to strengthen the court to resolve easier social cases. For example people with insufficient reasons engage in conflict due to lack of regular follow-up. Divorce in the community is mostly not due to sufficient reasons. Mostly conflicts inside households are dealt with by elders.

Another farmer described a conflict with a neighbour over boundary issues. He applied to the social court but they directed him to elders chosen from two sides. Then the case was resolved easily and we reported the progress to the social court. The advantage of the social court is that the case managers are part of the community and understand the case with no investigation. It is difficult for the wereda court to understand the deepest history or case of the people or groups involved in the conflict. The problem is that the social court members are not attending the regular work time but only at weekends when they become free.

A wife described a dispute over land between her husband and the daughter of a man assigned as keeper of the land by her husband who had died. Though the wereda court decided her husband should have the land the daughter has appealed to a higher court.

A woman heading a poor household said the social court is effective. It resolves problems. For example the wife of her step-brother insulted her in the marketplace. She counted three witnesses and took the case to the social court who decided against the woman and 150 *birr* was given to her in compensation. Sometimes the court can be biased. The richer woman heading a household described a case where people took meat for Meskel on credit and then refused to pay. The social court made them pay the amount. A middle-wealth farmer said the court was effective but not punctual in accepting applications because they are working with no remuneration. If it is a peak farming season they are not willing to open the office. They have immediate advice from elders. Some cases are dealt with by the wereda due to frequent absence of the court office. His wife said that the court is not biased. Three years ago two boys kicked her son and she accused them at the social court and they transferred it to the wereda court. Elders asked her permission to handle the problem to avoid unnecessary cost. She accepted the request and the case came back to them and they resolved the problem. She received 150 *birr* as compensation.

The vice-chair said that though there is no visible bias in the social court the unconscious efforts of the members due to lack of skills and knowledge of legal background lead to minor errors. However the social court is the right place to deal with easier social issues. Strengthening the court would improve the outreach of legal services in the community. His wife said she thought it was not biased against women but could not think of an example. A poor farmer said that the social court is becoming better-staffed and there is a mobile court for cases. It resolves many easier cases but sometimes people miss the officials who become busy with their farming during peak seasons. They are not willing to serve much because there is no remuneration, as they say to the applicants. His wife said that the court is not biased but it makes wrong decisions based on wrong evidence. There was a conflict between her daughter and the daughter of her neighbour. The case was brought to the social court who decided against her daughter and made her pay 25 *birr* based on false information.

A model farmer said the court was not strong previously but now it is being run by an educated young man and is becoming effective. The problem is the lack of remuneration; there is no permanent office time and no formal office in the kebele. There is no doubt that it is effective in solving community problems. His wife said the court was not biased. Two women quarrelled and insulted each other 15 months ago. The case was presented to the social court and it investigated the cause for about one year. Finally it decided that the woman who caused the problem should pay 50 *birr* as compensation to the other woman.

### **Land administration**

The leader of the land conservation/administration committee said that it started five years ago and has five members who are the farmers elected by the community. They resolve boundary conflicts related to farm land and natural resources between the farmers. The committee prevented potential conflicts by advising farmers to have land ownership certificates and resolved problems by making decisions based on concrete evidence.

For example, in August 2011 they made a decision on the case of BB and a person who rented her land. The person renting tried to take the land by treating her as a helpless person. When the information reached the committee they took quick action to negotiate with the two parties, and to collect necessary information from neighbours and others. Finally they resolved the conflict in favour of BB (the land owner). The committee carried out its responsibility successfully with active participation of the community members.

Shortages of resources are a considerable problem to run the work. As the respondent described they don't have their own office with necessary materials like pens, paper etc. The committee are nominated to the position through the acceptance of the community without any educational background criteria, and apart from this the wereda officials have never given any training to update their knowledge regarding this work. They lack power to bring persons in conflict to the committee when they are not willing to come. These are the major problems that affect the job of the committee. The land-related services provided by the committee to the community members could be improved by the participation of the local police in bringing unwilling persons before the committee and by improving the administration skill of the committee members by giving various trainings. They also manage the community forest and they run the voluntary community work on watershed management which includes tree planting, terracing and checkdams, near both rivers Shapa and Gamo.

The leader is 60 and was appointed in 2011; the kebele community pressurised him to take the job. The work of the administration leader involves writing letters to accused persons, presenting the charges and evidence to the committee and leading the negotiation procedures. He works 1 day a week every Saturday; the working time is not fixed but depends on the complexity of the cases. The leader said that there is no help to solve problems at wereda level but at kebele level there are the kebele manager, chairman and municipality.

### **Elders and dispute resolution**

A wereda official said that elders' negotiation involves individuals chosen either by the 2 opponents or the court usually handle disputes related to family or marriage matters. Religious leaders play a great role when conflict arises within the same religion.

The leaders of an elders' committee said the four committee members are famous for goodwill they received through time in being involved in intra-household/inter-household conflicts, and handling border conflicts as well as being involved in religious affairs. They are considered as senior community members. The respondent said that the elders resolved the case of a child who had a broken tooth due to a conflict with another child. The elder mediated with the families of both children and decided on 200 birr compensation for the child whose tooth was broken. Elders are effective in resolving local cases which would be difficult and complex to manage in the justice office. However, elders are not willing to accept requests to handle some cases which are very difficult due to lack of awareness of those individuals engaged in conflict. The elders' committee will function effectively if sufficient awareness is created among the community members.

As a committee leader, the respondent said, I call the elders for meetings with a specific agenda. The duties are not regular, however, the elders' committee members meet according to cases demanding elders' intervention. There is no compensation in cash or in kind for elders' committee participation in community affairs; however, the individuals prepare a tea/coffee ceremony once the

issue is resolved. It is difficult to coordinate elders to take part in an issue that needs their intervention. The respondent reported that the elders' contribution in the community has not been recognized as an important complement to formal legal institutions. He could not mention future improvements related to the committee.

A poor woman heading a household said that the community elders have a big role in dispute resolution. They resolve problems and lead community meetings and ceremonies. They keep the values of the community. Sometimes they are biased. For example a boy and a girl quarrelled a year ago and when the elders gathered to resolve the problem the father of the girl invited them and they were corrupted by the invitation. They decided in favour of the girl on false evidence. The father of the girl got 600 *birr* as compensation.

A brother-in-law of the richer woman heading a household is an elder. He resolves disputes over boundaries, marriage problems and small crimes. They prevent or reduce potential disputes. The good things they have achieved are peace and stability, reduction of the cost of conflict resolution and the saving of time of their clients. The middle-wealth farmer said that most of the time a fair decision is given by the elders. His wife said they are not biased against women. Three years ago her son wanted to start education; his father opposed the idea but she supported it. Her husband quarrelled with her because she was against him and supporting the son. The elders supported her and resolved the problem.

The vice-chair said that elders are very important people in resolving disputes. He was in a quarrel with a man during the fertiliser debt repayment period. The man attacked him and the issue was referred to the elders who order him to pay a penalty for breaking the rules. He said that the decision of elders is effective only if the choice of elders by both sides is fair. His wife gave the example of a married couple who repeatedly fought each other. Elders tried to resolve the problem many times but failed. Finally they gave them a warning; if they did not stop fighting the elders would take them to the wereda court. As a result of the warning they stopped.

A poor farmer said that sometimes the elders are busy with personal activities and the conflict resolution processes are delayed for a long time or go further to court. Cases would have been resolved more easily by elders if time was devoted to them. His wife said that elders are not biased. They investigated a border conflict between two people in September 2011 and punished the person who caused the dispute 500 *birr*.

A model farmer said that the elders are traditional lawyers in the community. Everyone respects their decisions because they have in-depth information about the cases under consideration. His wife said the elders are not biased. There was a person who had not paid his fertiliser debt<sup>5</sup> and quarrelled with the debt collection official. The case was presented to the elders who investigated and made him pay compensation to the official and 500 *birr* to the government.

#### **Peace committee**

A wereda official said that the Peace committee involving religious and elder leaders have direct contributions to the wereda court. They try to bring sustainable reconciliation for severe conflicts. Peace committees are organised between kebeles, weredas, and even zones. For example the peace committee between eastern Badwacho kebele in the Hadiya Zone and the Gara Godo kebele solves common problems between Boloso Sore wereda and the wereda in the Hadiya zone. The committee holds urgent meetings every 15 days or regular meetings once each three weeks.

A kebele official said that the peace committee has twelve members and is composed of religious leaders, community elders and kebele officials. It deals with group or mass conflict resolving issues through negotiation. The peace committee is accountable to the kebele chair.

The leader of the kebele peace committee, SX, is 35. There are 12 members: kebele chair, religious leaders, elders' committee leader, development team leader (1), security committee leader, Youth

Association/ federation/ league leader. He achieved 7<sup>th</sup> grade and was appointed by the kebele/with community proposal two years ago. His network includes the wereda office head, kebele, colleagues, elders and religious leaders. There has been no challenging event in the last two years.

The Peace Committee undertakes peace and security affairs in its own kebele and represents the kebele in issues of cross-territorial peace and security. A recent action related to the exploitation of the public forest by individuals. The overall goal is prevention of disorder across the PAs in the community. The success is visible in terms of peace among religions, reduced inheritance and resource ownership interest conflicts, and reduced ethnic conflict. The leader plans the committee's annual activities and follows up their implementation. There is a call for a meeting once a month. As usual there is no remuneration for the position but it is the mandate to work for the community. He said that peace and security comes first and development comes next thus the network and activities should be recognised by the higher government beyond the kebele.

A poor woman heading a household said she did not know about the peace committee. The richer woman household head said the committee is responsible for resolving religious and ethnic conflicts and problems related to the government forest. They carry out their job effectively. The vice-chair appreciated the composition of the peace committee. His brother violated his boundary and the peace committee participated to resolve the dispute.

A poor man said that the peace committee was involved in resolving the kebele's regular conflict with one of the neighbouring kebeles in Hadiya Zone. Jointly a committee from the two kebeles has been established and resolved the conflicts, crime and robberies which were severe for the community members crossing from one kebele to the other when returning from marketplaces.

A model farmer said the peace committee is effective because it is made up of many categories of community member.

#### **Wereda court**

A wereda official said that at wereda level the justice structure is composed of three bodies: *firdbet*, *akabi-hige* and the police. The wereda court interact with the kebele social courts and peace committees. The budget allocation is not sufficient and there is no basic equipment such as vehicles, and insufficient manpower. The wereda court is planning to employ a lawyer.

A kebele official said that the court works at wereda level and receives appeals from kebele members. Land-related cases are commonly treated both at the social court and the wereda court. There are still some problems with the functioning of justice in the kebele, related to manpower, lack of awareness and transparency, and in the wereda, related to manpower and transparency.

A number of respondents said the wereda court was not biased, including against women.

#### **NGOs**

A wereda official said that with the intervention of JICA, inter AID France, WODA and Wereda water resource development office, wereda total access to safe water is approximately 52% and feasibility scheme reached 38%. The government capacity-building scheme for health centres is augmented by some NGO programmes.

A group of men said that International Mercy Corps, USAID, World Vision Ethiopia and Inter Aid France have some development and emergency aid interventions in the community. In the food aid and nutrition interventions the poorer sections and breast-feeding mothers (100-15) participate. A kebele official said that children with malnutrition get supplementary food composed of groundnuts while pregnant and breast-feeding mothers get grain flour and edible oil quarterly from an NGO called MCF delivered through the government health centre.

A farmer said that he was not happy with the level of NGO interventions that is weak and leads to aid dependency. The support is good for the elder or vulnerable people in the community, but it is

not sufficient and the outreach is also limited. It would be better to design the sustainable means to alleviate the challenge of these people. Another said the poorer people are becoming dependent on those very small-scale support programmes. Food-aid is a temporary intervention and very limited too few people in the kebele, however, there are many people who are vulnerable to poverty and some are destitute. For example, people who are suffering from diseases and malnutrition are supported by NGOs like USAID, IMC, and Red Barna. Another said some NGOs are highly interested to support orphans in the community. Another said that in the community disabled adults, orphans, old people needing support, widows, or people facing a challenging disease are socially accepted for support and many NGOs give them nutrition, food-aid, cash or free health care.

### **Community structures involved in implementation of government policies**

#### ***General***

A wereda official said that underage marriage and HTPs are the main activities the customary organisations have been involved in. There is a plan to use them more effectively. The organisations have better acceptance among the community.

#### **Elders involvement in implementation of government policies**

Elders involvement in dispute and conflict resolution is discussed on page 143 above. One of the Health Extension Workers said she works closely with community elders.

#### ***Iddir involvement in implementation of government policies***

A leader of a women's Idir was involved in the implementation of a government intervention during 2008-09 to abolish HTP such as body scratching and chana during mourning. The women Idir she was leading discussed with members about the effects of scratching body and carrying chana during mourning on the health and economy of the society and made a decision, after arriving at agreement, to abolish both practices. However, the measure was not 100% successful though each of the two practices, body scratching and chana, declined significantly.

A leader of a men's *iddir* said the members and the organisation are active participants in government calls for development activities; the members are informed through the leaders about the issues where government is seeking community participation.

#### **Church involvement in implementation of government policies**

A group of men said that local religious leaders were preaching about spiritual issues, but currently they also teach the issue of community security, social and economic development, youth and women development and HIV/AIDS harms of a livelihood. Some religions (example, Hawariat church) recently removed holidays from their annual religious activities. Yet not practical, but the community has an attitude change and belief on hard working for eliminating food insecurity challenges.

A kebele official said that religious leaders teach about HTPs, HIV/AIDS worst effects and other issues easy for them to communicate. Another said that religious leaders promote abstinence from sexual intercourse before marriage and condemn female circumcision.

The Orthodox Church leader said that the kebele leader invites church leaders to undertake environmental protection activities, support vulnerable community members, and take part in conflict resolution.

A leader in the Muluwengel church said that the let kebele managers give any important messages to church followers during the weekend worship programmes, help orphans, organise a committee supporting income-generating vulnerable people in the community, and create awareness among church followers about HTPs and bankruptcy as harmful for development.

### **Community contributions for the implementation of government policies**

#### **Tax and cash contributions**

A wereda official said that the wereda community perceives tax evasion as 'slavery' but still there is a complaint about high taxes. Tax payment training is limited to kebele officials and lack of awareness of the reasons for tax payment has not been removed. The community is not yet accustomed to tax payment by self-motivation. Another wereda official said that every household who has land in the community pays tax. Other than the duties and responsibilities of citizens stated in the federal law there are no special duties for members of the community.

Tax payers have their own certificate which privileges them to access credit when they desire; non-taxpayers are deprived of this right. Every household who has land in the community pays tax; 66% of community members own land and are tax-payers.

A kebele official said that taxes and contributions are known responsibilities of the citizens in the community for development activities. Land tax ranges from 20-60 *birr*. Tax payers are stratified in two: those with 1 hectare and more pay 30 *birr* per hectare while those with less than 1 hectare pay 20 *birr*. There is no mechanism for substituting labour work for tax.

Another official said that the maximum land tax is 80-100 *birr* and the minimum is 20 *birr*. The taxes are collected during harvesting time from October to January by the kebele municipality and development team. They collect from individual taxpayers by house-to-house visits. The main problem is farmers who do not pay tax. A person who refuses is taken to the kebele before the law and pays the amount according to the tax law.

A young woman said that although her household has land they do not have a certificate; she and her husband let their land be registered in the name of her father-in-law who gave them the land – as most families of their kind in the community do to minimise tax.

One kebele official said that contributions to Red Cross (5 *birr*), WODA membership (5 *birr*), sport (3 *birr*), Youth/Women's Association (3 *birr*), and party (12 *birr*) have been practised each year. Another official said that each household regularly contributes 2 *birr* for the Wolayita Development Association and women pay 3 *birr*, youth 3 *birr* and party members 12 *birr* for their organisation. Last year the community contributed 3 *birr* for sport. In 2011 the community contributed a total of 4,140 *birr* for school construction. All taxpayers agreed to contribute 5 *birr* but they lag behind the time to pay the fee. The community contributed 4140 *birr* for the construction of a stadium at wereda level.

He said that since it is difficult to collect tax and contributions the kebele officials have established a task force consisting of kebele security, kebele manager, kebele vice-chair, kebele chair and militia, which is a group undertakes tax and contribution collection as well as debt repayments for fertiliser and other farming inputs. All contributions and tax collected through the task force is submitted to the kebele municipality. During the collection season the task force is on duty every day of the week until the collection is completed. The wereda gives them a per diem for this duty. People are not willing to pay but should change their attitudes. The debt burden for farming inputs is increasing due to lack of willingness-to-pay. The wereda agriculture office should sell the farming inputs directly rather than giving a quota for input use to the kebele office.

The task force are aged between 31 and 34 and all appointed based on community members' proposals except for the kebele manager who was recruited by the wereda office. They are educated and literate. All are kebele officials and involved in various kebele committees. They were interviewed in a group and all aspire to a better approach to tax collection, good governance and compensation for duties and responsibilities which individuals are engaged in. They wish for a well-organised office in the kebele to collect taxes and other contributions. They consult with the wereda office head and elders when conflicts arise. They reported the conflict between a debt-owing kebele member and the vice-chairman.

A rich farmer said that land taxes, contributions for Red Cross and associations, and party membership are common household obligations in the kebele. He is happy about all the

contributions except for the one to the Red Cross as they have not been engaged in development activities like other organisations or NGOs. The household and the community have benefited from their contributions to WODA which builds infrastructure for the community. Party membership fees and land tax are known to be the mandatory duty of party members and landowners respectively. Rarely the kebele asks the community to contribute very small amounts of cash for school construction or water resources development. The cash, labour time or other contributions need to be transparent and directly allocated to the required activities (unlike the Red Cross). The purpose of membership of the youth and women's associations is to strengthen the members to create some income-generating activities.

A middle-wealth farmer also said he wished not to pay for the Red Cross. Tax payment is a certification of land ownership and helpful if properly collected. But there are some households which neglect to pay it in the required period and face debt accumulation.

A poor man said that the poor segments of the community pay land tax if they own land but those with no land don't do so. Vulnerable people (old, ill, women, orphans) with land ownership pay tax but most of the poorer sections are not association members. Only party members pay the fee. He is suspicious of the Red Cross fee. It should be transparent to the community when the kebele or wereda leaders request cash contributions from the community for development affairs since the community members are not resistant to contribute to a real development agenda.

A rich woman said the household pays 35 *birr* land tax, 6 *birr* for Red Cross, and 10 *birr* for WODA; 6 *birr* for the women's association and 6 *birr* for EPRDF. Her household benefits impartially from the Health Centre and school services financed by government using revenue from tax, as well as internal bridges and roads constructed by WODA. She has got no benefit from the Red Cross, Women's Association or EPRDF party. A woman from a middle-wealth household pays 30 *birr* in tax and same as the rich woman for the other things. A poor woman pays tax of 20 *birr* for 0.25 hectares of land and contributes the same as the other two for the other things. She complained that it was unfair that she should contribute the same as the rich woman with no account taken of her economic status.

A woman heading a poor household paid 33 *birr* for land tax, Red Cross and WODA in October 2010. A woman heading a richer household paid 40 *birr* for land tax and 5 *birr* for Red Cross. She has a place in the market to sell embushbush (local beer) and paid 30 *birr* for the space in October 2011. Last year she voluntarily contributed 5 *birr* in cash and one eucalyptus tree for the secondary school. A middle-wealth household head paid 61 *birr* including contributions of 5 *birr* for Red Cross and 25 *birr* for the school. The vice-chair paid 30 *birr* land tax and 5 *birr* each for the Red Cross and Wadu. There was a contribution of 25 *birr* for the school. A model farmer contributed 70 *birr* for all contributions including tax and wood for the school construction. The Red Cross contribution (5 *birr*), school contribution (25 *birr*) and party membership and other irregular contributions for social affairs are major involvements. A remote resident paid 25 *birr* land tax and 5 *birr* each for the Red Cross and Wadu. He gave 2 pieces of wood for the construction of a new primary school. A homeless respondent does not pay land tax but paid a school contribution of 10 *birr*. A disabled man paid 60 *birr* for taxes and other contributions and the household of a disabled women paid 25 *birr* in November 2011 for the children's school. She paid 15 *birr* land tax and 5 *birr* each for Red Cross and Wadu. Her husband gave a piece of wood for the school

The kebele manager said that the collection of contributions and tax has been shifted to the kebele municipality. The kebele now has no means of income. Gara Godo town is becoming an independent town separate from the rural areas; an independent municipality is functional to collect tax and contributions.

Town area community members pay income tax that ranges from 150-500 *birr*. The head of logistics and cash collector in the municipality said that taxes are decided according to the type of product or service; for example cattle 5 *birr*; shoats 3 *birr*; petty shop 2 *birr* on market day. The taxation system

can be changed annually based on study. The municipality has responsibility to solve any type of complaint. Problems are mostly solved by negotiation.

The tax collector works six days a week for 8 hours a day and earns 414 *birr* a month; sometimes he gets 12.5 *birr* for additional working days mostly Thursday and Sunday between September and November. People from other kebeles do not want to pay tax saying we have already paid in our kebele/wereda; why should we pay here again? Also coffee taxpayers create some problems saying that they will pay to the representative of the tax office and not to him. He mainly manages the logistics of the municipality and the main market day collection of tax with staff members. He is 45 and appointed to the position in September 2011. He completed Grade 12 and was trained by wereda municipality people on how to do the job.

If he needs advice or wants to discuss problems he goes to the head of the wereda administration and the head of the municipality at wereda level and the kebele. Recently he had some problems with the owner of a donkey cart who is from another wereda and refused to pay the due tax. The collector took him to the municipality head and after discussion he agreed to pay.

A rich young man with a house in Gara town and pays 42 *birr* tax for the ownership. There is a regular contribution for school improvement and the kebele collects annual contributions for Red Cross and WADU and sometimes special support. A rich young shopkeeper of 25 is a member of the youth league and pays contributions. For his shop there is a licence payment and income tax payment to the kebele office. A middle wealth young man of 25 who runs a barber's shop / male beauty salon in the town pays 200 *birr* income tax and 300 *birr* for his annual licence.

#### **Other contributions in kind and labour**

A wereda official said that community contributions of labour time, money and material for kebele projects (terracing), wereda projects (road construction) and national projects (power dam construction) are introduced to the community. Poor people are exempted from any contribution but they have the right to use services. He said the wereda does not have any policy guiding the contribution of the community for development projects. The wereda council discusses the nature of the project and its importance for the community which decide what and how much it can contribute. The community in turn collects the contributions from its members based on the willingness and potential of each and then submits it to the responsible body. For regional and national projects the contribution is usually cash, whereas for projects at wereda level it can be in material and/or labour as well. The contribution is expected from all households in the community except the poorest, in case of cash and material. Collecting the pledged amount is a common problem. Recently the community has contributed for the construction of a primary school, secondary school and health centre both in minimum of cash 5-10 *birr* and labour.

A middle-wealth farmer said labour time is regularly contributed to the kebele or vulnerable people in the community on occasional requests. A poor man said that labour time contribution to public service is common for those who are not older or capable of performing the tasks.

The voluntary community Public Works organiser is 33, and started the job in September 2010 because he was elected by the community. In the kebele primary school construction has been started but not completed. In Hago and Chala zones drainage was constructed between September and November 2011. All work was done by voluntary community labour. Since the school in another village is far and difficult for children to get to they chose school construction. Drainage is one of the malaria-preventing mechanisms; since the area was swampy the community was highly affected by malaria but this year preventive activities were done and malaria cases have decreased.

A bridge across a stream to connect Tokisa and Chala was constructed between February and April 2011. The bridge was chosen by the kebele and all community members. A budget was planned to buy wood, nails etc and necessary conditions were facilitated for participation. The DA NRM and kebele officials took participants' attendance every working day and supervised the overall work. All

the community were involved in the construction and there was no reward. The main problem is that voluntary community participation is not organised in a sustainable manner. By increasing the awareness of the community it would be possible to increase the number of voluntary participants and improve the job.

A kebele official said that every member of the community except older people and children participated in building the school fence. A rich woman said that every member of her family participated in the construction of the school fence. A middle-wealth man contributed labour for the school fence.

A middle-wealth farmer said that community members contribute labour time for the peace and security committee on a regular basis.

A poor man said that the kebele requests us for land terracing, watershed protection, road improvement or forestation. These activities are sometimes compensated in the form of cash or food aid. The kebele sometimes ask for contributions of labour time for school construction or road improvements.

The woman heading a richer household contributed 4 days labour during school construction providing water and making a wall with mud. Having a school in the area is useful for the community. Participation time was arranged by considering farming demands so nothing was disrupted. The wife in a middle-wealth household participated in the construction of the primary school. She worked for one day on mud preparation for the wall. The household of a model farmer contributed labour time for the school construction. It was very important participation because the benefit is for parents sending children to school. It is very compulsory though it disrupts farming time. A remote resident and a physically disabled woman reported participating in the preparation of mud for walls for the new primary school.

The vice-chair said there were no labour contributions from his family in the last year.

A poor farmer said that there two public farming days for maize production at the school. This was not too much to disrupt personal farming and everybody was responsible to do it. The return of school development after gaining income and investing in building construction or provision of other resources was deemed to be a public benefit. The respondent was also involved in bridge development through public works in the last year. His wife said she did not contribute in the voluntary work because she is a beneficiary of PSNP. The woman heading a poor household said that since she is a PSNP beneficiary she does not participate in voluntary community work.

A young woman said that young men are active participants in productive work such as school, health centre and road construction.

### ***Social re/production***

#### **Social institutions and organisations**

##### **Religions**

All are Christians: one informant said there were Protestant 55%; Orthodox 40% and Catholic 5%. The followers of the three religions co-exist peacefully and in harmony. There are a number of Protestant sects: Kalehiwot, Hawariat (apostolic), Mulu Wengel, and Hiwot Kale. They intermarry and share *idir*, involve together in community discussion and development activities, participate in holidays and weddings, and even share meat from a single ox called *kircha* and eat together. %. A group of women said that the relative proportion of Orthodox followers had decreased to 32% and of Catholics to 2% while Protestants, mainly from Kalihiwot, Hiwot Kali and Muluwengel) have increased to 66%.

However strong relations, marital affairs, social capital and active participation in public affairs are enhanced by ethnic, religious or clan similarities. Religion is becoming a means to co-operate and

help each other in a community and within similar religions there are strong linkages for marriage, risk-sharing, help and support in economic activities, conflict management and any other common interest. Religious conferences are celebrated by members of the particular religion concerned.

A group of men said that administratively, religious affairs are totally independent from other interventions, but all have a common attitude toward social or economic issues in the community, except religious difference. Today religion is institutionally supporting development activities, resolving community or household conflicts, or binding people in the same religion together. The numbers of followers in the religions and their type have been increasing. All categories of the religions (Orthodox, catholic, Kalehiwot, Hiwotkale, Hawariat, Muluwongel, Meserete Kirstos) are available in the community. Indeed, there is no traditional one in the community. The observed changes in the community with respect to religions are the attitude towards their religion, numerosness of members, activities, inter-linkages and intra-linkages.

A Muluwengel church leader said that the church has five leaders (chairman, secretary, cashier, store-keeper and church development agent) and more than 500 followers. He listed the following activities:

1. We cooperate with other Protestant churches in development and security of the community;
2. We let kebele managers give any important messages to our church followers during the weekend worship programme;
3. We help orphans (during festivals and illness and send them to school);
4. We organised a committee supporting (income generating) vulnerable people in the community (chairman, cashier and secretary);
5. We create awareness among our church followers about HTPs and bankruptcy as harmful for development;
6. We have a partnership of six churches (Mulu Wongel only) intended for a joint church development agenda;
7. Many visiting preachers from Wolayita Sodo, Boditi, Awassa, and Addis Ababa have been coming to teach about religion.
8. However, the leader reported that there is no funding from outside, but the church uses the contributions of religion followers as a budget source.
9. Any interpersonal or inter-household and intra-household conflicts are regularly handled by religion leaders (within church) or individuals from different religions make up a group to handle the case. At present, there is respect among religious organizations in the community.

The leader plans annual programmes and activities of the church, chairs many committee meetings, and regular religion followers' meeting and represents the church in other public or religious affairs. Both the church leadership committee members and the leader work all weekend days (minimum 4 hours per day) and one day (Thursday) for church development activities (not less than 4 hours as per the work volume). The church provides 100 birr per month as a salary for the leader only. Jobs are many and demand much time from individuals, but the remuneration is not sufficient. Other committee members who are involved in church activities also seek the same amount of compensation, however, the church is unable to provide it due to insufficient budget.

The church wishes to launch income generating activities like establishing a kindergarten /primary school. This will improve the church budget as well as provide for payments and salary of the church leader. Moreover, the outreach of the church development service to vulnerable people will improve and be sustained.

The Orthodox religion teacher and leader said he coordinates five leadership members. The church has more than 700 followers. The respondent reported that the religion participates in many local development affairs. For instance, the kebele leader invites the church leaders to undertake environmental protection activities, supporting vulnerable community members and taking part in conflict resolution. There is no message the church forwards to Orthodox followers; however, the

kebele leaders are allowed to transmit information about taxation, HTPs, development activities or public conferences.

In general the (Orthodox) church has been involved in the following development activities (projects):

1. Undertaking share-cropping with poorer people (about 6 hectares of land);
2. Contributing money to build houses for poorer people, sending poorer people who are sick to the health service; 4 males and 1 female were subject to this support scheme last year;

In addition to this one more person is expected to get the same support this year.

The religious network begins from local level and extends to federal level. With the link created in the year 2010, we built up the church and got access to religious clothes and equipment supporting religious services. Preachers visit from Addis Ababa, Awassa, Wolayita Sodo and Areka. There is no funding for the church except the contributions of religion followers. There is strong social cohesion with other religious organisations in social affairs like Iddir, funeral ceremonies, and participatory conflict management affairs. However, there is no commonality among religions in religious affairs. Instead, there was a conflict between Kalehiwot and Orthodox churches 4 years ago due to territory. The conflict was resolved by kebele and wereda interventions. It was solved by fair demarcation of the territory.

The religious leader is responsible for managing all church affairs. With the other committee members, the leader coordinates annual church development plans, represents the church in other higher positions, teaches religious affairs, and reports activities to the wereda level religious office at Areka town. The church organises feasting time (12:00am – 3:00pm) on all days in a week and Saturday and Sunday (1:00am – 9:30am). If the following calendar days in a month lie between Monday and Friday, we stay at church:(12, 17, 19, 24, 29). He is paid 600 birr for 6 months (100 birr per month). The major problems are insufficiency of compensation and lack of active participation by the followers in church or other development affairs. There is a plan to launch income earning activities of the church as well as to compensate members actively participating in church development activities. We want to participate in a church-based religious association, which was organized a century ago.

### **Holidays**

In Wolayita nation the most common celebration is the Meskel festival. People also celebrate other national festivals and religious festivals are also celebrated. Meskel and Easter are important holidays celebrated but they are not lengthy as they were in previous periods. Extravagance during holidays has been deemed an HTP and a means of resource wastage.

A group of men said the rural community never works on Senbate (Sunday) and national holidays. Specifically, Meskel and Easter festival are very important holidays celebrated, but they are not lengthy as previous periods. Extravagancies during holiday's celebration have been introduced as traditional harmful practice and as a means of resource wastage. Indeed, the community members appreciate the present situation as a good progress of the people in rural areas. A group of women said that there is no holiday prohibiting farm activities. During 'meskel', the community at large celebrate the festive for 3 days by eating and dancing as usual. The cultural food like 'bachira,' 'muchwa,' 'tela' and meat served during this holidays.

The poor FHH said she does not work on Sunday and on the annual festivals of St Mary, St Gabriel etc and wants to continue this way. The religious leaders support working on days other than these. The richer FHH is a member of Hawariat church which only forbids working on Sundays. But some Orthodox followers also started working on that day. Religious learning encourages hard work. A middle-wealth farmer said that people have a better understanding to celebrate a few festivals and work the rest. Religious organisations have made their followers aware and except for a few many have accepted the idea and are implementing it. The vice-chair said that some of the community

members have been used to say that many days in a week were holidays as per their respective religion. The respondent said that he is completely against the idea of these people and works every day of the week, except Sunday. For instance, he raised the days 19, 21, 24 in every month as very idle for Orthodox church followers. A poor farmer said that there are many community members considering many of the days in a week as holy days. He perceives Sunday as the holy day when one is not allowed to work, which is known by the church members together with him. The champion farmer said at present, there is good consensus between religious leaders and the government/kebele regarding development activities. He personally accepts hard work except on Sunday.

### **Marriage, divorce, widowhood**

#### **Marriage**

The wereda justice and peace officer said currently there is no forceful marriage and willingness to engage into marriage by two partners determines its success. Indeed, unlawful marriages sometimes happen but legal protection results in 10-15 years prison. Sexual violence and unsafe forceful sex with under-aged girls is legally penalized from 4 to 6 years in prison. Polygamy has been decreasing through time due to land shortages and legal accusation of marriage replication.

Another official said that following the "Family and Marriage Law" proclaimed by the regional government, marriage for girls under age of 18 is prohibited in the wereda. Likewise, abduction and rape practices are strictly prohibited. A person found guilty would be sentenced up to 10 years imprisonment. As a result of the law enforcement the number of cases of under-age marriage, abduction and rape diminished to a minimum at present. These days women have as equal right as men in choosing marriage partner. Though common in the past, polygamy declined considerably. A person is lawful to have marriage with two or more women, in which case he is obliged by the law to share the family assets equally for each of them.

Recently, there is no serious problem found but sometimes elderly people propose marriage to a dead wife's sister. The wereda has to keep the awareness creation programme until the practice come to be ceased. . Marriage to a dead wife's sister is now very rare; it was common in earlier periods in the belief that the children of the dead sister would be protected. A group of men said that in earlier periods, marriage to dead husband's brother or marriage to dead wife's sister was originated from resource inheritance. There was a belief that marriage to someone from outside the former marriage partner will destroy all household capital formed by earlier wedding. But, today the perception is totally changed. A group of women said that marriage to a dead husband's brother and to a dead wife's sister has declined significantly compared with the past.

A wereda official said that ethnic differences are approximately limited factor in marriage partnerships. Wealth and the two partners' interest dominate the matter of marriage decisions. For example, in Boloso Sore Wereda, there were two marriage cases happened with ethnic mismatches between males and females. The cases were handled by Wereda justice office. Finally the decision was laid on the partners' interest to marry. However, the elders in the community have not yet removed the attitude inherited from the elder families.

A kebele official said that man's or woman's right to choose his or her marriage partner is legally acknowledged. Abduction is now very rare event in the community, because people fear penalties related to its unlawfulness. Due to incapability or land shortage to manage polygamy and cultural taboo to marry more than one, recently, there is not the earlier type of polygamy

Another kebele official said that the policy prohibits marriage before the age of 18 for both sexes. Likewise, abduction and rape practices are strictly prohibited. A person found guilty of either abduction or rape would be sentenced to up to 10 years imprisonment. Though under-age marriage is still common, the number of cases of abduction and rape has diminished to minimum at present as a result of the law enforcement. These days women have as equal right as men in choosing their

marriage partners, but occasionally community elders influence her to marry her deceased sister's husband regardless of interest. Although common in the past, polygamy has declined considerably. A man is lawful to have marriage with two or more women, in which case he is obliged by the law to share the family asset equally for each of them.

Another kebele official said that specifically, rape or abduction is recently a crime and the penalty related to it results both into prison for longer periods and cash for compensation. The kebele community have fully accepted the advocacy in this regard and the implementation is very effective, except for a very few random effects occurring from a few younger male individuals. Underage marriage below 18 years has been introduced to the community in many public conferences as a serious crime. Another official said that though under-age marriage is still common, the number of cases of abduction and rape diminished to a minimum at present due to better awareness of the legal issues in the community.

A group of men said that the customary age of marriage for girls is sometimes below 18 years. It's not common for young men to marry below recommended ages for marriage. Marriage types are various: religion-oriented, wealth-oriented, clan-based, love -based, or age-respecting. These days in the community expenditure for wedding is not bigger than the earlier periods. Cultural gifts are now replaced by modern household utensils. Depending on the wealth status of the family, costs incurred for wedding ceremonies can be low, medium or high. Cultural, religious or municipality procedures are followed for issuing marriage certificates. Nowadays religious marriages are common.

According to a woman respondent the customary age of marriage for girls and boys was 16 to 22 respectively, which changed to 18 to 25. In the past marriage was arranged by parents without any consideration of the girl's interest. At present, however, the arrangement is based exclusively on the good-will of both partners. Furthermore, the cost of wedding ceremony is currently reduced to the minimum possible. Each party prepare its own feast covering the cost by itself dependent on wealth status. In the past marriage was arranged by parents, however, now it is based on the two couple's interest.

A rich farmer said marriage in the earlier periods was so traditional and people used to see the status of the two partners engaging into marriage partnership. These days there are improvements in marriage expenses and the attention given to it by the community. It is possible to marry with fewer processes in the church or within his and her family. The ceremony cost depends on the family interest to invite the participants. In my son's case, we introduced to the church about the interest of the two partners to marry. It is needless to go to kebele or government office for marriage activities. There is no problem to undertake the marriage ceremony if their respective churches give permission.

A middle-wealth farmer said based on the interest of the two partners, we approached the religious leaders for permission and preparing the ceremony in the church. Church also gave a marriage certificate for the procedures formally done according to the church rules and regulation. The ceremony was very small in size. This day the community is refusing high expenditures during weddings and death ceremonies.

A poor farmer said we did the marriage very easily due to the interest of the two marriage partners. We introduced the church and the church leaders prepared a programme of religious education for three weeks. After finalizing the education, the church awarded the marriage certificate for following the formal approach as per the religion regulations.

A rich woman said she has a daughter married this year at age of 18, The couple arranged the marriage by their own will and then sent elder people to the bride's family for confirmation. Though the family recognised their engagement, the couple married without any ceremony before the day fixed for the wedding. At present the couple are living a peaceful and joyous life. Her son is sixteen

years old, she do not have to get permission from the government in case he decide to marry even right now.

The vice-chair said that his daughter was married in the last year. There is no tradition in the community to inform about the marriage of a daughter to the kebele or wereda office. With respect to traditions of the community, a go-between was sent to the female's family for negotiation. The ceremony was conducted in the male's home with a fair level of expenditure, not exaggerated as usual. The male's family gave to the couple household equipment amounting 1000 birr, which is expected to support their new family formation and establish their household. He reported that there was no contribution from the female's family. There was also no contribution given to her household, however, the male spouse is expected to respect the culture. The respondent remarked that in the earlier period there were marriage ceremony wastages: people even sold their land in order to respect the tradition. He appreciated that the recent day is very good compared to their forefathers' or nearer days' occasions to celebrate ceremonies.

The poor head of household said his daughter married without informing her family. The husband's family spent about 2000 birr for the ceremony, which was not expensive when compared to the earlier types of wedding ceremonies in Ethiopia. His religion does not allow any gift receipt or giving, therefore, no-one participated in giving/receiving gifts.

#### **Divorce**

A group of men said that divorce is a common practice in the rural community but the problem is the partners engaged in divorce cases do not have sufficient reasons for divorcing. Indeed, there is no practice of re-marriage after formal divorce. In fact, the changes related to resource allocation for widows or divorce is strong enough A group of women said that divorced women shares all the property of the household equally with their ex-husband.

A wereda official said that a go-between organised from both male and female sides selects elders to deal with a divorce case and report to the justice office. Resource division during divorce is estimated by the traditional approach to manage divorce cases, which is more favourable than the formal legal system. The challenge related to divorce is lack of awareness on matters of basic factors to initiate divorce. Interventions on awareness creation on divorce right matters can contribute a lot on reducing unreasonable divorces frequently happening in the wereda.

Another wereda official said that in case of divorce, a woman shares the household's property as equal as the husband. However, she often faces assault by relatives of her ex-husband if she lives in that same village or town.

A kebele official said that the number and preferences of children highly matters for resource-sharing in the family involved in divorce. However, there is still a poorer preference for divorce without sufficient reasons. This requires further awareness creation to be worked out among the kebele community.

A is 40 and was married in 1985. She has 5 sons and 2 daughters and all live with her. She initiated the divorce because her husband did not support the household and did not cover the cost of the children's schooling, food, clothing etc. She applied to the kebele for the divorce. He denied the marriage and told the kebele she was not his wife. The kebele sent the case to the wereda court which confirmed that she was his wife. The court accepted the divorce and decided on an equal share of the property. He appealed to the zone court. The decision has not been applied because the case is in process but before the property was shared he took some away to his second wife. He also applied to take the house, but she is living in it. The elders were biased to him when they decided on the property share; they gave him 4 oxen and 1 milk cow and her 1 ox and 2 milk cows. Of 1 hectare of farm land they decided to give her only 0.25 hectares.

A woman told how she was born in the community and got married to a man who is a resident of

the kebele and gave birth to a child. She has never gone out of the community. She has been trading different crops such as maize, teff, coffee etc. But he has one child from another woman. There was high interference by the husband's kin in their marriage and they are the ones who initiated the divorce. As she says, her husband was in a relationship with another woman who lives in Addis Ababa before they got divorced. The couple shared common properties including farmland and other equipment. He gave his share of farmland to his mother. After they openly divorced, he got married to the woman. Although the woman got a farmland, she had never worked on it. The respondent says that he had been visiting her frequently in times of divorce. After a month of divorce, he apologized and returned to his first wife. However, as she explained, he has continued his relationship with his second wife; he goes to Addis to visit her. The child was not affected by the divorce as his mother has been taking care of him. She does not have land or identity card. When they divorced they faced problems related to rearing the child as he was confused about what happened between his parents. Besides this, she did not face a problem associated with her marriage. In the future she is planning to build a new dwelling in her homestead area and open a local restaurant. The respondent says that she has never contacted wereda people.

### **Widowhood**

A wereda official said that widow inheritance is legally bound. A kebele official said recently, land certification is very important regarding inheritance. Widow inheritance is legally possible but if she marries another man, land inheritance from the earlier husband's family is not allowed.

A group of women said that widows own and manage belongings of the family including all properties or assets and land after the husband's death.

B's husband died in 2005; she has 6 children all living with her. She decided to acquire all the property including the farm land. She applied to the kebele to have a land registration certificate in her own name and they accepted her request and gave her the certificate. She has got all other property except the farmland. When her husband was alive he received 0.25 has of land from his father but after he died the father took the land because she had no male child. When he took the land she wanted to apply to the court but she did not because at the time her husband's brother was a judge in the court. Since she did not expect an unbiased decision from the court she dropped the case. Some people in the area were not happy with his father's decision and the reason for taking the land.

### **Death ceremonies**

See HTPs affecting livelihoods on page 99.

### **Inheritance**

#### **Widows and divorced women**

A wereda official said that widows have the right to inherit the land of their dead husbands while divorced women have the right to share all assets equally. These laws have been properly implemented. Another official said that a decade ago women were not beneficiaries of property rights. The community did not give any attention to them and the law was usually implemented improperly and a few women were deprived of their rights. In the research site widows used to face such problems. For example a widow could not exercise her rights to property as her husband's relatives refused to give her part and her children's. Currently the law has started to be implemented properly as a result of awareness creation.

A kebele official said that widows deserve the right to inherit land of their deceased husband, while a divorced woman has equal rights of sharing all assets with her ex-husband. All of the above laws have been properly implemented. Another official said widows can claim to own land resources if she is not marrying a new husband outside the relatives of the previous husband's family. During divorce women can claim to own land resources provided that their children prefer to live with their

mother.

### **Children**

A wereda official said that all children have equal rights to inherit land from their parents so long as they have not married. A woman cannot inherit once she is married unless she is the only living child of the parent. These laws have been properly implemented. Another wereda official said that all children, both male and female have equal right to inherit land from their parent.

A kebele official said that all children, male and female, have equal rights to inherit land from their parents so long as they have not married. Married females do not have this right unless she is the only alive child of the parent.

A woman described a recent case; she is 35 and, with her sister inherited her mother's house and land. Her sister did not share the land and let her use it and register it in her name. In 2007 she got a land certificate from the kebele. However she faced a problem when her mother died as her mother's stepson said that since the land was his father's he should have a share. She applied to the kebele and wereda courts, provided evidence and a witness testified for her mother and finally the court decided in favour of her mother.

A group of men said that if there are many male children in a family the household head distributes a portion of the land to each child when he marries. In the community the elder's last word on resource inheritance after death can be for any of the family members and it is left binding as a bylaw. A group of women said that household heads inherit their assets to their children through statements made in the presence of elders; this practice has not changed over time.

A farmer said that females had no right to inherit land resources in the earlier period, but at present time there is a possibility to inherit land if no male is born in the household. Even male and female can claim land ownership of their family if they appeal to justice office, given that the female is incapable or marginalized to form her own family. Particularly, if a female cannot form her own family, it is possible for her to ask land resource from her family or senior household member. The community members are not resistant in case of any benefit entitled to vulnerable women.

A rich farmer said that when male family members form a new family, their fathers provide some portion of land around the main home. All males in the household can claim land ownership allocated from the family. They are responsible to pay tax for the land owned/ registered by their name. Inheritance, if family members die, is culturally existing for males, but females can also claim the inheritance if there is no male in the family. There is no right to inherit land resources for even a male child born outside by mother. Recently, clear awareness has been created regarding inheritance of land and other household assets by females. There was vague information in resource inheritance by women or the female, but at present it is articulated to everyone. Both rich and the other categories of the community are not indifferent about land resource inheritance among female or male. The scarcity of land resource in the area has created strong concern about land issues and land related right is legally bound in good order in the community. Conflict resolution is enhanced due to land inheritance laws.

A middle-wealth man said that the females deserved no right to inherit land resources in the earlier period, but at present time there is a possibility to inherit land if no male is born in the household. Males and females can claim land ownership of their family if they appeal to the justice office, if the female is incapable or marginalized to form her own family. Particularly, if a female cannot form her own family, it is possible for her to ask land resource from her family or a senior household member. The community members are not resistant in case of any benefit entitled to vulnerable women. So, the land right is not harming anyone in the community. However, there is poorer perception of some community members in land related resources. Much more work is needed to clearly develop sufficient awareness for those with vague information regarding rights and individual responsibilities.

A rich woman said that females have the right to inherit land from their parents as well as to pass on their land to their respective children. However, in the community this right is short of implementation. It is common that if a female is married to a husband, she loses her right of inheriting land from her parents unless she has got no brother at all. This practice disfavour women of each wealth class, particularly the poor. As her parents are alive she has not yet experienced the chance of getting or losing land by inheritance A middle-wealth woman who also had not yet experienced the chance of getting or losing land by inheritance said that the social court, community elders, church leaders and the community at large should be made aware of the new inheritance law so that the law be implemented properly and effectively to benefit females as hoped.

A poor woman acknowledged the new inheritance law but complained about its poor implementation in the community. As a widow, she understands the severity of life for daughters who have lost not only their father but also his land with which they depend for living. Therefore, she strongly suggest that the law be strictly implemented.

A number of young people interviewed said that in the past youth had no clear awareness about the right to resources. The present young people are very conscious of the rights and responsibilities of the citizen... In earlier times young people intentionally married in order to get land from their family. These days it is a weak perception to stay with the family or inherit a piece of land...Teens at present are stronger in accessing land; they ask their family for their own land and do their own income-earning activities... Teens are focusing more on education. ... There is access to land for young people only when they engage in new family formation; families are not willing to send young people to other businesses than education.

#### **Dispute resolution**

A group of men said that both inter-household and intra-household conflict is managed by either elder people, religious people, or in legal office. It is customary to call for the aforementioned individuals as per the nature of the conflict issues. A group of women said that whenever a dispute arises within a family, often relatives of both sides, friends and/or village elders settle the matter; whereas the dispute is among neighbours or others the case would dealt by either by influential elders or by community court as long as the conflict is not so serious that it be seen before the wereda court. Such local dispute resolution mechanisms are more functional and effective currently as compared with the ten years ago. The involvement of elders has been described earlier on page 143.

#### **Customary organisations**

The services of social organisations have improved (FHH successful). Social organisations are considered a means of social capital and creating business beyond the focus on culture or traditional activities (MHH pol) though his wife said that social organisation has not changed significantly.

#### **Clans and lineages**

A group of men said that Wolayita is one of the ethnic categories with many groups of clans or lineage of families. In Gara Godo Kebele, the community members count more than 25 types of family groups. In each clan or family group, more than 20 households may be included. Except wealth accumulation through hard work, the community does not perceive and relate wealth with family group. A group of women said that the community is composed of nearly 130 clans of the Wolayita.

Strong relations, marital affairs, social capital and active participation in public affairs are enhanced by ethnic, religious or clan similarities. Almost 2% of the community are craftworkers, called *Dogalla*. In the past (ten years ago) they were not allowed to cultivate land or marry members of the *Malla* clan. However now they cultivate land and mix socially with *Malla* and *Goqa* community members though there are still some marriage barriers.

In Wolayita culture a man cannot marry a woman from his own clan.

### Elders

Elders are highly respected and usually called for go-between tasks to resolve conflicts inside or between household or among the community. The leader of an elders' committee said his appointment was a customary one and not recognised as a formal institution. He is 54 and since the age of 40 community members have invited him as a go-between for cases like divorce, neighbourhood land or other communal resource misuse or inter-personal clashes between community members. It was individuals' interest that initiated him to engage on this committee. Frequently, many people with conflict cases need his involvement and give him feedback reflecting their satisfaction with the way the elders' committee has treated the case.

### Iddir

A group of women said that 'Iddir' serves as a means of social security system whereby a member gets support any time he loses his relatives at home or times of condolence. Every member of the Iddir is supposed to pay monthly contribution, attend funeral ceremony, and give HH service in turn to a person who is under condolence.'

Ketema Kuter 1 *iddir* has 89 members. There is a chairman, secretary, supervisor, cashier and assistant auditor. The iddir undertakes the following activities:

1. Supporting funeral ceremony of the member and his or her relatives; 1500 birr is given to the family as a gift if the member dies;
2. Helping (money and material) the member in house construction, marriage ceremony and other social occasions calling for the members participation.

The Iddir members/ Iddir as a social institution/ are active participants in any government calls for development activities. However, there is no specific involvement of the Iddir, but the members are informed through the leaders about the issues seeking the members' participation, as part of the community.

The respondent reported that the iddir has succeeded in the following aspects:

1. Infrastructures amounting more than 60,000 *birr* were purchased;
2. Poorer people whose relatives are members of the *Iddir* were supported; for example 1500 birr, recently;
3. Support to the members in funeral cases.

Ceremony was improved from 500 birr to 1550 birr taking into account inflation. The members contribute 10 birr per month; there is no credit service due to defaults in repayment. The Iddir is the largest in the community, but still we have no bank account to deposit money. It is also the case that half of the members are poorer and not willing to increase the contributions in order to scale up the capital. Recently, many people are being admitted to Iddir membership, after observing the advantages of other members who benefited from it. We also support not only in cash, but also in kind and labour time. The Iddir seeks some improvements with regard to resource management (a place to build a store). At present the Iddir uses a rented house for storing materials, which is not safe to use and manage the resource effectively.

The leader reported that he undertakes supervisory activities of other committee members. He facilitates members' participation and contributions for some social occasions. Usually, the leader spends longer in meetings with committee members as well as other members. However, regular attendance of the leader is 2 – 3 hours per month, except in the cases of funeral ceremonies or social occasions unfortunately happening. There is no salary or additional benefit for leadership activities. Some problems related to Iddir leadership are that some members who misuse the rules and regulations of Iddir get penalized. Frequent penalties for the members result in weaker relationships. Increasing contributions of members and engaging in other income-generating

businesses will support the Iddir's sustainability and growth.

The **richer FHH** said she has two Iddirs. She contributes 10 birr per month and if there is problem in some member's house she contributes 6 birr additionally in one iddir. In the other Iddir she contributes 5 birr per month and during crisis times she contributes 8 birr additionally. She pays in total 15 birr per month regularly. There is no pay out if ill. There is no access to loans. Members participate in burial ceremonies and support the families in different work (preparing food, coffee, kollo etc). They give service to the household for 4 days if the deceased is male and for 3 days if it is female. Most of the expenses are covered by the iddir and the additional contributions of the members. Sharing the pain of a lost family member is the benefit of Iddir.

The **poor FHH** contributes 1 birr per month to two iddirs, 50 cents to each. There is no pay out for illness. The iddir lends up to 100 birr to a family who have lost a loved one. Members contribute 1 birr each. The amount collected from members is given to that family. There is no other benefit. If a family that borrowed from the iddir is unable to pay the debt on time, there is punishment. Out of fear of this the family borrow from individuals to pay the debt at a higher interest rate. This is the big problem.

The **vice-chair** participates in Kalehiwot church iddir and Ketema Kuter 1 iddir; he pays 1 birr and 5 birr per month respectively. Depending on the type of illness and medication needed, the Kalehiwot church gives a loan up to 300 birr; however, there is no free payment. Every member of the iddir contributes 3 birr and 10 birr for the Kalehiwot Church and Ketema Kuter 1 iddirs respectively. Actually, the contributions differ when the death is related to other relatives: 2 birr for "merdo", 5 birr for death of father/mother and again 2 birr for grandfather or grandmother. Other benefits like equipment and household consumption utensils for entertaining people engaged in the ceremony are directly supported by the iddir; otherwise, people usually rent them from other iddirs. In the course of this social capital building, there is also a problem of debt repayment for some poorer members. **His wife** has two iddirs and she pays three birr for the men's and two birr for the women's iddir per month. There are no pay outs for illness. There is no access to loans. At the time of death the men's iddir gives 1000 birr and the women's iddir gives 700 birr. Contributing materials and helping each other at crises are other benefits. The regulations oblige households to attend to pay the contribution. If the contribution is sent by others, the committee take measures to charge additional money as punishment. Those are the problems.

The **champion farmer** is a member and secretary of a church iddir. Every member contributes 50 cents per week. There is 500 birr loan access to every member if any member of the family is sick and wants to go hospital. 400 birr, wood for fuel and equipment for the funeral ceremony is provided to the member. The iddir members are very cooperative in working together, besides a penalty for absence from work/meetings. It is not a sufficient contribution, but better than nothing. **His wife** has two iddirs, namely Selam and Anmba, she contributes 1 birr per month for each of them. If a member is ill, he/she can borrow from the iddir. The iddirs have access to credit. On funeral days members prepare food and contribute 2 birr for each. The iddir provides pillow, mattress, blankets and carpet for 3 days .There is no problem.

The **middle-wealth household head** is a church Iddir member and contributes 1 birr per week. It pays back in illness of any family member 40 birr, 300 birr on the death of a family member and shares the equipment of the Iddir for funeral ceremonies. It is good social cohesion in the community on occasions of either happiness or sorrow. The respondent said that the members share their problems with others to tackle them together. The problems are not much, but the contributions are very small and not significant for rehabilitating after the occasions. **His wife** has one iddir. She contributes one birr per week. There is no payouts if ill. Access to loans is available to the iddir members at 20% interest rate. At the time of death members cook food, make coffee and wash equipment for about 4 days and give money. Sharing the grief of the household is the other benefit of iddir.

**The poor household head** is a member of a church iddir, paying one birr per week. 100 birr is allowed to a member if there is urgent need. 300 birr is given for death ceremony if a family member dies, besides the provision of equipment (use right) to entertain the funeral ceremony participants. **His wife** has two iddirs. She contributes 3 birr for male iddir and 2 birr for female iddir per month. There is no payout if ill and there is no access to loans. At the times of death the female iddir gives 70 birr. She does not know the support from the male iddir. Members of iddirs work in the household, cook food and clean the house

#### **Equb and other savings**

A group of women said that 'Equb' is a financial organization whereby each member saves a predefined amount of cash money on a regular basis, often weekly or monthly, and takes turn by turn the sum of money collected from members. Women's' butter groups function the same as 'Equb' except that the contribution or fee is not cash, rather butter. These community-initiated organizations are becoming very stronger than before. A farmer said that in an equb, the number of members is not more than 40 up to 50 households.

Individuals interested in the community have established the Equb. There are 24 members and the leadership is organized as chairman, secretary and auditor and cashier. It was established in October 2008. Contributions and payments per week have been increased through time: 200 birr in the year 2008, 200 birr in the year 2009 and 300 birr since 2010. If one of the equb members is 10 minutes late, s/he pays a penalty of 5 birr and absenteeism results in some more penalties (10 birr). Equb members are neighbours and the penalty is smaller in order to support and not to discourage participation. Due to shortages of capital, the equb is not taking part in government or other activities except personal and group participant development. The leader of the Equb manages all Equb activities: he chairs the weekly collection of equb which happens every Friday from 12:30 – 1:00 hrs and distributes the money collected fairly to the person with the chance. He also facilitates equb transactions between individuals: one may sell the chance to other people who need money urgently.

The respondent said that there is no salary from equb leadership, but the members give him the first chance to collect money. He reported that there is no particular problem among the equb members and its management because all are friends who are interested in being engaged in this business. However, he reported that a few of the members have not much money and resist increasing contributions for involvement in significant businesses demanding capital. He wishes for better contributions in order to collect much money; including potential members and improving rules and regulations that govern the equb activities.

The richer FHH She is a member of a cash equb. She contributes 50 birr per week. She received 900 birr two weeks ago. She used it for business purposes. She bought 100kg barley and prepared "embubush" local drink for sale. There is no other benefit. There is no problem. In addition to the regular contribution members contribute 10 birr per week and share the amount at the end the equb.

The vice-chair is part of the equb in his community. The contribution is 100 birr four times in a year. As of December, 2011, he could receive 2000 birr. The respondent could take land for rent with 2000 birr gained from equb business. He said that for active persons who can do business, participating in the equb creates a joint financial effort, which is difficult by individual effort. The problems are also many with respect to taking an equb in terms of the burden for repayment during bad seasons. He said, "You face a serious burden to repay the debt from it and even if you let the land rented". His wife has a butter equb. Members contribute a handful of butter per week. She took 2 kg butter a month and a half (45 days) ago. She sold 1 kg butter for 80 birr and bought shoes for 40 birr. The other 1 kg butter was used for home consumption.

The champion farmer is a member of equb and contributes 20 birr per week. He received 300 birr 3

months ago. With that money, his wife spent for household consumption. It is very important to participate in an Equb, because the cash collected from a group of members is better than individual capacity if one wants to invest on some affairs. The problem is that the member should not miss repaying the money. S/he may worry if there is no source of income for repayments. His wife has both cash and butter equb. She contributed 20 birr per week and save 10 birr per week for Meskel festival in September. In butter equb she contributes  $\frac{1}{2}$  kg per week. She received 300 birr in August, 2011. She bought clothes. Members of the butter equb share the butter every 6 month..

In groups of 8-12 people take part in Meskel feast organisations. Most of the time people in the neighbour hood make up this group. Neighbourhood, religion or Iddir are common means to form a group. Members contribute from 10 birr up to 25 birr per month. It is structured as follows: chairman, secretary, and cashier. Meskel feast group members save money to buy an ox. If there is excess money after buying an ox, the group members save it for the next time. There is no direct link with government issues. The leader of one groups said that the group members have no shortage of money for expenditure during the festival and no extravagance. Despite its importance, the group members have an intention to misuse the money saved; according to the respondent, the saving habit is very important, but it would be better if the contributions are increased. The leader organises the group members, manages the contributions, facilitates the purchase of an ox, and invites the group members to the feast. Usually the leader and other committee members spend an hour per week to collect money from group members. There is no salary or extra benefit, rather the community appoints people to the duty. Saving the money in the bank will be appropriate to avoid its misuse by individuals for personal affairs.

### **Mehaber**

*Senbet Mehaber* has 30 members and its own structure; chairman, secretary and cashier. Since 1902, the mehaber has been operational. Mainly, the mehaber undertakes entertainment of religious guests and supports religious services; so far the mehaber has not engaged in any government activities. Visiting preachers have not suffered when they come to church, because the mehaber takes care of them. Thus, lack of extreme bottlenecks in religious service is not happening due to further efforts of mehaber. The leader, who is also leader of the Orthodox Church reported that improving the saving habit is important to the mehaber in order to celebrate feasts in good order (religious feasts).

### **Local informal security regime**

A group of men said that the informal social protection system is persistent within the community. Community-initiated organizations are becoming a means for risk sharing (Iddir, Equb, Mahaber, Senbate) during droughts, death or disease. People use these institutions for wedding or other celebrations or occasions

A group of women said that the relative importance of husband's and wife's kin, grown-up children, neighbours and others, who used to support each other, in social protection system, has been declining sharply. Currently, the community has a limitation on livelihood sources, as a result of this; people are not able to keep the informal social protection network. 'Idir' serves as a means of social security system whereby a member gets support any time he loses his relatives at home or times of condolence. These community-initiated organizations are becoming very stronger than before.

A rich model farmer said that his family situation has been in good order because of grain saved for bad seasons. However, the shocks to his neighbours have been a challenge as they request support or credit and it is a humanitarian responsibility to support them. Usually the farm products are stored for future consumption and income-earning. Many people are involved in begging for their daily bread. He said that the present community members are very good in linkages and supporting each other due to good governances. He supported many people in the community:

- When some are in hunger, he supports with some food;

- When some are lacking an ox for farming, he is supporting in buying an ox for share ownership;
- Orphan children are regularly supported with food and clothes;
- He provided iron sheets for those people constructing houses by lending them money.

He is an active participant in farm work, house building, and domestic work, sharing of farm implements, livestock, and help in times of crisis, in festivals, orphan support and other social occasions. His wife said the household helps family and friends with cash and crop advice.

A poor FHH said that the household's cooperation with other households that live nearby has decreased in farm work, domestic work, sharing of farm and livestock implements, and helping in times of crises and celebrations and festivals. Cooperation in house building has also decreased. For example, in September 2011 her house collapsed but she received no help. She plans to build when she gets PSNP cash payment. The collapse of the house is the worst crisis the household faced in, September 2011. The family members were trapped under the collapsed materials. They could be freed with the assistance of neighbouring households. She and her family members live in her relative's house. Her sons live in a neighbour's house. She does not get enough assistance.

### **Key social actors and their networks**

#### **Government employees**

##### **Kebele manager**

EE, 27/30, male, from Gara Godo, all/3 months in the community, Conduct A/fairly accepted. He is the younger brother of the kebele municipality head. He was appointed last year through competition in response to a vacancy announcement posted by the wereda office to recruit a kebele manager. In addition to his Diploma, the kebele manager is following a distance learning programme for his degree (Management). He reported that his previous work with various government and non-government organizations helped him to enrich his experience. The kebele municipality head is his brother, involved in rendering leadership service. The manager aspires for further learning, family life improvement and investment and trade opportunities in future. For example, he said that at the end of the present degree study, he will continue with a graduate degree programme in any related field of specialization at a nearby university.

##### **DA Crops**

In September both say the DA Crops is TM. He says he is 35, comes from Admancho and has been 7 years in the community. She says that he is 40, from Gara Godo and has been 12 years in the community. Rural people are not consistent in reporting their ages. Both say he is highly accepted by the community. He satisfies the political mission regarding agricultural activities and networks with community, political members and cabinet members

In December 2011 the DA Crops is 43 and got the job in 2011. His family are farmers and he has helped them since childhood. He has a first degree in rural development and was able to develop his skills by the trainings which are given for five days every year during the cropping season. Teaching farmers politics is his other role in the community. No-one from his family has other roles in the community. He wants to continue his job and give a better income to the farmers and see their products improved. He also wants to upgrade his education to Masters' level.

He gets advice from the head of the crops development office at the wereda and the kebele administrator, the kebele manager and the head of the municipality.

##### **DA Livestock**

The male RO said the DA Livestock is called BU, is 29, has been 2 years in the community and scored A. He said he is 30 and started the job in October 2010 because it is related to his field of study and to serve farmers. He has a diploma and additional training on crops, NRM, livestock, irrigation and the household asset-building programme (HABP). He is on the PSNP committee. If he wants advice

or there is a problem he goes to the head of the wereda agriculture office and the kebele chair.

#### Veterinarian

The male RO said that the vet was UB, 29 from Areka, in the community 2 years, conduct A.

#### DA NRM

In September the male RO called the DA NRM FF, said he is from Abela and has been in the community for 2 years. Appreciation by the community is 'A'. The female RO said he is called BU, aged 28, from Areka, 1 year in the community and poorly accepted. The DA NRM interviewed in December started the job in November 2011 'because he had no other job opportunity'. He trained in his previous work area. He does not want to stay in this job; after studying in another field he wants to change his job. He had not yet contacted anyone at any level.

#### School director

MM was named as the director of the junior school. The male RO said she is 30 and from Damote Gale and has been in the community for 6 years. The female RO says that she is 35, from Gara Godo, and has been in the community for 10 years. Both say she is highly accepted. She 'satisfies the political mission regarding education affairs', is highly accepted, and networks with students, community members, political members and cabinet members. She is in charge of teaching activities and organising the 1-5 student group members. They discuss HIV/AIDS and environment protection. The organisation started in the high school but has spread to the primary school. MM is general manager with political responsibilities and teaching. She represents the school at Cabinet meetings and facilitates membership of the party and controls teachers. She manages the revenue from the sale of *teff*, maize and land grown on school land.

The headteacher is 23 and was appointed in 2009 because it is related with his field of study. Additionally he took the position in order to serve the community in a better way. He acquired a B.Ed degree in physics. He didn't get any kind of training opportunity. Neither he nor his family members have any other role in the community. Improving his educational status up to PhD level and teaching at university are his future aspirations. At the wereda level, the head of the wereda education office and at the kebele level, the leader of the parent-teacher association and the chairperson of the iddir are the persons whom he goes to for advice or to discuss any educational issues. He is working peacefully with collaboration of teachers and students. As a result of this he did not face any problem recently

#### Primary school teacher

One of the teachers was the kebele chairman in the past.

#### Health Extension Worker 1

BC, 28/30; from Bomb Boloso/Gara Godo, 6/7 years in the community; well accepted. (Male RO first, female second.) She was involved in health affairs and activities to satisfy the political mission she is assigned for regarding health issues, fairly accepted, and networked with community, political members and particularly cabinet members.

#### Health Extension Worker 2

BN, 30/25, from Shore/Gara Godo, 3/1 yrs in the community; B/well-accepted. (Male RO first, female second).

#### Community policeman

EB is a community policeman assigned by the wereda police office to Gara Godo kebele for six months. He is 38 and became a policeman 15 years ago. The network of a policeman is not limited to a particular person, he said, rather he has many contacts: militia organizer, kebele chair and manager, elders, religious leaders and youth delegates in the kebele, besides the wereda police

office. Recently, there has been no problem requiring an integrated effort to resolve. However, the simpler case, he said, was a bit of crime during fertilizer debt collection from farmers, i.e., many people were resisting repayment due to crop losses.

#### **Savings and credit organiser**

The leader of the OMO MFI savings and credit organisation is 37 and started the job in September 2011 because he wanted additional work. He was trained about savings and credit for five days by zone officials. He is also the chairperson of an *iddir*. For any advice, help or problems he goes to the head of the financial sector at wereda level and the kebele municipality. He also goes to the cashier of the *iddir* at community level.

#### **Kebele office-holders recruited from within the community (and recent changes)**

##### **Kebele chairs**

Ato UA, chairman, was said to be fairly accepted by the community; he networks with party members and the community. He is 34 and was appointed by the community in 2010. He reported that anyone proposed by the party leaders receives the responsibilities and duties without complaint. His formal education (10th grade complete) and some short-term training (Education improvement training in Arba Minch TTC) during the chairman position supported him to undertake kebele duties better. However, he reported that many other social responsibilities he was engaged in were left out due to lack of time. His wife has recently engaged in political commitment as one of kebele officials; she is chairperson of the kebele women's' affairs and the head of the co-operative. The chairman does not want to continue in the job; his aspiration is to plan his personal development through education and trade. He wishes for a better family life for himself and his relatives in housing, shelter and clothing through possible income generating activities.

He is a key representative of the kebele and contacts many people for consultation including the wereda office head for administrative issues, the wereda security head for politics; wereda heads of water, agriculture and health for respective issues; the wereda representative in the kebele the municipality head; elders; and the wereda council representative of Gara Godo.

##### **Vice chair**

Ato ZL, vice chair, was said to be fairly accepted by the community; he networks with party members and community. He is 35 and was appointed by the community in 2010. As a mid-career professional with 10 + 3 diploma in Accounting, he additionally serves the kebele as OMO Microfinance coordinator, recruited by the institution. His duty is introducing the saving and establishing lending groups in the kebele. He has no other family member with responsibility for community affairs. His responsibilities as vice chairman and in many other areas (kebele public relations, propaganda leader and OMO Microfinance kebele branch officer) in the kebele have made him busy, however, Ato Z aspires to upgrade his education, and his personal and family business to scale up his livelihood.

The kebele vice chairman has both kebele and wereda appointments (OMO Microfinance kebele officer). With regard to kebele duties he consults kebele officials and elder community members. As OMO microfinance officer, he reports to the wereda OMO microfinance office. During the group task to collect fertilizer debt from farmers, he faced personal attack from a kebele member who failed to return the debt. In this conflict both kebele officials and community elders and the wereda officials were involved to handle the case.

##### **Kebele council chair**

The council chair has been in position since 22 October 2011. He is 52 and completed Grade 7. He is also a church co-ordinator. He reported that no one else in his family has a commitment in the community. Though an elder, he aspires for better farming (personal), child education (family) and better working environment (public). He reported that the current kebele working arrangements are

not sufficient and attractive for the council members. The kebele council should work for the development of the community. He feels there should be a better life for every community member so they can eat sufficiently, live in better house and wear clothes. This is the first thing every citizen should achieve as he reported. This is how he described his personal aspiration. He gets advice from the wereda council speaker, his vice and standing committee in the council. Fortunately, he said, there has been no problem challenging him to consult the individuals /committee/ offices concerned with the kebele council.

#### **Wereda councillors**

The male wereda councillor interviewed (TH) said that he collects comments, suggestions or public appeals by the community and reports to the wereda council during general council meetings. In return, he informs the community about the wereda council's response to the community requests. He reported that there is one day per week to take part in council affairs. For the meetings, a per diem of 35 birr is paid per day for all council representatives. TH, who is aged 65 and engaged in farming activities, raised some problems relating to his council membership position. There is sometimes a mismatch between the wereda council directions and the community interests or demands and this results in conflict. At this time, the community people complain to the council representative, and not the wereda office. For instance, the improved seeds or fertilizer distributed are sometimes incompatible with the area and this results in loss for the farmer. He expects an improved job could be undertaken if the wereda people could understand the actual demands of the community and implement what is required, not what is available at hand.

TH was appointed in 2005. He has pre-school educational status and is currently also a member of the land conservation committee. No one else is playing a role in the community among his family members. He aspires for the good governance of the community and also the country at large. He has a particular ambition in agricultural production and productivity. He reported that infrastructure development of rural community is a prime component of change and development that the council takes into attention in regular meetings. He networks with the wereda administration head, the kebele chairman and in the community, elder friends. Recently, he communicated to the wereda administration about a conflict related to fertiliser debt repayment activities. The wereda administration assigned a taskforce to resolve the conflict between an individual and the kebele team working on the issue. We resolved that the person with debt is additionally charged 1500 birr penalty for the crime he committed against the kebele official.

The kebele leader said that the wereda representatives are all male but the woman research officer interviewed a woman who said she was a councillor. Her work includes saving cotton made bulukos and gabis that are produced in 29 kebeles, identifying festival cases and reporting them to the wereda women's affairs office and collecting money from women's saving association and transferring it to the wereda women's affairs office and ordering different materials, and renting cooking dishes and plastic water containers. She works seven days in week. Her working hours are not limited; she spends most of the day at the work. She gives free service. Women run after their own interest (opposed on personal benefit). This affects the job. A lot of things must be done to improve women's awareness. If they are better aware about the job their participation will increase

She is 38 years old, she started the job in 2006, to get mental satisfaction by being a participant in women's rights issues. She took training on how to organize women in 1-5 groups and involving women in different activities. She was also trained about vegetables. Her other roles in the community are chairwoman of iddir and cashier of the cooperative. It is unlikely that anyone from her family has other roles in the community. Seeing women have their property rights and to equal share of wealth and during divorce, these are her future aspirations.

If the councillor needs help or advice or wants to discuss job-related problems she goes to the head of the women's affairs office and to the chairperson at the wereda and kebele level respectively. At the community level she goes to the primary school director. A 15 year old girl was raped when she

returned from Boloso Sore to home on November 10, 2010. The person who raped the girl disappeared for a year. After a year he was caught and arrested on November 21, 2011 and the case is still in court – a decision has not been made yet as to the expected penalty. This is the problem she faced in the job recently. it will be resolved according to the criminal code.

#### **Political party appointee**

The local political party chair is also the vice-chair of the kebele. He said there are 210 male and 62 female party members registered as active participants. The kebele leadership team has 9 members and the political party leadership team has 15 members. All kebele officials are party members while the kebele structure is more responsible for administrative issues. The political party structure is totally inclined to political development and the derived good governance democracy and development. However, party structure is strong enough to evaluate the kebele official performance (gimgema) and in showing directions. The kebele chair is similarly the chair for party structure at kebele level. Wereda officials are party members; however, the employees are not necessarily forced to engage in any kind of party membership.

The local political party chair has a responsibility to feed the wereda with kebele information and get back the information via the Newsletter to the community. Every 15 days activities of the kebele regarding the performance of political “cells” are communicated to the wereda justice and security office. He allocated two days to work on political issues and two days to undertake administrative duties in a week. He also added that the kebele branch OMO microfinance institution has recently appointed him as credit extension worker. However, the kebele position as a chair of local political party has no benefit salary or even position allowance; it is a public assignment and a moral obligation to render a service to the community. He feels happy with the OMO microfinance job appointment, with some amount of wage, but suggests a minimum wage payment for other colleagues working with zero compensation; indeed, he disclosed that kebele officials are in a trade-off in relation to their personal development. With his primary job, chair of local political party, most of the time the kebele chair and manager are consulted, through them the wereda is approached. He said that political commitment is networked down to grassroots level (1-5 groups); therefore he conducts a consultation meeting with this group (27 group leaders in the community) for any kind of individual movements and acts in the community. Recently, his political networks (cell and 1 – 5 groups) met to decide on the issue of party members who neglected to pay a contribution (12 ETB plus 2 ETB for newsletter). They resolved that the 1-5 leaders of the respective members should collect the money and report to the office.

#### **Women's Association leader**

The women's organization leader, who is 30 years old, started the job in March, 2010. She was elected by the community to the position. She has not got education or training access (opportunity). Neither she nor her family members have other roles in the community. If the community trust her, she wants to continue the job and serve women in a better way; this is her future aspiration. She organizes women and calls meetings, collects money and transfers it to the wereda. She works one day in two weeks for about four hours per day. She gives free service. Women do not participate in the meetings and they also do not come on time. Not being punctual is the major problem. Better awareness would improve the job.

For advice or something she needs, there is no one at the wereda or community level but at kebele level she goes to kebele officials. There is no problem recently

#### **Women's League leader**

W/o CB, Women's Affairs, Women's league president, organising women to join the party, facilitating the credit service for women, accepted by women. W/o BB, Vice women league president, social organiser, co-ordinates the volunteer party members, accepted by party members, networks with community and party members.

### Youth Association/Federation leader

The youth association leader was appointed in 2011 and is 27. The kebele youth members proposed him for the post. He has completed Grade 10 and aspires for college education. He said the three youth organisation leaders meet to discuss youth affairs.

### Tax collector

The kebele tax collector is 45 was appointed to the position in September 2011. He wanted it to benefit the family and himself and to serve the community properly. He is paid 414 *birr* a month and sometimes gets 12.50 *birr* for additional working days. He completed Grade 12 and was also trained by the wereda municipality personnel in how to carry out the job. Neither he nor his family members have any other role in the community. Serving the community in a better way is his future aspiration.

### Social court leader

The respondent is 30 and was appointed as social court leader in August 2011. He prefers to serve the community and get experience of a job. Currently, he has Diploma in Law (10 + 3) and undertakes no additional responsibility in the community. His brother is leader of a development team. He aspires to better education achievements in his future endeavours. He reported that at present he regularly gets advice from the wereda court as he is new as the social court leader.

### Land administration chair

The leader of the land conservation administration, who was appointed to the position in April 2011, is 60 years old. He accepted the job as the kebele community pressurized him to do so. Though he is the leader, he has not got education and training opportunities. In addition to this he is the leader of 1-5 development groups (43 persons in group). No one else from his family has such roles in the community. Serving the community in better ways, and seeing the community solving their own problems by themselves without the intervention of others are his future aspirations. There is no help available to solve problems at wereda level but at kebele level there are the kebele manager, chairman and municipality.

### Sub-kebele leader

The sub-community members proposed him, aged 48, to kebele officials to undertake the sub-kebele organization leadership task in 2011. Not lucky to pursue his education beyond pre-school, GH reported that he has no additional role in the community nor do his family members/relatives. He said that administrative roles in the kebele consume the time of specific-sub-kebele members and harm their personal business, however, there is no preference for bad governance by any of the civic community. Therefore, he wishes there to be a well-organized system of administration, neighbourhood development and fair access to social sectors in a reasonable distribution (schools, health posts, roads, bridges, and electricity extension from the kebele, others helping the community). Sub-kebele organization leaders frequently communicate with kebele officials (upwards) and the lower leaders or individuals (households). Elders in the community are a great help for consultation specific to historic events which are vague to the younger generation. But one problem, however, a regular issue seasonally appearing (fertilizer debt repayment) was dealt with by kebele officials organising a task force. Religious leaders are given messages to pass on to church members who are indebted with fertilizer and farming input repayments.

### Development team leader

It was a community proposal that initiated the kebele to appoint him, aged 38, to the development team leadership post. He completed his pre-school class; he has no additional roles in the community, nor do his relatives. Development is all that we want and we strive for changes relevant to secure at least food. Thus, he wishes see a developed community. Personally, he said, educating his children and scaling up his farming to the required level necessary to contribute to

personal/household livelihood development. He stated that the development should be organized (staffing) and supported (extending investments to the locality). The lead consultation or contact office/person is the kebele office. There is strong cooperation with “cell” members (led by himself) by 1-5 group leaders to discuss sub-kebele organization affairs. He reported that there was no known problem that demanded tactical resolution mechanisms.

#### **One-to-five leader**

He is 40. Through public/party appointment in the year 2008, he took on the leadership of 1-5 groups. He completed 5th grade and undertakes kebele admin affairs. A 1-5 group will function better if the kebele strengthens the skills of leaders and group member skills. Finally, he reported that he has no relatives engaged in community-service responsibilities. He wishes there to be better cooperation of group members within and across the groups in the kebele in all development aspects. The kebele political party chair communicates through “cells” as well as “Development teams”.

#### **Security committee leader**

Ato BC, security leader, maintains kebele peace and security, accepted by the community, networks with community. He is aged 32 and was appointed by the community in 2004. He completed 10th grade in education and additionally is committed to collecting government taxes, contributions or any debt from the community, individually as well as in a task force. No one in his family is engaged like him in community roles. He reported that securing better educational status (personal) and better security of the community are his ambitions. The wereda security office head and militia head are his usual contact officers watching for the security of the wereda community at large. The kebele chair usually works together with the security committee leader, besides the elders in the community, development teams, 1-5 groups and “cells”. As mentioned earlier, he said there was resistance from the farmers in the fertilizer debt (loss happened) repayment process. These group members and kebele official task force, were consulted to resolve the problem of resistance to repaying the debt, which was successful after reorienting those individuals about the mandate.

#### **Militia leader**

The leader co-ordinates 22 militia members. Working hours are not limited to regular official hours – rather the of cases taking place determines the working time. He reported that there has not been any irregular case the militia has encountered, but the problems emerge during farming /harvesting seasons – the militia members resist taking part in calls for any militia effort. There should be better arrangements of financial/other support for the members and the team have to access needed resources to accomplish their mission.

The leader is 38 and was appointed by the community’s proposal in 1993. He completed grade 12 and has no other community responsibility. He said the post should be occupied by a physically fit young person; the kebele should recognise the immense effort required to accomplish the security task which demands a formal military approach.

#### **Public relations leader**

The vice-chair of the kebele who is also chair of the local political party is responsible for Public Relations and propaganda.

#### **Leader of the service co-operative**

He is 40 and started the job in 2009 because he had no other alternatives. He completed Grade 12 but did not get any training for the job. He works eight hours a day for five days a week if necessary including Saturday and earns 300 *birr* a month. He has no other role in the community. Unlike his wife who has another role in the community. She is the chairwoman of the iddir and she also serves the community as a community health promoter. He wants to continue the job and improve his educational status. In addition to this he wants to build a new house. If he needs something, wants

advice or faces a problem on the job he goes to the head cooperative association organizer committee and the chairperson of the kebele at the wereda and kebele level respectively, but there is no one at the community level. The respondent explained that he didn't face any problems.

#### **Head of the nursery**

The Head of the coffee seedling nursery is 45. He was appointed to the position in 2002 and got the job to help his family and himself. He works 8 hours a day for 7 days a week and has no salary but gets 87 kg of wheat each month. There is no problem related to doing the job. He has no education and education training. He and any member of his family have no other roles in the community. Educating his children, building a house which has sheet of iron roof and buying more livestock's are his future aspiration.

#### **Health promoter**

The health promoter is 29 years old, she started the job in 2011 after she was elected by the community members. She was trained about hygiene, vaccination, and HTP. Neither she nor her family members have any other role in the community. She wants to see an HTP-free society. She also wants the community to stop land renting. The kebele chairperson at the kebele level is the only person she goes to when she needs something, wants advice or has a problem in her job. She explained that she did not face any problem.

A health army member of 37 became a member because she wanted to teach the community members about hygiene, malaria, etc. She had no access to education and training. Neither she nor her family members have other roles in the community. She wants to continue her job. In the future she wants to see the community members benefit from her house to house visits and wants to see a healthy society. There is no one she goes to at the wereda or community level if she needs any help, advice or wants to discuss problems although at the kebele she goes to the kebele officials for these purposes. She explained that she didn't face any problem.

#### **Head of drinking water committee**

He is also the head of the kebele justice and security office; he is 40 and has been doing the job since 2009.

#### **PTA leader**

The leader of the PTA is 34 years old. He was appointed to the position in August 2011 after he was elected by the people. No education or training was given. In addition to this he also serves the community as chairperson (secretary) of the branch of the cooperative association. His brother also serves the community as the chairperson of an iddir. Improving the service of PTA and encouraging the participation of the community are his future plans. He wants to work hard in this contribution to the school success. If he needs something, want advice or has a problem he goes to different levels. At the wereda level there is a focal person for four schools in the wereda education office. He also contacts the kebele administration and community elders for similar purposes at the kebele and community levels respectively. There is no problem.

#### **Kebele Mayor**

UE (kebele manager's brother) is the leader of the kebele municipality.

#### **Holders of customary office**

##### **Elders holding office**

Ato TH is a farmer who resolves conflicts and is also involved in counselling. He networks with religious people. Six other elders were named: all farmers and peace workers who networked with religious people.

The leader of an elders' committee who is 54 completed Grade 11. He is also an Orthodox Church

leader, a Meskel feast organiser and the leader of the largest *mehaber*. Besides his formal education, training on religious leadership helped him much to undertake numerous roles in the community and to be accepted as a legitimate person to be involved in community issues. He reported that there is no one in his family involved in community affairs. His aspiration is that good governance of the community will support other development activities. Thus, it should be the responsibility of all community members. He wishes to run his future life through better religious education. His usual advisers are the wereda level Orthodox church office, kebele officials and age-mate community elders.

#### **Iddir leader**

The leader of the *Ketema Kuter 1 Iddir* is 38. He was appointed by the members when it was established 5 years ago. He completed 10th grade 12 years ago. Iddir members regularly invite him to any occasions or conflicts within the Iddir. Besides his major role, he also serves the community as elder. The respondent has no other family members playing similar roles in the community. The leader appreciates the strong social capital created among the members and aspires that the Iddir institutionalization and development should be the responsibilities of all members. He wishes to improve the traditional participation of members in market-oriented competitive engagements in productive businesses to increase the social capital, developing the Iddir into a Saving and Credit institution. Frequently, the community elder members are our usual advisors. Wereda or kebele officials are asked for support if there is failure to meet the required rules and regulations of Iddir. There is no recent conflict among either the Iddir members or other social members.

#### **Meskel savings group organiser**

The respondent is 45 years old and much respected in the community. He has been appointed every year due to his experience in managing the feast. It is customary to take any responsibility granted by the community, thus, he accepted the task respectfully. With 11th grade formal education, he is very committed to many other community affairs. For example, church leadership, Iddir leadership and Mehaber leadership are the responsibilities he entered into honourably. The respondent reported that he has no other family member taking part in community affairs. He aspires that the Meskel feast organization shall be a means to other important social affairs, beyond a celebration. If it is a local matter, the elders in the community provide advice. There is no recent problem seeking further intervention to be resolved. Most of the time, the elders review and advise the on previous Meskel feast history for the new generation.

#### **Mehaber leader**

The leader of *Senbet Mehaber* is the Orthodox Church leader described below. The church members are regularly consulted about mehaber affairs. Recently, there is no problem that demanded further intervention.

#### **Equb leader**

The leader is aged 34 and was appointed in the year 2008. He reported that he knew the importance of equb while he was in another place: he constructed a house in Gara Godo town. He saw its advantage during this time and initiated his own friends in Gara Godo to pursue equb. The respondent completed 9th grade education, but at recent time his occupation is trade. He has a political party membership role in the community. However, there is no other family member engaged in community affairs. The respondent aspires for a bright future: establishing his own enterprise, shops, restaurant and other possible businesses. A good living style including education for his children, a good house with sufficient facilities, and sound trade is his wish. He said that there is no problem he encountered recently, but kebele management, justice and security office (kebele/wereda) and community member (teacher EC) are his potential advisors, accessible if he feels any challenge in his duties.

### **Religious leaders**

A number of leaders were named at the beginning of the research: Kalehiwot, Orthodox Christian; Catholic; Hiwot Kali; Hawariat; Muluwengel.

The leader of the Muluwengel church, aged 33, was appointed a year ago due to his active participation in religious teaching and his educational status. He reported that there is no additional appointment from the community or leader except participation in kebele development activities. There is no one else in his family involved in roles in community affairs. Laughing as he responded about his aspirations and future plans, he said wishes to have personal advancement in religious education and expansion of preaching. He is very keen to scale up church development. Church networks in the wereda help many people, specifically in religious issues. Elders in the kebele, who are our church followers, support through constructive suggestions. The religious followers in the community are cooperative in every aspect of the church. There is no particular problem recently regarding the church and religion.

The leader of the Orthodox Church is 55 and was appointed as a teacher in 2001. The church followers selected the respondent as church leader based on the training he attended on church leadership and religious teacher training, as well as the formal 11 grade education he achieved. The respondent listed many other roles in the community including high school student family representative, elders' committee leader, Meskel feast organizer and Orthodox Church mehaber leader. The respondent's brothers are also church committee members. He aspires that the church shall undertake development projects, for instance building a Conference Hall. Personally, he wishes to participate in ox fattening activities and build his home in good order.

The church leader usually communicates with the wereda church leader, kebele church followers and elders in both religious and non-religious affairs. There was a problem in 2010. One church follower was not an active participant, but a member who was not taking part in contributions and activities. Unfortunately, he died, and his family faced a challenge to arrange a funeral ceremony that would have met the church rules and regulation. However, he was not an active participant, so the church resisted the request of his family to organize a funeral ceremony. Finally, we resolved the issue after communicating with wereda church leaders, wereda officers, and community elders three days after the death

### **Other notable people**

#### **Educated opinion leaders**

##### *Male RO*

EC, teacher, iddir leader, networks with farmers

EE, kebele manager, leader, school owner, networks with businessmen and farmers

Four others named but no other information

##### *Female RO*

NI, public servant, convinces members of the community to adopt improved technologies.

#### **Rich and successful farmers**

A number of names were provided of successful farmers who act as role models and teach the PA by using improved farm production including the champion farmer whose household studied in depth. He owns oxen (20), cows (15), goats (6), sheep (6), donkey (1), corrugated iron house, mobile phone, radio, 8 timad land and 200 coffee trees. He has the responsibility to develop similar model farmers in the community. With respect to potential model farmer development activities, he is involved in buying cattle for other farmers, share cropping and credit support. He is involved in the kebele farmer cooperative as chairman and secretary of five kebele cooperatives. He is a model farmer, and is ranked the second of the champions. He is "cell" secretary as well as Parent-Teacher School committee chairman. He is also cashier of kebele party contributions.

A successful woman was interviewed. She is 50. She said that teff, enset, coffee, sweet potato and eucalyptus are the most profitable way to use farming land in the community. Using improved seed and fertilizers increases farming production. She grows maize, green peppers, cabbage and garlic, coffee, eucalyptus and teff. She uses fertilizer and improved seeds of maize and teff. She does not use irrigation or new plough.

She has land for grazing fodder for dairy cows and bull fattening and has local hens for eggs. The price of agricultural products increases over time. This is important to improve the living standards of the women. Government extension services, technical assistance from DAs, provision of inputs etc. are important in increasing production and as result of this her production increased in 2011. NGOs credit facility is not available in the area. Neither she nor her family members have other roles in the community. She plans to work hard and increase the production by using new technology. If she needs advice, help or other things, she goes to a hardworking farmer in the community, but not to agricultural professionals or other government workers at wereda and kebele level.

The most successful youth farmer is 30 and produces maize, 10 quintals of coffee per year, bananas, *enset*, avocado, mangoes, ginger and spices. He has two cows, two oxen, 30 sheep, 40 goats and 35 hens. Farming production will be improved much if people in the community are willing and able to use fertilizer as well as improved seeds. He reported that his all activities are highly dependent on fertilizer as well as improved seeds. He could not get improved cows for dairy farming. However, he is interested to own them too. He owns a home at Gara Godo town as well as in the rural area, both are corrugated iron sheet homes. He has experience of planning his farming season, besides communicating to the development agents supporting the farming activities in the area. He has a desire to use irrigation, but there is no possibility as he reported. He uses for his cattle, farm by-products from maize, teff, and other products.

He underlined that the market for cash crops like coffee is becoming active and attractive to motivate further expansion of farming in cash crop areas. 1kg coffee is 120 birr and 100kg maize is 600 birr. He said that this year maize seed is not good and incompatible with the land as well as the weather condition. Fertilizer was very costly, amounting to 600 birr per 50kg. He has knowledge of credit access from OMO microcredit service. He has no other role in the community, except church leadership. He has no relative engaged in roles in the community. The plans he forwarded are to reconstruct his home in town for business activities; expand farming in better way than the previous one; expand his education ended at 7th grade in the year 1998.

### **Businessmen and traders**

Four businessmen/traders were named. One of them was described as an investor (see below).

BF, who is 38, has been popular in the coffee trade for the last 15 years. There are very many traders as the area is well known for coffee production. The coffee is collected from farmers and supplied to the coffee washing and processing centre at Gara Godo. Previously, they took it to other areas in the zone and other zones with active coffee markets like Durame. They used to sell to other bigger traders who took it to Addis Ababa. There is no transportation problem at Gara Godo kebele to transport the coffee from farmers' land to other places. There are donkey carts as well as car transport on market days. The profit is good, but it is a very temporary business during coffee harvesting months like November, December, and January.

The competition is stiff. The problems are currently very immense with regard to strict regulations of the government not to transfer coffee from one area to another without permission. The traders used to sell coffee at Addis and other cities where there were better prices to earn much income, but at present they cannot move the coffee from one place to other. The respondent began the business ten years ago at his place of the origin. He has no additional role in the community and the same is true for his other family members. He mentioned that some children who are from poorer families join them to harvest the coffee from trees with some wages. It is currently not possible to

get this kind of coffee access from the farmers land. He aspires to get involved in other categories of cash crop trade like ginger and boloke as well as teff. His friends engaged in the same kind of business are his usual network members being asked advice. Price updates and information regarding business activities around the places they supply cash crops are communicated to their friends.

DD is 28 and a very active business person in the community. He said there are many business opportunities including retail trade in cash crops - coffee, boloke, maize, teff, vegetables - shops, bicycle renting, DSTV renting, restaurants, private clinics and pharmacies. He is involved in selling timber to urban areas by collecting the timber from rural areas. He has a trading licence in this category of trading, but there are two other persons working in identical business with no licence. Farmers supply the timber and he sells in Shashemene and Hosanna, and also to other merchants around Areka town. Credit access is not available. He mentioned that timber transportation to Shashemene is very costly, 6,000 birr for one trip. The profit from one trip is at least 500 birr. There is competition among similar traders like him, as he mentioned. There are many problems like shortage of supply from farmers during a season of coffee or other grains helping as a means of income.

He began the business in 2010; he was working with another person in the same business and saved enough income to start his own business. He created a temporary job for six people during a purchase of timber for 1300 birr. He pays 2 birr per single cut of a timber and also arranges lunch from his own expense. The first step of cutting trees from the forest absorbed nine temporary jobs for 500 birr, besides arranging lunch. Some children work with him to carry the timber to a place where a car can enter. He reported that he works day-to-day to search for timber purchases and sometimes misses his breakfast as well as lunch if he becomes so busy with work. Actually, he said, there are many problems with regard to timber production like lack of sufficient supply and road problems during summer seasons. He wishes to improve the transportation problem with a donkey cart to easily move the timber from the remotest areas to car transport access. He has other responsibilities in the community like teaching and creating awareness about HTPs, supervisor of one of the iddiris in the community and cashier for youth development packages. He aspires to pursue further education, and have a better business and a house with better facilities in the near future. He aspires to continue with an equb like what he is involved in at present, depositing 100 birr per week. Moreover, he saves 40 birr per week with a microfinance institution in the kebele. He faced financing shortage to buy timber amounting to 30,000 birr and paid only 15000 birr and borrowed the remaining half for 15 days returning it with some interest. The service cooperative head is his usual advisor, besides his friends engaged in similar business. Money shortage is a very severe problem he mentioned. He went to kebele to accuse other traders with lack of licences who were competing with him. The kebele revenue office was contacted about this problem and they blocked those traders of timber with no licences.

A woman of 55 successfully runs a small restaurant where she sells food and soft drinks. There are about 20 women doing similar business. She started the business in 2005 because she did not have skills for other work. She is a single parent and wants to create a better life for herself and her children. She prepares stew at home and brings soft drinks from the wereda capital Areka. She gets ingredients for food preparation from the local market and Areka. She sells in Gara Godo. She has access to credit from OMO microfinance institution and from individuals. She uses a horse cart for transportation. The transportation cost for one box of soft drinks and 100 kg teff flour is 20 birr each and for vegetables is 10 birr. The competition among businesses is based on the quality of the service, not on the price. The price is set by the agreement of all business women. There is no problem in the business. Problems have not occurred related to being women. She created a job opportunity for two women. She pays 200 birr to one woman and 150 birr to the other on a monthly basis. She works 7days a week from 6 am to 10 pm. The profit is her reward. The profitability is not high, it only covers the cost of household consumption and iddir. She wants to work with her

daughter and to build an adequate house for the business. She also wants to provide better services in order to improve her income. There is no one in the wereda, kebele business people, outside or leaders in the community that she consults about her business. There is no recent problem in her job.

FF is 20 and owns a kiosk business in the town. He started the business in 2005 when he was in grade 7 with seed money of 2000 *birr*. There are adult people engaged in similar businesses, but this respondent is younger and competing with the adults. The shop is filled with household consumables and the input for his retail trade is brought from Areka town. He said that there was no credit access when he began his business. Transportation is very good in Gara Godo town from Areka to the place where he works. Bajaj motors, horse carts, minibus cars and sometimes other cars are regularly available on market days each week. He let me know his business profitability as follows: he began the business with initial capital of 5000 *birr* and now the business is estimated to be 7000 *birr* after paying all annual shop rents and personal consumptions. He is competing with other adult people working in this category of business and the competition is not easy as he reported. According to his feeling, the problems are also many like shortage of personal capital, and missing other jobs in his young age (he is also engaged in education).

Many people engaged like him in this category of retail trade have not as much capital as in other places. He is not married and the credit institution is not willing to give him credit. He said that those with family have easier access to credit when compared to the younger people in the community. A rental house is also another challenge making it difficult to earn much profit from the business. He is now approaching the kebele people to get acceptance from them and recommendation for credit service. He has hired no worker and personally undertakes the business every day. He begins the work in the morning and continues up to evening. He mentioned that the rewards are personal business development and expansion through time. The problems occur when there is no income for the community to purchase items from shops. The business has been taking his personal time from education. He wishes to expand the business and hire a person to substitute for him in his education hours. The respondent plans that the retail trade will be improved with further expansion to supply all possible items in the shop at least at similar prices to other places after receiving from the wholesalers. He has no other role in the community. His brother, FN, is a manager of service cooperative in the kebele. He mentioned that there is no one supporting him. He wishes to expand the business as well as his education in future. For some support from individuals, he approaches his friends/ peer groups. However, he mentioned that he has not faced any recent problem. He has no networks or contacts regarding his personal business with wereda or kebele officials.

A young woman of 20 is engaged in small crop trade selling maize, coffee, beans etc. She is one of 10 businesswomen in the community engaged in the trade. She buys crops from farmers and sells them in Gara Godo. She trades in the market and does not use any transportation services. She goes to farmers' houses and buys at lower prices and sells at higher prices; she gets about 25% profit but competition among the businesses is high. She works every day in the afternoon for about four hours. She started the work in 2008 because she had no other job. Her future aspirations are to build a new house and buy cattle. When she needs advice or help she goes to the other 10 businesswomen or butter and spice traders outside the community.

NM is working as a *delala* in Gara Godo mini-bus station. He is 25 and started doing the job a year ago. He had no other livelihood means which is why he engaged in the business. He connects community people with car owners in Areka town for weddings, funerals and other ceremonies, in addition to arranging cars for people on market days in Areka and Gara Godo. Most of the time the households in the community, merchants and officers in Gara Godo use the car service in the kebele bus-stations. There is no competition among the team members, rather the team work together. The respondent said that the area is not developed in business aspects and car movement is not active on non-market days in either Areka or Gara Godo kebele. It is very recently that car access has begun in Gara Godo area. People were using their feet to move from Gara Godo to all adjacent

weredas or kebeles. Moreover, it is also difficult for farmer households during non-business months: cash crop seasons are good to finance their transportation. His fixing service is 10 birr for 100 birr transportation revenue from each trip. Four people work together in a team with no wage, except the payment earned from the commission per trip. Tuesday, every week, there is a market in Areka town. Therefore, the team arrange cars for people to go from Gara Godo to Areka starting from the morning up to 2:00 pm, afternoon. Additional roads will open better connections for the community and the demand for car transport will increase. He hopes that improving the road from Areka to other areas that cross though Gara Godo will improve the demand for car transport service and their job situation will be better.

He has no other roles in the community and same is true for his family. The children cannot do this job, because it is difficult to manage. He looks forward to a better life in future. As he reported, his children and wife expect every expenditure from his personal income from this work. However, he said, it is not sufficient to finance life; thus, he wishes to begin training for a driving licence to be a driver in future. Actually, he completed 8th grade and is better in educational status.

The kebele manager is a very important contact person for issues demanding advice. He told me a story of his recent problem that occurred during his job. There was a pregnant woman seeking a car service to go to Areka town and we asked the people in the car for permission to accommodate her without a car seat for cooperation. One person opposed it and had a dispute with him not to hold extra people beyond the seat. Since he was an official, he told the case to kebele officials and let the kebele officials cancel the commission as a penalty for the quarrel with him. Indeed, the respondent went to the kebele manager to be advised for future improvements. He sent that woman with the Bajaj (three legs) due to resistance from one of the people in the car.

### **Investors**

A wereda official said that 3 hectares of land was leased in 2003 for one investor who came from Sidama zone to establish a coffee shelling plant. The plant is believed to provide job opportunities and build the revenue of the local government.

A rich farmer interviewed in October said that there is one investor given land for establishing coffee processing plant around Gamo River in the kebele. There is advantage from this investment. Our community easily supply coffee to the investor in good price with direct sale. There is also a coffee nursery for the investor which distributes improved coffee plants to the farmer. There is daily labour work for the younger community members. This is very much good if improved in terms of coffee planting by farmers. Both the investor and the community participants enjoy the benefit. The investor can buy labour service at lower cost and the labour engage into wage earning activities. Farmers have got easier market access of coffee in their neighbour with minimized transaction costs.

A middle-wealth farmer said that the households in the community sell coffee to the investor processing coffee. Daily work is available. Improved coffee seedlings are sold with low cost from the investment site. The needed improvement is a continuous supply of coffee by farmers. But, there is not sufficient coffee production or the productivity is seasonal or affected by diseases. It would be good if there is an improved way of coffee farming, but the whole community is following the traditional approach. Daily labour wage income, coffee market in their vicinity, and bridging to the smaller river in the area are enhanced due to the establishment of a coffee processing plant in the kebele.

A poor farmer said that daily labour is available for the community members. People who have larger land size buy coffee seedlings from the investor, and sell coffee to the investor. Sometimes the investor cooperates to repair a damaged bridge where people crossing the river in the community face seasonal challenges. Moreover, the labour service delivery is improved. For instance, the poorer households send their child labour to investment areas to participate in any kind of daily labour service-coffee washing and cleaning daily labour service.

The investor, who is 60, was born in Areka but now lives in Addis Ababa. He is an importer and exporter and has multi businesses in different places according to the information given by his employees. He started the job in its coffee production area in 2000. There is a stream to wash coffee and for coffee processing. The coffee process (mill) was established on three hectares. It was owned by a service cooperative. According to the privatization law it was transferred to the investor. After he won the bid it created seasonal opportunities for local people; for example in this year it created job opportunities for 73 people as daily labourers from September 2011 up December 2011. This year 300 tons of washed coffee was supplied to the market. The estimated profit is about 200,000 birr. They did not have achievements last year. Malaria is the big problem that affects the job. The workers are attacked by malaria three times a month. The problem is not solved yet. Coffee purchasing, milling, filtering, drying, storing weighing arranging and sending to the market are the day to day activities. Since the work is seasonal, at coffee harvesting time work is done for 24 hours a day 7 days a week. The workers have 2000 birr average salary but the amount differs according to their job. The organisation provides houses and food for permanent workers. The work is done without resting time. This is the main problem. He is a local man. He chose the area because of the availability of the production and stream. He obtained credit from banks. Neither he nor his family members have other roles in the community. The organisation planned to export roasted coffee beans and powdered coffee.

A second coffee-shelling plant at the other end of the kebele was in place at the end of 2011.

ZN is 42 and very busy with shop activities. He is a community member and not a newcomer. He is considered by other community members (as the kebele vice chairman witnessed) as a richer business man and eligible to be described as an investor. He is engaged in retailing activities as well as owning many houses in Gara Godo town. He completed 12th grade and missed getting any job. Therefore, he diverted to business activities from scratch. He started his business in retail trade - cosmetics, consumables, etc. - in the year 2004. He has land of more than 2 hectares bought from individuals in the kebele. Gara Godo town is at a rudimentary stage to create additional job opportunities. He was not happy to let me know about the profit, however, he could mention his daily and weekly sales as directly returned to repurchase the items required in the shop. He said, that self-administration by income is preferable and a base for future bigger investments. There is a problem emanating from the community like lack of income to finance their community demands. The area is not sufficient to absorb many products supplied in the shop. The shop business is a regular duty and takes much time. His benefit from the business, as he mentioned, is financing his family living costs and also purchasing some fixed assets like a home in town areas.

The seed money for his investment was found from his shoe shining activities he engaged in while he was a schoolboy. During that time he earned 250 birr and began this business. He worked hard and collected capital up to 40,000 birr. Then, he started his expanded business. He has no additional role in the community. His brother is working as a kebele official. He aspires that business engagement is whenever he seeks to develop it, because there is no time for him to pursue his education which stopped at 12th grade. He mentioned that some friends who are working in similar business at Areka town advise him about the business. He has not gone to anyone for some recent cases and most of the time approaches people at church for communications and networks.

### **Skilled workers**

He was working at the kebele office where the researcher interviewed the respondent. The carpenters in the kebele are not less than twenty in number. Some are engaged in house construction, others work in woodwork and a few are fencing public offices. The wood they use is available within the community. For example, pieces of wood resized by carpenters are remoulded to smoother and various shapes by woodwork shops organized by youth enterprises. For individuals who are not organized, access to credit is most of the time from individual lenders whereas those who have established cooperatives can get credit access from OMO microfinance institution. There

is easier access to transport to move the wood from farmers' areas to the workshop place or other places where wood is worked; transport includes car, horse cart, donkey cart or manual cart. There is profit in the business for those who have machines for further processing, but for hand workers the job is tiring and the profit is minimal. There is no as such visible competition among those people doing manual wood work, but there is some kind of wood shortage from farmer's land, which results in the business being difficult to run. He searches for wood availability as well as any house construction works in the community. For instance, he asked the kebele to construct a house to be used for an office after hearing a rumour about the demand for carpentry service from one of the kebele officials.

When there is work, he uses at least 10 hours per day and all six days per week. The rewards depend on the type of job he is engaged in. For example, for the work at the kebele office, the kebele pays him 30 birr per day. He has a supporter working with him who earns 25 birr per day and works the same hours as him in a week. The work is not available regularly and sometimes they face income fluctuations. Indeed, he reported that both the supporter as well as he work on the farm. This job is an additional means of income earning activity. However, the work will be improved if the community have know-how to produce trees useful for wood production. Currently, it is becoming difficult to get trees for wood work. They have also no machines for further processing the wood they produced as chairs or tables.

The carpenter is 41 and began this business 15 years ago. He began the work while following another person doing the same kind of business and earning a better income. He has not received any training related to this activity, but he was working as a supporter of a person highly skilled in this job. Both his relatives and he have not engaged in any kind of kebele affairs, except iddir membership. No child is involved in this business, because the job seeks some capacity. He wishes the business could be developed to a machine based operation and for the forward processes also done by them. Friends working in the kebele are consulted for information regarding house construction jobs. For example, if someone is busy with one job, he informs me to engage in the business. We cooperate with each other. He has not asked advice from any one related to recent problems.

#### **Traditional birth attendant**

A TBA said that there are three TBAs in the community. The main service provided by TBAs is to follow up the health of pregnant women and helping and to assist women during delivery. The cost is insignificant. Three women received equipment such as delivery gloves, surgical blades and cord (rope made from several twisted strands) and torch and training from the wereda health office. Traditional birth attendants have relations with the health centre and health post. That is through training, and when they face complications in delivery they take the pregnant woman to health post or health centre.

Government regulation is good that allows using traditional health knowledge. She works in delivery (if it is not complicated), pregnancy care, taking women to health centre, advice and infant care (washing and clothing etc). Four pregnant women per month is the rough demand for her service. There is no payment for the service, but if the service user gives money or other benefit, she takes it. There is no problem in her work recently. She is 55 years old. She started service in 1992 to help pregnant women. She also serves the community as a coordinator of women for the women association's but, no one from her family has other roles. Her children have no father; she is the only one to take care of them. In the future she wants to see the children reach a better position through education. There are two other TBAs in the area. If she needs advice, help or other things she goes to them. In addition to them she goes to the health extension worker at the health post, but no one at kebele or community level. There is no recent problem.

### **Ex-soldiers**

BB was born in Gara Godo kebele and grew up in the same place. He completed 10th grade and earned the result on National Examination 2.00. Becoming a soldier was not his personal wish; it was the Derg regime's forceful demand for the military campaign. Currently, he is working in the kebele as a guard.

The respondent could tell me many events he came across during the Derg regime as follows: He was admitted to Awassa "Ayer Woled" training centre and then he went to battles at Wolo, Gojjam, Gonder as well as in Asmara, the places like Algena, Asaila and Turkey-Deka Mehari. He also remembered that during that period Libyan armed forces joined them to help their team, in the year 1989. During that period, he killed four soldiers from the opposite side. His hand was injured during the battle. No one helped during this injury, but he could get first aid in the battle. He took two months' vacation and then came to Bilate army training centre as a trainer. After a few years the Derg fell and the work as well as the training stopped. He married in the year 1992 and currently he has seven children, 3 male and 4 female.

He is aged 38 and currently owns ½ hectare land. He could buy land from relatives in the year 1993. Except guarding the kebele, he has no additional role in the community. He was very happy to live life, recalling many that friends lost their lives during battle. He said that coming back by itself is the biggest opportunity no one expects during a battle. He also feels he had some misfortune in missing the retirement fund due to the immediate collapse of the Derg government. However, he said, peace is better than any kind of benefit so that one can work and change oneself. He aspires that his children's education should go further and his personal as well as his family life should become better off than what it has been so far.

At wereda level, he communicates with the security official and at kebele level the previous kebele manager, BC. He was an opposition political party member – Kinijit – some years ago, however, these people advised him to become a member of the leading political party. In the community, SA was a very important person supporting and advising him. The recent issue he got advice on was related to political party membership other than of the leading party. He reported that he could improve his behaviour and now he has become one the kebele officials as a guard.

### **Women's leaders**

UT – Chairperson iddir – mobilises women to help and support each other; BB (see above) – politically organising men and women; CB (see above) – educating and motivating women about their rights and the importance of saving

### **Political activists**

*Female RO:* NG, no social position, convinces members of the community to struggle for their rights.

*Male RO:* TH – Land Conservation Committee (also an elder), the Kebele leader and vice-leader and the Kebele Justice and Security and Security leader.

### **Elite network map**

Eight religious leaders

One (Hiwot Kali) also cited as education opinion leader

Seven elders

One also a rich farmer; one on the land conservation committee

Five rich farmers

One also a kebele security official

Five political activists

Kebele chair, vice-chair, justice and security, and security – and one independent

Four women's leaders

Two in Cabinet (League president and vice), one in women's association, one *iddir* leader

Seven educated opinion leaders

Including kebele manager, with brother running municipality + 2 others maybe

### **Network exclusions**

Some evidence of patronage from richer and kebele leaders may be related to family connections.

A group of men said that community members recognise that the restructuring of the kebele administration (Kebele, Chairman, Council, Manager, Cabinet and Committee) and kebele municipality contributed much to responsibility sharing, relative decentralization of power and budgets, and community participatory approaches in planning or budgeting activities. Community participation and development networks are an indispensable approach if one decides to live in the community. Significant changes have been observed in line with inclusive efforts for development activities. More than administrative issues, the kebele or sub-kebele leaders are interlinked with each other in the community and the shared value among the people created stronger networks.

A group of women said that the interest of community members to be included in the network of kebele leaders has been decreasing while that of wereda leadership increasing during the past ten years. These are associated with the relative importance and advantage of the two bodies. Decisions made by the wereda council has a high degree of acceptance by the community as compared with that made by the kebele council. Members of the kebele council are supposed to serve the community but do not deserve any legal benefit (salary) as for members of wereda council.

A rich woman said that she has heard about the rights of females to education, to access government services, to be involved in kebele as well as wereda structures, and to land ownership. However, she complains that each and every woman in the community is not given equal opportunity to be involved in the kebele structure. Involvement is not on the basis of capability and effectiveness, rather determined on family or clan relation/attachment. The wife of the kebele chairman became leader of the Women's Co-operative in October 2010 and also has a political role in the community in the organisation of women.

### **Social interactions within the community**

#### **Government-people relations – co-operation, non-co-operation and complexity**

##### **Wereda-community relations**

A group of men said that the community has clear awareness about elections and the importance of the citizen's role in elections. This was reflected by the community in the last election. A group of women said the community elected members of the House of Representatives and regional government councils.

Wereda officials were critical of 'aid-seeking behaviour' from many of the poorer and medium sections of the community.

The water harvesting project was totally not accepted by the community (vice-chair of the kebele). The middle-wealth household head said it harmed the household through initiating malaria. Party members are not active and willing to study the newsletter and bring constructive ideas for improvements. Government is not doing the election processes in a way that means representatives begin from the community itself. For instance they are improving the salaries of government employees but farmers have not got improvements or subsidies on fertiliser prices.

The richer woman household head said that government officials informed the community about the Renaissance Dam on Abay river in 2011 and asked the community to contribute. Until now no-one has contributed. Government officials did not determine the amount that households should contribute. She said resistance to government is unthinkable.

The head of the Women's Co-operative said the members accuse their leaders of misuse of their money earned by spinning cotton. The problem is handled by the wereda women's association but the decision has not been given yet.

The leader of the drinking water committee said that recently three water supply centres have not been functioning. As a result of this other water centres are crowded. People spend a lot of time to get water. These are the major problems that the community suffer from and since the wereda water development office does not send workers the problem is not resolved. If the office sends workers quickly the problems will get resolved.

A poor FHH said that she did not know what community resistance' means but she said 'she did whatever government ask her to do'. She said that the government promised to do internal roads and did them as it promised. The roads helped the community to communicate with each other and reduced the distance to market.

The richer FHH said that government officials informed the community about the Renaissance Dam on Abay river, in 2011, and they asked the community to contribute for the dam. But until now no one has contributed. Government officials also did not determine the amount that household should contribute. Resistance to government is unthinkable. The government did a lot of things that could help the community. For example schools, health centres, electricity, tap water, bridges, etc. Government did not do things that the community do not like.

A poor man complained that the Health Post was given to Tokisa kebele and fertiliser and improved seed distribution are not targeting poor people.

A champion farmer said that party members are not active and willing to study the newsletter and bring constructive ideas for improvement. Government is not doing the election processes of representatives to begin from the community itself. For instance, government is improving salaries for government employees, but farmers have not got improvements or subsidies on prices of fertilizers. His wife said the government has been doing lots of things for women but the implementation is insignificant.

### **Kebele-community relations**

A kebele official said that community meetings are not in the required direction during bad seasons. The people give much emphasis to food aid if the season faces shortage of rain. People are not happy to participate in kebele meetings in peak farming seasons. There is a conflict in meetings with people if the improved seed distributed is not compatible with the environment. Also the community members do not want to participate in the kebele administration due to its lack of labour time compensation and lack of budget or income generation

Public work in school areas is less accepted during peak farming seasons.

A group of men said that many socio-economic factors influence the political effectiveness of the community. Very recently, some decentralization of power and leadership responsibility is observed in kebele office levels and in the community themselves.

One of the DAs said that from March to June 2011 the kebele suffered from shortage of rain. Farmers did not get product they expected. As a result of this they were not happy and not willing to cooperate with DAs. These are the big problems of the jobs. They are resolved by discussion. They accepted that the loss of the crop was due to the natural problem. Also the improved seeds and fertilizers are low quality. The distribution of such input affects the relationship between DAs and farmers and there is shortage in supply of vegetable seeds.

### **Local elite-people relations**

Some patronage and some exclusion due to lack of relations suggested.

### **Ethnic/clan relations**

Not important in the political structure; some, though less, exclusion of craftworkers and 'slaves'.

### **Relations among different religious groups**

These are generally said to be good although there was a conflict between the Kalehiwot and Orthodox Churches four years ago over territory. The conflict was resolved by kebele and wereda interventions. It was solved by fair demarcation of the territory.

### **Class relations**

34% of households are landless and some who are landless sharecrop or rent out their land as they do not have the material or labour resources for farm themselves. The vice-chair said that the famine in 2009 was an opportunity for him to rent land; the agreement was to work in sharecropping and both benefit.

### **Relations with other communities**

At the present time, the neighbour PAs are cooperating to protect the community from crimes (e.g. Hadiya Zones cooperate with Wolayita Zone).

### **Social cohesion in the community and beyond**

A group of men said that levels of peace, security and tolerance have been improved due to participatory approaches being undertaken in the kebele and the community members. A few young people who lack jobs sometimes involve in easier criminal activity. The kebele is strongly preventing theft and burglary in the community in collaboration with neighbour kebeles (PAs).

A group of women said that the level of peace, security and tolerance as well as levels of interaction and support across different groups in the community is very high and improving from time to time. No serious conflict has ever occurred and there is no potential threat in the area. However, a few community members particularly young people sometimes involve in easier crimes when they are drunk.

A richer FHH said that cooperation with other households has decreased in farm work, domestic work, sharing of farm implements, livestock, domestic implements and celebrations and festivals, because every household is busy in their own activity. Economic problems are also other factors that have reduced cooperation between households, but the cooperation between households is still high during crisis times. The household cooperates with others in the public works and with friends or relatives in other communities regularly during times of crisis. Sometimes they cooperate in celebrations and festivals (weddings), but do not cooperate in other cases because of being busy with their own activities and economic problems.

A middle-wealth household head said that his family is part of the community with respect to farm work, house building, sharing of farm implements, and sharing ox for farming, helping people in crisis, and togetherness in celebrating festivals. This has traditionally been available for a long time in the community. There is an increasing network and cooperation of households in the neighbourhood. Sharing effort is believed to be important to capacitate a household which is unable to do everything in the specific required season. People have better awareness about social capitals' importance: iddir and equb are becoming stronger to tie people in the community together and share some household risks. Many poor people have better concern from community members.

The vice-chair reported that his social cohesion is very good. There is a culture in the community to support one another in many aspects - lending oxen for farming, interest free credit service to the poorer and even giving food items in severe hunger cases. Both his family members and the neighbours receive some money from him for trading purposes. The respondent is somewhat better in educational performance in the community and respected to take part in mitigation activities in the community. Farm work is a very usual network traditionally appreciated in the community.

Usually it is customary to support each other in cases of death or illness of any one of the community members. Festival celebration is very strong within a region rather than across regions. House construction for people in the community is usually in cooperation with the members in the community. Commonly, during a harvesting season it is very compulsory to call for domestic work. Mostly, the poorer are eligible to ask for some supports in the community such as ox, farming machines and domestic implements. It is very usual for the community to be involved in joint activities, like farming together, constructing houses, and some domestic work. Festival celebration in the community is done in the church. Social cohesion is much stronger in the community if the household network is better in iddir or equb, or in any of the contributions related to social activities.

A poor farmer said that farm work, house building, share cropping, helping others during crisis are culturally obligatory to be involved in, except for festival celebrations - he is an apostolic church member - not allowed to take part in festivals.

### ***Ideas in the community***

#### **Local customary repertoire**

A wereda official said that the most common but intrinsically harmful practices of the community are still active. Production and productivity of labour time is poor, there is no saving, and awareness-creation activities are weakly practised.

Another official said that traditional approaches are not totally removed from the rural family living system. Their attitude towards farming, family planning, cultural ceremonies, modernization, food secured household ship, or home life are changing, but stagnantly.

A very important challenge to the community is the low aspiration levels of poor people.

#### **Local modern repertoire**

There is a positive attitude for younger people to launch their own jobs.; young people are striving to win their life challenges. Young people and children are not following old ways of thinking or dependent on the household for decisions. The ideas about education and aspirations about future life are better conceived by younger people.

A farmer had a good feeling regarding modernization of rural living system with electrification, mobile network using, television access and even ways of wearing and living features. Harmful traditional practices such as funeral ceremonies taking a long time, and much money and materials have been improved to 2 to 3 days only. The attitudes of the community regarding old cultures have been improved. One key stand of the community members is that they expect change and development from hard works of individuals on their own farming rather than dependence on food-aid. They have a feeling that the youth need to create a job with some support from their kebele or wereda government rather than involving in unwanted criminality.

A woman heading a richer household said that ideas brought by wereda officials are important for the growth of the town. The vice-chair said that the acts and manner of youth are somewhat different from earlier situations. They give much emphasis to education and dress style is different. Many young people use mobile phones to listen to music and the acceptance of newer arrivals is now faster than it was. A poor man said that young people and children are not following old ways of thinking or dependent on the household for decisions. The ideas about education and aspirations about future life are better conceived by younger people.

A group of men said that in the community there are no artistic workers. Some people who support opposition political parties' programme in urban areas are not happy with all categories of development interventions. But they said that development programmes like education, health, infrastructure development and peace and good governance are at the present time so attractive.

### **Government ideology and interventions**

A wereda official said that recently the communications office is well structured. Campaigns, cultural play club, local radio transmission, south mass media and local reporter are common means to communicate any message related to development. In particular, the recent approach to allocate one model farmer to five farmer households is a smooth way to communicate issues related to party, health education, and plan commenting and any other social affairs.

Another wereda official said that they deliver development messages to communities of 29 kebeles through general meetings which last for weeks, and to party members through regular meetings which takes place biweekly. Progressive change is seen in understanding the plan and determination for achievement. On one side, the delivering message is effective but it has a limitation only to the party meetings.

The chairman of Boloso Sore wereda said that Government policies and programmes are usually introduced to the community through community conferences particularly, GTP introduction undertaken in various forms. 250 model farmers from each kebele were selected for 13 days training for awareness creation. After discussion with the community in each kebele, specific kebele-targeted 5 years development plan is prepared followed by annual plan. The community have understanding on the accountability and responsibility to implement the plan through support of things, money, materials and labour time. All wereda office personnel have firm awareness on the recent development plan and almost all are involved in the first year portion of the plan implementation.

Another wereda official said that the wereda council introduce the growth and transformation plan to the relevant wereda officers and members of kebele council by reading the document and discussing its content in office meetings. The wereda officers in turn explain and discuss the plan to their respective staffs who are supposed to do so. The same way do kebele council to their respective community. According to the wereda office, irrigation expansion, school development and health centre development are the main activities that the wereda is undertaking and achieved. To implement the plan, the wereda has a budget limitation. The wereda need to implement those planned development activities.

A kebele official said that the GTP was introduced to the kebele officers, party members, model farmers, religious leaders and associations. Indeed, it was introduced to the community representatives. The representatives introduced it to community members and other farmers. Public meetings and small group discussions are commonly used to introduce the GTP. According to the kebele chair, the GTP is at earlier stage to indicate development changes, but the kebele has prepared its own long-term plan in line with the GTP. The first year of GTP implementation was passed doing preparation and awareness creation. Grassroots level empowerment is missing and the GTP implementation has not brought different approaches and work habits to the community.

A poor man said he had attended a general meeting of the public which was about GTP orientation.

A kebele official said that most of the times the kebele community members are called for general assembly or representatives are introduced about the message to channel to the community. It is not customary for the rural community to listen to the radio and it is not used for communication. The farmer network that was used for election time is now helping for the purpose of communication or training of the community. The good thing is that there is no barrier to information about kebele messages or community affairs.

Another kebele official said that development messages would be delivered to the community either directly by members of wereda cabinet or kebele cabinet in general meeting and party meetings. Party meetings are considered effective in both delivering message to and producing change in the community.

A rich farmer said that general meetings about kebele affairs, party issues and development

activities are announced by the *gotti* leaders. The one-to-five linkage is a very important network for communications relevant for kebele affairs. The model farmer categories are given training about the GTP issues to create awareness about the plan. A middle-wealth farmer said that the GTP was discussed among community members in the presence of the model farmers. There was a meeting regarding party issues in the kebele and among the party members in neighbourhoods. A poor man said that party meetings are done among cell members living in neighbourhoods. The model farmers introduce the message of government or the kebele in discussion times. We discuss the issues of peace and security in the kebele and also get informed about country issues in these kind of meetings.

A farmer said that people have information about the messages of national political figures. They could tell a story of Prime Minister Message about GTP and development projects to be undertaken in Ethiopia. Not only that but they have also information about the model farmers award from the Prime Minister. A middle-wealth farmer attended one of the public meetings concerned with kebele development activities and also participated in one of the general meeting sessions related to peace and security in the community. The other meetings he attended concerned party issues and participation effectiveness. Three women interviewed said they had never been taught about government policies and programmes.

There is no formal public relations or information officer in the kebele but the chair of the local political party, who is also the vice chair of the kebele, is acting in the position. He reported that development or political information is channelled from the community to the wereda and in return to the community through him. He takes his usual time as a vice chair of the kebele to run the public relations duties. There is no wage, but the problem he reported is that the kebele officials are jointly positioned in many, which is not good for efficiency. This must be improved, as he said, by distributing tasks to other people in the community. He reported that public relations in the kebele office is all about the network we have with the community and the wereda. He is responsible to link the community with the kebele and the wereda officials in many respects. For example, he distributes the Newsletter received from the wereda office to the community 1-5 group members to study the information there and give feedback. He reports the feedback of the community to the wereda as well as the kebele officials. He said that is connected to every community member as well as the wereda political affairs office.

The vice-chair said that about 50 meetings were held and the quality and quantity have been improved. The major agenda was to take part in party activities, training of model farmers and parental involvement in school management affairs. The duration of the meetings /trainings was not longer than 4 hours/6days, respectively. The training was very important, because it added many skills. The respondent is one of the key kebele officials and attends all possible meetings. He appreciates the *gimgema* meeting as important. The purpose of meeting for political issues is to focus on party affairs whereas the others are targeting only training or development aspects of the community.

The model farmer said that in the last year he remembers 24 meetings. He is a kebele council member and accustomed to longer duration in a session of meetings. He listed many categories of meeting he attended like the PTA, tax and contribution collection affairs, fertiliser debt, planning of kebele development, council meetings, and other irregular meetings related to peace and security. He is very happy with council meetings which are very important for the development of the community. In these meetings major development agendas are discussed and decided. He said that the meetings come up with major decisions and standing points. He has awareness about the level of decisions and the power vested in the council. All meetings he is involved in are similar but the agenda and participants differ. His wife said she participated in a party meeting which about 60 people attended; it lasted for 3 hours and was about development, health and HTPs. It was successful and most of the members attended it. There is no difference between government and party meetings.

A poor man said he participated in one public meeting which was very long in duration. The other meetings were party meetings in the neighbourhood with cell members. Both kinds of meeting are similar but the party meetings focus more on party affairs. The other meetings may be about kebele development affairs, security issues, or contributions for non-party membership.

The richer FHH said there was a meeting four months ago and more than 40 people attended, though this was less than expected. The meeting was about health and the mainly constructed health centre and took about three hours. No measures were taken against people who did not attend. Party and government meetings differ in topics but mostly they are led by similar people.

### **Books, radio and television**

A rich man said that radio access is weak in the community because people don't want to buy the batteries. It would be really important if the community had access to ETV to see what is happening in near wereda towns.

In the household of the vice-chair five of the family members can read and write; the others read about their academic work. The head also reads the political newsletter and religious books. There is no reading culture in the community. They have a radio and listen in the Wolayita language and to Ethiopia radio for news or continuous drama. People watch regular Ethiopian TV in Amharic in town. Those who go to school watch DSTv on the way home if there is a football game. It has been realised that national information can be received through mobile phone networks. In the successful household all can read except the wife. They listen to the radio but not regularly.

In the middle-wealth household the radio is off most of the time. Apart from three people in the household all can read and write; the elders who are party members read the newsletter. In the poor household five people read and write. Four people in the richer FHH can read; it is important for reading letters, notices etc. People would like to access more reading matter in the community. Her daughters do not like reading because they think it reduces their time for trading. They do not listen to the radio regularly as it is not useful. They prefer the programmes in Wolaytigna. Three people in the poor FHH read regularly at night 8-10 pm as they are students. People would like to access more reading materials. They have no radio.

A model farmer said people have an opportunity to adopt the information of new arrivals through radio and television. It is also realised that national information can be received through mobile internet networks.

### **Ethnic ideologies**

If she listens to the radio she prefers the programmes in Wolaytigna.

### **Religious ideologies**

The vice-chair sad that many new religions have been emerging; there is no specific difference in ideology but the organisations are many.

Religious secularism is well-introduced in the recent period. Religious organisations have been teaching and orienting people to work hard to change their poverty. The head of the poor household said there are now better attitudes to hard work which were misperceived by religious extremists.

A farmer said that local religious leaders were preaching about spiritual issues but currently they also teach the issues of community security, social and economic development, youth and women development and HIV/AIDS harms of a livelihood. Some religions, for example, Hawariat church, recently removed holidays from their annual religious activities. Yet not practical, but the community has an attitude change and belief on hard working for eliminating food insecurity challenges.

### **Urban connections and ideas**

Earlier ways of dressing and hairstyles of young people were very traditional compared with now.