

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS  
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 2**

**COMMUNITY SITUATION END 2011**

**GELCHA, OROMIYA**

**STAGE 2 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 5**

*Alula Pankhurst*

*Researched by Aster Shibeshi and Tefera Goshu*



*February 2013*

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 Gelcha in eastern Oromia 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). Some of 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)

<b>Community as a whole .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Community parts making the whole in 2012.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Terrain and environment.....	1
Climate and weather .....	2
Food aid .....	3
Spatial patterns.....	3
Internal roads, paths and bridges .....	3
Community land use .....	4
Public buildings.....	5
Modern infrastructure .....	6
Population.....	6
<b>Community whole in context in 2012 .....</b>	<b>7</b>
The wereda .....	7
Main linkages .....	7
Markets.....	9
External roads and bridges .....	9
Comparison with other kebeles in the wereda .....	10
Public services outside the kebele.....	10
Cultural linkages including marriage linkages.....	11
Migration linkages .....	11
Markets and market linkages .....	11
Conflicts with neighbours .....	11
<b>Important events /changes affecting the community .....</b>	<b>12</b>
Crises since 2005.....	12
Other important events and changes since 2005.....	12
Development progress .....	15
Wereda plans for the future .....	15
Community opinions about plans for the future .....	15
<b>Key sub-system: households in 2012.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Household structures.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Households in Gelcha: some examples .....</b>	<b>16</b>
Important political leader’s household.....	16
Economically successful man’s household .....	22
Household of middle wealth farmer/pastoralist .....	30
Household of poor farmer .....	35
Household of successful woman head .....	37
Household of poor woman .....	38
<b>Structures of inequality in 2012 .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Wealth, poverty and class and household composition differences.....</b>	<b>40</b>
Overall community wealth .....	40

Spatial poverty.....	40
Household wealth/poverty and class and household composition differences.....	40
Inequality within households.....	41
Problems poor people face.....	41
Pro-poor government interventions.....	42
<b>Social identity.....</b>	<b>42</b>
Ethnicity.....	42
Clan / lineage / family.....	43
Religion.....	43
Native/immigrant.....	44
<b>Vulnerability and social exclusion.....</b>	<b>44</b>
Disabled and chronically ill people.....	44
Residents in remote parts of the kebele.....	46
Immigrants.....	46
Marginal ethnicity.....	47
Landless/non-taxpayers.....	48
Destitute people.....	48
Craftworkers and slaves.....	49
Non-members of the EPRDF.....	49
Unmarried mothers, widows, divorcées, wives abandoned by polygynous husbands.....	49
PLWHAs.....	51
Orphans/ stepchildren.....	51
Elderly people without relatives to help them.....	52
<b>Genderage.....</b>	<b>53</b>
Growing up in the Community – boys and girls.....	53
Growing up male in Gelcha.....	54
Growing up female in Community.....	57
Gender inequities.....	59
Age inequities.....	59
<b>Social equity interventions.....</b>	<b>59</b>
Assistance to poor people.....	59
Interventions to help vulnerable people.....	60
Promoting equity for women.....	61
Youth policies and programmes.....	62
<b>Fields of action /domains of power in 2012.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Cross-cutting.....</b>	<b>65</b>
Climate change.....	65
Environment.....	66
Infrastructure.....	69
Urban development.....	71
<b>Livelihoods and recent events/changes.....</b>	<b>71</b>
Generally.....	71
Smallholder agriculture.....	73
Non-farm occupations.....	84
Marketing.....	87
PSNP and other food-for-work.....	87
Savings, credit and debt.....	93
Co-operatives.....	95
Migration.....	97
HTPs affecting livelihoods.....	97
Theft and burglary.....	97
<b>Human re/production.....</b>	<b>98</b>
Houses and household assets.....	98
Domestic technologies.....	98
Fuel and light.....	99
Drinking water.....	99
Domestic work.....	100
Leisure and play.....	100
Preventive health services.....	100
Food security, diet and malnutrition.....	106
HTPs affecting health.....	108
Reproductive health and services.....	109
Curative health services.....	111
Child-rearing practices and changes.....	113
Education.....	113
<b>Community management.....</b>	<b>120</b>
Wereda.....	120

Kebele and party structures .....	122
NGOs.....	135
Community structures involved in implementation of government policies .....	136
<b>Social re/production .....</b>	<b>140</b>
Social institutions and organisations .....	140
Key social actors and their networks .....	147
Social interactions within the community .....	160
External relations.....	166
Social cohesion in the community and beyond .....	166
<b>Ideas in the community .....</b>	<b>167</b>
Local customary repertoire.....	167
Local modern repertoire.....	167
Government ideology and interventions.....	168
Newspapers, Radio and TV .....	168
Ethnic ideologies.....	168
Religious ideologies .....	168
Urban connections and ideas .....	169
Diaspora connections and ideas .....	169
Globalisation .....	169

### List of Maps, Tables and Figures

Map 1: Kebeles in Fantale wereda .....	1
Map 2: Gelcha kebele and its surroundings .....	2
Map 3: Main linkages.....	8
Map 4: Gelcha kebele in Fantale wereda and its surroundings.....	9
Table 1: Community land use .....	4
Figure 1: Fantalle Wereda structure 2011.....	121
Figure 2: Gelcha Kebele structure 2011 .....	122

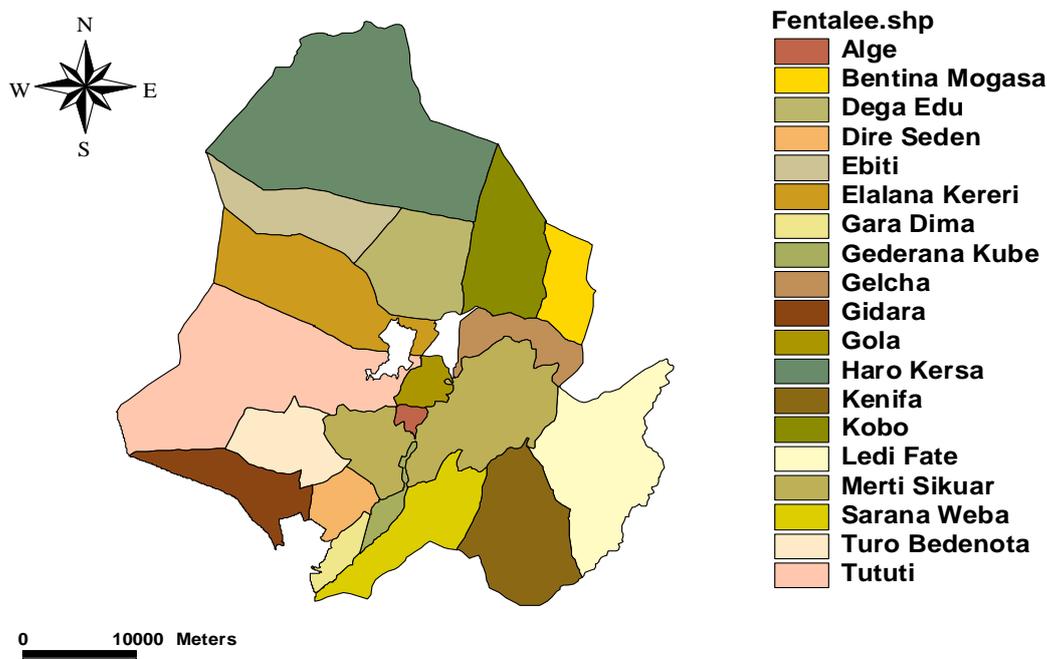
## Community as a whole

### *Community parts making the whole in 2012*

Gelcha is one of 18 kebeles in Fantale wereda in the northeastern part of Eastern Shewa Zone of Oromia region. Within the wereda Gelcha kebele is located in the eastern part of the wereda and is bordered by the Metahara sugar factory, the Awash National Park, Lake Beseka and the road from the Adama, the regional capital, through Metahara the zonal capital towards Diredawa and Djibouti.

The area is inhabited by the Karrayu people who constitute the majority in Gelcha. The Karrayu were pastoralists relying on livestock and in particular their camel herds. Increasingly they have become more sedentary practising some agriculture including some involvement in irrigation. Availability of grazing areas has decreased and patterns of mobility have been constrained with the establishment of the National Park, the sugar plantation and due to in-migration of Oromo from Harar and Somali, conflict with the neighbouring Arsi Oromo, Afar and Argobba.

**Map 1: Kebeles in Fantale wereda**



### Terrain and environment

The land in Gelcha is flat and lowland. Half of the area, particularly towards the East, which includes Ajotere zone, is fertile and suitable for crop cultivation, while the area towards the West which mainly includes the other two zones, Gelcha and Dire-Redi, is stony and infertile and unsuitable for cultivation. Stones from the areas are collected for sale for house construction in the urban areas and youth are involved in through cooperatives promoted by the wereda.

The Awash River lies behind the eastern area of the kebele, particularly Ajotere zone. The people in this zone use the river for drinking water for humans and animals, while other parts of the community (Gelcha and Dire-Redi) use the Awash solely for their livestock as it is too far to fetch water for drinking. Some use drinking water from the outflow of the Metahara sugar factory, others from the pipe coming from the plantation workers settlement. Some living closer to the town of



intense. There are often strong winds which are also said to have become more intense, rendering the area very dusty.

### **Food aid**

PSNP food assistance has been in place since 2005. In 2012 about 40% of households were beneficiaries: these included some 230 households with 735 members who received food aid in exchange for working on community projects and 21 households and 58 members who were considerable vulnerable and unable to work receiving direct support of food aid. There was serious drought in 2002 and a loss of a lot of livestock; food aid and some livestock were provided and the other food security programme provided loans for livestock.

### **Spatial patterns**

In the kebele there are five villages where clusters of households live together. The settlement pattern of the community has not changed recently and the community has been residing in hamlets. Two of the villages are composed largely of migrants, one with Somali and the other Harar Oromo, both of whom were among the earliest to engage in irrigation from the sugar plantation outflow.

The size of communal grazing areas has decreased over time due to the territorial expansion of Metahara sugar estate, the Awash National Park and Lake Beseka, as well as private enclosures, which have been stimulated by the example and pressure from in-migrants and the expectation that the wereda irrigation project will reach the area in the near future. Recently the sugar estate increased the size of area it exploited and it was said that about 500 households were displaced, though it is unclear how many of these were from Gelcha.

Since it started expanding in 1978 the coverage of Lake Beseka has increased alarmingly. Now large grazing and farming areas are covered by the Lake and cannot be used. Moreover, the Lake has affected the water in one of the pipes rendering it salty. The expansion has also cut off some roads forcing people to take detours. The Lake has also affected the groundwater so that borewells that were dug by NGOs have become salty and are no longer usable, and some of the irrigation area has also been affected so that harvests have decreased and some areas had to be abandoned. The lake expansion has also stimulated the rapid spread of thorn bushes that can withstand the salty water.

A canal was made to drain the lake and it was said that 8 million birr were provided by the government and that the canal would be underground. However, the canal runs overground and some people worry that children and livestock may fall in and suffer from the insalubrious water. The canal is also said to be a breeding ground for mosquitoes and those living closer to the canal were said to be among those most affected seasonally by malaria. Bridges have been made over the canal but these are not well constructed, cannot support vehicles and require seasonal maintenance.

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

Some 13 years ago there was no proper road connecting the kebele with the nearest town Addis Ketema and the wereda capital Metahara and people always went on foot. However, recently the quality of the roads has improved, enabling people to use horse carts, *bajaj* motorised three-wheelers and bicycles. Particularly following the establishment of the school, wider roads for cars and horse-cart have been constructed. One wealthy man mentioned the benefits particularly in emergencies:

Previously, when a person got sick we took him/her to health centre by carrying. But nowadays, we use horse-cart and Bajaj for taking an individual to the health centre and to transport commodities. As a result, my family other members of the community have benefited from the road.

Another older man mentioned both positive and negative effects of better roads:

The positive effect is that, in earlier times, we took grain and other commodities to the market on our

shoulder/donkey which was very challenging particularly for the women. But now, we easily transport necessary commodities to town and from town, take patients to the health centre and so on using horse-carts. In general, it facilitates and makes our communication with the towns and wereda capital easier. On the other hand, the accessibility of transportation increases our frequent contact with the urban centres which diminishes the traditions of the community. For instance, in previous time none of the Karrayu individuals were allowed to stay overnight in town. When an individual violated the rule and spent overnight in town, he was beaten and punished by his clan. But nowadays, with the frequent contact with urban dwellers, the community is becoming more urbanised than ever before and many Karrayu individuals start to stay overnight in town and disrespect the customary rules and values of the society. Hence, for many Karrayu individuals, particularly for the youngsters, passing overnight in towns becomes normal.

A middle wealth male household head saw positive sides to the internal roads such as for students getting to school, but mentioned that the expansion of the lake forced detours and that the bridges are not well built suggesting a need for more stronger ones:

The internal roads and paths that connect the villages within the kebele ease the movement within the village and enable the students to join their education without any difficulty of paths and roads. However, the expansion of Lake Beseka cut off the roads and paths and forces the community to travel long distances to cross over bridges, which are poorly constructed and difficult for the vehicles and horse-carts to cross. As a result, there is a need to have more (now it is three) and stronger bridges that serve for all purposes.

A poor male household head explained the importance of the internal roads for going to market, taking grain to grinding mills, etc:

Nowadays, my family and the rest of the community are using horse-cart for market, to take and bring back grain from the milling house, to take patients to the health centre and so on. Within the village we also use horse cart to transport wood for house and animal kraal construction and sometimes transportation of charcoal to the market.

However, he also mentioned the problems of the lake expansion causing detours, the high cost of transport and the risk of accidents with horse cart drivers overloading passengers.

However, there are problems related to transportation. First, previously, we (the community members) easily moved within the village at the shortest distance without any barrier but now due to the very fast expansion of Lake Beseka, we are forced to move long distances along the bridge to reach the neighbouring villages. Second, the transport cost by horse cart has also increased from 1.50 birr to 5 birr per person per trip to go to the nearest towns (4-5km away) which hinders me from using transport frequently. Third, the horse cart drivers load too many people, up to 10 individuals (the recommended capacity is 5 individuals including the driver), which makes it not convenient to use. As a result, there is a need for strong follow up of drivers not to carry too many passengers and to adjust the price of the transport.

Women respondents also mentioned that the bridge was damaged by cattle crossing it and that now carts no longer want to go to the furthest zone Ajotere as the bridge is difficult to cross.

## Community land use

**Table 1: Community land use**

Description	Rough proportion of land allocated in hectares	%
Rain fed farming	198	21.3
Irrigated land	99.38	10.7
Land for investor	10	1.1
Land for kebele centre (school, health centre etc)	6	0.6
Grazing land	58	6.2
Forest land	100	10.7
Bush land	60	6.4
Water surface	11	1.2
Stone surface	146	15.7
Others (for houses etc)	242	26.0
<b>total</b>	<b>930.38</b>	<b>100.0</b>

According to the kebele statistics about a fifth of the land is used for rainfed farming, a tenth for irrigation, another tenth is forest land and 16% is stony, and 6% each are grazing land and bush land. However, there is a large category of other representing over a quarter including houses.

A rich man suggested that most people are involved in pastoralism and most of the land is used for grazing. A middle wealth man concurred saying only small plots of land are cultivated during the rains.

A rich female respondent said she had obtained two *kerti* (about half a hectare) of rainfed cultivable land by asking the kebele chair. She said there are hopes that there will be irrigated land when the new scheme is developed and that people are asking the chairman to obtain land. A middle wealth female respondent also said that her husband had asked for land and got it last year so she is preparing to farm this year. She also said people are asking to obtain land in anticipation of the irrigation reaching the village. A poor female respondent said she did not cultivate the land around her homestead since there is a shortage of land. However, she is benefiting from the traditional irrigation, though due to water shortage from the channel she does not get enough water and the land is affected by salt so that she produces only once a year through both channel water and rain.

The irrigation land is limited since the outflow canal only lets through a limited amount of water which was initially supposed to be for livestock watering, since the water is not released when the factory does not need it, and since the Lake expansion has rendered some soil salty.

There are signs that there is increasing pressure on the land through enclosures for grazing and cultivation and especially with the prospect of the wereda initiated irrigation scheme reaching the area leading to people seeking to lay stakes to land, sometimes resulting in disputes which have been taken to the social court.

Though there are traditional rules against tree cutting and culturally protected areas notably the Ledy area, and though the militia are supposed to prevent tree-cutting, there are also pressures and incentives for poor people to cut wood and produce charcoal for sale, particularly as a survival strategy in times of drought.

### **Public buildings**

In the centre of the village there are a number of administrative buildings including the kebele office, the school, the health post, the women's cooperative shop, teachers houses and the Gudina Tumsa Foundation office. There is no electricity or running water in any of the buildings but they all have latrines. There is also a grinding mill which stopped functioning and grain store used for storing food aid. The Farmers' Training Centre (FTC) is another public building which is not in the centre. There are three kindergartens, one near the centre and the other two for the other two zones.

The kebele office was previously used by the DAs. The office is usually open on Wednesday to provide service for the customers. Five years ago, there was no kebele office and the chair had no permanent place to deal with cases. As a result, people were forced to look for him at his house or wherever he was. A rich male respondent felt this was an improvement but he said that the problem is that the office is too small.

The primary school (1-8 grades) was constructed within the past 10 years and is seen as a big improvement by respondents since previously only a few students went for schooling to Metahara about 5 kilometres away. The school hall is sometimes used for meetings when people come from the wereda. A fence was built around the school through PSNP public labour. There are three kindergartens for each of the zones and an Alternative Basic Education school in Ajotere zone. None of the schools have electricity or water and the kindergartens do not have seats for the children.

The health post (HP) was constructed recently but lacks facilities, and is not used much as it provides limited services since the HEWs commute and are not often present since they are often on trainings at the wereda or on house visits. The HP has little to offer apart from pain killers, malaria pills and

contraceptives; it used to provide water purification tablets but no longer. A female respondent said its functions had deteriorated and *now only the building is present*. She added *it is not even clean, has become a birds' house and has a bad smell*.

The FTC was constructed five years ago but it is not close to the centre and from the beginning the community was not happy with the choice of the site. It served as a meeting place for the election during 2009; sometimes it also serves as a place where political meetings with the farmers are held. However, no demonstrations or trainings for the community are given in the centre. As a result, the FTC is not functioning and benefiting the community. The roof was blown away by the wind and a thief entered through the hole and took many tools and iron sheets.

### **Modern infrastructure**

There is no electricity in the kebele, though there are plans for bringing drinking and irrigation water and electricity to the centre through a large scheme with support from the World Bank sponsored Pastoralist Communications Development Programme (PCDP) with community contributions levied from all but the poorest households. The community use kerosene for lighting, though there were complaints that the cost has gone up significantly making it a luxury and limiting the ability of children to study at night.

There is mobile telephone reception with a tower established at Banti kebele (one of the adjacent kebeles in the same wereda) two years ago (in 2009). This reception enables mobile network coverage to reach the kebele. As a result, the dwellers can easily communicate through mobile phone with the outside world. There are many individuals who have mobile phones and use them to communicate with others, particularly migrants and especially the youth who have gone for higher education or to towns for wage labour. However, there is no fixed line phone in the kebele, and many complain that the mobile service is very expensive.

### **Population**

There are about 600 households in Gelcha; the ideal household structure involves polygamy for successful older men. Wereda sources suggested the average household sizes was about be 7 people. The total population of the kebele is 2,811. This would mean an average of 4.7 members if the total households are 600. There were 142 youth dependents (86 male and 56 female).

There are 189 female households which represent about 31.5% of the total households. This high figure is no doubt to be explained partly since polygamous men have two or three wives with their own separate households.

There are about 50 (8%) households who are landless and officially no migrants in the kebele (though there have been significant in-migrants from Somali and Harar Oromo in the recent past). Last year (2011) some 350 (58%) households paid government tax.

About three-quarters of the households are Karrayu; about 80 households are Somali, 50 households are Harar Oromo (Ittu from the wider Hararge area and 'Kottu'<sup>1</sup> from around Harar), and there is at least two household of Oromo migrants from Bosset and Muger weredas.

The Karrayu are divided into two moities: Dulecha and Basso. The dominant moiety in Gelcha is Basso though currently in two zones ( Dire-redi and Ajo-tere) members of the two moities live mixed together and live with Ittu, while in Gelcha zone the Somali and Oromo from around Harar ("Kottu") are settled in separate settlements.

The entire population is Muslim except for two Orthodox Christian in-migrant households; there are also rumours that one young man and one young woman who had contact with Protestants in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Though the term "Kottu" is used locally by respondents this is sometimes considered derogatory and therefore has been used sparingly and in quotation marks.

towns have converted.

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

#### **The wereda**

The wereda is one of the most food insecure areas in the zone, and comparatively one of those where pastoralism is most prevalent. However, since the irrigation scheme started in the wereda in 2007 wereda officials suggest that there has been a great change and improvement in livelihoods.

Currently out of 18 kebeles in the wereda, 5 kebeles (Gidara, Dire-Sadi, Turro, Tututi, Illala, and Ebitti) are benefiting from the irrigation project. In this budget year (2011/12) four more kebeles, namely Agahedu, Banti, Kobo and Gelcha are expected to benefit from the expansion of the irrigation. In the future the project will benefit a total of 13 kebeles in the wereda. This is said to have had a big impact in terms of food security. Some of the beneficiary kebeles such as Gidara, Turro, and Dire-Sadi have graduated from the safety net programme and are able to produce crops using irrigation along with animal rearing. However, the other kebeles where the irrigation is not accessible are still food insecure and lead a mainly pastoralist mode of life.

According to wereda officials the area has significant development potential and opportunities that are unique to the wereda. The Awash River has long been a magnet for development of irrigation and there has been expansion of this potential. The Metahara Sugar factory has also contributed to the development of the wereda. The Awash National Park has developed the tourism potential.

In comparison to other weredas of the zone Fantalle officials suggest that wereda faces greater development challenges due to man-made and natural factors. These challenges include:

- 1) due to the climatic conditions there is very little rainfall and it is erratic making farming and livestock rearing difficult.
- 2) a large area is covered by Lake Beseka and its expansion has been a major problem despite the attempt to control it with an outflow canal. The lake water has a high fluoride and salt content that distorts the growth of plants. As a result, many trees have dried out and a large area of arable land has had to be abandoned.
- 3) Since the area of Gelcha is a pastoralist site, the culture of farming is not developed.

The wereda is one of the food insecure areas that has attracted the attention of NGOs and donor programmes. As a result, it has many development partners in comparison with other weredas of the zone.

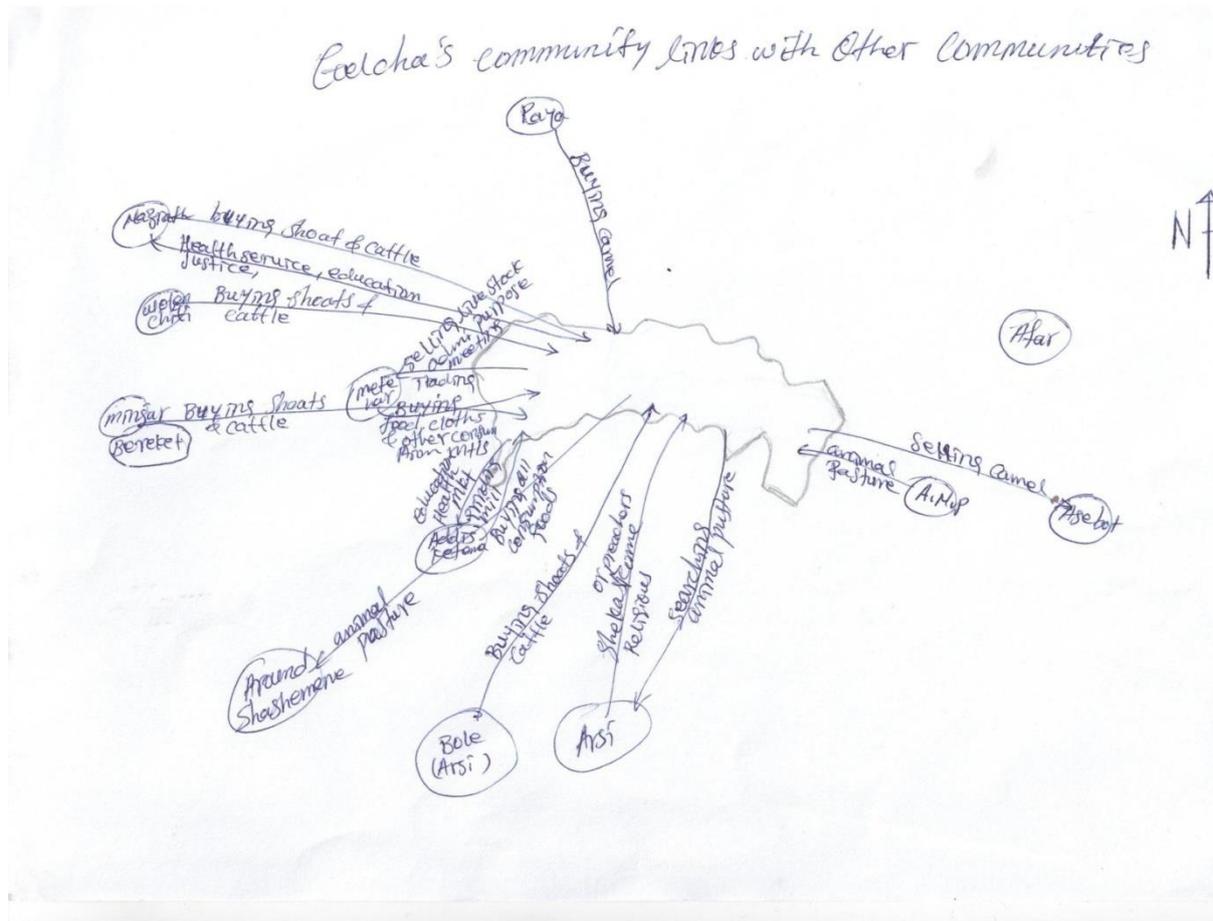
#### **Main linkages**

Many of the links with neighbouring rural areas and markets involve sale and purchase of livestock, and seasonal migration in search of pasture for livestock. There are also important marriage linkages with other communities in Karrayu especially given the tendency to marry from a different clan and often also the opposite moiety due to exogamy rules.

There are also strong links with Harar and with Somali region with migrants from both areas having settled in Gelcha and promoted irrigation farming. Preachers from Harar and Arsi come and give religious education to both adults and children leading to some tensions with established preachers. At least four senior men have been to Mecca for the Hajj.

There are important links with the nearby towns of Mehahara, the capital and Fantalle wereda and Addis Ketema locally known as Haro Adi which are roughly equidistant from Gelcha. People go on foot or sometimes on horse carts to Addis Ketema paying five birr unless it is an emergency when they can hire *bajaj*, Indian manufactured three-wheelers.

Map 3: Main linkages

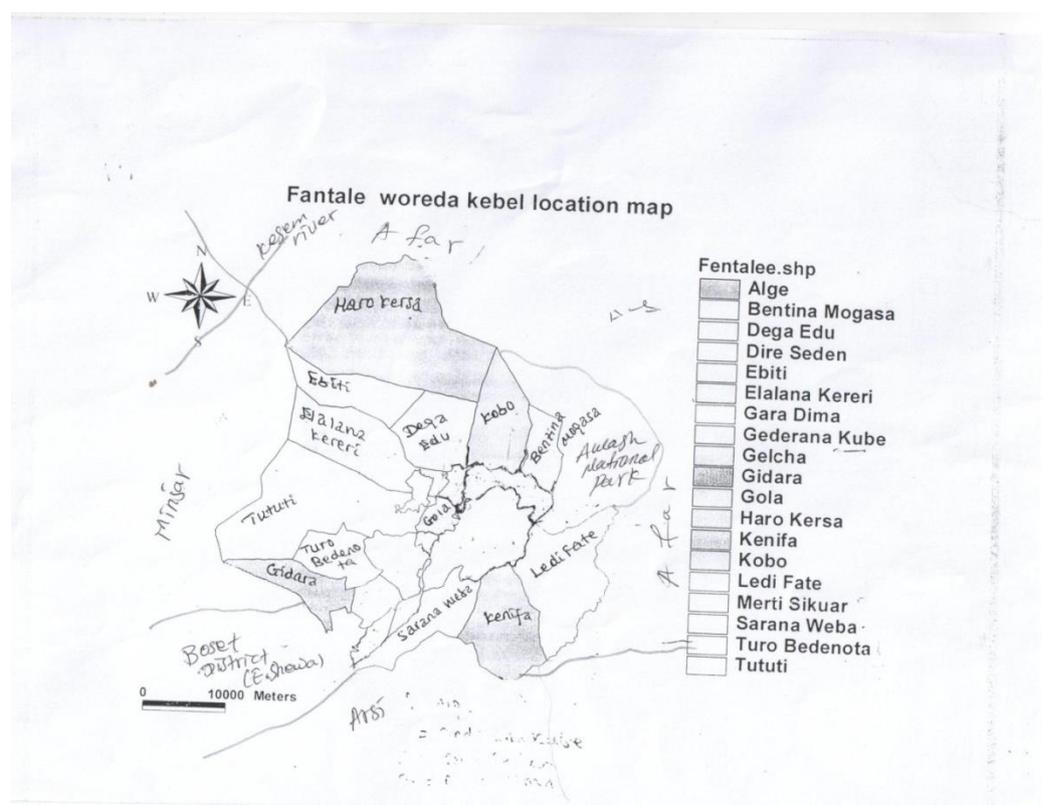


These two towns are where the main markets are located for selling livestock and purchasing grain and consumer goods. Addis Ketema and Metahara are also where people go for health services unless cases are serious or referred to the Hailemariam Mamo Hospital in Adama or the Black Lion hospital in Addis Ababa.

These towns are also where students who have completed primary school go on to secondary and preparatory education. There are also a few students who have gone on to colleges in Adama where a person named Dinku has sponsored some Karrayu students and others have gone on to universities in Haramaya, Ambo, Jima, Nekemte etc.

The towns are also where people go for grinding mills and administrative services. Some people also have social links with people living in Addis Ketema and participate in social organisations such as *iddir* funeral associations and *iqqub* credit associations that are town based. Some living close by have adopted urban styles of food, dressing etc.

People in Gelcha also have linkages with the workers in the Metahara sugar estate, where many work as guards and seasonal wage labourers. Some living close to the plantation workers' settlement obtain water from a pipe coming from the North settlement. Many of those who work as guards at the plantation have social relations with other workers and some are involved in *iqqub* credit associations with them. Gelcha residents cut cane residues after the harvest as fodder for their livestock. There is also a school and health services that are used by some Gelcha residents and those who have jobs there can get free health services for themselves and their family members.

**Map 4: Gelcha kebele in Fantale wereda and its surroundings**

## Markets

The main markets are in Metahara and Addis Ketema where people from Gelcha sell livestock and wood and charcoal. Some people who work at the sugar estate sell grass which they cut from the edges of the sugar plantation. Some women sell chickens and butter, and a few are involved in petty trade.

Gelcha residents mainly buy grain (mainly maize and sorghum) since even those who grow crops often only have enough to cover about two months with rainfed production and about four months if they have irrigated land. They also buy other food items (especially pulses, oil and seasonal vegetable), salt, coffee husks, soap, clothes, and various consumption goods. There is also an increasing trend of buying *chat*.

People from other areas come to Metahara and Addis Ketema markets from Nazreth, Wolenchiti, Bole, Minjar, Bereket, etc. to buy livestock which are comparatively cheap. There are also people coming from Raya and foreigners (described as "black Arabs") who purchase camels. Sometimes Gelcha pastoralists take camels to sell in Asebot on the way to Harar when prices increase.

## External roads and bridges

Gelcha has relatively easy access to the outside world as the main road from Adama (Nazareth) to Dire Dawa passes along the boundary of the kebele. There is also an all-weather road from Metahara, the wereda capital to the town of Harro Adi known externally as Addis Ketema. Both the towns are situated at about five to six kilometres to the North West and South West directions respectively.

The kebele dwellers can reach the two towns walking for about 30 to 35 minutes. There is also horse cart access, costing five birr from the centre of Gelcha to Addis Ketema, with some carts owned by Gelcha residents. Moreover, three-wheeler Bajaj motor vehicles can be hired if needed from the towns. There is an asphalt road to the zonal and regional capitals, with public transport

available costing 35 birr to the zonal town and 61 birr to the regional capital.

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

According to wereda officials Gelcha kebele is considered to be average in comparison with other kebeles in the wereda in terms of the wealth status of the community, with estimated average household sizes of seven persons. Economically, Gelcha is better off than those kebeles which solely depend on pastoralism, but it is less well off than those kebeles where the irrigation scheme is functioning. This is because some members of the Gelcha community have already started to cultivate crops such as teff, maize and sorghum along with animal rearing. This has meant that the kebele has been categorised as somewhat less food insecure than some other kebeles with consequently less PSNP requirements and support.

The kebele has relatively good access with an all-weather road along its border and mobile network. It has a health post, an elementary school and kindergartens so that it can be ranked as average in terms of services. However, there is no electricity or water for drinking and no irrigation scheme. The kebele thus can be ranked as worse off particularly in terms of safe drinking water and it has limited irrigation water when compared to some kebeles where both are readily available.

There are many landless in the area because no land distribution programme has been carried out in so far, and all the distributions and land certifications have been carried out in the context of the expansion of irrigation schemes. However, there is a plan to carry out land distribution when the irrigation scheme reaches the area. There is a hope that the irrigation scheme will reach the kebele in 2011/12 budget year, which will also bring drinking water and electricity. The funds are due to come from the World Bank Local Investment Grant and PCDP funds and government budget allocated for development interventions. It will involve voluntary labour and cash contributions.

There were relative to other kebeles a high number of NGOs in the area, notably CARE, GAOL and Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF). However, currently the number of NGOs in the kebele is decreasing as many of them left the area after constructing infrastructures for the community, and some projects were taken over by the government.

The kebele is very close to the capital town of the wereda (Metahara), at about 6km distance. Hence, there is good cooperation and continuous information exchange with the wereda as compared to some more remote kebeles. Moreover, there is also an intention that the wereda capital (Metahara) will expand and will incorporate Gelcha kebele in the near future, which would have important implications for livelihoods.

The kebele administration and council are considered by wereda officials to be among the strong administrations in the wereda. For instance, on training that was held last year about the five year Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), the kebele officials were effective in mobilising and encouraging the community to participate in the training. As a result, the kebele scored 98% in the evaluation of the training, which was considered very good. This result was achieved due to continuous community mobilisation by the administration and the well organised and structured system of the administration and council of the kebele.

According to wereda officials on the whole the climate and development potential of the kebele is more or less the same as other kebeles in the wereda and it can be ranked as average.

### **Public services outside the kebele**

A health centre is found in Kobo kebele at 2km from Gelcha kebele centre. It provides services for people in the kebele and other adjacent kebeles including the Gelcha community. The centre was built and opened last year (2010). However, the centre doesn't have electricity, laboratories, or sufficient staff. As a result, the treatment provided is considered to be of limited value.

There are two hospitals that the kebele community can use. One is located in the Metahara sugar

factory compound which is 4km from Gelcha. It has sufficient staff and necessary medical equipment and provides a good service not only for the employees of the factory but also for all the community members. The other hospital is located in Metahara town which is about 6 km from Gelcha. The hospital building is in good condition; it has adequate staffing and medical equipment and provides a good service.

There are two secondary schools. One at the Sugar factory 4km from Gelcha has a high school and a preparatory school and a TVET College. The school buildings are in good condition and have sufficient staff and provide services to the wereda community. The TVET school has a problem of lack of workshops and shortage of space to construct more buildings. The other school was constructed by Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) run by government and is found at Metahara town and is the more important one for rural students. However, unfortunately the GTF School was submerged by the Beseka Lake flood last summer and the water has still not drained been drained. As the result the students have been shifted to Addis Ketema primary school where they can find houses to rent.

There is a prison for the wereda 6km from Gelcha kebele, which has adequate staffing, though the building is in poor condition; a problem mentioned by officials was that the prison faces was that there is only one car which is old and requires frequent maintenance and there is insufficient budget for fuel and maintenance costs.

### **Cultural linkages including marriage linkages**

The people of Gelcha have close cultural links with other Karrayu throughout the area. Gelcha is particularly important as a cultural centre since the *Aba Gada* who is the head of the traditional administrative and religious system lives there and important rituals related to the age-grading ceremonies are performed in the Ledy culturally protected area of Gelcha.

The Karrayu traditionally inter-marry among themselves but from a different clan and often moiety, and only very few youth have begun to marry outsiders; this means that there are important marriage linkages throughout the wereda and with Karrayu beyond.

### **Migration linkages**

There has not been much out-migration from Gelcha. A few youngsters have gone abroad. A University student went to Kenya five years ago and then to Canada and has been sending remittances. Another with a degree went for a scholarship to Germany for a masters sponsored by Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF), and decided to remain there. A teacher went to Kenya and was recently joined by his sister who was a Development Agent (DA). Some four wealthy men have been on the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca.

### **Markets and market linkages**

The main markets are in the nearby town of Haro Adi and the wereda capital town of Metahara. There is also a market at one of the sugar plantation settlements at Abadir. The main items sold are livestock and livestock products and the main items purchased are grain and other food, salt and coffee husks, *chat* and various consumer goods. Some traders bring items from further such as Adama (Nazareth) and Addis Ababa.

### **Conflicts with neighbours**

The Karrayu are encircled by people who have been traditional enemies in all directions; to the north and north-east by Afar, to south and south-east by Arsi Oromo and to the south-west by people from Shewa (Boset and Minjar) and to the west and north-west by Argobba.

Conflicts have developed over territorial expansion of agriculturalist neighbours and over grazing land and livestock raiding with the Afar. Conflicts with the Afar and Argobba have a long history. In the case of the Arsi the conflict was resolved after the EPRDF came to power when the government

and elders brokered negotiations for reconciliation. Since there are common historical roots between the Karrayu and Arsi Oromo and the shared religion there were less difficulties to resolve the problems.

There have also been conflicts with the Awash National Park over livestock grazing in the Park during the dry season and at times of drought and with the sugar plantation also over livestock entering the plantation, and over the regulation of the outflow of water from the plantation used for irrigation which the plantation sometimes stops when it does not need to irrigate the sugar cane. The 'incursion' of livestock into the park and plantation led to fines and fights with elders brokering peace, and the stoppage of the water also led to a serious incident. A standing peace committee was set up with the Awash National Park in which the *Aba Gada* plays the central role of chairman.

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

#### **Crises since 2005**

In 2002, 2004-5 and 2010 there were severe droughts that caused deaths of many cattle and shoats. In the year following the 2010 drought because of bad smell most of the people were affected with diarrhoea and about ten people were said to have died. The case was even more serious in the neighbouring kebeles. That was why the Metahara sugar factory assisted the people by giving the by-products of sugar cane (leaves, straw, etc) for their animals. That prevented them from losing all their animals; however a few people lost above fifty cattle and many lost from five to ten cattle. It was said that women were more affected by anaemia during the drought than men. The government was providing water purification tablets to help to purify river water during the crisis.

The very hot climate and at times extreme temperature affects everyone but most of all breastfeeding mothers. The temperature is said to have increased in recent years. Wereda officials suggest that crop failure is not as serious for Gelcha inhabitants as for full-time agriculturalists since very few pastoralists cultivate on small plots of land depending on rain and they expect that the crop will often fail due to rain shortage.

The expansion of Beseka Lake is seriously affecting the community because the overflow canal passes through Gelcha kebele to enter the Awash River in order to drain the affected area. The canal covers a long distance though the kebele and the people and animals are not protected from falling in. Respondents say that shoats are affected by diarrhoea when they drink it and the amount of milk is reduced; the canal is also not safe for their children. The water also leads to more breeding of insects and pests, consequently people living in the vicinity are frequently affected with malaria and flies. The government has provided malaria nets but not in sufficient quantity and not recently. Spraying is not considered effective by some, whereas others suggest it would need to be done twice a year, and yet others believe it leads to breeding of insects.

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

##### **Cultural change and events**

Traditional customs have become eroded as people are increasingly exposed to external influences. This has resulted from involvement of youth in education, urban influences particularly of unemployed youth involved in habits of alcohol, smoking and chat as well as theft, and interaction with government authorities, officials and various institutions, including the influence of less accommodating tendencies within Islam promoted by migrant preachers from Harar.

There have been changes in the way of dressing and hair styles are also changing. In the past adolescent males combed their hair carefully and wore a thin strip made from the bark of the Ledi tree tied on their foreheads, and they dressed in traditional cultural clothes when they went herding with their camel. Women's dressing style has also changed from waist tight and thick dresses to free size and thin dresses, which are more comfortable and favourable and allow them to tolerate the very hot weather conditions of the area. Almost all the women cover their hair due to the increasing

influence of more doctrinaire Muslim beliefs. However, some adult women complain that scarves are not good for their hair in the very hot weather conditions as their hair thins out; one woman showed the researcher her dwindling hair and bitterly told her that it had not been like this before it was covered.

Almost all activities in the village were carried out by women including the construction of traditional houses, much of the herding of cattle and shoats and all the household chores and child rearing. But now some households are starting to use hired skilled labour for constructing houses and the quality of housing has improved. There are three kinds of house. The first is made from adobe mud locally known as *Derbi*, with wall made from wood and mud and covered with grass; the second known as *kuyisa* or *zimbi* which has similar walls to that of *Derbi* but is covered with some sheet materials (sacks) and has soil covered over it; the third is *mena chita*, which has a cylindrical shape and is covered with sheets on its walls and roof. In the past huts were constructed by women and the quality was poor and the size was small and most were of the third type. But now houses are constructed by skilled labourers and one in-migrant has specialised in building houses.

Because of intensive drought and reducing grazing land, the production of milk and its by-products has decreased; this has led to a change in the diet since milk was a regular staple food of the community. As the result people have been forced to change what they eat and also the way to prepare food. Some women have begun to produce *injera* as well as or instead of the traditional porridge under the influence of extension workers and in-migrants. The kinds of food people eat vary seasonally; during the rainy season they eat porridge with butter and drink milk when pasture is good and milk is readily available. The reverse is true in the dry season when some eat *Injera* with *wat* stew. Children and herders have more access to drinking milk, although in the dry season cows are not giving enough milk, and goats' milk is enough for children and camels' milk for herders. Moreover, with declining herd sizes there is less milk available and the diet has become even more reliant on cereals.

### Economic change and events

Some respondents suggest that the work ethic has changed as the PSNP has provided an initiation, stimulus and experience for them to become involved in agricultural work. As a result they are producing maize and *teff*, though this is done on small plots of land. Others are using the traditional irrigation scheme and have been learning from others involved in irrigation in neighbouring kebeles.

Respondents suggested that new technologies have not resulted in much change as rainfed cultivation which started recently is on a small scale and is unreliable so that it is risky to use extra inputs like improved seeds and fertiliser. The irrigation is of traditional kind and the few initiatives at using pumps for irrigation promoted by the wereda have not been very successful and have led to debts that have not been paid, leading to a freeze on credit for cooperatives in the kebele.

A metal recycling factory was established on the border of Gelcha and the adjacent kebele Kobo and some men worked there for a while as daily labourers filtering out metal. However, they were replaced by urban youths. Two women who were cleaners also lost their jobs after two years' service. The researcher heard from other sources that the factory was facing problems and not currently operating so that the laying off might not have been deliberate exclusion of the Karrayu from Gelcha as they assume.

Women were organised in different associations (fattening bulls and sheep, grinding mill and grain store, shop and small scale-enterprise) sponsored by NGOs to improve their livelihoods and create income-generating activities. Some of them who work on fattening have benefited and some others have failed because of lack of knowledge and mismanagement. The grinding mill closed as the association was unable to cover the costs of running it (fuel and staff costs) and the association's shop also closed down.

### Political change and events

Respondents mentioned that women's and children's rights have been emphasised and children are now able to go to school. There has also been a big push for pastoralists to become more engaged in agriculture and community development programmes, particularly after the GTP training in 2010. However, irrigation is still very limited and people mentioned the problems they were facing with increasing grain prices which has become a serious issue since they produce so little grain and have to purchase most of it at rising costs. Some expressed a feeling that this problem has not been addressed by government.

Others also expressed worries about children sitting idle after completing grade 10 and developing bad behaviour like chewing *chat*, drinking alcohol, and being influenced by urban youth involved in anti-social and criminal behaviour. Because they want more money some have started stealing shoats and selling them to hotels and wholesalers.

Some girls who are attending school have sexual relations and give birth before marriage, going against traditional customs that prohibit sex before marriage. The women and youth leagues are not seen as effective and if anything are seen as empowering them economically rather than politically and have not addressed key issues confronting the youth. The efforts to mobilise the youth have not been taken further, so that after the training youth leaders did not get further support and the youth irrigation cooperatives failed, though the stone extraction ones have done better, despite competition from individuals working illegally and not paying taxes and decreased demand due to inflation and rising costs.

Following government plans particularly in the context of the GTP the people are urged to take actions but some expressed the view that there is little follow up and concern over whether there is failure of success, and limited support for livelihoods and extension services. Political developments are seen to be tied up with economic ones since all issues come from the wereda in the name of development and the new structures are implemented to facilitate development.

In the 2005 elections there were opposing parties in the area including OPCO (the Oromo People's Congress Organisation) and the CUD (the Coalition for Unity and Democracy). Some people in the Sugar factory were said to have supported CUD but the Gelcha area voted overwhelmingly for the OPCO.

Some respondents suggested that they had been misled by the youth during the election to vote for the opposition and it was alleged that in some cases the youth took the cards for older people and put the mark for them. In the following year wereda officials blamed the people but also promised to work with them. As the result in the first two years after the election they received lots of aid including the PSNP, and from the other food security programme shoats and bulls were bought for women; schools were improved in the area and there was frequent interaction with wereda officials and others, including NGOs. However, in the last election there were no other opposing parties as before so the government (the leading party) in effect automatically became the outright winner.

### Social change and events

There have been some changes in practices relating to religion. There has been more emphasis on Islamic education. There are more 'Sheika' preachers who have come from Harar who have become more influential and are against traditional practices and advocate stricter following of religious rules, although there has been a reaction from the existing Muslim leaders which support from the Wereda. Children learn the Quran in three *gots* of the kebele and women have started to cover their hair with scarves, and some people are involved in regular daily prayers, and more men go to the mosque. Muslim celebrations such as *Mawlid* and *Eid al Fatir* are celebrated annually.

At the same time there has been a revival of traditional celebrations associated with the *Gada* system. Last year the Dulecha moity's *gada* was celebrated in Gelcha with great ceremony and much

external and media attention and Baso was preparing its ceremony this year. *Gada* ceremonies are practised more openly and with greater involvement of more people than in the recent past. Thus both Islamic and *Gada* practices have become more prominent and the *Gada* practices have also been endorsed and encouraged by the government as a cultural expression.

### **Development progress**

There has been progress in the building of a school and kindergartens, a health post and a Farmers' Training Centre. Community members are pleased about the school and kindergartens being within the community, though they mention problems with the water, and facilities and teachers for the kindergartens. However, schooling has also affected household labour increasing the burden on women in particular. The health post is not very popular in part since the extension workers commute are not often there and since it has very limited drugs so that most people go for their health needs to the health centres and private clinics and pharmacies in the towns or in the sugar plantation centres. The FTC was not built in the centre where the other facilities are located and some respondents expressed dissatisfaction with this. It also has not been of much use and the attempts to promote compost there were not considered useful. The roof was blown away by wind and there was a theft of equipment and iron sheets, and several female respondents said they did not even know what the FTC was for, though some had been involved in planting trees there. There have not been much useful livelihood interventions despite the training notably in relation to the GTP and the attempts to organise women and youth in groups have not been very successful.

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

The main new plan for 2011/12 is to construct water for drinking and irrigation, and electricity. The fund for the projects will come from the World Bank (Local Investment Grant) and the government budget allocated for development interventions. It will involve community voluntary labour and cash contributions. Contributions for drinking water have already been collected from the community, with a payment of 80 birr per household with only the very poor exempted.

Concerning tree planting, there is a plan to mobilise the community through their respective *Gares* and the PSNP public works to prepare and plant seedlings. According to the plan each *gare* will collect 10kg seeds locally and prepare 27,500 seedlings for planting.

In the longer term there is a plan for Gelcha to become part of the urban area under Metahara town (already the town of Haro Adi which was part of Gelcha kebele was hived off) which could bring about dramatic changes to the community.

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

People are very keen to see improvements in drinking water as this is a serious constraint on their livelihoods. However, some respondents complained that the contribution of 80 birr coming at the time of having to pay other taxes (and voluntary contributions to the Oromo Development Association) was difficult to cover and some had to borrow to pay. A few respondents felt impatient that there were not yet any visible results.

There is a lot of anticipation and interest in the irrigation since people are aware of the benefits of irrigation from the small traditional irrigation some in Gelcha have been involved in for many years and since they have seen the advantages and benefits to other kebeles that have obtained irrigation. There was also evidence that people have been trying to lay stakes to land and some disputes related to enclosing land in anticipation of the arrival of the irrigation scheme in the area were taken to the social court.

The area not having electricity was mentioned as a problem and some households said that children could not study at night since the cost of kerosene for lighting was becoming too expensive. Lack of electricity in the health post was mentioned by health extension workers and some community respondents as a constraint to keeping vaccines there.

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

### ***Household structures***

The ideal household structure in Gelcha involves a development cycle in which households are formed through marriage of partners from different clans and often opposite moieties arranged by parents and with the clan of the groom providing bridewealth in the form of livestock to the bride's family and clan. The new couple are expected to live with the parents of the groom and settle close by, whereas daughters marrying out are likely to live further away, in accordance with prevailing virilocal marriage customs.

In the ideal cycle a successful man may marry a second or even a third wife, paying the bridewealth for a young bride. Each of the wives would have a separate household close by. In the event of the death of a husband the custom of widow inheritance is practised whereby a brother or other male relative of the husband inherits the wife and the property; children born to the wife are known as children of the deceased. If a wife dies her husband is entitled to ask for a sister of her in marriage. Divorce is not meant to happen and in theory there could be a request for the return of the bridewealth.

Increased deviations from the norm have started to happen with a trend of questioning widow inheritance; a few women who were 'inherited' have appealed for divorce on the grounds of their deceased husband's brother squandering resources. Though some have succeeded to obtain divorces they are not entitled to remarry. A woman who had divorced a violent husband in another village left him but did not try to obtain any property.

Young people are beginning to decide on their own marriage partners and going against the custom of bridewealth; a few educated youth are living away from the village and getting married to non-Karrayu. A handful have gone and settled abroad.

### ***Households in Gelcha: some examples***

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

ZN (41) is an Ittu Oromo who came from Harar 38 years ago. He describes himself as middle wealth. He is a guard at the sugar plantation and also has a substantial livestock herd and engages in farming; he is vice chair of the social court and is an elder involved in customary dispute resolution. He is also an active party member. His wife BB (38) is also an Oromo from Harar from the Ala clan. In addition to domestic activities, she keeps livestock of her own. They have had 7 children (4 male and 3 female). Five of the children live with them. All of them go to school. The oldest, a son aged 18, is in 10<sup>th</sup> grade at Merti plantation high school. A son aged 14 is in 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Gelcha school. A daughter aged 12 is in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade at the same school, as is a son aged 10 in 5<sup>th</sup> grade. The last daughter aged 7 is in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. The oldest daughter married eight years ago and is living in Addis Ketema town and sells soft drinks and tea on market days and they visit each other regularly. A son aged 22 graduated from TVET last year and joined a private college in Adama with family support and spends vacations at home. The family in-migrated a long time ago and said they had good relations with the rest of the community. They remain in touch with their extended family in Hararge and receive grain at harvest seasons from them.

ZN noted that the internal road network has been improved with maintenance of old roads and new ones. This has meant that people can take a horse cart to market and to the mill house, and take patients to and from town for medical care, and collect grass for cattle and firewood. However, due to the expansion of Lake Beseka they now have to take detours. BB complained that the newly constructed bridge to avoid the Lake means that there is noise, dust and litter as people go by their house which is near the bridge.

The sub-kebele they live in has benefited from a water pipe from the camp of the sugar plantation

employees providing relatively clean water. Previously the household used water from the outflow of the sugar plantation which was polluted and from which children got water-borne diseases. However, the water from the pipe is not fully pure and not always available, since it stops when there are electricity cuts. The Lake has also expanded at the back of their house cutting them off from the direct route to the water pipe, so they get water from town for drinking and from the factory canal for cooking and washing. The water in the town costs 6 birr for a 25 litre jerrycan and they have to pay 5 birr for transportation. Sometimes the sons bring water on their bicycles.

ZN suggests there has been climate change. The tree cover has been reduced with cutting for firewood and charcoal production. The rainfall has become erratic; last year for instance the rains started late in mid-August and ended early at the beginning of September and the rains were very heavy, causing soil erosion. The temperature has also increased. The alarming expansion of Lake Beseka, particularly since 2010, has resulted in ground water pollution. There is less grass cover to protect the soil from erosion. Due to hunting and tree cutting there is less wildlife. However ZN does not think there is a change in soil fertility, air pollution or soil degradation. The NRM work has not been successful; people resist the suggestions of the DS to build terraces and check dams; the seedlings that were planted last year dried out due to lack of water and follow up. However, many households including that of ZN fence and protect grazing land which enabled him to harvest and store grass to feed livestock during the dry season. So this intervention is relatively more successful.

The household has 5 cows, 1 ox, 4 bulls, 4 calves, 2 donkeys, 3 sheep, 12 goats and 10 hens. The amount of livestock has not changed much as they sell some to cover various needs, and ZN says that due to lack of pasture he does not want to try to increase his herd. BB is involved in looking after the livestock, milking, cleaning the yard, collecting sugar cane stalks during the harvesting and caring for small kids at home. Sometimes she is involved in sheep fattening, feeding and buying and selling. The household has no improved breeds but gets veterinary services from the wereda which is important as ZN can get treatment for his livestock when they are sick. BB got credit twice from a scheme organised by GTF and obtained 2,500 birr to buy sheep, and she has engaged in fattening goats and sheep for sale.

The household grows maize and teff, but the teff was not successful last year due to erratic rainfall; the expansion of the Lake has affected farming, and six years ago swamped the irrigated land where they used to grow tomatoes and onions for market. ZN does not benefit from agricultural extension.

BB complained that they were not included in the food for work programme on the grounds that her husband was employed at the factory, but she feels it was because they are not Karrayu since others with similar status or who are better off were included.

Their family has three small houses, one constructed by the oldest sons for themselves and the other two being old and of poorer quality than other houses. Livestock are kept in an enclosure. It takes BB an hour to collect water from the canal, but during the rainy season and even some other times the factory cuts off the supply. Drinking water is bought in town as mentioned earlier.

They had dug a latrine with a wooden floor and without a roof but it got covered with thorn trees. Three years ago BB fell ill with acute watery diarrhoea and was taken by cart to the health centre where she was treated for three days. BB uses wood for cooking and kerosene for light. She complained that the price of kerosene has increased greatly making it hardly affordable.

Their diet has remained much the same except for a reduction of milk products as their herds decreased. The usual staple is porridge and *kitta* pancake eaten with vegetable and *wat* sauce. The price of pulses has increased to 25 birr per kg becoming practically unaffordable. So they generally simply eat porridge with milk, and if available butter. During Ramadan they may eat meat and she bakes *Injera*. Sometimes her oldest son who is a college student prepares himself eggs. Eating chickens is not customary and she sells eggs and chickens at the market. During the season when vegetables are available in the community or adjacent kebeles where it is cheaper she buys and

cooks them.

BB used to get the help of her eldest daughter for domestic work before she married eight years ago. The two younger daughters go to school so she is overloaded with domestic work and caring for livestock.

BB gets injectable contraception at the health post and if not available there goes to the Aba clinic in town. Her daughter is suffering from infertility since she got married 8 years ago.

Regarding child feeding she said babies in the past were weaned earlier but now they are meant to breastfeed only but BB doubts that is followed. In the past babies and toddlers up to about five were not fed food made from grains, but families that do not have cows providing milk have started to give food made from grain to children from about the age of two. Gender differences start about the age of 12 when parents control daughters more strictly. In particular they control when they come and go from school, and do not allow them to collect firewood in the forest, or send them to market, grinding mill, or anywhere far from the community alone, whereas boys are free to go anywhere. Girls participate in domestic work and boys in livestock herding, though girls could look after livestock if the household does not have a boy. Nowadays both boys and girls can attend school. Children keep clean and have more clothes than before. Even small children need shoes and more than one set of clothes. Nowadays people take children to health services soon when they fall ill.

Adolescents are reluctant to be directed by parents, and they sometimes disagree with traditional ideas. Boys are more aggressive about this than girls. BB says that her daughters tell her what they learn at school about HTPs, youth reproductive health etc.

Girls are usually circumcised between the ages of eight to twelve when they become physically mature. The government bans female circumcision on the grounds of risks of HIV/AIDS and delivery complications, but the practice continues as in Karrayu culture it is taboo for a girl not to be circumcised. It is said that it is *Salla/Qanna*, which means ashamed. BB is thinking of accepting the government view as she says she has decided not to circumcise her youngest daughter who is ten. She made her mother promise not to circumcise her, telling her the side effects of it.

BB does not follow the *Gada* tradition so she does not need to wait for the *Gebella* ceremony and she had her sons circumcised at an early age, though some Karrayu stick to the practice.

The household does not have a latrine, and solid and liquid wastes are disposed of around the compound. BB uses tap water which is brought from town. The HEWs advocate not using foods which have been kept a long time, but this is not a risk as women in the area including herself prepare food for immediate use.

Regarding disease control BB mainly gets information from her children at school. For instance they told her that raw milk (unboiled) is a cause of TB and other diarrhoea-related diseases, and sharing sharp materials is a cause HIV/AIDS. BB took training which was given by Fantalle Children and Family Development Association (FCFDA) at the wereda about disease prevention control, sanitation, etc. But the only relevant thing was the spraying for mosquitoes which was carried out last September. BB reported that her oldest son was suffering from stomach ache because he fell down from a tree seven years ago, and has not been able to work since. His parents wanted to take him to a traditional healer but he refused and has not been treated. Another son was suffering from serious coughing for a year, but likewise didn't get medical treatment.

All the children living at home go to school. The 18 year old son is enrolled in grade ten at Addis Ketema secondary school. He commutes daily from home which is quite far. He is doing well and last year stood first. BB hopes he will do well but worries about his health. She spent about 350 birr for his school costs. The second son is in grade 8 at the sugar factory school, attends regularly and is an average student. At weekends he herds cattle and brings water from town. He is unhappy with the

quality of education but the school is close. The next son is in grade 5 in the Gelcha primary school, attends regularly and herds during his time out of school. The 12 year old daughter is in grade 3, and was enrolled late as they needed her labour for domestic and livestock work. She is doing well at school and helps her mother. The youngest girl aged 7 is in grade 3, attends regularly and likes school. She also herds and cares for small kids. The oldest son completed grade ten three years ago and then was hired in the sugar factory. This year he got the chance to join Rift Valley College in Adama sponsored by a person called Dinku, sharing half schooling cost. However, there are still high expenses for house rent, food and other consumption.

ZN's household cooperates regularly with neighbours. He suggests that the culture of cooperation has been strengthened with the formation of the 1-5 network structure established by the government in 2010/11. Cooperation takes place on farm work, house building and animal kraal construction, sharing of farm implements, help in times of crisis, celebrations and festivals and other domestic work. His household also has close links with relatives and friends in Harar particularly in times of crisis, celebrations and festivals. The household celebrates major Muslim festivals. For instance for *Eid al Arafah* ZN's household slaughtered a sheep and prepared food and *chat* inviting neighbours, spending about 1,000 birr which is more than they would have spent in the past since there has been food price inflation.

BB is a member of a credit and saving association established by women with the support of GTF. Members contribute 5 birr every fifteen days, and can take credit. BB took 2,500 birr credit for fattening and selling of sheep and goats to be repaid within four months, without interest though she will be charged 50 birr if she does not pay back on time.

ZN's household is a member of an *iddir* at Addis Ketema. He contributes six birr every fifteen days and the payment is doubled (12 birr) when a member is assisted. There is no pay-out if a member is ill and no access to loans. It only provides supports at times of death. The *iddir* provides 3,000 birr for the death of a member or their spouse, 1,500 birr for the death of son/daughter, 400 birr if a guest dies in the member's house and 500 birr when a member's relative dies elsewhere and his/her burial ceremony is arranged there. Apart from assisting with money, the *iddir* also provides a tent, cups, mattress and tables for the funeral. BB contributes five birr at the death of a person she knows though it is not a formal *iddir*, and contributes labour until the end of the funeral period.

ZN is an active Muslim follower and all his household members are Muslim. He mentioned that five years ago during the Eid feasting period, the mosque slaughtered sheep and provided meat for the community members. It also distributed clothes for the community. However, recently the provision of meat and clothes during the feasting period has stopped. BB does not have time to participate at the sheika's teachings at the mosque. She said that the children are also not active in attending though it is very near to home. However, her husband attends actively praying five times a day and she also attempts to do so at home often. One of the daughters is supported by Fantalle Children and Family Development Association providing her with education materials and BB said she received some training from them.

ZN suggested that fighting and violence against women are not problems. However theft of goats and sheep has increased, some youth surviving from this as their lives have deteriorated. He suggested that elders don't want to pass the cases on to the wereda. He also felt that threats of violence from other communities, particularly from Afar and Argobba, who have been historical enemies of the Karrayu, are increasing, with theft of cattle and shooting at herders. BB also complained that in the past there was no ethnic and clan discrimination, but that now the Karrayu have started to discriminate against people coming from other areas, and that there has even been conflict between women and children of Karrayu and migrants. BB also mentioned that the spread of thorn trees referred to as *Weyane* has led to wild animals such as hyenas coming, and the thorn trees have been taking over the fields and thorns are affecting animals and people.

ZN did not feel that the militia are effective in preventing livestock theft, and said they wait for the

Kebele to order them to catch thieves. Moreover the militia are busy with their own pursuits and prioritise their own work. However, he did not think they are biased as they simply follow orders from the kebele. Although he did not have any dealings with them, ZN heard allegations of favouritism and bribing by the wereda police. They were said to release individuals who steal goats and sheep or wrongdoers without any punishment if bribed, and he felt that this encourages theft.

ZN believes the elders have a great role and work effectively without bias. BB said elders from each clan (*gosa*) resolve conflicts. However, Karrayu elders are unable to resolve conflicts between Harar Oromo or Somalis. She did not feel they were biased against women since they aim to achieve reconciliation.

ZN is the vice-chair of the social court and believes it is working effectively. However, most cases are resolved by the kebele chair who refers only cases he is unable to resolve to the court, so it has a limited role. BB thought they do not get involved in cases between husbands and wives but rather between friends and neighbours. She felt they are more involved in conflict resolution rather than punishing the guilty or sending the case to the wereda court. ZN had no dealings with the peace committee but thought they were working well. BB heard rumours that the wereda court was corrupt, and said elders advise people not to go there as they have to pay starting with the wereda police some saying bribes were needed even to enter the compound.

BB had heard of the women's league. She does not have much dealings with the kebele as her husband is the main one involved. No household members are involved in youth organisations.

ZN is the only party member in his household, paying the 12 birr membership fee. He gets neither benefits nor harm from membership but feels it is good to support the government as it provides infrastructures and services for the community. BB did not know if she was a member as all contributions are paid by her husband. She said they sometimes need women to come to meetings but she does not know whether they are organised by the kebele, the party or an NGO unless a representative says so.

ZN said there was no resistance to government interventions, and suggested that irrigation, drinking water and electricity were areas that needed work. BB felt that interventions did not address all women so that some benefit from certain interventions, but even those involved in several interventions were not benefiting that much. For example the shop, grain mill and some livestock fattening interventions have failed. Moreover the members of the grain mill lost their money from monthly contributions. Such interventions would have been very important not only for members but for all the community.

ZN went to several meetings though they are less frequent than previously. He recalls the one about the Growth and Transformation Plan carried out for 15 days. The training was about development and farming activities and it was supported by experience sharing from other societies, particularly from Harar. He learned how to farm and manage agricultural production, which was useful. He did not see differences between party meetings and government meetings both of which discuss development activities. BB attended some meetings but fewer than other women substituting for their husband, and said they were all interesting and useful for community development.

ZN participated in a *gimgema* as a member of the social court. Participants criticise the government and kebele officials according to their performance and grade them. Last year, he was given grade "B".

Zn paid 45 birr tax, 12 birr for political party membership fee, 80 birr for water construction, 5 birr for sport, 4 birr for the Party newspaper and 12 birr for Party membership fee. He also voluntarily paid 150 birr for Oromia Development Association telethon. He participated in farm land preparation for individuals through 1-5 development group.

Regarding HTPs ZN said there were no rules about work as there are only 3 major religious holidays

in Islam and the government did not try to change that. The government gave training about HTPs such as circumcision, rape, violence against wives and early marriage. He said the community was cooperating to stop these, and that violence against women has decreased. However, people are unwilling to cooperate with the government effort to stop female circumcision, as it is against their tradition and religion, and it continues to be practised in secret. BB said that violence against women, inheritance marriage and early marriage have been reduced over time. Rape which was hidden before because women did not tell about it for fear of conflict has been stopped. However, female circumcision is practised and only a few people like her are ready to co-operate with the action against it.

Regarding HTPs affecting health ZN said that as a result of interventions the feeding of solid food to babies when they are too young has almost stopped, and the uprooting of milk teeth has decreased and many people including his household visit the health centre if there is a problem related to teeth. Other practices like bleeding of body parts which were prevalent in the area have been stopped. Thus, the young generation no longer have scars on their face from bleeding. Cutting of uvula and tonsils, and burning with hot irons were not common even before government training. BB suggested that people are now taking children for medical care more than previously and the role of customary practitioners has been reduced. Babies do not take solid foods until at least the age of two. However some people are involved in uvula cutting.

Regarding overall change ZN is positive about the road improvements, health and education services. The development work and social cooperation has been strengthened through the 1-5 networks. However, livelihoods have worsened and inflation has been a major problem. BB had a more nuanced view. She felt the roads were good but the Beseka lake expansion has damaged livelihoods and cut off some roads. She mentioned the kindergarten as an important development. However, she felt the health post was not working regularly and people do not even know the function of some buildings. She mentioned mobile phones as very important to contact people outside the site. A lot of women's organisations have been established either by government or NGOs, but most of them have ceased working.

ZN mentioned the encouragement from government to engage in farming and work in 1-5 networks. Religious leaders teach about the doctrine and abiding by the rules. BB mentioned government promotion of natural resource management, practising farming and irrigation, and that pastoralists should substitute hybrids for local livestock.

ZN said that six of his children are students and regularly read, though the materials are only useful for their education and not the household. The household does not have a radio. The four sons watch football and dramas on TV in town, but ZN worries that this hinders their studies.

ZN feels the condition of women has changed and that they are now able to defend their rights notably against wife beating, and participate equally in meetings. They access land, inherit their husband's property upon his death, and share property equally upon divorce. Moreover, they have access to economic opportunities. For instance, in most cases it is women and not men who are encouraged to engage in different activities such as petty trading through provision of credit access. BB attributes the changes to the effect of NGOs over the past 10 years. She remembers the situation seven or eight years ago when NGOs like Care-Ethiopia, Goal and others were doing a lot of work with women. She thinks most women have been made aware about their legal rights so that they know half of the household property is their own.

ZN feels that young men have educational opportunities, but face difficulties in finding jobs after they complete their education. He said that as a result, many young men who are unable to join university are sitting idle after they complete grade 10. The young men are also able to choose their marriage partners without interference from their parents as in the past. However, the bridewealth payment is very expensive and unaffordable for many of them and they are also unable to lead independent households, as many of them do not have their own income. Young men now have a

voice in community affairs. They participate in different development meetings in the kebele. However, there is a lack of recreational facilities. Therefore many young men develop bad habits, particularly chewing *chat* and theft. ZN does not know about the question of contracting HIV/AIDS. BB suggested that young men don't want to be pastoralists after they complete grade ten. Her son was upset just after he completed grade ten and before he got a job earning a wage at the factory. Parents are also worried, that they copy bad behaviour from urban youngsters. Moreover the numbers of livestock is reduced because of drought; consequently parents aren't able to give livestock to help them get married, to sell them for marketing activities or for setting up an independent household. However getting married is not such a problem. ZN feels that the government has not done much for the young to bring community development. They spend leisure time watching TV in town, chewing *chat*, drinking alcohol, etc.

ZN suggests that young women also have good educational opportunities. However, after they complete grade 10 it is difficult for them to find a job. Previously, young women could not find a partner easily themselves, and it was the role of the parents to select a husband for them. However, with the expansion of schooling many young women and men find their lover at school and get married. However, it is difficult for many of them to lead an independent household as many of them do not have their own permanent income. Both young women and men have a voice in community affairs. They participate in different development meetings in the kebele. Many young women get pregnant at school and have premarital sex which is forbidden in the community. As with young men there is a problem of recreation for young women. BB agrees that young women are able to get education but have no job opportunity after completing grade ten; however she feels there may be a good chance for the educated. One of the health extension workers is from the community and she is her model and hopes that her daughters may face such a chance. She also said there is no problem for girls to get married, if they are brought up well according to community custom and culture. However, a few of them are getting pregnant before marriage, which is a taboo. She thinks that HIV/AIDS is not an issue in the area for any groups.

### **Economically successful man's household**

CU (55) is a Karrayu from the Basso clan; he describes himself as middle wealth, is a guard at the sugar factory, has livestock herds and farms. He is respected as an elder. He is also an active party member. He has two wives (the second of whom was interviewed at the husband's suggestion as the first wife is shy). His first wife (HI) is around 40 and his second wife (HE) about 38. CU has 11 children (5 male and 6 female). His first wife has 6 children (3 female and 3 male). His second wife has 5 children (2 male and 3 female). Both wives have not been to school and both are involved in domestic activities, as well as keeping livestock. The first son (33) was married but divorced due to sexual impotence, so his wife was given to his younger brother. He visited traditional practitioners to no avail. He worked for a while in Adama but now has no job and lives with his parents. The next son (28) was given his brother's wife and had 3 children. He has a separate house in the compound but his household is supported by the parental household. He completed grade 10 and is engaged in crop production. He would like to engage in irrigation when it is developed in the area. A son from his second wife (19) is in grade 8 and a daughter (15) according to her father dropped out of 3<sup>rd</sup> grade though her mother said her father never allowed her to go to school; a fourth son (12) is in grade 1. Another son from the second wife (5) and a daughter from the second wife (8) are at the kindergarten.

Four daughters are married, the first (30) about 11 years ago living close by in the same zone (Ajotere) is relatively poor and sometimes received support from the parental household; the second (25) from the second wife moved away 6 years ago and is living in Imbaba a nearby area in Fantale wereda and visits occasionally during holidays or if there are crises. The third (19) also married 6 years ago and lives in Abadir, a nearby village. She visits regularly and they communicate by phone. The last one (19) just got married and lives in Bacha kebele in the same wereda. She had gone to school until grade 3. All of the married daughters are involved in domestic and livestock

work.

Regarding the overall household condition CU felt it had been deteriorating over the last five years, since his livestock have decreased over time due to unavailability of pasture grass and market inflation. High cost of living forced him to cull many livestock for survival to feed his family properly. He suggested his household has good relations with others and obtained help for building a house and kraal and for weddings, and also supported others such as two students from his clan facing financial problems when they joined university whom he supported for two years with living and transport expenses. HE attributed the reduction in livestock to drought and theft of livestock (she lost 5 goats this year), and feels the elders do not want to deal with the problem. This year her daughter got married and her neighbours, friends and relatives gave support in kind, cash and labour for the ceremony.

CU mentioned improvement in roads, allowing transport with carts and bicycles, facilitating taking patients to health care and visiting markets, transporting grass and firewood, though the expansion of Lake Beseka has forced people to travel long distances to find bridges to cross the lake and reach the nearby villages in the kebele. His household use the outflow water from the sugar factory for drinking, which is very dirty particularly when the factory operates.

Over the last five years, the mobile network has become accessible in the area and makes communication very easy. CU has a mobile and uses it to communicate with relatives and friends who live in the village as well as outside and to exchange updated information about social and economic issues. However, he complained that the cost was expensive. HE also mentioned the improvement with roads although the lake expansion cut off their area. Since 2008 she has used water purification medicine, buying it from a shop in the town when it is not available in the area from a health promoter. She uses medicated water for drinking only; in the rainy season the water is very polluted and has a bad smell and taste. Often the household members get stomach sickness. HE mentioned that her husband and son have mobile phones; she had a radio but it was given to her daughter when she married a couple of months ago. Youth have access to TV when they go to town.

CU mentioned the Lake Beseka expansion as the main environmental problem, since the affected area is no longer productive and plants do not grow well. The tree cover has increased there but the grass has gone. Climate change has involved a shift from two rainy seasons from June to September and November to December. Nowadays there is often only one shorter and more intense season from July to August. The temperature has increased and air pollution is linked to when the steel factory operates. Wildlife has decreased due to hunting and interference of the community members.

CU does not feel that NRM interventions such as terracing and tree planting have been successful; planted trees dried out. Some have fenced grazing areas though he has not done so. They were given awareness about the usefulness of wildlife to support the Awash National Park.

The households of the first and second wife and the married son operate as one in terms of production. Last year they grew maize producing about seven sacks, shared among three households. The household only started farming two years ago. CU's household did not benefit from agricultural extension. Only fertiliser was available last year but he did not use it as he has no irrigated land, and rainfall is too erratic to risk it on rainfed land. HE had heard about compost but they never made any as she said they do not face soil fertility problems. However, she bought improved seeds from individuals in the adjacent kebele (Golla) where modern irrigation is found.

CU's household has 2 oxen, about 20 cows (of these 1 is a Borana breed), 50 goats and sheep, 5 donkeys and 20 hens. Just like agricultural activities, the three households are involved together on livestock work. All livestock of those households spend the day and night together, and herding and cleaning the livestock yard is done in turn among them. HE has been involved in herding, cleaning the yard, and milking cows and goats. Five years ago CU had 5 oxen, 40 cows, about 70 goats and

sheep and 5 donkeys. The decrease is due to lack of pasture and sales to cover needs.

The household did not benefit from livestock extension services, except for veterinary care at the wereda. CU bought one Borana breed from an individual who lives in another kebele. Vet officials have visited in emergencies which was crucial. Moreover, there are also two locally trained paravets providing extension advice and support. HE bought a couple of improved chickens from the pastoralist and rural development office. Her husband's first wife is a PSNP beneficiary and got five goats and a bull. She is benefiting from chickens which help her as a source of income, as they sell them because eating chickens is not customary for Karrayu, but they have started to eat eggs.

CU mentioned that his wife participated in PSNP public works on road construction and maintenance. She received a total of 60 kg wheat for three months, i.e., 15 kg per person and 200 birr per month for three months, i.e., 50 birr per person for four persons. His first wife gets food aid for household members since the PSNP was started. She receives 60kg of wheat, 4kg of pulses and 1.5 litres of oil per month. This food consumption is used for the three households including the respondent. Thus indirectly she is benefiting from PSNP aid.

Regarding her house HE constructed it two years ago with 3 partitions, the first one used as kitchen. Livestock have a separate house and small kids live in a small enclosure made from sticks. HE bought some minor house equipment for cooking and eating like spoons, cups, dishes and pots. They do not own a bed, chair, table, or have a kitchen cupboard.

The Awash River water is the source for household water and is found near to the home. Household members often suffer from stomach ache, especially during summer. The household doesn't have an alternative source of water, but recently the Beseka discharge canal is passing through the village, and is useful for washing clothes and they do not need much detergent, unlike river water.

Their latrine is not functional since it filled with soil and even before then household members were not using and it did not have walls and a roof. Since their house is close to the forest they prefer to use open spaces. No one has been affected by acute watery diarrhoea, but sometimes they are affected by diarrhoea and go to the health service.

HE uses firewood for cooking and kerosene for lighting. The kinds of food that they eat varies with seasons; during the rainy season animal pastures are good, and as a result cows, goats and sheep give much milk which can also be made into butter. When the household's staple becomes porridge, it is prepared from maize mixed with a small amount of wheat/sorghum and it is eaten with butter or milk. If milk is available, grain food is not needed so much because if children get enough milk they spend the day without grain food. She prepares food (*becho/gumach*) from roasted sorghum flour and maize mixed with butter. It is served to her husband and guests. She bakes *injera* during the dry season when milk not available; it is prepared from maize, wheat and *teff* which is eaten with *wat* prepared from pulses. Sometimes she buys vegetables from the market when they get cheap. She said that to prepare *injera* needs more expenditure and is tiring so even when milk is not available she prefers to prepare porridge and children don't need butter, they eat it with goat's milk. She never lives without at least goat's milk, the only difference is the amount.

CE does most of the work in the homestead as her husband works as a guard at the factory and the children spend most of the time in school. She has recently spent a lot of energy and time on the wedding of her daughter. One of her youngest daughters is not attending school and she helps her.

Regarding nutritional interventions CE received 25 kg of fafa and 1.5 litres of oil twice last year since one son was malnourished. First the malnourished child eats and then the rest of the cooked food is eaten by others. After two months he recovered and the supplementary food was stopped.

According to HE there is a slight change over the last ten years in child rearing practices. There is a growing awareness that newborn infants should only breastfeed. Also with regard to keeping clean, dressing and taking them to health centre if they feel illness, immunisation, etc., there has been

some improvement. Some people now take their infants soon to the health service when they get sick rather than going to a traditional practitioner. Babies and toddlers are dressed well and they might have shoes, and are kept clean unlike ten years ago. Boys up to the age of seven dress above their waist and the reverse is true in that beyond seven they dress below their waist until they get married. Girls wear the same as boys up to seven years old and then start to dress similarly to adult women. Regarding eating there is no difference for boys and girls, up to three years they have to be fed largely butter and milk as much as possible; if milk is not available they eat porridge. Boys from the age of seven up to sixteen have more access to camel's milk than girls because they are herders and girls might not get milk at the same age as boys.

Concerning education, both boys and girls have equal opportunities because of the school established in the area. Ten years ago boys had more chance to go to school than girls; because of the long distance parents worried that girls might face various problems. But now, even small children from the age of four are able to get education access nearby with the kindergarten.

HE said that young adults now live their own way and are reluctant to accept parents' opinions. For example her son is attending school at Addis Ketema in grade eight and refused to attend in the site. Parents can no longer rely on children's labour because of education; even out of school time children are not willing to help with household work as they want to relax and play with friends.

HE said that the household has not been affected by the government intervention against female circumcision because her daughter who married in this year was circumcised and she has planned to circumcise the small girls when they reached the right age. Usually girls are circumcised around the age of eight to twelve years old when they become mature and strong so that the cut genital organ won't grow again. She said there was no evidence given by government to substantiate the reason for the ban that females may face difficulty during delivery, and she added that a woman should feel some pain during delivery is normal. The conditions with regard to male circumcision have changed because most people don't wait for the *Gebella* ceremony to circumcise their boys. Even some young males arrange their own circumcision by going to the health service. Her sons were circumcised when they were children at the age of five/six at the health centre.

HE said they built a latrine four years ago but it no longer works. The forest is very near to her home and they relieve themselves there. Most of the solid wastes are animal dung which is sprayed around the homestead. There is more liquid waste since she washes clothes in the river and Beseka canal and a little liquid waste is used for spraying over dust on the floor and around the home. Since 2008 she has used water purification medicine which is sometimes provided by government and she also buys it from a shop if it is not provided in the site.

HE said she keeps her personal hygiene very well before preparing food and while serving food to household members and keeps house equipment very clean. In most cases the household members get fresh food (porridge) and the cooking and eating materials are washed before and after using them. To keep a healthy home environment HE sweeps the floor daily and sprays water; at three to four days intervals the bed room is swept and sprayed with boiled water to control pests. The Beseka water which is naturally soapy helps her to wash household clothes with only a small amount of detergent/soap.

Last year HE she took training given by FCFDA at the wereda about STDs including HIV/AIDS, and TB and malaria, about how they are transmitted from person to person and how to protect oneself. At the beginning of this year her home was sprayed for malaria control, but she has no bed net. She never goes to the health post, but received health extension advice and education.

HE has been made aware about child health and malaria; especially that stagnant water should be removed from the surrounding area. Children should be kept clean and should be fed on time which enables them to resist various diseases. She follows the advice but there is no stagnant water around her place. She was aware about family planning and immunisation and all her children were

vaccinated. However, she didn't use any contraceptive in the last year because her last child was born four years ago. She was also made aware of the effects of food shortage and received supplements. She had not heard about graduation from the health extension packages or model families. But she heard that her husband is a model farmer.

Regarding illnesses HE's three year old daughter was seriously sick last year; her face became distorted. She was taken to Merti hospital and she stayed there about thirteen days and was given a glucose drip. All health service expenditures were covered by the hospital because her father is a factory guard; however she spent some money to buy some medicine outside the hospital at the health professionals' request, and her daughter gradually recovered.

In terms of pre-schooling her eight year old daughter was attending kindergarten last year and now she is attending ABE school. HE thinks she likes her school since she enrolled late, at the age of seven whereas her oldest sister couldn't even go to school. Regarding primary school an older son is in grade 8 at Addis Ketema because he is not satisfied with the quality of Gelcha primary school. Because of school work he doesn't participate in household chores. He is doing well at school, and commutes from home to school daily by bicycle. HE has also been helping an orphan who is in grade 7 and doing well at Gelcha primary school. He helps with household work, herding, collecting livestock, out of school hours. He does not get any support as an orphan and HE is worried that there will be expenses when he joins secondary school which she won't be able to cover so he is likely to drop out. Her 15 year old daughter never enrolled as they needed her labour for herding. Her parents plan to marry her next year.

CU's household regularly cooperates with friends and relatives in the community with farm activities, house building, and domestic work (particularly for women during marriage), and help each other in times of crisis (death and other problems), and celebrate festivals together. However, they suggest there has been some recent exclusion based on ethnicity and place of origin.

The cooperation with friends and relatives in the community has not changed. CU's household regularly cooperates with relatives and friends in other communities based on clan relationships, particularly in times of crisis, celebrations and festivals. His brother lost two wives in succession. His first wife died after she gave birth to three children. Then he married again and the second wife also died after she gave birth to four children. CU and another brother gave him eight cattle which was useful but not sufficient to resolve his problems completely.

One of CU's daughters got married a month ago at the age of 19. CU sold a cow, a sheep and a goat and took 400 birr credit from relatives. In total he spent about 13,000 birr. Most was used to buy household items for his daughter. For the festivity, the household only prepared *shiro wat*, injera, porridge and *chat*. Moreover, he gave 3 cattle and a donkey to the couple. However, he only received 2 cattle and 2,900 birr from the bridegroom. He said the money he spent was much more than in the earlier times due to market inflation. For instance, when he married his second wife 24 years ago, he only gave 800 birr and some cattle for bride payment.

CU is a member of an *iqqub* with the sugar factory employees. He contributes 125 birr every fifteen days. Last round he received 4,600 birr but now he will receive 5,000 birr because he increased his contribution from 100 birr to 125 birr. Last time he bought about 8 sheep with the money and sold them for a profit. CU feels that *iqqub* is a good means of saving for the members.

CU is an active follower of Islam and all his family members are Muslim. He suggests that in the past few years there has been a change in behaviour of the religious followers. He and many Muslims have become strict and follow the doctrine of the Quran properly which is manifested in regular prayer and mosque attendance. HE says she is not an active participant in religious affairs because she is busy with household chores and livestock work. There is only one mosque in the site which is found at Gelcha zone which is far from her home. There is only one Quran School in a small hut; however, children are too busy with government school to attend it. Her husband is an active

Muslim and goes to the mosque.

HE received trainings about different kinds of diseases and various means to prevent and control them provided by FCFDA and she is happy about what she has learnt. Her daughter attended Ajotere kindergarten school last year and although one son couldn't get proper education this year, he is often benefiting from food aid.

CU suggests that violence between men and violence against women is decreasing though thefts of goats and sheep from the grazing fields which did not exist have become common and some pursue this as a survival strategy. Threats of violence from other communities, particularly Afar and Argobba are increasing, involving theft of livestock from fields and attacks of herders. As a result, conflict with those community groups is becoming common.

HE feels that the community is living in more dangerous conditions than five years ago, as a result of theft, the Beseka discharge canal, the expansion of thorn trees, drought and conflict with neighbouring groups. In the last three months she lost five sheep which were taken by thieves. This is a serious problem for all community members and elders didn't want refer the case to the wereda, because the thieves are youngsters from the site and elders work a lot to attempt to solve the problem. But the situation has become more serious instead of the stealing being stopped. The Beseka water is also affecting the livestock; milk yields are reduced and they are affected with diarrhoea, and small animals were harmed by falling into the canal. Drought has reduced livestock herds affecting livelihoods. Moreover Afar and Argobba steal a large number of livestock at least once a year.

None of CU's family have had direct dealings with the militia. However, he says he knows the militia who live in his neighbourhood and has seen their activities. He argues that the militia serve the community members without any bias but they are not very effective, as they are reluctant to engage in security activities as they are not paid and are busy with their own concerns. CU has not had dealings with the wereda police. However, during the GTP training many people complained that they are not effective. Some claimed that even though they arrest wrongdoers they often do not give an appropriate punishment and they treat wrongdoers unequally depending on relationships and bribe money they provide. It was said that they arrest thieves and wrongdoers, but release them soon without giving any punishment after taking bribes.

CU had dealings with elders last month to negotiate his daughter's marriage, which went smoothly. He said elders have also been involved in dispute resolution and community mobilisation on development activities in the area. He feels they resolve many complex problems in the community effectively and without bias. They are busy resolving problems arising in the community relating to security and other things. Elders are also involved in marital cases within their clans and are not biased against women because Karrayu dislike lying.

CU had no dealings with the social court and does not know what they do as many cases are handled by the kebele chair. HE also has no experience of the court but doesn't think they are biased against women as they are from the community and people she trusts. She added that Karrayu do not do anything wrong against Karrayu. CU said in meetings in which he participated many community members appreciated the effectiveness of the peace committee. CU had no experience of the wereda court but during the GTP training he heard criticisms about favouritism, and that it takes a long time to deal with cases. In Gelcha most cases are dealt with at the kebele level.

HE had no experience of women's organisations and had only heard the name of the women's league. None of CU's household members are members of youth organisations.

CU and both his wives and his married son are members of the party, paying the 12 birr membership fee without difficulty. He said it was good to support the government as it provides different infrastructures for the community. HE said they contribute 24 birr per year: 12 birr for party membership and 12 birr being for kebele residence. (Some people refer to this as contribution for

Oromia development). Sometimes she participates in kebele meetings when there are issues concerning women. Otherwise she doesn't have interaction with government organisations/bodies because her husband is an active participant in all kebele issues.

CU did not mention any resistance to government interventions and suggested that irrigation, drinking water and electricity would be important areas to improve. HE suggested that women could benefit more. She mentioned that when the Lake Beseka discharging canal was constructed the wereda officials promised the people the water would be passed through an underground canal after a few months. However, there are not even proper bridges instead of what was promised.

CU mentioned that there were many more meetings than previously. Last year, the meeting about the GTP took 15 days. The training was about development and farming activities which were supported by experience sharing from other societies. He said he learnt about how to farm and manage agricultural production. He was absent for one day from the meeting and paid a fine of 20 birr 'for *chat*' for the meeting attendants. He did not see any difference between government and party meetings. HE doesn't participate in kebele meetings, except on issues considering women. She appreciates the ideas that she has got from the meetings especially promoting women to engage in income generating activities and enabling women to know their legal rights about violence against women in the community. She did not know if the meetings were organised by the Party, government or some other organisation.

CU paid 45 birr taxes last year and his first wife also paid 45 birr tax independently. He paid 12 birr and both his wives also paid 12 birr each for party membership. For Oromia Development Association he voluntarily contributed 400 birr. He also paid 160 birr (80 birr for each household) for drinking water construction in the kebele.

Last year CU worked on individuals' farmland through the 1-5 development network, clearing farmland, weeding and preparing ditches. The members also worked on his farm and all the work lasted for about a month. HE also participated in group work preparing farm land and building fences in turn within five households. She spent a day for each household's work.

CU suggested the community was cooperating with interventions relating to HTPs affecting women, except for circumcision as the intervention is against Karrayu culture and religious doctrine, so they continue to practice it secretly. HE also agreed that rape is not an issue and confirmed that circumcision is practised in hiding. Though violence against wives was considered normal, with the government intervention both men and women are aware about its harmfulness. Therefore this has been reduced because men have started to fear government action, and women are aware and have started to challenge husbands' violence.

Regarding HTPs affecting health CU said there had not been much action, and the community are not willing to cooperate with government efforts to reduce feeding babies with solid food which is usually butter, and the removal of milk teeth which is usually done to cure teeth problems. The community members perform such practices in secret. However, the community have cooperated and stopped the practice of cutting of uvula and tonsils and bleeding of body parts, which was usually the face, which were commonly practised in earlier times. HE said that feeding solid food to infants is not part of Karrayu culture. She said people are co-operative about not removing milk teeth and cutting uvula and take their child soon when they get health problems. However, she said burning with hot iron is an effective traditional medication for severe headache, sudden pains, stomach ache or acute illness for which they do not have time to go the health service. She said cutting tonsils and body branding were already stopped fifteen years ago.

Regarding overall changes CU appreciated improvements in infrastructure, health and education. However, he worried about livelihood deterioration with decreasing pasture and market inflation. He said: *Our cattle do not find sufficient grass and do not produce sufficient milk to properly feed the family as they used to. The price of food items is getting very expensive and this challenges the lives*

*of many households. Hence, the economic status of many households has got worse.* However, social organisations have not changed much but cooperation within the community has improved with the 1-5 development network structure introduced by the government. HE felt that infrastructure and services are changing rapidly. She mentioned the roads, boys with mobiles, buildings constructed in the kebele, the HEWs and other health workers and DAs, the kindergartens, ABE and primary school and the respect for education.

CU mentioned ideas about development coming from the wereda particularly promoting farming and working in cooperation through 1-5 groups. The wereda intervened to settle the problem and the community followed the old doctrine. HE mentioned the wish to see irrigation and pure drinking water. She also mentioned that about seven youths started irrigation with a pump.

CU said that two of his sons read for their education though it does not benefit other household members and the community members do not want reading material as they are not literate. CU does not have a radio.

CU considers that there has been progress on women's conditions. They are now able to stand up to wife beating, participate in meetings, can inherit property after a husband's death, and have access to economic opportunities such as petty trading through provision of credit access. However, there is no equal sharing of property on divorce and female circumcision is a prevalent part of the culture.

HE suggested that in the last ten years the situation of women in the community has changed politically, economically and socially. Because of frequent trainings, education from kebele and wereda meetings the people are aware of their legal rights. Some HTPs are reduced so that women can refuse inheritance marriage. Women are able to sell their small livestock. There is awareness that women are able to divorce and they are strong enough to do all things the same as men and have equal opportunities to access their wealth. Currently women participate in kebele and wereda meetings as men and they have a similar proportion in the kebele structure. Some women are involved in income generating activities with market and non-farm activities such as fattening shoats, having a shop and other co-operative work. These all contribute to women's empowerment and creating awareness.

Regarding the youth CU suggests that young men have good educational opportunities and many of them attend school. However, after they complete grade 10 it is difficult for them to find a job. Previously, it was difficult for young men to find a wife and get married. However, with the expansion of schooling many young men find partners at school and get married. But, for some youngsters who do not have money, the bride payment is expensive and it is also difficult for them to lead an independent household, as many of them do not have their own permanent income. Young men have a voice in community affairs. They participate in different development meetings in the kebele. However, there is a problem of recreation so that many young men develop bad habits particularly chewing *chat* and theft. CU said it was difficult to know their HIV/AIDS status. Likewise HE mentioned education opportunities, irrigation, learning work experience from adjacent kebeles, with some young men engaged in irrigation. In contrast some young men don't have an interest in work and couldn't get married and their clans don't support them by giving them animals. Some others have become daily labourers in the towns after they completed their education. They often work with traders loading and unloading goods from trucks, acting as guards, working as brokers etc. She said unmarried young men or those who have not yet formed a household do not have a voice in the community affairs.

CU felt that young women also have good educational but not job opportunities. Previously, it was difficult for young women to find partners, and parents selected husbands. However, with the expansion of schooling many young women and men find partners at school and get married. Yet, it is difficult for many of them to lead an independent household without a permanent income. Both young women and men have a voice in community affairs and participate in different development meetings. However, many young women have premarital sex which is forbidden in the community

and get pregnant at school and there is a problem of lack of recreation for youth, though their HIV/AIDS status is not known. HE said young women lack job opportunities before marriage and then become involved in domestic work and livestock activities like their mothers. Some young women if not married could study but there are no jobs. She is impressed by the beauty of young women who are attending school and keeping personal hygiene and having attractive dressing styles, even if they can't get jobs. HE suggested HIV/AIDS and youth recreation are not issues in the community.

### **Household of middle wealth farmer/pastoralist**

NM (40) is a Karrayu from the respected Kallu ritual family involved in blessings. He has been to school up to 8<sup>th</sup> grade, is employed as a guard in the sugar factory, is involved in conflict resolution, is the secretary of a development team and a Party member. His wife HC (35) is a Basso Karrayu from the Abri clan. Apart from domestic activities and looking after livestock she is involved in sheep fattening for sale. They have 8 children (6 male and 2 female). The oldest son (20) is in 9<sup>th</sup> grade at Merti high school. The oldest daughter (15) is pursuing qoranic education along with assisting her parents with livestock herding. The second son (13) is in grade 4 in Gelcha primary school, and the third son (11) was in grade 4, but dropped out last year and is assisting his family herding sheep and goats. The fourth son (9) is also herding and neither he nor the fifth son (7) have joined school. The last child is a daughter aged 2. A daughter of NM's deceased brother aged 10 lives in the household and is in grade 4 and helps the family with herding. The oldest son aged 25 is at college in Adama with the household's assistance. He has regular stomach problems and comes to stay with the family during vacations and days off.

NM says that the household's economic wellbeing has deteriorated with decreasing livestock resulting from pasture shortage and market inflation. However, social cohesion is better with good cooperation with neighbours strengthened by the new 1-5 development networks. HC also mentioned a slight decrease due to loss of livestock resulting from drought and pasture shortage, and increasing prices of grain and consumption good (coffee, kerosene, clothes etc) so that the household has to sell more livestock to cover household expenses. She added that without PSNP support the household would be getting poor. HC suggested there was more quarrelling among women and children than previously, including verbal abuse, insults and blaming each other.

NM appreciates the better roads allowing people to use carts and bicycles, children to get to school and taking people for health care, though he mentioned the expanding lake water cutting off roads and making them take detours. His household buys water from town bringing it back by horse cart or bicycle and uses the outflow from the plantation which is very dirty. HC also mentioned the road and bridge going near their house causing disturbance, and the lake cutting off the water supply from the tap water, resulting in increased costs. NM and his son studying in Adama have mobile phones, which facilitates communication, though he complained about the high cost.

NM mentioned the Lake Beseka expansion as the main environmental problem, as the affected area is no longer productive and plants do not grow well. The tree cover has increased there but the grass has gone. The rainfall has become erratic and more intense causing erosion. The temperature has been decreasing with increasing numbers of trees. Air pollution is linked to when the steel factory operates causing a bad smell. Wildlife has decreased due to hunting and interference of the community members. NM feels that NRM interventions such as terracing and tree planting have not been successful; planted trees dried out. The promotion of fencing grazing areas is useful and he has done so. They were given awareness about the usefulness of protecting wildlife in order that they support the Awash National Park. But none of the community members including him practice this.

The household produces maize from rainfed fields, and this year teff; harvests this year seem likely to be good. He has also grown soya beans. Last year since his ox died and he could not find another he only grew maize. The GTP training allowed NM to get a better understanding of farming. However, the agricultural extension service was not much use. Since last year fertiliser has been

available but he has not used it since he does not have irrigated land. DAs provided information about compost preparation, but he did not use it for his farm.

NM has 2 oxen, 7 cows of which 2 are improved breeds, 4 bulls (all improved breed), 12 goats, 4 sheep and 13 chickens. There has been a slight increase in livestock since five years ago since they reproduced. HC participates in livestock activities like herding, cleaning livestock yards, milking, collecting cane residues, and taking out livestock early in the morning and collecting them at night. Because the children are attending school she could not get much child labour either for domestic work or for livestock activities. Therefore her husband decided to take one son out of school to herd, especially since theft of shoats has become a serious problem in the area. NM did not benefit from livestock extension, and bought the breed cattle from someone who got them in another area. He got one ox that cost about 2,300 birr through the PSNP as part of the OFSP (HC suggested it was 2 oxen). He obtained vet services from the wereda and the vet officials also visit the village when called during emergencies. He has therefore benefited from assistance related to the health of the livestock, and rarely also advice from the DAs. NM has not yet paid the debt of 2,300 birr for buying the ox provided by the PSNP. He said he thought that it was given it as a gift but recently the kebele officials informed him that the money should be repaid, though he said he is not ready to do so.

One family member worked for FFW/CFW at a time. In most cases his wife participates and assigns another family member when she can't. Last year, they worked on road construction and maintenance, and construction of cut-off drains. Four members of his family have been registered and get FFW/CFW support. For each individual he gets 50 birr and 15 kg wheat per month. His household received a total of 200 birr per month for three months and 60 kg wheat, lentils and oil per month for the other three months. However, NM said the amount of payment is too small compared with the heaviness of the public work. HC said she participated in road maintenance, planting trees, digging water canals and terracing. She said received assistance for four family members, amounting to about 60 kg of wheat, 12kg of lentil and 6 litres of oil.

HC said there was no change in the condition of the house and its surroundings compared with last five years. She has three old small huts; one is used as a kitchen, another is the living room and the third is her son's bedroom and he studies in it. The compound is filled with animal dung like most other people's compounds in the community. HC bought a kitchen cupboard, various dishes, coffee cups and pots. Currently the radio is damaged. The grain mill stopped working because of the high price of fuel and running costs. When it was working it was helpful since it is very close to home which meant it reduced energy and time. She is a member of the grain mill co-operative association.

HC fetches water from town and spends about six birr per 25 litre jerrycan and five birr for transportation (two birr per person and three birr for the water). The latrine was damaged last year because it was overgrown with thorn trees. Three years ago the eldest son was affected with acute watery diarrhoea and is still not cured, and suffers from stomach aches.

HC uses wood for cooking and kerosene for light. She was bitter about the rising price of kerosene with 1/3 litre costing 8 birr, and not lasting a week. Because of this she quarrelled with the children and has forbidden them from using it at night for studying.

HC said there has not been much change in the kinds of food they consume. The most common food is porridge with milk, and often butter during the rains. She prepares injera during fasting time when meat might be available. During the harvesting season the household gets vegetables when they become cheaper. She usually sells eggs because they are not accustomed to consume them; however, sometimes her sons cook them. She received PSNP aid in cash and grain; when it was in grain she received wheat, lentils and oil.

HC said she is doing more work both in domestic and livestock activities because both girls and boys go to school. They have only a short period out of school to help her so that child labour does not help much. However, sometimes her sons bring drinking water from town and they take out

livestock in the morning and collect them at night. Girls help her in fetching water, collecting cane residue and are involved in household chores.

Last year one of her younger daughters was affected with malnutrition. She got 20 kg of fafa and 1.75 litres of oil from FCFDA twice in the year. During the first round all children ate together, but in the second round she was fed alone according to the advice of the providers.

HC last gave birth two years ago; since then she has used contraception injections to avoid further births. She says there has been a bit of change in child rearing practices in the last ten years, specifically relating to sanitation, accessing health services and feeding. Now new born infants have to be fed breast milk, unlike the past. Children have better vaccination access and more consistently. Previously, a child was vaccinated one or two times in his/her life, but now they are vaccinated about four and more times, which may help for future health. Small children have clothes and shoes and they have an education opportunity at kindergarten school. They are also lucky in accessing playing materials and school feeding in the school.

HC said adolescent girls and boys have equal access to education because of the school available in the site. They are concerned with cleanliness and have more than one set of clothes. Currently, parents take account of the adolescents' interests and they live the way they want, according to what the government says. Young men and women are free to go their own way. For example, her son who is attending Adama private college came home and has been getting sick. His parents wanted to take him to the health service, but he refused and wants to have money to go back to Adama. She is in worried because he doesn't want to discuss the problem and seems very sick.

Regarding female circumcision HC said that girls are usually circumcised around the age of eight to twelve years old when they become mature and strong so that the cut genital organ will not grow again. She says people do not think the rationale for banning the practice on the grounds that they may face difficulty in delivery are valid and people are not cooperating. However, some may agree that there is a worry of the transmission of communicable diseases and some are considering stopping the practice. She has three uncircumcised daughters including her sister's daughter and she decided to not force them to be circumcised, but if they want to be circumcised that is up to them.

HC had her youngest sons circumcised at the health centre, but the eldest two sons were circumcised at the health service. She said this was the result of government intervention that helped them to decide to be circumcised on time rather than for waiting the *Gada* system rituals as before.

HC was made aware about environmental sanitation and hygiene through the health extension package in meetings and the HEWs came to her home to observe how they were implementing what they learnt. She uses water purification liquid when it is provided by HEWs at the site, or buys it. She said that it is better to buy pure water from the town rather than buy the medicine. The water from the Beseka canal water which passes near her home is important to her for washing clothes and house equipment and for spraying the floor to sweep it. She said this is a change because of government intervention, and helps to increase her role in keeping a healthy home environment.

HC was made aware about HIV/AIDS, TB, malaria and other health related issues before several years through different government and NGO interventions. Likewise last year also she took advice and education from various sources at kebele meetings.

HC said children get education about adolescent reproductive health services in the school. One of her daughters benefited from the nutrition package and she also benefited as she gained advice about preparation of food for children and how/ when to feed them.

HC did not know about model families and the health package graduation criteria and whether she was a graduate or not. The research officer remarked that the list of graduates was read out at a meeting and only a few women were aware that they were among the 200 model families as they

said they were told they were a model family at the meeting.

One of HC's sons attended kindergarten in their village. He liked to go to school because he was attracted by the school feeding and playing materials in the school. Three children are enrolled at Gelcha primary school this year, an 11 year old son in grade 4, the 12 year old daughter of a deceased sibling in the same grade, and a 7 year old son in grade one. The school fees are 20 birr per child. A 15 year old daughter is attending Koran school. The 13 year old son is not at school as they need his labour, so he dropped out from grade 5, since his mother could not look after the livestock as well as do domestic chores. HC said he had dropped out temporarily and would resume his schooling next year. The 20 year-old son is enrolled in grade 9 at Addis Ketema secondary high school, and gets there by bicycle. The household spent about 450 birr on his education (150 birr for fees, 300 birr for uniform and shoes, and 100 birr for educational materials). HC said he is doing well and she heard from his friends that he is clever and she hopes he will continue with his studies. The oldest son is in the Rift Valley private college in Adama; the household pay half the fees about 150 birr/month, because the owner sponsored 40 Karrayu youth who had completed grade 10. HC said all household members are happy about his chance to go to college. She didn't know what subject he studies. He lives with friends in a rented house near the college. Since he has joined the school the household has spent about 800 birr in three months (since October).

NM said his household regularly cooperates with others living nearby, and that the cooperation has increased because the government established the structure called 'network', 1-5 development groups. He said his household cooperates in farm work, house building, domestic work, sharing farm implements (though not livestock), provides help in times of crisis, and celebrates festivals and other occasions. NM said they also have strong cooperation with friends and relatives in other communities mainly during times of crisis, celebrating and festivity. The extent of cooperation is more or less the same as in earlier times. Last year his oldest son got sick and was admitted to Adama hospital and he was unable to farm his land during the rainy season. His younger son managed the farm without any assistance from relatives or friends. The mother of one of his neighbours is sick in bed, but couldn't get any assistance. Her son is assisting her but he can't take her for health care as he is poor. He asked NM for assistance but he could not help, but along with other neighbours he was at least able to provide her food and cover her home expenses. He concluded: *the assistance is not sufficient and we couldn't take her for medication.*

Recently, there was the *Eid* celebration. NM said they prepared food (rice) and *chat* and invited the neighbours and passers-by. For the holiday he also bought clothes for his children, selling a goat to cover the expense, which came to about 500 birr. He said this was more than he would have spent previously because of the market inflation affecting the price of consumable goods.

NM is a member of a stone cooperative, which engages in selling stones for house construction. It is a relatively successful cooperative. However, there is a problem of demand as there are not many people building houses due to the market inflation.

NM is a member of an *iddir* at Addis Ketema town. He contributes 11 birr per month. There is no pay-out when ill and no loan access. The *iddir* supports members only on death. It assists with money and providing a tent, cups and eating implements when somebody dies. HC said she benefited when her sister died. During the funeral ceremony the household used the tent, dishes and cups and received 400 birr.

NM and his family are Muslims. Two years ago they received meat during the feasting period from the mosque. HC said she isn't active in religious activities because she is too busy with domestic work and livestock activities to go to mosque for prayer. However, sometimes she prays at home. Her husband is an active follower going to the mosque to pray as it is very close to the house. HC said the children are not active followers and they don't practice Islamic religious activities.

NM said there are no violent fights among men and no robberies involving violence or threats in the

community. Nor did he think there were sexual attacks on women and girls. However, theft and burglary has increased over time, especially goats and sheep stolen from the field, which is a new development and some are using this as a survival strategy. Moreover, the threats of violence from other communities particularly from Afar and Argobba are increasing, with cattle thefts and shooting at herders. HC mentioned that there is frequent conflict arising between some people who are engaged in irrigation, though this had not led to serious violence. There are also frequent conflicts among women and among children, which did not occur in the past. HC also said that theft of shoats has become a serious problem in the community in the last four/five years. However, since the thieves are youngsters from the community, elders don't want to say who they are. NC said there are no sexual attacks on women and girls. She remarked that there has been a historical threat of violence from the Afar and Argobba.

NM said that the militia were working effectively without bias and gave a personal example. Last year, when he fenced his compound, the adjacent farm owner complained and accused him to the kebele of crossing the boundary. The militia came and asked him about the issue. Then, after checking the issue, they confirmed that he was right. NM suggested that the wereda police do not work effectively, as there is favouritism and bribes. He mentioned his own experience of having been accused by someone to the wereda police, who jailed him for some hours when he was not at fault. Then someone he knew negotiated with the police and he was set free.

NM believes that the elders treat cases fairly without bias. He gave an example of the successful marriage negotiations carried out by elders when one of his neighbours married his son. He also believes they play a significant role in dispute resolution and development activities. HC also viewed the elders' role positively but pointed out that they do not want to refer cases even if beyond their capacity. She mentioned that they were unable to deal with the theft of livestock and the wereda officials and police repeatedly came to the area and called people to try to find the thieves. NM felt the social court deals affectively with cases referred by the kebele. He mentioned a case taken to the social court where a woman accused a boy of theft, and after investigating the case the court released the boy for lack of evidence. HC also thinks they are effective but do not deal with marital cases as wives don't accuse husbands but rather tell the husband's clan elders who solve the problem. NM said the peace committee had not managed to resolve a dispute between irrigation water users and preferred to quit. About the wereda court NM mentioned that there were complaints during the GTP training that they received bribes.

HC sometimes participates in kebele meetings especially relating to the PSNP or when officials require women's participation or when her husband tells her. Four members of the household are political party members.

NM suggested that there is a need for irrigation and better bridges as the current ones are not strong enough for vehicles or convenient for livestock. HC complained that the grain mill stopped and felt electricity should be installed. She also worried about the Beseka discharge canal being dangerous for people and animals, requiring women to look after them.

NM said meetings have been useful and during the 15 day GTP one he learnt about farming, and officials were evaluated; participants including him were punished 20 birr for lateness and absenteeism. HC only participated in meetings on issues relating to women and the PSNP.

The household paid 45 birr tax, 12 birr for Party membership, 80 birr for drinking water construction and 4 birr for sport. They also gave a goat for the Oromia Development Association voluntarily. NM worked on clearing and farmland preparation for individuals with the 1-5 team for about three days per household. HC also participated in the 1-5 network fencing individual house compounds including hers by cutting thorn trees, for about five days.

Both NM and HC feel that HTPs regarding women have decreased except for female circumcision where the community is not convinced of the government rationale for the ban. NM suggested

health HTPs are also being reduced except for removal of milk teeth which is believe to cure illness, and HC thought that burning with a hot iron is useful for some illnesses such as colds and stomach aches.

NM considers that infrastructure and services have improved, but livelihoods are in decline owing to pasture shortage and price increases. HC also approved of roads and health and education interventions. She did not feel the agricultural extension services had been working and women's cooperatives have failed, and the grinding mill lost money.

NM said new ideas from government promote farming and cooperation through the 1-5 networks, and religious teachers promote tolerance and respect of other religions; the media promote development. He did not feel useful new ideas were coming from town, only price increases. HC noted new Islamic preachers coming from other areas, and an increase in religious observance. However, some youth with contacts in towns are converting to Protestantism and she mentioned the case of one boy and one girl. The household's radio is broken but they used to listen and two sons watch TV in town, notably football and dramas, which HC is not pleased about as they watch late at night instead of studying and they do so without her permission.

### **Household of poor farmer**

ZB is 49; his wife HC is 35. They are both migrants, both from Tulama Oromo and Orthodox Christians; he moved from Wolencheti in Bosset wereda to Gelcha twenty years ago. He is employed by Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) as a nursery site guard and farms his own land during the rainy season. He suffers from TB. His first wife had a son and died. He then remarried his current wife who came from his home area. They have had six children. She has a problem with her leg, but engages in fattening and selling sheep, and selling firewood and grass. The household faced economic difficulties but the wife's business is fairly successful and ZB was lucky in getting a job bringing in a regular income.

ZB's son from his first wife still lives in their home area as a farmer, and visits during holidays and assists them when facing difficulties. An 18 year old son is at Adama in a private college supported by his mother paying 150 birr tuition per month and visiting during vacations and time off. He had completed TVET. A son aged 12 is in 9<sup>th</sup> grade at Merti high school involving high costs of 150 birr fees, 240 birr for uniform and 152 birr for equipment, covered by HC. Four children are at Gelcha school: two daughters in 4<sup>th</sup> grade, one aged 9 who dropped out of school for two years to guard crops, and suffered from malaria, and the other aged 7; a daughter aged 6 is in 1<sup>st</sup> grade and a nephew aged 5 is in kindergarten. He likes the school, has a uniform and benefits from school feeding.

ZB earns 500 birr as a guard and is engaged in rain-fed farming and makes baskets to order and his wife fattens sheep and sells firewood and grass.

The household has 1 cow, 2 goats, and 5 chickens. He used to have 3 cows and a bull five years ago but all died during the 2010 drought and he received food aid and 5 goats from the government. HC has been involved in fattening sheep for four years. HC was involved in two NGO initiated women's cooperative associations sponsored by Care and GTF. She got 4 sheep with 2,500 birr credit which has been repaid and received follow up with animal food and advice and has bought three more sheep for 500 birr. In 2005 she got 5 goats and a bull through the OFSP in the name of her deceased sister whose two children she is caring for. But she is now unhappy as she heard she should repay the debt of about 2,450 which she guesses is more than the price of the livestock she got. She owes 2,000 birr to the women's credit association which she is paying back or will have to start paying interest after 3 months. ZB says his wife covers most of the household's expenses.

The household grows maize on irrigated land using the outflow from the sugar plantation; last year HC spent 580 birr for seed and fertiliser which she bought from the wereda as it was cheaper than from the kebele, but the crop failed since the plantation water channel stopped before the crop

matured. However, their son got some maize from sharecropping in another kebele with irrigated farming. ZB used compost with DA advice to reduce on fertiliser cost.

The household was graduated from PSNP three years ago. ZB feels this was unfair as he says his household is still food insecure. HC claims they were excluded because kebele officials favour their relatives and friends.

HC has bought cooking and eating equipment; she uses wood, charcoal, crop residues and dung for cooking and kerosene for light. They use tap water from the plantation workers camp which is free when it works (except when there are power cuts), but has a salty taste, or river water for most purposes and drinking water from town paying 50 cents per jerrycan and 3 birr for transport.

HC said that their latrine hut got damaged by wind and filled with soil. They all used to use it and she wants to dig another one; one daughter has been affected with diarrhoea and vomiting but recovered after taking her to the health centre. HC wants to rebuild the latrine, uses water purification tablets and washes hands and equipment and keeps the house clean.

Unlike the Karrayu HC prepares *injera* with *wat* from pulses and vegetables when prices are low. She mixes maize or sorghum with teff as the prices are now similar. They consume milk, butter, and some eggs, and meat rarely, for instance at Easter. Before they were graduated they got wheat, oil and lentils. HC's husband used to help her with livestock work before he got his current job and her sons bring water from town. There is more livestock work now and her daughters help.

HC has used contraceptive injections for the past four years. She believes in feeding butter to children to remove dirty things from their stomachs despite the advice against it. She said children used to be fed more butter, milk and honey but there is now less of it available. In the past children used to herd but now they go to school and parents especially mothers herd, and adolescents only collect crop residues, and want to go their own way. She believes in circumcision for her daughters, and also circumcised her sons young as they don't follow the *Gada* system.

The household had good social cooperation but recently faced exclusion based on their migrant status. Transport costs have reduced their ability to keep in touch with their home area, and they tend to communicate by mobile rather than visiting. A year ago when they were facing difficulties before ZB got a job as a guard he was involved in daily labour on construction and weeding and went to his home area and got a quintal of maize from his parents and his wife got a quintal from her parents. They assisted a neighbour whose husband died along with other neighbours and clan members. The household received 800 birr bride payment for his wife's sister's daughter whom they raised which they used to buy her clothes and equipment, and also bought her other things she needed. They prepared a simple celebration with *injera* and *shiro* spending not more than 200 birr.

The household are Orthodox Christians but rarely go to church which is far; they celebrate *Meskel* but no longer can afford to slaughter a shoat. The oldest son has officially converted to Islam through an initiation with his Muslim friends. His father advised him not to convert and believes he has not really, but does not know what he will decide in the future.

HC saves 5 birr every 2 weeks with a women's credit association. She borrowed 2,000 birr for sheep fattening and has been supporting the family. ZB is a member of an *iddir* in Addis Ketema contributing 5 birr every two weeks. HC is a member of 2 *iddirs*; she joined one ten years ago in Addis Ketema paying 500 birr and contributing 10 birr per month. The second is informal run by village women contributing 5 birr at the time of death for coffee and labour during the mourning period.

ZB's son had a dispute with a Karrayu friend which was related to discrimination based on clan membership and ZB took the case to the kebele which referred it to the social court, which negotiated with ZB not to take it to the wereda court, and gave his son's friend a warning. HC mentioned that the court is trying to resolve problems in the women's cooperative relating to some

women stopping contributing after taking loans, and others not paying regularly.

ZB, HC and their oldest son are party members, and he paid 12 birr membership for the household, which he considered a lot. At the GTP meeting he was absent for one day with Kebele permission but had to pay a 40 birr fine. The household paid 45 birr tax, and 80 birr for Oromia Development Association. The household contributed labour for 5 days for building the school fence.

ZB suggested the need for land distribution to encourage farming and improved water and electricity access. HC felt that the interventions from NGOs on women's income generation starting 15 years ago were important but many failed due to lack of follow up. The government stopped the involvement of GTF making them work in other kebeles when they had been planning to provide 4,000 birr to active members.

Regarding change ZB was positive about infrastructure and services development but worried about livelihoods and inflation. He felt cooperation has changed from clan to individual through *iddir* and the 1-5 network.

Two sons listen regularly to the radio Afan Oromo programmes on the radio bought 5 years ago.

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

CW is 60, Karrayu and a widow whose husband died ten years ago. His brother married her through inheritance but five years ago she separated from him as he was not doing anything for the household. She has had nine children, two of whom died. Two are living out of the household. A daughter aged 32 who married 15 years ago lives in Abadir. She had three children one of whom lives with her grandmother. She suffers from mental illness. The second, a son aged 24, is single and is a livestock DA at Gara Dima after attending Chiro agricultural and rural development training centre and fattening bulls in Gelcha to cover the cost; as this is close to where his sister lives he sometimes stays with her and she gives him food. He comes home once a month and supports his mother financially.

A 26 year old son who dropped out of 6<sup>th</sup> grade to get married last year lives with his wife in his mother's house. His wife is in 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Gelcha primary school, and helps her mother-in-law when not at school. He was given 2 oxen, 1 cow, and 1 heifer by his clan to give as bridewealth. He went to Addis Ababa for treatment for a kidney infection. A 22 year old son completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade at Merti preparatory school; he helps his mother with livestock and is preparing to go to Meda-Wollabu University in February. A daughter aged 15 is in grade 6 at Gelcha school. She receives educational support from FCFDA. A grand-daughter aged 4 is attending Gelcha kindergarten.

CW engages in farming using irrigation and also rears livestock. The household has 2 oxen, 3 cows, 1 donkey, 15 shoats and 5 chickens. She bought the oxen recently for farming. The household has tried fattening bulls and shoats for the past 8 years, but the shoats were affected by drought and disease in 2002, 2006 and 2007, and the numbers also were reduced due to sales, lack of pasture and the expansion of the Lake. The son who is a DA gives advice on veterinary care.

Last year the household produced maize, but the amount was reduced because of the effect of the Lake, so they had less water than required. They also produce onions and tomatoes, but these also suffered from water shortage two years ago so they did not grow them last year. CW buys seed and fertiliser from persons with irrigation in adjacent kebeles and sometimes from traders in town. The main constraint is water shortage with the irrigation canal flow stopping at a critical time.

The son who is now a DA had been organised into a youth cooperative in 2007. Each of the 24 members was given 1,000 birr, and they attempted to produce vegetables, maize and teff; but the cooperative failed. CW is involved in a women's cooperative association initiated by GTF and obtained credit. She has a debt of about 1,300 birr from the cooperative which she used for her son's wedding, which she intends to repay this year. They are pursuing her son to pay the 1,000 birr debt as he is able to do so whereas other members of the coop are still dependent on their parents.

CW's house has three huts, one built for the wedding; it has a separate kitchen and livestock are kept outside. They bought a floor mat, mattress, clothes bag, plates, and cooking materials. They also have a radio and mobile phones. They get water from the pipe tap which is close by and from the canal when the tap is not working which is more than half an hour away. The latrine has a wooden floor and branches for a wall but no roof and has deteriorated. She uses wood for cooking and kerosene for light. Grain food consumption has increased and dairy decreased. The staple is porridge from maize and sorghum, and rarely *injera* made from teff and sorghum. During the harvest they add vegetables. Meat and butter are luxuries.

CW sees some change in child rearing practices with less dairy products available. She has circumcised her daughters but says she will leave the decision about her granddaughter to her parents. Her sons had themselves circumcised at around the age of 15 after their father's death though he had wanted to wait for the *Gada Gebella* ceremony.

CW found out she was a model family in the health extension package when the HEW read out her name in the list at a kebele meeting.

CW has good social relations with neighbours. She contributed 10 birr for coffee and wood and milk and labour when a neighbour's son died. For her son's wedding she went to her prospective in-laws and elders took 50 birr's worth of *chat* and 3,500 birr as a gift called *dendessa* and a heifer. For the wedding she sent 2,000 birr for *chat*, and on the day 800 birr called *seboka* for the spouse's parents' clothes. She spent over 2,000 birr for the preparation and bought a mattress, floor mat and other household equipment.

CW is Muslim; she has no time to go to mosque but prays at home. Her sons do not go to mosque and she does not know about their religion, though her daughter is Muslim. She is the only Party member in the household. She pays 45 birr land tax, and 12 for the Party membership, 12 birr for residence.

CW would like to see irrigation and clean water, mentioning that community members had contributed 80 birr. She is sorry that GTF was made to shift to another kebele as she felt they were doing good work. CW sees a lot of changes even if some are not functional like the FTC or stopped like the shop, grain mill and grain store. CW attributes some of the minor changes in women's rights and economic empowerment to the work of NGOs such as Care. She suspects that more youth would be found to be HIV positive if they took VCT.

### **Household of poor woman**

SI is 55 and Karrayu of the Dulecha clan, Hawaso lineage. She is poor but active in community affairs, on the school board, the kindergarten committee, a model family in the health extension package and a party cell leader (*mare genda*). She was a cook for the GTF school feeding programme. She was born in another kebele in the same wereda and moved to her husband's kebele to marry at 14; they came to Gelcha after they had their first son. She was the only wife of her late husband. She has had 11 children one of whom died.

Six children married and formed their own households. Three married daughters live close by. Her eldest daughter (35) married 18 years ago at the age of 17 and lives in the same village with her husband and 6 children. She is poor and involved in trade and her mother sometimes helps her and feeds her grandchildren who live close by and shares the PSNP food. Her second daughter (30) also lives in the same site with her husband and children and is better off as her husband is a plantation guard, and they share the sugar he receives with her mother's household. Likewise, her third daughter is married to a guard and lives close by. A fourth daughter (25) married three years ago and lives in another kebele in the wereda, where they produce three crops a year with irrigation, and she brings her mother food. Her oldest son (33) dropped out of 7<sup>th</sup> grade to work on the Korean road construction 7 years ago. SI cares for his oldest son and his wife and second child who live as neighbours, while he works as a store guard. The second son (22) dropped out of 10<sup>th</sup> grade this year

to work on wage labour at Metahara harvesting sand; he used to commute by bicycle to secondary school. He is single and visits every 2-3 months.

A 19 year old son is in 10<sup>th</sup> grade at Addis Ketema; he participated in sand harvesting during the rains to earn an income but depends on his mother; an 18 year old son is in grade 9 at Addis Ketema and has received some support from a rich trader in town, who also bought him clothes and a mobile phone, but he is expected to live there and work for him. A 16 year old son is in grade 6 at Gelcha school; SI paid 20 birr for enrolment and 72 birr for materials; a grandson aged 5 is in kindergarten.

SI's household spent a lot on her husband health before he died; they also spent a lot on weddings of the children who left the household. She used to be middle wealth but since her husband's death she has become very poor. However, with PSNP support and a loan of 2,000 birr from the GTF sponsored women's cooperative association her condition has been improving in the last two years.

SI's household has 3 cows. Five years ago she had none as the livestock were sold for funeral and marriage ceremonies, but a year ago she bought one cow with PSNP support and she received a cow from her son-in-law when he married her daughter three years ago. She sold a cow and heifer last year to repay debts. She cuts cane residues from the plantation for sale and cattle feed.

SI's household does not farm. Two sons are involved in sand harvesting, one married son is a guard of the office and store at the wereda town and a second has joined a wereda association. SI has been a cook in the past two years at the GTF secondary school. She obtained 2,000 birr credit from GTF as a member of the women's cooperative association. She repaid her debt last year. Her son was a youth producers' association member four years ago, but did not benefit. SI is a PSNP direct support beneficiary.

SI's home has not changed much; recently she bought a kettle, floor mat, clothes bag and large plate. She uses the plantation outlet water for all sources and when it ceases buys drinking water from town, and uses the pond water for other purposes. She has a better latrine than most and household members use it. There has not been any change in food, the staple being porridge eaten with milk or coffee husks drink (*hoja*); they eat some vegetables when cheap. She received 225 kg wheat, 6 litres oil and 14 kg lentils last year and 750 birr from PSNP direct support. She is involved in all household tasks as her daughters are married and her sons don't have time to help, two being at school in town. The one at home does some herding and collecting cattle if she is busy.

SI has close cooperation with her married daughters and they visit her and they support each other. During her husband's funeral she received financial, food and labour assistance from neighbours, friends and relatives. He had been ill for 8 years with gastritis and liver infection and they sold a lot of livestock and when he died a bull for the ceremony and a cow and 3 sheep for various *sedeqa* memorial ceremonies. She received 2,000 birr from her husband's *iddir* in Addis Ketema. When a neighbour lost her husband she contributed 10 birr for coffee and sugar. For her last daughter's marriage she received 2,000 birr and a cow from his husband. She spent about 2,000 for the ceremony and her brother contributed 600 birr.

SI is Muslim but not active in religious activities and is too busy to pray even at home. Last year she was taken by FCFDA to Dire Dawa for experience sharing on orphans and got 300 birr. She hopes she will become an orphan carer if the project goes ahead. She is a Party cell leader and is interested in the work but said she was not oriented well. She paid 45 birr land tax, 12 birr party, 12 birr residence and 80 for water. She is a PSNP direct support beneficiary.

SI is worried about the Beseka canal which was meant to be underground; she expects the government to establish the new irrigation and pure drinking water as promised. She was also critical of the health services since the HEWs are often not present and there is a shortage of drugs. The livelihood interventions for women have deteriorated due to lack of monitoring. She also feels the youth lack jobs and are linking up with urban louts, although some have started becoming involved in irrigation in other kebeles.

## **Structures of inequality in 2012**

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

#### **Overall community wealth**

Wealth is understood in terms of livestock holdings. A wealthy household may have 20 camels, 40 cattle and 100 to 200 sheep and goats. A group of knowledgeable respondents suggested that out of the 600 households in the kebele about 5 would be considered rich, about 100 middle wealth, about 295 poor, about 100 very poor and about 100 destitute.

The destitute are those without livestock; the clan has a responsibility to look after them and contribute livestock until they can get by. This clan responsibility for the welfare of members is expressed in the proverb: *"You can ask a person about his or her survival but not about how s/he survives"*.

There is a sense that the community has become relatively impoverished as livestock herds have decreased in size with successive droughts, reductions in grazing areas with the expansion of the park and sugar plantation, more difficulties in carrying out pastoralism moving to areas far away, in part due to threats from enemies, and increasing prices of food and consumption goods requiring the sale of stock to purchase grain and other items.

There is limited rain-fed agriculture though a small proportion of households have access to irrigated agriculture and some of these have been able to become relatively wealthy.

#### **Spatial poverty**

The main aspect of spatial poverty and wealth relates to the limited potential of irrigation. Those living close to the outflow of the sugar plantation, who have been able to use the water to produce irrigation have been able to grow crops and some have become relatively wealthy through the sale of cash crops. There are only two small villages where the irrigation is possible both of which are areas dominated by migrants, the Somali and Harar Oromo who include the Ittu who are more integrated and live among the Karrayu and those who are known by the term "Kottu" which refers to their agricultural background but is now considered a derogatory term. The Oromo from Harar were among those who became engaged in irrigation earlier.

There is also a pattern of spatial poverty associated with the quality of water that residents drink. Some households that live relatively close to the sugar plantation settlement known as the North camp benefit from a water pipe from the settlement, and those living closer to the towns of Addis Ketema and Metahara have better access to services and are able to bring drinking water more easily in jerry can by horse cart or bicycle, though this involves significant costs for the water and transport by cart. Those living further from the town and sugar plantation settlement drink water from the sugar plantation outflow, and when that is not available from ponds or the river, all of which tend to be polluted.

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

Respondents emphasised that wealth can fluctuate very rapidly and dramatically as a result of drought so that someone who is rich can suddenly become poor and someone who is poor can become wealthy if his herd reproduces.

Apart from livestock, respondents suggested that there are very minimal distinctions between households as the life style, diet and household goods are more or less similar so that status differences are not very visible in material possessions.

Very few households have been able to become relatively wealthy through involvement in irrigated agriculture and a few youth through trading consumer goods and others by fattening livestock for sale. Some younger women have also done relatively well from trade and livestock fattening

However, it does not seem that there is much inter-generational transfer of wealth, let alone class formation.

Wealth based on livestock is precarious and respondents emphasised that rich households can become poor if herds are decimated by drought as happened in 2010. Trading as a source of wealth are fairly recent and carried out by youth. The irrigation promoted in groups on the Awash river by youth failed in part due to flooding and failed harvests and well as the fuel and running costs for the pumps and difficulties in managing collective work and responsibilities, and traditional irrigation by individual households is not always successful, and is constrained by the limited amount of water in the outflow canal from the sugar factory which is also cut off seasonally when the factory stops irrigating during the rains, and due to the expansion of the lake making the soil salty and less productive so that some had to abandon irrigated agriculture.

A number of households have managed to send their sons to secondary education, though many of those who completed schooling have not found jobs and remain unemployed or involved in daily labour in towns, and some became involved in bad habits. A few established households have been able to send their children on to tertiary education though it is too early to assess if this is leading to returns on the investment. A son who became a DA is assisting his mother. Only one case of remittances from a migrant to Germany was reported.

### **Inequality within households**

There are clear inequalities in gender terms with women carrying the brunt of the burden of domestic work, house building and all the child care, as well as much of the work looking after cattle and small stock, whereas the young men migrate with the camels in search of pasture. Children going to school has increased the burden on mothers, especially after girls marry out and away. There are also gender related inequalities in households of successful older men, who may marry second and sometimes third younger wives.

There are gender inequalities between boys and girls with the latter doing most of the housework assisting mothers, and boys going to school, rarely doing much apart from sometimes collecting livestock and sometimes bringing water by bicycle. Boys are not involved in cooking though some young men cook eggs for themselves (eggs are not traditionally part of the diet). There are also some cases of inequalities where some children go to school and others either do not go to school or drop out early to become involved in herding work.

### **Problems poor people face**

The poor male headed household lost his three cows and a bull in the 2010 drought. The maize they were producing in the irrigated land from the sugar plantation outflow failed since the water was stopped before the maize matured. They were graduated from the PSNP three years ago though they consider themselves to be food insecure, and suggested this was since the kebele officials favour their relatives and friends and they are in-migrants.

A poor widow is involved in petty trade to survive and bring up her children. She spent a lot on her husband's illness and on the funeral, selling most of their livestock. However, she subsequently got a cow with PSNP support and got another from her son-in-law, and now receives support from her married sons and daughters.

One of the destitute is an elderly woman whose husband was killed by the army when the EPRDF took control of the area. She is a migrant from Hararge area. After the death of her husband she gradually sold the livestock and then had to start relying on selling firewood and charcoal for survival. However, because of illness and old age she could no longer do so and her house fell down. She has started to live with her married daughter. Her husband's kin sometimes send food from east Hararge. Last year she was given 250 birr by the food security office since she is poor and in return was expected to do three days public works on road maintenance. She also received three goats

from FCFDA. She is upset that she was excluded from the PSNP which she thinks is because she does not have relations with the kebele officials or other notable people. Her neighbours regularly call her for coffee and to have something to eat. She relies on her daughters and once a year sends one of them to get support from her husband's relatives in Hararge.

### **Pro-poor government interventions**

The main intervention to protect the livelihoods of poor people has been the PSNP, especially the direct support, and the other food security assistance providing loans of livestock.

The wereda had a budget for exemptions of health care costs of up to 30,000 birr and could write referral letters to the hospital in Adama for exemptions. However, the amount is small compared to the needs. Last year about 56 poor people were exempted from payments, but this was stopped in the current year due to lack of a budget.

One woman mentioned that one of her neighbours was sick and was poor and did not have livestock or any assistance. She has three children who are attending schooling. Therefore Fantalle Children and Family Development Association assists two of her children and covers all their educational materials and the kebele had relieved her from any community contribution. Now the kebele is trying to arrange preconditions for her to enable her to get exemption of health costs.

Very poor individuals are exempted for community contributions for instance in the collections for the installation of piped water.

### ***Social identity***

#### **Ethnicity**

The vast majority of households in Gelcha are Karrayu representing about three-quarters of the population. The Karrayu are part of the wider family of Oromo people, though they have distinct cultural traditions. There are two significant minority groups: the Somali with about 80 households and the Oromo from Harar that include those from different parts of the wider Hararge area known as "Ittu" and those from the Harar area known as "Kottu" a term which is now considered derogatory. Whereas the Ittu are more integrated the "Kottu" like the Somali are living in separate villages and number about 50 households. There are also very few households from other areas of Oromia, one of whom were Orthodox Christians from Bosset Wereda who were interviewed.

The Karrayu are divided into two moieties: Dulecha and Basso. The dominant moiety in Gelcha is Basso though in two zones ( Dire-Redi and Ajo-Tere) members of the two moieties live mixed with Ittu, while in Gelcha zone the Somali and Harar Oromo from around Harar ("Kottu") are settled in separate settlements.

The Somali speak a very different language from Oromiffa, (though they are both Cushitic), but share a pastoralist background and Islamic values. There are, however, also significant cultural variations. The Somali practice the much more severe form of female circumcision involving infibulation (the sewing of the genitalia that need to be unsewn prior to marriage) and this became an issue in Gelcha with a Somali man being fined for trying to circumcise his daughter according to his tradition.

The Oromo from Harar and the Karrayu also belong to the broader Oromo family, so there are only minor linguistic differences. The Oromo from Harar have agriculturalists rather than pastoralist traditions (the meaning of the term "Kottu" is linked to the idea of farming). Both the "Kottu" and the Somali in Gelcha became involved in initiating irrigated agriculture from the outflow of the sugar plantation and the two villages they settled in are the only ones where irrigation is practised; this has meant that some of them have become relatively better off, which perhaps has been a cause of envy. Whereas relations have been smooth in the past, recent tensions emerged in part in relation to claims by some of the members from the minority groups that they had been excluded in targeting for PSNP support. There were said to be fights even between the women and children

from the migrant and Karrayu groups. After appeals members of the minorities were included in the PSNP retargeting committees and some of them were included in the PSNP support.

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

The Karrayu are divided into two moieties (or major overarching clan groupings) called Basso and Dulecha that traditionally had their own territories, which have now become less strictly differentiated over time. The story of the origin of the moieties is as follows:

In the past people were engaged on communal life so that they ate and worked together. One day they went somewhere for some work and when they came back to their home they died except for two sons after eating the meat which was unfortunately poisoned by a snake. Dulecha was the elder (*hangafa*) and Basso the younger (*kutusu*). Therefore Dulecha moiety is more respected since he was elder and is given priority to celebrate its Gada and this has continued ever since.

Within each moiety there are a number of clans, and descent is reckoned through the father's line. Each clan has one or more leaders who are appointed by the members. Clan members used to live together, celebrated social events together and helped one another in need especially in relation to dispute resolution and the collection of compensatory payments.

A clan leader mentioned as an example the case of a child from his clan who injured the eye of another child with a stick while they were playing. The clan contributed money and livestock and took the injured child to Adama Hospital for treatment, covering all the expenses. Unfortunately, the child lost its eye and the clan started to negotiate with the clan of the injured child through elders to address the issue. The elders decided on compensation of 6,000 birr and one camel for the affected clan. The clan of the child again contributed money and livestock and paid the compensation and resolved the problem. Altogether for medication and compensation the clan paid about 12,000 birr to the clan of the injured child, which was given to his family.

Clan leaders play an important role in mobilisation members to resolve problems. Clan exogamy means that people must marry from the opposite moiety. However, there have been changes in residence patterns and marital rules. With population increase and migration the territories are no longer clearly distinct and people from the two moieties lives mixed together. Clan marriage rules are also less strong and Karrayu youngsters, especially among the educated are beginning to choose their own partners and a few are even beginning to marry non Karrayu.

According to a clan leader relations between the clans and the government are mixed. On the one hand the government encourages clan leaders to participate in development activities and respects the decisions made by the clans to resolve disputes. For instance in a murder case, if the matter is handled through the respective clans and the dispute is resolved peacefully, after the blood money is settled, the government appreciates the role of the clans and may not interfere with that decision. However, on the other hand, if the clans beat offending members in order to restrain or punish them for not behaving according to cultural norms to discourage them from repeating offences, the government is against this on the grounds that this collective action violates individual rights.

Households are composed primarily of family members often including three generations; it is not unusual for an adult son to marry and live in close proximity with his parents and for married daughters to be living close by or within the same zone or at least in Gelcha Kebele. A wealthy man may have a second and sometimes a third wife, each with separate households relatively close by.

### **Religion**

The community is almost exclusively Muslim. There is one Orthodox family of migrants from Wolencheti in Bosset wereda of Oromia. However, one of their sons converted to Islam persuaded by his friends to undergo a conversion ritual, which disappointed his father who believes he may not have been genuinely converted. There are also a few youth who have had contacts with Protestants in towns and one woman suggested that that one young man and one young woman have

converted. Another said she did not know the religion of her children who were not at home.

Customary religious practices associated with traditional Oromo religion known as *Waqefana* are also important and the *Gada* age grading rituals have been revived and have received government endorsement and many people subscribe to both belief systems simultaneously.

In the past decade there have been Muslim preachers who are in-migrants from the Harar area, who have advocated a rejection of traditional religious practices and there has been a recent expansion of the Wahabi trend of Islam with some fundamentalist trends. This has led to changes in behaviour among some of the community members and some tensions between the traditional Muslim beliefs and those introduced by the Wahabi. The religious discord was expressed around the number of times of prayer in the day. The Sheika preachers coming from Harar have been providing teaching to adults and children. At some point some were advocating praying only twice a day unlike the traditional doctrine of five prayers a day and they claimed to have received community support. The rift between the traditional Muslim clerics and the new sheika preachers was taken to the wereda that supported the traditional leaders, and there were allegations that the petition claiming community support was forged.

### **Native/immigrant**

The two main immigrant groups are the Somali and Oromo from Harar, including the Ittu from the wider Hararge area and the “Kottu” from the surroundings of Harar town. There are about 80 Somali households and about 50 “Kottu” households and they live in separate villages that are referred to by their respective group names. The Ittu are more integrated and live interspersed with the Karrayu. There are also a few households of migrants from other areas of Oromia such as an Orthodox Christian family from Welencheta in Bosset wereda.

A number of the migrants have been engaged in irrigated agriculture from the outflow of the sugar plantation. Some have become relatively better off from the irrigated agriculture. This has led to some frictions which came to the fore over the allocation of PSNP support with some from the minority groups claiming they had been excluded or graduated allegedly on the grounds of being better off due to the irrigation but apparently due to ethnic discrimination. The case was taken to the wereda that instituted a new committee for the retargeting with minority representation and inclusions of beneficiaries in the retargeting.

### ***Vulnerability and social exclusion***

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

The wereda have some intervention programmes to help disabled persons providing them once every six months with wheelchairs and crutches for those who have mobility problems in collaboration with Adama Social Rehabilitation Fund. Wereda officials suggested that previously, many disabled people were socially, physiologically and physically neglected. However, they said that those who previously felt inferior are now able to be confident and become part of society due to continuous material and psychological support provided by the wereda.

There is no programme for mentally ill persons and the wereda has not identified any persons suffering. In 2010/11 the wereda announced that the people should report if there is a mentally ill person in their family or neighbourhoods. But, according to officials, due to erroneous perceptions of the community about mentally ill persons, no one reported any, and the matter has not been taken further.

Kebele officials said there were roughly 200 disabled adults and children who have various problems including of hearing, sight and walking. The problems, particularly hearing, have increased over the past ten years. However, there is no government or NGO help for them. They are only assisted by their respective families and relatives. Kebele officials estimated that there are also about 40 mentally ill adults and children with no assistance, relying on family and clan support.

The criteria for obtaining PSNP direct support include those who are disabled; if the household head is disabled all his family members are considered eligible for direct support. The PSNP direct support also includes elderly. Disabled persons are included for direct support only if they do not have family members who are able to participate in public works. The identification of eligible people is mostly carried out through gathering information from the committee members about a given household; not through direct home to home visits.

One 40 year old man became paralysed at the age of six and was taken to a traditional healer and one of his legs was healed but the other remained paralysed. He used to depend on PSNP before he started irrigation. He sharecrops out as he cannot farm himself. He hires daily labour for 30-40 birr for agricultural work and his family members also take part. He produced 40 quintals of maize last year and his share was 20 quintals. He also produced tomatoes and sold them for 10,000 birr, his share being 5,000 birr. Previously he had no livestock but he has been able to buy 15 shoats, is able to feed his family and is doing relatively well.

Though his disability has not prevented him from doing very well he mentioned how elders discriminated against him in a land dispute:

Four years ago one of the adjacent land owners crossed the boundary and farmed on my land. Then I reported the case to the community elders to stop him. However, the elders decided for him saying "*you are physically disabled and couldn't work on the farm on your own. So let him work on the land.*" Since I couldn't refuse what the elders decided, I accepted the decision and things seemed settled at the time. I have not taken my case to the kebele so far but I will do so in the future.

However, he said that he and his family have been able to get extension services and have not faced any discrimination. His family are involved in PSNP public works and this year he was included as a direct support beneficiary. He said that he did not get health care exceptions or any help from NGOs. His household pays higher land tax of 100 birr since he has irrigated land, and participates in making all the required contributions of cash and labour. He is also involved in dispute resolution as an elder; he recently married a second wife.

A woman with a walking disability was born with one leg shorter and the foot set in the wrong position. She cannot carry things, fetch water and wood or travel long distances, and the problem has become worse with age. Her children help her and she said that her disability has not affected her household. She has been registered by the kebele for provision of aid for the disabled but did not get any support. She has had access to all services and packages and pays all contributions, though she does not participate in labour work being disabled. However, she was excluded from PSNP in the last three years due to graduation. Her sister had been included but died and when her sister's husband left she took two of her children to bring them up and received her sister's quota. However, two years ago she was made to graduate. Last year she heard that the kebele was registering the poor who couldn't be included in PSNP assistance. They wrote her name and gave her 250 birr quickly when she complained that she had been forced to graduate. She had some land taken by the sugar factory and her relatives in the area she came from send her grain.

One woman mentioned that one of her neighbours was sick and was poor and did not have livestock or any assistance. She has three children who are attending schooling. Therefore Fantalle Children and Family Development Association assists two of her children and covers all their educational materials and the kebele had relieved her from any community contribution. Now the kebele is trying to arrange preconditions for her to enable her to get exemption of health costs.

A man whose adult son suffered from mental illness described the problem. The son was previously healthy, married and had two daughters and worked in the sugar factory. After he became deranged this led to a lot of problems. Initially people thought he was lying but then he started to throw stones and got into fights and people began to believe he was mentally disturbed. Then he was injured in a car accident while running on the road and his leg was broken. He had to be taken to hospital including to Addis Ababa incurring expenses for his family. He was supposed to come back

for examination but refused and his father asked the clan to assist and it assigned people to help take him to hospital.

The compensation case between the clan of the driver and the injured man has still not been resolved. His father spent a lot of money taking him to traditional healers but they have not so far taken him to a mental hospital. His family have become dependent on his father's household. His wife ran away and married another man taking two of their daughters to raise, but could not fully support them. So she sends them to their grandparents to assist her to buy them clothes and cover other expenses. The daughters have financial and psychological problems when they see their father and worry about him. The grandfather has agreed to bring them to his household when they are older. Before becoming mentally ill he was a PSNP beneficiary and after he fell ill his father was able to continue to receive food and cash in his name.

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

Though there were no interviews with respondents from remote areas it would seem that remoteness can be considered to be related in part to access to clean water. Residents in areas far from the town and the water pipe coming from the plantation workers settlement rely on pond water and water from the outflow of the plantation which is often dirty or polluted.

Those who live further from the roads and the two towns spend more time to get to market and for health facilities.

### **Immigrants**

Wereda officials believe that migration is one of the serious problems in the wereda, as Metahara is a transition point for many illegal migrants and brokers coming from other areas and the people of the wereda.

In Gelcha there are at least 132 non-Karrayu households out of 600 which would represent over a fifth of the population. There are about 80 Somali households and about 50 "Kottu" households from Harar. They are settled in villages where irrigation from the sugar plantation outflow was possible called the Somali *genda* (village) and the Momoji or "Kottu" *genda*.

Some said that relations between the Karrayu and the Somali and Oromo from Harar were good in the past. However, there have been recent tensions. Only two Somali households were selected as PSNP beneficiaries causing resentments.

One woman who is Somali but was born and grew up in the area complained to the wereda that there was a bias and that she and another Somali household were graduated for being better off; the selection committee was disbanded and five new community elders were selected from each zone and she was one of them. She included 6 Somali households in the programme when the quota was increased by 60 households by the wereda office.

When she was included herself instead of one excluded household, a conflict arose and she said Karrayu women began to discriminate against her. At the time when she was giving a training she said a person disturbed the programme and then all Karrayu people were on his side and she wasn't able to continue the programme. Finally, community elders attempted to resolve the problem. However, when her son came from Somali for the summer he was severely beaten and wounded by Karrayu youth. She was saddened by this and the case was dealt with again by elders. Even when the problem seemed to be resolved, she was not happy with the situation.

The wife of the important political leader is a "Kottu" and is dissatisfied that non Karrayu have been excluded from some benefits such as the PSNP. She said her household was excluded since her husband works as a guard but she says others with similar status or even better off Karrayu were included.

There are also two households from other parts of Oromia one from Boset (Wolenchiti) wereda and

one from West Shewa (Mugor) both of whom are Christian. There is one Afar who was an orphan who was adopted and has no relations with his home area. He grew up in a Karrayu person's house as a herder after his foster mother brought him from Awash town as he was an orphan. He had no relative and his foster mother died, and has no sense of being Afar having grown up in Gelcha. He is not involved with the community and did not want to complain about discrimination to the wereda.

A recent in-migrant came from Harar a year ago when his irrigated land was taken away by Hawiya Somali. He knew a Gelcha elder who is a friend of his father, discussed his problem and expressed his wish to settle in Gelcha. The elder discussed with the kebele chairman and elders and he was allowed to settle. The kebele gave him land for a house and farm. He has not faced any problem and feels he has equal rights and responsibilities. He bought an ox and two goats recently. He obtained malaria and water purification tablets from the HP. He is not a PSNP beneficiary because no recruitment has been held since his arrival. His son is attending schooling in Gelcha elementary school. This year he paid 45 birr tax, 5 birr for sport and 50 birr for Oromia Development Association. Last year, he participated in public works such as construction of school fence and different activities that were carried out by 1-5 development teams. However, he does not have other roles in the kebele or other association. He is not a party member but was a member in Harar.

### **Marginal ethnicity**

The two marginal ethnicities in Gelcha are the Somali and Oromo from Harar representing about a fifth of the population. They live concentrated spatially in two villages referred to by their ethnicities as Somali *genda* (village) and "Kottu" *genda*. There are about 80 Somali households and 50 "Kottu" households. There are also Ittu from the wider Hararge area who are more integrated with the Karrayu. There are also very few households from other areas of Oromia.

The Somali speak a very different language from Oromiffa, (though they are both Cushitic), but share pastoralist background and Islamic values. There are, however, also significant cultural variations. For instance, the Somali practice the much more severe form of female circumcision involving infibulation and this became an issue in Gelcha with a Somali man being fined for trying to circumcise his daughter.

The Ittu and "Kottu" and the Karrayu belong to the broader Oromo family, so there are only minor linguistic differences. However, the "Kottu" have agriculturalists rather than pastoralist traditions (the meaning of the name is linked to the idea of farming). Both the "Kottu" and the Somali in Gelcha became involved in initiating irrigated agriculture from the outflow of the sugar plantation and the two villages they settled in are the only ones where irrigation is practised; this has meant that some of them have become relatively better off, which perhaps has been a cause of envy.

Recent tensions have come to light over the allocation of benefits coming from the PSNP, with allegations by persons from the minorities that they were excluded or forcibly graduated, not simply because they were better off.

One woman whose father is Somali and whose mother is an Oromo from Harar ("Kottu") suggested that Kebele officials did not tell people from the minorities if there were benefits coming to the people. She said she didn't even hear about kebele meetings formally, but goes herself. She feels she is even more marginalised than others because her husband is an Afar, who are considered traditional enemies of the Karrayu. He grew up in a Karrayu person's house as a herder after his foster mother brought him from Awash town as he was an orphan. He had no relative and his foster mother died, and has no sense of being Afar having grown up in Gelcha. This woman felt that she had been excluded from the PSNP after benefiting for a year because of her and her husband's ethnicities. Apart from this, though, her household benefits from other services, such as health and education and has good relations and interactions with neighbours and friends.

### **Marginal religion**

There are at least two households of Oromo in-migrants who are Orthodox Christians. One is from Muger in West Shewa and the other from Welencheti in Bosset wereda. The latter said they celebrate Meskel but do not go to church and there is not one close. They did not mention any discrimination on the basis of being Christians, have close relations with their neighbours and invite them when they have feasts. However, one of the sons converted to Islam having been persuaded by his friends to go through a conversion ritual. His father was not happy about and suspects that he did not really convert enthusiastically and hopes he may return to his parents' religion.

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

According to wereda officials there are many landless in the area because no land distribution programme has been carried out so far. However, there is a plan to carry out land distribution when the irrigation scheme reaches the area (there is a hope that the irrigation scheme will reach the kebele in 2011/12 budget year).

In Gelcha there has been no registration and certification of existing holdings. However, those using irrigated land began to enclose it some years ago. There are expectations that there will be distribution when the irrigation reaches the area and people are beginning to try to enclose land, and some conflicts have already arisen over boundaries and some cases have been taken to the social court.

One poor person who does not pay tax since he does not have land, said there was no difference between him and tax payers, and that it did not have a negative effect on his household. However, he pays other contributions such as for drinking water construction (80 birr last year) and other things upon request (such as 10 birr for the feast at the end of the GTP training). He also contributed labour for four days in his *gare* for which he engaged in weeding of individual farms, and clearing of farmland. He said he has full access to public goods, health packages, education and training about NRM etc. He is a PSNP beneficiary; he is not exempted from health payment and does not get help from NGOs. He is a member of the 1-5 development team but is not a party member.

### **Destitute people**

In the local conception of wealth classification households without livestock are considered to be destitute and requiring support. A group of respondents guessed that there are perhaps 100 out of the 600 households that would fall into this category. Customarily an individual who is unable to feed his/her family is usually assisted by his/her clan until s/he gets by. The clan members are responsible to contribute livestock to assist their members to get by and to feed their family properly. There is a proverb that says *Bara batee malee maliin batee hinjedhamu* meaning "It may be said someone has survived but not how they survived". The clan puts pressure on close relatives to help the destitute and other vulnerable people and can in theory even beat someone who refuses.

There are no interventions specifically targeting the destitute, only ones for orphans and vulnerable children. For instance the NGO called Fantalle Wereda Children and Family Development Association provides educational materials, supplementary food and covers health care costs for such children. The destitute are exempted from various contributions. Not having land or livestock they are not required to pay tax, nor contributions such as the 80 birr for the drinking water construction.

One of the destitute is an elderly woman whose husband was killed by the army when the EPRDF took control of the area. She is a migrant from the Hararge area. After the death of her husband she gradually sold the livestock and then had to start relying on selling firewood and charcoal. However, because of illness and old age she could no longer do so and her house fell down. She has started to live with her married daughter. Her husband's kin sometimes send food from east Hararge. Last year she was given 250 birr by the food security office since she is poor and in return was expected

to do three days public work on road maintenance. She also received three goats from FCFDA. She is upset that she was excluded from the PSNP which she thinks is because she does not have relations with the kebele officials or other notable people. She pays land tax of 45 birr and is a member of the *gare* and 1-5 network and attends meetings. Her neighbours regularly call her for coffee and to have something to eat. She relies on her daughters and once a year sends one of them to get support from her husband's relatives in Hararge.

### **Craftworkers and slaves**

There is no evidence of any in the village. However, one man makes baskets to order, and there is a skilled migrant who is a house builder, and a number of wealthier people have asked him to build houses for them.

### **Non-members of the EPRDF**

It was estimated that 200 people are party members, including all the kebele leadership and council members, and all 21 militiamen. Since there are about 600 households in Gelcha, this would mean that about a fourth of households have a member who is party member, though in practice in a number of households there is more than one member, sometimes the husband and wife and older sons. There were very few interviewed persons who said they were not party members, though some said they were inactive members. The wife of a poor farmer said she thought that all residents were members.

Only four interviewed persons said they were not Party members. One is a non-tax payer since he did not have land or livestock, though he did pay 80 birr for the water improvement; the second is a recent in-migrant from Harar who was a party member in Harar; the third is an Imam at the mosque; and the fourth is the relative of a mentally sick son, and does not seem different in other respects, having paid the land tax of 45 birr, and 80 birr for the water construction, as well as labour contributions and participated in the 1-5 network. One poor man who did not pay tax as he did not have land or livestock still paid the 80 birr for the drinking water 100 birr, for the Oromia development Association and said he paid 6 birr for the party membership, which would be half what others were paying.

In most cases the party membership seems to have been paid by one member in the household. For instance the middle wealth household head said four members of his household are party members. But he added that together he and his wife paid the 12 birr membership fee. Likewise the poor household head said he, his wife and oldest son are party members but he paid the 12 birr membership fee in the name of the household. However one household head suggested that he, his wife and older sons paid separately. It seems that the party membership fee is collected at the same time and as part of the rest of the tax system.

The deputy leader of the party stated that Party members do not get any particular privileges nor are people who are not members excluded from any services. There did not seem to be any relevance of party membership to obtaining assistance such as for the PSNP.

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

Divorce is not supposed to happen in Karrayu society and theoretically could entail the return of the bridewealth payment. One divorced woman who returned from another area escaping from a violent husband took her case to the wereda women's affairs office and the wereda court who sent the case back to the elders; she obtained the agreement of elders to allow her to divorce but she did not try to ask for a share of the property.

She is aged 30 and had married a man in another kebele and he married a third wife through inherited marriage. He often beat her and one day her eye was injured and her brothers initiated her to divorce him. She went to the wereda women's affairs for advice and accused him but the wereda court shifted the case to community elders who said: *divorcing and property sharing among the Karrayu is not the custom and it is*

*taboo that a wife accuses her husband. Therefore, if you can't live with him simply leave his home and stay with your family here, or give him the children.* Her family agreed and her brother promised to help her with her three children and the kebele chair gave her land, then she started to live in Gelcha at Arboye village. She divorced eight years ago; the first four years she sold firewood and charcoal but she suffering from back pain and severe headache. Then with the help of her brothers she started marketing activities on market days selling consumption goods at home and became involved in shoat trading and has been doing better. She has an identity card and contributes all kebele contributions including land tax. She said, *I am benefiting from divorce, even if I live with economic problems.* The effects of her husband hitting her are that she suffers from back pain, headaches and eye illness. She has hopes in her children and said, *I sent two of my older sons to school and they are attending at grade four and two respectively.* She plans to help them until they complete their education.

The custom of widows being inherited by their deceased husband's brothers according to the levirate tradition is common, and they are generally married as second or additional wives. However, recently some widows have been challenging this and getting divorces. Two such cases were reported where the husband was selling the livestock for his own personal use and the women took the case to the clan and as they did not desist the clans allowed the women to divorce. However, they would not be allowed to remarry others and would be considered prostitutes if they did.

One of the women was married to her deceased husband's brother who was a plantation guard but used his wages for *chewing chat in town and lying under a tree.* He gradually sold all the livestock and did not like working so she decided to divorce him and made a petition to the wereda court which agreed but there was no wealth left and she left with her three children to her mother's house. His family were sorry and tried to get him to change his behaviour in vain; one of his brothers suggested giving her oldest son to live with him but she refused. Her family helped her and she got a job at the sugar factory for three years earning 19 birr per day. Unfortunately after an incident when a Karrayu was killed by a factory worker she lost her job. She then joined the seedling nursery as a wage earner. Three of her children are attending Addis Ketema primary school, all of whom were enrolled after the divorce. Although her life is hand to mouth, she lives well with the help of family members and her wage. She participates actively in kebele meetings and contributes all the government contributions. One of her children has FCFDA educational support and she was selected as a FCFDA volunteer health service provider. She participated in the training which was given about various diseases and prevention mechanisms. She is a PSNP beneficiary involved in public works and she received 45 kg wheat, 3 kg lentils and 1.5 litres of oil per month. Her family, especially her sister and brothers are very important for her. Others neighbours and friends didn't give support, except sharing ideas. She participates in kebele meetings when required.

One poor man in his 30s mentioned that his mother divorced his father when he was one year old and left him and his sister with his father. He married another wife but he died when he was five. His father's brother raised him and his sister; he herded goats and sheep, from age six and never went to school; however, he did fairly well from herding, gradually increasing his own herd, married his mother's brother's daughter and started an independent life.

There is fairly strict control of adolescent girls and pregnancy before marriage is considered a taboo.

### **Divorced men**

Divorced men seem to be rare in Gelcha. The following case seems to be an exception.

He is a Karrayu man who works as a guard at the sugar plantation and married a Gurage woman from Welkite who was a trader. They had three children. In 1996 she went trading and did not return. 4 years later she came to Addis Ketema and sent a message to him to ask him to send elders to ask her to come home. He refused saying she could just come back and did not need elders as there was no dispute. Both sides would not back down so they separated. He raised the children on his own, preparing the food himself when the children were young. He does not have land or livestock. One son graduated from vocational training, one daughter is in grade 12, and the other in grade 10. He is now pensioned receiving 321 birr a month and the children sell grass to augment the family income and cover school costs. He was excluded from PSNP allegedly since he did not have relations with the kebele leadership, and when he complained with others were paid 250 birr for 5 days work. He has access to all other services, his children go to school,

and he has not faced discrimination for being divorced.

One man was divorced as he was unable to have erections during intercourse and his wife was given to his younger brother. He remains single living with his parents and has visited traditional healers in vain. He did some work in Adama but is now unemployed depending on his parents.

### **Outcasts**

None were mentioned.

### **PLWHAs**

There was no person known to be living with HIV/AIDS who had declared themselves openly. Some suspect that the former HEW died of HIV/AIDS. Despite much training there seems limited awareness of the risks. Many respondents seemed to suggest that HIV/AIDS was not much of a problem.

25 persons including prominent leaders had taken tests and were found to be negative; it was said that people say they will kill themselves if found to be positive (some say they would shoot themselves with a gun, others jump into the river).

One woman said she thought that if the youth took VCT as a number of adults had done there would be more cases coming to light. One woman said she was worried as her son who had been in Adama after completing school has a very serious illness but did not want to talk about it and wanted money to return there.

### **Orphans/ stepchildren**

In urban areas *iddirs* have started to participate in helping orphans and vulnerable children. Wereda officials said that the government is also encouraging such kinds of involvement. In the rural areas, the community has a culture of taking care of orphan children of its own clan. It is customary that a given clan has a responsibility to assist orphan children. The government also give due acknowledgement and encourages them to continue assisting orphans.

At a wereda level there are programmes run by various NGOs and customary organisations such as *Iddirs* and clans. NGOs such as Christian Children's Fund (CCF), Kale Hiwot Integral Mission, Gospel Mission and Save the Children USA are running programmes to support orphans and vulnerable children. They cover educational materials and nutritional support. Moreover, *Iddirs* and clans also support orphan children by covering educational materials such as exercise books, pens and pencils.

CCF is also working on awareness creation about child herders in some kebeles of the wereda in collaboration with *iddirs*, clan leaders and other customary institutions. It creates awareness within the community about the child herders so as to make the parents send their children for schooling rather than herding. However, as the area is a pastoralist one the changes were said to be insignificant and it needs more coordinated efforts.

It is estimated that there may be about 200 orphans in Gelcha, and that the number is increasing. Apart from the clan and relatives' assistance, the children are supported by an NGO called Fantalle wereda Children and Family Development Association (which was set up by Christian Children Fund (CCF) that used to work in the area previously). The NGO assists about 310 children in the kebele and encourages the children to get education. It gives them educational materials (exercise books, pens, pencils etc) and provides school feeding service to kindergarten students. It also settles the bill for children's medication. Moreover, occasionally the organisation provides food (grain, oil, powdered milk, lentils, rice and macaroni), clothes and bed-sheets for the children through their respective caregivers.

There are many children who are involved in herding to assist their parents. However, according to wereda officials the extent has decreased over time due to continuous follow up by the kebele

officials and teachers. They provide awareness for the parents to send their children for schooling. The Parent Teacher committee also forces any parents who refuse to send the children to school.

The Imam of the mosque mentioned that among the messages they deliver is that the community should support orphans and vulnerable children.

A woman who is a trader is raising three orphans. FCFDA is providing them educational assistance but she complained that the kebele did not include them in the PSNP. When she asked the officials they replied, *'you are rich and you may help them'*.

A middle wealth household is bringing up the daughter of a sister who died. She is 10 and in 4<sup>th</sup> grade and helps the household with livestock herding during her spare time.

An Afar boy was brought from Awash by a woman who fostered him. He became a herder in Gelcha and married a woman whose father was Somali and whose mother was a Harar Oromo ("Kottu"). His wife claims they faced some discrimination in being excluded from the PSNP on ethnic grounds since the Afar are traditional enemies of the Karrayu even though her husband had no links with Afar and grew up in Gelcha.

One poor man in his 30s recalls how, after his mother divorced his father when he was one year old and left him and his sister, his father remarried but he died when his son was five. His father's brother raised him and his sister; he herded goats and sheep from the age of six and never went to school; however, he did fairly well from herding, gradually increasing his own herd and married his mother's brother's daughter and started an independent life.

FCFDA is planning to open a programme for orphans and took some women from Gelcha to Dire Dawa for experience sharing on how to assist orphans. One poor woman heading a household found the training useful and got given 300 birr as expenses. She hopes that she will become an orphan carer if the project goes ahead.

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

There is no programme for the elderly in the wereda. However, the PSNP does include the elderly for direct support if they do not have relatives to support them. Therefore if an elderly person does not have support all his/her household are considered illegible for direct support.

The following case of an elderly woman who was included for direct support illustrates how this helped her and the family of her daughter with whom she lives and on whom she relies.

One woman aged 70 who was included in the PSNP and obtains direct support lives in her daughter's house. Her daughter's household has five goats and a cow; livestock are sold when she needs something such as tobacco to which she is addicted and which she prefers to food. She is considered one of the poor, does not pay contributions or tax and does not participate in community affairs. The kebele chairman is her neighbour and knows her case. She was registered with 3 members from the start and received support for six months, 3 months with cash and 3 with grain. This came to 150 birr per month for the household and 45 kg of wheat, 2 litres of oil and 4 kg lentils per month. The food is used for the whole household, and the cash is managed by her and when she wants to have something she gives money to buy what she needs. Sometimes the family members borrow from her and repay in hard times which she uses for tobacco etc. She prefers cash since her goats were sold to get tobacco which she prefers to food. She said her daughters complain that the amount is not enough but she says she hardly eats, mainly drinking coffee and smoking so for her it is enough. She was also offered about five goats and an ox at the beginning. The ox was sold and she bought a bull and a cow. The goats reproduced and their kids were sold. She said that if the PSNP stops she would not be too affected and would rely on her daughter and her animals. She added, *I don't worry about my life, I am just waiting for my death.*

An elderly religious leader was also included for direct support which was important for the family livelihood and enabled him to pay debts and cover school and health costs avoiding selling livestock.

A 64 year old man with a wife and seven children who is an Imam of the mosque was included as a direct support beneficiary. He said he was selected since he was poor. Five of his family members were registered

and he received support for 6 months last year. He said he prefers food as the money is not enough to purchase the same amount of food and he would prefer sorghum to wheat. He received 4 litres of oil and 3 kg of lentils for three months. He said the support was not sufficient and he used up the monthly quota in about 20 days. Last year he did not farm and purchased food from the market. His wife sold *chat* and fattens sheep for profit, which was how they overcame the food gap. He used the PSNP support to pay debts and for school and health costs, and did not have to sell livestock and never sold the PSNP food. He said if the PSNP support stops he will farm as much as possible. He suggests that the amount per person should be increased and all family members should be included.

## **Genderage**

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

#### **Birth and infancy**

It is customary to feed infants butter, which the community is convinced is good for them despite the attempts by HEWs to suggest that this is harmful. The custom of cutting uvulas has also been discouraged with some success; however the custom of removing milk teeth is still prevalent.

There has been some change in child rearing and nutrition. Most mothers now take their children to the health centre when they feel ill and vaccinate them while they are infants following various campaigns and advice from government and NGOs. There is also said to be an improvement in child cleanliness and people have also learnt to provide first aid for diarrhoea preparing a solution from salt and sugar with boiled water (ORH). Infants drink boiled butter up to five years and camel's milk after a year.

#### **Growing up – work and play**

Small children are looked after by mothers and older siblings. From a young age they start tending livestock, starting with sheep and goats and gradually moving to looking after cattle.

There is no sex difference in for caring children aged 1-7 in all cases, but beyond seven years parents start to apply differences between boys and girls in kinds of food they feed them and labour they require of them. Camel's milk is not allowed to girls (above seven) because respondents believe that if a girl drinks it, her sexual desire becomes high and she would not be not willing to do what her parents want her to do. Boys move with the herds taking with them their bowls and are used to milking camels to drink within two/three hours while girls stay at home with their mothers to help them.

Gender distinctions only gradually become apparent with boys engaging in herding and girls fetching, water and wood, looking after siblings and assisting their mothers with domestic chores. There are no organised recreation activities except football for boys in the school.

#### **Completing education**

There is a big need for child labour for herding and a number of children do not go to school, go to school late or drop out early. For instance the 15 year-old daughter in an economically successful household never enrolled as they needed her labour for herding. Her father claimed that she dropped out of third grade but her mother said her father would not let her go to school. Likewise, the third son in a middle wealth household who was 11 and grade 4, dropped out last year and is assisting his family herding sheep and goats. Similarly a daughter aged 9 in a poor household dropped out of 4<sup>th</sup> grade to look after the crops.

There is a gender bias in sending children to school. Out of 409 students enrolled in Gelcha school 237 are male and only 172 are female representing 42%. Of the 20 students who completed the 8<sup>th</sup> grade school leaving exam only five were girls.

A female primary school teacher noted that parents often try to marry off their daughters during the rainy season break to avoid teachers' interference and mentioned the case of two girls who were

married off during the past rainy season.

### Adolescence and youth

Differences in gender roles become accentuated in adolescence. Young men are trained to become camel herders taking the herds in search of pasture during the dry season. Young women are prepared for domestic tasks and marriage when they are considered physically mature.

At adolescence both boys and girls attempt to go their own ways, especially students could oppose the traditional practices such as traditional medicine and healers, and youth who do not conform may be beaten by the clan leaders. They are, however, changing ways of dressing and behaving and challenging their elders more. In particular older male youths are now more able to choose their marriage partners.

### Growing up male in Gelcha

#### Circumcision

Traditionally male circumcision is performed along with *Gada* age-set ceremonies. Those of the same age set can be of varying ages but would be circumcised at the same time, when their generation set goes through the rituals of taking leadership; their age may range from older boys to middle-aged men, though most would be adults.

The *Gebella* ceremony is conducted every eight years when a new age-set takes power and the circumcision takes place at that time. There has been concern from health workers that this could involve risks of transmission of HIV/AIDS through contaminated knives so that a health worker has been provided at recent ceremonies to assist. The last occasion was just after to the fieldwork and it seems that the circumcision was carried out only symbolically.

There have been attempts to discourage group circumcision at the time of the traditional ceremonies which means that most of those who undergo it are already adults and there have also been attempts to promote circumcision being carried out at health posts or centres. A number of respondents said their boys were being circumcised while they were young either by traditional practitioners at home or at the health centres. There were also cases of adolescents arranging for their own circumcision to take place at the health centres on their own initiative instead of waiting for the traditional ceremonies as their parents would have preferred. In one case several older boys in the family did so after their father who wanted to wait for the traditional ceremony had died.

#### Boys' work

Boys are involved largely in herding, when they are younger looking after goats and sheep then latter cattle. Adolescent boys are trained to take camel herds in search of pasture during the dry season which involves migration routes well beyond Karrayuland to other areas mainly within the Rift Valley. However, in part due to risks of conflict with neighbouring groups, the patterns of migration and their duration have been reduced.

#### Completing education

There is now a school in Gelcha up to 8<sup>th</sup> grade, though many boys drop out from earlier grades and their families want them to become herders. For preparatory school and TVET students can go to the Metahara sugar estate school or the one in Addis Ketema. However, not many boys from Gelcha complete secondary education, and very few go on to tertiary education. There are some who are at a private college in Adama where they have received partial sponsorship from the college owner, and a handful who have gone to universities in different parts of the country.

#### Sexual initiation

There seems to have been a change in the youth over time. None of the men in their 30s or 20s said they had had sexual relations before marriage. For instance a rich young man in his 30s said he had

had no girlfriends or sexual experiences before his marriage. He started interest in girls at about the age of 15. However, he never talked to girls “as it was strictly forbidden to chat with girls before marriage”. However, one of the three young men in their teens had had sexual relations before marriage. The middle wealth teenager said:

I was interested in girls at the age of 15 and started sexual intercourse while I was in elementary school. However, I do not have a permanent girlfriend and have not got married so far. I do not want to marry until I graduate from university.

The rich teenager has a girlfriend, though they have not had sex and they plan to get married when they reach 12<sup>th</sup> grade.

I became interested in girls while I was in grade 6 at the age of 16. I fixed a girlfriend and we do not make any sexual intercourse so far. But we have promised each other to marry after we graduate from university. We also plan to let our parents know our relationship when we join grade 12.

The poor male teenager has already married and he said he had not had sexual relations prior to that.

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

There are playgrounds in the school and in the kindergartens, though the playground equipment in one of the kindergartens is not functional and needs repair.

A shortage of leisure options was mentioned as a problem by most respondents who were asked about this. Parents expressed concerns that youth were going to towns spending time watching videos and football rather than studying and often staying up late.

There were also concerns expressed that young men were becoming influenced by urban youth with bad habits including chewing *chat* and drinking alcohol.

Even more serious was that some young men are involved in stealing livestock and selling these to hotels or traders and using this as a means of livelihood. However, there is a reluctance to identify the culprits and bring them to justice since the families fear the consequences and the elders are worried about the reputation of the Gelcha and the implications for the families if the case is taken to the wereda.

Officials from the wereda have tried to investigate cases of theft and considered the Gelcha community as being uncooperative. Some households who had had livestock stolen complained that the elders were not solving the problem and that it was becoming more serious.

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

There was a strong concern expressed by a number of parents that young men who had completed education were not finding work. Some have been working extracting stones and sand, others are involved in daily labour in the nearby towns. This may involve working with traders loading and unloading produce and guarding produce, or working as brokers. A number are involved in sharecropping in neighbouring kebeles where irrigation is available or become daily labourers in the towns.

A few young men have found jobs such as one who became a Development Agent in a neighbouring kebele.

### **Getting married**

Traditionally young men have needed to pay bridewealth to get married and got married later than girls. In the past parents selected spouses for their sons. However, among those in the generation in their teens one poor young man is already married, a second teenager from a middle wealth family has a girlfriend but does not want to marry her until they are in 12<sup>th</sup> grade, and a third rich teenager has had sexual relations but does not have a girlfriend and wants to get married after going to

university.

There is a custom of marrying cross cousins that is common in Karrayu society. For instance a poor man in his 30s married his mother's brother's daughter and a poor man in his 20s was married to his mother's sister's daughter. This might be more common among poorer households.

Some respondents claimed that bridewealth had increased significantly. A rich man in his 30s said:

For instance, when I married I gave 5 cattle and 1500 birr, which served to buy items for the bride.

Nowadays, even though giving the cattle is not mandatory, one has to cover the expense to buy the required items for the bride. For this purpose the boy is expected to pay about 9000 birr. In fact, as long as the relationship is based on the consent of the couple, there are also times when the marriage is carried out without the payment if he (the boy) is poor.

A rich man in his 20s said his family paid 5 cattle and 1,500 birr; a middle wealth man in his 30s gave four cows and 3,000 birr. Often the parental household will also give endowments to the young man. For instance a rich man in his 20s was given 2 cows, 5 goats, 2 camels and 1 horse with a cart. A poor teenager was given 3 cattle, 7 goats, 2 sheep, 1 horse, a gold necklace and cash.

In the past youth did not marry so young since they were away herding camels for protracted periods.

### Establishing an independent household

Traditionally young men are expected to live with the parental household and only gradually establish their own. However, increasingly youth are having their own say in whom they marry. The main change is that with the economic problems and reduction in herd sizes and lack of alternative opportunities youth nowadays are unable to support themselves and remain dependent on their parental household longer.

### Having children

Among the men in their thirties the rich young man (32) has three children, the middle-wealth man (31) has two, and the poor man (36) has three. Among men in their twenties the rich young man of 22 has two children, the middle-wealth young man of 26 has three, and the poor young man (25) has none. None of the three teenage young men have children.

Among the women the rich young woman (32) had six children, the middle-wealth woman (31) has three, and the poor woman (30) has two. Among women in their twenties the rich young woman of 26 has two children, the middle-wealth woman of 23 has none, and the poor young woman (26) has two. None of the three teenage young women have children.

One case of a man who was unable to have children since he was impotent resulted in his brother "inheriting" his wife due to the family's decision.

### Community participation

There seems to have been an increase of younger men's involvement in community activities.

A rich man in his 30s said that nowadays boys in their teens participate in development meetings in the kebele and public work such as road construction and maintenance, animal carrel construction, and different school issues. A middle wealth man in his 30s mentioned an increase recently among the youth in their involvement both in religious and community activities; he said:

As opposed to the earlier time, boys in their late teens have good community participation and religious involvement. For instance, when we were in our teens we did not know and strictly follow the doctrine of the Muslim religion. But now the teens regularly *salat* prayer on time, feast and follow the doctrine without any interference from their parents. They have also participated in different development meetings through their schools and have a saying on issues in the community.

A rich man in his 20s held a similar view:

The boys in their late teens have opportunities to participate in development and other social and religious issues in the community. They participate in meetings and have a say about it. They also participate in development activities such as construction and maintenance of bridges, digging water ponds, fencing school compound etc. Besides, they participate in religious activities and regularly salat and strictly follow the doctrines of the Muslim religion

## **Growing up female in Community**

### **Circumcision**

Female circumcision is a strong cultural value and is practised by most households. Girls are circumcised around the age of 10-12. Male community members said that, despite the government's strict prohibition, everyone continues to circumcise their daughters in secret.

One man said the intervention was against the Koran that encourages female circumcision, and that there is a deep belief that if women are not circumcised they develop excessive sexual urges that make them want to have relations with many men.

A rich woman said she had circumcised her daughter two years ago and that everybody does so. However, a poor woman said she had an eight year old daughter and decided not to circumcise her. One woman who was looking after her grand-daughter said she would leave the decision up to her parents. A woman whose daughter asked her not to do so said she would respect her wish.

A Somali woman said the female circumcision in her culture was very severe involving infibulation and sowing up the genital organ and then opening it by a traditional practitioner the day following the marriage. However she said this had been stopped 15 years ago. Nonetheless a Somali man was apprehended for wanting to circumcise his daughter and fined.

### **Girls' work**

Girls assist their mothers in the homestead; they are responsible for fetching water and wood and looking after younger siblings. They also often go to market and take grain to be ground at the mill.

Increasingly some girls are going to school and this has resulted in a greater work burden on their mothers. However, a number of girls do not go to school, and girls tend to drop out earlier than boys.

Several women said that girls no longer want to help with herding and only assist their mothers with household chores. A middle wealth woman said some collect sugar cane residues. A middle wealth woman in her 20s mentioned particular difficulties faced by orphan girls; she said:

During the dry season girls are very busy in collecting cane residue, fetching water, collecting firewood and so on. Specifically the difficulty is more for orphan girls in work load and without enough food to eat, consequently they might drop their education or they might not get a good marriage, being a second wife or marrying a person not having good behaviour or being economically weak as he is not doing well

A teenager from a rich household said she started work at the age of 12 making coffee, sweeping the floor etc, but was not required to do too many household chores.

### **Completing education**

The rich woman in her 30s never went to school and from the age of seven was involved in herding until she got married at the age of 14. A poor young woman aged 30 dropped out of school at grade 4 to get married at 14. A rich woman in her 20s went to school up to grade 3. A middle wealth woman in her 20s dropped out of school from grade 7 since she became ill with the evil eye; however, she continued and completed her school leaving certificate but obtained a low grade as she was too busy with household chores and collecting cane residue to study properly. A middle wealth woman in her 20s dropped out of grade 6 to get married at 16.

There seems to be an improvement in girls' access to education among the current teenagers.

Among the girls in their teens a 17 year old girl from a rich family completed grade 10; however, she did not obtain good grades and is waiting to take the exam again privately. A 17 year old girl from a middle wealth family said her father gave attention to her education; even though she fell down and her face was swollen which was attributed to the evil spirit, her father encouraged her and she has continued in the same grade. A girl aged 16 is enrolled in grade eight.

### **Sexual initiation**

The women who were interviewed did not seem to have been asked directly about their sexual initiation.

Of the three women in their 30s, the rich woman, said she got married early before taking an interest in boys; the middle wealth woman got married at 18 and the poor woman married at 14 but went back to her parents after three years.

Of the women in their 20s the rich woman was married at 18 by her uncle, the middle wealth woman is still not married but started living with her boyfriend who is a DA, and the poor woman had her first boyfriend at 16 who then became her husband.

Among the teenagers the one from a rich family has a boyfriend (but the researcher thought that she had other sexual relations in town); the teenagers from a middle wealth family (aged 17) and the one from a poor family (aged 16) said that they have not had any boyfriend.

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

Girls do not seem to have much leisure time as they are involved in school and studying, and domestic chores especially assisting the household with collecting wood and water and sugar cane residues for the livestock.

One woman in her 20s from a middle wealth family suggested girls are more respectful of rules than boys and do not engage in bad habits:

Girls are better in following the Islamic religion, starting from respecting sharia law and rules. They cover their hair and wear long dresses. Moreover, unlike boys they don't drink alcohol and do not do other evil things.

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

There are no opportunities for girls to find independent work and they tend to get married early. After marriage some engage in trade and livestock fattening to earn additional income, and a few may sell livestock products notably butter and eggs.

### **Getting married**

Among the women in their 30s two got married at 14 and one at 18 based on their families' decisions. The rich woman was married at 14 as a second wife; the middle wealth woman was married off by her dead father's brother to a disabled person and the poor woman was married at 14; however, she left her husband who was violent and did not trust her and after he died married a second husband of her choice.

Among the women in their 20s the rich woman was married at 18 by her uncle to a man who came to her uncle for traditional treatment since his two wives had died; the middle wealth woman is engaged to her boyfriend who is a DA; and the poor woman married the man who was her boyfriend from the age of 16 after he sent elders to her mother.

None of the teenagers aged 16-17 are yet married, though one has a boyfriend.

### **Establishing an independent household**

Women move to their husband's household in accordance with the prevalent customary virilocal marriage tradition. This means living in close proximity with their in-laws, sometimes leading to

conflict. Women divorcing often return to live with their parents.

Some widows who resisted being “inherited” by their deceased husband’s brother or separated from them and others who divorced husbands have independent households and are often supported by their brothers to establish themselves.

In one case a woman started to survive and raise her children after the divorce by collecting firewood for sale; however, gradually she became involved in petty trade and livestock sale and has begun to become better off.

### **Having children**

Though girls are expected not to become pregnant before marriage, it does happen and if so the parents and clan push the lover to marry the girls or the clan and elders find someone else to marry her before she gives birth, as one woman explained:

They do not have children before marriage, but girls could get pregnant before that. When parents’ are aware of it they immediately forced the man through elders and the *gosa* to marry her, even if her former lover isn’t available in the area she should marry another before giving birth in her parents’ house.

She mentioned four cases that she knows of girls who have got pregnant; one of them gave birth on the wedding eve and then her husband took her younger sister as well; some others gave birth within a week of the wedding.

### **Community participation**

Adolescent girls have very little if any involvement in community activities or in religious affairs. As one rich woman in her 20s noted:

Adolescent boys and girls didn’t have participation on community affairs and they didn’t actively participate in religious issues or go to mosque for praying. Girls didn’t go to mosque for religious activities, except covering their hair.

However, through the school and girls club they are learning about rights and becoming more aware of harmful traditional customs.

### **Gender inequities**

There are clear differences in opportunities between girls and boys and between women and men. Girls and women carry out the bulk of domestic activities and have long and tiring work days starting early and going to bed late, whereas men seem to have much more leisure time.

There are fewer opportunities for girls to benefit from schooling and obtain work after schooling; most of them get married early. A few of them have recently been able to engage in trade allowing them some economic independence.

### **Age inequities**

Young men traditionally have spent long periods away from their home areas taking the camels for pasture for several months at a time surviving largely on camel’s milk. Girls tend to serve and assist their mothers who prepare them for marriage when they are considered physically mature.

Older men who do well try to marry second wives. Older women find their husbands marrying second wives which can mean help for them. Older women whose husband died were expected to marry their deceased husband’s younger brother, though increasingly many have been able to resist this especially if the prospective husband is not looking after the property properly.

### **Social equity interventions**

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

Wereda official said there were no specific interventions for the very poor. However, they

mentioned that there are health exemptions for the poor. The wereda has a budget of 30,000 birr and writes referral letters to Hailemariam hospital in Adama for exemptions. However, the budget is too small to address the considerable needs. Last year about 56 poor people were exempted from payments, but this was stopped in the current year due to lack of a budget.

Poor people are also exempted from community contributions if they do not have livestock and land. There is no education costs exemption but primary education is free and some NGOs especially FCFDA support very poor children with school costs.

Kebele officials mentioned that any resident can get health services from the health post for free. If the case is serious the kebele can write a recommendation letter to the wereda social affairs office for poor individuals to get assistance. The wereda recommends the person based on their budget, but which is too limited to help many people, so not all poor can get the exemption. They also mentioned education being free in primary school, and that the poor are exempted from community contributions such as for the drinking water and tax and the kebele considers cases for exemption on merit.

A middle wealth male respondent mentioned free medication for TB at the health centres and that for other illnesses poor people can be considered for exemptions.

Several women respondents mentioned the PSNP support for the poor who are unable to work and obtain direct food aid support. They also mentioned NGO support from NGOs notably CARE, GTF, and also from PCDP, notably the support for poor women with income generation activities especially livestock breeding. For instance one very poor woman received 3 goats from FCFDA.

The wife in the poor household interviewed was involved in two NGO initiated women's cooperative associations sponsored by CARE and GTF. She borrowed 2500 birr to purchase shoats, returned the loan and borrowed more. She also got five goats through the OFPS in the name of her deceased sister whose two children she is caring for. However, she has heard that she should repay the debt of about 2450 birr which she guesses is more than the price of the livestock she received. The household was graduated from PSNP which they feel is unfair as the household is still food insecure and they feel they were excluded since kebele officials favour their relations and friends. She owes 2000 birr to the women's credit association. However, she is able to cover most household expenses and the interventions to help poor women have made a very big difference to her household.

Similarly the poor woman leading a household obtained 2,000 birr credit from the GTF sponsored women's cooperative association and repaid the debt last year. She also received direct support from the PSNP. Last year she was taken by FCFDA to Dire Dawa for experience sharing on orphans and got a 300 birr allowance. She hopes she will become an orphan carer if the project goes ahead.

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

Apart from the assistance to disabled persons and orphans mentioned above there are limited interventions at wereda level. The wereda officials mentioned that USAID has a programme for commercial sex workers and youth on awareness raising about HIV/AIDS and other STDs. There is a mini-media programme and coffee ceremonies arranged by USAID through which many commercial sex workers and professionals are invited to share their experiences.

At the kebele level the only interventions for vulnerable people currently are the PSNP direct support and the interventions directed at orphans and vulnerable children carried out by Fantalle Wereda Children and Family Development Association discussed earlier under the section on orphans. The PSNP seeks to support vulnerable people including the elderly and disabled and the poorest in the community.

## Promoting equity for women

### Legislation and awareness-raising

Wereda interventions to promote equity for women are mainly related to HTPs. Wereda officials provide trainings but think there is not that much change regarding female circumcision, abduction, early marriage etc, since communities are reluctant to accept the government position and are secretive so that it is difficult to know their attitudes. *They keep silent when officials and other concerned persons give education and advise to them about women's equity issues.*

Wereda officials suggest that men and women share the same traditional values though women are somewhat more interested in change but less influential, and male violence is hidden. However, women's participation has increased in kebele and wereda structures, *even if it is less functional at kebele level.*

The wereda has also been involved in organising women in groups for income generating activities which helps them to get awareness about their legal rights. Girls have equal access to education, and both men and women have good attitude towards female education, and they send girls to school equal to boys.

There are different NGOs which attempt to work with different sectors to empower women in the wereda. Integrated Women Empowerment Programme (IWEP) works on adult literacy; it has 600 beneficiary women in four kebeles. The programme has different components, such as adult literacy, market assessment, means of income generating activities, and so on.

Kebele officials felt that the interventions have not brought about a change in female circumcision as people practice it in secret. However, they feel that early marriage has decreased since people are motivated for their children to be educated. The officials suggested that rape and abduction are not significant especially since rape is taboo and hidden among the Karrayu, though abduction may happen, for instance if a girl is to be married to someone and a boy she likes abducts her to avoid that, or if a man abducts his dead wife's sister. However, such cases are not really considered as abduction by the community. They also suggested that male violence has decreased as people are exposed to external influences.

The wereda officials also mentioned that women are more involved in market activities than previously and educated students advise parents to protect their mothers. The official also suggested that women's participation in kebele structures can now be equal with men's. They participate in meetings and trainings in the kebele and wereda which helps them create awareness about women's equality. They suggested that the problem is not so much that men are opposed to women's participation in kebele and wereda structures but that women are not interested because of the work load especially since they have more responsibility for livelihoods than men.

The officials also suggested that the PSNP direct support is targeted to both men and women who are unable to work but that it is not targeted at vulnerable women as such.

### Women's organisations

In the wereda there are 34,898 members of women's associations in 18 rural kebeles. Wereda officials said that because of lack of educated persons in their locality the organisations are run by the wereda women's affairs and women's league offices. They were instituted in 2008 and their aim is to empower women politically, economically and socially. The women's league has 1,648 members in 18 rural kebeles. One achievement of the women's league is that it was able to bring 12 women to participate in the wereda structure and they could join in different sectors at wereda level. The number of women on the council reached 27 at wereda level. A new intervention was implemented last year which known as the women's federation; the researcher couldn't identify who runs the programme.

In Gelcha there was not much awareness or activity in terms of the government organised formal women's association. None of the three women's formal associations: the women's association, women's league and women's federation are operational. When the researcher asked the kebele chair and manager who the chair of the women's association was there was no agreement between them and each of them mentioned a different person though after a discussion they agreed on ET. When the researcher approached her she spoke at first of the women's co-operative association *gurmayina* rather than the kebele women's association *walda dubertota*. She then said she was selected to head the women's association in 2006 and sometimes participates in meetings at the wereda when called. But the kebele have not asked her to do anything.

The chair of the women's League (EY) had some awareness of the league and had received training in the wereda about women supporting each other to improve their livelihoods and organising in groups to participate in income generating activities rather than working individually. However, she said she did not implement what she was taught in the kebele since women are not interested to come to listen, so she has lost interest.

The chair of the women's association suggested the league coordinated with GTF in the income generating activities. A poor man said his wife was a member of the league and that it used to discuss politics and development to improve women's livelihoods but is no longer active. He added that people had only heard the name the women's federation recently and knew nothing further about it.

The woman councillor confirmed that the women's association is not functional and the federation is only known in name, but she said that the women's league and its leaders are known and it was established in 2009 when a wereda official told them that women had to be members to become powerful economically and politically. She was involved around three years ago in collecting 50 cents from most women along with the kebele manager for the league but did not know what happened to the money.

Most women and men who were interviewed did not know about the government organised women's associations or said they were not functional. Rather than the women's associations most people spoke about the women's cooperative associations providing loans to start businesses in livestock fattening. One was established by Care and had 17 members and 15,000 birr capital, and another by GTF with 41 members having 35,000 birr capital. People mentioned that there have been some conflicts regarding women taking loans and not repaying them on time some of which reached the social court. They also mentioned that some of the women's groups have not been working very well, and there seems to be less NGO support for this recently.

## **Youth policies and programmes**

### **Youth organisations**

The theory of youth organisations was explained by a wereda official. In each kebele there is meant to be a youth affairs representative, a youth federation, a youth league and a youth association that each have a president, vice-president, secretary, and members. All are the mirror image of each other and do not function separately.

Youth affairs → youth federation → youth league → youth association.

However, in practice the focus was on youth leagues which started in 2008. In each kebele it should have a president, vice-president, secretary, and several members (3-5 individuals). A total of 1,589 male and 265 female youths are members of the youth league in the wereda. It is seen as playing mainly a political role, creating awareness about political, economic and social issues among the youth in collaboration with other youth organisations.

However, most of the efforts of the wereda focus on the youth cooperatives for income generation and the word youth association is generally used to refer to these cooperatives discussed below.

In Gelcha most respondents when asked about youth associations talked about the youth cooperative associations. There is no formal youth association. The youth league was set up during the election when wereda officials appointed a chair, deputy, secretary and propaganda head, a cashier, an auditor and a supervision committee from the members.

The league had 30 male members and 10 female members who started to contribute 5 birr per month for about a year. The leadership were given three days training. However, they were not contacted subsequently and the league has not carried out any activities as there is no follow up or assistance from the wereda and the league is therefore not functional. The members stopped their contributions and resigned and some of the students left the area to continue with their studies.

The president of the league said he was later told by the wereda officials that he was appointed as president of the youth federation but he did not fully know its mission. He said there were 30 members (18 male and 12 female), and 12 members of the youth association (10 male and 3 female), but that the federation of which he was appointed as head was only started recently. He said he could not distinguish clearly between the three organisations which have been structured at kebele level but are not functional. When he was appointed to lead the youth league in 2009 he was informed that he would be involved in organising cooperatives and would work four days a week. He started to do so but got no salary or benefits except the training per diem at the wereda, and there was no follow up so the activities stopped.

A couple of young women said that when the youth league was established in 2007 it was supposed to make youth job creators rather than job seekers. They had contributed six birr for the league collected by the kebele chair but nothing further happened.

### Youth livelihoods

In total, there are 34 youth associations in the wereda with 297 male and 133 female youth members established to create job opportunities. The youth affairs department in the wereda administration office helps them to become established providing credit and advice. These include ones engaged in loading and packing of horticultural crops such as onions, purchasing and selling of cattle, fattening of goats (with only women members).

The wereda expert mentioned the following examples:

1) Iffa association in Illala kebele with 27 males and 6 females engaged in packing and loading onions on trucks. 2) Alge kebele's association comprising 42 males and 8 females in 2008 engaged in packing and loading of onions. This association accumulated good capital and changed their business to service provision of restaurant and DSTV for the community in the area. They took and repaid 19,000 birr credit and are requesting more credit to expand their business. They currently have 28 male and 8 female members. 3) Bakalcha association in Dire-Sadi kebele with 10 male members engaged in loading and unloading activities including packing and loading of onions and other items, with a capital of 3,000 birr. 4) Dagana association in Gidarra kebele with 19 males engaged solely on packing and loading of onions, with a capital of 12,000. 5) Abidi-Boru association in Dire kebele with a membership of 8 males and engaged in packing, loading and unloading of onions, with a capital of 3,000 birr. There are also cooperatives organising transport to and from the sugar plantation camps.

There has also been an emphasis on getting pastoralists to engage in farming and there are 3 youth cooperatives involved in irrigated farming of onions and maize, learning to adopt fertiliser and improved seeds and new agricultural practices.

The wereda officials said that some have been very successful in earning a lot of income, and the wereda believes there has been positive attitudinal change about working in groups. However, the officials observed three problems. First, some youth still refuse to engage in cultivation and sharecrop out the land to migrants and continue with their pastoralist mode of life. Second, they have little experience with managing money and some squander money. Third there is a tendency of

many youth organisations focusing on one thing, such as packing and loading onions without taking into account the demand which results in less income than expected. The experts suggest a need for stronger linkages between sectors supporting the youth, market assessments to help youth see gaps for profitable activities, and skills training about money management and saving.

In Gelcha youth cooperative associations were set up in the 3 zones in 2007, with assistance from the wereda namely 'Gudistu Misoma', 'Abdi Gudina', 'Abdi Jiregna' to engage in farming. But after two years all three failed and disbanded and were unable to pay back the debt they took from the credit association. The wereda asked the kebele to follow up on the loans to individuals and one woman said that her son who was now a DA was being pursued to pay back the loan whereas other youths who were still dependent on their parents were not being asked to pay back.

The first year one of the cooperatives fenced land to protect it from livestock, harvested grass and sowed maize on other plots. The second year they produced maize and teff doing relatively well. The third year they planted onions which did not succeed due to lack of rain, and then the teff crop also failed. At that point the association and the other two stopped working.

A rich woman suggested that two of the three associations started well but they all failed due to lack of follow up and mismanagement within the association members and from wereda officials.

One of the sons of a successful woman-headed household was involved in a youth producers cooperative. It had 24 members, and was given 24,000 birr. She said he got 1000 birr credit to produce crops and attempted to produce vegetables, maize and teff. But it failed repeatedly due to lack of rain and the cooperative ceased. Likewise, a son of the poor woman heading her household was involved in a cooperative, and said he did not benefit and the cooperative failed due to shortage of water.

### Youth and HIV/AIDS

In the wereda the programmes on HIV/AIDS control and prevention are run by the youth affairs department. They mainly focus on awareness creation through different writings such as poems, inviting professionals from health centres, posting self-explanatory pictures in public places such as schools, kebele offices and so on. There are different youth clubs such as HIV/AIDS clubs, art clubs and sport clubs in schools at kebele level that organise and provide awareness about HIV/AIDS to the school communities through different strategies. There are also many partner NGOs including CCF, OSSA, World family, and GTF that directly or indirectly create awareness about HIV/AIDS and other STDs.

Wereda officials suggested that as a result some positive attitudinal changes about the disease have been achieved. For instance, previously there was a wrong conception that said 'after 6:00pm there is no HIV/AIDS'. Many people considered that there was no HIV transmission after sunset. Moreover, there were also many individuals who considered sexual intercourse as the sole factor for transmission of HIV/AIDS. However, the officials suggested that nowadays, to some extent, those wrong perceptions as well as the discrimination have changed. The youth are becoming more aware than before. Moreover, there used to be many youths in the camps that had more than one sexual partner but now the extent is declining. Moreover, in many rural areas, youths did not know about HIV/AIDS and contraceptive devices. But now many of them have become aware of it.

However, officials suggested that there are still problems of limited VCT and counselling and premarital testing, requiring follow up to encourage youth to take tests, and for those who are positive to disclose their status and share their experience with others.

For commercial sex workers and youths more generally USAID has worked strongly on awareness creation about HIV/AIDS and other STD. There is a mini-media programme and coffee ceremonies arranged through which many commercial sex workers and professionals are invited to share their experiences.

In the kebele there is an HIV/AIDS prevention club in the school. There was also training carried out with the assistance of CCF. About six selected individuals (women and men) from each zone took training. They then in turn trained 40-70 individuals from their respective zones.

Some 20 persons have been tested for HIV all of whom were male and all of whom were found to be negative. One woman expressed the view that if more youth were tested there would be evidence of persons living with HIV/AIDS. Another woman said she was very worried that her son who had been living in Adama after completing his education was seriously ill but did not want to talk about the illness and only wanted money to return to Adama.

Male respondents were aware of the school programmes and the training for youth and felt this had created better awareness. A woman mentioned that a youth from each zone was selected to take training and teach others and she heard they even received financial support for this. However, she feels that nothing much came of it. Another woman suggested that the argument that HIV/AIDS might be transmitted through female circumcision might be a reason for it being stopped. However, despite the awareness raising trainings given by NGOs there seems to be limited concern in Gelcha. Several men and women professed either ignorance about youth and HIV/AIDS, or suggested it was not an issue.

### Youth recreation

A wereda official said that there are no recreational facilities for youth except football fields in each kebele. He added that the playing field at the sugar factory was one of the best, and that there is also a swimming pool for the employees.

To solve the problem of recreation centres there is a plan to construct two modern youth recreational centres in the wereda. One will be established for the camp youths/community with the assistance of the Metahara sugar factory. The other will be constructed with the assistance of Oromia Development Association.

One woman had heard about the youth recreation plan and saw the design posted on a flat iron sheet on the road from Metahara to Addis Ketema and in Metahara town.

The lack of recreation facilities was mentioned by many respondents as a reason for young men developing bad habits especially chewing *chat* and theft.

## Fields of action /domains of power in 2012

### *Cross-cutting*

#### Climate change

There are said to have been changes in the rainfall patterns and intensity and also in the wind intensity. Before the Derg there were three rainy seasons. *Furmata*, a rainy period in the month of December, *Arfasa*, the period from March-April, and *Ganna*, from June to September, sometimes extending up to the beginning of October. The rainfall was said to have been less intense and good for plant growth, and the rain water seeped into the ground and was trapped by grass. Now the rainfall is more erratic, often heavy and tends to come only once a year in the *Ganna* season for a shorter period (starting later from July and ending earlier at the end of August).

Before the Derg the wind was a problem only in the month of June. However, now the frequency and the strength of the wind have increased, throughout the year except during *Ganna* with the period from January-June being the worst. A poor woman mentioned that it dries the maize before it is ready for harvest.

According to the elders, there is no change in temperature. There has been high temperature since earlier times. One elder even suggested the temperature had decreased with the rapid spread of the thorny trees locally called *weyane*, that have invaded the area. They are able to withstand the

saltiness of the Lake Beseka water and have overgrown the area near Genda Roba. Another elder challenges the view of scholars that deforestation is resulting in climate change, suggesting the temperature is still hot despite increased tree cover:

The so-called scholars claim that the problem of climate change in the area results from cutting down of trees. But from our experience, previously there were no trees in the area, only grass for cattle, and the temperature was hot. In contrast, nowadays much more land is covered with forest (e.g. the Awash National Park, which has denser forests than before) and the temperature is still hot, so how is this claim possible?"

Similarly a poor woman suggested an increase in tree cover, but suggested this was not enough for the fuel needs so that she collects wood from an adjacent kebele for sale.

Trees and small bushes are found everywhere in the kebele unlike in the past, when it was covered in long grass (elephant grass type) in which trees were rarely found. But in the last 15-20 years, the land has become covered with woods and forest is found which covers a small plot of land at the edge of the river. That is not enough for the community people to use as fuel and for sale. Therefore, I go to the adjacent kebele to collect it for sale.

## Environment

### Main issues

The main issues with the environment apart from more erratic rainfall making agriculture more unreliable and increased winds causing damages to crops mentioned above, is the expansion of Lake Beseka. This has swamped grazing areas, cut off roads and water pipes and has affected the water sources making them salty. It has also affected agriculture in the area as plants do not grow well and thorn trees have spread and has provided more breeding grounds for mosquitoes, with the discharge canal from the lake. It has also reduced the area that was being used for irrigation.

There is also concern about the overflow canal from the sugar plantation that is used for irrigation, for washing and even drinking water despite not being clean. The water flow is stopped during the rainy season and people have to use other sources such as ponds, which are also used for livestock or get water from the town.

### Watershed management

Various conservation structures such as soil bunds and check dams have been constructed to control soil erosion and flooding and maintenance is carried out each year. The programme is run by DAs with PSNP support. The DAs identify the area which is affected by erosion and the implementation is carried out through the safety net programme with community labour.

According to agricultural experts soil erosion was said to have declined where the conservation works has been carried out. However, the community are still reluctant to work on soil conservation and other natural resource management measures. Ideally, such kinds of development intervention are done through sub-kebele development groups called *gare*. Each *gare* organises and mobilises its members for labour contributions. However, no one in the community is willing to work or contribute free labour without payment, either in cash or grain from the safety net. Wereda officials suggest this is because the community is pastoralist so that they do not have the knowledge about the advantages of conservation structures. They suggest that to improve the situation continuous awareness creation is required.

In Gelcha a rich male respondent noted that only PSNP beneficiaries have to work on the conservation activities, and he suggested that others have not benefited; he questioned the value of the work, as he thought there is limited erosion and the structures are destroyed by livestock.

We have got awareness creation about natural resource management and its importance at different times. The topics cover soil and water management, forest management, grazing land management and so on. To

protect the soil we annually make cut-off drains and check dams and do tree planting through PSNP. However, not all members of the community are involved in soil conservation practice as they go with their cattle. In most cases those who are beneficiaries of the safety net programme are forced to work so as to get the necessary food/cash from the programme. As a result, only the beneficiaries of the safety net are participating and benefit from the soil and water conservation practice, as they get food and cash in turn. We (non-safety net beneficiaries) have not got any benefit from the conservation practice. Moreover, I do not see any change that comes after construction of soil conservation structures, as there is no problem of erosion in the area and the structures are usually destroyed by animals without serving for long time.

A middle wealth male respondent mentioned that *'previously many people including myself did not know how a terrace is constructed but now we got the knowledge how it is constructed and its advantage'*.

A poor male respondent who was a PSNP beneficiary valued the cash or grain he was able to receive:

There is environmental protection activity in the kebele which is done by the community through PSNP. The beneficiaries of PSNP are usually involved in natural resource management such as check dam construction, cut-off drains, tree planting etc. But there is no such activity carried out voluntarily by non-beneficiaries. I have benefited from the intervention as I get either cash or grain for my family when I engage in the activities. Moreover, many poor individuals have benefited from the natural resource management as they get cash/grain for the labour they contribute during the activities.

Regarding flooding a woman from a middle wealth household noted that flooding from the Awash was rare and beneficial rather than a problem, as it meant that grass grew for pasture. She said there had been PSNP work to prevent overflows but this had not happened.

Rarely the Awash River floods plain areas of grazing land during summer. The water does not stay long then the land grows good grass for our animals. Sometimes, PSNP beneficiaries dig the land to break the speed of overflow water, but such an event has not happened in the area.

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

Regarding forests and wooded areas, awareness raising was given to the community on different occasions to avoid cutting trees and to encourage people to plant new ones. Someone who illegally cuts trees for house construction and charcoal making and is caught by the militia is to be sent for justice. An individual who wants to construct a house or make charcoal should get permission from the kebele administration.

Elders said that fortunately the formal law for forests and wood conservation is in line with the traditions of the society. They claimed that deforestation has not been a serious issue as the tradition of the community prohibits tree cutting. Apart from other uses the community need trees for human and animal shade so that tree cutting is strictly prohibited by the community. Tree planting has been carried out by the community through the PSNP.

A rich male respondent noted that the community protects the forests in collaboration with militias who apprehend people who try to cut trees without permission.

The community also participate in protecting forests and wooded land. The militias work in collaboration with the community and catch an individual who cuts trees and forests without the permission of the kebele officials.

A middle wealth male respondent suggested that in discussions with the DA and officials notably in at GTP training a consensus had been reached not to cut trees, which was having results and benefiting the community due to shade trees, but he felt there is still a need to continue to raise awareness and prevent tree cutting:

For forest and wood area protection, the community had many discussions particularly on training for the growth and transformation plan with DAs and kebele officials. We reached a consensus not to cut trees and to catch the ones who cut them. As a result, many changes and outcomes are achieved. The extent of deforestation in the area is also decreasing and the community has got large trees and plants that serve as a

shade (for human being and livestock), animal feed and wind breaks. However, though the progress is seen, there is still a need to provide continuous awareness creation for the community and strong follow up so that no trees are cut down.

Likewise a poor male respondent mentioned the positive role the militiamen played in preventing tree-cutting resulting in benefits for the community for shade and fodder.

The kebele militias also follow up in collaboration with the community in order to prevent the cutting of forests and woods and they catch individuals who cut them. Hence, the cutting of trees has decreased and the community has gotten many shade trees and plants for their livestock as well as for their households. My family has also benefited from the intervention.

However, a rich women respondent suggested that people get round the prohibition and make charcoal in secret:

Forest is found around Ajotere zone of the kebele, which everybody could use for both fuel and market. But now, within the last two years, officials prohibited using wood for charcoal. However, people cut and burn wood for selling charcoal in secret.

A woman from a middle wealth household admitted to getting fuelwood for her own use and sale and that she sells charcoal secretly.

The community depend on animal rearing. They travel from place to place in search of pasture and water for their livestock. According to officials the culture of using controlled grazing and grass land management is not well developed. But with frequent awareness creation and following the introduction of farming, some people have started to fence grazing areas and manage their livestock. In contrast, other people destroy the fences and let their cattle graze over others' land. This in turn, creates conflicts over pasture in the community. To improve the situation wereda officials recommend that people decrease the size of their cattle holdings and only keep a small number of improved breeds.

A middle wealth male respondent fenced his grazing land to have dry season grazing.

Concerning grassland management, the DAs always inform us about rational grazing. They encourage us to have protected grazing land for our cattle. Accordingly, I have fenced grazing land so that my cattle graze during the dry season.

### National Parks

The Awash National park is adjacent to the kebele and the enclosure in the 1960s reduced the grazing land available for the Karrayu. There have been disputes with the community over cattle entering the park grounds to graze. In 2008, there was a serious dispute between the community and Awash National Park, as community members let their cattle go into the park to graze during the dry season. The park tries to fine people 100 birr per animal. Negotiations were held involving elders and the *Aba Gada*. He said they were able to settle the dispute and a permanent committee of which he is the president was established with members from the Park officials and the community to solve problems.

One middle wealth respondent mentioned that the Park was useful in creating job opportunities for the youth and that during the drought they are allowed to use the park for grazing either through negotiations or by force. Several interviewed household heads said they had been given awareness training about the need to protect wildlife for the park but one of them said he did not practice this nor did other community members.

A militia leader said that the previous year in a dispute between the park and the community a park official was killed. He was involved in trying to solve the dispute for a week and was absent from his job as a guard at the sugar plantation and was suspended. He took his case to the kebele chair and they went together to the wereda which wrote a letter to the plantation and he got his full salary and was reinstated without any punishment.

A woman from another kebele who is the HEW said her father was killed in a conflict between the Park and the Karrayu. As a result she was not able to continue going to a private college after completing 10<sup>th</sup> grade.

### **Soil fertility**

Respondents do not consider that there are soil fertility issues. However, only a small proportion of the land is cultivated and much of the land in the area is stony.

The wife in a successful household said there was no soil fertility problem; she suggested rather that if there is enough water the soil produces even without dung, and that is why they do not bother with making compost.

A middle wealth farmer said the soil was fertile but that due to the Lake expansion plant growth is distorted in the area and agricultural production has decreased and thorn trees have expanded invading areas which used to be productive.

## **Infrastructure**

### **Roads and transport**

The main asphalt road connecting Adama (Nazareth) to Harar passes by the boundary of Gelcha. People can get transport along the road to Metahara, the wereda town which is about 6 kms to the Northwest. However, often the trucks, buses and cars are full, and most people walk which takes them about half an hour from the centre of Gelcha.

The town of Haro Adi known as Addis Ketema is closer for some community members (4 kms) and there is better transport with horse carts, and most people prefer to go there for many purposes. Some Gelcha residents have horse carts themselves including one woman. One man complained that the cart owners overcrowd the carts with up to 10 people when they should only carry 5 making it dangerous. The cost of horse cart transport has gone up from 1 birr to 5 birr. Bajaj can also be hired for emergencies. There are good transport facilities to the zonal and regional towns, costing 35 birr and 61 birr respectively.

Internal roads have also been built and students can go to school in town using bikes. Horse carts can also go over the bridges and take people to and from the centre of Gelcha. However, the Lake Beseka expanded causing detours and the bridges over the drainage canal are not well built and difficult to cross for livestock, carts, and especially vehicles.

### **Electricity**

There is none in the kebele; some youth watch football and dramas on TV in bars in Addis Ketema and Metahara towns, where people also charge their mobile phones.

However, there is a wereda plan to bring electricity to the centre along with irrigation and drinking water in a Local Investment Grant funded project to bring improvements to the area.

### **Communications**

The mobile network was built in 2009 with a tower in Banti the neighbouring kebele. Many residents have mobiles and use them to communicate with relatives and especially with students studying in towns. In some households there are several members particularly young men who have mobiles.

One poor woman said that currently in each household at least one member has a mobile phone. She has one and as she is a trader her son saves the customers' phone numbers with their name, and when she wants to use it she asks the help of a literate person to read the name or to identify the name she wants to ring. Others do the same as she does.

One woman bought two mobiles for her sons, one of whom is at secondary school at Merti and commutes daily and the other at a college in Adama.

A migrant keeps in touch with his relatives in another part of Oromia and said that with increasing transport costs rather than visit they keep in touch by phone.

Two of the sons of the important political leader have mobiles so they can communicate with the one who is studying in Adama and talk to relatives in Harar, and with other students. However, they complained about the cost being high.

Likewise the economically successful man has a mobile and uses it to communicate with relatives and friends who live in the village as well as outside and to exchange updated information about social and economic issues. However, he too complained that the cost was expensive.

The wife in the middle wealth household said her husband and two sons had mobiles. She bought her older son a mobile for 580 birr and the son at secondary school one for 800 birr. She too remarked that call costs are high and phones get damaged soon.

### Drinking water

In the wereda boreholes and hand dug water holes are used for drinking water for the urban dwellers. However, for rural kebeles, the wereda is using an emergency treatment plant so as to treat canal water for drinking. By the end of July 2011, 35% of the households in the wereda had access to safe drinking water. In the future the wereda has a plan to provide safe water to all kebeles within a radius of 1.5 km in rural areas and 0.5 km radius in urban areas by expanding the emergency treatment plant, which is implemented in collaboration with Oromia water authority.

Pastoralist Community Development Project (PCDP), World Family and Christian Children's Fund (CCF) are partner organisations supporting the wereda both financially and materially with water supplies. Wereda officials said that there is a water committee in each kebele which works in collaboration with the wereda and regional officials. They closely follow up the implementation of the water project, manage the water distribution for the community and are responsible for the maintenance of the water points. The maintenance of the water is usually carried out at the kebele level and problems are referred to wereda and regional level based on the extent of the problem.

Many people in the area were drinking unsafe water and water with a high fluoride content but the coverage of safe water in the area has increased. Problems that hinder the expansion of safe water in the area include 1) budget allocated for the sector is too low; 2) Searching for underground water sources takes a long time, as the professionals and equipment comes from zone and regional offices. 3) Sometimes there is a lack of coordination among the offices for the investigation of water sources, creating delays in responding to communities' needs; and 4) There is a lack of water harvesting options as compared to other weredas which have fluoride-free water sources.

In Gelcha safe water is a serious problem, and water access varies a lot within the kebele by remoteness and available sources.

People living in Ajotere, the remotest zone, use the Awash River for drinking for humans and animals whereas others only go to the Awash for the livestock to drink as it is too far.

Those living in proximity to the sugar plantation use water from the outflow of the factory. However, the water is not clean and during the rains the supply is cut off, and people drink from reservoirs that were dug five years ago for collecting water.

Those living close to the plantation workers settlement known as North Camp, have been benefiting from a pipe that brought them water. However, it stops when there is a failure of electricity in the camp. Moreover, the water became salty with the expansion of the Beseka Lake and the pipe got cut off. The lake with a high fluoride content has also contaminated groundwater affecting using wells for drinking. The wells that had been dug by NGOs are therefore no longer usable for drinking water.

Many households buy water from the town of Addis Ketema (Haro Adi) bringing it by horse cart or

bicycle. They spend 6 birr per jerrycan and five birr for transporting it by cart. For instance two sons of the middle wealth household who go to school in town bring water when they come home by bicycle. A leading woman trader sells drinking water in her shop.

There is a plan to improve the drinking water supply in 2012 and PCDP is due to assist. The community contributed a total of 41,251 birr in cash for the construction in 2010, each household contributing 80 birr, with only the destitute being exempt. With a population of about 600 households this would suggest that about 75 households did not contribute.

The community members had already contributed 23,000 birr of the expected 30,000 birr to the Oromia development Association (100 birr for each household) but PCDP gave them a short time to collect the community contribution. The kebele took credit from another organisation and it was paid back by the community.

According to a poor respondent initially those community members who live close to the town from where they get water and Ajotere zone which is very far from the centre of the kebele refused to contribute but later on the kebele officials convinced them and all the community members contributed.

A poor woman resented that people had had to sell livestock or take loans to pay the contribution for the water development but that nothing has been done so far.

When wereda officials said, we are ready to establish piped water now, so hurry to pay. At their request all people paid on time, even those who didn't have money; they paid by taking loans from their neighbours and friends. Some of them sold their livestock out of their plan, but nothing was done and they also didn't talk about it since they took the money.

Another poor woman said she was told to pay but was not yet able to do so.

One female household head said that the kebele officials deducted 80 birr for the water when she received her PSNP payments. Likewise a woman who is a direct support beneficiary said 80 birr had been deducted from her. She said, *even though my contribution is necessary for such a project, it was not good taking the money out of my plan.*

Limited drinking water at the kindergartens and the primary school is a big constraint with students coming late or going to get water at rest times and then coming back later and some not returning. However, one poor woman said there were water storage tanks at the primary school that are useful.

## **Urban development**

The town of Addis Ketema (Haro Adi) used to be part of Gelcha but was hived off and became a town under Metahara the wereda capital.

There is a plan in the future that the Gelcha area will become part of the Metahara town administration which is likely to result in big changes in the livelihoods of the inhabitants.

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

### **Generally**

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

The economy of Gelcha is strongly reliant on livestock and pastoralism. Despite promotion of agriculture particularly at the outset of the GTP period rainfed agriculture is unreliable and may be successful some years but fail other years. Even in a good year households involved in rainfed agriculture may only be able to cover two to four months of their grain consumption needs and rely on livestock products and the sale of livestock to purchase grain the rest of the year.

Currently the potential for irrigation from the sugar plantation outflow is limited. The plantation

initially provided the Gelcha residents with access to the water for watering livestock and Harar Oromo and Somali migrants began irrigating there. The water that is available is limited, and it stopped during the rains when the plantation does not need water. Those who have access can do relatively well and some have been growing cash crops but their numbers are limited, there have been disputes among users, and some of the land has become less productive or unusable due to salinity resulting from the expansion of Lake Beseka.

Though Gelcha residents are largely dependent on livestock the diet has shifted more towards grain requiring the sale of more stock to purchase grain. Drought years have also reduced the number of livestock and problems with grazing land, expansion of the sugar plantation, restriction on the use of the park for dry season grazing, and conflict with neighbouring groups have all constrained the pastoral economy.

The PSNP aid has been an important injection of cash and grain into the local economy. It has also enabled households to avoid selling too many livestock and becoming indebted. For the poorest it has been vital to their survival in drought years. The wife in a middle wealth household suggested that without the PSNP they would have become poor.

Specifically the increase in price of grains and other consumption goods (coffee, kerosene, clothes, etc) means the household needs to sell more livestock to cover household expenses. If the PSNP support was not provided the household would be getting poor.

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

The farming economy is rather limited. As mentioned above rainfed agriculture is unreliable and irrigated farming restricted. Even in a good year the grain production is usually not sufficient for most households for more than a few months, requiring sale of stock to buy grain. The economy remains largely dependent on pastoralism. However, the size of herds have decreased as a result of drought, reduced pasture and decreasing options for dry season grazing due to the park, the sugar plantation and its extension, and conflicts with neighbouring groups. Inflation and rising prices of food and consumer goods have also led to the need to sell more stock to cover various needs, resulting in some impoverishment.

The local economy has depended heavily on the inputs from the PSNP, which has acted as a buffer avoiding excessive livestock sales, and was vital for survival of the poorest in drought years.

The economy is strongly linked to the market through the basic sale of livestock to purchase grain. However, if the planned irrigation reaches Gelcha as anticipated this could bring about a significant change in the economy, since it could mean the production of cash crops. There is also the longer term plan that the Gelcha area will be included under the Metahara urban area and if this goes ahead it would also lead to significant transformations in the local economy.

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

The price of livestock has increased substantially. For instance the price of goats was said to have increased from 200 birr two years ago to 800 birr currently; the price of a bull from 1500 birr to 3500-4000 birr and the price of a camel from 10,000 birr to 20,000 birr. The increase has made it harder for poorer households to engage in fattening and selling shoats, since the initial capital required has increased. The price of grain has also increased considerably from three to four birr per kilogramme to seven or eight birr.

Transport costs going to market, to grinding mill, to collect water by cart have increased from 1 to 5 birr. The price of consumer goods and clothing and school costs have also increased considerably. A group of women said: *Even clothes for small children couldn't be obtained below 100 birr and student uniform is charged at 200 birr and also school fee (for registration) other than kebele primary school is costly.*

One of the women traders said that there is less demand for the goods she sells in her shop and at

the Thursday market, and her business has become less profitable since there has been an increase in the price of goods and people prefer going to markets in town which are slightly cheaper.

A poor divorced man who had been a guard and was pensioned was finding it difficult to make ends meet on his pension and to cope his household reduced on the type of food they consume:

I get a pension of only 321 birr/month from my organisation but the expense for the family is so high due to market inflation on food items including educational materials and other things. For instance, we do not usually use 'shiro' for 'wot' due to its expensiveness. There are many days when my family eat food without using 'wot'.

One man who was asked about new ideas coming from town expressed exasperation and mentioned inflation saying: *There are no new ideas from the towns. When we go there we always hear about market inflation.*

The wife in a middle wealth household suggested that without the PSNP they would have become poor.

Specifically the increase in price of grains and other consumption goods (coffee, kerosene, clothes, etc) means the household needs to sell more livestock to cover household expenses. If the PSNP support was not provided the household would be getting poor.

The failure of the women's organisations set up by government and NGOs for income generating activities was also attributed by some to market price increases that made them unprofitable. Similarly increase in the cost of fuel was mentioned as a factor for the collapse of the irrigation cooperatives and the grinding mill, and kerosene for lighting was said by some to have become prohibitively expensive.

Inflation has also affected people holding ceremonies and celebration festivals as the price of food has increased. The head of an important household said he spent 1,000 birr for the Eid festival this year which is much more than he used to spend.

Inflation was also perceived as having an effect on marriage payments. A young rich man in his 30s said when he got married he paid 1,500 birr but youth are now expected to pay about 9,000 birr. One man spent 13,000 birr for his daughter's marriage, selling a cow, a sheep and a goat and taking 400 birr credit from relatives. He received 2 cattle and 2,900 birr from the groom, and gave the couple 3 cattle and a donkey. He mentioned that when he got married to his second wife 24 years ago he only gave 800 birr and some cattle. A middle wealth young man in his 20s said that they were expected to pay for jewellery which is expensive.

Inflation has also affected the stone extraction business of the cooperative as there are less people building houses and therefore decreased demand.

## **Smallholder agriculture**

### **Weather and pests in last few years**

In 2002, 2004 and especially in 2005-6 and 2010 there were severe droughts that caused deaths of many cattle and shoats. In 2006 because of bad smell most of the people were affected with diarrhoea and about ten people died. The case was even more serious in the neighbouring kebeles. That was why the Metahara sugar factory assisted the people by giving the by-products of sugar cane (leaves, straw, etc) for their animals. That prevented them from losing all their animals; however a few people lost above fifty cattle and many lost from five to ten cattle. It was said that women were more affected by anaemia during the drought than men. The government was providing water purification tablets to help to purify river water during the crisis.

One poor male household head said: *Five years ago I had 3 cows and a bull. However, all died during the 2010 drought period and the government provided me food aid and five goats.* A youth in his teens from a rich family said that his parents lost three camels and more than three cattle.

Given the erratic nature of the rainfall there is a high risk of crop failure. However, there were no reports of crops failing due to pests.

### **Land for farming**

#### **Farm land allocation**

##### **Land laws**

In the wereda no new inheritance law has been implemented. Officials suggested that this is mainly because there is no experience of land inheritance problems. However, the law proclaims that the land owner has the right of inheritance. It also declares that a widow has the right to claim the land of her husband and women have the right to get an equal share of land on divorce.

Kebele officials likewise said that there is no new inheritance law for land. Traditionally it is customary that the land of a deceased person is inherited by his/her relatives, which is still applicable in the community without interference from the kebele officials.

##### **Irrigated land**

In the wereda a total of 2270.50 hectares of land was distributed to individuals for irrigation and they obtained certificates for this.

In the kebele, only a small proportion of households have access to irrigation. There are two types of irrigation, the traditional one and the modern schemes.

The former relies on a drainage canal from the sugar plantation, that was initially started by some migrants from Harar during the Derg period who were not very successful and left and was later taken up by five investors from town who were emulated by migrants from Harar and Somali. There were about 50 users but due to the expansion of Lake Beseka that affected the groundwater and made it salty some of the irrigated area could no longer be used and there are now only 40 users.

The modern irrigation is based on pumps at the Awash. One big pump was provided by the wereda and there were 300 households involved but the running costs were too expensive, a furrow that was dug was flooded, and the harvest failed one year and after three years the wereda removed the pump and is renting it to a group in Afar. There is also a smaller pump currently with some 20 users that has continued to be used, though others were discouraged by the fuel costs and stopped irrigating the land and some of those who continued gave the land to sharecroppers.

Those involved in irrigation produce two to three times a year and they frequently clean the drainage channels taking turns. The kebele officials and the DAs organise and follow up with the irrigation users to manage the water and its drainage properly. Those involved in irrigation have a committee and are now well organised to clear the canals and manage the water according to a scheduled programme.

A rich respondent explained how they organise the work as follows:

There are only a few individuals who use traditional irrigation. I am one who uses such irrigation using the water drained from the sugar factory. We irrigate our farm sequentially and frequently clean the water canals/ditches. There is a water committee who follow up for fair distribution of water among the users and control the clearing of the ditches.

However, there has been conflict between irrigation users, over the land and boundaries and turn-taking for the water and cases have sometimes been taken to the social court.

Several of those who do not have access to irrigated land expressed a strong wish to have some arguing that relying on rainfed agriculture was risky. A poor woman has a small plot on which she produces maize once a year but which is not enough to plant vegetables that require more water and inputs. However, she mentioned that others produce different vegetables (onions, tomatoes, green pepper) and fruits like mangoes and bananas using irrigation.

## **Rainfed land**

### **Land registration**

In the wereda a total of 2270.50 hectares of land was distributed to individuals for irrigation. For many of them the land certificate was prepared with the assistance of USAID. Of the total individual land owners, 111 have second level land certification (both book and the plan of the plot) and for 2,621 individuals the land certification has already been prepared but the owners have not yet received it. Moreover, photos of the owners are being collected to attach them to the certificates.

Certification gives land ownership rights, is believed to initiate the owner to carry out his/her development activities on the land, serves as a document and protects the owner's right to pass the land to others through gift, rent and inheritance. It also ensures women's rights in holding, managing and using farm lands as equal with men, and serves as a legal document for the owners to resolve disputes that might arise concerning land ownership problems.

No land certification has been carried out in Gelcha but it can be expected that this will happen when the new planned irrigation scheme reaches the area.

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

One of the criticisms at the wereda level of the irrigation investment in the Karrayu area has been that some of the people give their land to sharecroppers who are migrants from other areas and therefore do not derive the full benefit from it. The deputy manager of the irrigation schemes was criticised in an evaluation meeting and demoted (both in status and salary) for his failure to follow up and deal with this problem. Now he has been given the position of wereda human resources officer.

In Gelcha since the opportunities for irrigation are limited a few youth have sharecropped land from people living in kebeles where there is irrigated land. A young man in his 30s who is now rich started off sharecropping and renting land and managed to get a profit of 20,000 birr. Likewise a middle wealth young man in his 20s has been sharecropping irrigated land in Abadir and doing well. A militiaman who receives PSNP support said that if the support stopped he would go and sharecrop irrigated land in other areas. Likewise a poor man who works loading camels for an investor and as a public works organiser said he would sharecrop irrigated land in Abadir if the PSNP stopped.

A group of about 300 people from Gelcha had been organised into a cooperative and given a pump receiving 0.25 hectare. However, the price of fuel for the pump was high and the groups was unable to pay so the pump was taken by the wereda and rented to an organisation in Afar. About 20 individuals have continued to use irrigated land with a smaller pump but mainly sharecropping out to non-Karrayu who are able to afford fuel costs for the pump and pay the rent for the organised cooperative.

### **Crops and changes – subsistence and cash crops**

#### **Agricultural products for subsistence and market**

The main crops that are produced in Gelcha are maize and sorghum particularly on the rainfed land, though harvests are often poor and the number engaging in farming is small. Some households have also been growing teff.

On the irrigated land the main crops grown in addition to maize are vegetables, notably tomatoes and onions, as well as peppers and cabbage, and some fruit, especially mangoes and bananas, and a few households also grow watermelons.

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

The rainfed agriculture is used primarily for household consumption. On irrigated land some households have done well from growing crops for sale. One young rich man had saved 10,000 birr

from sale of the vegetables and fruit he produced.

Most of the income from market sales depends on the sale of livestock, notably sheep and goats for small expenses and cattle and camels for larger expenses.

### **New crops**

There do not seem to be any new crops introduced by the extension services in the area. The vegetables and fruit on the irrigated land seem to have been adopted from other irrigation users.

### **Farming technologies**

The wereda has sought to promote youth cooperatives engaged in irrigated agriculture so that they can learn new techniques such as ploughing and managing irrigation. Though there have been some success cases, many have failed partly due to mismanagement but also since many Karrayu prefer to sharecrop the land to others, especially migrants and continue with their pastoralist activities.

After the GTP training in Gelcha some more households started to plough and farm land but much of it failed due to insufficient rainfall.

### **Irrigation technologies**

#### **Irrigation**

Wereda officials differentiated two kinds of irrigation practised. The modern irrigation is carried out along the Awash river. There are currently three modern irrigation schemes: 1) Sara Rebba that has a capacity to irrigate about 280 hectares; 2) Godo-Fafate that is able to cultivate 97.5 hectares; and 3) Fantalle irrigation scheme. The modern irrigation scheme is still under construction. It is expected that a total of 18,000 hectares of land will be cultivated with the scheme by the end of the construction. Currently, a total of 2315.75 hectares is cultivated.

For traditional irrigation systems many kebeles of the wereda such as Alge, Golla, Godo-Fafate, Fate-Ledy, and Sarawe-Baha (Busse) are using the drainage water from Metahara sugar factory. With this irrigation system 777.72 hectares of land is currently cultivated. Previously, these communities were purely pastoralists. However, nowadays they are becoming agricultural and produce maize, onion, tomatoes, mangos, papaya, and peppers. As a result, they are able to diversify their livelihood strategies and become food self-sufficient.

Problems identified by the wereda include: 1) awareness about water management is very poor given the pastoralist background and this needs more effort to change it; 2) There is a problem of water shortage particularly in the middle of the year due to the pressure on the Awash River for irrigation. Many people upstream and in the Metahara sugar factory are using the water for irrigation (the factory cultivates about 15,000 ha) which results in a water shortage in the middle of the year; 3) Due to the high fluoride content of the water, the groundwater cannot be used for irrigation; and 4) There is a budget constraint to manage and expand the irrigation scheme and water harvesting system in the wereda. To solve the problem there is a plan to provide intensive training and awareness creation to the community about water management. Moreover, there is a plan to expand the irrigation scheme to cover other kebeles.

The kebele officials noted that the Awash scheme involved the Ledy and Ajotare development association. The wereda organised about 300 individuals of the kebele community to get them to engage in irrigation farming. A large water pump was bought that they use for irrigation from the Awash River. However, after each member received 0.25 hectare of land, almost all the members were discouraged and refused to cultivate the land due to the expensive price of fuel for the motor pump. As a result, the wereda took the motor pump and rented it to an organisation in Afar. Only about 30 individuals keep on working on the land through sharecropping out their land to non-Karrayu individuals who are able to use water pumps.

Regarding the traditional irrigation schemes kebele officials explained that the sugar estate initially

allowed the people to use the water only for their livestock. However, some people in the community diverted the water and started to use it for irrigation. Now, about 30 individuals use the scheme for production of maize, onion and other crops. The beneficiaries organise and arrange the fair distribution of water among themselves.

At the moment the beneficiaries are in a better economic status in the kebele as compared to those who do not have irrigation access. They are relatively food secure and do not get PSNP food aid. The irrigation scheme is controlled by the sugar estate and sometimes the estate blocks the water, especially during the rainy season when the plantation does not need to water the crop, which creates disputes between the estate and the beneficiaries.

The traditional irrigation seems to have been started during the Derg period by migrants from Harar who started to irrigate around the Mosque village. They used about 2 hectares and produced onions and tomatoes and fruits such as papaya and water melons in small quantities. They prospered but the land began to become degraded and they returned to their home area. Now the land is covered by Lake Beseka and the thorn trees.

Since then five investors have come to the area from Addis Ketema four of whom had been involved in irrigation during the Derg. They produced vegetables such as tomatoes, onions and green peppers and fruit like mangoes, papaya, bananas and avocados. According to one of the women who irrigates land currently the community members didn't benefit much from their intervention, except gaining work skills. They brought daily workers from other places for preparing land, planting, weeding and harvesting their crops. People also couldn't benefit from the by-products of the irrigation, which were used by the daily labourers. The investors lent the money to the rich, but the poor weren't able to access credit from them. There was no conflict with kebele officials or community members. They participate in community contributions including land tax; therefore they have good relations with officials and people.

Within the last ten years, some people were encouraged by the example of the investors to start irrigation work by using the diversion of the drainage from the sugar plantation which the plantation had allowed the community to use for animals drinking water. Since then the number of users has increased especially after the modern irrigation schemes were established in the neighbouring kebeles, which stimulated interest. People involved in irrigation began to enclose land.

One woman said she enclosed about half a hectare five years ago. She produces mostly maize which helps for household food consumption. In a good production season the produce covered about four/five months of the family consumption food. Sometimes, during the rains she produces vegetables such as onions and tomatoes, and cabbage. In a good production season she obtains a fair income and buys livestock which are important to sell in hard times. She also covered school, health service and other consumption expenditures.

A middle wealth woman started to produce maize, cabbage, local cabbage and onions. The chairman of the irrigation users association said that four persons from Addis Ketema participate in the irrigation and are better off; they help members by providing credit in bad times, giving advice and moral support. The same respondent added that in contrast the wereda agriculture office promised support with seeds and fertiliser which has not been forthcoming. The price of fertiliser at the wereda was cheaper than that brought to the kebele. He said the wereda tried to force people to take the fertiliser and they refused but he fears the government may *think something bad about the Karrayu*.

Traditional irrigation is practised in two villages the Somali and "Kottu" ones. Most of the irrigation is at "Kottu" village which has a water management committee. 50 households are involved, but because of the expansion of Lake Beseka which has reduced the area that can be irrigated this has been reduced to 40 households. The irrigation association has a chair, deputy, secretary and treasurer; members contribute 5 birr per month for channel maintenance and plan to construct new

channels.

The chairman of the committee described a conflict that arose when the factory closed the channel.

Last year the factory water was closed by factory workers without warning or the knowledge of the community people. When they asked them what the reason was, they refused to say which led to a conflict between them. They fought each other, two persons were severely wounded from the factory workers, and then six of us including me were arrested for about a week. We paid about 9,000 birr as punishment, to injured persons as compensation and for costs of digging materials of workers (hook, fork, etc) which were stolen during the fight. Consequently, our members lost capital because of contributions to pay the fine. Every member paid a contribution of 300-400 birr for this purpose. Wereda officials blamed the community [and said] that they should have complained about the problem to the wereda rather than fighting with them. I feel sorry about the wereda officials' opinion and feel that the Karrayu people are ignored on their own land and water source.

A man who described himself as poor produced maize, tomatoes and onions using irrigation water from the sugar estate drainage. During the first year he produced tomatoes and onions twice a year. Two years ago he got 10,380 birr from the sale of onions with which he bought two oxen and clothing and educational materials for his children. But now due to the expansion and negative impact of Lake Beseka on the soil and shortage of irrigation water, he cultivates once a year. He added that those who have got sufficient water have benefited while others who had a shortage of irrigation water lost what they planted.

A rich woman involved in the traditional irrigation who produced maize and vegetables has been doing fairly well for five years; however she said the competition for water has become intense as people have seen irrigators benefiting especially in other kebeles. Two persons were selected to control fair distribution.

A struggling wife with children started to work on daily labour; last year she participated in digging canals for about nine months for 25 birr a day, along with other manual wage labour.

A rich man who was part of the irrigation cooperative scheme mentioned that the members were initially 300 each paying 300 birr and they bought a small pump. Initially they got a good harvest mainly of maize. Then they were given 3 small pumps and one large one that cost 500,000 birr from the pastoralist and rural development office. However, after two seasons there were complaints about the fuel costs especially for the large pump. Also the irrigation furrow was damaged by flooding. People were upset that they wasted their labour guided by an expert from the government who made them dig drainage and furrows that were wrongly placed and had to be redug. Many members got discouraged, stopped producing and abandoned their plots. Now only those who are able to cover the costs of fuel for the small pumps are involved. He said there were about 30 who still farm using irrigation producing mainly tomatoes.

One woman who is not an irrigation producer mentioned that since the irrigation potential and the work it offers is limited young men from Gelcha have started to stop young males who come from other places for labour work during planting/harvesting time.

### **Water harvesting**

Wereda officials said that there is a problem with surface water harvesting due to high percolation of the soil, high evaporation rate and lack of awareness/experience of the people in water harvesting.

The people in the area simply use furrow irrigation during the rainy season rather than harvesting it. Another problem is that the high fluoride content of the Lake water which has affected the underground water, makes water harvesting difficult.

### **Livestock contributions to livelihoods**

Livestock play a central and dominant part in livelihoods and the pastoral way of life and values are strong, and livestock products especially milk and butter are key elements of the diet. From September to April young men take the camels to look for pasture in the Rift Valley area to Shashemene, Hossana and Arsi Negelle. They return with the herds to Gelcha in the rainy season when there is enough feed, and in the middle of the year they are kept near the sugar plantation to feed on the harvested cane residues. During the rains from May to October they are taken to Mount Fantalle. Cattle, sheep and goats are kept within Fantalle wereda but moved in the dry season to look for pasture.

A successful pastoralist said he did not know the exact the numbers of his livestock as it was not in their culture to count them. However, when pressed he said he has roughly seven camels, seven cows, four calves, one ox, fifty goats, twenty sheep and two donkeys. He explained the division of labour and livestock, in which he and his wife and the younger children look after the small stock and cattle near the village whereas the youth take the camels in search of pasture during the dry season; he also explained the turn-taking with his neighbour.

I keep cattle, sheep and goats around the sugar plantation during the middle of the year and take them to Fantalle mountain. Herding of those cattle, sheep and goats is done by me and my wife and sometimes by my little children if they do not have schooling. However, the youth take the camels to Shashemene, Zeway, Buttajira and other long distance areas following the availability of grass and water. Now my camels are around Arsi Negele and my neighbour is keeping them. After some months one of my family members will take over and keep them in turn. The other livestock are kept mainly by my wife and me and sometimes by my little children around the sugar plantation.

He explained that his wife sells milk and butter during the rains when the cows give a high yields, getting about 80-100 birr per month then and uses the hides for mattresses and to make shoes.

The conception of wealth is intimately linked to livestock holdings. A group of respondents said most those with about 40 camels 20 cattle and 100-200 sheep and goats are categorised as rich while the ones with no livestock are categorised as destitute.

Wealth differences were said to have been used to decide on who got included in the PSNP. To categorise the community rich persons were said to be those who have more than 20 camels, and significant numbers of cattle and shoats; middle wealth people may have five camels and more cattle and shoats; and the poor do not have camels, not more than ten cattle and a low number of shoats.

A leading woman trader said she had 10 camels and was considered among the rich people in the kebele and was praised at the regional capital and given a medal and certificate from the regional governor.

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

Sharecropping is often carried out on irrigated land. This was a complaint of the wereda that some Karrayu who had irrigated land would sharecrop it out to migrants and get less benefit.

Some enterprising men from Gelcha sharecrop land in neighbouring kebeles that have irrigated land and some PSNP beneficiaries said that if the PSNP stopped that is what they would do to survive. There are very few sharecropping in the Gelcha traditional irrigation as the amount of land is limited.

One man with a walking disability said he sharecropped out his irrigated land in the traditional irrigation area and therefore got less profit. Some of those who joined the modern irrigation schemes sharecropped out their land as they were less interested to farm.

People with irrigated land sometimes organise 'reciprocal' work parties *jige*, but they also said they call non-irrigation users to take part, which presumably means that it is not reciprocal. 'Festive' work parties that involve food and drink called *debo* are common particularly for house building.

#### **Agricultural labour**

### Daily labour

Daily labour includes work on the sugar plantation, on irrigated land in the kebele and other kebeles, at a metal factory, on road construction, building houses in the site, in sand and stone quarrying and various kinds of wage labour in towns.

The main source of daily labour is in the sugar plantation especially at the harvest season cutting sugar cane and loading it on to lorries. More than 80 households were said to take part and it is an important means of livelihood. Some young men are also working as daily labourers on irrigated farms in neighbouring kebeles where there are modern irrigation schemes.

There were also some daily labour opportunities on a metal recycling factory. It involved sorting out the metal, and women were working as cleaners. However, workers from Gelcha were excluded and replaced by urban youth, although the researcher could not find any of the excluded. However, the researcher heard that the factory has been having problems and has suspended its work.

Some young men end up becoming daily labourers in Metahara, the wereda town and Addis Ketema, having completed secondary school and not finding employment. They do not want to go back to the livestock economy and cannot find jobs related to their education. When they aren't able to get income from temporarily engaging in daily labour some become involved in stealing livestock in coordination with urban louts known locally as *keshelebe*, which they then sell to traders or hotels.

There is also some daily labour on irrigated land in the traditional schemes. The five men from the town of Addis Ketema who were involved in starting irrigation from the plantation outflow employ labourers. One man with irrigated land said he employed labourers for 30-40 birr per day.

A poor man who was a migrant from another area of Oromia worked as a daily labourer constructing houses and wedding crops before he got a job as a guard at the plantation. However, recently he did not find enough work to make ends meet so he went to his relatives in Welencheti and was given a quintal of maize to help him get by.

Another source of daily labour is working on sand and stone extraction, which is organised through cooperative groups. Three cooperatives in Gelcha work on stone extraction employing daily labourers. There are also individuals who do this illegally on their own, undercutting the cooperatives who have complained to the wereda so far to no avail.

The married son of a successful woman heading a household dropped out of grade 7 to work as a wage labourer on the Korean road construction project seven years ago. Likewise another son Many

The only carpenter and house builder occasionally employs a daily labourer for 25 birr a day.

### Longer-term agricultural employment

A few households involved in irrigated agriculture employ labourers on a longer term basis. For instance one of the female irrigation users said she had two young men who work for her participating in ploughing sowing/planting, weeding and harvesting.

### Government farming interventions

#### Development Agents

There are supposed to be 3 Development Agents (DAs) in each kebele. In Gelcha there is only a DA for crops and another for livestock and none for natural resource management. The DAs distribute the work based on the zones (geographical location) rather than specialisation. The crops DA added: *We also assist each other when a work burden is high in a specific location.* In addition to their regular professional work the DAs are assigned to assist the kebele chair in collecting taxes and other contributions.

Both DAs are male, aged about 27, and from the same wereda; the crops DA had been in the

community for four years and the livestock DA two years. At the time of the fieldwork they had just been transferred to other areas but had not started and the livestock DA could not be found.

The government has been trying to get the pastoralists to move more towards involvement in agriculture, and DAs provide training about improved seeds, use of fertiliser, improved breeds and pesticides. However, there are no inputs to go along with this except recently fertiliser which was provided at a higher price than in the wereda, and was therefore unpopular and resented.

The DAs have also been involved in organising women and youth into groups but the cooperatives have become weak, making a loss and most, apart from the stone collecting cooperatives, have been disbanded.

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

#### **Model farmers**

Wereda officials said that the awareness creation and introduction of new practices are usually done through model farmers who are the first to be given packages of improved seeds. However, there is a shortage of hybridised maize seeds that are acclimatised to the agro-climatic conditions of the area.

During the Growth and Transformation Plan training wereda and kebele officials who had been trained themselves provided further training for 200 model farmers and then to the rest of the community in the second phase. There was a strong emphasis in the training on moving from pastoralism to agriculture.

In Gelcha there is no model farmer system and no packages provided for farming. This is because there is much more emphasis given to kebeles where there is modern irrigated farming.

The wife of a successful man heading a large household said she had heard that her husband was considered as a model farmer and pastoralist called locally *adda durre*.

A rich young man in his 20s said that he wanted to be a model farmer and teach the community to become more aware of farming activities. He said in the future the community will be farmers; particularly if the irrigation water will become accessible in the area many of them will be encouraged to become farmers.

#### **Development teams and 1-5s**

The *gare* or development team (*gare missoma*, development team or army) is a unit through which development work is supposed to be carried out. Ideally these are constituted of five groups of 1-5 networks, i.e. 30 households but it also depends on the number of people within a zone, the level above the *gare* and below the kebele, so that if there are people 'left over' they will join an existing *gare*. For example in one case a *gare* had 36 households.

Each *gare* has a chair, deputy, secretary and two members forming the leadership. A number of *gares* make up the zone, and there are three zones in the Kebele. The zone has a leadership of eight members comprising one DA, two youth members, two women and three elders, but in practice *gare* leaders often report directly to the kebele leadership bypassing the zonal structure.

The 1-5 groups, often referred to as networks, unit extensions or 1-5 development teams, are a new structure, the lowest level of organisation that was promoted recently since the GTP training in 2010; they are supposed to play a developmental role. The 1-5 networks have one leader who is the sixth household head. Five of the 1-5 networks are supposed to form a *gare*.

The 1-5 networks have been mobilised to fence the school compound and carry out tree planting. In theory the 1-5 structure is expected to meet regularly and work on each other's fields and the leader should report to the *gare* leader. According to one 1-5 leader: *This team is expected to have strong relations like a family because their unity is important for the planned fruition.* However, since there

is limited farming in practice the 1-5 network is not very active in coordinating work.

The leader collects land tax and other contributions from the 5 households he is responsible for and gives the receipt back to the kebele chair. He informs members about kebele meetings. Though he is supposed to report to the *gare* leader this does not happen according to the plan since his current work is linked with collecting tax and informing people about meetings and his contact is mainly with the kebele chair and sometimes the militias.

A number of respondents mentioned the type of work they had been involved in; several male respondents suggested that they had worked in 1-5 networks clearing and preparing farmland, weeding and preparing cut-off drains. One political leader said he has worked about a month with his development team. A poor man said that cooperation was changing from clan to individuals working through 1-5 networks and relying on their *iddirs*. A poor man said he had participated in soil and water conservation activities including planting trees and preparing water drainage through his 1-5 team. Likewise, a recent male migrant said he had been involved in making the school fence and other public works through his 1-5 team. A destitute woman said that when there was a meeting she was told by her 1-5 network leader.

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

The FTC was built and started functioning in 2007. The building has three rooms (one for an office, one for a store and one for trainings), but no water or electricity. The centre is supposed to serve for training the farmers on different agricultural packages including demonstration of compost, crop growth and planting, and also serves as a site to show animal feed and feeding mechanisms.

The centre has a demonstration site of about 2 hectares. The DA said that no training has been given in the centre to the community so far. He said that two years earlier (in 2009) he had registered the community to provide them training in it but they refused claiming that they were busy. The FTC building has been serving for other meetings such as political meetings during elections, and also different NGOs have held meetings in it for the community.

A rich farmer said he had participated in trainings given by the DA about the importance of inputs such as fertiliser and seeds and that there was demonstration of compost preparation. A middle wealth farmer said he did not know what its usefulness was and no one had benefited. He added that half the roof has been taken away by wind. Moreover, from the beginning, the community was not happy with the site selected for the FTC, as it is constructed far away from the centre (from the area where the kebele office, school and health post are found) without obtaining the consensus of the community. He suggested that the FTC should be reconstructed in the central area.

A rich woman said she planted trees many times through food for work around the building, but she did not know what it was for. A poor woman said: *it is a useless building from which two corrugated iron sheets were taken by wind from its roof. Then a thief entered through the hole in the roof and took many corrugated iron sheets and other tools from it.* The crops DA said he reported to the supervisor that the wind had taken part of the roof and the supervisor brought new iron sheets for repair. However, it has not been repaired yet for unknown reasons.

### **Crops interventions**

Wereda officials said that they focus on sites with irrigation and that there is a shortage of improved seeds that are adapted to local conditions of poor rainfall. One of them said: *There is a problem of finding a hybridised maize seed that is acclimatised to the agro-climatic zone of the area.*

In Gelcha there have been trainings about improved seeds but no distribution in the kebele as agricultural interventions of the wereda are focused on kebeles that are considered to have better irrigation potential.

### **Livestock interventions**

The wereda has been promoting the Borana cattle breed, animal feed and feeding practices, teaching the community to select and keep the best quality cattle from among the existing local cattle breeds in the area. This awareness creation and introduction of the Borana breed takes place through selecting model farmers from the community and letting others learn from them. The cattle breeds are bought for very low prices from Borana with the money of the farmers but there is no credit service given to any of the farmers. However, those who are poor can get such a service through PSNP.

In Gelcha the community has been eager to have access to the Borana breeds of cattle but there has not been any provision. The DA suggested it was because the price was unaffordable. He added *There is no credit access for the community to get any of the agricultural packages in the area. All members of the community are expected to get them through buying on the spot if a given package is available in the area.* However, a middle wealth household had obtained two cows and four bulls that were improved breeds. A poor young man in his 20s said he aspired to change all his local breeds to improved breeds in the next five years.

According to the DA, before 2006 GTF and other partner organisations distributed an improved poultry variety to the community. However, many of them died due to the bird flu. In 2009 at the request of the community the DAs collected money from them to bring a hybridised poultry variety but due to lack of transportation in the office, the DA failed to do so and all the money was paid back to the individuals.

### **NRM interventions**

According to wereda officials the programme is run by plant science graduates. They facilitate natural resource management extension activities including afforestation and soil and water conservation programmes through construction of check dams, trenches, cut-off drains, and tree planting. The programme is carried out through PSNP and community voluntary labour contributions.

In the 12 PSNP kebeles of the wereda natural resource management is mostly carried out from June to August using the safety net programme and community labour contributions through the mobilisation of their respective *Gare*, while in 6 kebeles which are graduated areas in the wereda, natural resource management is solely carried out through community labour contributions through their respective *Gare*. The necessary equipment was already bought by the safety net, particularly for PSNP kebeles. In other kebeles there is the problem of equipment. Moreover, there is a budget constraint to purchase necessary inputs for natural resource management. Therefore, the department plans to make the community contribute both labour and necessary inputs for the activities.

There is no NRM DA in Gelcha and the DA for crops complained of having to do the work. Conservation work is organised through the *gare* structure and 1-5 networks and involved water drainage and tree planting with food for work.

A medium wealth man said that during the GTP training they were made aware not to cut trees to protect the environment. He said since then many people including himself grow trees in their surroundings that serve as shade and feed for goats.

A rich male respondent mentioned the conservation work and the role of the militia in stopping people cutting trees. He said he found the trees he planted near his homestead useful but that the trees planted through the food for work are not protected and dry out for lack of follow up.

Every year there are tree planting and construction of soil and water conservation structures such as cut-off drains, terraces, stone bunds etc. The activities are carried out by the community through the FFW programme. Moreover, there is strict control over cutting of trees. The militia follow and catch an individual

who cuts trees and send him to justice. My family and other members of the community have benefited from the intervention. For instance, three years ago I planted trees in front of my house. Currently, those trees are serving my family and livestock as shade plants and feed for my goats. Previously when the trees had been cut particularly by urban dwellers for houses and firewood, we did not protect them. However, now we have got aware of the disadvantages of tree cutting so that we are preventing the cutting of trees. Hence, the extent of cutting of trees has decreased and this enables the community to find shade trees for human beings as well as for livestock. The problem with the NRM is that we plant trees each year but there is a lack of follow-up, particularly lack of watering the plants and many planted seedlings have dried out. Therefore, the focus on tree follow-up should be as much as for planting.

Similarly a poor male respondent said he planted 15 shade trees in his compound, but that the trees planted last year through the conservation work have dried out due to lack of water and a responsible body to follow up.

A woman who worked for the NGO Goal that was working with women said that they had a number of sub-committees on NRM. These were:

- *Core qiyasa* – Surveying committee
- *Core sullula* – watershed management committee
- *Core komadi* – command post committee
- *Core deddemaqisittu* – initiation/motivation committee
- *Core metena* – controlling committee
- *Core gebbassa* – Reporting committee
- *Core dangessittu* – Demarcation committee

However, the NGOs activities stopped and women went back to their former work of selling wood and charcoal.

## **Non-farm occupations**

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

Some 80 households are employed in the Metahara sugar factor as wage labourers on a regular basis and as guards. One man had been employed for 20 years and now gets paid 23 birr a day on a monthly basis and obtains some benefits such as a sugar ration and medical care for his family. However, he says it is difficult to balance that with keeping his own livestock and that guarding against livestock from his own community brings him into conflict with his members of his community.

I have been employed since the twenty years ago. At that time, I and other individuals from Gelcha requested the factory for employment and the factory officials accepted our application. We signed temporary employment contracts and began the job for 5 birr per day. Now I am paid 23 birr per day. I have usually worked for 8 hours a day. In addition to the monthly salary, I have been given working shoes and clothes two times a year, get full medication for myself and my family members when we are sick, and get 10kg sugar per month. Only 5-20 birr for health and 20 birr for sugar are deducted monthly from my salary which is very small as compared to the benefit I and my family get from the organisation. Hence, I get an income from the organisation for being employed in the factory which enables me to cover some expenses of my household. The problem is that the payment is too small as compared to the work burden. I am working as a guard which creates disputes with the community. Mostly, we (guards) are in conflict with the community when we protect the sugar plantation from livestock of the community. Moreover, when my shift is changed to the day time, it is difficult to keep my own cattle and to follow up other activities of my own.

A few people had been employed at a metal recycling factory ,men as metal sorters and guards and women in cleaning but the work ceased, some saying they were replaced by urban youth, though it seems the factory stopped working in any case.

## Local non-farm business and trading opportunities

### Wood, grass, charcoal and cane sale

Selling wood, grass and sugar cane residue used as livestock feed is an important component of livelihoods for poor households, especially women heading households. Some children also sell wood to earn some income that can help towards their school expenses; others collect cane residue to feed family herds.

### Trading

A few men and women are involved in fattening and trading sheep and goats, and some women got credit from NGOs for this. About ten women are involved in petty trading items such as *chat*, *kashira* (coffee bean husks used to make a drink), tobacco and other goods.

A leading woman trader sells a wide range of items including *chat*, soap, kerosene, sugar, salt, coffee husks, different kinds of sweets and biscuits, cooked grains (*nifro*), tea, cigarette, animal feeds (*fino* and *fagulo*), various types of incense, drinking water, etc. She sells these in her shop most days and in the market on Thursdays.

She brings these and other consumptions goods from Addis Ketema, buying them from the wholesale shop. Her children are selling the goods when she is working on the cart. She has her own horse cart which helps to transport the goods from the town to home. She says now trading is not as profitable; because of the increase in the price of the goods, people prefer to buy things from town. Therefore the frequency of selling goods has decreased as compared to before. Currently the profitable goods are *chat* and food like biscuits, candy and *nifro* and tea. At the beginning she was the only women trader in the area, but now a lot of women are engaged on that work, even in her village about four women are doing the same, but she is the leading one.

A young trader sells battery cells, livestock medicine, clothing items such as socks and pants, insecticides, artificial ornaments etc. at market centres on market days, sometimes selling a gross amount of 1,000-2,000 birr on a market days. Though it is not so profitable he says at least it is better than being employed.

Likewise, a 25 year old woman trader sells at different markets; two days at Addis Ketema and two days at Abadir (a sugar factory camp). Her husband buys some goods from Addis Ababa and sends them to her to sell and she buys smaller items such as soap, salt, sugar, kerosene, coffee husks, matches etc locally. She has accumulated 25,000 birr in the bank and her capital has reached 40,000 birr.

A number of households sell milk and butter during the rains, which is a new practice which was not customary.

Though a number of women have been able to purchase more food and cover other expenditures, they said that financial constraints and inflation limit their ability to expand their trading businesses to become more profitable.

### Services

There does not seem to be much in the way of services except shops set up by the women's cooperative association and a few enterprising women. The women's group shop was set up in 2005 with PCDP support that provided initial capital. However, it stopped working after a few years due to increases in prices and other management problems. One of the leaders set up her own shop.

There was also a grinding mill set up by a women's cooperative association with external support but which failed so that people now have to go to Addis Ketema for mill services, using carts to take and bring back the grain.

### **Transport**

A few persons, including at least one woman, have horse carts and provide transport services to the town of Addis Ketema. People bring grain to grind at mills, drinking water in jerry cans and various other items by horse cart. A one way trip to or from Gelcha which used to cost one birr now costs 5 birr. In emergencies people can hire bajaj.

### **Traditional health services**

People often go to traditional healers for various diseases and they are good at dealing with broken bones, swellings, snake bites etc. Also people have milk teeth removed from children. Traditional cures often involve burning parts of the body with a hot iron, which is said to be effective for sudden stomach ache. Pregnant women also get treatment from traditional headers when they are feeling ill.

One man with who became paralysed when he was 6 was taken to a traditional healer and after massaging recovered mobility in one leg but not the other.

Smoke of certain woods is considered important for those affected by evil eye and bad spirits (*Jini*). Some people go to traditional practitioners to cast spells on enemies who may give them pieces of wood or written materials as charms (*tsifet/suteta*).

The interviewed healer deals with animal diseases such as anthrax as well as curing snake bites, uprooting milk teeth, and giving advice regarding sexual problems, the evil eye etc. He uses roots and leaves of plants. What he charges varies by disease and treatment; for instance for snake bites he may charge 100-150 birr but it also depends on the ability of people to afford the treatment and payment.

There are six traditional birth attendants who were trained by the NGO Goal-Ethiopia in the late 1990s. They no longer get any support as the NGO phased out activities five years ago, and have limited links with the HEW except for polio vaccinations. They do not get paid or have incentives for the work.

### **Production**

There is very little produced for sale. One leading woman trader sells cooked grain (*nifro*) biscuits which she makes, and tea from her shop and at the Thursday market.

There is one carpenter who builds houses and makes agricultural implements. He works on a contract basis charging for his labour only and may get about 150 birr for a house, and 15-20 birr for a digging implement. He works full time on this usually on his own but rarely hires a labourer.

There is some charcoal production for sale mainly produced by poorer households but not much is known about it, possibly since there are attempts to prevent it and it is illegal.

There do not seem to be much craftwork, though some shop owners sell jewellery which is locally produced, and one man makes baskets to order.

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

The wereda has been encouraging associations of which there are 19 engaged in various activities. 11 of these are working on sand extraction from the river, using wage labourers. Being legally licensed they can get credit. There are three involved in stone extraction all of which are in Gelcha.

In Gelcha a rich male respondent suggested that most of the cooperative ventures went bankrupt and so the government stopped supporting them. A rich female respondent mentioned the shop organised for women by PCDP which provided initial capital but then stopped when rising prices made the business unprofitable. She also mentioned that there is a women's group working on stone extraction along with men.

A poor woman said she is a member of the cooperative contributing 5 birr every 15 days. She did not know about the capital or rules and does not participate in the activities that are performed by labourers. One rich female respondent said the association had both male and female members and they had been contributing 10 birr but because of inflation some stopped and the association is no longer functional.

One of the stone extraction cooperatives (Tokuma) had 25 members and now has 20. It sells a square metre of stone for 40 birr, of which 17 birr is paid for labour. The capital has reached 30,000 birr. The income is deposited and members only get a per-diem when engaged in duties. However, there are also individuals engaged privately illegally in the business that undercut the cooperatives selling at lower prices and not paying taxes; the cooperative reported the problem to the government but no action has been taken so far.

## **Marketing**

### **Output markets**

A wereda official said there was a problem that youth cooperatives tended to focus on limited activities such as loading and packaging onions without taking into account market demand and suggested it was important to assess market viability.

In Gelcha only a small proportion of households are involved in irrigated agriculture and there is limited production of cash crops from the irrigated land. Producers sell vegetables, mainly onions and tomatoes, and some fruit, particularly mangoes and bananas.

People sell livestock for cash, mainly selling small stock to buy grain and to cover other expenses, and also in case of shocks such as illness and death.

### **Input and consumption markets**

Wereda officials said they provided improved seeds and fertiliser to farmers through unions, in credit or cash and promoted improved breeds of cattle sold to farmers at low prices, and for the poor through the PSNP.

There are very limited inputs provided in Gelcha. There have not been any improved seeds provided and the Borana cattle have not been provided or are too expensive. An NGO promoted improved poultry but these were not successful and a second attempt by DAs did not succeed due to transport problems.

Fertiliser was provided last year but at a higher price than could be obtained at the wereda and was therefore not popular. One man said he had refused to purchase it but feared the government would think badly of the Karrayu.

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

### **PSNP**

In the wereda there in 2011 there were 14,132 PSNP beneficiaries of whom 13,290 were working on public works (PW) and 842 on direct support (DS).

In Gelcha there was a quota of 1,044 PSNP beneficiaries in 2011. There were 230 households and 735 members on public works and 21 households and 58 members on direct support. The wereda provided the following table of those receiving support.

The table shows that the overall quota remained same from 2007 to 2009, but in 2010 and 2011 decreased by 41. The number of Public Works households increased in 2008 by 50 (with a reduction of male headed and an increase in female headed households) and decreased in 2010 by 50 (the number of female headed households decreased and the number of male headed households increased). The overall total decreased in 2008 by 50 (with 100 less members) and increased by 15 in 2010 (an increase of 75 members). The Direct Support households increased by 5 in 2010. The total

increased in 2008 by 50 decreased by 59 in 2010.

Given that Gelcha has about 600 households the PSNP household represent about 40% of the total.

**Table 2: Number of households and people benefiting from PSNP 2007-2011**

Year	Number of beneficiaries for PSNP PW						Number of PSNP direct support beneficiaries							PW+D S total	
	HHs		total	people		Total	HHs			People				HH	people
	MHHs	FHHs		M	F		MH Hs	FHH s	Tota l	M	F	Total	All	PW+D S HH	PW=DS people
2007	132	108	240	400	360	760	12	4	16	48	16	64	80	256	1064
2008	115	175	290	355	305	660	9	7	16	45	69	114	130	306	1064
2009	115	175	290	355	305	660	9	7	16	45	69	114	130	306	1064
2010	138	92	230	413	322	735	12	9	21	30	28	58	79	251	1023
2011	138	92	230	413	322	735	12	9	21	30	28	58	79	251	1023

### Selection of beneficiaries

#### Selection

Initially a technical committee called the targeting committee made the selection. It had a chairman and 5 members. The secretary was the DA but he had no power to make decisions.

The committee selected beneficiaries based on a pre-determined quota provided by the wereda. The quota does not separate beneficiaries into PW and DS and the kebele committee was left to make the selection as long as they did not go over the total of 1044 people. The wereda let the Kebele adjust the numbers of households and beneficiaries within the quota. The committee and Kebele administration discussed ways to try to include as many households rather than increasing the numbers from each household. A maximum of 6 household members are supported.

There were no benchmarks set from wereda but training was provided to select the poorest based on economic status and family size. A committee member who knows the household mentions the assets they have and family size which is compared with others. The committee was told to categorise the community into three categories: rich, middle and poor. Rich persons were said to be those who have more than 20 camels, and significant numbers of cattle and shoats; middle wealth people may have five camels and more cattle and shoats; and the poor do not have camels, not more than ten cattle and a low number of shoats. They were to include all the poor, some or all the middle, and if the quota was sufficient some rich. However, they said that in Gelcha even all the poor could not be included. They also considered whether households have employment, and irrigation and whether they are female headed with small children, elderly and disabled and should be considered for direct support. Elderly and disabled were included only if do not have family members able to participate in Public Works. The information was supplied by committee members, not obtained through home visits.

The following account by a woman who is in the retargeting committee explains how the selection of beneficiaries was made and how PSNP ended up becoming women's work since male household heads do not want to work.

First the PSNP DS beneficiaries are selected by kebele officials or *core cheleli* because of being poor, and then they are differentiated by community members into those who can't work. If there is a beneficiary who is elderly or disabled who is leading the household, all his/her household members are taken as DS. Orphans are included and in case of pregnant and lactating mothers who are not household heads, one of the teenagers or young males substitutes for the head's PSNP work. The head is expected to participate in PSNP work but since men don't participate much this has meant that PSNP Public Works are women's duties.

The members of the retargeting committee were fearful of suggesting people to be excluded since

the people to be excluded might hear from another committee member resulting in negative relations.

### **Inclusion and exclusion**

There were complaints of exclusions of poor without connections and inclusions of richer people with relatives and connections with the leadership. There were allegations that some rich were included since they have relations with leaders; some of these even had camels. Some poor were said to have been excluded since they did not buy *chat* or were unable to give rewards (such as inviting an influential person for drinks or a meal in town) or because they could not challenge the decision. There was no evidence that exclusions were related to not being a party member or as a reprisal for bad relations or behaviour.

Having irrigation was one criterion for exclusion but a number of those with irrigation complained that they were not able to be food secure as the irrigation was failing due to the expansion of the Lake which made the water salty, the limited water available and it being cut off seasonally, and poor land quality so that they produced only a little food and some had to abandon irrigation altogether.

A poor woman said she was excluded but does not know why; she said that others who are better off than her were included. She sells firewood to survive. Another 50 year old woman leading a household said she was excluded since she has irrigation; however, her land was affected by the expansion of the Lake and she stopped producing maize for the last two years after failure due to water shortage and saltiness. When she complained to the head of food security office he replied *We can't interfere with the community officials' activities.*

There were claims from non-Karrayu that they had been excluded. A Somali woman argued that most of the beneficiaries were Karrayu and Ittu. A man from Harar Ittu claimed he was excluded as he did not have relatives on the targeting committee and was not from the Karrayu. He argued that many better off people were included since they had connections. He has no land or livestock and was pensioned from the sugar factory and sells grass to survive. A middle wealth woman complained she had been initially excluded on the grounds that she was better off though she thought it was really because she was Somali and not Karrayu, even though she was born and grew up in Gelcha.

As a result of numerous complaints to the wereda it was decided that there should be retargeting with some people graduated and poorer people included without interference of the kebele officials, and that the targeting should start at the zone level.

In 2010 in each zone a committee known as *core cheleli* selected beneficiaries. It has five members with the DA as secretary though he is not involved in decision making. The 3 zone committees work independently. They meet only when retargeting process is done which was once so far. They work independently of kebele officials but report to them at the end for approval.

However, the exclusion or graduation and retargeting or replacement has led to some conflict. A Somali woman was one of the committee members in her zone and she made sure that six Somali households were included when the quota was increased by 60 households by the wereda (previously there were only two Somali beneficiaries including her).

However, some very poor still did not benefit while better off included. The head of the targeting committee mentioned the case of a person omitted due to a typing error who complained and the committee corrected that.

There were also suggestions that there was a gender bias. Of 12 people who were graduated in one zone seven were women heading households. In Gelcha zone of 7 people 6 were female headed, one who was poor and mentally ill and was subsequently allowed to rejoin. There were suggestions that the female headed households were selected as there was the fear that male headed

households would complain and that they had closer relations with those making the selection.

Several of those who had been graduated complained that they had not attained food security and were only selected because the wereda forced the kebele to recruit graduates.

One woman got support for 4 years and a bull and she said her livelihood improved; however, after she was excluded the number of livestock she owned decreased and she became poor again. She recalled that no one asked her about graduation. Kebele officials told her to be ready to go with others and they were taken to Zeway and got given a medal and were offered lunch; they were also given 202.50 birr but did not know if that was praise or an allowance and went home. When she went to the wereda to get aid they told her *you have graduated so don't deserve it*. She said she felt sorry and cried, and neighbours and others contributed and gave her about 30 kg wheat and lentils and oil.

After the retargeting and graduation a number of households complained to the wereda. About 30 of these were given 5 days work and 250 birr. A poor woman said she did not know why she was excluded and said that others who are better off were included. She sells firewood to survive. After complaining she got 250 birr from wereda food security office once.

Another woman recalled that when instructions came from wereda that those who were excluded and poor should register for aid, she went to wereda food security office with five other poor women to ask about the reason for their exclusion. She said the official showed them the list recorded by the kebele officials; one person was registered with two persons from the household so that his name and that of his daughter were included. The official cancelled the daughter's name and replaced one of the poor and the four others were also recorded and got 250 birr.

There were also suggestions that most of those who were retargeted were replaced with relatives. One man complained that he had been excluded in 2010 without having become better off. He said 7 people who were excluded were replaced by relatives such as a mother or son but no relatives replaced him. He appealed to the committee who sent him to the kebele manager, who said he did not know about it and should go to the wereda which he did not bother to do assuming he would get the same response.

A month before the fieldwork an appeals committee called *core commi* was established with members selected from the community, but had not started working. A number of people complained directly to the wereda which led to the setting up of the new retargeting structure and some of those who complained were given 250 birr for 5 days work.

### **Support provided**

#### **Overall support provided**

From 2005 to 2011 support was provided for 6 months, which was divided into 3 months cash and 3 months of food. Beneficiaries went to Addis Ketema to collect the food which comprised 15 kg wheat, oil and lentils.

There were some complaints that the wheat was not of good quality, that it was thin, and not white, that some of it was crushed and had residues. One direct support beneficiary said he would have preferred it to have been sorghum. Another man said he would prefer wheat to cash, and would prefer maize or teff. An elderly direct support beneficiary woman who is addicted to tobacco said she preferred cash to food.

The cash was brought to the site by the wereda Finance officer and was 30 birr per person in 2005, increased to 40 birr in 2007 and to 50 birr in 2009.

One female household head said that the kebele officials deducted 80 birr for the water when she received her PSNP payments. Likewise a woman direct support beneficiary said 80 birr had been deducted from her and though she understood the need for the water, she resented it being done

without consulting her.

### **The Public Works work**

The public works included conservation work, making ponds, tree planting, fencing, and roads and bridges. The recent move to focus the work on roads and bridges much appreciated.

A middle wealth public works beneficiary said he preferred working on irrigation ditches diverted to individual farms who got a good harvest. The work on ponds was considered tough work.

A woman said she preferred fencing and tree planting since it is less tiring work and time consuming than ponds but which may be more useful.

### **Contingency PSNP**

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

There did not seem to be clear evidence of any emergency food aid being provided separate from the PSNP. However, some people mentioned the provision of food assistance during past droughts.

#### **Compensation aid**

There was no clear understanding of this though the additional provision of 250 birr for 5 days work to those who were considered poor and felt excluded may be related to this.

### **Impacts on the households and the community**

#### **Impact of PSNP and EFA on households**

##### **Direct beneficiaries**

One widow lives in a household with 5 members all except one being of working age. Her husband was ill and was included in direct support which was continued after his death. She sells firewood and grass and does some daily work and sells shoats. She said she was able to buy 3 cows during the period of support. She said that if PSNP stops she would hope to get credit from the women's association and fatten shoats.

An elderly poor woman living with her daughter has five goats and cow. She said she was selected since she was considered poor and the kebele chair is her neighbour. She was offered 5 goats and an ox at beginning. She sold the ox and bought a bull and cow. The goats reproduced well and she sold the kids. She said that if PSNP support stops she will rely on her daughter.

An elderly man aged 64 with a wife and 7 children, who is also an imam and has been farming said he was selected since he is poor and was benefiting with five members. Last year he did not produce grain but only purchased some when the PSNP support was insufficient. His wife sells *chat* and fattens sheep. He used the PSNP mainly for consumption, paying debts, school and health costs. He said it enabled him not to sell livestock. Asked what he would do if PSNP support stops he said he would engage in farming.

Another man also produces crops using traditional irrigation, and had obtained 19 quintals and was able to help relatives. He was receiving support for 6 family members, but the numbers of dependent beneficiaries was reduced from 5 to 4 and in the last two years down to 3. He used the PSNP support to buy goats, paid for school health costs, and assisted a relative with 50 birr cash. He said he will not face problems if PSNP stops as he would work more on farming.

##### **Public Works beneficiaries**

One man who produced 3 quintals of maize from rain fed land but had no crops last year said he used PSNP mainly for consumption and paid off debts which he had incurred to take his son to a health centre and also for school payments. He sold some of the maize to buy wheat, and also sold livestock as the PSNP food was not enough.

One woman whose husband is a school guard and keeps livestock at the sugar plantation also works on wage labour if available. She said she was included as she complained through someone close to the committee. She said she paid 4 birr for a daily labourer to bring the food and 5 birr to the Public Works organiser. She got PSNP support for 4 members. She said the cash was good for buying food, but the PSNP did not have a significant impact on her life but just helped for survival. She suggested that for the poor it enables survival and for the rich it prevents asset sales.

One man who had a temporary job as a guard said he was selected for being poor and unable to feed his family. He said the PSNP was useful during the distribution period but does not prevent selling assets, as it is not given on time and the amount is insufficient. He said many sell assets and get into debt in hard times, but people are not idle and it does not create dependency.

One man who was selected during the retargeting has some rainfed farming, and produced 3.5 sacks of maize which he said lasted him 3 months, while the PSNP covered 3 months. He got 3 sacks of maize from relatives and sold goats for the remaining 6 months. He was given an ox and 5 goats from the PSNP budget in 2008 costing a total of 2,400 birr. He claimed he was not told it was repayable credit. An ox died and he gave one goat to his sister who was facing problems, and another one was lost. Others reproduced and he sold the kids and now has 10. He has not paid back the loan and is not ready to do so. He said he used the PSNP for consumption and to pay off debts, for school expenses and health costs. He said that if the PSNP support stops he will go to a nearby Kebele and sharecrop irrigated land. He also works loading camels for an investor and is the public works organiser.

One woman said that before the PSNP she did not have any livestock. Now she has 5 goats and a cow. The PSNP enabled her not to sell female animals and wait before selling the kids rather than selling them when it is not profitable. She sells the wheat to buy sorghum, and uses the PSNP assistance to pay government contributions, school fees, buy clothes for children and purchase other food items.

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

Tree planting was seen as the least useful work even if it was easy, since the seedlings dried out due to lack of water and follow up. Ponds were considered very useful as they provide water but the work was considered tough and disliked.

One woman thought the ponds were the most useful work, that the roads were not of much use to her as she does not use carts but is useful for others, and that the terracing is the least useful as flooding is not a problem, and the tree planting is a waste of time. However, several people found the roads useful as this provided the possibility of taking goods to market and back and grinding grain at the mill. The trees that did not die in the school were said to be good for shade and the fencing allowed the school to generate income from selling the grass. No respondent seemed to consider the terracing as useful.

There were different views as to whether the PSNP was creating a 'culture of dependency'. The wereda and kebele officials and some people in positions of authority and some non-beneficiaries claimed that it did, but many community respondents argued that it did not.

The chair of the selection committee said that it creates expectations of getting cash or food so that people do not want to work. He himself got food in the 2010 drought and was discouraged from working but when the food aid stopped he got back to working. One person who is not a PSNP beneficiary and who is a salaried man with diversified incomes, including agriculture and livestock fattening, argued that complaints over time of distribution and the amount were manifestations of a culture of dependency.

One woman in the committee said the wereda food security officials say that the aid creates dependency ("waiting") and that people should work hard instead, but she pointed out that there

are limited options for agriculture as there is a shortage of irrigation water. She said people *did not want to hear such words because first they have to get bread before thinking of changes and development*. A middle wealth public works beneficiary said PSNP does not create dependency as people do not simply remain idle.

The same view was held by several Direct Support beneficiaries and an excluded man. A widow who is a beneficiary suggested it was not an issue in the community, and that she had only heard of it from the wereda officials. Several women when asked about dependency said they had not heard of it.

Several people said the benefits were shared with relatives. Some men have several wives with separate households or provide support to married children, so the benefits spread. One man gave a poor relative 50 birr. Many households share the food. Some paid off debts such as one man for his son's health care.

## **Savings, credit and debt**

### **Savings by individuals**

The main way in which individuals save is in livestock. Even those who have done well through irrigated agriculture or trade save in livestock, ploughing back profits into livestock purchase.

Wealth is considered in terms of having stock, notably camels, cattle and shoats, which can easily be converted into cash as needed. There are very few individuals who save in banks. One exceptional woman trader had saved 24,000 birr in a bank.

### **Community-organised credit**

There are no *iqqub* savings groups in Gelcha. A few employees of the sugar factory have joined *iqqubs* there.

An economically successful man CU is a member of an *iqqub* with the sugar factory employees. He contributes 125 birr every fifteen days. Last round he received 4600 birr but now he will receive 5000 birr because he increased his contribution from 100 birr to 125 birr. He bought about 8 sheep with the money and sold them for a profit. CU feels *iqqub* is a good means of saving for the members.

### **General government credit**

The wereda micro-credit service so far covers 12 kebeles, aiming to work where people do not have access to banks. The only MFI is the government affiliated Oromia Microcredit and Savings Share Company serving both urban and rural communities. Credit is organised on a group loan basis and people need to get letters from the kebele to get credit and sign a common agreement that they will cover the loans if a member cannot repay. There is 10% interest annually.

As of June 2011 the policy changed so that loans are only provided after a beneficiary has saved at least 20%. A new type of saving known as volunteer savings, allows people to save with a coin box which they keep but the key of which is kept at the wereda office; when the beneficiary comes the money is put in the bank. In the wereda there are two commercial bank branches and the wereda is organising rural savings and credit cooperatives (RUSACCOs).

In the Kebele there were several cooperatives that were set up taking credit from the government, but which went bankrupt about three years ago. Since then the government has denied any credit and savings access to the kebele, and ways of recuperating the loans are being considered.

### **Credit for agriculture including OFSP/HABP**

The main form of credit in Gelcha has been provided by NGOs to women for fattening sheep and goats. The women's cooperative associations provided loans to start businesses in livestock fattening. One was established by Care and had 17 members and 15,000 birr capital, and another by GTF with 41 members having 35,000 birr capital. The following three examples show how some

women have been benefiting.

The wife of the poor household interviewed was involved in two NGO initiated women's cooperative associations sponsored by CARE and GTF. She borrowed 2,500 birr to purchase shoats, returned the loan and borrowed more. She owes 2,000 birr to the women's credit association. However she is able to cover most household expenses and the interventions to help poor women have made a very big difference to her household.

A successful widow is involved in a women's cooperative association initiated by GTF and obtained credit. She has a debt of about 1,300 birr from the cooperative which she used for her son's wedding, which she intends to repay this year. They are pursuing her son to pay the 1,000 birr he owed from a youth agricultural cooperative that failed as he is able to do so since he has a job as a DA whereas other members of the coop are still dependent on their parents

A poor woman leading a household obtained 2,000 birr credit from the GTF sponsored women's cooperative association and repaid the debt last year. She also received direct support from the PSNP, which has been important for her household's survival.

There have been some conflicts regarding women taking loans and not repaying them, some of which reached the social court.

There have been a number of cases who had received livestock from the OFPS and had assumed that this was a gift rather than a loan and several are unwilling to pay back the loan as they claim they were not informed it was to be repaid. The following cases illustrate how the loans were used.

One woman obtained 5 goats and a bull through the PSNP programme in past 5 years. She said three people from wereda food security came and met her at the market and paid the price for the goats and bull of her choice. She thought it was free and they did not make her aware that it should be repaid. She said she did not know the prices and that it was loan and was told to pay 2400 birr now, which she is unhappy about. Three goats died from disease; two bred well and reached seven and the third was sold. She was able to buy a milk cow with the price of the bull. However, she says that even if she sells all seven goats and the cow she may not be able to cover the cost and does not want to do that.

A man was given an ox and 5 goats from PSNP budget in 2008 costing a total of 2,400 birr. He was not told it was repayable credit. The ox died and he gave one goat to his sister who was facing problems, and one was lost. Others reproduced and he sold the kids and now has 10. He has not paid back the loan and says he is not ready to do so.

The wife in a poor household said she got 5 goats through the OFPS in the name of her deceased sister whose two children she is caring for. But she has heard she should repay the debt of about 2,450 birr which she guesses is more than the price of the livestock she received.

A middle wealth man has not yet paid the debt of 2,300 birr from the PSNP for buying the ox. He said he thought that it was given it as a gift but recently the kebele officials informed him that the money should be repaid, but he said he is not ready to do so.

### **Credit for non-farm activities including OFSP/HABP**

The wereda has been encouraging cooperative associations of which there are 19 engaged in various activities. 11 of these are working on sand extraction from the river, using wage labourers. Since they are legally licensed they can get credit. There are three involved in stone extraction all of which are in Gelcha.

In Gelcha a rich male respondent said that most of the cooperative ventures went bankrupt and so the government stopped supporting them. A rich female respondent mentioned that the shop organised for women by PCDP which provided initial capital stopped working when they were unable to run it due to rising prices. She also mentioned that there is a group of women working on stone extraction along with men.

A poor woman said she is a member of the cooperative contributing 5 birr every 15 days. She did not know about the capital or rules and does not participate in the activities that are performed by

labourers.

A rich woman said that the association in which she was involved had both male and female members and they had been contributing 10 birr but because of inflation some stopped and the association is no longer functional.

One of the stone extraction cooperatives (Tokuma) had 25 members and now has 20. It sells a square metre of stone for 40 birr, of which 17 birr is paid for labour. The capital has reached 30,000 birr. The income is deposited and members only get a per-diem when engaged in duties. However, there are also individuals engaged privately illegally in the business that undercut the cooperatives selling at lower prices and not paying taxes; the cooperative reported the problem to the government but no action has been taken so far. There is also a problem in that the demand for the stone has gone down to inflation and rising cost of living.

### **Debt**

The wereda said there is about 800,000 birr debt for fertiliser in 10 kebeles from 2005. There are also debts for the livestock packages through the PSNP for the same year. The wereda set up a task force committee to recover past debts.

In Gelcha several cooperatives went bankrupt, incurring a total debt of about 100,000 birr. All these cooperatives have failed and disbanded and the kebele was negotiating with the members to pay back the debts but many are not willing to do so. The kebele therefore wrote a letter to the wereda cooperative office to try to get them to force members to pay back. However, the matter has not yet been resolved.

There are also a number of women who owe money to women's cooperative associations. For instance one poor woman had 1,000 birr unpaid debt for sheep fattening. They had started working as a group but decided to work privately as they could not afford the animal fodder and conflicts arose between them in managing the programme.

A rich woman said she took 2,000 birr for bulls; she repaid 1,200 and plans to repay the rest. A middle wealth woman said a bull was bought for her for 1,200 birr and 300 birr for fodder. She was told she would have to repay the debt without interest after becoming successful. Later she heard that the debt had been covered by PCDP so that it was no longer a problem.

### **Co-operatives**

The wereda has been encouraging cooperative associations for farmers, youth and women. There are 21 producers cooperatives producing tomatoes, onions, green peppers and maize with 2,510 members (1,843 males and 676 females) working on a new irrigation scheme of 3,607 ha since 2009 in 6 kebeles. The wereda believes they are doing well and bringing great change for the participants and improving their living standards, some being able to construct iron roof houses, buy TVs, radios and better housing equipment and some have been engaging in trade.

In the wereda there are 4 service cooperatives in urban areas. One in Metahara with 26 members is involved in shop-keeping but it is not yet functional and the membership has fallen to 16. The one in Addis Ketema also with 26 members has worked on providing oil. Initially they worked well but they have since stopped. The two in the Merti sugar estate provide food and drink; out of 104 members only 34 are left.

There are 19 youth cooperatives engaged in various activities. 11 of these are working on sand extraction from the river, using wage labourers. Since they are legally licensed they can get credit. There are three involved in stone extraction all of which are in Gelcha.

In Gelcha there are several sorts of cooperatives: for irrigated agricultural production, for fattening livestock for women, for stone extraction for youth, a women's shop cooperative, and a women's grinding mill. Most of these have not been successful and have disbanded except for the stone

extraction ones that are facing difficulties.

There was one main irrigation cooperative and three youth ones. The main irrigation cooperative known as the Ledy and Ajotare development association involved about 300 individuals. A large water pump was bought for irrigation from the Awash River. However, after each member received 0.25 hectare of land, almost all the members were discouraged and refused to cultivate the land due to the rising price of fuel for the pump. As a result, the wereda took the pump and rented it to an organisation in Afar. Only about 20 individuals keep on working on the land through sharecropping out their land to non-Karrayu individuals who are able to use water pumps.

The three youth cooperatives namely Gudistu Misoma, Abdi Gudina and Abdi Jiregna were established in 2007 for irrigated farming. But after two seasons all became disorganised and were unable to repay their debts to the wereda cooperative office.

One of the stone extraction cooperatives (Tokuma) had 25 members and now has 20. It sells a square metre of stone for 40 birr, of which 17 birr is paid for labour. The capital has reached 30,000 birr. The income is deposited and members only get a per-diem when engaged in duties. However, there are also individuals engaged privately illegally in the business that undercut the cooperatives selling at lower prices and not paying taxes; the cooperative reported the problem to the government but no action has been taken to date. The cooperative is also unable to get credit to expand its business since the wereda has stopped providing credit after the other cooperatives were unable to pay back their loans. There is also less demand given the economic conditions which have resulted in less house building in the towns.

The women's cooperative associations provided loans to start businesses in livestock fattening. One was established by Care and had 17 members and 15,000 birr capital, and another by GTF with 41 members having 35,000 birr capital. The latter has 41 members and 35,000 birr capital from savings. PCDP provided 45,000 birr credit. They save five birr every 50 days which is deposited in a bank in Addis Ketema. First 21 members got loans of about 1,200 birr per person, and repaid the debt within six months without interest. In the second round they took 2,500 birr and others who had not paid their contributions on time were given only 600 birr loans. 11 were not given additional loans as they were not saving. They all are engaged individually in fattening sheep for sale as the following examples illustrate:

The wife in the poor household interviewed was involved in two NGO initiated women's cooperative associations sponsored by CARE and GTF. She borrowed 2,500 birr to purchase shoats, returned the loan and borrowed more. She owes 2,000 birr to the women's credit association. However she is able to cover most household expenses and the interventions to help poor women have made a very big difference to her household.

A successful widow is involved in a women's cooperative association initiated by GTF and obtained credit. She has a debt of about 1,300 birr from the cooperative which she used for her son's wedding, which she intends to repay this year.

A poor woman leading a household obtained 2,000 birr credit from the GTF sponsored women's cooperative association and repaid the debt last year. She also received direct support from the PSNP.

There have been some conflicts regarding women taking loans and not repaying them on time, some of which reached the social court.

The cooperative shop was organised for women by PCDP which provided initial capital but the shop stopped working due to rising prices and lack of proper management.

A poor woman said she is a member of the cooperative contributing 5 birr every 15 days. She did not know about the capital or rules and does not participate in the activities that are performed by labourers.

A rich respondent said the association she belonged to had both male and female members and they

had been contributing 10 birr but because of inflation some stopped and the association is no longer functional.

The grinding mill cooperative was established by GTF in 2009. GTP provided the machinery and constructed the house and gave them 25 litres of kerosene. They were paying 500 birr salary for the person grinding the grain, 300 birr for the person weighing the grain, and 200 birr for the guard. The cost of salaries and fuel became too high so after nine months they disbanded it but had to contribute about 1,500 birr after depositing their monthly savings. The members became discouraged and when the cooperative disbanded they lost 7 years savings and were forced to pay 60 birr each for salaries.

There is a women's group working on stone extraction along with men.

## **Migration**

### **Migration opportunities and remittances**

Seasonal migration with livestock in search of pasture and water carried out by the younger men is an integral part of the pastoralist way of life. Transhumant migration with livestock was said to be a reason for students dropping out of school, particularly in the middle of the year.

However, the distance that herders travel with the camels has decreased. In the past men went with the herds to Harar, and parts of the Rift Valley notably Ziway, Shashemene and parts of Arsi. Now people are left with less stock especially after the 2010 drought. So they tend to remain within Fantalle wereda and use the sugar cane residues as fodder. This in turn limits the distance of their movement.

One rich man suggested that his fencing grass land and getting residue from the sugar plantation has reduced the frequency of his migration. A man of middle wealth added that his sons also are saved *from the hardship challenges that they might have faced during long distance migration.*

Some men move to other kebeles where there is irrigation potential and sharecrop and rent land, especially if they have relatives in these places.

A number of youth migrate to the nearby towns in search of wage labour. For instance one poor woman heading a household said her son had migrated to Metahara for wage labour last year and has stayed there. However, she does not know about his income and how he is managing.

### **Re-settlement and villagisation experiences**

According to wereda officials there have not been any organised re-settlement programme in the wereda. However, people from Chellenko (in Hararge) came and resettled in Fantalle wereda spontaneously in 2010. Moreover, some 40 individuals were displaced from their home land, Chellenko, and resettled in Fantalle wereda. Furthermore, there are 60 more Chellenko re-settlers who are expected to resettle in the wereda this year (2011/12).

Wereda officials added that since 2006 due to the irrigation scheme, some wereda dwellers have changed their settlement within their own kebele.

The wereda had a plan to carry out villagisation to provide communities easy access to infrastructure. For this purpose in selected sites land for house construction was given to many people in 2009. However, it has not yet been implemented.

## **HTPs affecting livelihoods**

### **Theft and burglary**

Respondents mention that the theft of shoats has greatly increased in the past few years. Previously cattle did not require a herder within the kebele unless they went far near the boundary of their territory. However, currently shoats may not return home if they are not with a herder, and there

are also thefts of cattle and donkeys.

The theft of livestock is by youngsters from the community and some kebele officials suggest that it is not very serious. However, some respondents argue that the rate of theft is increasing because people *do not want to represent their youngsters as thieves*.

An important political leader said that theft has increased and shoats are stolen from the fields and this has become a survival strategy for some as their life has deteriorated. He also mentioned the threat from Afar and Argobba coming and stealing livestock and shooting at herders.

The wife of a successful man said she had lost 5 goats this year, but no action is taken as the case is dealt with by the elders and clan leaders since the thieves are from the community.

The wife in a middle wealth household said her husband had decided to keep one son out of school since the theft of livestock was becoming an increasing risk. She said the elders do not want to send the cases to the wereda, and that wereda officials have come repeatedly to try to find out who the thieves are. She also mentioned a case of a woman who accused a boy of theft which was handled by the social court. The court looked into the case and released the boy, which she thought was the right decision as there was no evidence.

A poor male household head on the other hand suggested that there was less theft of livestock than five years ago. A young male businessman suggested that there is theft on market days at peak times. A young businesswoman said that to address this common problem traders work at the same place keeping their properties together and she gets assistance from her husband or his relatives.

Kebele officials suggest that the militia play an important role in dealing with theft. In 2010 the kebele militia caught thieves who had stolen a car on the Metahara- Harar road at night. The militia handed over the thieves to the wereda police.

However, one leader suggested they are ineffective as they are unable to prevent theft and do not catch thieves unless ordered by the kebele. Moreover, they are too busy with their own work and prioritise this rather than the community's needs. He also suggested that the wereda police are not effective and take bribes which encouraged theft. His wife suggested that the elders don't want to pass the case on to the wereda.

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

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

Until recently most houses had reed roofs with open walls that are not plastered with mud and do not have grass roofs called *mana simbiro* (meaning bird house). The wall and roof are made from the same sticks with the longest ones connecting at the top. Larger versions with longer sticks and with grass covered walls are called *mana chitta* and are found mainly in Ajotere zone. More recently there have been some houses made entirely of wood and mud with plastic covers or sacks under the roof which is made separately (called *mana Zimbi/mana Kuyisa* meaning termite house) or grass thatched roof with mud walls (*Derbi*). There is one in-migrant who is a carpenter producing these houses. There are houses with iron sheet roofs.

Most people sleep on hides or mats and there is very little furniture in houses. A successful woman has a mattress in her house. Whereas most people use traditional ways of storing things, the wife of a middle wealth farmer said she bought a kitchen cupboard. Main household assets include kitchen utensils such as pots and pans, jerrycans etc.

#### **Domestic technologies**

Previously, the community used grain mills either at Haro Adi or Metahara. But three years ago GTF constructed a grinding mill for the women's association in the kebele, which the community had been using for the last two years. However, the mill stopped working due to high fuel and running

costs for the employees and the women's cooperative was unable to manage the finances so people have reverted to going to the towns for mill services.

The community use firewood for fuel and traditional stoves (usually made of mud) and there was no mention of improved stoves. They tend to use pots to prepare a commonly eaten food called '*merka*'. Some people, notably migrants, have started *baking* Injera using *metad* baking plates.

Though smoke-free houses were promoted by the HEWs and some men claimed they had them, people do not have separate kitchens and some mentioned the benefits of smoke it getting rid of insects.

### **Fuel and light**

People use wood for cooking and kerosene burners for light. Some complained that the price of kerosene is becoming unaffordable. The wife in a middle wealth household said the price had gone up to 8 birr for a third of a litre which is not enough to last for a week, so that she quarrelled with the children and has forbidden them from using it at night for studying. A poor man said the smoke causes eye irritations for children.

The use of dung for fuel is not customary in the area though some have started to use it. The wife in a poor household said she used wood, charcoal, crop residues and dung cakes.

### **Drinking water**

Drinking water is a major problem for the community. Access depends to some extent on where residents live. Many living in proximity to the Metahara sugar plantation use the outflow from the plantation. However, the water is not clean and especially from October to June when the factory is operating it becomes dirty. Moreover, it is cut off during the rainy season when the plantation no longer needs to irrigate the crops and people then get water from ponds.

Wells and borehole water are no longer options due to the expansion of Lake Beseka that has affected the groundwater which has a high fluoride content and is salty.

Some people living close to one of the plantation settlements called the North camp got piped water from there when it was available. However it is sometimes cut off when there are power cuts. Moreover, the expansion of the Lake cut off the water pipe route.

People living on the side of Gelcha nearest Haro Addis buy drinking water in jerrycans transported by horse cart incurring the expenses for purchasing the water for 50 cents per jerry can and for the transport costing 3 birr by horse cart, while some families with young men having bicycles bring water back in this way.

The community has paid contributions of 80 birr per household towards a new planned scheme to bring piped water to the community. There is a plan to improve the drinking water supply in 2012 and PCDP is due to assist. The community contributed a total of 41,251 birr in cash for the construction in 2010, each household contributing 80 birr, with only the destitute being exempt. With a population of about 600 households this would suggest that about 75 households did not contribute.

The community members had already contributed 23,000 birr of the expected 30,000 birr to the Oromia development Association (100 birr for each household) but PCDP gave them a short time to collect the community contribution for the water. The kebele took credit from another organisation and it was paid back by the community. According to a poor respondent initially those community members who live close to the town from where they get water, and those living in Ajotere zone which is very far from the centre of the kebele refused to contribute but later on the kebele officials convinced them and all the community members contributed.

## **Domestic work**

Almost all the domestic work is carried out by women and girls. The fact that children and especially girls are now going to work has increased workloads for mothers. For instance the wife of a political leader mentioned that her work load had gone up since her oldest daughter got married and the two younger ones are at school. Likewise the wife in a large successful household said the children going to school put a burden on her but one of her youngest daughters is not attending school and helps. Boys and sometimes girls, if there are not enough boys of the right age in the households, are involved in some of the herding.

With children going to school women are having additional responsibilities looking after livestock. The wife in a middle households said that her children had only limited time to help as they go to school. Girls help fetching water and with household chores. Some boys with bicycles bring drinking water from town on their bicycles.

The wife in a middle wealth household said that sometimes her sons bring drinking water from town and take out livestock in the morning and collect them at night. Her husband decided to keep one son out of work since theft of shoats had become a big problem. She also said she was too busy with domestic work to go to the mosque for prayer.

The successful woman heading a household mentioned that after her son got married and was living with her she was getting some help from her daughter-in-law.

The poor woman heading a household had lost the labour of a daughter who got married. Her sons have no time to help her at they are at school in town. The one who attends school in the sites takes animals out and brings them in if his mother is busy with household chores.

## **Leisure and play**

Wereda officials mentioned that young men spend their leisure time playing football and that the best pitch is at the Metahara sugar estate. There is a plan to build two modern recreational centres in the wereda, one with the assistance of the factory and the other with the help of the Oromia Development Association.

There are no facilities at kebele level and many respondents attributed the development of bad habits among the youth such as chewing *chat* and drinking alcohol and getting involved in theft to the lack of other options. Some youth have been influenced by urban groups involved in robberies and others have been stealing shoats and selling them as a means of survival.

The problems for the youth are compounded by the fact that some who have completed grade ten and are unable to find work and tend to stay in town chewing *chat*, drinking, watching TV and developing bad habits.

## **Preventive health services**

### **The preventive health packages**

Wereda officials mentioned that graduation from the health extension package required implementing several of the 16 package programmes. Officials said that 3,110 households had graduated of whom 2,905 in the last year and were called model families. About 40% of the wereda households were said to have graduated becoming models.

At kebele level there did not seem to be much awareness of the health packages as an integrated programme and people referred to individual components such as the latrine, keeping houses clean, etc. Some women found out they were considered as models when their names were read out by the HEW at a meeting.

### **The Health Post**

The health post has three very small rooms: a reception, a store and a delivery room. There is no water, latrine or electricity. There are no drugs available except pain killers and malaria tablets. HEWs provide first aid at the health post but alcohol is not always available. They also provide vaccinations at the health post but bring the vaccines on the day from the health centre as there is no electricity, and they said they find this burdensome.

Kebele officials mentioned that though some pain killers and malaria drugs were available at the health post people were not getting them as required as the health post was usually closed and there were shortages of drugs.

The HEW said they did not have gloves or alcohol for first aid and only gave pain killers, malaria tablets and contraceptives. She also said that since the HEWs are often going on house visits and there are a lot of meetings and trainings at the wereda level the health post is often closed when people might come.

Male respondents of different wealth categories all suggested that they hardly use the health post except to get painkillers and malaria tablets, as there is no laboratory or professionals. People when sick tend to go the NGO clinic in Addis Ketema, to the clinic at the sugar plantation, or to private clinics and pharmacies in Addis Ketema. A poor male respondent said:

The health extension workers provided bednets and some tablets for malaria and pain killers. I take all my family to private clinics that are found in Haro Adi because there is no laboratory or medical treatment in the health post. As a result, I am obliged to spend too much money for private health centres. To save us from exploitation by private clinics, the government should strengthen the health post of our kebele with medical equipment and professionals who are able to diagnose our disease and treat us well.

A rich women suggested that the health post and its services had deteriorated.

Now only the building is present; HEWs are not found there but live at Metahara and Addis Ketema, often they come, but there is no service there. It is not even clean, it has become a birds' house and has a bad smell, and I suffered from a cold when I went there. Two years ago I benefited from malaria tablets, bednets and water purification tablets. Now I get the water tablets from health promoters of my zone.

A middle wealth respondent said she preferred to go to the Abba clinic in town and had heard from a neighbour who started child vaccination at the health post that she could not find the HEWs for the second round of vaccinations.

One man said he obtained pills for headaches and another malaria tablets, and water purification tablets for free.

### **The Health Extension Workers**

There are two HEWs but they do not live in the village and commute from the town of Addis Ketema. Kebele officials said they sometimes only come a couple of times a week and do not stay long. One of the HEWs said she works about eight hours a day, two days in the health post on Mondays and Thursdays and three days on door to door household visits. On Thursday she does reporting for the wereda.

However, she said she found it difficult to stick to the schedule as there are often demands from the wereda. So for instance she might spend a whole month on training if there are new issues. Also when NGOs come there may be various issues that need dealing with in the same month requiring the participation of the HEWs. In September she took a training on under five curative health treatment but there are no drugs to make this effective. She gets a salary of 908 birr and an incentive of 58 birr during training for transport costs.

### **Community Health Volunteers, the Health Development Army and Model Families**

The HEW said that there are eight community based nutrition (CBN) volunteers organised by Care;

they are involved in screening malnourished and lactating mothers and giving sanitation education.

There are also six Community Conversation (CC) workers selected from the community by FCFDA to work on all health issues. They teach at coffee ceremonies with the budgets provided by FCFDA. They get refresher trainings every three months.

One of them suggested that it was difficult to gather women even for coffee ceremonies as they were not keen so she was starting with her neighbours.

### **Hygiene and environmental sanitation**

#### **Latrines**

Wereda officials said that about 47% of households were said to have dug latrines; however they suggested that people dig the latrines just for the officials and HEWs to see and many do not use them much as they are rural and mobile, and prefer to use open land. Only a few households are using latrines properly in rural areas, and in remoter pastoral areas there is less usage.

According to the HEW despite intensive advice since 2008 with NGO support people in Gelcha do not want to use latrines. She suggested that some of the men had bad experiences from latrines in town which were dirty and smelly. She thought that about ten households have latrines that they use properly.

Some male respondents suggested that they do not need latrines as they are often on the move with their livestock. They also said that the women and children do not like using them because of the bad smell.

A woman reported that they were forced to dig latrines when there was an epidemic of acute watery diarrhoea in 2008, and most did so. However, only a few use it and many closed the hole immediately for fear that small children or animals would fall in. Other reasons were that the land is difficult to dig due to stones and that with the expansion of the Lake when people dig water comes up.

Another woman said that it was mainly the health promoters and model families that were using latrines.

#### **Waste disposal**

The HEW suggested that there is no implementation of this package despite the education since they do not have that much waste. The main waste is animal dung which is dispersed around the homestead. Since the area is dry and dusty liquid waste is disposed of around the home. The shortage of water is the main problem in planting trees and spraying the home surroundings after sweeping them.

Some male respondents suggested that people have a culture of disposing of waste properly. Especially they are wary of plastic bags and burn them because they know that these can be dangerous if consumed by livestock.

A female respondent said that nobody implements what the health professional teach about collecting solid waste and putting these in holes.

#### **Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes**

The HEW said people tend to wash their bodies and clothes in the river, canal or reservoir. The HEWs advocate handwashing and said that there had been some change in behaviour, though shortage of water and the cost of soap and detergent were deterrents.

Some male respondents said that they do wash their hands before and after meals, going to latrines and prior to prayer. A wealthy female respondent said that hand washing is not customary in the area. A middle wealth female respondent said that despite the teaching there was too much of a

water shortage to implement hand-washing.

### **Water purification**

According to wereda officials 70% of households were said to be using water purifying chemicals and could get them through HEWs and Community Based Nutrition workers.

Water purification tablets were available from the health post in Gelcha and many community members were using it. There has also been distribution at sub-kebele zonal level by community health workers. When not available through the health post they are available in pharmacies in town but many do not want to spend the money.

A woman mentioned that the HEWs or health promoters have been providing the tablets since 2008 but not enough or at the right time. They provide it during the wet season one in three months. A middle wealth woman said that people preferred the *wuha telel* kind to the *wuha agar* kind because the former makes the water clear like pipe water.

### **Kitchen cupboards**

These had not been actively promoted by the wereda.

A male rich respondent said his household had a place to put various kitchen equipment.

A rich female respondent said they had traditional cupboards to keep things in the kitchen and the water container is placed below this. Likewise a middle wealth female respondent said they had traditional cupboards and no-one had modern urban ones. However, the wife in a middle wealth household said she had bought one.

### **Healthy home environment**

#### **Livestock in the house**

Because of the hot climate and small size of their houses, livestock do not live in houses with people in Karrayu, except small kids and lambs in some cases. Therefore the wereda officials reported that about 75% of wereda households are able to separate the livestock enclosures from the home.

Livestock in Gelcha are kept in separate cattle enclosures so this is not viewed as a problem. Small kids are kept in a separate enclosure made from sticks looking like a basket.

Generally people live in one house sometimes with interconnected rooms.

#### **Smoke free houses**

According to wereda officials the Karrayu being mobile do not built extra houses for kitchens though a few might, and there has not been any assessment of how many households have smoke-free houses.

In Gelcha there is resistance to the idea of smoke-free houses as people believe that smoke is useful to kill insects and there isn't the possibility of building extra rooms in their small houses which are sometimes taken down when they move.

People often live in a single house which are multipurpose and include cooking and eating spaces.

### **Pest control**

Wereda officials did not know whether there was any independent pest control carried out. Likewise the HEW said she had not come across people using pesticides.

Some male respondents said they sometimes used insecticides but that these were too expensive to use often, and a poor respondent said he could not afford it.

## Illnesses and disease prevention and control

### Illnesses

Malaria is one of the most serious illnesses in the area. There has also been a focus on TB and HIV/AIDS prevention but neither of these seems to be serious concerns of community members.

Wereda officials said that all the sectors have engaged in disease prevention, disease treatment and awareness creation. The offices have all necessary inputs and carry out almost all activities except vaccination, as there is no electricity to preserve the medicine for vaccination at kebele level. All the services are provided in exchange for payment and there is no credit or special treatment for any group of the community.

Traditional practitioners are able to treat various diseases which are not treated well by modern health professionals, such as, broken bones, swelling on different parts of the body, attacks by the evil eye etc. Burning with hot iron is effective for colds and accidental illness like stomach ache.

In one case a boy resisted being taken to traditional practitioners after falling from a tree.

He was suffering from stomach ache because he fell down from a tree seven years ago. Since then he has been seriously sick and he couldn't be involved in labour work. He still didn't get medical treatment because of refusing customary treatment which his parents want to use because they believe medical treatment is not needed for this kind of illness but he refused and would like to use modern medical treatment

### Malaria

The HEW said that during the critical months in September and May three or four persons are diagnosed with the help of RDT tests at the health post.

### Bednets

Wereda officials said that bednets were last distributed in 2008, one net for five persons. They are supposed to be changed every three years. Officials said that people were pleased with this intervention and were wanting more but some are not using them properly since they are difficult to use in the small houses, and there is limited awareness.

The HEW said that bednets were distributed to 521 out of 600 households in 2010. Some male community members suggested that the bednets contributed to decline in malaria; however, there is a shortage and there have not been recent distributions. A rich woman said she had taken two bednets two years ago but only one old one is left.

### Spraying and removal of stagnant water

Wereda officials said that spraying is carried out once a year but people resist this saying that it causes the spread of insects. Health experts tell people the insects reproduce since they are not using pesticides.

Health professionals and NGOs have been advising and teaching people to remove stagnant water, especially where there is irrigation.

Some male community members said that the spraying which takes place at the end of September encourages the reproduction of fleas so that many do not like it. Others said that the spraying was not frequent enough to prevent the mosquitoes from breeding, one man suggesting it should be done twice a year, particularly in August and in a period from March to May when the incidence of mosquitoes is high. A woman suggested the spraying is effective but only for about six months after which the mosquitoes come back.

Some men said they removed stagnant water around their houses. Some women said there was no need to do so as there is no stagnant water in this hot climate.

The expansion of Lake Beseka and the drainage canal from it led to a spread of mosquitoes and in

September 2011 those living close to the canal were severely affected; they notified the wereda which sprayed the area reducing the problem, though it is likely to reoccur if spraying is not done regularly.

### **Immunisation**

Wereda officials said that vaccinations for infants was said to be proceeding well with 70% of children immunised in 2011. However they also reported that some are missing vaccinations because of mobility and lack of interest, so that there has been strong follow up of those who dropped out.

The HEW said there has been an improvement and people bring children to the health centre for vaccinations. The problem at the health post is that they cannot keep the vaccines as there is no electricity, and it is difficult to commute with the vaccination box.

A middle wealth woman said both her two children had been vaccinated in the anti-six disease campaign at the health post and benefited from polio vaccination at home. A poor woman said that previously there was a risk that if mothers were not present at the health post at the time of the vaccination the child would miss the chance. But now mothers have the choice to vaccinate children at the health post, the health centre or the Abba Clinic. A rich woman said she had vaccinated the last three of her children at Abba clinic in Addis Ketema.

### **HIV/AIDS**

According to the wereda, data from 2011 on Voluntary Counselling and Testing revealed that about 15% of the people are affected with HIV including in the Merti sugar factory. Among these about 385 are using ART, most of them are Merti sugar factory workers. Deaths at the factory are not known because the infected persons go back to their places of origin when they seriously sick.

In the Karrayu community there were two deaths recorded, one is a woman who suffered seriously and had not been treated well. According to the respondent she was excluded from the household and stayed alone in small hut until she died. Most people have a rigid attitude towards HIV/AIDS. Some said they will kill themselves if they found out that they are infected with HIV.

Wereda officials and NGOs carry out awareness raising about the risks and urge people to participate in testing. There are about 385 ART beneficiaries most of whom are on the sugar estate.

Kebele officials said that 15-20 people were tested in 2010. Most were men and all were said to have tested negative. They said that until now no one was known to have died of HIV/AIDS in Gelcha. They also said people had rigid attitudes and some say they would kill themselves if they found out they were infected.

The HEW said that about 25 individuals had participated in VCT. She thought that this had meant that some women were refusing inheritance marriage and men no longer having multiple partners though some want to stick with traditional marital practices.

Some male respondents suggested that there was good awareness creating by kebele officials and health extension workers and that people were becoming more aware of the risks.

A woman said that wereda officials told them they should have tests before marriage but that this is not implemented. Another woman said that HIV/AIDS was not a problem in the area.

### **Tuberculosis**

The HEW felt that there was better awareness and that people now come to the health services if they have serious coughs for more than a week. They boil milk for children and make holes in houses for fresh air. Last year three people were getting treatment and are now cured.

Some male respondents suggested that HEWs made home visits and teach about various illnesses including TB, and telling people to take those affected by TB for medical treatment.

A rich woman said that they were told to boil milk and cook meet to prevent TB. A middle wealth woman said she had not come across anyone suffering from TB and that this was not a problem in the area.

### First Aid

The HEW said they were not able to give first aid treatment as they had no gloves or alcohol.

A rich man said he visited the health post only one day when he suffered from a headache and got a painkiller for free.

## Food security, diet and malnutrition

### Diet

The diet is based on a combination of cereals, generally sorghum and maize, and milk and butter. However, the amount of milk and butter consumed by households has diminished due to smaller herd sizes.

The wife of a political leader makes porridge and *kitta* pancakes. However, now the price of pulses has reached 25 birr/ kg and has become unaffordable; so they prefer to eat porridge with milk and if available with butter. The household might get meat during fasting time when she prepares *injera* for that. Sometimes her oldest son (who is a college student) eats eggs which he prepares himself. During vegetable harvesting season either in the community or adjacent kebeles where it is cheaper, she buys them for household food.

The wife in a successful male household said the kinds of food that households eat varies with seasons; during the rainy season animal pastures are good; as a result cows, goats and sheep give much milk for drinking and butter. When the household's usual food becomes porridge, it is prepared from maize mixed with a small amount of wheat/sorghum and it is eaten with butter or milk. If milk is available, grain food is not needed as much because if children get enough milk they spend the day without grain food. She prepares food (*becho/gumach*) from roasted flour of sorghum and maize mixed with butter. She serves it for her husband and guests. She bakes *injera* during the dry season when milk not available; it is prepared from maize, wheat and *teff* which is eaten with *wat* prepared from pulses. Sometimes she buys vegetables from the market when they are getting cheap. She said that to prepare *injera* needs more expenditure and is tiring so even when milk is not available she prefers to prepare porridge and children don't need butter, they eat it with goat's milk. She still never lives without at least goat's milk in her life, the only difference is the amount of milk.

The wife in a poor household who are migrants said *injera* with *wat* made from pulses is the household's usual food; they often eat vegetables when their prices go down and they are produced in the site. Now the prices of maize and teff are almost similar and she has started to use a mixture of teff and sorghum for *injera*. The household gets milk, butter and eggs in small quantities and very rarely gets meat, perhaps be twice in a year during Easter.

### Food in/security

According to wereda officials the site is somewhat less food insecure than kebeles where there is more agriculture but more so than kebeles practising pastoralism and with no irrigation. During the rainy season there is usually plenty of milk available and people do not go hungry. During the dry season when the youth leave with the camels and there is limited pasture the cows and goats give less milk and there is less food available.

The kebele suffers most in drought years when there are livestock deaths. There have been a number of drought years in the past decade and 2010 was a particularly bad year when many households loss several livestock and some lost large numbers. The site has benefited from PSNP support that has mitigated the impacts of the drought.

### Nutrition interventions

According to wereda officials the community based nutrition (CBN) programme started at the end of last year (2010). About 250 volunteer CBN workers are trained to serve the community in giving nutrition education and screening out malnourished children, pregnant and breast feeding mothers. One volunteer CBN worker is assigned to 50 households within the kebele and monitors and follows up with them how to implement what they learn. The CBN workers are accountable to the kebele chairman and HEWs; they work closely with HEWs and report to them.

This programme is run by UNICEF, it gives incentives/allowances during training and quarterly meetings and provides measurement equipment to help the CBN workers to screen out malnourished children. Wereda officials said the programme is meant to satisfy the nutritional interventions needs in the wereda, but its achievement is not yet seen because it is a recent intervention. To improve the programme, the volunteer CBN workers would need to get a little payment which would help to encourage the workers. The respondent worries about the continuity of the programme without payment, because it is difficult for the CBN workers to work in harsh climatic conditions in their own time.

In the past the HEWs screened out the malnourished children, and breastfeeding and pregnant women to send them to the health centre where they got food supplements. If the case is serious or they are severely malnourished they are sent to Merti hospital for treatment.

There are two kinds of nutrition supplement foods: plumpynut which is a tasty packed food for children aged one to two years, and fafa and oil for mothers and under five children. Plumpynut is given by HEWs in the locality, but fafa and oil are given at the health centre. There are other programmes that come through PSNP and are provided with PSNP food aid.

Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) has started school feeding in one kebele (Ebiti); it helps students whose economic back ground is low. In addition to providing educational materials, it feeds them in school at mealtimes. GTF has gradually been spreading its intervention to other kebeles doing the same and recently it also has also been involved in kindergarten education. Unlike the case with regular students, it provides food for all kindergarten students. The kinds of food provided are macaroni, rice, fafa, oil, etc.

The HEW suggested that the number of malnourished children has decreased. There were only 20 malnourished children screened out recently. The main food provision through the health post is only plumpynut. If there are severe cases of lactating mothers who are malnourished they are sent to the health centre. There has also been assistance for malnourished children provided through FCFDA twice a year.

The wife of an important leader had a son who was affected by malnutrition and obtained food supplements for him.

I took 25 kg of fafa and 1.5 litres of oil twice in the year because J (my son) was affected by food shortage. First the malnourished child eats and then the rest of the cooked food is eaten by others. After two months he recovered and the supplement food was stopped.

The wife in a middle wealth household mentioned that she received food for her daughter, was given advice about how to prepare the food and when to give it to the children. Initially all the children shared it but on the second round she followed the advice of only giving it to the daughter who was affected.

One of my younger daughters (I) was affected with malnutrition. She got 20 kg of fafa and 1.75 litres of oil from FCFDA twice in the year. During the first round all children ate together, but in the second round she was fed alone according to the advice of the providers.

## HTPs affecting health

### Circumcision

Wereda officials said that men had been circumcised during the *Gada Gebella* ceremonies; these take place once every eight years and the members of the same age set are circumcised at the same time. In the past this was done with a knife but now the health centre provides blades with a doctor for the day, and communities have been advising people not to use a single blade for more than one person; moreover they have been suggesting people circumcise their boys on time rather than waiting for the *Gebella* ceremony.

A rich male respondent said that although health professionals suggest carrying out male circumcision at the health post and some do so he prefers to do it at home as it contributes to more rapid healing. Likewise, a middle wealth respondent said he had his sons circumcised at home by a traditional practitioner using an uncontaminated knife.

A rich woman said that some young men go themselves to the health centre to be circumcised and many mothers were circumcising their sons while they were still young rather than waiting for the *Gebella* ceremony. She suggested that it is the more conservative people who are adhering to the tradition. A Somali woman said that males among their community are in any case circumcised at an early age unlike among the Karrayu.

Regarding female circumcision wereda officials said that girls are circumcised before marriage around the age of 10 to 12. Despite education about its harmfulness by government and NGOs it is still practised in secret.

Male community members said that despite the government's strict prohibition everyone continues to circumcise their daughters in secret. One man said the intervention was against the Koran that encourages female circumcision, and that there is a deep belief that if women are not circumcised they develop excessive sexual urges that make them want to have relations with many men.

A rich woman said she had circumcised her daughter two years ago and that everybody does. A Somali woman said the female circumcision in her culture was very severe involving infibulation and sowing the genital organ and opening it by a traditional practitioner the day following the marriage. However, she said this had been stopped 15 years ago. A poor woman said she had an eight year old daughter and decided not to circumcise her. A grandmother whose grand-daughter lived with her said she would leave the decision to the girl's mother.

Body branding was said by wereda officials to have been stopped and some female respondents also mentioned this. There had been a tradition of making scars on the faces of young men which has also been said to have stopped.

A female respondent said that uvula cutting has decreased and that people are accustomed to going to the health centre, though if the case happens frequently they prefer to cut the child's uvula. However another woman said that medical treatment is not effective as the problem can recur so that is why people prefer to have the uvula cut.

### Traditional medical practices

Wereda officials suggested that the importance of traditional medicine has decreased with frequent teaching and advice.

In Gelcha health extension workers have been providing training about harmfulness of some traditional medical practices, such as body scarring, uvula cutting and extraction of milk teeth.

However, several respondents said that the practice of uprooting milk teeth was believed to cure children of diseases related to the teeth.

One man mentioned that traditional healers are very good at dealing with snake bites and that going

to traditional healers may be better than going to the health centre.

## **Reproductive health and services**

### **Infertility**

Infertility was not considered to be an issue by wereda officials. Moreover, with polygamy if the first wife is infertile she might care for and raise a second wife's child as her own. Likewise, kebele officials said it was not an issue.

However, the wife of a political leader said her daughter is suffering from infertility since she got married 8 years ago. Infertility may be a reason for a man marrying a second wife.

A young man who was unable to have an erection had his wife given by his family to his brother so she could have children.

### **Contraception**

According to a 2010 report about 60% of women used pills and 70% injections (Dipo), respectively. Wereda officials suggest that this shows the attitude change among community. However, they say that men are not happy with this intervention because they want to have more children for social reasons. Condoms are distributed by various NGOs and government frequently. Most of the beneficiaries are youths as information is provided by the community health workers, through which it is distributed. The rough percentage of the users might be 90%, but it was not recorded. Implants and diaphragm are available to the health centre, but there is limited demand except from a few urban women.

Contraceptives such as pills, condoms and Dipo are provided at health posts. Women wanting implanol injections or diaphragm contraceptives need to go to the health centre. The wereda officials claimed that 75% of people are using family planning in last year's assessment. However, wereda experts also said that men among the Karrayu are reluctant to use family planning as they want to have more children so that the Karrayu can become numerous.

Kebele officials mentioned that pills and dipo injections are available at the health post and condoms are distributed throughout each zone by health promoters. In 2010 some 55 women benefited from dipo and 7 from pills. Women prefer injections since husbands want to have more children and they can use them in secret. The number of condom beneficiaries is not known though it is mainly young men using them. Education about contraceptives is not given in the school, since children at primary school are not considered mature enough for this.

NGOs were working on issues related to family planning, especially Fantalle Children and Family Development Association (FCFDA) which is contributing funds for trainings for people and working closely with schools on health issues.

The HEW in Gelcha suggested that only one woman takes contraceptive pills continuously and about 300 are getting injection services, though some have discontinued using it. There are no implants or morning after pills provided and the condoms that were available have expired.

One wealthy man suggested that the Sharia prohibits the use of contraceptives as children are God given. However, he said that many women do get tablets and injections from the Metahara health centre, and this enables them to limit their family size based on their economic means, and allows women intervals between having children. A middle wealth man said his wife was using injections from the Metahara health centre and was now having children with gaps of three years. A poor man said that many women prefer injections to tablets as the latter increase bleeding during menstruation which he said he wife experienced. He added that the use of condoms was not common.

The wife of a political leader said she gets injectable contraception at the health post and if not available there goes to the Abba clinic in town. The wife in a middle wealth household who is 35 has

had 8 children and gave birth to the last one two years ago; since then she has used contraception injections to avoid further pregnancy.

### **Abortion**

Abortion is not considered a problem in the wereda and the health office does not have any information about it. An official suggested that urban women may be practising it but they have not heard anything about it. The person said it was not practised among the Karrayu who want to become numerous to withstand their enemies.

Kebele officials also said that abortion is not known; even unmarried girls who get pregnant give birth with the lover forced to marry her rather than having an abortion.

A rich young man in his 30s said his wife who got pregnant a year after their marriage fell ill and he took her to Adama for medication after which she aborted, and has since been able to have children.

### **Mother and child services**

#### **Ante-natal care**

According to wereda officials about 40% of the wereda women were using pre-natal advice and monitoring services in 2011, which shows an improvement from previously, as pastoralists are becoming more settled. However, dropping out from the service is still a major problem in the area. The respondent suggested that if electricity were available in rural kebeles, the medicines (for vaccination) would be able to stay in the refrigerators which would help the community to access the service at the nearest places.

Kebele officials said that in 2010 about 15 women used pre-natal advice provided at the health post by the HEWs.

A rich man suggested that the extension worker frequently visits his wife during her pregnancy. She is advised to keep the environment clean, eat fresh food and take rest. However, his wife did not make use of monitoring services at the health centre.

A middle wealth woman got given drugs for anaemia from the health post when she was pregnant. A poor woman said she got maternal and child services from the Abba clinic in Addis Ketema.

#### **Vaccinations**

According to kebele officials the women who used pre-natal advice obtained maternal vaccinations at the health post provided by the HEWs. According to a 2010 report about 15 women obtained maternal vaccinations at health post provided by HEWs.

Several men said that their wives got maternal vaccinations from the Metahara health centre. A rich woman said she had received full antenatal services at the Abba Clinic. A wife in a middle wealth household said she had received drugs for anemia at the health post but no vaccinations.

#### **Delivery**

The wereda health office has information about the numbers of deliveries that benefited from health services which were about 47.5% including those benefiting from traditional birth attendants. They suggested there is an improvement towards traditional birth attendants' services at each rural kebeles.

There are about two or three TBA in each kebele who could get trainings and delivery materials like gloves. FCFDA contributes in provision of materials and trainings.

In Gelcha deliveries only take place at home with the help of traditional birth attendants and there are no facilities or equipment at the health post and the HEWs are not trained.

Various respondents confirmed that there are several traditional birth attendants some of whom

have received training, though not recently. A poor woman said she gave birth at home with the help of a neighbour.

### **Infant care**

According to Kebele officials HEWs give advice to mothers on infant care and feeding.

A rich male respondent said his wife had received advice from the HEWs, including home visits which he found useful.

My wife and other women members of the community frequently get advice on infant care from the extension workers. The extension workers frequently make a home to home visits and give advice on infant care. The advice includes how to feed, care for, wash and bath the infants. The service is good and creates good awareness for the mothers about the care that should be given to the infants. Hence, it is better to keep on provision of continuous advice for the mothers.

Both the poor and middle wealth men confirmed that they were satisfied with the service.

However, a woman from a middle wealth households said that she did not get advice when her baby was being vaccinated and a poor woman said her child became ill but that wereda experts has explained about this.

### **Fistula**

Fistula problems were said not to be known by wereda and kebele officials, and was also not mentioned by community respondents.

### **Other reproductive health**

There was no mention of other reproductive health services by wereda or kebele officials.

Children learn about reproductive health and the wife of a politically active man said her daughters tell her about what they learnt at school.

## **Curative health services**

### **Government**

#### **Generally**

Wereda officials said that curative drugs found in the health post are mainly pain killers and malaria pills, and alcohol for injuries. There are sometimes shortages and there is no electricity to keep medicines cool, even though fridges are available for each HP; therefore vaccines are carried by the HEWs from the health centre to the HP.

In Gelcha kebele there is no electricity and therefore no possibility of storing drugs in a cool environment. Therefore the HEWs bring vaccines carrying them from the health centre. The health post does not have any curative services and community residents go the health centre, or clinics in Haro Adi or Metahara or to the clinic in the sugar plantation estate.

#### **Health centre**

There are four health centres in the wereda, one on the road to Metahara and Addis Ketema, and the others in different kebeles but these have not yet started working. The health centre works closely with the kebele health posts, and the HEWs report to them and get advice.

The budget of 30,000 birr for the health sector is insufficient to run the health centre properly unless they get medicines from NGOs. Last year about 56 poor people were exempted from payments, but this was stopped in the current year due to lack of a budget.

Kebele officials mentioned that people tend not to go to the health centre as there are limited drugs and they are sent from there to the pharmacy to buy the drugs. Therefore they prefer to go to the Catholic clinic in Addis Ketema.

Several respondents said they never visited the health centre as it has no medical laboratories since it does not have electricity. However, a middle wealth male respondent said that he took his son who was suffering from malaria and paid about 20 birr for treatment. He said the good thing is that the medication is at a lower price though the centre does not have electricity to carry out tests.

### **Hospitals**

A woman who was sick tried going from the health post to the health centre, the pharmacy and then went to a hospital in Nazareth.

She was severely sick last year. She didn't use anything from the HP because she couldn't get curative drugs there. She went to the health centre and it didn't help her, because after examination they sent her to the pharmacy to buy drugs. However she didn't recover from her illness, then she went to Nazareth at Haile-Mariam Mamo hospital. All costs were covered by her husband so she doesn't know the amounts of expense. He sold two sheep for this purpose

### **Private clinics and pharmacies**

There is one NGO hospital, five private clinics and a health post at Metahara sugar estate and one NGO mission clinic at Addis Ketema. The Metahara sugar estate is under Federal control, since the administrators are reluctant to accept wereda interference/control. The wereda doesn't have detailed information about how health services work there. For example clinics are forbidden or should have their work stopped, unless they are upgraded to health centres, but clinics are still working in the sugar estate.

Gelcha community members tend to go to the NGO Catholic mission run clinic called Abba in Addis Ketema rather than the health centre as drugs are not available in the latter. They go to private clinics if the Abba clinic is closed.

A rich man said he recently took his son to a private clinic in Haro Addis and paid 65 birr for laboratory tests but as he did not get better he was transferred to another private in Adama. A middle wealth man paid 129 birr for treatment of his son suffering from malaria. A poor man paid 300 birr for typhus treatment.

A woman whose husband works at the sugar estate as a guard obtained free treatment for typhoid.

There are pharmacies in three towns that are all privately owned. There is also a pharmacy at the Merti sugar plantation. A rich man said he paid 65 birr for tablets for his son. He said the syrups for children were very effective but that pharmacies charge a lot and sometimes sell expired or ineffective medicine. A middle wealth man paid 20 birr for syrup for his three months old child, and complained about the expense.

### **Traditional practices**

Wereda officials said that traditional practitioners are not known officially, and communities do not disclose who they are since they know that the modern health professions are not supporting them.

Kebele officials suggested that traditional treatments are very common. The traditional practitioners can treat a lot of illnesses such as broken bones, swellings, and afflictions with the evil eye. Burning with hot irons is considered effective for stomach ache.

### **NGOs**

Wereda officials mentioned that there are many partner NGOs including CCF, OSSA, World family, and GTF that directly or indirectly create awareness on health issues especially about HIV/AIDS and other STDs.

In the town of Addis Ketema there is an NGO providing health services called Abba run by Catholics. This is very popular and community members go there for all kinds of services including vaccinations for children. They are able to get the drugs that are prescribed there and the price is considered fair

and the drugs effective. If the Abba clinic is closed people go to private ones.

There is an NGO hospital at the Metahara sugar estate, providing services free only for workers and their families though not for children above 18.

CARE Ethiopia has organised eight community based nutrition (CBN) volunteers involved in screening malnourished and lactating mothers and giving sanitation education.

Fantalle Children and Family Development Association (FCFDA) which was established by CCF when it stopped working in the area selected six Community Conversation (CC) workers from the community to work on all health issues. They teach at coffee ceremonies with the budgets provided by FCFDA. They get refresher trainings every three months.

FCFDA also provided training at the wereda on disease prevention and control and sanitation. The wife of a political leader said she took part but the only relevant thing was the spraying of mosquitoes to prevent malaria. The wife in a successful household also said she took part and mentioned that the training included about STDs and HIV/AIDS as well as malaria and she was happy about what she learnt. She also received supplementary feeding (20 kg of fafa and 1.75 litres of oil twice a year) for her malnourished daughter.

GOAL-Ethiopia was previously involved in training Traditional Birth Attendants but is no longer working in the area.

### **Child-rearing practices and changes**

There have been some changes in child rearing and nutrition practices. Wereda officials suggested that most mothers now take their children to the health centre when they feel ill and vaccinate them as infants following various campaigns and advice from government and NGOs.

There is also said to be an improvement in child cleanliness and people have also learnt to provide first aid for diarrhoea preparing a solution from salt and sugar with boiled water. Infants drink boiled butter up to five years and camel's milk after a year.

However, it is now more common for small children to eat grain and some households have started to eat urban dishes, buying pasta, vegetables and biscuits. One woman said "*now we try to feed urban food to our children; mothers attempt to buy the necessary food materials for their children from the market like urban people*".

There is no sex difference in for caring children aged 1-7 in all cases, but beyond seven years parents start to make differences between boys and girls in kinds of food and labour. Camel's milk is not allowed to girls (above seven) because respondents believe that if a girl drinks it, her sexual desire becomes high and she is not willing to do what her parents want her to. Boys move with the herds taking their bowls with them and are used to milking camels to drink within two/three hours while girls stay at home with their mothers to help them.

At adolescence both boys and girls attempt to go their own ways, especially students could oppose the traditional practices like traditional medicine and healers, changing ways of dressing, and may be beaten by the clan for disobeying. Older male youths were said to have more ability these days to choose their marriage partner.

### **Education**

#### **General**

According to wereda officials there are very few kindergartens except in the sugar plantation and in Gelcha which they thought had not started functioning (although three kindergartens set up by FCFDA are in fact operating). There are 33 primary schools in the wereda, 13 of which are first cycle and 20 include second cycle. There are two secondary high schools in the wereda; one is in the Merti sugar estate and includes both secondary and preparatory levels and the other was constructed by

Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) and run by the government near Metahara which got submerged by the expansion of Lake Beseka forcing the children to learn at the nearby primary school. There is a TVET college at Merti sugar estate and another in the town of Addis Ketema.

### Pre-school

Wereda officials said that there were two kindergartens in the wereda, one fulfilling all the quality criteria in Merti sugar estate and the other in Gelcha which they assumed had not started work.

However Kebele officials noted that three kindergartens were started in the different zones of Gelcha last year by FCFDA (Fantalle Children and Family Development Association). The NGO provides student uniforms, educational materials and food at meal times. About 50% of the eligible children were said to be attending compared with a plan of 90%. The enrolment of children this year (2011) in the three zones is 45 in Dire-redi zone, 55 in Gelcha and 35 in Ajotere. There is only one classroom at each kindergarten school and it is made from adobe mud. The one in Dire-redi is somewhat better than the others. However, there is no seating and the children sit on the dusty floor. There is no water, latrine or electricity.

There is only one teacher employed by FCFDA since last year but he could not get his monthly salary, and one teacher left to go for an educational opportunity. The teacher at two of the schools felt there was a problem of reshuffling of wereda officials so that the programme is not running smoothly and they are not getting food regularly and teachers are not motivated, though the wereda officials have promised to resolve the problems next month.

About 48 children who completed the kindergarten education this year have joined regular school in grade one. There is a building under construction by FCFDA at Dire-redi, the other two kindergarten schools have deteriorated, especially the school at Ajotere (the furthest zone) which is not functional. The teacher is a preparatory student at Merti and he was teaching at weekends, two days in a week. There are no zero grades in primary school because of lack of rooms and teachers. Teachers at primary school are busy, with 30 credit hours per week.

A rich male respondent appreciated the kindergarten and has a son who has learnt the alphabet and gets food at lunchtime. However, he noted that there is a problem of drinking water and sometimes in the provision of food and in assigning appropriate teachers. He suggested the need for evaluation of the school management committee. Likewise, a middle wealth man agreed that the pre-school was useful but noted the interruptions due to lack of permanent teachers assigned. A poor man had three children at the pre-school; he also appreciated the opportunity for his children and the food provided, but as with the others mentioned the lack of a full-time teacher and interruptions in the feeding.

A rich woman with a daughter who completed pre-school last year said she had enjoyed the school and playing with different things. She mentioned that the pre-school was only one year since there was a shortage of classrooms and thought it would be good that this will soon be remedied as the new classrooms are almost complete so that children can go on to the first cycle primary school at the same location rather than having to go to the Gelcha school. A poor woman has a son who continued for a second year at kindergarten since he did not have the right level to go on. She felt the services were good saying GTF covered the costs and food and the children enjoy it. However, she felt the classroom was too small and the seating of poor quality. A middle wealth woman has a daughter of pre-school age but cannot send her since the pre-school at Ajotere zone is not functional and the playground materials have not been repaired and a teacher has not been assigned despite the children being registered in September.

The daughter in the family of a successful household attended preschool and then an ABE school. The grandson of a poor woman heading a household attends the kindergarten and likes the school.

### Alternative Basic Education

An alternative basic education school started to work this year (2011) at Ajotere zone with only one grade; 59 children are enrolled, 32 male and 27 females. Only one teacher was assigned and there is no water or electricity. The building is of good quality with 3 classrooms and an office.

### Primary education

#### The primary schools

According to wereda sources there are about 33 primary schools in the wereda, 13 of which are first cycle and 20 include second cycle. Officials said that enrollment is increasing and gender disparities decreasing. School facilities and students' performances have been improving.

However, there are shortages of qualified teachers willing to come given the harsh conditions and poor facilities without electricity, housing, and drinking water in most rural kebeles, and teachers are less motivated. Another problem is that the mobile lifestyle means that parents interrupt their children's schooling at critical times when they move in search of pasture and water for their livestock, and attendance falls to below a quarter of the enrolment at the beginning of the year.

In Gelcha the main primary school is in Dire-redi zone at the centre of the kebele where most of the public buildings and the kebele administration are located. The school was constructed by PCDP and started with grade 1 and increased over time. It is currently a full 1-8 grade second cycle school and 20 students took the 8<sup>th</sup> grade national examination last year five of whom were girls. This year there are 409 students enrolled of whom 237 are male and 172 are female, representing 96% of the plan. There are 55 students in 8<sup>th</sup> grade. The school has separate latrines for boys and girls and a common one for teachers. One block with three classrooms is built with cement whereas the other three are of poor quality built of mud and covered with iron sheets with a dusty floor.

#### School management and staff

There are nine teachers including the school director, five male and four female. Due to shortages of classrooms they work in two shifts, the first from grades 1-4 and the second from grades 5-8, changing each week. There are shortages of classrooms, textbooks, particularly for maths and science for grades 5-8 and students share a book between four or five students. The school does not have a library or store. The fence which used to be maintained by community members has been damaged, so that children can slip in and out as they please and there is no income to repair it. The recently provided chairs have rapidly become damaged, and there has not been any maintenance.

The Gelcha School did not apply the policy of automatic promotion and self-contained teaching for grades 1-4. There are seven committees in the school other than the PTA which are organised by teachers. The PTA works closely with the school administration particularly to increase enrolment and decrease dropout rates. There is a registration fee of 20 birr.

A male teacher felt that the shift system is a problem as students and he himself get tired due to the heat particularly during the afternoon shift. He considers the school to be relatively well furnished as it is supported by Fantalle Children and Family Development Association. However, there is a lack of books, and many are torn or have missing pages and have to be shared. He feels that the students are well behaved and respect teachers and there are not many deviant children, who are immediately punished and improve their behaviour. He provides tutorials for weak students. He feels the attitudes of parents towards education are good and only a few do not send their children to school. The main problems are a shortage of teachers, leading to a high burden on the teachers, the self-contained teaching programme, and the drinking water problem.

A female teacher was concerned that some students run away during rest times to look for water and something to eat. She says students are often careless, and some boys abscond to eat sugar cane or wild fruits known as *kurkura*. Girls started to cover their hair and face following a girl who had spent a summer in Harar and they are reluctant to sing their cultural songs saying it has been

forbidden by the Sharia law that only permits religious music and boys are reluctant to wear trousers. She said some parents try to marry off their girls to avoid teachers' interference for them to continue at school, and two girls were married last summer. When they followed up with parents who are not sending their children to school at the beginning of the year some of them abused her. For teachers conditions are difficult without water and electricity, and she often has long hours to complete the administration and also serves as librarian.

### **Experiences of primary school**

Male respondents expressed satisfaction with the improving school services closer by rather than children having to go to towns. However, problems were related to shortage of teachers and their lack of punctuality and sometimes absence since they refuse to live in the house built for them and commute from Metahara 6 kms away. Another problem was the shortage of drinking water. Due to these problems some have changed their school to go to the one in Addis Ketema.

A poor male respondent also mentioned that parents need their children's labour so they make them dropout, and teachers extend the late registration which affects the schedule at the beginning of the school year.

Several respondents said the PTA plays an important role in disciplining students and collaborating with teachers to ensure that children go to school and in resolving disputes between teachers and students.

Female respondents also mentioned the problem of drinking water, particularly for those coming from Ajotere the furthest zone. Students may be late searching for drinking water or going to someone's home. One woman mentioned that there have been some water tanks installed to store drinking water. Another mentioned that the school compound has become improved and made attractive.

### **Secondary education**

There are two secondary high schools in the wereda; one is in the Merti sugar estate and includes both secondary and preparatory levels and is the first that was established. However, there is no housing to rent so only students from close by can benefit. The other one was constructed by Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF) run by government and is found at Metahara town and is the more important one for rural students. However, unfortunately the GTF School was submerged by the Beseka Lake flood last summer and the water has still not been drained. As the result the students have been shifted to Addis Ketema primary school where they can find houses to rent.

Several male respondents expressed satisfaction that children are now able to learn in their own language and that Oromo teachers have been assigned to schools.

The 18 year old son in the household of the politically important leader is enrolled in grade ten at Addis Ketema secondary school. He commutes daily from home which is quite far. He is doing well and last year stood first. His mother hopes he will do well but worries about his health. She spent about 350 birr for his school costs.

A woman from a rich household has a son attending the GTF secondary school. When the school was flooded and moved she felt that they are now missing classes because of lack of classrooms. A poor woman has a daughter at the Merti sugar estate school, but she has no idea about the quality of the school apart from its outward appearance. The 20 year-old son in a middle wealth household is enrolled in grade 9 at Addis Ketema secondary high school, and gets there by bicycle. The household spent about 450 birr on his education (150 birr for fees, 300 birr for uniform and shoes, and 100 birr for educational materials). His mother said he is doing well and she heard from his friends that he is clever and she hopes he will continue with his studies. A son in the household of a poor woman dropped out of 10<sup>th</sup> grade this year to work on wage labour at Metahara sand harvesting; he used to commute by bicycle to secondary school.

### **Post-secondary education**

There is one preparatory school at Merti sugar factory in Addis Ketema. Numbers of students are increasing and the school is doing well according to Wereda officials.

There are very few students from Gelcha. The son of a successful woman heading a household completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade at Merti preparatory school. The first woman to complete 10<sup>th</sup> grade in 2006 was sent for training and became a HEW who is now working in the Kebele.

### **Government TVET**

There is a TVET college at Merti sugar estate and another at Addis Ketema; wereda officials said they were both doing well. The TVET school has a problem of lack of workshops and shortage of space to construct more buildings.

Kebele officials had no information how many students from Gelcha were attending.

The son in a politically important leader's family completed TVET last year and joined a private college in Adama with family support. Similarly, the son in a poor household who is 18 completed TVET and is at a private college in Adama.

### **Government universities**

The nearest university is Adama University. Wereda officials were disappointed that the university had not collaborated with schools in the wereda. Other universities mentioned by kebele officials include Semara, Dire Dawa and Haramaya.

The researcher heard that most students from Gelcha are assigned to Ambo, Haramaya and Jimma universities. Two students assigned to Semara dropped out after completing 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> years respectively because of tensions between the Karrayu and Afar. They have now tried to join a private college in Adama.

There are estimated to be about 22 male students but no females who have completed or are in the process of studying at university.

A rich man has two sons at university. He said that he had heard that Haramaya and Hawassa were the best in providing food for students; but health services, though provided, are not adequate.

A poor man has a daughter at university, and was pleased that she had been able to attend.

The son of a successful woman heading a household who is 22 is about to go to Meda Wollabu University in February.

A young man of 23 graduated from Haramaya University department of English last year with a BA and is now one of the few successful traders.

### **Private colleges**

There are estimated to be about 20 males and 10 females who have completed or are in the process of completing college education.

Addis Ababa Medical College is the only private college in the wereda and is found at Addis Ketema. It was established in 2008 and has a nursing and laboratory technician programme and a department of pharmacy which is being started.

The wereda did not have criteria to evaluate the performance of colleges earlier but has recently received the guidelines to evaluate them. Addis Ababa Medical College came under scrutiny in the last education efficiency evaluation. If it is not able to improve it will be automatically closed. This may harm the people who graduate and are in the process, because they have spent their time, money and energy. There is no information about whether students from Gelcha are attending.

Some 40 Karrayu students are attending the Rift Valley College in Adama. After tensions occurred

between the Afar and Karrayu at Samara University, the *Aba Gada* intervened with the owner of the college called Dinku who agreed to exempt them half the tuition fees. The son of an important political leader was one of these. His mother pointed out that despite the reduction of fees there were still high expenses for house rent, food and other consumption needs. Likewise the oldest son in middle wealth household goes to the college and his parents pay about 150 birr per month for the tuition. He lives with friends in a rented house near the college. Since he has joined the school the household has spent about 800 birr in three months (since October).

### **Distance learning**

There was no evidence of any distance learning possibilities for students from Gelcha. However, some of the extension workers were involved in distance learning.

One of the female teachers has been following a distance diploma course at Metu during the summer programme for the last two years

### **Other training**

People are registered in the Kebele for adult literacy but in practice no action is taken for several reasons including that there is no teacher, the primary school teachers are overworked, and many adults work as guards at the sugar estate at varying times and cannot easily find the time to follow adult literacy programmes.

A community health promoter said she had been on numerous trainings since last year related to health and sexually transmitted diseases and environmental sanitation and personal hygiene. She gets an incentive of 70 birr per day during trainings and 60 birr per month for running the programme in her locality. She may invite women to coffee or tea during meetings or trainings or discussions among themselves about the issues. However, people are not forthcoming to attend.

A rich woman said she has been on trainings at Addis Ketema run by wereda officials through NGO sponsorship. These focus on various development issues, including HTPs, women's empowerment, sanitation and environmental protection etc. However, she felt she could not pass on what she was taught because people are not keen to come together for long periods to learn.

Trainings were held in relation to the Growth and Transformation Plan last year. First the wereda cabinet and some selected wereda officials were given training at zone level. Then those wereda officials who took the training provided training to other wereda sector officials and to some kebele officials such as DAs, health extension workers, kebele chairs and assistant kebele chairs at the wereda level. Then, selected wereda officials and the kebele officials (DAs, health extension workers and the kebele chairs) provided training for 200 model farmers in the first phase and then addressed the rest of the community members in the second phase of the training that lasted 15 days.

According to wereda officials Gelcha kebele scored 98% in the evaluation of the training, which is very good. The training focused on the need to move to agriculture and conserve the environment. Several male respondents said they stopped cutting trees thereafter and some tried to engage in agriculture though the lack of rainfall was a constraint. A middle wealth man said the following:

They trained us (all community members) on how we get coordinated (create networks) to change and improve our livelihoods using new agricultural practices such as farming practices, improved cattle breeds, managing natural resources and so on. Hence, the training was good in providing us detailed knowledge about farming and it enabled me to know how to farm the crops. However, the community don't engage in farming because of erratic rainfall in the area. Therefore, the government should make irrigation scheme available in the area so as to enable the community to engage in farming.

The training also involved experience sharing from farmers coming from Harar. One poor male respondent appreciated this but was disappointed that after the promotion of improved breeds none were made available.

I learned about how to farm and the importance of technological agricultural inputs such as fertilisers,

hybridised seed and improved cattle breed. The strength of the training is that, it was supported by experience sharing i.e., the trainers shared with us the experience of others, particularly the experience of Harar community. Moreover, the community was involved in the training without too much absenteeism/dropout. The problem of the experience is that, we were informed that the government would distribute improved cattle breed (Borana breed) to us, but after the training was over, no improved cattle breed or seed variety was distributed. Hence, the government should keep its promise and should provide us with improved cattle breeds.

During the GTP training people were able to express criticisms of the wereda police and courts and allegations of bribery were raised. One man mentioned that it was agreed that people would be fined 20 birr for absence and lateness and another said he was absent for one day from the meeting and paid a fine of 20 birr for *chat* for the meeting attendants.

The wereda also organised training for women and youth leagues which were attended by kebele representatives, and other trainings on key topics such as HTPs.

Trainings are carried out in the kebele by the extension workers. The DAs had carried out training on improved seeds and breeds but none were available, and on making compost, though there was very little interest and only one interviewed person said he was making it. The health workers and community-based nutrition workers also provide trainings on various health related issues.

### Attitudes to education

#### Attending school

The community was said to be pleased that there is now a primary school in the area and the school costs are low compared to other areas. There is no uniform, and school fees are low.

Parents are keener to send children to school than they used to be. However they have more need for male labour for herding and are more willing to send girls to school up to marriage.

The third son in a middle wealth household, who was 11 and in grade 4, dropped out last year and is assisting his family herding sheep and goats. A daughter aged 9 in a poor household dropped out of 4<sup>th</sup> grade to look after the crops. The 15 year old daughter in an economically successful household never enrolled as they needed her labour for herding. Her father claimed that she dropped out of third grade but her mother said her father would not let her go to school.

A school teacher mentioned that parents try to marry off their daughters during the rainy season school break to avoid teachers 'interfering' to try to keep them and school, and two girls were married off last rainy season.

Some respondents said they were pleased that their children could read and write and are numerate. One group of women said: *'we did not even know about amounts of birr, numbers etc, but now our children read and write what we want'*.

As the level of education increases the number of females decreases especially in secondary and TVET. Only 5 of the 20 students who completed primary school last year in Gelcha were girls.

After completing grade 10 students are not interested or able to continue with their education since their results are often not good enough for further education. There are about 15 youth who have completed secondary education and are at university.

Parents expressed a strong concern that many youth completing education are unable to find work and 'sit idle' and become engaged in bad habits such as chewing *chat* and drinking alcohol. They are also influenced by urban louts, and become engaged in theft. As a result some are questioning the value of education.

#### Education and economic problems

The costs of primary education were believed to be not as high as in some areas.

One son of a poor woman heading a household is in grade 10 at Addis Ketema. He participated in sand harvesting during the rainy season to earn some income but is depending on his mother for his education costs. Another son is in grade 9 and has been getting support from a rich person in town. A third son is in grade 6.

However, secondary education, private college and to some extent universities involve significant costs for transport, housing and maintenance.

The 20 year-old son in a middle wealth household is enrolled in grade 9 at Addis Ketema secondary high school, and gets there by bicycle. The household spent about 450 birr on his education (150 birr for fees, 300 birr for uniform and shoes, and 100 birr for educational materials). The oldest son in middle wealth household goes to the college and his parents pay about 150 birr per month for the tuition. He lives with friends in a rented house near the college. Since he has joined the school the household has spent about 800 birr in three months (since October).

The wife in an economically successful household said they were supporting an orphan who is doing well in primary school. However, she said they could not cover the expenses of him going on to secondary school and he would have to drop out.

### **Expectations, disillusion and implications**

Many parents are less interested in children's further education since the number of students who have completed grade 10 and 'sit idle' is increasing and even after completing secondary education many can only find work as daily labourers and are not able to provide support to their families.

However, some including in poor households express a desire to continue to support their children through tertiary education.

## **Community management**

### **Wereda**

#### **Wereda structure**

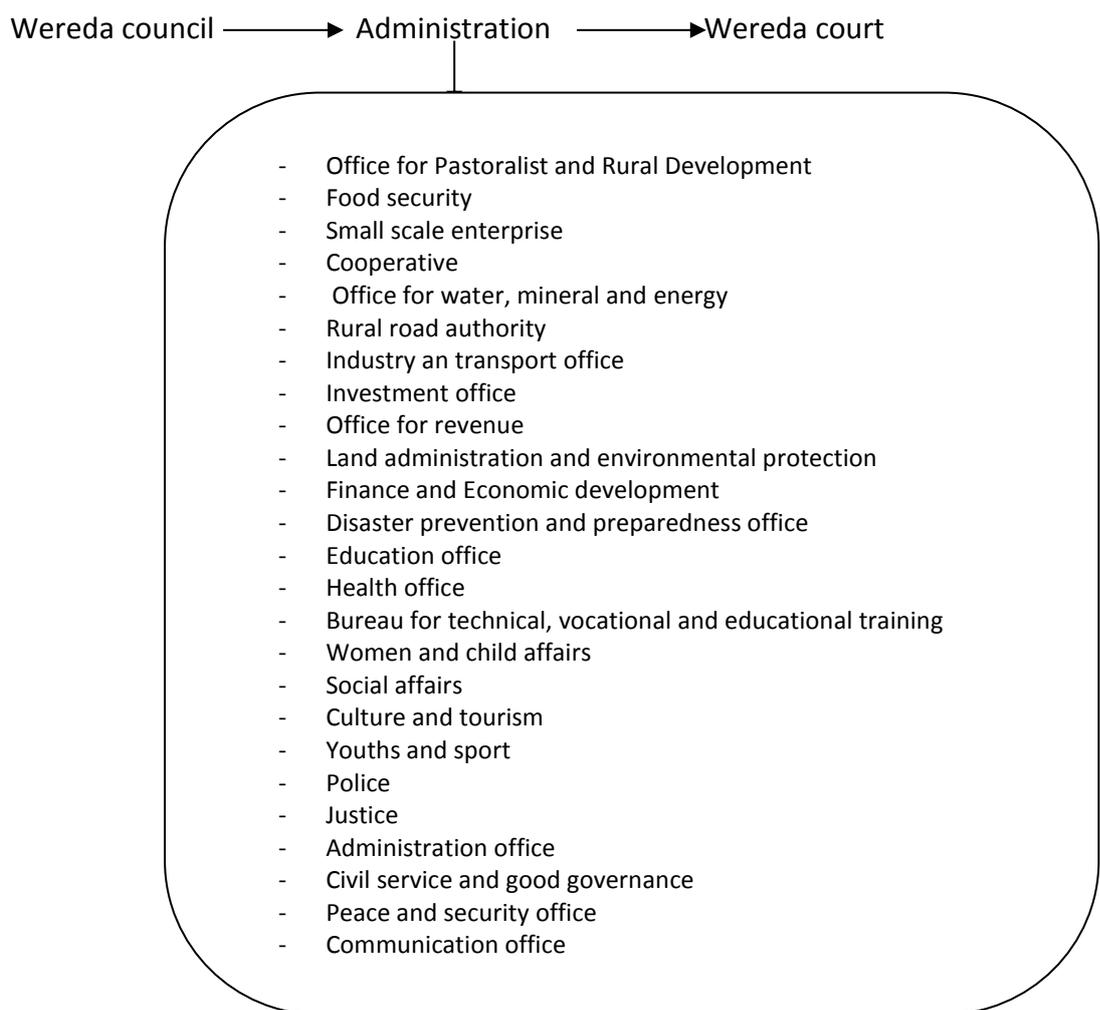
Fantalle wereda has a council and an administration with a cabinet and court and separate bureaus (see Fig 1).

Asked about the good things about the structure officials listed the following:

- It simplifies the process of follow up, checking and evaluation of activities that are carried out
- It facilitates activities and contributes to their accomplishment without delay, as each sector has their own duties and responsibilities.
- It decreases the workload that is otherwise put on a given sector.
- It has positive contributions to planning and achievement of the plan, as the structure allows each sector to run and manage its own budget independently.

Weaknesses mentioned included:

- Some sectors have a greater work burden, e.g. the office for pastoralist and rural development has many sections under the same sector that could do with being separated out.
- Though it is easy for follow up and evaluation, it is difficult to carry out a detailed evaluation about a given sector as the sectors are too many to be handled by the wereda administration.

**Figure 1: Fantalle Wereda structure 2011**

### Wereda Administration and the party

The wereda administration is run by the cabinet which is composed of sector heads. In principle the Wereda administration is supposed to be accountable to the wereda council.

In the wereda there are two main types of criticism (*gimgema*). The first one is focused on the evaluation of accomplishment of the work based on the plan. All the sector officials come together every fifteen days and evaluate the accomplishment of each sector based on the proposed plan. Accordingly, they comment, suggest and design the strategies to strengthen the activities of sector which have not been performing well.

The second type of criticism is carried out at six months intervals and is targeted to evaluate personnel, not the work done. During this criticism process, an individual stands in front of the audience and speaks about himself/herself (strengths and weaknesses) and then the audience also give their own comments and criticisms concerning the individual. Accordingly, a grade is given to individuals and any necessary measures are taken with respect to that individual based on his/her grade so as either to encourage or discourage him/her.

For instance, the wereda deputy manager of party was assigned to follow up and make sure that the modern irrigation scheme was utilised properly by the pastoralist community without any interference. However, many community members sharecropped out their land and the irrigation scheme was utilised by outsiders. Hence, the deputy manager was criticised and demoted (both in

status and salary) for his failure to follow it up. Now he has been given the position of wereda human resource officer.

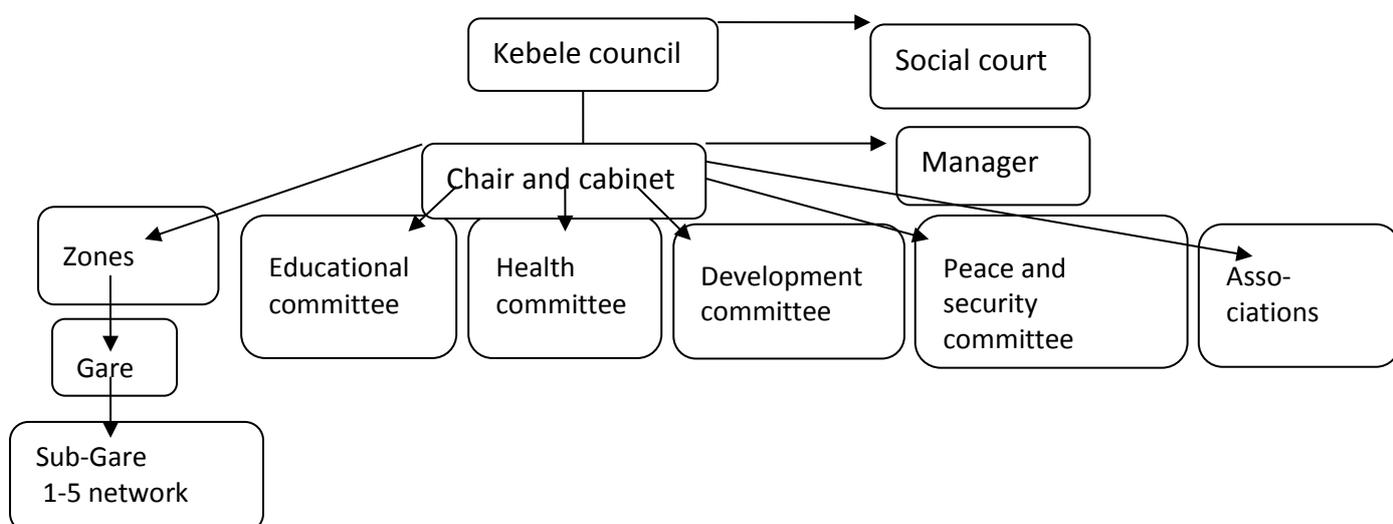
### Justice and security

#### Kebele and party structures

Gelcha kebele structure as outlined in the figure below has a council with about 300 members, a social court and cabinet led by the kebele chairman and a manager. The cabinet directs various committees relating to education, health, development, peace and security and associations.

Below the Kebele level the cabinet relates to zones, and within them *gare* and sub-*gare* structures, known as 1-5 networks.

Figure 2: Gelcha Kebele structure 2011



### Recent changes to the kebele structures

#### The Kebele Council

The kebele council has about 300 members who are party members. The council has a chair, vice chair and secretary. The council met last year and had a discussion to decide on priorities, evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different *gares* and decide what had to be done.

The council decided to work on mobilisation and make sure that the community pay government tax on time. A consensus was reached to work on development issues more effectively than before. However, many members did not attend, and absenteeism is still a major problem.

The council has also worked on reducing the dropout rate from school in collaboration with kebele officials through awareness creation for the parents. As a result, the number of drop outs of students has declined and the number of students who attend school has increased over time.

The chair organises meetings of the council and with development committees and the kebele cabinet in principle on Wednesdays but in practice as the need arises. He is available in the mornings once a week.

#### The kebele Cabinet

The kebele cabinet has eight members: the chairman, deputy chairman, and heads of peace and security, the party, women's affairs, the school director, a DA and a health extension worker. Three of the seven, the leader of the women's affairs, the health extension worker and the school director

are women, though two of these are automatically women by design.

The cabinet meets regularly to discuss development issues, notably in health, education, peace and security, and identify and address weaknesses. In a meeting 15 days prior to the fieldwork they discussed finalising the tax and party membership fees collection and agreed that this should be completed in one month up to the end of December.

The kebele chairman said that attendance at the cabinet meetings is a major problem as the government employees are often busy with meetings at the wereda and miss cabinet meetings; moreover, they do not reside in the kebele but live in towns and commute, so that they are only in the kebele for a few hours, whereas the community elected representatives are busy with their own livelihood activities and are not paid. He felt that the extension workers should be expected to live in the community and that the elected members should be paid in order to motivate them to take their duties seriously.

#### **The kebele chairman**

The kebele chairman said he was told by the wereda that he was supposed to work for three days a week from 8:30 am to 5:30 pm but actually he has worked much more without fixed times and does not get a salary. He said he faces a problem carrying out his own livelihood activities while engaging in kebele work.

#### **The kebele vice-chairman**

The vice chair carries out all the activities of the chair in his absence. He follows up on activities carried out in each of the zones, delivering government messages and addressing clients' needs. He also collaborates with professionals involved in health and other development issues. He works three days a week from 8:00 am to 1:00 pm, but does not get a salary.

The work sometimes conflicts with his own livelihood activities. Moreover, the extension workers are often not in their offices and don't work closely with the community so that he has to take on their work as he can read and write, increasing the burden on him. To improve things he thinks extension workers should be made to stay in their work places and work closely with the grassroots community. They should let him know their schedules so that he can arrange things to fit in with his own visits and avoid overlapping duties.

He consults elders for problems he faces. For instance there are two days allocated for community development work. However, one individual refused to participate and he informed the elders who advised the man who then began to participate. He also consults the chairman when he faces problems. For instance a week earlier a woman fenced a plot of land without the Kebele's permission and he told her to desist. However, she refused so he reported to the chairman to write a letter to call her to the office. She was given the letter with an appointment for the following week.

#### **Kebele manager**

He is involved in various activities including writing different recommendation letters for the community members when the need arises, documenting and filing various outgoing and incoming letters from and to the kebele, arranging meetings and writing minutes for the kebele chair on the meetings, controlling attendance of DAs and health extension workers (but not teachers), report writing for the wereda about the activities in the kebele and addressing different government programmes and messages to the wider community in collaboration with other kebele workers.

His working hours are meant to be from 8:30 am to 12:30 pm and then from 1:30 pm to 5:30pm five days a week. He says he works more than eight hours a day for the whole week as there is a heavy work burden. Wednesday is officially the day to provide services to kebele members in the morning. He gets a salary of 1,014 birr per month.

The major problems with his job include: 1) lack of water, electricity, housing or transport for the

manager. He therefore lives in the town of Addis Ketema which is about 5km away and commutes by foot; 2) There is no transport assigned to the kebele and it is difficult to go to the various villages on foot to deliver different messages and carry out other work which is tiresome and challenging; 3) There is a lack of literate personnel. None of the kebele representatives can read and write (except for the government extension workers), increasing the burden on him; 4) there is a shortage of stationery materials. Even though the budget is posted for the community at the kebele level, the kebele never manages and runs it. When the kebele requests materials, the wereda purchases second-hand and lower quality products, which are not durable and there are allegations that the saved money is misappropriated; 5) He has not been able to benefit from on-the-job training to improve his skills and performance. He therefore wants to work until he can find other options. If he obtains an educational opportunity he will resign without hesitation. He also feels that the wereda officials do not acknowledge his hard work and discourage rather than encourage him. He says he works closely with the kebele chair and if they need to they take matters to the community or the wereda administrator depending on the case.

## **Committees**

### **General**

In theory there are a number of committees including development, education, health, security and HTP committees. In practice most of these meet rarely and the issues tend to be addressed by the kebele administration in consultation with extension workers or the leaders of the committees.

The researchers remarked that in some cases people are selected to lead committees and do not even know that they have been selected.

### **Development Committee**

The development committee has 10 members selected from women, youth and elders. It is led by the kebele chair. In theory the committee follows up and evaluates all development activities in the kebele. For instance, when a given development project such as a kindergarten, school, teachers' residence etc., is constructed they follow up its accomplishment and facilitate the process of construction. However, there has not been any recent action taken by the committee as there is no project that has been implemented recently.

In 2009 they followed up on the construction of teachers' residence in the kebele. Since then the committee has not been functional and the kebele chair said that it is difficult to get them to meet and they are reluctant to work without any remuneration. He has reported the problem of the committee not meeting to the kebele administration but has not reported to the wereda to protect them from any potential negative measures. However, he frequently discusses important issues with elders so that they can become involved in fulfilling their duties.

### **Education committee**

The kebele education committee is known as the school board committee. It has seven members including the kebele chair, vice-chair, secretary and other members. The kebele chair is the board committee leader, the vice-chair is from community members, the school director is the secretary, and the auditor (*Kutitir*) is a female leader from the community; the three members include one school teacher and one man and one woman from the community.

In principle the school board committee has more power than the PTA which refers matters that are beyond its capacity to the board committee. However, in practice the PTA works closely with the school, and until now the board committee has not been functional. Instead the kebele chair works closely with the school management committee and school director.

### **Health committee**

There is a structure in theory but it is currently not functioning. It has seven members, with the HEW

serving as secretary and the rest selected from the community. The previous committee members were changed last year because of the death of one member and since they were not working effectively.

The researcher spoke with the leaders of both the former and the new committee who said they were told to take on the position but were not properly briefed about their responsibilities. Both are women and the new leader is a health promoter who works more with government and NGOs on health matters. Initially she denied that she was the health committee leader since she said the HEW has the responsibility to organise the members and she should explain how the committee works.

### **Justice and security committee**

The security committee has 21 members, the leader of the security committee, the commander, the vice commander and 18 militias. All the members of the committee are party members. The committee works for the peace and security of the community, to resolve disputes in the community, to take offenders to justice, to protect the forests from being cut and also to engage in party and other development issues in the kebele. For instance, the committee was involved in catching thieves who stole a car from Metahara on its way to Harar and sent them for justice. The chair of the committee who found out about the theft informed the wereda police head and wereda administrator who assigned police forces to assist the militia to catch the thieves. Therefore, to some extent the committee is successful in keeping peace and security of the kebele.

However, there is a problem to organise and assign the militias to their duties. This is mainly because the militias are not paid and don't get any benefit and they have their own permanent livelihood activities which they prioritise. Therefore, there is an overlap of their main duties with the kebele activities, which makes it difficult to assign them at any time. The head of the committee is himself a guard at the sugar factory and wants to resign as the work clashes with his job. He suggests there is a need to assign a budget for militias and to run other activities related to peace and security of the kebele. He complained that various meetings and trainings at the wereda take time and there is no per diem or transport allowance so that this affects his livelihood detrimentally.

### **Food aid committee**

There is no food aid committee at the kebele and food aid is distributed by the wereda food security officials. The food aid retargeting committee is involved in excluding those who do not require the assistance and including those who should be substituted. As discussed previously the committee was constituted at a zonal level after community complaints about exclusion.

### **Natural Resources Committee**

There is no natural resources committee currently. Previously with NGO support there were sub committees including the following:

- *Core qiyasa* – Surveying committee
- *Core sullula* – watershed management committee
- *Core komadi-post* – command post committee
- *Core deddemaqisittu* – Initiation/motivation committee
- *Core Metena* – controlling committee
- *Core gebbassa* – Reporting committee
- *Core dangessittu* – Demarcation committee

However, in practice none of these have been functional, and whatever NRM activities are carried out are organised by the crops DA through the *gare* structure using PSNP and community labour contributions, though there is little work that can be done without the incentive of food for work.

### **Drinking water committee(s)**

According to wereda officials there is supposed to be a water committee at the kebele level that works in collaboration with wereda officials and carries out maintenance of water projects. However, in Gelcha there does not seem to be such a committee that is functional, or the researchers were unable to locate them.

Most people do not have access to water points in the village and use the canal, ponds or get drinking water from the plantation settlement or buy it from town. There are two taps that were established by Care in 2005 but do not work regularly and have salty water as a result of the lake expansion; people had paid for maintenance when worms started coming out of them.

### **Other committees**

There are 10 members of the HTP committee who were trained with the assistance of CCF. They include the *Aba Gada* who leads the committee, the kebele chair, male and female youths, the women and children's affairs leader, the head of the kebele courts and elders. The committee organises and trains the community about HTPs including circumcision, early marriage, HIV/AIDS prevention etc. The committee works closely with the HEWs and kebele officials.

The *Aba Gada* who heads the committee suggested that he worked two days a week from 9:00am to 12:00pm, and held discussions often on Sunday. This work is done voluntarily though they get per diems when going for training at the wereda. Last September, the committee called the community and had discussions about HIV/AIDS prevention. The meeting was well attended. However, according to the *Aba Gada*, although the committee members received training, very few of them are willing to become involved in providing trainings for the community and are willing to participate in discussion sessions.

The *Aba Gada* feels that committee members should be made more aware of their responsibilities and should be replaced if they are no longer willing to engage in the expected duties. Since he has a lot of responsibilities and other work as the *Aba Gada* as well as his own livelihood activities he is not able to work on the HTP work intensively and suggests that committee members should be remunerated. He would be willing to continue if the work is paid but otherwise wants to resign. He works closely with the kebele and raises issues with the wereda. For instance he asked the health bureau for a vehicle during the household level training to reach the various zones, but they did not provide one.

There is an irrigation water committee that ensure that there is fair distribution among members and seeks to resolve disputes among them. However, some of these disputes could not be resolved by the committee and were taken to the kebele administration and social court.

### **Mass Associations, Leagues and Federations**

The women's and youth organisations have been described earlier. The women's association at wereda level has almost 35,000 members and the women's league under 1,700 in 18 rural kebeles.

In Gelcha neither the women's association nor the women's league was active, and representatives have received training from the wereda but there was no follow up. The women's federation was only known by some in name. Most respondents when asked about women's association spoke of the women's cooperative associations for livestock fattening, and providing loans to women which were set up by NGOs rather than the formal mass associations organised by government.

The youth organisation are supposed to be under the Youth Affairs office of the wereda, and the youth federation is supposed to be the umbrella organisation followed by the league and then the youth association all of which are supposed to be present at kebele level. In practice though the emphasis has been on youth leagues since 2008 with 1,589 male and 265 female members in the wereda. However much of the wereda focus is on promoting youth cooperatives.

In Gelcha most respondents when asked about youth associations talked about the youth cooperative associations. There is no formal youth association, and the youth league was set up during the elections when wereda officials appointed a leadership committee, who received training. The league has 39 male and 10 female members who started to contribute 5 birr per month for a year. However, there was no follow up or assistance from the wereda and the league is no longer functional. The head of the league was told that he was appointed as head of the youth federation but admitted that he did not really know the difference between the federation, league and youth association.

#### **Sub-kebele structures, development groups and one-to-fives**

Below the kebele there are three levels: first the kebele is divided into three zones; second, within each zone there are a number of *gares* that have about 30 households; within these *gares* there are a number of 1-5 networks of 6 households.

The *gare* or development team (*gare missoma*, development team or army) is a unit through which development work is supposed to be carried out. Ideally these are constituted of 5 groups of 1-5 networks, i.e. 30 households but it also depends on the number of people within a zone, the level above the *gare* and below the kebele. If there are people 'left over' they will join an existing *gare* so that one for instance had 36 households.

Each *gare* has a chair, deputy, secretary and two members forming the leadership. A number of *gares* form the zone and there are three zones in the Kebele. The zone has a leadership of eight members comprising one DA, two youth members, two women and three elders, but in practice *gare* leaders often report directly to the kebele leadership rather than to the zonal structure.

The 1-5 groups often referred to as networks, unit extensions or 1-5 development teams is a new structure, the lowest level that was promoted recently at the time of the GTP training in 2010. They are supposed to play a developmental role. The 1-5 networks have one leader who is the sixth household head hence the term one to five. Five of these networks are supposed to form a *gare*.

The 1-5 networks have been mobilised to fence the school compound and carry out tree planting. In theory the 1-5 structure is expected to meet regularly and work on each other's fields and the leader should report to the *gare* leader. According to one 1-5 leader there should be strong relations between them. He said: *This team is expected to have strong relations like a family because their unity is important for the planned fruition.* However, since there is limited farming in practice the 1-5 network is not very active in coordinating agricultural work. The leader collects land taxes and other contributions from the 5 households he is responsible for and gives the receipt back to kebele chair. He informs members about kebele meetings. Though he is supposed to report to the *gare* leader this does not happen according to the plan since his current work is linked with collecting tax and informing people about meetings and his contact is with the kebele chair and sometimes the militias.

Several male respondents suggested that they had worked in 1-5 networks clearing and preparing farmland, weeding and preparing cut-off drains. One political leader said he has worked about a month with his development team. A poor man said that cooperation was changing from clan to individuals working through 1-5 networks and also relying on their *iddirs*. A poor man said he had participated in soil and water conservation activities planting trees and preparing water drainage through his 1-5 team. Likewise a recent migrant said he had been involved in making the school fence and other public works through his 1-5 team. A destitute woman said when there was a meeting she was told by her 1-5 network leader.

#### **EPRDF party structures and membership**

About 200 people of the community are party members. The kebele chair, the vice chair and leaders of zonal cells and all the militias are party members. The kebele chairman is also the chair of the

party. In each of the three zones there is a committee with seven members including a chair (from among the farmers), a vice chair, two individuals from among the youth, two women and a DA. Below these there are cells that contain 5 members. Each cell in turn has a chair, vice chair, propaganda representative and a cashier.

The head of one cell in Ajotere zone who is the vice chair said he did not see the difference between the kebele and party structures. He suggested that most government employees have to be party members.

The party structure is one of structures that operate under the kebele structure. Even though I do not know about the wereda officials and employees, almost all the kebele officials, except some teachers, are party members and run the party activities in line with the kebele activities. They have obligations of paying party membership fee, participating in meetings and being involved in different development activities in the kebele.

However, he suggested that being a party member did not confer any special advantages and that not being a party member did not result in exclusions. He said:

There is no exclusion for not being a party member and an individual does not get unique benefits for being a party member. All individuals in the kebele are treated equally regardless of being a member or not.

### **BPR**

There was no evidence reported of any BPR activities in the wereda.

### **Governance interventions**

#### **The wereda council**

Little information was obtained on the wereda council. Two persons were selected as councillors but have still not been involved in meetings.

The woman councillor who is 40 and was appointed nine months ago was selected by kebele officials as she is an active participant in kebele meetings and works in various capacities including as a volunteer health promoter, a *gare* leader and a member of the PSNP retargeting committee. She said the wereda office called councillors of 18 kebeles for training twice about the duties and responsibilities of the job for three days. They were told they had power over all activities done in the kebele and can evaluate the performance of kebele officials. The report should be sent to the wereda councillors' office through the kebele manager. However, in practice none of this has been implemented and there is no salary or benefit associated with the work, and she has not had any interaction with the kebele or wereda officials relating to the job since the training

#### **Accountability**

According to officials in the wereda there are two main types of criticism (*gimgema*). The first one is focused on the evaluation of accomplishment of the work based on the plan. All the sector officials come together every fifteen days and evaluate the accomplishment of each sector based on the proposed plan. Accordingly, they comment, suggest and design the strategies to strengthen the activities of sectors that have not been performing well.

The second type of criticism is carried out in six month intervals and aims to evaluate personnel, not the work done. During this criticism process, an individual stands in front of the audience and speaks about himself/herself mentioning strengths and weaknesses, and then the audience also give their own comments and criticisms concerning the individual. Accordingly, a grade is given to individuals and any necessary measures are taken based on the grade to encourage or discourage the individual.

For instance, the wereda deputy manager of the party was assigned to follow up and make sure that the modern irrigation scheme was utilised properly by the pastoralist community without any interference. However, many community members sharecropped out their land and the irrigation

scheme was utilised by outsiders. Therefore, the deputy manager was criticised and demoted (both in status and salary). Now he has been given the position of wereda human resource officer. Although criticism can make employees responsible and accountable for fear of the actions taken after the criticism, sometimes it may be based on personal issues.

Though there is an appeal system with a form for civil servants to report complaints, this is not practised much in the wereda. Mostly communities accept the decision that is already passed. This is partly because the assigned committee members sometimes do not have sufficient knowledge about justice and rights of individuals. As a result, they simply reject appeals without giving them any resolution. Moreover, the community members themselves are not well aware about their rights, which hinders them from appealing.

In Gelcha likewise there are two types of *gimgema*. The first is meant to be carried out within fifteen days interval and targeted to evaluate the activities accomplished in the kebele. All the members of the kebele cabinet discuss the activities and accomplishments in each sector. They identify the problems and the achievements and forward comments accordingly to strengths the weaknesses. Kebele officials suggested that as a result, it is possible to solve many problems at the kebele level, which used to be sent to the wereda.

The second *Gimgema* is held twice a year following the request from the wereda. This type of *gimgema* is targeted to evaluate the committee members and to give them a grade (ranging from A-C). During this *gimgema* all government staff participate and get a grade, which is sent to the wereda, which takes appropriate actions. Usually the grade serves to strengthen the low achievers and to encourage the high achievers. However, no serious measure that removes an individual from his position is taken. Moreover, there is no appeal mechanism to the wereda against the decision.

A middle wealth respondent said that he had participated in a *gimgema* last year which led to the replacement of the kebele commander.

There was a discussion to evaluate the weakness and strength of the kebele leaders. Each member explained about their own weaknesses and strengths in front of the participants and in turn, the participants also criticised them and provided their suggestions. Many of the suggestion were accepted by the individuals and accordingly measures were taken by participants. On that day, following the criticism, the kebele commander was rejected and other individuals were replaced. The good thing about the experience is that it strengthens the weaker leader and encourages the strong one

There are citizens' report cards in the wereda since 2008 on which the customers record their views and report to the concerned body. Then a given official also writes his/her decision, the time taken to resolve a given case, a date of appointment etc. on the card and a copy will be given to the customer if s/he is given an appointment.

Wereda officials said that the citizens' report card saves the time of customers and of officials, as each case is directly referred to the concerned body. However, the card is not used frequently due to limited community awareness, and since sometimes there is no one available to assist people to make use of them.

Kebele officials suggested that previously the community wrote application letters to get services. However, after the implementation of the citizens' report cards the community use the card instead and complain to the higher officials if their cases are not solved at the kebele level. However, due to budget constraints for stationary materials, the form is not always available.

A middle wealth male respondent said he had heard about the citizen's report cards but could not find it when he went to the kebele office to get an identification card. A poor male respondent also said he had participated at meetings in which officials and *gare* leaders were assigned a grade and some of his suggestions were accepted. However, these sessions did not lead to the removal of people from office and no serious measures were taken. Another poor male respondent had used the citizen's report cards and the kebele officials also wrote their comments and provided an

appointment and gave him a copy of the card. He thought this was useful to be able to take matters to higher officials. However, the card is not always available in the office.

According to wereda officials there are suggestion boxes in some of the sector offices of the wereda. However, the community do not use them and they are not frequently checked.

Kebele officials also said there has been a suggestions box in the kebele since 2008 but none of the community members use it.

A few community members said they knew there was a box but had not used it as there is no culture of using them.

The wereda budget is usually posted each year. However, the budgets for 2011/12 financial year have not been posted in the wereda because of financial constraints for stationery. The lists of budgets for all sectors in the wereda is prepared and posted in each sector and public place where the community easily read them. Wereda officials suggested that community and any staff members of the wereda therefore have a chance to know the budget assigned to the wereda sector offices, which fosters a culture of transparency and accountability.

Kebele officials said that the kebele budget is posted in the kebele. However, the allocated budget does not serve the kebele as planned.

One middle wealth respondent said he had heard that the budget was posted but many members of the community have not gone to school and are not able to read it. One poor man said that though the budget is allocated to the kebele he thought that the money allocated is often misused by wereda officials.

The kebele also uses documents to provide suggestions and documentation of meetings through minutes to enhance accountability. During every discussion and meeting with the community and the committee members, the minutes are to be recorded.

### **Planning and consultation**

According to wereda officials they consult communities to plan community work and the food for work programme. Based on people's interest they plan types of community work. Most of the time people participate in the natural conservation programme in watershed management, and the land that is recovered serves as grazing and is used for farming. People were initially reluctant to engage in such work until they saw its benefits. Communities carry out the work based on the groups of five households that live close together.

Currently the household asset building programme (HABP) has started to work with PSNP in some parts of the wereda, helping beneficiaries to become self-sufficient after they graduate from the PSNP. It provides credit up to 4,000 birr without loan interest until the beneficiaries' capital has reached 19,000 birr. Then they have to repay the credit for others to utilise.

According to kebele officials the community are not consulted before what will be implemented is planned. The wereda officials come and call all people to come together at a meeting place (*cure*); then they tell them what they should do which is important for them. For instance the community didn't participate in the choice of community food for work including the watershed management. All the PSNP works are designed by wereda officials, and the kebele officials are instructed to run them. The HABP is not applicable in the area.

A rich male respondent suggested that the type of work is decided by wereda and kebele officials but there is consultation on how and when the work should be done.

The community work for the food for work programme is usually chosen and planned by the wereda and kebele officials. I and other community members are involved/ consulted to discuss how to do the planned community work. For instance, if the officials decide to construct a road, the community discuss how and where it should be constructed. The good thing is that the consultation enables the community to

implement the development project properly. However, the community are not fully involved in the entire community work i.e., the community are not involved in the planning of the work done but are only involved to discuss how to work and where it has to be implemented.

A middle wealth male respondent suggested that there was discussion between the community members and the DA about what kind of activities should be carried out. A poor male respondent said that most of the time the community work is chosen by wereda officials and the community is informed in meetings. However, there are some cases where the community rejects what the wereda proposed. He gave the example of the community refusing the maintenance of a road and made water wells instead.

Several respondents suggested that there is no consultation about the household asset building programme or rather the other food security programme loans and wereda officials decided what kinds of assets should be selected. The poor male respondent gave the example that in 2006 the officials decided that an ox and goat should be bought for poor people without consulting the beneficiaries. Several beneficiaries also suggested that they did not even know how much the livestock cost and claimed that they had not been told this was a loan.

Several male respondents said that there was no community involvement in making a community plan. However, one poor male respondent said that if the planning involved labour and cash contributions out of the PSNP the community hold discussions to make a needs assessment and select projects. He gave the example of the discussion held last year before the community agreed to prioritise the construction of water for the kebele and contribute money. He suggested that the discussions are important to have debate before deciding on a project and builds trust between the community and implementer organisation which is crucial for the sustainability of a given development project.

The three female respondents (rich, middle and poor) held similar views about planning and consultation over development interventions in the community. They said the wereda officials didn't consult the community members about any interventions before planning to implement them in the community. The wereda officials told the people that they have to implement the intervention as they instructed. The respondents mentioned the example of the FFW programme which is arranged by wereda officials, specifying the type of work including the time it is to be carried out. They said people's preferences are not considered, mentioning for instance that the community prefer the PSNP aid to be in food rather than in cash, but the provision is in both. They think this might have happened due to the preference of wereda officials. In the same way the community members have no participation in making the community plan, other than that they hear the final decision about what they have to do or implement.

### **Security and policing**

Wereda officials said that there is a serious and frequent conflict over grazing land on the borders with Afar and the Minjar area with the Argobba. This problem couldn't be resolved, in spite of the fact that community police were launched in eight targeted kebeles which were considered conflict sites.

There are community and wereda police as well as militiamen involved in security and policing. Community police are organised by selecting members according to the kebele structure. A wereda policeman is also assigned to each of the kebeles in the conflict areas whereas in other kebeles one policeman is assigned to two or three kebeles. The community and wereda police work in collaboration with those in the opposing areas to minimise frequent tension, fights and conflicts on both sides.

Three or four years ago there were car thefts on the road from Nazareth to Harar. With strong control and serious actions by police, the thefts have been stopped.

There are about 20-40 militiamen in each kebele depending on its size. At one time, two small

kebeles were merged and 40 militias were selected. Wereda officials said that since the militias are from the communities and have similar attitudes to the people they live among they do not clearly reveal some problems to the wereda police and other officials, and this secretive culture is a serious constraint the police face.

According to kebele officials the situation in Gelcha is generally peaceful. However, sometimes there are disputes between the Awash National Park and the Metahara sugar plantation and the community. When the community cannot find an alternative for their livestock, particularly during the dry season, they let their cattle go into the park for grazing. This creates conflict between the park and the community, which is usually resolved through negotiation by the elders.

During the middle of the year the Metahara sugar plantation allows all the wereda communities to use the residues from the sugarcane plantation for their cattle. Many community members from other kebeles reside in Gelcha kebele to feed their cattle and sometimes disagreement over the residue is created between the communities. Moreover, sometimes people illegally let their cattle into the plantation which also creates disputes between the community and the plantation and as a result federal police have been assigned to the sugar estate plantation.

There is also a conflict between the Karrayu community and the bordering communities (Afar and Argobba) over pasture and water for livestock. Sometimes there is also theft of sheep, goats and cattle by some youngsters of the community. However, the extent of the problem is not serious.

There is no community policeman in the kebele. There are twenty militiamen selected from the community who play an important role in guarding the border of the kebele, bringing wrongdoers to justice, and controlling and preventing theft in the community. They also are involved in settling disputes.

In 2010 when the theft of a car on the Metahara-Harar road took place at night the kebele militia followed and caught the thieves and handed them over to the wereda police. The wereda police also assist the community when things are beyond the control of the kebele, which may ask for assistance as happened during the instance of the car theft in 2010.

The prison is found in Adama (the regional capital) and there is no member of the Gelcha community in the prison.

A middle wealth male respondent said that the kebele chair and the commander give orders to the militia to catch wrongdoers and take them to justice. However, there are some people who do not respect the orders of the militia. He mentioned the case of his son being beaten by a man while he was on duty guarding the sugar plantation. He reported the case to the kebele chairman who sent militias to the man to call him to the kebele office but he refused to come with them. Since neither the militia nor the chair was able to force him to come he decided to take his case directly to the wereda police.

A poor male respondent said the militia were selected by the kebele council and peace and security committee and are involved in maintaining the peace. However, he suggested that some of the militia are weak and they give priority to their own affairs rather than serving the community. He suggested the militia would need to be paid in order to be motivated to serve the community properly.

None of the female respondents approached seemed to have had dealings with the militia, though a poor woman knew four of them and heard that more had been selected.

## Justice

### General

Wereda officials said that the justice office works in collaboration with the police, the wereda courts and religious leaders. The main duties of the office are to create awareness among the people about

justice, how to prevent crime and give information about wrongdoing. The justice office has strong and close relations with the police to prevent crime, seize criminals and ensure that justice is upheld.

The wereda police have been recently working with the prosecutor to minimise mistakes and corruption. In the past because of the lack of police understanding criminal cases might be dealt with by them which should have been taken to the wereda court. There is a significant change since police and prosecutors have been working in coordination. Especially in urban areas there were group fights and conflicts among male youths. Now this has decreased as the work of justice office is coordinated with the police.

Sometime the justice bureau also works with the women's affairs bureau when they need its assistance and are addressing common issues. For instance when they want to teach people about laws, they work together. The justice bureau also works with the peace committees at both wereda and kebele levels.

### **Social court**

Wereda officials said that the justice bureau holds meetings with social court leaders twice a year; they advise them to work with religious leaders and community elders. The interaction between the justice office and the social court is weak since religious leaders have a greater role in resolving problems and people also prefer to go them rather than to the social court.

Kebele officials said the main roles of the social court include deciding on justice issues that are not solved by the kebele cabinet, resolving and settling the conflicts that arise between husbands and wives, deciding on problems related to material conflicts and referring cases that cannot be resolved at the kebele level to the wereda court.

Whereas previously the social court had the power to punish an individual with three months prison and up to 3000 birr, in 2008 their powers were reduced and they are not allowed to decide on cases above 1000 birr and requiring imprisonment. The social court now tends to consider cases related to money or property.

However, kebele officials suggested that they are not very effective since they are not aware about the laws of the country and afraid to pass decisions. Moreover, the members are not always available which contributes to delays in making decisions. They usually prioritise their own livelihood activities rather than working for the community's interest. Kebele officials suggested they would benefit from training and a clearer definition of their duties and responsibilities. They suggested they should be given a list of illegal actions with their respective punishments.

The kebele social court has three members including a chair, vice-chair and secretary. The first two are males and the secretary is a woman who is able to write in Amharic. In most cases they play the elders' role involving reconciliation.

Recently major causes of conflict have been related to searching for farming land because people are aware about the importance of land and they want to take arable land for future use and start to fence it, sometimes close to where other people reside. Disagreements arise about who the land belongs to and one party applies to the social court and the chair calls the other party with his or her witnesses. These cases are resolved by the social court and kebele chairman going to the site to investigate.

Theft cases are not often brought to the social court since they require concrete evidence and witnesses that are usually lacking. Though there has been an increase in the theft of sheep and goats, people do not like to represent their youngsters as thieves, and do not bring such cases to the social court but to elders who also find it difficult to resolve the cases but do not want them to be taken to the wereda. Likewise, marital cases tend not to be brought to the social court but are resolved by clan elders or leaders.

### **Land administration**

The chairman of the social court said that recently land cases are common, especially during the rainy season when people are eager to use rainfed agriculture and conflicts arise among them; there is also land in Ajotere zone which could be available for irrigation in the future that everybody is interested in and attempting to hold. One woman was recently accused of illegally enclosing land. The leader of the social court attempts to resolve the problems with the kebele chair by going to the site to investigate.

### **Elders and dispute resolution**

Kebele officials suggested that elders play a key role in dispute resolution. Kebele officials also send cases to be resolved by community elders, including cases between husband and wife, family members and neighbours. If the case is not resolved by elders, they refer it to the kebele stating the measures they took.

Although in the past elders dealt with all kinds of cases they are now strictly forbidden from being involved in resolving the issues of rape, early marriage or murder. If they do get involved in such cases their decisions are not acceptable. Wereda officials suggest that the elders are effective but compared with earlier times they refuse to be involved in dispute resolution as they are no longer as respected as they used to be.

The leader of the social court noted that in Karrayu culture conflict should be avoided and suppressed and even murder cases are resolved within the community through clan leaders and elders who play a crucial role in conflict resolution. There are no fixed community elders for all community members in the kebele but everybody has his/her own clan *gosa* leader or elder and their problems are resolved by them. Therefore court members are in contact with many *gosa* leaders and elders on various issues at different times.

### **Peace committee**

Wereda officials said that kebele peace committees mobilise and order the militia to areas where there are conflicts, theft and other societal problems and hold discussions with the community on peace matters. They also recruit militias and present them to the community to be voted into office.

Though the peace committees are working fairly effectively, there are several problems. First, since the communities are pastoralist the militia are not always available in the area, since they migrate in search of pasture and water which challenges the effectiveness of the peace committee. Second, though the peace committees are responsible for the community's peace and security, the wereda officials always push the kebele chair to be involved which increases the burdens on the role of the chair. Third, the kebele peace committee has no independent office to carry out their duties, which are in effect indirectly carried out by the kebele chair and manager.

The peace committee is the same as the security committee and has 21 members, the leader of the security committee, the commander, vice commander and 18 militias. All the members of the committee are party members. The committee works for the peace and security of the community, to resolve disputes in the community, to take offenders to justice, to protect the forests from being cut and also to engage in party and other development issues in the kebele.

For instance, the committee was involved in catching thieves who stole a car from Metahara on its way to Harar and sent them for justice. The chair of the committee who found out about the theft informed the wereda police head and the wereda administrator who assigned police forces to assist the militia to catch the thieves. Therefore, to some extent the committee is successful in keeping peace and security of the kebele.

However, there is a problem to organise and assign the militias to their duties. This is mainly because the militias are not paid and don't get any benefit and they have their own permanent livelihood activities which they prioritise. Therefore, there is an overlap of their main duties with the kebele

activities, which makes it difficult to assign them at any time. The head of the committee is himself a guard at the sugar factory and wants to resign as the work clashes with his job. He suggests there is a need to assign a budget for militias and to run other activities related to peace and security of the kebele. He complained that various meetings and trainings at the wereda take time and there is no per diem or transport allowance so that this affects his livelihood detrimentally.

### **Wereda court**

Wereda officials mentioned that the wereda court has only one judge who is not able to address high level criminal cases like abduction, rape, serious brutality, corruption, making forged documents, murder, etc. Such cases should be judged by three judges at the zone level. Consequently, people who have such kinds of case are exposed to extra expenses and some do not take their cases to the zonal court because they couldn't pay these costs.

Kebele officials said that the wereda court considers all the cases referred from the kebele court. They deal with land issues and family disputes. They also send wrongdoers to jail. However, they suggested that the wereda court is not effective and serving clients appropriately, and there were allegations that they work on the basis of bribes and favouritism. They suggested that the government should take measures to correct this problem.

The social court does not like to send cases to the wereda court because it is believed that the procedures involve corruption; it was alleged that if a person doesn't have money his case doesn't reach the court through the wereda police. Therefore they advise people not to go there, since they may face difficulties and have to spend extra money.

During the GTP training period people raised concerns about the way the wereda court was operating and allegations of bribery and corruption were made.

### **NGOs**

According to wereda officials there have been a number of NGOs operating in the wereda but their number has decreased as many left after constructing infrastructure for communities. The two most important ones that are currently active are Fantalle Wereda Children and Family Development Association (FCFDA) and the Pastoralist Community Development Project (PCDP) (in fact a World Bank project but locally it is often described as an NGO project).

FCFDA which was established by CCF when it stopped working in the area is working on children and family affairs. It provided training at the wereda on disease prevention and control and sanitation. It supports orphans and vulnerable children through providing them with educational materials and clothing, financing health expenses and providing school feeding to the kindergarten students. Currently, it supports about 310 children in the kebele. It also provides food such as grain and oil for children who are malnourished through their caregivers.

FCFDA also provides training and funding for six Community Conversation (CC) workers from the community to work on all health issues. They teach at coffee ceremonies with the budgets provided by FCFDA. They get refresher trainings every three months.

The wife of a political leader said she took part but the only relevant thing was the spraying of mosquitoes to prevent malaria. The wife in a successful household also said she took part and mentioned that the training included about STDs and HIV/AIDS as well as malaria and she was happy about what she learnt. She also received supplementary feeding (20 kg of fafa and 1.75 litres of oil twice a year) for her malnourished daughter.

FCFDA is planning to open a programme for orphans and took some women from Gelcha to Dire Dawa for experience sharing on orphans. One poor woman heading a household found the training useful and got given 300 birr as expenses. She hopes she will become an orphan carer if the project goes ahead.

The Pastoralist Community Development Project (which is a World Bank run project working through the wereda rather than an NGO as is it perceived by kebele officials) is involved in a range of activities in the wereda including water development, agricultural development, and building of schools. In its support to agriculture the project included providing two tractors, one each for nine kebeles.

In the Kebele PCDP was involved in constructing infrastructure, including the primary school, a shop for women organised in a cooperative, and providing credit for a livestock fattening cooperative involving 40 men and 40 women. The organisation has planned to construct drinking water for the community this year and the community have already contributed their share, with each household paying a contribution of 80 birr.

Previously Goal-Ethiopia and Care-Ethiopia have had projects in the area. Goal worked on women's empowerment by creating income-generating activities and sought to discourage HTPs affecting women and trained traditional birth attendants. Care was also involved in building water cisterns and promoting improved nutrition through sponsoring community based nutrition workers. Goal also provided training for traditional birth attendants and organised women to work on natural resource management through committees.

### **Community structures involved in implementation of government policies**

#### **General**

Community structures involved in implementation of government policies include elders, clan leaders, *gada* leaders and religious leaders. *Iddirs* are only involved in urban areas. The main area that the elders, clan leaders and religious leaders are involved in is primarily in dispute resolution within the community and between the community and the park and the community and the sugar plantation, as well as with neighbouring communities. However, community leaders are not meant to become involved in serious cases such as murder.

Another important area where the community structures have to some extent been included is in the fight against HTPs with the formation of a committee including elders, and headed by the *Aba Gada*. Elders and clan and *gada* leaders were also asked to be involved in voluntary testing for HIV/AIDS to act as models for the community. However, elders and customary leaders are not supposed to become engaged in matters that affect women's rights such as divorce and the rights of widows.

Another area where community structures are involved is in social protection of the vulnerable, especially orphans. Clans have a responsibility to support their members facing problems and support through the mosque for the destitute is also important particularly through feeding at times of festivities.

In addition to the clans and religious leaders, elders are also involved in various committees in the kebele structure such as the PSNP retargeting committee, education and health committees etc.

#### **Elders involvement in implementation of government policies**

The elders play a crucial role in dispute settlement not just within the kebele but also in disputes with neighbouring kebeles, and with the Awash National Park and the Metahara Sugar Estate.

One elder mentioned that he had participated in eight conflicts related to disputes over land with neighbouring kebeles. He also mentioned how the elders were able to resolve a case of unintentional manslaughter when a guard shot a boy entering a maize farm thinking he was an animal. The elders were able to negotiate with the parents and resolve the problem without taking it to the formal law courts. He mentioned that in rare cases individuals are simultaneously punished by the elders and the formal law, and gave an example of when a family refused to negotiate and the accused person was jailed for several years. At the end of his sentence he was also punished by

the elders, so the accuser received a blood price for a second time.

In 2008, there was a dispute between the community and Awash National Park, as community members let their cattle go into the park to graze during the dry season. The park tried to fine people 100 birr per animal. Negotiations were held involving elders and the *Abba Gada*. He said they were able to settle the dispute and a permanent committee of which the *Abba Gada* is the president was established with members from the Park officials and the community to solve problems.

A militia leader said that the previous year in a dispute between the park and the community a park official was killed. He was involved in trying to solve the dispute for a week and was absent from his job as a guard at the sugar plantation and was suspended. He took his case to the kebele chair and they went together to the wereda which wrote a letter to the plantation and he got his full salary and was reinstated without any punishment.

Elders and particularly the *Aba Gada* have also been involved in promoting messages against HTPs and about HIV/AIDS, by participating in voluntary testing. The *Aba Gada* is the chairman of the anti-HTP committee and there are also other elders involved.

#### **Iddir involvement in implementation of government policies**

In the towns in the wereda there has been some collaboration of government with *iddirs* along with NGOs such as CCF notably to help orphans. However, in Gelcha there are no *iddirs* though a number of households living close to the towns have joined *iddirs* in the towns.

#### **The Mosque's involvement in implementation of government policies**

The community is almost exclusively Muslim. According to a Muslim leader they have good relations with government and cooperate in development issues in the kebele in different aspects. The government also invites the religious leaders to participate in different discussions that focus on the development of the kebele. Through the mosque different development messages are delivered to the community.

A leader of the mosque mentioned delivering messages to the community to make them support orphans and vulnerable children, and to maintain peace and security of the kebele. Another Muslim leader said that they cooperate with government over development issues and that they also participated in the elections campaign. *We informed not only the community in the kebele but also we informed our contacts found in another area (Harar) by phone to vote for 'Bee' [the symbol of the EPRDF].*

The leader suggested that recently there has not been any specific development message delivered to the community, and no organised development project to help deprived people. However, the followers assist anyone who comes to the mosque for help particularly during the Muslim feasting period.

#### **Community contributions for the implementation of government policies**

According to wereda officials all community development projects involve community contributions in terms of cash/kind and voluntary labour. The Wereda Development Committee (WDC) and kebele purchasing and management committee decide the amount and kind of the contribution, either cash or kind (e.g. providing materials such as sand and stones or contributing livestock) or labour.

Other partner development organisations and NGOs in the area are also expected to become involved in assisting the community in terms of ideas, cash and/or labour throughout the implementation of a given project. For instance, the Pastoralist Community Development Programme (PCDP), carries out needs assessments and then made the community contribute about 40% of the total budget.

Ideally, all the community members are expected to contribute either in cash or labour or both

based on their financial as well as physical status. Those who are destitute or very poor may be exempted. For instance in the payment of 80 birr for the water installation about 75 of the 600 households did not contribute.

There are also certain cases when the community themselves decide the amount and the kind of their contribution. For instance, currently, the community are contributing to the regional Project (Oromia Development Association) voluntarily based on their interest and ability to afford to do so. Moreover, they also promised to contribute to the national project i.e., to the construction of Millennium Dam after they finish the contribution for Oromia Development Association.

### **Tax**

Kebele officials said that last year community contributions included the land tax, party membership fee, contributions contribution for the construction of drinking water and contribution to Oromia Development Association.

The kebele chairman who is responsible for the tax collection said the amount is decided by the wereda, that assigns the total quota expected from the kebele and then the kebele cabinet decides what amount an individual should pay depending on their wealth status.

The amount of tax has not changed much. For instance in 2006 the minimum was 25-30 birr. From 2007 until the present it has been 45 birr. The chairman gets the tax receipt pads from the wereda finance office and selects six individuals from the three zones to collect the tax for him. He collects tax at all times carrying the receipt book in his pocket. On handing over the completed receipt pads to the Wereda office he obtains 30 birr per pad of 50 leaves as an incentive.

Last year, the government requested Gelcha kebele to pay 17,000 birr tax. Accordingly, the money was shared among the members of the community based on their capacity to pay in other words the view of the wealth and socio-economic status. 45 birr was assigned to each household that had either irrigation or rainfed farming, except three individuals who had large irrigation farms (of up to 5 hectares) and paid 300 birr. Others who are poor and unable to pay were exempted from tax.

The kebele chairman said there have not been many complaints so far except by the three individuals who were paying 300 birr. The kebele told them to take the matter to the wereda which they did and the wereda supported the kebele's decision.

The tax is usually collected from September to April and is taken to the wereda finance office based on the receipts. The Kebele chairman said that so far he has not had any individual who refused to pay outright but there have been delays in payment. The wereda asked the kebele to send the list of individuals who refused to pay, but a warning that they would be jailed if they did not pay on time has been sufficient to ensure that all pay.

A rich respondent paid 45 birr for land measuring one *kert* (about ¼ of a hectare). He said paying land tax gave a household recognition by the government and those who do not pay are considered *shifita* outlaws. Likewise a middle income man said he also paid 45 birr. A poor man who is a pensioned guard from the sugar estate said he did not pay land tax as he does not have any land but he did pay for the drinking water and Oromia Development Association.

Both the successful woman and the poor woman heading households paid tax of 45 birr.

### **Other contributions in cash and kind**

Party contributions were 12 birr per household, and some households also contributed an additional amount for the party newspaper fee (two respondents mentioned 12 birr and one 4 birr).

For Oromia Development Association, the community contributed a minimum of 50 birr per household. According to the kebele chairman there were only a few poor individuals who were unable to pay who were exempted.

There was also a telethon organised to draw in additional money, and most who promised to donate livestock or cash kept their word though some have still not paid and the kebele has not taken any measure against them. There were many individuals who contributed additional payments in cash and kind (animals) willingly alongside the association membership fee of 12 birr. Moreover, some contributed in kind (camels, sheep, goats etc) as well or instead of cash voluntarily based on their ability to contribute.

One rich man said he contributed 250 birr for the telethon and an additional 12 birr membership fee. A middle wealth man said he donated a sheep, a rich woman a goat, and a poor man contributed 150 birr and the 12 birr membership fee.

The kebele officials were ordered to collect 30,000 birr. However, last year the kebele only collected 23,000 birr from the community. Therefore, it is expected for the community to contribute an additional 7,000 birr this year to meet the intended plan.

In order to construct drinking water, each member of the community contributed 80 birr and the Kebele have deposited a total of 41,252 birr in the bank. However, those who are destitute and unable to pay were exempted, who may be estimated to be about 70 households.

There was overlap of contributions that made the collection of the money difficult this year. The community was already contributing to the Oromia Development Association and paying tax and party fees when they were asked for the water contribution. On the other hand, PCDP (the donor organisation that assists and implements the project) gave a limited time for the kebele to collect all expected money from the community (41,252 birr). Therefore, the kebele took credit from another organisation and later the community replaced the money.

Some people from Ajotore zone which is far from the centre and others who were close to a water source near town at first refused to contribute but they were convinced to do so by the kebele leaders. Some people took loans from neighbours or friends or sold livestock to cover the expense.

One woman said that despite people managing to pay on time they still have not seen any water or heard anything further about it. A middle wealth woman said she having paid the land tax and party membership she was unable to pay for the water but she expects to have to soon.

### **Voluntary public works**

After the GTP training the community was organised to engage in development activities through their 1-5 networks. They fenced the school compound and carried out tree planting. The work was selected by the school committee and other kebele representatives. The community contributed labour and materials for construction of school fence and tree planting in the kebele.

All the households, except very old and impaired individuals, contributed labour. Several respondents mentioned working for 3-4 days on the school fence voluntarily. The fence enables trees and grass to be protected from animals and grow properly. The grass is usually sold by the community members so as to assist the financial needs of the school that otherwise come from the pocket of the community. The planted trees also serve as shade for the students when they grow.

Last year, watershed management, flood diversion and construction of a road from Dire-Red zone to Ajotore zone were done by the community through PSNP works. The activities were carried out from January to June 2011. The wereda and kebele officials were involved in choosing the project.

First the wereda official listed different projects for all the kebeles in the wereda so as to enable each kebele to select the best of them that fit its kebele. Then, having the list, the development committee selected the projects that fit Gelcha and the community was informed. Simultaneously, the development committee informed the public work organisers to facilitate the accomplishment of the project.

The work was divided based on zones. Each zone has one public works organiser who is responsible

to inform and ensure the participation of their respective zone. One of the organisers said he worked five days in a month last year from Friday-Tuesday from 9:00am-12:00pm. However, this year the programme has been amended and the community have worked two days a week (Saturday and Sunday). Three years ago he was paid 240 birr/month during the cash period and 115kg/month during the food period. However, since then the payment was stopped and the DA is expected to handle the job. However, since it was not being carried out properly participants volunteered to pay him 2 birr per month each and this continued for a year. However, since this year the community refused to pay him he is working for free.

This year maintenance of the road from Gelcha to Metahara was carried out with PNSP public works. This was selected by the development committee and was considered popular as it is a main road that connects the kebele with the urban centre and facilitates the use of horse carts and other vehicles.

## ***Social re/production***

### **Social institutions and organisations**

#### **Religions**

The community is almost exclusively Muslim. There is one Orthodox family of migrants from Wolencheti in Bosset wereda of Oromia. However, one of the sons has converted to Islam. There are also a few youth who have had contacts with Protestants in towns and there is a rumour that one young man and one young woman have converted.

However, customary religious practices associated with Oromo customary religion known as *Waqefana* are also important. Moreover, the *Gada* age grading rituals have been revived, and many people subscribe to both traditional and Islamic belief systems simultaneously.

In the past decade there have been Muslim preachers especially in-migrant *sheikas*, who have advocated a rejection of traditional religious practices and there has been a recent expansion of the Wahabi trend of Islam with some fundamentalist tendencies. This has led to changes in behaviour among some of the community members and some tensions between the traditional Muslim beliefs and those introduced by the Wahabi.

One of the mosque Imams who defended the traditional Islamic religious practices described how the tensions developed over the practice of daily prayer and the number of times people are meant to pray.

Two years ago there was a division of doctrine among Muslim religion followers that made many followers confused and created disagreement in the community. The new Muslim religion called 'wuhabi' preaches that prayer should be two times a day, and others also recommends bowing seven times per day while the old and the right religious practice preaches that the followers should bow five times a day. Now the problem is to some extent resolved and the community keeps to the old doctrine.

He said the Wahabi preachers had sent a false petition to the wereda administrator claiming they had the community's support. He discussed the matter with kebele officials who held a meeting with the community to see if they were aware of the petition. They had not heard of it and were angered by it. He therefore went with the kebele officials to the wereda administrator and the wereda Muslim Affairs office. Both offices had already investigated the matter and reached the truth, and advised him to proceed with his duties without any disturbance and the problem was resolved.

There are seven well known leaders of the Muslim community and two of these serve as leaders of the mosque. At the Eid celebrations up to 600 community members take part; about 40-50 people attend at the mosque for Friday prayers, and about 5-10 on other days.

One Imam of the mosque said that they have good relations with government and cooperate in development issues in the kebele in different aspects. The government also invites the religious

leaders to participate in different discussions that focus on the development of the kebele.

Another Imam said that the local government invites the religious leaders in rare cases to participate in different discussions that focus on the development of the kebele. He also mentioned that they participated in the elections and said *we informed not only the community in the kebele but also we informed our contacts found in another area (Harar) by phone to vote for 'Bee'*. However, recently there have not been any development messages delivered through the mosque, and there is no organised development project to help deprived people.

Muslim followers assist anyone who comes to the mosque to be helped particularly during the Muslim feasting period. Moreover, the mosque passes messages to the members to help deprived people.

There are religious connections with the mosques in Metahara and Addis Ketema and the religious leaders of the kebele provide religious education to the congregation in Metahara and Addis Ketema and vice versa. The mosque leaders said that though there are no other religions in the community the relations with other religions (e.g. Orthodox Christian, Protestant religion) found in the neighbouring town are good and smooth. However, there has been a rumour that a young man and a young woman converted to Protestantism and some parents expressed concerns that youth were exposed to different values in towns.

### Holidays

The major Muslim holidays and festivals and especially the Ramadan fasting period are occasions when the Muslim community provides alms to the poor. Previously traditional *waqefata* rituals of traditional Oromo religion were commonly celebrated. However, these practices have declined with the influence of the Muslim preachers. Now only a few people practice the ceremonies.

The major Muslim ceremonies notably Eid Mubarek and Eid Alfetir have become more important.

For Eid al Arafa the household of an important political leader slaughtered a sheep and prepared food and *chat* inviting neighbours, spending about 1000 birr which is more than they would have spent in the past since there has been food price inflation.

The male head of a middle wealth household said his household prepared food (rice) and *chat* and invited the neighbours and passers-by. For the holiday he also bought clothes for his children. He sold a goat to cover the expenses, spending about 500 birr for the celebration.

At the same time as Muslim preachers have been advocating stricter adherence to the faith, the *Gada* ceremonies and particularly the age-set rituals have seen a resurgence and become very important; since the coming to power of the EPRDF the generation transfer ritual *Gebella* has become the most important celebration. *Rubo* is celebrated every two years in the rainy season. The *Gebella* handing over of power between age-sets (*tuta*) every eight years has been celebrated with increasing prominence. At the ceremony traditionally male circumcisions are performed on the age-set taking over authority. The two moieties celebrate their *Gebella* ceremonies a year apart. Dulecha being the senior moiety last celebrated the transfer from the Dirmeji age-set to the Melba age-set in 2011 and Basso celebrated their transfer in 2012. The *Gebella* in 2012 happened just after the fieldwork period and a 'pre-preparation ceremony' which happens six years after the *Gebella* was carried out two years ago.

The *Gada Gebella* celebration this year was carried out in great style and the *Aba Gada* was involved in collecting funds for the occasion. There were some concerns about the group circumcision due to the alleged risk of spreading HIV/AIDS, and the health centre provides modern blades and a health worker for the occasion. Some households no longer wait for the *Gebella* to carry out male circumcisions and some youth took the decision themselves to be circumcised at the health centre, suggesting this aspect of the ritual is being rejected and there were suggestions that the circumcision was only carried out in a symbolic manner.

The only Orthodox Christian household celebrates the feast of Meskel at home; one of the household head's brothers came the last time from their home area and they celebrated preparing *tella* beer, bread, coffee and *injera*, inviting neighbours, but not slaughtering a goat or sheep as they used to since they can no longer afford to do so.

### **Marriage, divorce, widowhood**

According to wereda officials there is a high prevalence of early marriage in the wereda, with girls generally marrying between 12 and 15 years old and parents fearing that a girl not married by 15 will become a burden. The government and NGOs have been involved in advocating against marriage before the legal age of 18 and with the girls' consent. However, officials suggested that though people seem to agree with this in practice they continue practising early marriage.

There seems to be some improvement in reduction of early marriage in Gelcha. Among the three women in their 30s two got married at 14 and one at 18 based on their families' decisions. Among the women in their 20s the rich woman was married at 18; the middle wealth woman is engaged to her boyfriend who is a DA; and the poor woman married the man who was her boyfriend from the age of 16 after he sent elders to her mother. None of the teenagers aged 16-17 are yet married, though one has a boyfriend. However, a teacher suggested that some parents still try to marry off their daughters young and organise the weddings during the rainy season break to avoid interference from teachers, and she gave the example of two girls who were married off the previous rainy season.

The government has not taken serious actions against offenders since they are reluctant to enforce the rules and laws, for fear of conflicts. The wereda officials believe that further advocacy and education of children is needed. Though according to the law young people should be allowed to choose their own marriage partners, in practice often parents chose marriage partners and law enforcement is not functional.

Respondents in Gelcha suggested that people decide on the age of marriage by looking at their children's physical maturity and seeing when girls grow up fast and start to grow breasts.

Abduction is not considered by wereda officials to be a serious problem and is much less common than early marriage. However the officials mentioned that there have been some instances including a case where a man wanted to marry his dead wife's sister, but she was unwilling and reported the matter to the women's affairs office. The wereda administrator was informed and sent the police. However, when they reached the site the abductors had guns and threatened the police, who informed the wereda administration. He told them to desist and the abductors proceeding with the girl to their home. One respondent blamed the wereda administrator who is Karrayu suggesting that he did not want to take serious action as he supported the traditional practices.

The government has tried to prohibit polygamy so that if a man wants to marry again he should divorce his first wife and share the property. However, polygyny still persists and women do not come to the wereda to complain. According to Karrayu culture when a man dies his brother inherits his wife and the property. The government and NGOs have been trying to promote change regarding this as a harmful traditional practice but little has been done to enforce laws.

Gelcha respondents said that traditionally a boy's family would slaughter a bull at the time of marriage. His family and clan would provide female animals as bridewealth which could include camels, heifers, goats or sheep depending on their wealth. According to tradition the bridewealth should comprise eight cattle.

However, nowadays the amount of bridewealth has decreased as people are poorer and what is given depends on people's wealth, though there should be at least one or two cows or heifers as it is a taboo not to give anything to the bride's parents. The groom would also provide cash and clothes for the bride and he should sell a camel for her and visit prior to the ceremony, which was

traditionally known as *rako* but has been changed to *nika* to conform to sharia law. The bride's family do not provide livestock but household equipment and cash and special food known as *gumach* made from barley and butter on the wedding day.

A rich woman suggested that there are no interventions relating to marriage. The only change has been that the amount of *gebera* bridewealth has been decreasing since people are no longer as wealthy as they used to be. The marriage procedure involves elders coming to the prospective bride's father with gifts of *chat* and if he will postpone a decision and consult with her and his family and if she agrees they prepare porridge *gumach* and milk. They receive six cows and 600 birr as *gebera* bridewealth, and when the daughter comes back with her husband and friend after 15 days a goat is slaughtered. Her parents provide all the house equipment for their daughter such as *kori* bowls, baskets, butter containers *buke dhedha*, hides and modern equipment such as kettles and plastic items. A middle wealth woman said her son had married last year and she paid three cows to his parents-in-law. A bull was slaughtered and food prepared.

Wereda officials said that both marriage to the dead husband's brother and wife's sister are still in practice, both in the interests of the man, backed up by the clan. Even a girl whose marriage partner dies before the marriage should be married by his brother, or if he does not have one by another male relative. Any child is named after the deceased husband. Officials suggested that even though women are becoming aware of their legal rights, they are unable to challenge the customary laws governed by the clan.

However, currently there is a tendency of inherited widows to divorce their deceased husband's brother who inherited them, if they sell the livestock for their own purposes impoverishing her household.

There have been cases of women complaining to their clan and if the husband who inherited them does not desist the clan allows them to divorce. However, they are not supposed to remarry as if they do they would be discriminated against and considered as prostitutes. For instance one woman whose husband died ten years ago was inherited by her husband's brother. She separated from him five years ago and lives with her children and is involved in irrigated farming.

Apart from such cases of inherited wives divorce is forbidden and hardly happens. One 30 year old woman who married in another village as a second wife was abused by her husband who married a third wife. On one occasion when her husband was beating her he inflicted damage to her eye and her brothers persuaded her to seek a divorce. She went to the wereda women's affairs office and with their backing took the case to the wereda court, which, however, sent the case back to community elders. Their view was that divorce and sharing property is not customary among the Karrayu and they suggested that if she cannot live with him she should simply leave and go to her family possibly leaving him the children. Her family agreed and her brothers promised to help her raise her three children and the kebele chairman gave her land at Arboye village in Gelcha. She divorced eight years ago and started earning a living by selling wood and charcoal but she suffered from backaches and headaches. With the help of her brothers she started trading at the market and from her home including livestock trade and has gradually improved her livelihood.

### Death ceremonies

In the past mournings took a long period and involved gifts of food from mourners but currently people contribute in cash as well as in kind to the bereaved family. When women come they bring food and men bring some money. However, there are not big expenses involved as the Karrayu do not spend a lot of energy and resources on death.

A widow said she spent 1,500 birr for a bull and 300 birr for a sheep, and a further four sheep were slaughtered for the death memorial day (*sedeka*). She also spent around 2,000 birr for food and other consumptions goods for the death ceremony which was received from neighbours, friends and relatives. She spent about 400 birr to certify her right to receive her deceased husband's pension

from the sugar factory where he worked.

### **Inheritance**

Wereda officials suggested that the land certification which is starting to be implemented in the wereda will give proper inheritance rights to children and protect wives' and daughters' rights.

Customarily when parents die the livestock are given to sons. No new inheritance law has been implemented but the existing law allows for land to be passed on, and widows and divorcees to claim land.

Nowadays increasingly there is an awareness of equal rights to inherit parents' wealth; one woman accused her brother and tried to get her share of property but her brother refused to share the wealth.

Community respondents said there was no new inheritance law and land is communally owned with no strict sense of private property, though private enclosures are becoming more common for irrigated and rain-fed agriculture and grazing.

### **Dispute resolution**

The Karrayu try to avoid conflicts and stress solidarity, and there are strong customary rules and enforcement mechanisms. The clan can punish a son if he mistreats or does not respect his parents. If the parents cannot impose discipline the father goes to the clan elders who advise the son and if he refuses to obey clan members come with sticks to beat him. His hands and legs may be tied with a rope and if his offence is serious he may be dipped into the Awash River after being beaten and though he is not killed he may be severely beaten. Clan punishments if an adult commits a mistake may involve members coming to the person's house and choosing an animal to slaughter and eat as a punishment.

To resolve conflict with the neighbouring people (the Afar, Amhara and Argobba) elders from both sites and government discuss the case and negotiate; however though this solves the problem at the time and they agree not to come into conflict again the peace often does not last and fighting and killing resume. As a result elders no longer want to participate in dispute resolution and advise youngsters to desist or be strong enough to defeat their enemies. The problem still persists and the government does not seem to be taking it seriously. One of the elders mentioned the following saying "*if three persons aren't able to lift up a fallen cow, they want to eat its meat*", meaning that the government has the potential to stop the conflict, but may have reasons not to intervene and let them fight it out.

The *Aba Gada* has a very important role in dispute resolution and is the chair of a permanent committee to resolve problems between the Awash Park authorities and the Karrayu over livestock grazing in the park area during the dry season.

### **Customary organisations**

#### **Clans and lineages**

The clan system is very important among the Karrayu. There are two moieties: Basso and Dulecha which traditionally had their own territories. Within each moiety there are a number of clans and descent is reckoned through the father's line. Each clan has one or more leaders who are appointed by the members. Clan members used to live together, celebrated social events together and helped one another in need.

A clan leader mentioned as an example the case of a child from his clan who injured the eye of another child with a stick while they were playing. The clan contributed money and livestock and took the injured child to Adama Hospital for treatment covering all the expenses. Unfortunately, the child lost the eye and the clan started to negotiate with the clan of the injured child through elders to resolve the conflict. The elders decided on compensation of 6,000 birr and one camel for the

affected clan. The clan of the child again contributed money and livestock and paid the compensation and resolved the problem. Altogether for medication and compensation the clan paid about 12,000 birr to the clan of the injured child, which was given to his family.

Clan leaders play an important role in mobilisation clan members to resolve problems. Clan exogamy means that people must marry from the opposite moiety. However, there have been changes in residence patterns and marital rules. With population increase and migration the territories are no longer clearly distinct and people from the two moieties lives mixed together. Clan marriage rules are also less strong and Karrayu youngsters especially among the educated are beginning to choose their own partners and some even marry non Karrayu.

According to a clan leader relations between the clans and the government are mixed. On the one hand the government encourages clan leaders to participate in development activities and respects the decisions made by the clans to resolve disputes. For instance in a murder case, if the case is handled through the respective clans and the dispute is resolved peacefully after the blood money is settled, the government appreciates the role of the clans and may not interfere with the decision, unless it is also brought to the courts, in which case there is a potential problem of double justice. However, on the other hand, if the clans beat offending members in order to restrain them and discourage them from repeating offences the government is against this on the grounds that it violates individual rights.

### **Elders**

There is no elders committee but there are important elders who are called upon to resolve disputes within the kebele and also between the community and others and in some cases disputes with the Awash Park and the Metahara sugar plantation. One elder mentioned that he was involved in eight disputes resolution cases with neighbouring kebeles within the past year over land issues. He feels that the traditional dispute resolution is often preferable to going to the formal law since cases can be resolved rapidly and reconciliation can be achieved. He mentioned a case of an accidental murder when a guard shot what he thought was an animal going in a maize field that turned out to be a boy. The elders resolved the case through traditional blood money compensation without taking it to the formal system and the two parties are living together peacefully.

### **Community-specific organisations – Gada**

The *Gada* institution is an age-based organisation which used to have important political as well as social roles. The men are organised into age sets that go through initiations together. The ruling age set holds power for a period of eight years and the transfer of power to the next age involves important ceremonies. The *Gada* system is led by the *Abba Gada* who is an important ritual figure who is involved in dispute resolution.

### **Iddir**

There are no *iddirs* in Gelcha traditionally and funeral and mourning expenses are covered by women mourners bringing food and men sometimes some cash. However, some Gelcha residents with connections with the town of Addis Ketema have joined *iddirs*. One of these involves a payment of 6 birr every 15 days and 12 birr when a member is assisted. The *iddir* provides 3,000 birr at the death of a member or spouse, 1,500 birr for the death of a child, 400 if a guest dies and 500 if a relative dies elsewhere. The *iddir* also provides equipment for the mourning period.

Another *iddir* involves a contribution of 5 birr every two weeks, and provides 2,000 birr on death of the member or spouse, 400 for a child, and 300 for a relative, as well as providing equipment and a tent.

One woman said she belonged to an *iddir* in town but also contributed in the village about five birr at the time of death for the family of the deceased to make coffee and also contributed labour until the end of the ceremony. A woman whose husband died received 2,000 birr from his *iddir* in Addis

Ketema and neighbours contributed 10 birr.

A new *iddir* was apparently established in the village 3 months ago.

### **Iqqub and other savings**

Some households in Gelcha who are employed in the sugar estate as guards have joined *iqqubs* with employees.

One man said he contributes 125 birr every fifteen days. He received the *iqqub* money which came to 4,600 birr and the next time he will receive 5,000 birr as he increased his contribution from 100 to 125 birr. He bought about 8 sheep with the money and sold them for a profit.

### **Muslim festivals**

Muslim celebrations such as Mawlid, Eid al Fatir and Eid Mubarak are celebrated annually.

An important leader mentioned that five years ago during the Eid feasting period, the mosque slaughtered sheep and provided meat for the community members. It also distributed clothes for the community.

For Eid al Arafa the household of an important political leader slaughtered a sheep and prepared food and *chat* inviting neighbours, spending about 1000 birr which is more than they would have spent in the past since there has been food price inflation.

A middle wealth household said they prepared food (rice) and *chat* for the Eid festival and invited the neighbours and passers-by. For the holiday he also bought clothes for his children, selling a goat to cover the expense, which came to about 500 birr. He said this was more than he would have spent previously because of the market inflation has been affecting the price of consumable goods.

### **Mehaber**

There is only one Orthodox Christian family and no *mehabers* in Gelcha.

### **Meskel feast organisations**

There is only one Christian household that celebrates meskel inviting relatives and neighbours.

### **Local informal security regime**

Households receive assistance from neighbours and kin and in some cases such as for marriage and death and misfortune from the clan.

The household of the important male leader regularly cooperates with neighbours. He suggested that the cooperation had been strengthened through the establishment of the 1-5 networks in 2010. There is cooperation on farm work, house building and to make animal kraals, and they share farm implements, and help each other in times of crisis, death, marriage, celebrations and festivals.

Heads of other households gave similar responses, though a poor male household head who is a migrant in the area suggested that cooperation was not as strong these days and there was some exclusion based on ethnicity and area of origin; he also suggested that the 1-5 networks and the *iddir* are becoming more important for social support rather than clan membership.

An economically successful man supported two students from his clan facing financial problems when they joined university for two years with living and transport expenses.

The household of a rich respondent helped his brother twice after two wives died in succession. With other brothers they gave him 8 cattle. One man said that when one of his neighbours died his wife had to look after five children. The clan and neighbours assisted her providing grain and food until one of her sons who was at university was able to find a job and begin assisting the family.

### New community-initiated organisations

An *iddir* was established in the community three months before the fieldwork began.

### Key social actors and their networks

#### Government employees

##### Kebele manager

The kebele manager is 26 and has a 12+1 certificate and was appointed in 2007. He had previously worked for various organisations including NGOs such as Goal and Care Ethiopia, and the Metahara sugar factory, and had a good salary but resigned to become kebele manager in the hope that he would obtain educational opportunities.

He is involved in various activities including writing different recommendation letters for the community members when the need arises, documenting and filing various outgoing and incoming letters from and to the kebele, arranging meetings and writing minutes for the kebele chair on the meetings, controlling attendance for DAs and health extension workers (but not teachers), report writing for the wereda about the activities in the kebele and addressing different government programmes and messages to the wider community in collaboration with other kebele workers.

His working hours are meant to be from 8:30 am to 12:30 pm and then from 1:30 pm to 5:30pm five days a week. He says he works more than eight hours a day for the whole week as there is a heavy work burden. Wednesday is officially the day to provide services to kebele members in the morning. He gets a salary of 1,014 birr per month.

The major problems with his job include: 1) lack of water, electricity, housing or transport for the manager. He therefore lives in the town of Addis Ketema which is about 5km away and commutes by foot; 2) There is no transport assigned to the kebele and it is difficult to go to the various villages on foot to deliver different messages and carry out other work which is tiresome and challenging; 3) There is a lack of literate personnel. All the kebele delegates cannot read and write (except for the government extension workers), increasing the burden on him; 4) there is a shortage of stationary materials. Even though the budget is posted for the community at the kebele level, the kebele never manages and runs it. When the kebele requests materials, the wereda purchases second-hand and lower quality products, which are not durable and there are allegations that the saved money is misappropriated; 5) He has not been able to benefit from on the job training to improve his skills and performance. He therefore wants to work only until he can find other options.

If he obtains an educational opportunity he will resign without hesitation. He also feels that the wereda officials do not acknowledge his hard work and discourage rather than encourage him. He says he works closely with the kebele chair and, if they need to, they take matters to the community or the wereda administrator depending on the case.

##### DA Crops

The DA for crops is 28 and comes from another kebele in the same wereda and has been in Gelcha for four years. He has a 10+3 diploma and was appointed in 2007. Though he had some interest in agriculture he took the job mainly 'for survival'. He said the DAs distribute the work by zone rather than specialisation and help each other when there is a work burden in a particular location. He is supposed to work ideally from 8:30 am to 5:00 pm five days a week but in fact says he works from 11:00 am to 1:00 pm as there is not much work to do. He gets a monthly salary of 1,359 birr.

In addition to his work as DA he is also assigned to assist the kebele chair in collecting taxes and other contributions such as party fees etc. If he faces a problem he consults with kebele officials and the community and goes to the wereda for advice if needed. For instance when the wind blew away the roof of the FTC he reported to the wereda and the supervisor brought new iron sheets.

The main problem he mentioned was that though he had graduated in crops he is obliged to work

on natural resource management and livestock and other work, making him dissatisfied and forget what he learnt. Also he said that the community is not very interested in farming and refuse to accept what he teaches. For instance he said he tried to teach people about compost production but the community do not use it. He is currently taking a BSc. in crop production during the rainy season and intends to resign after his graduation and look for another job. Some community members felt that he was not a strong worker and does not make enough farm visits.

#### **DA Livestock**

The DA livestock is 27 and comes from another kebele in the same wereda. He has been there for two years. As the Development Agents were transferred to another area a month prior to the fieldwork and the new ones had been assigned but not yet arrived, it was not possible to interview the livestock DA. Some community people suggested he was not a strong worker and was not going out enough to visit households.

#### **Veterinarian officer**

There was no vet assigned to Gelcha.

#### **DA NRM**

There was no DA for NRM assigned to Gelcha.

#### **School director**

The head teacher is 28; she had a diploma in Amharic language from a college and fulfilled criteria for the vacancy as a teacher; she first got a job in another kebele in 2004 and moved to Gelcha in 2005 but only became a temporary head teacher last year. She gets a monthly salary of 1,571 birr.

She works eight hours on working days and on Saturday, every 15 days she participates in "cell" (party) meetings, as she is the head of the teachers' party cell members. Because of shortage of teachers she spends most of her time teaching and reports to the wereda education office quarterly or when she is asked to give information at any time. She prepares school plans for the quarterly, half year and annual plan, and then she monitors and evaluates teachers to ensure they follows that plan.

She participates in kebele meetings and trainings to keep the good relations between the people and the school. She also talks with parents of children who are frequently absent from the class, etc. A problem related to her work is that the wereda calls her for frequent meetings and sometimes she is expected to participate in kebele meetings, etc. affecting her teaching and relations with parents.

She has been on trainings by FCFDA about students and children's issues, HIV and gender issues etc. She participates in community issues such as the polio vaccination campaign, the latrine and sanitation programmes, and development issues at kebele meetings. She has no relatives in the area.

She would like here position as school director to be confirmed so that she can get the salary and benefits she feels she deserves.

#### **Primary school teacher**

The teacher is 24 with a 10+3 diploma in natural sciences. He gets a monthly salary of 1006 birr. He teaches 5 days a week from 8:00 am to 12:15 pm. He teaches grade 4 in all subjects and organises the HIV/AIDS club in the school. He is a member of the PTA.

He feels that the shift system is a problem as students and he himself get tired due to the heat, particularly during the afternoon shift. He feels the school is relatively well furnished as it is supported by Fantalle Children and Family Development Association. However, there is a lack of books, and many are torn or have missing pages and have to be shared. He feels that the students are well behaved and respect teachers and there are not many deviant children, who are

immediately punished and improve their behaviour. He provides tutorials for weak students.

He feels the attitude of parents towards education is good and only a few do not send their children to school. The main problems are a shortage of teachers, leading to a high burden on the existing teachers, the self-contained teaching programme, and the drinking water problem. He only became a teacher to earn a living. He came from Arsi zone and does not have relatives in the area and would like to change profession.

The female teacher is 26 and had a 10+1 certificate and was appointed in 2008. She has a salary of 1,600 birr. In addition to teaching she works as a librarian. She says she punishes students who come late by making them collect litter and watering plants in the compound. She says the attendance has been increasing, especially girls. However, some run away during rest times to look for water and something to eat. She says students are often careless, and some boys abscond to eat sugar cane or *kurkura* wild fruits. Girls started to cover their hair and face following the example of a girl who had spent a summer in Harar, they are also reluctant to sing their cultural songs saying it has been forbidden by the Sharia law and boys are reluctant to wear trousers.

She said some parents try to marry off their girls to avoid teachers' 'interference' for them to continue at school, and two girls were married last rainy season. When they followed up with parents who are not sending their children to school at the beginning of the year some of them abused her.

For teachers conditions are difficult without water and electricity, and she often has long hours to complete the administration and serving as librarian. She is following a distance diploma course at Metu during the summer programme for the last two years after the school gave her a certificate praising her achievements.

She has taken trainings in student management and community development at the kebele and wereda. She worked in collaboration with the HEWs on campaigns about latrines and HTPs. She commutes from Metahara on foot to save money and often misses lunch and has suffered from malaria, having an extra work burden to catch up missed classes. She does not have family or relatives in the area and has close contact with the school director and education committees, and the PTA or school board.

#### **Health Centre head**

No interview was carried out.

#### **Health Extension Worker 1**

She is 28 from the community and completed grade 10 in 2006 but her grades were too low to continue to preparatory school or join a private college. A kebele official sent her on a health extension package training programme as she was the only woman who completed grade 10 at the time. She took the training for 10 months and was appointed to another kebele in 2007 and to this area in 2008. She has also taken various trainings through government and NGOs including on polio, malaria as well as refresher courses.

She participates in kebele meetings and helps the women's cooperative as a secretary. She has frequent interaction with wereda officials especially the two who are assigned to the kebele as supervisors, one male from the health office and a woman from the women and children's affairs office.

#### **Health Extension Worker 2**

She is 25, and completed grade 10 and was idle since her performance was not good enough to continue with her education, and her father was killed in a conflict between the Karrayu and the Awash national park so her family could not afford to send her to a private college. When the vacancy was announced for the HEWs she got the chance. She came to Gelcha from another kebele

last year. She had taken trainings in PMCT and RDT in Nazareth and this year in ICCM about curative health services for under-fives. She spends three days teaching monitoring and advising people on the health extension packages, and two days (Mondays and Thursdays) in the health post preparing weekly, fortnightly and monthly reports and serving community members. She gets a gross salary of 908 birr and receives 727 birr net.

She sometimes helps with kebele work when the manager is not present and assists the women's association in writing during collection of monthly contributions. She does not have family members with roles in the kebele. She has close relations with the wereda health official responsible for the kebele. During her door to door work kebele officials accompany her to ensure that she is respected and people collaborate.

Problems related to her work include lack of facilities to stay in the site with no house and water, requiring her to commute, spending money and getting tired, and also shortage of stationery. She gets blamed if she is tired and not at her job and is unhappy with the work and wants to resign. She feels that there were biases and that officials gave better positions and education opportunities for others with less work experience than she had.

### **Community policeman**

The wereda has started assigning community policemen with one in each of the eight kebeles neighbouring conflict areas and one for two to three kebeles in other areas. There are none so far in Gelcha.

### **Savings and credit organiser**

There were none available.

### **Kebele office-holders recruited from within the community (and recent changes)**

#### **Kebele chairs**

The kebele chairman is 39 and has not been to school. He was appointed in 2006 as chairman and is also involved in informal dispute resolution. He organises and follows up on all development activities including on education, health, peace and security. He was told to work three days a week from 8:30am to 5:30pm, but usually works more without fixed times, and does not get a salary.

He does not want to continue as chair as this affects his work as a guard at the sugar factory and his own livestock rearing and it involves him in confrontations with the community when he orders them to engage in various development activities. He feels the position should involve a salary as compensation for the time devoted to the work.

When he faces issues he first tries to resolve them in the community. For instance last year during the GTP training he was too busy with kebele affairs to construct a kraal for his livestock. He discussed the matter with neighbours who did it for him without his having to be present.

If he is unable to solve matters at the kebele level he takes the matter to the wereda administrator. For instance he received repeated appeals concerning the water problem which he raised with the administrator who found a budget from PCDP and suggested that the community also contribute. He then organised community contributions and they were able to raise the requested amount.

#### **Vice chair**

The vice chair is 24 and was appointed in March 2011 against his wish. He has completed grade 10. He carries out all the activities of the chair in his absence. He follows up on activities carried out in each of the zones, delivering government messages and addressing clients' needs. He also collaborates with professionals involved in health and other development issues. He works three days a week from 8:00 am to 1:00 pm, but does not get a salary.

In addition to being vice-chair he also designs and prepares the traditional irrigation ditches for the

community, a skill he learnt from his father who used to do so before his death. The kebele work sometimes conflicts with his own livelihood activities. Moreover, the extension workers are often not in their offices and don't work closely with the community so that he has to take on their work as he can read and write, increasing the burden on him.

To improve things he thinks extension workers should be made to stay in their work places and work closely with the grassroots community. They should let him know their schedules so that he can arrange things to fit in with his own visit and avoid overlapping duties.

He is currently supporting his brother who is studying vocational education and he wants to upgrade his education after his brother graduates and would like to resign his position as vice chair since it involves a lot of work and no payment.

He consults elders for problems he faces. For instance there are two days allocated for community development work. However, one individual refused to participate and he informed the elders who advised the man who then began to participate. He also consults the chairman when he faces problems. For instance a week earlier a woman fenced a plot of land without the Kebele's permission and he told her to desist. However, she refused so he reported to the chairman to write a letter to call her to the office. She was given the letter with an appointment for the following week.

#### **Kebele council chair**

He is 34 and was appointed a year ago after the GTP training. He is available for consultations once a week on Wednesday mornings. He organises and leads meetings of the council and as needed with the cabinet and development committees, and evaluates development activities carried out in the kebele together with members of other concerned bodies.

He does not get paid or get any other benefits and there is a conflict when there is an overlap in timing with his work as a guard at the sugar factory. He would therefore like to be relieved of his position leading the council, and says there are times when trying to get council members to attend gets him into conflicts with community members.

#### **Wereda councillors**

Two persons were selected as councillors but have still not been involved in meetings. The woman councillor is 40 and was appointed nine months ago; she was selected by kebele officials as she is an active participant in kebele meetings and works in various capacities including as a volunteer health promoter, a *gare* leader and a member of the PSNP retargeting committee.

She said the wereda office called councillors of 18 kebeles for training twice about the duties and responsibilities of the job for three days. They were told they had power over all activities done in the kebele and can evaluate the performance of kebele officials. The report should be sent to the wereda councillors' office through the kebele manager. However, in practice none of this has been implemented and there is no salary or benefit associated with the work; she has not had any interaction with the kebele or wereda officials relating to the job since the training.

#### **Political party appointee**

The vice chair of the party is 28 and has not had any formal schooling. He was appointed in 2007 by the party members. He is a guard in the sugar factory and he is involved in dispute resolution and his father is a respected elder. He is the chair of a cell in Ajotere. He arranges different discussions and delivers government messages to the party members. He also provides trainings with other leaders about the party based on training they took at the wereda level and also propagate the objectives of the party to the wider community so as to make them members. He has regular meetings with the party leaders on Wednesday and Fridays except when this overlaps with his work as a guard. Most of the time, the meetings are carried out from 9:00am-12:00pm. He does not get a salary or any benefit for the service.

The only problem he faces is with the overlap with his guarding duties. If a problem arises he first consults the kebele chair and the kebele council leader. Sometimes when the party meetings overlap with his duties he asks to be excused. At the time of the Growth and Transformation training in the kebele he asked the wereda to write a letter to his employers to get permission to attend the 15 days of training. He is happy to continue working in his party work as long as the members want to hold the position since he wants to serve his community through the party.

#### **Women's Association leader**

There is no women's association active in Gelcha.

#### **Women's League leader**

She is 42 and was selected three years ago by kebele officials when the league was established. She said almost all women contributed 50 cents for membership which was collected by her and the kebele manager. She does not know what happened to the money.

Apart from the initial training there has not been any wereda interaction relating to her job. Training was also given to community members to create awareness. However, she had not implemented what she was taught since she has not had any support about how to start her work. She has not been to school, but has taken trainings with other women league leaders at the wereda about the aims. She is a member of the women's shop cooperative leadership in charge of controlling their activities, and is a member of the development committee of her zone.

#### **Youth Association/Federation leader**

He is 22 and was appointed in 2007 by kebele officials as head of the federation and also worked as leader of the youth league. He has completed grade 9 and is also the public works organiser. When appointed he was informed by the wereda officials that his role was to have discussions with different cooperatives to identify their problems and resolve their problems in consultation with concerned bodies. He was informed that he would work four days a week from 9:30am to 1:30 pm. He tried to do so in 2009 and but the activities came to a halt. He did not get any salary or benefit but only per diems for training at the wereda.

The main problem is that he and other youth do not know much about the youth organisations and what they are expected to do and the wereda has not followed up. There is no youth association and the youth league has 30 members, 10 of whom are women.

#### **Tax collector**

The kebele chairman is also responsible for the tax collection. He said the amount is decided by the wereda, that assigns the total quota expected from the kebele and then the kebele cabinet decides what amount an individual should pay depending on their wealth status.

The amount of tax has not changed much. For instance in 2006 the minimum was 25-30 birr. From 2007 until the present it has been 45 birr. The tax is collected from April to September. The chairman gets the tax receipt pads from the wereda finance office and selects six individuals from the three zones to collect the tax for him. He collects tax at all times carrying the receipt book in his pocket. He collects tax at public meetings and in his office. On handing over the completed receipt pads to the Wereda office he obtains 30 birr per pad of 50 leaves for refreshments.

He would prefer if the government could assign someone else to do the work as he has a lot of other duties to accomplish as chairman. He works closely with the finance office receiving the receipt pads from them and handing over the money to them. The only problem he faces is people delaying paying; he did not discuss this with the wereda since he assumes they are aware of the problem.

#### **Social court leader**

The head of the social court is 50 and was selected by kebele officials two years ago. He has not

been to school and has not had training regarding the work as leader of the social court but is familiar with the work since he has served as kebele chair and vice chair in the past. He reports to the kebele chair orally or in writing. Though he does not have his own office every Wednesday is a working day at the kebele office. He does not get any salary, rewards or other benefits but is happy to be serving his community and feels he is trusted since he belongs to the community.

The social court has no interaction with the wereda court. He suggests that if the wereda court could improve its practice and avoid ill-treating people the social court would change its mind and might have good relations with them. He also suggested that training about the job could be useful for the social court members.

#### **Land administration chair**

There has not been any land distribution in Gelcha so far, though in the future when the irrigation scheme reaches the site this will become an issue.

#### **Development group leader**

She is 40 and was appointed last year. She collects the *gare missoma* contributions of 5 birr every 15 days starting five months ago. She received training at the kebele provided by wereda officials about the goals and targets of the work for a week. She organised people when the wereda came to provide training about how pastoralists should shift to agriculture and how they should participate in group work, and acquire breed cattle.

The *gare* has a chair person, vice-chair, secretary, cashier and members. The duties of the leaders are to control the daily activities of the network groups, call them for meetings every fifteen days to discuss the development work (agricultural activities), and receive daily and weekly reports from 1-5 group leaders to report to zone leaders or unit extension and simultaneously to the kebele chair. There is no reward or remuneration for the work.

She said there was not much activity since there is no water to engage in agricultural activities and the role is more on providing information to people and calling them to meetings. She tends to go directly to the Kebele chairman if she wants something as the zonal structure is not functioning. She is also a wereda councillor and a volunteer health promoter.

#### **Security committee leader**

Same as Militia leader below. The security committee has 21 members, the leader of the security committee, commander, vice commander and 18 militias.

#### **Militia leader**

The head of the militia is 40 years old and was appointed in 2005 having been elected by the community. He has no formal education and also assists with tax collection and is an elder in the community. He is a guard at the sugar factory. He organises and prepares working schedules for the militia, orders the militia to arrest individual offenders and bring them to the kebele office and police, if the case is serious.

He is also involved in guarding with the militias, participates in meetings as one of the kebele cabinet members to discuss the peace and security of the kebele and related issues. There is no fixed time for the job. It varies based on the cases that are brought to him. Ideally, Wednesday from 8:30am-5:30pm is a fixed day to provide service to the members of the community. However, he has worked many days based on the assignment from the wereda. There are many trainings from the wereda held irregularly that keep him busy. He does not get any salary or benefit for the service.

The main problem he faces is the overlap of kebele duties with those of his own permanent job. Moreover, for different trainings and meetings at the wereda, there is no per diem and he pays for transport and other expenses from his own pocket. This affects his family so he feels it is essential to assign a budget to cover their expenses during trainings and meetings at wereda level. He would like

to resign from this position as it clashes with his main job as a guard. He works closely with the kebele administration and when needed with the wereda administration and police. For instance he informed the wereda of the theft of a car and asked for reinforcements from the police to catch the thieves.

#### **Public Relations leader**

No interview

#### **Leader of the service co-operative**

None in Gelcha; only in urban areas

#### **Leader of the stone extracting cooperative**

He is 39 and was appointed by the members from the time of the establishment of the cooperative in 2006. He has not had formal education but is a member of the social court and a known elder.

The cooperative had 25 members but five left. Each contributed 200 birr and 50 birr for registration. There is a steering committee with a chair, vice chair, cashier, secretary and auditor, and a supervising committee with three members controlling the activities of the steering committee. As chairman he arranges meetings and runs discussions with members and represents the cooperative in its dealing with officials. The work may take 3-4 days a week when there are issues since officials repeatedly give appointment for simple cases. He has no salary but is paid a per diem of 30 birr for transport and lunch when there are cases that require him to go to the wereda.

The main problem he faces is that officials tend to give appointments repeatedly, requiring frequent visits that take up time, affecting his own livelihood activities. He complained to members and asked them to replace him but they refused. He would like to resign.

Another serious problem is that the cooperative is facing competition from individuals involved in extracting stone illegally. They have tried to expand their business to engage in animal fattening as well, and he believes that this is useful to diversity their source of income.

When facing a problem he consults those concerned and goes to see officials if required. For instance regarding the illegal involvement of individuals he went both to the wereda mineral and energy office and to the Metahara municipality to report them and ask that measures be taken to stop them, but no measures have been taken so far.

#### **Head of the nursery**

none

#### **Health promoter**

The health promoter is 35 and was selected by kebele officials and appointed last year. She has received training every three months from wereda officials and CCF workers at the wereda. She has not had formal schooling. She is also a wereda councillor, a *gare* leader and a PSNP retargeting committee leader.

She has to follow 45-66 households living in the area where she lives. She is expected to monitor them and provide them with advice twice a month about implementing the health packages. There are meetings held every fifteen days to discuss health issues relating to HIV/AIDS in a coffee ceremony at the centre of the village. She participates in refresher training every three months on issues such as child vaccinations. She is provided 60 birr to organise the coffee ceremony and 50 birr for transport per month. She has close interaction with CCF office at wereda if she needs something or wants advice; she goes there and talks with them. She has interaction with one of the health extension workers who helps her to write the three month report to CCF office. She transmits messages related to her work at kebele meetings and all kebele officials are collaborating with what she does.

The main problem with her work is that people are often not found in their houses; at this time it is that people are too busy, the men moving with their livestock in search of pasture and women collecting crop residues and looking after small stock and moving within the site. Also there is not much enthusiasm for the meetings and only a few attend. However she had tried to work with friends and neighbours.

#### **Head of drinking water committee**

None available.

#### **PTA leader**

The head of the PTA is also the kebele chair. In practice the PTA is not very effective and the chairman works more directly with the school director and the school management committee.

#### **Holders of customary office**

##### **Elders holding office**

An interviewed elder is 67 and has been to school up to 4<sup>th</sup> grade. He has been involved in dispute resolution from his twenties following in the footsteps of his father who was a renowned elder. He was the chair of the social court until last year. He is called for serious cases both in the kebele and with neighboring kebeles. He said he has participated in eight conflicts related to disputes over land with neighbouring kebeles last year.

He mentioned how the elders were able to resolve a case of unintentional manslaughter when a guard shot a boy entering a maize farm thinking he was an animal. The elders were able to negotiate with the parents and resolve the problem without taking it to the formal law courts. He mentioned that in rare cases individuals are simultaneously punished by the elders and the formal law, and gave an example of when a family refused to negotiate and the accused person was jailed for several years. At the end of his sentence he was also punished by the elders, so the accuser received a blood price for a second time.

He does not want to continue serving as an elder as he is getting old and feels he should be replaced by someone younger but people always want to include him. He has good contacts with kebele and wereda officials, works with strong elders within the community and sometimes contacts elders from other areas such as Arsi and Bosset to resolve complicated cases.

##### **Clan leader**

The clan leader is 60 and was appointed as leader since 1994; at first he refused since the work would overlap with his duties as a guard at the sugar factory and would not allow him time for his own livelihood activities. Also the position of clan leader can bring people into conflict with government officials, especially with regard to clan rules about punishing deviant individuals, since the clan leader is the person who is responsible for the case. As a result he does not want to continue in this position.

When a clan member faces a problem and requires clan assistance he informs the clan and collects the contributions. If a clan member requests the clan to punish a youth who is misbehaving he organises that. He works whenever there is a need and does not get any salary but is refunded any expenses on the basis of receipts if he travels on clan business.

He suggested that relations between the clans and the government are mixed. On the one hand the government encourages clan leaders to participate in development activities and respects the decisions made by the clans to resolve disputes. For instance in a murder case, if the case is handled through the respective clans and the dispute is resolved peacefully after the blood money is settled, the government appreciates the role of the clans and does not interfere with the decision. However, on the other hand, if the clan beats offending members in order to restrain them and discourage them from repeating offences the government is against this on the grounds that it violates

individual rights.

**Iddir leader**

There are no *iddirs* within the site, though some households have *iddirs* within the towns.

**Meskel savings group organiser**

None

**Mehaber leader**

None

**Iqqub leader**

None

**Religious leaders**

One of the Muslim religious leaders who is an Imam of the mosque is 63 and was appointed by the community before 1984. He had a Koranic education and is also well known as an elder involved in dispute resolution. His wife is an important trader selling *chat* and involved in livestock fattening for sale.

His duties include leading the prayer and carrying out the *nika* ceremony at weddings and prayers during funerals. He works about 7 hours every day and makes sure there is a replacement if he is not around. He does not get a salary or other benefits and says he will get his reward from Allah. Problems he faced are shortage of water for washing and other purposes in the mosque, and that many followers do not come to the mosque for prayers or follow religious education. He suggested that the mosque has good relations with the government preaching the need to help the destitute, has close relations with the mosques in Metahara and Addis Ketema and has good relations with other religious groups.

He was involved in the controversy when Wahabi preachers suggested reducing the number of prayers per day from five to two and he defended the traditional view going to the wereda administration to settle the dispute that was creating divisions. He goes to the other Imam when there are questions of religious interpretation that may be unclear as he is more learned.

The second Imam is 70 and had been a leader for 22 years. He also had a Koranic education and is a member of the Muslim affairs advisor committee of Fantalle wereda. He also is involved in dispute resolution. He said he preaches on Fridays for about an hour.

He suggested that the main problem was that community members do not attend the mosque regularly and are less aware of doctrine and give priority to their daily activities over religious practice. He was also involved in the controversy with the Wahabi preachers. He said they had sent a false petition to the wereda administrator claiming they had the community's support. He discussed the matter with kebele officials who held a meeting with the community to see if they were aware of the petition. They had not heard of it and were angered by it. He therefore went with the kebele officials to the wereda administrator and the wereda Muslim Affairs office. Both offices had already investigated the matter and reached the truth, and advised him to proceed with his duties without any disturbance and the problem was resolved.

**Other notable people**

**Educated opinion leaders**

A male member of the education committee is involved in mobilisation and discussions with parents to send their children to school. He also has discussions with teachers to formulate strategies to ensure that all children go to school at the right age and to decrease the dropout rate.

### **Rich and successful farmers**

As farming is not common there are no notable rich and successful farmers and wealth is measured in terms of livestock holdings. A number of older men are rich in livestock and they often have important roles as clan or *gare* leaders and act as elders. They also often help clan members facing problems and are expected to contribute larger amounts of for community development.

### **Businessmen and traders**

A successful woman trader is engaged in petty trade of consumer goods in her shop. She sells items such as kerosene, oil, sugar, and *chat* and tobacco. She also has a horse cart with which she provides transport service. She is considered as a model to other women, and someone who can introduce women to becoming involved in business activities. She is also a member of the purchasing committee for one of the women's associations that had a shop.

A young man of 23 is one of the few successful businessmen selling various commodities. He graduated from Haramaya University Department of English last year with a BA. He started trading already when he was in grade 2 to cover the costs of his educational materials. He lost his mother as a child and used to sell grass that he cut from the sugar plantation, and when in grade 10 started trading in goods which he brought from Addis Ababa. When he completed grade 10 he got married and his wife helped him with the business and he continued in grade 11. When he joined university his wife took over and ran the trade until he graduated.

He sells a range of items including clothing items such as socks and pants, battery cells, ornaments, livestock medicine and insecticides at market centres on market days two days a week. On Thursdays he trades at Addis Ketema market and on Sunday at Abadir at one of the sugar plantation camps usually from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm. His gross trading income per day comes to 1,000 to 2,000 birr.

He said lack of capital is the main constraint to expanding his business. There is also sometimes a problem of theft at the market place. He is considered a role model for youngsters. His ambition would be to open a shop for his wife to work in.

A woman of 25 is successful trader. She started the work eight years ago when she got married. Her husband had been involved in trading since he was in grade 8. She had dropped out of grade 5. After they got married she did much of the work as he was studying. When he was at university she took over the trading though he bought goods from Addis Ababa when she told him.

She sells items at Addis Ketema and Abadir on market days and on week days from home. Her husband buys some of the good from Addis Ababa and she gets others such as soap, salt, sugar, kerosene, coffee husks and matches locally. Some jewellery is also available locally. There is good demand for scarves, jewellery, clothes especially for holidays and some customers take items on credit. There is also a demand for animal drugs and she learnt to give injections from her husband.

To deal with theft she collaborates with other market sellers to watch over their property together. She faces difficulties loading items onto carts or lorries and asks relatives to help or sometimes pays a labourer to do so. She has 25,000 birr in the bank and her total capital has reached about 40,000. . She said he was able to surprise her husband by giving him 10,000 birr at his graduation last summer from the profit she made while he was at university.

### **Investors**

Apart from the sugar plantation and the Awash national park there is a metal factory and an ostrich farm in the wereda.

However, there are no investors in Gelcha, though, as we have seen, the sugar plantation is very important in the livelihood of Gelcha inhabitants and a few had been employed at the metal factory.

There were four of five urban dwellers who became involved in traditional irrigation during the Derg

period. They employed migrant labourers but helped some Gelcha residents to acquire skills and gave credit to some people who were better off. They are expected to pay a higher land tax of 300 birr whereas other residents with land pay only 45 birr.

### **Skilled workers**

Only one man is engaged in household building and woodwork. He is 56 year old migrant from Muggar and started when he was young in his birth place. He came to Gelcha 16 years ago and started making charcoal for an individual; by chance someone asked him to build a house and he paid him 300 birr. Others also asked so he stopped making charcoal and became a carpenter.

He is involved in house construction making the doors, windows and thatching the roofs; he also makes agricultural implements. He only charges his clients for his labour, and the owner brings the materials by horse cart. This is his only source of income though he says it is not very profitable. He works by contract. For instance for the tea house for the school he charged 150 birr, for a digging implement he charges 15-20 birr. He usually works alone but rarely hires a labourer for 25 birr a day.

### **Traditional healer**

The traditional header who was interviewed is also the *Abba Gada*; he is 46 years old. He said he deals with various diseases including anthrax, snake bites, uprooting milk teeth, sexual problems, the evil eye etc. He uses roots and leaves of plants.

What he charges varies by disease, for instance for snake bites he may charge 100-150 birr but it also depends on the ability of people to afford the treatment. Youngsters often come with sexual problems. He treats people who come with references or recommendations as it takes time to collect roots and plants and he is busy with his other activities. He started practising at the age of 15 learning from a neighbour.

### **Traditional birth attendant**

The interviewed TBA is 45 and learnt from her mother and started practising when she got married. She was part of those who were trained by Goal in the late 1990s. If she feels a case is complicated she sometimes gets help from other TBAs or sends women to the health services. She also gives advice that mothers should not feed butter but breastfed.

She does not get paid and has limited interactions with the health services and since Goal phased out five years ago does not get any materials such as gloves. She cooperates with the HEW in polio campaigns.

### **Ex-soldiers**

A 29 year old ex-soldier who grew up in another kebele of the same wereda joined the military at the time of the recruitment for the Ethio-Eritrean war in 2007. He and seven friends enthusiastically enrolled to see the world. Many people begged them not to go but they insisted and stayed in the army for five years. After training and time in camps he participated in the battle at Zalambessa and was injured in the eye from a bomb and treated in Mekele hospital. After three months he was taken back to the battle front, but he could not stay due to his eye injury and after confirmation from a medical doctor was allowed to terminate his agreement.

When he returned to his home area he found that his parents had passed away and he became responsible for his younger brothers. He became a guard at the sugar factory. He married and has a child and cultivates land during the rainy season on a plot that he had fenced before he went to the army and that his parents protected during his absence. He is one of the militias in the kebele and helps two of his brothers with their schooling. He has joined an *iqqub* with other sugar factory employees and hopes to start a business and engage in irrigated farming if water becomes accessible.

### Women's leaders

There are a number of women leaders involved in various roles. One of these is the leader of women's affairs in the Kebele administration; she is 42 and was selected three years ago by kebele officials when the league was established. Almost all women contributed 50 cents for membership which was collected by her and the kebele manager. She does not know what happened to the money.

Apart from the initial training there has not been any wereda interaction relating to her job. Training was also given to community members to create awareness. However, she had not implemented what she was taught since she has not had any support about how to start her work. She has not been to school, but has taken trainings with other women league leaders at the wereda about the aims. She is a member of the women's shop cooperative leadership in charge of controlling their activities, and is a member of the development committee of her zone.

### Youth opinion leaders

There are a number of youth who are influential. One of these is the head of the youth organisations. He is 22 and was appointed in 2007 by kebele officials as head of the federation and also worked as leader of the youth league. He has completed grade 9 and is also the public works organiser.

When appointed he was informed by the leadership that this role was to have discussions with different cooperatives to identify their problems and resolve their problems in consultation with concerned bodies. He was informed that he would work four days a week from 9:30am to 1:30 pm. He tried to do so in 2009 and but the activities came to a halt. He did not get any salary or benefit but only per diems for training at the wereda. The main problem is that he and other youth do not know much about the youth organisations and what they are expected to do and the wereda has not followed up. There is no youth association and the youth league has 30 members, 10 of whom are women.

### Political activists

Among those who can be considered political activists respondents mentioned older men including the kebele chairman who is also considered an elder, the *Abba Gada* who is also a member of a party cell, and an elder who is also a party cell member.

Among the young men the leader of the education committee and the leader of the youth league were mentioned as political activists.

Two women who were mentioned were an older woman who is a party cell member and a woman who is the leader of a *gare*.

In terms of their political role activists were said to play a key role in increasing the number of party member and facilitating and organising the process at election time.

### Elite network map

There are linkages and overlaps between elite groups who are involved in government formal structures, the elders and religious leaders and those who are better off. Many of those who are important in the kebele structure are also important elders. One of the religious leaders is also an important political activist campaigning for the ruling party.

Several of those who have positions of authority in the kebele such as the head of the militia have jobs as guards in the sugar factory but also have their own herds and combine employment with livestock rearing as sources of income.

Among the women political activists are women who are doing well economically. A woman who is an important trader is also in the women's cooperative shop.

### Network exclusions

There did not seem to be evidence of exclusions from most services relating to poverty, residence or party membership. However, connections with those in positions of authority can be important and conversely lack of connected can mean less access.

In the context of PSNP food aid there were some allegations of biases especially in the retargeting. There were claims by some from the Somali and Ittu migrant minorities that there was less inclusion of people from their group, following their complaints to the wereda some minority groups were included in the retargeting. There were also cases of poorer women complaining that they had not been included in the targeting as well as the retargeting.

### Social interactions within the community

#### Government-people relations – co-operation, non-co-operation and complexity

##### Wereda-community relations

The sugar plantation and Awash National Park took land traditionally used for grazing and watering by the Karrayu from the 1960s and the plantation recently expanded the area it covered leading to some loss of land that was used by the Gelcha community. However, the plantation provides jobs both for permanent guards and for daily labourers which is an important source of employment and wage labour for Gelcha residents, who also benefit from being able to feed crop residues after harvest to their livestock.

The plantation also let Gelcha residents use outflow from the plantation for watering livestock and this led to the use of this water for irrigation. Gelcha residents living in the part close to one of the plantation settlements also benefit from a water pipe. However, there have been conflicts that have emerged for instance when livestock stray into the plantation resulting in fines and when water is stopped by the plantation leading in one instance to a serious dispute in which a Karrayu was killed by a factory worker and some Karrayu lost jobs in the factory.

Regarding **security** cooperation with the wereda has been fairly good in relation to external threats. For instance the kebele militia helped the wereda catch thieves who had stolen a car. However, in terms of internal problems, the Karrayu are perceived by the wereda as being secretive and not wanting to expose thieves. There has been an issue around theft of livestock; elders in Gelcha and families have not wanted to denounce youths and try to resolve cases locally and wereda attempts to find culprits are sometimes thwarted.

There is also a perception that the wereda police and courts are slow, inefficient and that there is a tendency of bribery, so that elders tend to discourage people from taking cases to the wereda. Regarding murder cases there is also an issue about how the formal and informal justice systems collaborate. Cases resolved by elders may then be taken to the wereda leading to those accused being doubly punished.

The wereda is also ambivalent about the role of the clan in resolving conflict. Whereas clan interventions to solve disputes and achieve reconciliation are appreciated, actions of clans in punishing offenders are seen as potentially violating their human rights. Recently three individuals reported to the police when their clan leaders tried to beat them for their wrong doing. The police arrested three clan leaders and jailed them for some days.

Also there are concerns by the wereda about customary and clan justice regarding cases concerning women. For instance there was an incident over an abduction where the wereda police initially intervened but were frightened off as the abductors were armed. The wereda administrator told the police to back off and some Gelcha residents suggested that as a Karrayu he did not want to alienate the traditional leadership with which he sympathised.

Regarding **agricultural extension** support there has not been any provision of improved seeds or

breed livestock though some respondents say they would have liked to have been able to access breed livestock. Veterinary services available at the wereda are appreciated though people also buy drugs from private traders. The wereda attempted to make people take fertiliser through the kebele but this was resented and resisted as the price was higher than on the market and most of the few people who used fertiliser got it from traders or from neighbouring kebeles. Attempts to promote compost by the DA were hardly taken up by the community.

There has not been any **irrigation extension support** to the existing small-scale traditional irrigation. The support to cooperatives to engage in irrigation did not succeed and the cooperatives did not manage to cover fuel costs and make profits, and became indebted. The wereda took the main big pump which had been used by the largest cooperative which was unable to cover the running costs and was renting it out to Afar.

However, there are plans to bring irrigation to several kebeles including Gelcha in the next year and if this materialises this could result in big changes in relations between the kebele and the wereda as well as transformation in the local economy and many people are trying to stake claims to land in anticipation leading to disputes.

Support to **cooperatives** on the whole did not work well and a number of cooperatives failed to repay debts, including the irrigation ones and the women's livestock fattening ones. Successful cooperatives were only the stone extracting ones. However, they face problems that their businesses are registered and pay taxes whereas others act illegally and undercut them. They complained to the wereda without to no avail.

**Drinking water** is a serious problem and the kebele and wereda cooperated over plans to bring piped water to the kebele. Contributions of 80 birr per household were collected to add to funding from the wereda through PCDP. This was done rather rapidly so that the fund could be used and as the kebele was not able to collect the money fast enough so a loan was borrowed from other sources. Some Gelcha residents complained that paying the 80 birr at the time of paying other taxes was too heavy a burden, and others having managed to pay were concerned that they had not heard of any further progress. Some had deductions from PSNP benefits and one woman was resentful that she had not been consulted.

### **Kebele-community relations**

#### **Local elite-people relations**

There are important networks between those who may be considered elites, whether they are office holders, religious leaders, traditional elders or wealthy persons, and others in the society. Some of the networks related to clanship as discussed below.

Kinship is also important particularly when people face shocks. There were cases of wealthier households helping kin facing problems such as loss of livestock during drought.

For example an economically successful man helped his brother who had lost two wives in succession.

His brother lost two wives in succession. His first wife died after she gave birth to 3 children. Then he married again and the second wife also died after she gave birth to 4 children. CU and another brother gave him 8 cattle which was useful but not sufficient to resolve his problems completely.

Being a neighbour of important persons can also be important in accessing resources; for instance a woman who was the neighbour of the chairman said she was included in the PSNP since he knew her case.

#### **Ethnic/clan relations**

Gelcha is predominantly a Karrayu community. However, there are two significant in-migrant minorities of Somali and Oromo from Harar, comprising the Ittu from the general area and the

“Kottu” from around Harar. Most of the time relations have been peaceful. However, over the PSNP there were some allegations by people from the minority groups that they had been excluded.

Clans are an important aspect of social organisation in Karrayu society. Intra-clan relations are especially important in relation to cases of conflict particularly murder when blood money compensation is negotiated by clan elders from either side and paid by the clan of the murderer to the family of the victim.

Intra-clan relations are often to do with disputes between the generations where the older generation feels that the younger generation is not behaving obediently. The clan may punish the offender even to the extent of beating and immersing the offender in the Awash river. The clan also punishes/beats its members for the following reasons:

- When a member does not respect, assist and listen to his mother’s and father’s advice.
- When a member treats his wife unfairly.
- When a member refuses to contribute to assistance for a clan member who has a problem.
- When a member enters into dispute with his clan members or members of another clan without concrete reasons.
- When a member become extravagant and does not properly manage and use his property.

The punishment involves all or some of the following based on the seriousness of the offence;

- Advice, locally called ‘*gorsa*’
- Beating, locally called ‘*dire*’
- Slaughtering livestock, locally called ‘*mala*’

Nowadays, many individuals do not respect and abide by the rules of the clan. Previously, the clan members were happy and willing to contribute livestock and other things in order to assist members who were in problems. However, now the members are not willing to contribute to assist other members, since they are facing economic problems. There are even members who refuse to contribute livestock for assistance.

Previously, when the need arose to assist an individual member, the clan came together and decided the amount of livestock that an individual should contribute. Then the clan leader mobilised and collected the decided amount of cattle. A clan member who had three cattle contributed one cattle and another who had more than three cattle contributed more than one cattle depending on their holdings. On the other hand an individual who had two cattle did not contribute while an individual with one cattle contributed what he had with the assumption that the clan would collect livestock for him in the second turn. This is because there was an assumption that one head of cattle is not sufficient for a given household to feed the family members properly so that giving assistance is mandatory. However, nowadays only individuals who have three or more cattle contribute to assistance and there is no assistance for individuals who have only one cattle.

A group of youth suggested that some of the clan leaders are not treating clan members equally. They favour their networks and rich individuals who are able to influence them, while the poor and an individual who has less contact and relations with the clan leaders get less assistance in difficulties they face.

Moreover, many youths and other adult individuals refuse to abide by the rules of the clan due to the expansion of religion. The religious doctrine teaches community members to assist all individuals for being human rather than a member of a given clan. Following education from the religious leaders, many community members refuse to be treated on a clan membership basis which is negatively affecting the role of the clan.

The expansion of urbanisation is also another threat to the role of the clan. With the expansion of urbanisation and new technologies such as TV, different games (Pool, etc) in urban centres, many youths devote much of their time in urban centres violating the rules of the clan.

In addition, following the expansion of schooling, many girls are attending schooling and get pregnant with their boyfriends thereby violating the rule of the clan that strictly forbids any youths (boys and girls) to have premarital sex. Now, the clan is unable to control such activities (premarital sex and pregnancy before marriage) as many youths no longer obey the rule of the clan.

The following case shows how the clan assisted a person to pay the blood money when a boy was killed by the clan member in a car accident.

Four years ago, my brother killed a boy in a car accident and was jailed. Then we informed our clan leader in order to assist him with blood payment and other expenses required. The clan leader mobilised the clan members and collected about 6,000 birr for the first round and gave it to him (my brother) while he was in prison to cover different expenses. Then our clan leader started negotiations with the affected family clan so as to settle the case and to release my brother from prison. The elders also decided on 7,000 birr for the blood price to the affected parents. Hence, the clan members contributed livestock and money for the second time and covered the required payment i.e., 7000 birr, and my brother was set free from jail. Altogether, our clan assisted us with about 15,000 birr in order to solve the problem that my brother faced.

The good thing is that, had it not been for the assistance of the clan our family would have been unable to cover the money and get my brother freed from jail. The problem was that, first, all the livestock and the money collected from the clan members were not given to us. Rather, some of the money was used for the invitation of the clan leader and some other members and second, some clan members were forced to contribute to assistance against their will which negatively affected their livelihood, particularly for poor households.

The following case shows how the clan can assist a member with covering the bridewealth for his marriage.

I got married this year. My wife's parents requested 4,000 birr from me for bride payment. However, I did not have this money to pay. Hence, my clan members contributed livestock and paid the bride payment without difficulty. Moreover, they gave me some additional money that I used to purchasing equipment and cover the marriage ceremony. The good thing is that, without the contribution and assistance of the clan members, I couldn't have married as I did not have money for bride payment.

The following account shows how the clan can violate the rights and enforce an unwanted marriage. The clan forced two brothers whose parents had died to give their sister who was at school and had a hearing problem to an elderly man in marriage.

My parents both died and my stepmother was given to my father's brother and we were not brought up well and my elder brother became responsible for bringing us up. An elderly man who had lost his wife requested my parents to marry my sister. My sister was following her education and she had a hearing problem. As a result, my brother refused to give her for marriage and made her continue her education. My sister also refused the marriage. Then the clan of the person informed our clan that we (the family) refused the marriage. Our clan repeatedly requested my brother to allow my sister for marriage. However, my brother and other family members kept on refusing the marriage.

Despite resisting the clan beat the brothers and even considered dunking them in the Awash river but in the end could not agree among themselves to do so.

Then the clan members came to our home and beat my brother and me and nagged us to agree. After they beat us, they took us to the Awash River so as to immerse us in it. While we were on the way to the Awash River, the clan members disagreed about their decision. Some members agreed to immerse us in the river and the other group rejected the idea and debated to turn us back to our home. Finally, they took us back home before we reached the river.

The girl escaped to her aunt but the clan kidnapped her but later asked the family to excuse them.

My sister flew away to our aunt's house to hide herself from the clan members so as not to marry. However, after they punished us, our clan forcefully took my sister and married her without her and the family's consent. Later on (after they made my sister marry), our clan asked us to excuse them for all the wrong deeds they did and created peace with my brother and the rest of the family members.

The sister was sent away from her husband after becoming pregnant and the clan did not try to defend her rights.

Soon after her marriage, my sister disagreed with her husband and her husband sent her away without sharing any property with her when she was pregnant. Hence, she left her house and delivered her first baby in a relative's house. Later she married another person. However, none of the clan members tried to punish her husband for his bad treatment. There was no good thing from the punishment but the clan members affected the life of my sister and also affected the family members, violating individual rights.

According to the police the number of cases concerning clans is increasing over time. Previously, people did not complain about mistreatment by their clan but now, particularly in the last two years, the police officer interviewed said they have handled 4-5 cases related to marriage which have taken place with the enforcement of clan leaders.

Last year, the police provided training for all community members and the clan leaders about human rights so as to enable them to report any cases that violated their rights. The training creates awareness for many community members and some of them have started to report to the police when they are unfairly treated by the clan or others. However, there are still many individuals who are afraid to report to the police when they are mistreated by clan leaders for fear of discrimination from their clan members.

Usually the clan participates in marriage negotiation without the consent of the girls. As a result, many girls refuse the marriage and report to the police to take measures. Following the expansion of schooling and continuous provision of awareness by police, many girls have started to defend their rights and report to the police when the clan forces them to marry and do other things that violate their rights.

Other adults have also started to report to the police when they are unfairly treated. For instance, last year three individuals complained and reported to the police when they were punished by their respective clan leaders. As a result, the police arrested 4-5 clan leaders who were involved in the punishment. They were jailed for two days and released after providing them training about human rights so that they do not repeat the act again.

#### **Relations among different religious groups**

Islam is almost the only religion present in Gelcha, though the Karrayu also have been adhering to customary religious beliefs associated with Oromo religion and the *gada* system. These have been on the wane though there has been some cultural resurgence associated with *Gada* celebrations. However, there is a trend of abandoning the customary practice of circumcising men at the time of the handover of power between generation sets every eight years which may mean that a man may be circumcised as late as 40 years; many parents and some youth themselves have been arranging their circumcisions at the health centre.

There is one Orthodox Christian Oromo migrant family. One of the sons is said to have converted to Islam, much to his father's chagrin. However, relations between that family and their neighbours have been good.

Muslim leaders when asked said they had good relations with Orthodox and Protestants living in the towns. Youth in towns have been exposed to ideas from other religions and it is said that at least one young man and one young woman have converted to Protestantism.

The main religious rift has been between followers of a more moderate form of Islam that has been tolerant of traditional beliefs and the more fundamentalist tendency linked to the Wahabi sect. The conflict came to a head with Wahabi preachers suggested that prayers should be held twice a day rather than five times. The matter was taken to the wereda which supported the traditional view.

The influence of Islamic fundamentalism has also had an impact on girls' behaviour, with more wanting to wear headdresses and not wanting to sing cultural songs in school, and boys refusing to

wear trousers. This influence came in part from those with connections with migrants from Harar and a change in behaviour was noted among girls after the school holidays when one girl had been to Harar.

### **Class relations**

There does not seem to be much emergence of class distinctions in Gelcha. Households that are wealthy in livestock can suffer rapid depletion of stock during drought, and the new wealth of a few households based on irrigated crop sales and a few from trade is still very recent and among younger households so that inter-generational transmission of wealth has not yet been felt.

Only a few households have been able to send children for tertiary education and potential returns of that investment have not yet been felt, and many youth who have completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade are unemployed. One woman has a son who is a DA and one of the HEWs is from the community.

### **Interactions affecting gender relations**

Women bear a very large burden of work. This includes not only cooking, cleaning and looking after the house and child care but also house-building and much of the care of livestock in the village. There does not seem to be much change in domestic work and the division of labour. Some young men assist with bringing water by bicycle from town. Some boys were said to fry eggs but only for themselves.

The practices of polygyny in which older men marry younger second or even third wives and the custom of widow inheritance by a brother or other male relative of their deceased relative's wife are also aspects affecting gender relations. Interventions to discourage the practice of widow inheritance and promote women's rights on divorce are beginning to have some effect, though customary behaviour is still strong and few women dare challenge the established norms.

Even in a case when a woman is able to divorce the brother of her deceased husband this is only if he can be seen to have been squandering the household's resources, and she would not be allowed to remarry; and if a woman is allowed to leave her husband she is unlikely to be able to argue successfully for a share of the property and may not be able to take the children.

### **Interactions affecting inter-generational relations**

A major change in inter-generational relations has been the sending of children to school. Boys going to school affects the ability of households to herd their stock and is a major factor for boys stopping school as the pastoral way of life requires young men to move with camel herds in search of pasture.

There are also cases of households who do not send at least one boy to herd the livestock and in one case the frequent thefts and the difficulty of women keeping track of the cattle and shoats was mentioned as a reason for keeping boys out of school. Girls going to school has affected mothers increasing their work burden. However, girls are still required to do much domestic work and collecting wood and cane residue after school.

Some youth who have been successful at school have aspirations to continue their studies and some have obtained parental support to do so.

The cases of conversion from Islam to Protestantism by a young man and young woman and the case of the young man from an Orthodox Christian family converting to Islam are likely to have strained relations between the generations.

Conflict between girls wanting to continue with their education while their parents want to marry them off is an increasing trend and cases have come to the attention of the wereda women's affairs office and the wereda police.

## External relations

### Relations with other communities

There have been historical conflictual relations with neighbouring groups particularly the Afar and Argobba, especially over cattle raiding though this has affected kebeles close to the borders more than Gelcha.

People in Gelcha have relations with neighbouring Karrayu communities especially through kinship, clanship and marriage. The migrant communities have links with their home areas notably the migrants from Harar and the few families from Boset. One of these had received some support in grain in the past but said that owing to transport costs there is less visiting but that the mobile phone means they can communicate more often.

There are relations between Gelcha residents working in the sugar plantation and other sugar plantation workers some of whom live in camps. Some Gelcha residents take part in *iqqub* credit associations with workmates in the plantation.

Some Gelcha residents have also close relations with people living in the town taking part in town-based *iddir* funeral associations. Gelcha businesspeople involved in petty trade also have links with shop owners and traders in the towns.

There have also been influences in lifestyles with those living close to town, or working in the sugar factory adopting urban lifestyles. Some youth have received help from urban based richer persons and the owner of a college sponsored some Karrayu youth partially covering their tuition costs.

### Community – NGO relations

There had been several NGOs working in Gelcha on a range of issues notably regarding gender issues such as income generation for women and advocacy against harmful traditional practice, and sexual and reproductive health especially related to HIV/AIDS.

NGOs that used to work in the site include CARE and GOAL. Goal worked on women's empowerment by creating income-generating activities and sought to discourage HTPs affecting women and trained traditional birth attendants. CARE was involved in various projects including providing women's empowerment, building water cisterns and promoting improved nutrition through sponsoring community based nutrition workers.

More recently two local NGOs have been active. These are Gudina Tumsa Foundation and Fantalle Children and Family Development Association. GFT was involved in supporting women's cooperatives and in promoting education. FCFDA was previously known as Christian Children Fund (CCF) before it became established as a local NGO and is working on children and family affairs, supporting orphans and vulnerable children by providing them with educational materials and clothing, financing health expenses and providing school feeding to the kindergarten students.

However, the wereda decided that GTF should work in other kebeles and some Gelcha residents expressed sadness that they would no longer be benefiting. Several women also suggested that they had benefited from training and support from NGOs such as CARE, GOAL, GTF and FCFDA and regretted that most of the projects had stopped.

## Social cohesion in the community and beyond

The Gelcha community is perceived as being cohesive as exemplified by their reluctance to take cases of conflict to the wereda and refusing to divulge the identity of culprits of theft. More widely the Karrayu are seen as uniting in the face of external threat from the Afar and Argobba especially in raiding over livestock.

One threat to social cohesion has been the religious rift resulting from preachers from the Wahabi sect promoting a different and stricter version of Islam with fundamentalist tendencies. Protestant

influences on the youth are also beginning to be felt.

More broadly some of the youth are adopting urban ways including behaviour that is considered to be against tradition and/or risky such as spending nights in town, drinking alcohol and chewing *chat*; some are said to have become influenced by urban louts and some are involved in theft, particularly of livestock which they sell to hotels or traders.

One male respondent suggested that the new structure of 1-5 was leading to a different form of cooperation than the traditional one which was based on kinship and clanship. He also suggested that new links with urban people with involvement in urban-based social institutions such as *iddir* funeral associations and *iqqub* credit associations was leading to changes in social relations.

### ***Ideas in the community***

#### **Local customary repertoire**

The conservatives are generally older men and women and some from the current generation of adults who have not had formal education. Some of these have been following *gada* traditional Oromo practices alongside Islamic ones. However, the former are becoming less important apart from the ritual transfer of generations which has been encouraged by the wereda as a form of cultural expression.

The customary repertoire includes the ideals of polygamous marriage for older men and widow inheritance. Female circumcision is considered essential. According to this repertoire women do all the domestic work as well as some of the work tending livestock; boys are expected to herd taking the camels for seasonal migration to distant places, and girls to help mothers and be married off when they are physically mature so that the household can benefit from bridewealth.

Those adhering to the customary repertoire believe in the importance of the clan and in its role in disciplining members particularly youth who do not abide by traditional rules.

Among those with strong Muslim religious beliefs there is a split between the majority that adhere to a more tolerant form of Islam that is accommodating of traditional beliefs and a more fundamentalist approach favoured by the Wahabi that is against emphasis on cultural expression as well as against the influence of modern urban trends in clothing, especially regarding women wearing scarves, and boys not wearing trousers.

The traditional repertoire accepts many forms of traditional medicine as effective, notably cutting uvula, bleeding to get rid of illnesses, treatment against snake bites, etc. The repertoire would also support the facial scarring that was distinctive of the Karrayu youth.

In the traditional Islamic repertoire children should be going to Koranic schools.

#### **Local modern repertoire**

The members of the community who are considered to be progressive include educated youth who have attended formal education rather than Koranic schooling. They favour the educational policy, health extension packages and expansion of other infrastructures, because they assume that education, health extension packages and expansion of infrastructures such as roads, telephones etc. are crucial for the development of the community.

Moreover, they support agricultural interventions which encourage farming practices in the community as they assume that food security will be promoted by moving away from a reliance on pastoralism towards greater reliance on agriculture; they are hopeful that irrigated agriculture will be developed in the kebele and will bring about fundamental transformations for the better. However, they criticise the government for its failure to accomplish plans such as bringing drinking water and irrigation to the kebele.

The modern repertoire would be against following traditional practices such as the Gebella

circumcision ceremony for men associated with the age-grading rituals.

### **Government ideology and interventions**

Messages from government are transmitted through the kebele cabinet and council, the kebele manager and the extension agents in agriculture and health as well as through trainings conducted at the wereda or by wereda experts at the kebele level.

Messages are disseminated below the kebele level through the zone and *gare* structures and finally the 1-5 networks, with the party cells also playing an important role.

Trainings regarding the Growth and Transformation Plan emphasised the need for pastoralists to move to becoming agriculturalists, the promotion of irrigation, and the use of modern extension packages.

### **Newspapers, Radio and TV**

Though a couple of households mentioned paying the fee for the party newspaper and several households said their children read books at school, and there is adult education most community members are not able to read. Some adults expressed pleasure that their children were literate and numerate. However, there did not seem much interest in reading.

There also does not seem to be much interest in the radio. Several interviewed households did not have a radio or had one that had broken or in one case was given away to a daughter who married out. However, the household of a poor farmer had two sons who listen regularly to the Afan Oromo programmes on the radio which was bought five years ago.

Some young men watch football and dramas on TV in towns. One mother said she was worried that this hinders their studies; another said her sons watched late at night instead of studying and did so without her permission.

### **Ethnic ideologies**

There has been a resurgence of Karrayu ethnic ideology, especially with the celebration of the *Gada* age grading rituals. The *Abba Gada* has played a key role in promoting this ideology and has received support from the kebele and wereda administration. He was able to muster support and cash contributions from an urban businessmen for the latest ceremony held just after the fieldwork period which also received publicity at a regional and national level.

Some of the ethnic ideology is also fuelled by conflict with the neighbouring Afar and Argobba particularly related to competition over scarce pasture and water and livestock raiding. There are also latent and sometimes overt tensions with the Somali and Harar Oromo in-migrants which came to the surface over the PSNP assistance and claims by the some from the minorities that they were excluded not because they were better off due to irrigation but because of their ethnic identity.

### **Religious ideologies**

There have been some tensions between customary religious ideologies and Islam. Most conservative community members were able to adhere nominally to Islam while practising some customary religious rituals, notably related to the age-grading rituals. In practice few men go to the mosque for Friday prayer though attendance at holidays is much greater.

However, increasingly there has been some abandoning of traditional religious practices partly as a result of the influence of the Wahabi missionaries. Connections with preachers from Harar who come to teach have had some impact on behaviour.

Increasingly households have been circumcising boys earlier rather than waiting for the *Gebella Gada* ceremony and some youth took the initiative themselves going to the health centre to be circumcised.

The stricter tendencies in Islam are also seen in girls' behaviour in school with an increase in the wearing of head-scarves and a refusal by some students to sing customary songs reportedly after a girl came back from Harar after the school vacations.

### **Urban connections and ideas**

Urban connections have been important in trade, transport, access to water, health, secondary education etc. The younger generation sees a lot of benefits in urban linkages and many spend time in towns.

However, among the older generation there is concern about the negative influences of town on the behaviour of the youth. Parents expressed concerns that some youth were forming links with urban delinquents, that they were watching too much TV, chewing *chat* and drinking alcohol and getting into bad habit and behaviour such as theft. There were also some youth who were said to be influenced by Protestant beliefs.

Urban values are also visible in clothing styles. The wife in an economically successful household said she is impressed by the beauty of young women who are attending school and keeping personal hygiene and dressing styles, even if they can't get jobs.

### **Diaspora connections and ideas**

In the last five years about five educated youth have gone abroad. A university health student went to Kenya five years ago and went to Canada two years ago and has started to send remittances to his family. A male degree holder went to Germany on a scholarship to do a masters sponsored by GTF; he does not want to come back and has started living there. A teacher went to Kenya four years ago and his sister who was a DA joined him this year.

About four people went to Mecca for the Hajj pilgrimage returning shortly afterwards.

### **Globalisation**

The main effects of globalisation are no doubt in the availability of relatively cheap clothing and consumer goods, some of which are sold by petty traders in Gelcha. However, price inflation in recent years has somewhat eroded the benefits of cheap consumer goods.

Influences from Muslim fundamentalist tendencies coming from Arab countries are also being felt via missionaries from Harar, affecting behaviour such as prayer practice and clothing of girls and boys and women's head scarves.