

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

**COMMUNITY SITUATION END 2011**

**DO'OMA, SNNP**

**STAGE 2 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 3**

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

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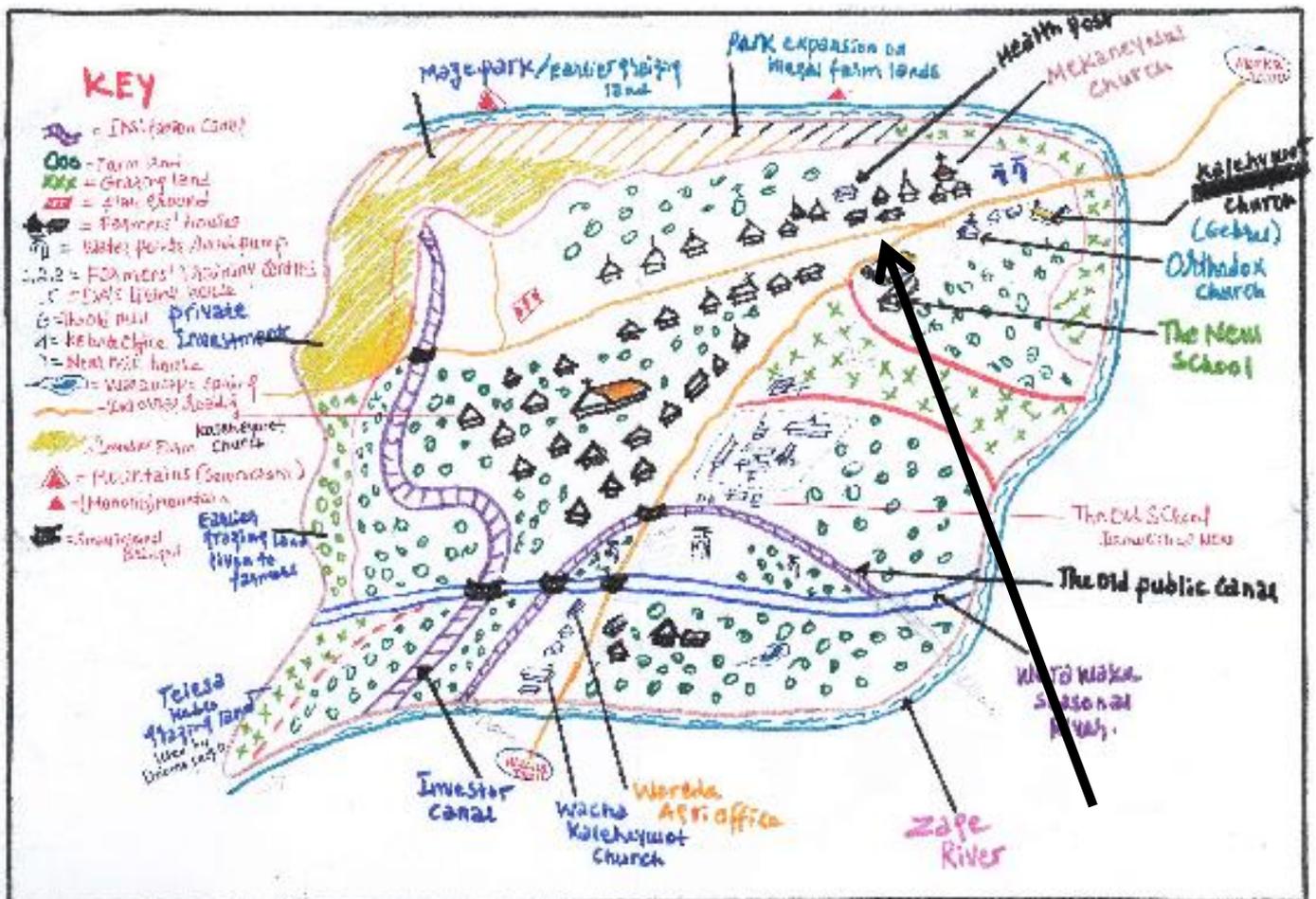
## Community as a whole

### Community parts making the whole in 2012

The kebele of Do'oma was established in the 1980s. Shortage of land coupled with recurrent drought and famine in the 1970s and 1980s triggered population movements from the Gamo highlands to the lowlands and major settlements were put in place in two places. First, in the late 1970s in Womala the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission established a state farm and settlers were gathered from the Gamo Highlands, Wolayitta, and the Gondar and Wollo Regions. However, drought resulted in the deaths of many children and the settlers petitioned the Government to transfer them to another area and they were moved to a new site in Shewa. As reported by one respondent some of them did not get on well with the resident Oromiffa-speaking community and most returned to Womala.

He came to this kebele in 1972 EC as first settler but the drought was too harsh here and the government resettled them to the place called *Tadele* on the way to *Tolay* Military Camp in 1975 EC. He stayed 5 years up to 1980 EC there and returned because the Oromo, the host people, used to steal small children and escape by horse, and also there was conflict with them when they tried to rob settlers mainly on market days, and the other problem was that he couldn't learn the Oromo language and communication was a barrier to create social interaction and change the situation. (Poor elder)

Map 1: Map of Do'oma kebele



Meanwhile in 1985 people started to settle in Do'oma with help from UNICEF who established an irrigation scheme, a grinding mill, supplied oxen, hoes and other equipment and a cash-for-food

programme. In 2012 Do'oma *kebele* consisted of the 'main *kebele*' of Do'oma and the *sub-kebele* of Womala. The expansion of the wereda town, Wacha, into Do'oma is an ongoing process. At the time of the research the wereda agriculture office was the frontier between the town and kebele but it had been decided that more of the kebele adjacent to Wacha town should be included within the town boundary though no measures had been taken.

### **Terrain and environment**

Most of the landscape is flat except the edge of the Zage river which goes round the kebele and forms the boundary except for the western side. However, the land from the kebele office to Wacha slopes down to the town. Escarpments are found at two different corners to the north. The river Maze is found inside the Maze National Park which has expanded on to the grazing land of Do'oma people.

Community respondents said that when they came to the site it had forest cover on the edges, wild animals, a relatively better amount of rain and a less hot climate. There is no forest in the kebele except for the savannah type vegetation with some scattered indigenous trees and eucalyptus planted by farmers and the kebele administration. On the river banks farm lands are being eroded and people are trying to make terraces and plough horizontally to prevent this. The lands protected are the park, the land meant for the kebele forest, and the land for harvesting grasses for covering hut roofs.

### **Climate and weather**

Do'oma is a lowland site; the temperature is high all the year and at its extreme in December and January. Spring rains should fall between mid-March and mid-April and the summer rain from mid-May to the end of July.

In 2008 there was no rain; his cattle survived with irrigation maize leaves. In 2011 the rain was late, arriving at the end of May and stopping in July; then it returned in the harvesting season in October which caused a huge problem.

Flooding from too much rain in the highlands is frequent; it happened for about a week in June 2009, June 2010 and July 2011. Floods damage riverside farm products such as bananas, mangoes, avocados, maize, sugar cane and red peppers. Some are totally damaged while others recover

High winds in January and February usually demolish some huts and took away corrugated iron sheets in 2008 and 2011 including from the Health Post in the latter year.

A resident said that food gaps had been common in the community since the beginning due to lack of rain, too much rain at the wrong time, the strong sun, and pests. Another respondent said that the extreme heat did not cause damage to crops.

### **Food aid**

PSNP has been in place since 2005; in 2012 32% of households were beneficiaries. There was emergency food aid as a result of rain failure in 2008 and 2011. Many farmers faced food shortage as a result of floods and in 2010 200 farmers were given free seeds and fertilisers and emergency food aid for two months.

### **Spatial patterns**

There are two big rivers which have to be crossed for access to markets and hospitals. During the rainy season the kebele used to be cut off when the two big rivers flooded and people occasionally were washed away and drowned.

The settlement pattern is shaped by the expansion of the two small villages that existed at the beginning in the mid-1980s. The expansion led to big settlements with many households and as a result the kebele was divided into a main kebele (called Do'oma) and a sub-kebele (Womalo). Both

have expanded and the main kebele has merged with Wacha town; part of it was transferred to the wereda town in 2008 and there are plans to transfer some more. The average size of smallholdings was said to be 50x50 metres and the communal grazing land, which has diminished due to expansion of the park and investment sites, was estimated to be about 1800x1800 metres. Some of the farmland is irrigated; in a good rainfall year 44% of households have access.

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

There are no well-constructed internal roads or bridges inside the kebele. However vehicles can pass through the kebele on the old road that was used to reach Morka. The road cannot be used by vehicles during the rainy season and the mud is challenging for students and the farmers walking to their farmlands. It has not been improved because of the new road constructed directly from Wacha town although in 2008 a tube bridge was constructed on the Wera Waqe river and in 2009 the wereda renewed the road using the investor's machines.

The bridge is located between the kebele and Wacha but during the rainy season it is impassable as it is too narrow for the water which comes through the irrigation channel and flows onto the road blocking the community's communication with the wereda. The bridge has contributed to the expansion of motor-bike transportation. There are ways that connect the main and sub-kebeles, to churches, to the grazing land, to the investment site and a path to the market in Maze.

Transportation from the kebele to Wacha town is usually on foot. Sometimes people use motorbikes which carry two passengers and charge ten *birr* per trip.

### **Community land use**

A kebele official said that 50x50 metres is the smallest farm land that is allocated to farmers and the medium is 100x50 metres and the largest is 200x200 metres. If it is irrigated land, it is only between 50x50 metres, and 150x50 metres. There is communal farm 50x75 metres owned by the women's association, and public land (50x100 metres) on which eucalyptus and grevillea trees are planted. The kebele allocated about 50x50 metres irrigated land for agricultural experimentation to the DAs. About 18 hectare of land is left for grazing though this estimate is in question by other informants, which was diminished because of the expansion of the park and inward investment that confiscated farm lands and grazing lands. There is no other communal land in the community except those places where water points are situated and the playground in between the main and the sub kebele. He said that Ato Mengistu, the investor, took about 20% of the total land of the kebele. Since he left people have been able to graze livestock on the land and collect grass and firewood. Community respondents said that about 40 hectares of land taken from the investor but the administration plans to give it to other investors. There had also been a loss of grazing land to the Maze National Park. As a result of shortage of grazing land people are forced to take their cattle to a neighbouring kebele (Menena Abaya). This is not a problem at the moment but 'it is not easy to be certain about the future'.

### **Public buildings**

The public buildings are the health post, primary school, farmers' training centre buildings, kebele offices, and DAs; living area. The kebele office is in Do'oma but the kebele chairman lives in Womala which makes it easy for residents to contact him.

Except the new primary school donated by People in Need and VSEM for Africa which is well built with bricks, iron doors and windows with glass, the rest of the public buildings are mud plastered wooden houses with corrugated iron roofs. The school has five rooms, one for an office. There are three farmers' training centre buildings in the kebele office compound together with three rooms for the DAs' living area. The farmers' training centre was built in 2006; it has been used for kebele meetings since the previous kebele office was demolished. The kebele manager's office is currently in the FTC. The kebele office in Do'oma has eight rooms and is still under construction. There is a well-built and clean latrine.

The health post has two rooms; its roof was taken off by wind in 2010 and the roof and wall of the latrine were damaged. The wereda office provided iron sheets and nails for the re-building of the health post and during the second fieldwork the kebele administration was organising public work, including the provision of wood and labour. This health post is located in the sub kebele Womala, the school is found between Womalo and the kebele office, and the farmers' training centre is in the main kebele. The health post has no water or electricity. The new school has a well-built latrine but no electricity or water. The kebele office and the farmers' training centres do not have latrines, water or electricity.

### **Modern infrastructure**

Electricity reached the wereda town of Wacha in 2008 and poles and wires from Wacha to Womala were constructed in the lead up to the 2010 election.

### **Population**

There are 450 households in the kebele with an estimated average size of 5 and a total estimate population of 2257. Only 30 of the households were said to be female-headed which is 6.7%; this seems very low compared with the national average of over 20%. This may be partially explained by the acceptance of re-marriage for widows and divorced women and the existence of polygyny.

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

#### **The wereda**

Deramalo *wereda* has 24 *kebeles* 15 of which are in the lowlands and food insecure as a result of inadequate rain. Nine *kebeles* are in the highlands; they have enough rainfall though excessive rain causes damage to crops like wheat and barley. Farmland shortage is a problem in the *dega* *kebeles*. There are many landless youth, some of whom have been given land recently but there is now a shortage of land in the wereda and the only remaining option is to take the land of people who have left the area. The wereda is better off in regard to land than the highland *weredas* but other lowland *weredas* have more land. The main reason for the shortage of land is the increase in population. The vice administrator of the *wereda* said that there was no farm land problem in the lowland communities where the issues are rainfall inadequacy and diseases like malaria and typhoid. The wealth of the people was almost the same as in other *weredas*. Though the area has undependable weather sometimes good production is obtained, but the wereda lacks a road network and transportation to take it to a better market elsewhere. There are four *weredas* that are much better in regard to development activities; there are also *weredas* that are worse than Deramalo. The Zone identified the wereda as having potential for maize, potatoes, wheat, barley and enset.

The wereda is worse than others in the Zone in regard to roads and bridges for which they don't know the reason; officials all the time appeal to the regional government. The road to Waka from Wolayta is in progress but the building of the road to Arba Minch which is only 98 kms was stopped due to a gap in the regional budget; to get to Arba Minch people have to travel 223kms via Wolayta. Other *weredas* in the zone with better road networks had more NGOs working in them. Electricity is only in the wereda town unlike in other *weredas*. Mobile network coverage began in 2008; it is working only during the day and two *kebeles* do not have access to it. Some *weredas* in the zone have full network coverage while others have none.

In terms of education provision the wereda is average and it lacks budget and human resources to improve. Access to health services is also average. The wereda has two well-functioning health centres and two new ones being built which will be completed in 2012 and health posts in each community. There is no hospital in the wereda. Provision of drinking water in the wereda is improving and the wereda is in good status compared with other *weredas*. There is co-operation with other *weredas* in the zone with regard to peace and security and infrastructure and working relations are good. Relations among sector offices and with *kebeles* are also good. The development

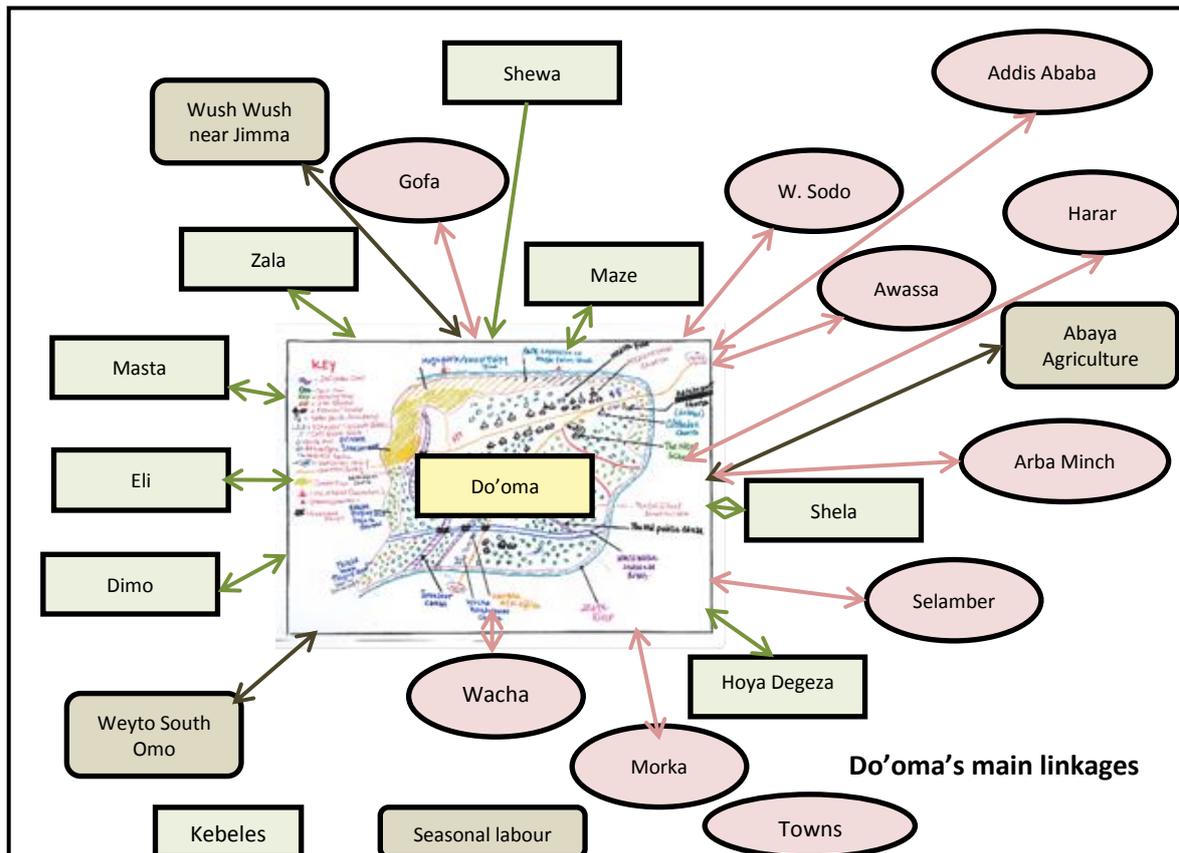
partners are NGOs including ORBIS, People in Need, UNICEF, INTERAID (French Government), and VEST for Africa providing support on health education and water.

Since 2008 a kebele manager has been hired in all the 24 kebeles. Before the kebele manager was assigned the kebele chairman was expected to work most of the time in the kebele; however this has brought problems on their farm, and when they are inclined to work on their farm the kebele work couldn't be performed well. The other problem was most of the time chairmen were not educated to understand the health, agriculture and other issues being introduced. Therefore the kebele manager was given the role of coordinating those routine tasks that don't need power of decision, and calling on the chairman and the cabinet for decisions by raising agendas, which is new system since 2000 EC. If the kebele manager holds a [school] certificate he receives about 734 birr and those kebele managers who have a diploma earn 1114 birr salary. Kebele chairmen now can spend much time on their farms, and be available for urgent issues, meeting times, and decisions etc. Reporting has improved and telephone contacts through cell and wireless phones to some of the kebeles is now possible. One challenge is the location of the kebele office; the villages might be at distant places with mountain and hill barriers that make the office inaccessible to some villages, mainly in the highland kebeles.

There have been recent changes in the selection of the kebele chairman which used to be based on good behaviour and the expected ability to rule. Since 2008 the criteria include the following: the acceptance and application of all the development packages, progress in his economic status, health of his household members, educated (able to read and write), not PSNP beneficiary, positive thinker, supporting change adaptation etc. The wereda suggests people for the positions from each kebele and the general council at kebele level approves the positions. If not, the person will not take the chairman or vice chairman position. Even after they are assigned the council has the right to evaluate their work and report their weaknesses to the wereda which may cause demotion. The kebele administrations in some of the kebeles are good but in others they are not functioning well.

**Main linkages**

**Map 2: Do'oma's main linkages**



### Neighbouring and more distance kebeles

People from Do'oma inter-marry with people from neighbouring kebeles (see Map). Protestants have religious contact with neighbouring kebele churches through exchanges of evangelists and attending three monthly *mehabers*. Orthodox Christians go to Eli kebele for the St Gabriel annual holiday. There are also some marriage linkages with the places from which people re-settled in Gamo, Gofa and Wolayita.

### Towns

#### Markets

The Do'oma community uses the Wacha main markets which are held on Thursdays and Saturdays every week. There is a regular small market every day in Wacha. People go to the weekly markets in Maze and Dimo and sometimes go to Morka to sell livestock and buy clothes. Morka is about 12.5 kms from Wacha and costs 10 *birr* for car transport and 40 *birr* by motorbike. A few longer-distance trade linkages with W-Sodo, Nazret and Addis Ababa are developing.

#### Services outside the kebele

The health centre, high school, veterinary service and wereda court are in Wacha, preparatory schools in Morka and Selamber, the hospitals in Wolayta Sodo and Sawla/Gofa, and TVET in Sawla. University students are sent all over the country; the federal higher education authority decides who goes where. There are private colleges in W-Sodo and Arba Minch. The prison at wereda level is temporary until the court case is finished; the main prison is in Chenchawereda in the same zone. The school, health centre and both hospitals were said to be good by wereda officials.

For education people go to Wacha to attend Grades 5-10 and other places for college or university as assigned by the Ministry of Education or, in the case of private education, chosen by the household. For health services people use the health centre at Wacha and the hospital in Wolayta Sodo. Do'oma people also go to the wereda town of Wacha for veterinarian services, the court, grinding mill, shops and other wereda offices. It takes 45 minutes to walk to Wacha from the centre of the kebele and costs 10 *birr* by motorbike. The main towns people go to for health services, work and education are Wolayta Sodo and Arbaminch. Wolayta Sodo is about 95 kms from Wacha and the cost of travel is 50 *birr*. Arba Minch is about 223 kms and the cost of travel is 100 *birr*. The cut off by the rivers to get out of the wereda has been a big problem but it should be solved soon as one bridge has been completed and the second should be finished soon.

#### Migration

People out-migrate seasonally for agricultural work and to towns in the Region. There is no international migration. In 2011 there were 25 in-migrants from an area in Amhara.

### External roads and bridges

Until 2012 every summer Deramalo wereda has been disconnected from the main roads as the two main rivers Zage and Domba blocked the roads. However on the road from Wacha to Morka a bridge was recently completed over the Zage river and the bridge over the Domba was scheduled for completion shortly after the fieldwork ended. The first picture shows a motorbike crossing the Domba river and part of the bridge construction. The passenger was crossing the river on foot and would get back on the motorbike on the other side. The second picture is of the newly completed bridge over the Zage river.

Just recently an Isuzu bus began transporting people to Morka. It comes three days a week though inconsistently at times and costs 10 *birr*. A motorbike journey costs 40 *birr*. There is an Isuzu bus to Welayta Sodo. To get to Arba Minch people have to get another transport from Welayto Sodo. The road from Sawla to W Sodo was being upgraded at the time of the research.

People go to Maze (30 kms) where there is a big market, mainly for livestock. Here too there are two big rivers, the Masta and the Osane. They have a big volume only for a short period of hours after rain and people wait until they go down. No bridge construction has started yet and it does not block people in the rainy season. The only transport is motorbikes at the cost of 50 *birr* per person.

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

Do'oma is not one of the economically better-off kebeles because of inconsistent rainfall; it is about average. However, there is very good participation and more motivation for change than in other kebeles. Respondents said that Do'oma kebele is open to new thinking and modernisation. For example there is a relatively high reduction in harmful traditional practices compared with the more traditionalist highlanders. As the kebele is close to the wereda town the residents have better access to shops, school, health centre, private clinics and recreational services such as table tennis for youth.

### **Conflicts with neighbours**

There have been conflicts over irrigation water with two neighbouring kebeles.

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

#### **Crises since 2005**

The community was badly hit by **drought** resulting in deaths of people and animals in 2007/8 and 2010/11. A community respondent said that nothing was provided for the most affected households. There were FFW programmes in both years but the process of selection was unfair and benefited relatives and friends of the kebele officials. PSNP beneficiaries were not participants. Also in 2010/11 the wereda gave 150 *birr* in two rounds for those who were victims of the drought and the PSNP provided wheat for one month to a maximum amount of 50 kilos for a household. In those years malaria chronically expanded as community members lost their immunity due to the food shortage.

When the drought is prolonged it causes crisis beyond feeding difficulties; people sell whatever they have to buy their one or two times a day meal. The only food items available are pancakes made of maize flour or potato. Children become too weak to get motivation for school and there is no serious follow up and force to push them to attend regularly and besides they will not be interested to study due to the crisis at home. At this time illness becomes common but it is hard to afford medication even at the health centre level. So far there was no problem created in household relationships due to drought or food gap, but villagers are unable to cooperate with each other as most of them are in the problem. There is no conflict, theft or crime related to the drought seasons. People sell firewood and grass, and hire as labourers in any possible opportunity in the investment and in Wacha town, but migrating elsewhere is not common at this period, as it needs money to travel to new places. However, a few young people migrate at different times to nearby towns like Sodo, Arbaminch, Sawla, and Selamber, though it is not a large number.

The only human epidemic is malaria. It leads people, particularly the children and the old ones, to death every year. In 2008/9 and 2010/11 it was chronic and many people died because of scarcity of curative medicines at the health centre. Also people too poor to go to the health centre also died as they used different herbs like *gara*, *chemish* and *haleko* to treat themselves.

**Floods** are another factor which make the community unproductive and self-insufficient. In rainy seasons the Zage river floods the farmlands near the riverbank. Flooding was severe in 2009, 2010 and 2011. In these years some women respondents said that the flood damaged about 50% of the farmlands, especially irrigable land. The flood eroded land cultivated with crops like maize, bananas, avocados, mangoes, papaya, sweet potatoes and *godere* (taro). The wereda gave 75 kilos of wheat to a few affected households. There is also a seasonal **wind** that causes many problems in the community. It usually comes between December and March and April and July. In 2006 twenty

households were demolished, in 2010 three houses, and in 2008, 2009 and 2011 two houses. In 2011 the wind also demolished the Health Post. There is **fire** in the community every year. Mostly it happens in the drier season, particularly in December. There are people who set fire to grazing land expecting better grass to grow in the rainy season. The kebele administration, involving people in campaigns, tries to put out the fire using tree branches. The fire damages straw which is used to build roofs and for grazing. In 2001 25 houses were burned.

There are **crop diseases** which damage and lower the productivity of maize, onions and tomatoes. *Kotokole* badly affected maize on a few farms in 2011. Starting from last year's harvesting season the quality of onions and tomatoes produced was low because of vegetable disease. Diseases on papaya tree had reduced production since 2009. **Livestock diseases** kill many oxen, bulls, heifers and calves. Many died in 2010/11. One poor respondent lost an ox, cow, calves and 48 poultry in April 2011.

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

### **Cultural change and events**

In Womala women suspected of having **evil eyes** have been forced to leave their home. Since 2008 five married women left the community. The elders group decided this based on the appeals of community members. If there are repeated appeals the elders group calls for a meeting at large/ In the meeting they ask the husband of the suspected woman to let his wife go. If he resists they call the youngsters of the sub-kebele to demolish his home at night. Most husbands are not willing to take the risk and are easily convinced by the elders.

There was a big meeting, locally called *dubush* (*awchachign* in Amharic) organised by kebele officials on December 4<sup>th</sup> 2010. It takes place on open ground. The officials wanted to find out who stole a water-harvesting plastic and the weighing scales from the grinding mill. The community had pointed at four people. The elders group asked them to give their oaths. One of them hesitated to do so and promised to pay back.

In the past it was not common for women to wear trousers or pyjamas but since 2005 a few young women are doing so. People used to wear plastic shoes but now a few people have leather ones and young men wear sport shoes of different makes. There are community members who aspire to a modernised life style, Three men built a house in Wacha town. One of them opened a shop and sells soap, sugar, biscuits and other items. There are farmers who have been trying to cultivate high value crops and businessmen involved in trading crops, vegetables and fruit outside the zone.

The celebration of Meskel as a social and religious day is reducing because of the expansion of Protestantism. There is a reduction in expenditure on different ceremonies and harmful traditional practices have declined since 2006. The *kalichas*, traditional believers, are no longer available in the community.

### **Social change and events**

The frequency of conflict within the community was said to be very low. In 2009 a 25 year-old man killed two peers with a slasher; he committed the crime emotionally. Recently a young man raped a nine year-old girl. The community members at large appealed to the kebele officials to take the case to the wereda court. However the accused persuaded the girl and both said they are in love with each other. The community and the court could do nothing if the accuser does not want to continue the case.

### **Economic change and events**

Community members have been learning **new ideas** from the working culture of the Amhara immigrants who introduced new crops and vegetables. For example farmers have started to till the land repeatedly; this smooths the soil so it can easily capture moisture. At home people have started to dig holes for latrines and waste disposal and some members have different kinds of kitchen

cupboards. Some have gardens around their compounds, mostly covered by flowers. Others cultivate trees of different kind.

Livelihood changes, which are discussed in greater detail below, included new crops, new farming technologies and techniques, extension of the irrigation canal branches, new means of transport, credit provision, and the closing of Zage Agro-industry in 2005 and the auctioning of the land to new owners in 2011.

### Political change and events

In 2010 cabinet members from the Zone visited the community to mobilise people for the national election. Some respondents said that the 2005 and 2010 elections were unfair. The election committee was forcing the electors to elect the ruling party.

### Development progress

The wereda vice-administrator said the progress in Do'oma's **livelihoods** was the use of modern farming from the agricultural extension programme and the access to irrigation. They are organising themselves into groups of three or four to take their products to town to get better prices, cash crops are becoming common, and there is a small amount of bull fattening. People are building houses with iron roofs. People can access credit and saving services from the wereda since 2008 and the service will soon be available at kebele level. The main challenges are rainfall shortage, a road network that hinders contact during the rains, and malaria. There are no employment opportunities except farming.

There is a new primary school built with NGO support and the community are expanding it by constructing a new four-room building. The wereda plan to upgrade it to Grade 5. There is a high school near the kebele that started functioning in 2004. There is a health post with preventive packages and a health centre in Wacha, whose capacity needs building, and referral to W Sodo or Sawla hospitals.

The rich household head said that while infrastructure and livelihood improvement was taking place gradually health and education interventions were producing rapid changes. For example the health extension activities were changing attitudes to sanitation, feeding, childcare, maternal care, HTPs etc. His wife said:

'There is multi-dimensional change in the community. She elaborated, "the intra and inter community roads have facilitated the community communication among them and with the outside. The bridge would initiate the expansion of the public transport sector in the community. Regarding community's livelihood, we are now better off as compared to the previous years. The community has started to cultivate new crops such as onion, carrots, chickpeas and sesame. The community members are well aware of the health problems caused by lack of environmental and personal hygiene.'

The politically active hh head said there was no rapid change in the community. Road construction is at its infant stage and while education is improving the kebele has first cycle only and there is no preparatory school in the wereda. Livelihoods are improving though gradually; hand to mouth feeding is on the way to being changed but there is lack of surpluses that change life. The health extension service is good for prevention and its attempt to control malaria with bednets, DDT and the provision of malaria tablets but they don't have a health centre in the community. Social relations are improving because the political cell, development meetings, public works and DAs' interventions have brought people closer and they work together. His wife took a more optimistic view. Infrastructural changes have increased communication within and beyond the community. Livelihoods have shown considerable progress as the community has started to produce high value crops with high market demand and prices. The community has better access to the health centre and private clinics in Wacha. There is a commitment among community members to help each other, particularly among those who are followers of the same church.

The poor household head said changes were slow and gradual. There is no new road or electricity in the community and he can't afford a mobile phone. Livelihood changes affecting him are livestock diseases and increasing rainfall insufficiency. Health education and malaria tablet provision is helpful and the primary school is well-built but there is no-one in the household of school age. After his economic status deteriorated people in the community have become less respectful to him. His wife said the livelihood of the community is very stagnant and she would like a means to bring them out of shortage of food. She said women are becoming more interested in joining *equbs* to change their life and *iddirs* are playing a role in getting members together in all spheres of life.

The woman heading the better-off FHH said the main changes to livelihoods were the PSNP and access to savings and credit. She said there was a big difference in the prevalence of malaria compared with earlier times. The building of the high school in Wacha has lowered the expense of schooling.

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

The zone identified Deramalo wereda as one of three *weredas* with potential for maize, potatoes, wheat, barley and *enset*. There is irrigation potential from three rivers, though they dry up in the dry season.

The main potential is the irrigation that can be upgraded and support for better agricultural development; apart from this there is no potential worth mentioning. New wereda plans for the kebele include finishing the electric power programme, small bridges across the canals on the internal roads, and expansion of hand pump water near the school since the other water points are far from the school. The funding for the electricity should come from the ELPA at Wolayta Sodo and the small bridges fund from the wereda. The water point expansion should be funded from a matching fund from the wereda and regional water development office. During bridge construction the community is expected to contribute voluntary labour to collect stones and assist in the construction. After the water points are done people are expected to build a fence and manage the consumption. There is a new plan to open a preparatory school inside the Wacha high school by adding new buildings using the wereda fund. The community contributed for the fence building and the rest will be covered by the wereda.

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

Here is a selection of opinions. It would be good if public transport at a fair price connecting the wereda with Sodo town could be provided as private transport is hard to find and costs 50 *birr*. Internal roads and the other road going to Wacha need improving. If the road in the kebele connected traders to Wacha town without problems this would help output sales and improve the motorbike business for youth.

The area is surrounded by rivers and has a hot climate that can grow new items as they are experimenting now. The poor FHH head said above all the government must introduce high technology for irrigation that could help extend the irrigated land to the centre. She thought this could be done using water pumps. The government should stop pressurising the community to use fertilisers; agricultural inputs must be left for the household to decide. The price of agricultural inputs should be reduced.

If a veterinary service was in place livestock production could be another potential. The better-off FHH head said the government should provide new breeds that resist the hotter nature of the environment.

In terms of services people said that the electricity project should be completed soon and the government should improve the main road from town to the kebele, provide a health centre, upgrade the school to Grade 8, provide more water points in the kebele in the form of tap water rather than pumping ones. They should initiate service co-operatives such as unions shops and a

grinding mill in the community.

The wife in the poor household said that the government was not doing much for women. 'There is no provision of land for women. Women are suffering a lot to get to grinding mill. We could not access saving and credit association. The only way women could access credit is if they get married to a man who has a land.' The middle-wealth wife said the government should support women in a way that could change their livelihood: credit, access to farmland, support for the women's association, and for shops. Non-farm opportunities include trading of agricultural outputs if access to capital and transportation is improved. A grinding mill is an opportunity which would also reduce the burden on children and women carrying grain to town. A special credit programme with low interest rates for women would help them and they also need training in different work such as tailoring and opening businesses.

A number of women wanted the government to stop banning female circumcision as it could not be accepted at large. The poor FHH head said 'it is a dominant culture of the society to circumcise girls. Although, the government is saying that circumcision makes a challenge in times of delivery, we could not accept it because practically we are giving birth to children without any major problem.' She also said that women who are not circumcised become shameful and shy.

A young woman said for herself she aspired to rear her children properly and for the community the establishment of co-operatives.

A young man wants the community to get out of poverty by being productive and self-sufficient. Another said it was the duty of the government to change the condition of the community and provide it with all the necessary services and assistance. A third said his aspiration was to work hard on share-cropping to get enough money to buy his own irrigated land to change his life and improve his family status: to be food secure, have a house with an iron roof, and send his children to school up to college.

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

### ***Household structures***

There are about 450 households in the kebele and the average household size was said to be 5. The ideal household structure was said to be same as in any other rural Ethiopian community: patriarchal administration in a household containing parents and children where married children live in their own hut on shared land with parents or elsewhere in the kebele if the administration provides them with land. Everyone in the community should pay land tax and even those with no farmland pay it for the land on which they built a hut. There are 21 immigrants from North Shewa settled in the main kebele. The proportion of out-migrants could not be told since it is haphazard and seasonal. The number of people in the kebele is estimated at 2,250 and there are about 70 dependent youth who still live with their parents. Households in Community X: some examples

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

NN (45) was born in Malo-Ezo kebele in Gamo and moved to Do'oma when his parents re-settled. When young he started trading coffee in Sawla and Selamber. He met his wife in Selamber in 1991 and married her in the same year. Now they have 8 children (his wife said 10).

NN is a farmer and his wife works on the vegetables, weeding and watering, in addition to her household chores, childcare and managing the livestock at home. She used to sell food to the workers on the investment farm when it was active. She has been involved in trading for the last five years - buying and selling maize in Wacha town. Two of her daughters have also been involved for the last four years; they spend their profit on clothes, underwear, shoes and exercise books. She has asked her husband to buy a small piece of land in Wacha to build a shop.

NN was a kebele secretary in 1992 and a member of the wereda council in 1995. Now he is one of

the party organisers in the kebele and head of the health volunteers since 2005 as he had some training on health issues during the Derg. When he improved his economy, sanitation, health, feeding et he was appointed a cell leader in 2009 and leader of a one-to-five group in 2010. The household is of middle wealth status in the community. His wife AU (35) belongs to the Gamo ethnic group and is a respected dispute solver and member of the Kalehiwot peace committee. She belongs to the Women's association and is cashier. She is a member of the ruling party and leader of a cell, but it has only managed two meetings since early 2011 when it was organised. They discuss health matters and child rearing. The benefit is discussions of development and political affairs; the disadvantage is the long-term conference which takes up to 20 continuous days; fines are 10 *birr* a day.

The couple have ten children, five sons and five daughters. NN completed Grade 6 and is a farmer and health volunteer. His wife completed Grade 7 and does domestic work and trading. Two daughters are living away from home – MN (17) is in Selamber attending Grade 9 and working as a house help and PN (15) in Arbaminch. She left with two friends who had migrated earlier when they came for the Meskel festival without consulting the family. A week later she phoned her father and gave a contact address/phone which he gave to relatives living in Arba Minch. They took her home and she is attending Grade 6.

Three daughters living at home are in 17 (Re-sitting Grade 8 + trading), 14 (Grade 5 + trading, and 13 (Grade 6 + trading – dislikes school and misses it). The oldest son (12 – attends regularly) is in Grade 5 and helps on the farm. There is a 10-year old also in Grade 2 and sons 9 (informal education at the Protestant church), 7 and 1 month. The baby was born at home with the help of a trained TBA with a HEW.

The household has 1 hectare of irrigated land, which allows them to produce twice a year, and half a hectare of rainfed land. Agricultural productivity has improved as a result of the agricultural extension programme which brought fertiliser and improved seeds. In 2009 he produced 3.5 times the amount of maize he produced before though in following years he did not get so much. Improvements to the road from the community caused the local market price of grain to increase and gave farmers the option to transport their outputs to further markets for better prices. Improvements to the internal roads allows Isuzu cars and motorbikes to come in easily.

This year half his land was used for onions and red peppers for share with one Amhara migrant with 2,500 *birr* gained from both items. In 2011 he planted onions with a Gamo friend and they got 7000 *birr* between them from a small piece of land. The extension programme provides training but lacks practical experimentation, and the experimentation land is not irrigated or used very well. DAs taught farmers to plant in lines and send the water in lines in a way that doesn't wash the seeds away or cause erosion. He owes 300 *birr* for fertiliser which was due three months ago; the kebele hasn't asked for repayment yet but forced him to take more fertiliser for winter irrigation in October. His wife said the DAs advise women to cultivate cash crops such as vegetables and there are extension visits to FHHs with farmland. One problem is that they don't provide seeds such as onion, carrots, and garlic.

Last year the household grew maize, sweet potatoes, teff, haricot beans, tomatoes, onions and red pepper for home consumption. In 2011 the sweet potatoes were damaged by shortage of irrigation water on the farmland. They also produced sesame, avocados, mangoes, oranges and coffee; the fruit trees were planted five years ago and began producing three years ago. The main cash crops were onions, red peppers, 1 quintal of maize though he has kept some for sale after April if there is any left (it depends on the rain). He sold tomatoes for 400 *birr* but much was spoiled after it ripened. Pests are a problem affecting vegetable production.

He had 2 oxen and 2 milking cows and 4 calves in 2007 but between 2008 and 2011 he lost 6 cows and oxen – now he has a cow, ox and 3 calves and plans to buy another ox once he has finished his new iron sheet roof house which is almost done. The household cuts grass in December and January

and stores it properly; recently they started feeding livestock with crop residues. The one-to-five group and party cell co-ordinate co-operation among neighbours which has facilitated the customary Deگو co-operation. Sharing of inputs like oxen is common and said to have improved after the DAs advised on co-operative ploughing in turn. The church has assigned followers to provide oxen for those without for a long time as poverty and inequality are felt to create violence and illegality. However, the number of farmers without oxen is decreasing due to the PSNP-related package.

All the family are Protestants and regular attenders at the Kalehiwot church;; AU has been an elder for the last 9 years. NN is a member of a Meskel equb organised by the church. He is a member of an *iddir* which does not give loans or pay out for illness. His wife saves 8 *birr* a month with a person called Bankiso. The household is a member of the Kalehiwot church mehaber which holds regular feasts every three months in different kebeles.

The new house is almost finished and they have bought better furniture including a bed, sofa and table, chairs, sheets, blankets, kitchen utensils, and clothes and shoes for the family. The latrine has a straw roof, concrete floor and wooden walls and all household members use it throughout the year except for the two younger children who are afraid because the floor is not smooth. They use firewood and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting. Children can eat 4 times a day and instead of just maize and sweet potatoes they also eat haricot beans, tomatoes, onions, carrots, cabbages etc. His wife said they still eat maize cooked in various ways; they eat more milk, butter and eggs as they have stopped selling them and also more sesame and fruits. They eat less meat due to the rising price.

Women and girls are spending less time on domestic work as the water point is closer and there is a grinding mill. Also there are some husbands and sons who now fetch water, collect firewood and harvest sweet potatoes which previously had been left to women. Women are doing more domestic work because they are sending their daughters to school. This is not the case for her as her daughters have a programme to manage their share of household work. Women and girls are becoming more overloaded as they get involved in more work on the farm, trading and daily labour.

AU has tried to implement the hygiene and environmental sanitation packages (except for pest control) but her daughters are reluctant. Her elder daughter is circumcised and she wants to circumcise her younger daughters as well so they can be self-confident in the community.

AU gave birth a month before the interview; she monitored the pregnancy starting from 6 months at the health centre and got vaccinated by the HEWs in the community. The health centre gave her two checks and gave her a time to come for delivery but she preferred to give birth with a TBA because we believe they are well experienced. The HEWs were away attending a training in the wereda town. The HEWs told her to wait for the immunisation drugs to arrive and have not given her advice or monitored the baby after birth. She had had a contraceptive injection but it caused untimely menstruation, headache, fever and stress so she stopped using contraception and got pregnant within six months. In future she is planning to use other methods.

The household supported the destitute at church with 10 *birr* and ploughed the land of a widow for 2 days. Sometimes they send money to the wife's father who lives outside the community. He sent grain, he thinks not enough, to relatives in Menena wereda in 2010 when excessive rain totally damaged harvests; they had emergency aid but not enough.

NN bought a mobile phone in 2010 and used it to find out the price of onions in Sodo which was 5 *birr* a kilo, while it was 6 *birr* in Wacha so he sold locally. He bought a radio in 2010 and learned about the success of model farmers from planting onions etc. They learn about development, current issues, sports and entertainment and the great dam construction. His wife said they listened to programmes on health issues and learned a lot about balanced food and the importance of garlic and hot peppers to prevent diseases. They listen to Protestant songs on their tape recorder.

NN was one of 22 people arrested last year during the fight between people in the kebele and those

in the sub-kebele over the electricity poles. He was held for 6 days and released.

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

BB (45) and his wife TT (40) are both from the Gamo ethnic group; he is from one of the wealthy families in the kebele. From the Derg regime to 2010 he was involved in different kebele positions as chairman, secretary, social court judge etc; since then he has been an elder and a leader of a 1-5 development structure. He was kebele chairman between October and December 2010 when he was demoted.

He is also a party member and leader of a party cell. He was nominated as a Model in 2008 and 2010 but did not get first prize. His wife is a member of the ruling party, the Women's Association, League and federation. She opened a shop in the community but closed it due to mice and because her children were stealing money when they worked in the shop. She keeps the commodities in a part of the house. She said she had started the business with 400 *birr* and now has 1000 *birr*, though her husband said the villagers took credit, didn't repay their debts and didn't bring bottles back which led to bankruptcy in 2010.

The couple met in Do'oma in 1985 when they came for the re-settlement and married in 1986. He completed Grade 8; she did not go to school.

They have 10 children, 5 boys and 5 girls, aged 24 to 8. The three oldest were living in towns – CB (24 and married) left in 2011 to study ICT at a private college in Arba Minch; his father had to pay 120 *birr* for house rent, for fees 250 *birr*, for pocket money 100 *birr*, one quintal of maize per year for food with other things, 1000 *birr* for clothes which the father says is much problem and cost for clothes and shoes.

DB (23) was in Hawassa working as a waitress having completed Grade 5 and left home three times without permission; her father brought her back twice but now she is in Sawla and he says let her try the life she has aspired to – she can come back. MB (22) had been in Sodo since 2009 working as a trader having completed Grade 9, married and had a child – she re-joined school this year and works in her husband's shop after school while he gives a motorbike service. The eight children still at home were all continuing education in Grades 1, 4, 5, 6 and 10. The oldest son also worked as a farming assistant but only on Saturday when there was no class and the 11 year old as a livestock herder. One daughter (16 – Grade 6 - deaf) also helped with domestic work and the other (13) worked as a trader. The others fetched water and collected firewood.

The household has 1.25 hectares of irrigable land. It grew maize, sweet potatoes, teff, tleko/shiferaw and mango for household consumption and sold 1 quintal of maize and 100 *birr* of mangoes. This year, copying the Amharas, he has grown sesame which is soon to be harvested; he hopes to get 1 quintal from  $\frac{1}{4}$  hectares of land to sell locally for 1200 *birr*. He plans to grow onions and red peppers maybe next year (his wife said they grew them this year).

The household's economy has improved mainly due to enhanced productivity that came from the agricultural extension programme: ploughing repeatedly, weeding frequently, applying fertiliser, using new improved seeds, and planting in line. The DAs also advise on improving irrigation. He has help from Dego during planting, weeding, harvesting etc and building a house. He has not required financial help or food from any source in the last 5 years and beyond.

He recently fell into debt when his crop (maize?) died from disease after he had applied fertiliser taken on credit for 1400 *birr* and improved seeds (200 *birr*). He owes about 2000 *birr* for fertiliser mainly as a result of crop failure in 2011. He takes fertiliser credit twice a year and pays in rounds; he does not want to repay the debt from his savings or selling assets but from his crop product. The kebele has asked him to pay the debt but not taken any big measure; the debt has interest but he doesn't know the rate.

The household's livelihood is entirely based on farming with livestock as the second best earner; he

currently has 2 oxen, 2 bulls, 10 milking cows, 2 heifers and 2 calves – all local breeds. Five years ago he had 10 cattle and now he has 18 because by chance there were not affected by disease for long. He supports a large family without problems. In the future he wants to start grain trading using savings of more than 3000 *birr* and the sale of four cattle from the 18 he owns ; he will transport grain to Sodo. If his son in Arba Minch does not get a job after graduation he will start the trade with him. One reason he can plan this is improvements in the road network to Morka and Wolayta.

While BB said his family had never participated in FFW his wife said that six household members worked on the FFW road reconstruction for seven days in April 2011. The work was very easy – 2-3 hours a day. The household was given 150 kg of wheat.

He uses a mobile phone to talk to his children in the towns. The family have had a big tape recorder for 12 years and listen to the radio including news. His wife said they had built a new bigger tin-roofed and cement house and bought chairs, a table, a cupboard, a wooden bed and cooking equipment. They use safe water throughout the year; the waterpoint is 10 minutes' walk and they pay 2 *birr* a month. The latrines has a roof and walls made from straw and has concrete. All household members use it at all times. They use firewood, crop residue and charcoal for cooking and lamps for lighting.

There has been a change in the kind of food they eat in the last five years: different types prepared from maize, more *injera* using a mix of teff, maize and boe (local term for a root plant); and more butter, milk, cheese and meat. They eat less *enset* as the price has risen, but more cabbage, green peppers and onions and pulses such as sesame. Consumption of fruit like bananas, oranges and mangoes has also increased.

With regard to domestic work the waterpoints have helped women and girls but there is a problem with the grinding mill being far. Her husband and sons do not do domestic work apart from the 10 year-old who fetches water and firewood. Sending daughters to school has increased the burden on women. She had a contraceptive injection last year and at the beginning she had some side effects such as headaches and fevers; she said she was not worried about infertility as she does not want to have any more children.

People in the neighbourhood help each other at times of crisis, labour need and for better production. Dego is a longstanding custom and the DAs didn't bring new things to the co-operation. People co-operate in building houses, domestic work for funerals and weddings, sharing of farm inputs, carrying sick people to the Health Centre. BB lent oxen to a young man who lost an ox and a cow last year to plough for a day; others also provided for one day.

The daughter in Sodo married three years ago and his older son who is attending college got married in 2010. There were no ceremonies as his daughter's wedding happened far away and his son just started to live with his lover in a separate house built by his father at the back of the main family house. Many questioned how he had allowed his children to marry without a wedding but there is no major discrimination against the family.

Both husband and wife are members of equb and the husband is a member of village *iddir* and a relatives *iddir*. The villagers' *iddir* has contributions of 3 *birr* a month. He converted to Orthodox Christianity last year; his wife has been a Protestant from the beginning. Four of the children followed him and five followed her; the son in Grade 10 has no preference. The wife is member of the women's association, league and federation; the association is an economic co-operative while the other two were not yet operational. Two sons were members of the youth association. Both parents are party members though there is no benefit. He is leader of a party cell with 30 members. His wife said she did not attend all meetings.

BB said he had heard about the complications caused by female circumcision and had not done it to his younger girls although his wife said the practice was continuing and kebele officials knew and were reluctant on the intervention.

### Household of farmer of middle wealth

LK (40+) and BL (40) were both born and grew up in Dingamo kebele in Kemba wereda, Gamo. They married in 1985 and have seven children, four girls and three boys, aged between 9 and 25. He is a farmer of middle wealth from the Gamo ethnic group and his wife is also Gamo. He was kebele chair from 2006-10. He has a salary from his work as a guard. He a leader of the Kalehiwot church, a member of the ruling party, and a health volunteer. BL has been a member of the Women's Association from the beginning and is an active member of the ruling party who would like to have a role in the kebele structure. In addition to her domestic role she helps her husband with farming, as do the six children outside of school time. The family plan is to engage in bull fattening if they can get micro-credit from the wereda.

Three children are living at home. FL (17) is in Grade 6 at Wacha school; he walks every day (3 kms) and is 5<sup>th</sup> in his class although he reportedly dropped out permanently from school this year having been regularly absent for some time. He helps with farming every day. CL (13) is also in Grade 6; she likes going to school and attends regularly and she also fetches water, helps with household chores, carries food to the family working on the farm, and assists with light farm work. ML (9) is in Grade 3 in Do'oma; he provides water for hand washing and carries things. He dropped out temporarily in this academic year because of malaria; he dislikes school and misses classes deliberately with no reason.

Four children have left home. LL (25) is a student in Grade 10 in Wolayta Sodo; she was 18/67 in Grade 9. FL (19) is in the same class in Grade 10 in Wolayta Sodo and was 8<sup>th</sup> in the class. During the summer they both attend additional school lessons in Wacha given by college students on vacation (who get 400 birr from the wereda) and helps with farming and household chores. The family has no plans relating to her marriage and wishes she could pursue her education. BL (23) is attending Grade 9 in Sodo supported by his relatives although his parents are supposed to send expenses for stationery, uniform, clothes and pocket money. He scored 83% in the Grade 8 national exam and was 13<sup>th</sup> in the class (not in Sodo).

A son of 22 is a soldier in the Tigray Region.

The household has irrigated land. Agricultural output has increased due to improved seeds and fertiliser and the increased prices of maize, teff, sweet potatoes and bananas. He is using a mix of compost and chemical fertiliser on his irrigated land. The household mainly eats maize and sweet potatoes and sells teff, bananas and onions. Last year he planted onions on half a hectare of land expecting 5000 *birr* gain but rain came unexpectedly and he only got 400 *birr* (the seeds cost 375 *birr*). Bananas are sold in pieces at different times - about 1000 *birr* - used for fuel, salt, soap, student support etc. Last year he gave his irrigated land to an Amhara who grew rice - he got 1.5 quintals which the household ate. They also grew some cotton, hot peppers and haricot beans. He planted about 300 eucalyptus trees in 2010 and next year they can be sold for about 2000 *birr*.

Before the extension package arrived farming was traditional; now they plant in rows, use fertiliser and improved maize seed and follow technical advice - e.g. tilling horizontally on irrigated land will help the crop to hold water better than the earlier vertical style that drains the water. There are two types of maize coming - BH140 is not good - it fails to cover fruit entirely, birds easily eat it, and rain damages it. He doesn't want to take much fertiliser due to fear of debt. He pays his fertiliser debt on time every year; if the crops fail he pays from his salary.

The household has two oxen and one cow (milked twice a day) and calf and two traditional beehives. The head is hired as a guard at the investment site with a salary of 600 *birr*. He has two bicycles one which he uses to travel to the investment site and sometimes to his farm; his son rides the other to school. He borrowed his neighbour's hybrid cock and now they have 6 hybrid chickens but there is a wild cat eating all the chickens and there is also a disease. In 2010 he borrowed 3000 *birr* from the irrigation co-operative and fattened a bull; he paid the debt on time. The investor guards formed a

co-operative with 8 members in September at 400 *birr* a month; so far two members have had their share. His wife reported an equb with 10 members who contributes 10 *birr* which they could not contribute to this year as the farmland was flooded. The household belongs to a community *iddir* and a church *iddir*. The wife said that although they had contributed 10 *birr* to the committee organising the *iddir* nothing had yet been done. There are no women's *iddirs* in the area. The household belongs to the Kalehiwot church *mehaber*; there are 12 churches in different neighbouring kebeles.

AU does not remember exactly when they built a new house. They are planning to build a corrugated iron sheet covered house starting in a month. His cousin in Wolayta has promised him 10 iron sheets and one of his relatives in the sub-kebele has promised five plumper for doors and windows and villagers are ready to contribute labour. His co-worker guards in the equb promised him priority in the equb as he is about to build the house. There is better co-operation now because the DAs enhanced co-operative farming which was not strong with the traditional Dego, and there is a party cell with 30 members which is used as one Dego group which facilitated the long-existing haphazard way of joining labour.

The latrine has a concrete floor, wooden walls and a straw roof. All except the two younger children use it regularly except for urinating when they usually use an open area. The latrine has a bad smell that demotivate household members from using it permanently. They have bought cooking equipment, chairs and a radio in the last five years. They reach safe water in 15 minutes but may have to queue for an hour; they use river water to wash clothes which is about 30 minutes. They use firewood, crop residue and charcoal for cooking and kerosene for lighting. In the past they could easily collect firewood from the nearby forest but now the area is allocated to investment so they have to go to a further part of the forest. Household consumption of maize in various forms has continued though now they eat baked bread with sesame which is new; eating of enset had declined due to the price rise. They eat more mangoes, avocados, bananas and oranges; and less butter and more palm oil. They also eat less eggs and milk and meat. They used only to have onions during holidays but now it is cheaper and they eat it more often. They also eat more cabbage. Domestic work is reduced due to waterpoints and grinding mill. In the past men and boys were ashamed to be involved in domestic work. Recently a few men have started to collect firewood and water and a few husbands cook food when women give birth. She has more work as her daughters went to Sodo for education.

All household members are followers of the Kalehiwot church. He got a mobile in 2009 for 950 *birr*. He supports the needy in church, e.g., a blind person from another kebele 20 *birr*; 50 kg of maize to 3 old women. There is no sharing of food with neighbours except help for the destitute. His relative in Sodo is helping by hosting his boy to attend school.

### **Household of poor farmer**

DL is 55/60 and his wife BU is 30/35; they have both been married before. DL is from the Wolayta ethnic group. He was born in Wolayta and came to the kebele in 1980 as a first settler but the drought was too harsh and the government re-settled them in Tadele/Hudad Arat on the way to the Tolay military camp in Oromia in 1983. He stayed there 5 years up to 1988 and returned because the Oromo, the host people, used to steal small children and escape by horse, and also there was conflict with them when they tried to rob settlers mainly on market days. The other problem was that he couldn't learn the Oromo language and communication was a barrier to create social interaction and change the situation. After he returned his wife died after three days disease, probably malaria, and three of his sons died due to malaria since finding medicine was hard even in the health centre as there was not enough supply since many people fell ill at a time. All these deaths happened in a year in 2000.

BU came to Do'oma in search of employment on the investor farm where he was working as a guard. They married BU in 2005. They live with their three daughters aged 4, 3 and 1. BU's son (12) from an

earlier marriage had lived with his grandparents in Gofa since his mother re-married.

From his first marriage DL has a daughter of 30. She went to Wolayta to a relative's house to attend Grade 9 but came back with a baby after informal relations. Her father was angry and kept her at home but in 2009 she married a young farmer in Do'oma. She has two children with the one she had in Wolayta. She lives nearby and sees her father every day. There is also a 25 year-old daughter who attended up to Grade 6 and married in 2010; she lives in Womalo and recently had a baby girl. He sees her at least twice a month. The daughters were married but there was no ceremony; each just went to her lover's house without a formal process of permission. After a year the daughters sent elders to apologise to the father and he accepted it. Then he arranged a ceremony for both at the same time in 2010 – the food and drink cost him 1500 *birr* but he collected 1700 *birr* in contributions.

His son FF is 20 and attended up to Grade 7. He is now in prison as he got drunk and fought with another young man in the market and pulled out a tooth. The court decided he should go to prison for two years and will come out next month. His father visited him once and didn't ask his plans when he returns home but wishes he could re-join school and work hard.

He is one of the six elders working in the main kebele and a member of the EPRDF. His wife belongs to the Gofa ethnic group and is a member of the ruling party.

The household has 1 hectare of irrigated land and two hectares of rainfed land but he couldn't produce much this year. He gave the irrigated land for share-cropping and some neighbours lent him oxen when he cut babies' uvula and some for free. Last year maize (3 quintals) and sorghum (one quintal) were produced and consumed at the household level. They also grew haricot bean, sweet potatoes and boe. They planted mango trees five years ago and started collecting fruit this year. He started to apply fertiliser because it is a must to take it and when he saw other farmers' results they were good; before he used to sell it at a cheaper price. He owes 200 *birr* for fertiliser; its due date is soon and it will be deducted from his PSNP money.

Before 2010 DL had many cattle but in that year he lost 4 oxen and 4 cows to an epidemic. Five months ago a lion came and ate his big ox. Now he has a calf and a pregnant cow due to give birth shortly but no other livestock. They milk the cow three times a day. Three household members are registered in the PSNP since April 2011 because his living condition has declined since the death of his cattle. The household planted 30 eucalyptus trees which he can use when he wants to build a house. The wife bakes *injera* from teff and sorghum twice a week and sells it on market day getting 20 *birr* a week selling about 70 *injera*. She uses the money to buy clothes for herself and the children and items like salt, soap and coffee. She is a member of a women' traders' equb; each contributes 10-20 *birr* once a week preferably on market days..

His wife wanted to work on someone else's farm but he wouldn't allow it fearing another farmer will take his young wife from him, and if she started to go out every day her behaviour might change. The household participates in Deگو but he said people prefer to co-operate with a family with strong hands/young working men. His relatives used to visit when his living status was good but everyone is far apart and they don't remember him.

They have been living in the same house for eight years. In the last five years they have only bought new cooking equipment. It takes 10 minutes to fetch water from the waterpoint but they have to queue every morning. Their latrine is made of stone, dung, wood and straw and the parents use it regularly; the children are afraid to use it. They use firewood and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting.

The household diet was much better before the death of his cattle in 2010; they eat maize pancakes with cabbage or shiferaw and sometimes sweet potatoes. The diet is the same throughout the year; about twice a year they may sell some grain and buy meat. His wife said that they are eating more *injera* and butter, milk and cheese than before. They are also eating more onions and cabbages and

started to use palm oil. They got wheat as part of food for work and beans and palm oil from the emergency programme but it was not enough even to feed the children.

A few husbands and sons are involved domestic work; if the wife gets overloaded or unable to do domestic jobs for different reasons her husband contributes such as preparing food, fetching water and firewood. When she gave birth he was very busy with domestic work as there was no-one else to help her. She has resisted using contraceptives because she is afraid of their side effects.

The head converted to the Mekane Yesus church when he got married to his second wife. He had been an Orthodox Christian but he was isolated and even when he was ill people didn't visit him because the area is full of Protestants. The family is a member of an *iddir* with regular contributions and pay-outs and help and loans. They are also members of a Mekane Yesus church *iddir* where everyone contributes 25 *birr* a year. There is support in times of death and credit. They also participate in an inter-kebele Mekane Yesus mehaber.

Both are members of the EPRDF and participate in cell meetings every 15 days. He missed 6 party meetings last year but was not fined because of illness. His wife attended 5 meetings where they discussed community development. She attended 13 days training organised by the HEWs.

He had a tape recorder two years ago but sold it when the cattle died to cover food expenses. They used to listen to news in Amharic and songs in the local language have sold the radio to cover the costs of medication for one of the children.

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

SI is 55, and sharecrops out her 1 hectare of irrigable land and is also engaged in salt trade; she works as a TBA. She is ethnically Wolaytan and was born in Wolayta. Her husband died ten years ago.

She has applied to be included in the Women's Association but said they did not allow it as she is from Wolayta. She said the kebele always discriminates against her for benefits and she has stopped asking for her rights. She is a member of the ruling party but does not attend all the meetings organised by the cell she belongs to. She had heard about the development group informally but did not know what it was about.

She lives with two sons, a daughter and a grand-son. A daughter (22) and son (20) live at home and attend Grade 10 in Wacha; the daughter completed Grade 10 last year and now is preparing to take the national exam in a private programme. A son of 18 attends Grade 9 and the grand-son Grade 7. The daughter helps with domestic work, the older son sometimes on the farm with the sharecropper, and the other two with livestock herding. One unmarried son of 26 has a BA degree from Arba Minch university and works as a teacher in Wacha; he visits regularly and supports the family financially. An unmarried daughter of 24 lives with him and attends Grade 10

One son of 40 who is married and works as a drivers' assistant from Sodo to Addis Ababa has not contacted the family since he left the community ten years ago. She had heard he got married and has children but when she went to Sodo to look for him she could not meet him. One daughter aged 35 is living in Wolayta town. She left the household nine years ago; she is married with two children and a student at the TVET college. She bakes *injera* and bread for sale. She comes for holidays with her husband and children. Another son is 33; he went to Wolayta with his sister nine years ago and now lives in the town with his wife and two children. He is a driver and works on public transport. He visits the household regularly and has a strong relationship compared with the others in Wolayta. He is supporting the household financially. Sometimes her son brings salt from Wolayta and since he does not ask her to pay for it her profit is high. If he cannot bring salt she buys it from retailers and trades on market days. She is not a member of an equb but the household has an *iddir*; all are followers of the Kalehiwot church. They also participate in the Kalehiwot churches mehaber. All household members are Kalehiwot followers; she goes to church every day in the morning and prays

for two hours.

Since her grown-up children are students the household cannot use the land by itself. The household works on the land at time of weeding which could happen twice a year. In future she wants to stop trading as it is unprofitable and plans to engage her children on the land so they can be self-sufficient with no need to engage in trading. Last year onions, hot peppers and coffee were grown on the land; in the past they grew maize and sweet potatoes. The DAs told her to take fertiliser but her children resisted using it as they said the land would adapt which would make the natural fertility decline dramatically. She once used improved maize seed which increased productivity.

The household has mango and orange trees which started to give fruit this year. They planted eucalyptus trees four years ago but they have not grown enough. The family owns land in Wolayta; she uses the land for herself and sometimes brings maize for the household. No-one has participated in C/FFW. They have an ox, two cows, calves and two chickens. The household has benefited from the DA distribution of new breed poultry as they eat eggs. They eat maize cooked in various ways, and less enset due to the increased price, and more sweet potatoes. They are eating cabbage, and more milk, butter and eggs and oranges, mangoes and bananas because the price is becoming fair as the production increases. They have started to collect their own mangoes and oranges. They have started to eat sesame and are eating less meat due to the rising price.

Recently in co-operation with the sons who support the household they started to build a tin-roofed and cement house. In the last five years they have bought chairs, tables, a kitchen cupboard, a radio and cooking equipment. It takes 15 minutes to walk to the waterpoint. The latrine is made of straw and the wall is covered with used bednets to avoid termite bites. Its floor is made of stone and wood; all use it regularly though sometimes they pee in the open air. They use firewood and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting. Selling firewood is becoming a non-farm activity for women which is making firewood scarce. Domestic work is becoming a burden for women rather than girls who spend time at school. Sons and husbands have started to wash their clothes by themselves. It was common for young sons to collect firewood and fetch water in the past.

She joined the party last year; she is the only household member to have joined. She said she was not interested but kebele officials kept sending her neighbours and relatives to make her join. ;They forced me'. People join the party expecting benefits – e.g. they promised electricity. She has her children and needs nothing from the party so doesn't attend meetings which are time-consuming and irrelevant.

She said the mobile phone was very useful; if she needs money she calls her children and they send it immediately. She listens to Protestant songs using a tape recorder; her children listen to news, sports news and music.

### **Household with a poor woman head**

RO is 50 and a Gamo widow who lives with five children aged 7-18 all daughters except BR who is aged 10. Her husband died four years ago. She is not a member of any woman's organisation or of the party; the kebele calls her to meetings but she is not interested. She is very poor. She does not work voluntarily with the HEWs.

BU (18) is a Grade 4 student though she is not attending regularly as she works as a smallscale trader and a casual labourer on other people's land collecting green peppers (10 *birr* a day). She wants to continue her education and small scale trading side by side. UU who is 12 is a Grade 3 student who works like her sister and mainly goes to school. The move of the primary school to Womala means that the daughters cannot go to market and school on the same day so have to leave early or be absent. The girls use the money they earn to buy clothes, shoes, and other related items.

Years ago she got divorced in her previous marriage. She has one son from that marriage who is aged 25 moved to Gofa in 2009; he completed Grade7, is married and works as a farmer through

share-cropping. Her son BR is a Grade 1 student and his main activity is learning though he is not interested. He works as a casual labourer though rarely finds work. He herds livestock and the owners give him food. He fetches wood from the forest. She is too poor to cover the cost of schooling for all the children. CU (8) is a Grade 1 student but she is absent to do domestic work, DU is seven and a Grade 2 student; she attends school regularly and is not strong enough to be involved in domestic work.

Last year she traded bananas; she tried cutting trees and collecting firewood for the market earlier but it was difficult so she stopped. In previous years she worked on the farm with her children; she also works on the PSNP Public Works – all household members are registered. She said her only option is trading as she can't plough the land and her son is too young. Also the farm is rainfed which results in low productivity; her husband used to grow maize and cotton but now it is unused. The banana trade is seasonal and takes place at the time when the food gap becomes severe.

As she is a PSNP beneficiary she has an obligation to take fertiliser each year; for the last two years she has been giving it to households with farmland with an unclear arrangement to share their production. This year she couldn't find anyone so she left it with another PSNP beneficiary assigned by the kebele officials to share the fertiliser with her. She has never used improved seeds. She has a cow and calf. Four years ago the household had four oxen and two cows; they sold two oxen and a cow for the funeral ceremony. She sold the remaining two oxen to cover the food, education and health expenses of the family and for her son's wedding ceremony.

Her house was built six years ago; it has a thatched roof and mud walls not very well made. The house is deteriorating and is too small for all the family members to live in. She has owned a small and low quality wooden bed, chairs and table since six years ago and has bought nothing new except cooking equipment and plastic dishes and cups. It takes less than five minutes to the waterpoint. They do not have a latrine; they use the open air and sometimes the neighbours' latrines. She uses firewood and crop residue for cooking and kerosene for lighting. They eat maize in various forms and sweet potatoes, though less of these as prices have risen. They eat less enset due to price rise but more fruit and vegetables. There is less consumption of livestock products and meat; they have started using palm oil. They eat three times a day though the amount may vary depending on the price of food in the market. They are too poor to buy coffee so make it from leaves of the plant.

There used to be a grinding mill in the community but it stopped last year; now they have to walk 5 kms to Wacha and queue as people from other kebeles also use the mill. Her girls try to allocate time for domestic work, education and trading; they distribute the domestic work among them so her burden is less.

She does not have a mobile phone but can use one of her neighbours' phones. They do not have a radio but her son listens to music and sports news at a friend's home. A few household members used to watch the TV of a man with a generator though he recently stopped using it due to the increase in price of oil for the generator.

Her husband died in an accident; the iddir made a tent and prepared food and drinks for the burial and gave her 180 *birr* in cash. She prepared a celebration at 40 days and a year after death that cost around 700 *birr*. Her son's wedding was held on Gofa and 16 people were invited from Gofa. She sold a bull for 900 *birr*, purchased domestic implements for the couple, and gave her son the remaining 900 *birr*. The groom gave 1000 *birr* to the bride's parents.

The household belongs to two *iddirs* men's and women's. She contributes 4.50 *birr* to the men's and 2.5 to the women's. There is access to loans which must be paid back within a month with no interest. She also belongs to the kebele iddir which obligates members to contribute 1 *birr* at time of death. She is a follower of the Orthodox Church and goes to church once a week. Her two elder daughters are Protestants.

Since her husband died her relatives in Gofa started to co-operate with her as they understood that

she was lonely. She visits every two years and they cover the transport costs; when she took her son to Gofa hospital they contributed some money.

## **Structures of inequality in 2012**

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

#### **Overall community wealth**

Despite the persistent weather problems overall community economic wealth has increased since 2005 as a result of agricultural extension inputs and advice, a move to grow high-value crops on irrigated land spear-headed by some in-migrants from North Shewa, more non-farm opportunities in the growing nearby wereda town, and the PSNP. This has been reflected in improved living standards; for example one respondent said that though there are some living in deteriorating homes the majority in the community have built new houses and a few have built tin-roofed and cement houses. People are building livestock barns separate from their houses and a few have separate kitchens, often the old hut, to make the living room free from smoke. People were said to be more interested in buying chairs, wooden beds and cooking equipment and were buying better clothes and shoes; there have been some improvements in diet.

#### **Spatial poverty**

Those living in the main kebele Do'oma are nearer to the services provided in the wereda town than those living in the sub-kebele Womala. Many of those living in the remoter edges of the kebele who are further from Wacha are near one of the rivers giving access to irrigation although also risks of flooding.

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

Better-off households are those who have up to 4 pairs of oxen, 400x400 metres land including irrigable land, 3-4 cows, those who can survive easily during drought season, have corrugated iron sheet roof houses etc. They can store their products and sell them when the price is good. They have beds, foam mattresses, sofa type wooden chairs, tape recorders, mobile phones, etc. There are about 14 better off/ very rich households out of 450 in the kebele.

Some women respondents said that there is a visible income inequality between those who have irrigated land and those who do not. Those who have enough irrigated land and labour can produce vegetables. The effect on the family in general is good and they may have good housing in the village and houses in Wacha town. The minimum cost of a house with an iron sheet roof is 10,000 *birr*. Their food, clothing and house furniture is well improved and they can afford medication costs up to hospital level and send their children to preparatory school in Selamber town and elsewhere.

The household could move from hut to corrugated iron sheet house very soon, in a few months, good housing is a sign for improvement, he is supporting his daughter attending better education in Selamber town, and he is planning to fund her in college in Wolayta in the future. He bought better furniture like bed, wooden sofa and table, kitchen utensils including a thermos, he purchased clothes and shoes for children and the whole family. Children can eat even four times a day, without thinking of shortage, the items also changed from only being maize and sweet potato, by adding haricot bean, tomatoes, onions, and carrots, cabbage etc. (Politically-active head of household)

One man owned a TV and generator although he did not use it all the time due to running costs.

Middle class farmers usually have one ox, between half and one hectare of land, a bed with a foam or grass mattress, and maybe a radio.

Worse off are those who always need to supplement their livelihood by doing labour work on others' farms, who sell grass and firewood, who have no ox, have small land holding, are part of PSNP direct or public work, are old and sick unable to be productive etc. They have no bed or

facilities at home except some clay and plastic goods that do not cost much. The proportion of these people is estimated to be between 20% and 25%.

She explained that the house which currently the family is living in was built six years back. The house has a thatched roof and walls that are not well made of mud. There is a partition in which one part is used for living room and bedroom while the other part is used as kitchen and livestock barn. She said that the house is deteriorating though she could not remake it as she is a widow with no well enough grown children to help her. Besides the deterioration, it is too small for all family members to live in. (Women heading poor FHH)

The only destitute people in the kebele are a few old people and one disabled man who cannot walk without using his hands; all are PSNP beneficiaries and the man makes and sells some traditional clothes.

A major reason for becoming poorer is loss of oxen due to disease or forced sale during drought.

### **Problems poor people face**

The amount and quality of food available in poor households is often inadequate, especially during the hungry season and in times of rain failure. It is hard to meet health service costs, including for malaria, and households are more likely to resort to self-medication and traditional practitioners. Many houses are small and poorly-maintained and are less likely to have latrines due to unaffordable costs. It is hard for poor farmers to buy improved seeds and they are more likely to sell livestock to meet urgent needs making it difficult for them to farm their land themselves and more likely to give it for share-cropping or rent.

Children growing up in poor households have problems meeting the costs of going to primary school and Grades 9-10 in Wacha – clothes, shoes, exercise books, and pens. They may have to work to raise money to cover these costs and making them regularly absent from classes. If they get grades good enough for entry to preparatory school they are unlikely to be able to afford the costs associated with living in the town of Selamber.

Generally poor households and people are less able to benefit from government services since they lack resources for the investments which most such services require. For example the husband in the poor household said that infrastructure changes have been slow and gradual and he has not benefited. The livelihood changes have been negative – livestock diseases and drought. Having malaria pills from HEWs has been helpful as has some of the education. His wife said the infrastructure changes have not brought them any benefit and the livelihood of the community is stagnant. She would like a means to bring them out of food shortage.

Poor people are often powerless and not treated with respect. The head of the poor household said that after his economic status declined people are becoming less respectful. The head of the poor FHH said her husband bought some land by contract purchase but after he died when she started ploughing the 'legal' owner stopped her saying she is not entitled to the land because she is a woman. She appealed to the elders who decided the land should be returned; she said it was against women's rights. The elders had no concrete reason to take her land; they did it because she is poor and has no relatives to help her.

### ***Social identity***

#### **Ethnicity**

There are five ethnic groups found in the community the largest being the Gamo. Around three-quarters of the community are estimated to be from the Gamo and Gofa groups while 15% are estimated to be Wolayta. About 7% are Male/Werazea from Jinka and 5% are Amhara migrants. Gamo people are better off on average as they have larger irrigated and rainfed farmland as they were the first settlers. The relation between the ethnic groups was said to be positive and good although a woman heading a household said she had not been allowed to join the women's

association '*because ethnically I am Wolayta*'. She said that kebele officials discriminated against them because they are not Gamo or Gofa which are the most privileged ethnic groups in the community. She said no kebele officials inform the family if something useful is brought by the wereda for the kebele. For example, she did not get access to water-harvesting technologies, but '*when it comes to obligation we are treated in equal manner*'.

The Amhara migrants who number around 22 are new since 2005; some moved in from neighbouring kebeles. In general they have good relations with the community and are being taken as agents of change introducing new crops and techniques. They are considered to be naturally clever and hardworking.

A young man said that the Gamo language became the medium of instruction in the first cycle at school ten years ago. It was important to understand the subjects taught in his own language but it also means that now he does not understand Amharic well, as his father does as he was taught in Amharic.

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

The Gamo have various clans including the Demuta, Kalicha, Huduga, Barya and Amara. The first two have higher status and usually Huduga are rich. There are clan leaders living in Malo Eze kebele where the main Gamo clan is found but there is no clan leader in Do'oma. The Amhara are believed to have ancestors from Amhara in the north. The clan called Barya (Slave) was the one believed to be descended from earlier slaves working for rich households but this naming is no longer allowed following an intervention from the wereda in 2006.

There are about 25 **craft workers** in the community including wood workers, weavers, potters, blacksmiths, skin scratchers/relaxers, etc. Among the men there are six carpenters, two blacksmiths and two weavers and there are about eight women engaged in pottery. The main work of carpenters is making furniture, like chairs, beds, farm tools, windows and doors. The beds and chairs are made of wood and animal skin. The black smiths make knives and farm tools including sickles. Weavers make *gabi*, *buluko* and traditional dresses. Carpenters and weavers get better money than smiths in the community, because their products are worth more than iron tools and they have more acceptance in the community than smiths and potters who are believed to come from the *Barya* clan of the Gamo. A carpenter said '*Smiths and potters are not allowed inter-marriage with the wider community, they don't eat and drink with the wider community, and their funeral place is separate because they don't deserve to be buried with the so-called pure community. When it comes to membership of iddir they can join with Protestants but not with Orthodox Christians. But carpenters and weavers are not discriminated against in this regard.*'

The relation with Orthodox Christians in the community is not good because they don't give these people good seats except a stone at the door, they can't be given milk in any house, and they can't participate in a shared *iddir*. A potter said that all craftworkers dislike Orthodox Christians for the discriminating tendency of the few; '*one day when I suddenly went to my Orthodox Christian neighbours' house they had been eating. They said to me "get out immediately". I felt much sorrow at this and left their home*'. She is a member of a Protestant church *iddir* and very comfortable living with most community members.

### **Religion**

Years ago there were pagans, Muslims, Protestants and Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Nowadays there are no Muslims in the community and there are only four pagans/*kalicha*. The traditional belief is animistic – a belief in natural objects. Protestantism has expanded since 2006. A small group of women respondents said that around 75% in Do'oma were followers of the Kale Hiwot church and around 20% followed Mekane Yesus with the remainder following Orthodox Christianity. The leader of the Orthodox church said 65 households were church members although not more than 20 of these regularly attended services. Only two of these households were in the main kebele. Overall

around 90% of the population are estimated to be Protestant and the remainder Orthodox Christian. There is no difference in economic status between the two religious groups.

### **Native/immigrant**

A few people migrated in who are relatives of earlier settlers. Though the migrants interviewed complained about not having land the kebele chairman said that half of the in-migrants had been given land and land will be distributed soon for the remainder.

Ato C D was the first person who heard about Do'oma when he was travelling from North Showa to Gofa Zuria wereda in 2004 to visit his relative who had migrated and settled there. He had conversations about the fertility of southern Ethiopia and mainly Gofa, but a person who knows Deramalo wereda told him in the middle of the conversation about the fertility of Deramalo wereda which he described as 'a soil growing everything except salt'. Then he initiated two of his friends and travelled to the wereda. During their journey they had no serious problem, except a long time waiting to get transport from Sodo town to Morka and from Morka to Wacha, the town of Deramalo Wereda. When they arrived, they contacted the wereda administrator who had a welcoming approach. He took them to his house and his wife who is Amhara from Gonder welcomed them with hospitality and hosted them for three days till they were referred to Do'oma kebele, with a support letter, which said *'these are hardworking people who voluntarily came to the wereda to live with our people, they are hard workers and know techniques of farming well, they will be helpful to educate the community about farming, therefore accept them and give them land for huts and farmland, but take care not to let many in-migrants into the kebele.'*

The kebele welcomed them as well and first gave them plots of land for house construction, which are in the middle of the community. Then after they received the land, they went back to North Showa, and returned having collected some money from their home and relatives to construct a house in 2005. In this same year the kebele provided them farm land.

The first year had good rainfall amount and the climate was not that bad, that year, 2007, they also produced teff and haricots, but in 2008 there was drought, which frustrated the newcomers, but they hoped the conditions would improve and in 2009 the rain was good which enabled them to produce many items of products including red peppers, they said that they stopped sowing teff, because it needs dependable rain. Hereafter other Amhara in-migrants began to come to the kebele and other surrounding kebeles like Masta kebele.

AS is 30 and migrated from North Shewa to Sinano kebele which is 10 km from Woliso and stayed there for a year from 2006 to 2007. Then he moved to Do'oma following earlier migrants since the land in Sinano was too small. Those who arrived a year earlier got some land but he got nothing. He bought land to build a house for 1500 *birr* and paid 1800 *birr* for 50x50m of farmland by contract agreement. This was really a sale but they wanted to keep the agreement formal as a way out for the policy that prohibits land sales. He now has a wife and baby. He planted selected seed maize on contract land and got 14 quintals in 2010 which he sold for 5000 *birr*. He also got 4000 *birr* from share-cropping onions and 6 quintals from share-cropping on irrigated land for household consumption. In 2011 he planted peppers all over his farm and expected a much better income. He said there was no land in his home area for his generation and although his older brothers got small plots there was none for him so he chose migration. He is disappointed that the kebele is denying him land but said it was common everywhere including in his home area. He owns four oxen and two cows from his efforts since he came to the kebele. He said he is interested to re-settle if there is a programme since he is not confident to live in the area. Sometimes they look at him as a stranger and migrant and re-settlement would give him a chance to live as a legal settler. But on his own he has no plan to leave the area.

AA, 42, migrated from North Shewa directly to Do'oma in 2009 leaving his wife and children behind.

He left home due to land shortage; he had a hectare of infertile and eroded land on a hillside and though he worked all year he got less than 3 quintals of grain. His uncle came to Do'oma four years ago and told him he could get land through contract purchase. When he arrived he stayed in his uncle's house but after 20 days his uncle got 4000 *birr* from his pepper sale and in the nights robbers came and asked for the money. He refused to open the door and they set the house on fire losing 10,000 *birr*, 15 quintals of grain and all the household assets including A's clothes and food. Luckily the people escaped from the house by breaking it. He bought 1.5 hectares of land by contract with 5000 *birr* he had brought from home. He is also working on share-cropping. The kebele told him to bring the document (*meshegna*) from his home kebele if he wanted land but when he brought it they said he would have to wait.

Three in-migrants from Juhur in North Shewa who came to the community in 2009 settled first near Wolkite in Gurage Zone for seven years where they worked on land by share arrangements and by contracting. A group of them decided to move to Do'oma as people told them there was plenty of land there. They came in two rounds. The wife of one of the first round in-migrants said that they were given rainfed land which was unproductive and worked on irrigated land through share-cropping and contracting; they pay 1800 *birr* a year for a piece of irrigated land. Two respondents who came in the second round said that the group faced challenges from landlessness and the harsh environment. Because of this more than half the households in the group went back to North Shewa while some migrated to Mizan Teferi (160 kms south-west of Jimma) where the environment is reportedly conducive for cereal production. Those who have returned to Juhur are worse off. None of the respondents is planning to return to Juhur. *'How can we survive there? We already sold our fixed assets. We do not have any cash and collaterals at hand. Therefore, it is unthinkable to go back to our homeland.'*

Today there are 22 Amhara in-migrant households just in Do'oma Kebele. None of them has food shortages or financial problems. Their plan is to engage in bull fattening and other businesses and build houses in Wacha town. They are better off than the villagers though they daren't say they are very rich. Their children are getting education and better facilities, milk, and better clothes. They eat well and the sanitation and medical facilities are better than they were in North Shewa. One thing they have adopted from the host community is a fast food called *fosesea* which they have for breakfast; previously the wives had to cook *wet* and *injera* which took a long time so they had to get up at 5 a.m.

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

There are two people who are mentally ill, one disabled man, about 10 orphans and two old people who need support

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

DD, who is 45, has a **walking disability** which he was born with; he has to use his hands to get about. He was married twenty years ago and is living with his wife; he could not have children. His livelihood is based on farming with the help of his wife who also makes *areke* for sale and his sister. She left home to marry in 2007 but she is near and comes frequently to help him cut grass for cattle, fetch water, and collect firewood. He has 50x25m<sup>2</sup> of irrigated land which he gives for share-cropping; he is required to participate in weeding and *kutkuato*<sup>1</sup>. He gets 1.5 quintals of maize every six months. He is a direct beneficiary of PSNP and gets aid for four people including the sister who moved out and one who died in 2008. He has been a party member for six years and the community are good and empathetic to him. People built him a hut though there is no other help even in times

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<sup>1</sup> Digging around a plant to make it grow well (Amharic)

of drought.

The output on his land has increased from one quintal of maize to 1.5 as a result of fertiliser and planting in lines as recommended by the agricultural extension services. He planted a tree in front of his house though no-one told him to do it. As a result of the health extension advice he has a toilet which is *'more comfortable for him than walking with hands all the time and also it feels safer sitting in a covered toilet than in the open air.'* He said having a bednet reduced the frequency of malaria from two to three times a year to only one; he can get malaria tablets from the HEWs. None of the education interventions affect him as he has no children and is not educated.

Last year he paid 15 *birr* land tax, 6 *birr* for the party and 41 *birr* for education and kebele expenses, all deducted from the PSNP benefit. He participates in some party cell meetings but is exempted from kebele meetings. He said that he doesn't understand most of political discussions in the party cell which are less interesting to him, because his number one issue is assistance that can help his living condition. But as it is an expectation from any community member he takes part in party meetings.

Two **blind people** in the community were described. One is a 50 years old and a widower. Since 2005 a fat layer which stops his seeing things clearly covered his eyes. He has four children but no farmland. He sold his land and cattle to get a cure and Kalehiwot church members contributed around 946 *birr* for his medication costs. His family brought him to the health centre and the health centre referred him to the hospitals. Then, he visited hospitals in different towns such as Arba Minch, Gofa and Wolayta. All sent him back to his home without treating him. He says, *'All told me that they could not access a specialist.'* He has been treating his eyes using herbs i.e. traditional treatment. He has stopped working on the farm since he became blind and his elder son works on the land and gives him his share. He is a direct PSNP beneficiary and recently the church gave him 30 *birr* and some clothes. He said he is so frustrated with living that he gets seriously ill from other diseases. His son has been participating in social and community affairs on his behalf. The only people he can talk with are his children, particularly his son. In addition his daughter lives with him and takes care of him. A community member said that a daughter of his had been **mentally ill** for years.

The middle-wealth household said they had given 20 *birr* to a blind person who came from Shela kebele a month ago.

One of the daughters in the rich household has some hearing disability as one ear was damaged since babyhood. She can only hear loud voices. She is 15 and attending Grade 6 in Wacha; she has a middle rank. She does domestic work at home.

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

A well-to-do farmer living in a remote area near the river-bank said that this brought the advantage of access to irrigated land. However, the problem for the household is distance to services like the health centre, grain mills, the market and the kebele office. His wife frequently takes fruit to sell in Wacha market and she also carries grain to the mill with the children. The school was very far for the children until it moved in 2011.

QN lives in Womala and the distance from Wacha makes it difficult for her to access services provided at kebele and wereda level. For example she walks for one hour and 30 minutes to get to a grinding mill in Wacha. Until 2011 the primary school was in Do'oma and near to Wacha; the distance made it difficult for her children to attend regularly particularly when the weather becomes hotter in April and May. The children will face problems in getting to the school in Wacha when they reach Grade 6.

The remoteness of their home also makes it difficult for them to stay at Do'oma or Wacha until the end of the day as they fear being out at night because of remoteness and relative insecurity. If she

wants to visit her relatives in Gofa she has to spend a night in Wacha to take public transport very early in the morning. Because of the remoteness mostly they don't hear the kebele proclamations so miss government meetings. If they do hear attending is difficult due to the distance to the kebele office. The benefits are easy access to drinking water and the river for washing and for bananas which they trade in Wacha. She has been using the mobile vet service at least once a month. She calls her relatives paying 2 *birr* a minute on her neighbour's phone. Six of the household are registered as PSNP beneficiaries.

### **Immigrants**

Migrants who can't get access to land are vulnerable. One informant said *'there is a tendency to undermine newcomers to the community.'* The Amhara immigrants described above are farming successfully. One said he does not feel isolated as the people are hospitable and easy to interact with. He can access fertiliser and improved maize seeds though his main product is red pepper for which there are no improved seeds. Like other in-migrants he has never received farmers' training; maybe this is because local people need it more. He is not a PSNP beneficiary so cannot access the credit for ox purchase. He is involved in kebele public works. He received 25 kg of emergency food in 2010 when it was given to all who were not PSNP beneficiaries. He had malaria in 2009 and was treated at the Health Centre paying 30 *birr*. The Health Extension Programme has taught him to give attention to personal hygiene and sanitation giving him a feeling of cleanliness, though not saving him from disease since he had had no disease related to not washing hands. He had experienced such teaching in his home place. He uses a toilet. Since his family is living in his place of origin the education intervention has no impact on him.

Last year he paid 64 *birr* land tax, 51 *birr* contribution for kebele and education issues, 5 *birr* for Red Cross, and 2 *birr* monthly for drinking water. He participates in community work every Wednesday. He is in a one-to-five group and exchanges ideas with neighbours sometimes about new products like red peppers and how to grow them. He is a party member and a cell member.

Other in-migrants encountered during the fieldwork included a divorced woman who had grown up in the community but married out. She collects firewood and cuts grass which is open to all. The kebele administration was willing to accommodate her in the community. *'Though I do not have a letter that recognizes that I am coming from the other wereda in the zone, they did not resist giving me a kebele identification card. In addition to this, they exempted me from the cash contribution while the community in general was obligated to do it.'* Her access to services is described below under the Destitute heading.

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

It was estimated that 10% of the community were not taxpayers. Payment of land tax is one criterion to get credit from the wereda micro-finance. Also households with land taxpaying identification card are eligible for employment opportunities such as being a guard at the investment site. Landless community members do not have access to training. A poor woman household head said along with the privileges went duties including monthly contributions and attending meetings (which she disliked most).

WW is 27 and is landless; he married in 2006 and has two girls. His livelihood and access to government services are described in the next section.

### **Destitute people**

The landless **man** described above, with a wife and two children, has no home of his own and lives in a rented hut. He lost his own hut as a result of a fight in which another farmer was injured. The wereda court decided on eight years imprisonment but the elders interfered and *'made the accuser bring back the case to elders voluntarily.'* They made him pay 800 *birr* which got by selling his hut so they became homeless. He has paid 10 *birr* a month for his rented hut for the last three years. He

finds it hard to find the money and this causes insecurity as the owner of the house comes many times and says leave the house whenever he fails to pay on time. His wife also worries about this although the children are kids and don't understand the situation.

Because he is landless he is forced into share-cropping; he produces 3 quintals of maize but gets only half the produce though he does all the work. He is allowed to sharecrop if he comes with improved seeds and fertiliser and as the kebele gives him fertiliser by force he uses it on the share-cropped land. The technical advice from the DAs on planting in lines, spacing, and how much fertiliser to apply was useful though he didn't take farmers' training as it is not given to landless people. He is also involved in farm labour. This might be available once a week and he can earn 5-30 *birr* depending on the hours he works. He is a PSNP Public Works beneficiary with three members of the household benefiting. Even so his wife and children are suffering from food shortages and it is hard to get money at times of family illness. His wife is forced to seek alternative earnings and she carries maize to market and tries to trade it though the amount of profit is usually only 1 kilo of maize which as one day's meal for the household.

He worked on watershed management as a Public Works beneficiary and saw that planting trees is important. He planted eucalyptus trees on another farmer's land for share and they are growing. He used a mobile phone, paying 2 *birr* a minute, to check the health status of his father. The most important part of the health extension package are the bednet and malaria tablet provision. He has received bednets every year and malaria tablets for his wife last year from the Health Post. His daughters also had malaria at that time and he took them to the Health Centre. He had to pay about 95 *birr* which he borrowed from his neighbour with interest of 20%; he repaid it from his labour work in two months. The household uses a latrine but is difficult for the family to follow the HEWs' education because the family is busy in efforts to get food and fight poverty.

Education interventions have had little impact as he dropped out after Grade 5 and his daughters never started school. He was given land to build a new hut four months ago and paid 20 *birr* land tax although he has not yet built a hut. Last year he paid 12 *birr* for party membership including his wife, 5 *birr* for Red Cross, and 51 *birr* for education and kebele expenses including salary for guards. Last year he worked on canal clearing, school building, and internal road clearing on Wednesdays as part of the regular kebele work. He is a party member which has increased his awareness of political issues but the meetings are time-consuming and forced, having fines. He could be a member of a one-to-five group as a sharecropper.

AA is a recent **female** in-migrant to the kebele though she was born there. She got married in 1995 when she was 15 and moved to Sochoro kebele which is about 30 kms away. She lived there for 16 years and had seven children. She returned to Do'oma because her husband's bad behaviour caused a dispute. *'He is a drunkard and an irresponsible person and sold their farmlands and other property. He told me he was going to marry another woman so I left the house taking the younger children with me.'* When they got to Do'oma she and her two children started to live with her father but her stepmother was not happy so they stayed only three months. Her father's neighbour lent them a house belonging to his son who is living in a rented room in Wacha and going to secondary school. They suffered from severe food shortages and *'for long days they had been visiting neighbours' and relatives' houses to get something to eat and drink'*.

Now she is cutting grass and collecting wood for sale and can afford to buy food but her children have been suffering from malaria and other diseases as she cannot feed them properly. She has not asked kebele officials to include her in the PSNP and other food aid programmes as she is a newcomer to the community. She has not been invited to trainings and meetings by the HEWs. However she is using a latrine which was already there in her new homestead area.

She doesn't go to the Health Centre as it is very expensive. In 2011 her son started going to primary school. She is not obliged to pay tax as she is landless but she contributed to the school building project by carrying stones and water. The officials took into consideration her inability to contribute

cash and she was exempted from contributing money. She is applying to be included in the women's association and while she is not a party member she sometimes attends meetings. The easiest people to talk to are the Kalehiwot Protestant leaders. They may not provide her with support in cash or kind but they are always ready to give advice. She can also get help from neighbours.

Men have been harassing her at home and when she goes to the grassland and forest by herself. Some men came to talk to her at her father's house although she was not happy with it and men hide in the forest and try to '*harass her forcefully*' and some of them started terrifying her using a slasher. Now she only goes to collect grass and wood in company. She informed the kebele manager and chairperson about the security problem but none has tried to investigate or find a solution. She has never contacted wereda officials; it is shame for her to go to the wereda office as her younger sister is chair of the wereda women's affairs.

### **Craftworkers**

As described above there are 25 craftworkers doing various jobs ordered in a hierarchy of respect depending on the job. A carpenter and potter were interviewed in depth. The **carpenter** is 45 and has two children who live in Wacha and Arba Minch; they left home in search of better opportunities and he doesn't know what they do; they have not visited him since they left in 2007. He combines part-time carpentry with farming. He said there is no discrimination against carpenters and weavers, unlike blacksmiths and potters.

The potter is 50 and her work and some of her perceptions of exclusion have been described above on page 24. She said she had no significant problem eating with other community members apart from a few Orthodox Christians. She said she had not accessed agricultural extension advice as the development agents only work with model farmers. However, in 2006 and 2007 she used improved maize seed but found it unproductive so now uses the local seed. She took haricot bean seeds from the DAs for nothing in 2010; they distributed 50 kilos of improved seed for every three households. Since 2008 she has been taking 50 kgs of DAP per year; she has no choice because using fertiliser is an obligation. She uses the credit facility and repays at harvest time. The price of DAP has reached 500 *birr*. She used to use the kebele vet service when it was available but now she has to go to the wereda agricultural office.

Her son participates in the watershed management project as she is too weak. She did not plant trees around her house due to shortage of water but she has planted them around her irrigated land. She was provided with water harvesting in 2007 but it was stolen a year later. She is not a PSNP beneficiary but has benefited from emergency food aid. In 2008 she received wheat, oats and palm oil. 2011 was a drought year but there was no emergency food aid. She has received health extension advice and training since the programme started but the only package she has started to use is latrines. Her son enrolled at Do'oma primary school seven years ago and her daughters also attended.

She pays 65.70 *birr* in land tax. She contributed 41 *birr* for the school building project, seven *birr* for the guard's salary and five *birr* for the football team. She also brought stones and water for the school building and contributed for the youth football club. She has been a member of the ruling party since 2010 and attends cell meetings. She said she is deriving many good things from being a party member and gave the example of the meetings though they do not occur regularly.

### **'Slaves'**

One respondent said that the community used to call *Dittas* and *Dorzes* 'slaves'; now there is a tendency to call them craftworkers. Another said that people regarded blacksmiths and potters as belonging to the *barya* clan and another that there was '*a tendency to undermine newcomers to the community and those kin members of slaves*'.

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

A male informant said that no-one is denied access to the PSNP because of not being a party member. Another said that as everyone in the kebele is an EPRDF party members it could not be a special criterion for inclusion. A small group of women explained that people pay the party membership fee to get equal access to the government provisions. The middle class respondent said that a few community members are not party members; they do not have access to credit, FFW and other related programmes. A young woman said 'politically, the kebele administration is warning us. They are saying they could take back our farmland if we do not participate in the ruling party. Because of this I have started to attend party meetings since last year. The wife of the politically-active hh head said 'The benefit of membership of the ruling party is to access different interventions that come directly through the kebele officials'. Her husband said that being a member of the ruling party is nominally said to be a choice, but it is a must, because if anyone refuses to be a member, he will not be included in PSNP or any other benefits coming to the kebele, and kebele officials move to every door and ask people to be members and warn that they might be excluded from many things.' He told the story of a young farmer who had joined the CUD in 2005 and refused to join the ruling party. The EPRDF party organiser organised some people to beat him at night. The man and his family left the kebele and now he is living in another kebele. A year after he left he came back to sell his farmland.

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

There are said to be 30 women heading households.

MK is a **widowed** potter excluded from PSNP (see pages 24 and 30 for more). Her husband died suddenly in 2008 from a serious illness. The household livelihood changed after his death; they give their farmland for share-cropping which reduced annual production by half.

I as a household head suffer a lot. I became the only person caring for my children. To secure my family living, I started to work intensively on pottery. Previously, I used to bring clay once a month. Now, I have to bring clay three times per a week, that is too challenging for me. Side by side, I am the one who is obligated to participate in the community work. Labour contributions, cash contributions, land taxes, associations, and church duties all become burdens for me. My elder son also dropped out of his education for a year. He started to play the role of his father in the household though he could not save us from crisis. My daughters too dropped out of their education and got married very soon after we lost him.

DB is a **divorced** woman with one daughter. She divorced four years ago.

Both of us instigated the divorce. At the beginning, I was confronting him because of his lousiness. He does not like to work. Above all, he is a drunkard. He took much of the money, which was provided by PSNP, and used it improperly. As the result of this, mostly in April and May we starved.

She said she decided to divorce because his working culture was below normal and he decided to divorce because of her regular requests to use the PSNP money properly. He re-married within two months of the divorce. He bought land next to her homestead and started to live with his new wife. The couple had not shared property as it had belonged to her. Nine years ago she was a trader selling *tef* and coffee for considerably profit. When she had saved enough money she bought 0.25 hectares of land, built a house and started to plough the rest. When they married he had nothing and when they divorced he did not ask for any land. Now she uses the piece of land for farming and rears shared cows. She said that since she got divorced she has been leading a happier life. As he was using the food aid money for drinking and other worthless expenses, it was too difficult to feed themselves. Now, she is using the money properly, which has resulted in relatively better nutrition status. She is feeding and clothing her daughter with 150 birr which she gets from the PSNP each year for six months. When her daughter was a baby she got emergency food aid. She is a direct beneficiary as she has a problem with her spinal cord.

She said that she was excluded from various interventions because she is female. *'Last time, an NGO had been distributing goats in the community. The kebele officials excluded women. They said, 'you could not provide fodder and breed properly because you are a woman'*. She also said that kebele officials do not provide tree seedlings and water harvesting plastics for women. She is involved in shared livestock breeding and uses the wereda vet service paying around 9 *birr* for injections and 1.70 for a tablet and has been provided with bednets and house spraying. She has a latrine but is too poor to practice all the health packages. Her sister came to the kebele five years ago and she is supporting her to get education.

She pays 20 *birr* land tax and contributed 41 *birr* for the expansion of the primary school and carried stones and water. She pays 2 *birr* a month for party membership. She attends some meetings and had lessons on how women could improve their livelihoods by engaging in trading. She doesn't contact kebele officials because she is afraid of them. Sometimes the neighbours provide her with maize and money. For example her daughter recently had malaria and she had no money to take her to the health centre. She asked her neighbour who gave her 30 *birr* which covered the cost at a private clinic.

### **Divorced men**

WW is an ex-soldier, has been divorced twice and is living with his two children but no wife. He married his first wife in 1994. Four children died of malaria and their house burned down with 10 goats inside in 2004. He and his wife decided that as they had faced so many problems it would be better to get divorced and try life separately so they did this in 2005. In 2007 she married another man in the sub-kebele. He is living with his surviving son and son and daughter. She didn't ask to take one of the children at the beginning, but now they are growing she started to demand them, but he refused because she was not interested when they were babies.

He married a new wife in her early twenties in 2009 but after a year she asked him to buy clothes for 700 *birr* overnight and while he tried to make her understand his situation in the morning she left him. She came from Gofa to work on the investment camp but when he went to Gofa he couldn't find her. She also did not get on with his children. Now he said he is under great pressure as he supposed to work as a share-cropper and on PSNP public works and cook and feed the children, who are attending school. Last year he applied for land and the kebele gave him 50x100m<sup>2</sup> of rainfed land.

### **Outcasts**

Women from Womalo who are being expelled from the community due to their 'powerful eye' or *buda* are victims that are forced to divorce and separate from their children and their community. The elders decide to expel the women and they cannot claim anything. There was an incident in 2010 that affected three women from the kebele and as described earlier since 2008 five married women left the community. A friend of one evicted woman said that she had been in disagreement with her neighbours.

She is a newcomer to the community. I am not sure where she came from. She got married in 1996 and gave birth to two children. She is 25 years old. Before marriage, she had been living with her relatives. Once upon a time, a woman from the sub-kebele accused her to the elders group saying she was a person with evil eye. The accuser explained to them that her son was getting ill due to her evil eye. The elders called the accused and asked her about the situation. She had been saying that when and where I injured your son. She was very uncomfortable about this.

The respondent says that the woman was impolite and disrespectful so that many of the people used to hate her. She says that her husband was also angry about the accusation. They sold their land and left the community. For a very short period, they were living in Wacha town renting a house. Now, they have already left the town but the respondent doesn't know where they have gone. The respondent said that the majority in the community feel happy because she left the

community. However, from informal communication, the main reason for the household to leave the place is the decision of the elders, the respondent hides it maybe for security reasons. However, others explain the respondent may fear to tell the truth because elders are the most respected and culturally accepted in the community.

### **PLWHAs**

One man is suspected of having the disease. They came from another kebele in recent years. The family excludes themselves from the community. The wife has not had blood-testing.

### **Orphans/ stepchildren**

A few orphans live by themselves working on others' land. The wereda has provided irregular support to four orphans (see below). There are also **orphans** who live with relatives and friends doing agricultural and domestic work.

There were a number of references to problematic relations between **children and stepmothers**. For example, describing her childhood a 27 year-old woman said *'My stepmother burdened us with domestic works. When I was six, I used to cook food, going to the grinding mill, fetching water from the river, collecting firewood, cutting grass, and so on. .. I decided to marry early because my stepmother used to mistreat me.'* A young man of 20 described how, when his father died when he was six, his mother re-married and he went to live with his father's sister. He started school when he was 8 and attended till grade 3, but he dropped out of school because he had *'no equal facility like clothes, stationery materials etc like what was provided to his cousins'* and he decided to quit.

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

AD is 70 and lives alone. She was abducted at the age of 15 and after a year had a daughter. *'However, I could not live my life peacefully with my husband due to religious differences. I am follower of Protestantism but he was a pagan i.e. he did not belong to any religious organization. Additionally, he was a drunkard, which is very unacceptable in a Protestant church. Because of the above-mentioned differences between us, I decided to return to my family with my baby girl.'* Her parents died within a short period, her only brother died seven years ago and her only sister lives in Sodo. The only relative she has in the community is her daughter who left the house for marriage more than ten years ago.

She is landless as her brother inherited all the land belonging to her parents; they denied her inheritance right because she is a woman. When her brother died she took pieces of land from the whole which is used as a homestead. A house was built with labour support from Kalehiwot church followers. Her only livelihood source is PSNP; she has rainfed land but it does not help her produce anything due to shortage of rainfall so she is left with nothing to eat and starves. She has started to buy and sell coffee leaves and coffee spices. When she gets seriously ill there is no relative at home to look after her. Though her daughter is living in the community she could not visit her regularly as she has an extended family though when she is ill she prepares food and makes coffee. This year she ill in bed for three weeks but her daughter could not afford to take her to the Health Centre.

She has taken almost all the health extension training. She used the education service as her daughter learned up to Grade 7. She pays 20 *birr* land tax and contributed 41 *birr* for the school construction and 5 *birr* for the football team. The money was deducted from her PSNP payments. She is too old to contribute labour. She is a member of the ruling party though she is not happy with the meetings. *'The meetings are valueless to me. The leaders just talk about theories but not practice at all'*. She misses many meetings by making various excuses.

Church followers provide support for old people with no relatives by renewing their houses, ploughing their land, and providing money, food and clothes.

The respondent says that the church followers are supporting her for the last 5 years. As she said,

the followers work on her land and give her grain in harder times.

As he explained, the church followers have been supporting him in farm work. *'I could not plough my land without their help because I have no ox and I am too old to work on the farm.'*

Being the member of the church helps her to get support to plough her farmland. As she mentioned, when she was a follower of Orthodox Christianity she did not receive support from the church or from the followers.

Last month he also provided 50 kg of maize to three old women who don't have land and other family member living at home to support them. (Middle-wealth household head)

## **Genderage**

### **Growing up in Do'oma - boys and girls**

#### **Birth and infancy**

In the past women used to feed infants with butter and unboiled milk and from six month gave them what the family ate; now they give emphasis to continuous breast-feeding. Some follow the HEW advice to give only breast-milk for the first six months; others don't give them other food for four months though they start to give additional food then as they cannot afford to eat the balanced diet that would enable them to continue full breast-feeding for long. Though they still feed soup to babies it is made of a mixture of different grains. They also give them fruit, for example a punch made of mango, bananas and avocados and eggs. The wife in the poor household said that in the past we used to give additional food starting from two months; we gave them soup made from sesame and other grains, mixing it with milk. We also gave them butter thinking it would prevent stomach ache. There are some households who give additional food to infants but they do not stop breast-feeding before 6 months.

In the past they did not keep babies' personal hygiene well and this has improved. They used to wash them in cold water; now they use warmer water. Now one woman said mothers wash their babies once a day with soap. They used to use second hand clothes but they have started to buy new clothes for infants.

When they are ill they are taken to the health services rather than giving them traditional herbs. A woman said that in the past the rate of infant deaths was very high. Another said when infants got tonsillitis they used to cut the uvula; many now get medication from the health centre or private clinic.

In the past parents would prefer to have a boy because when they grow up they will help their parents; which girls grow up they will get married and leave the house. However now parents like to have both sexes. A middle-wealth woman (31) said that in the past when a woman gave birth to a girl her relatives joked that she would be better off buried than rearing a woman.

#### **Growing up – work and play**

The rich household wife said that the community did not use to care especially for toddlers; they were considered as grown-up and fed the food prepared for the household as a whole. Now it is common to cook food separately for them, give them boiled milk, keep them cleaner, and buy clothes and shoes for them. The politically-active household wife said that in the past toddlers only had one set of clothes and not attention was paid to what they ate or their personal hygiene. Today mothers' change their clothes at least twice a week and a few household have started putting shoes on their feet. The type of food they are given has improved. The richer FHH said that when they got ill they used to give them herbs and sometimes put hot iron on their forehead and stomach.

One woman said that in the past households were not concerned about the food and clothes of children aged 3-6. They gave them unboiled milk and underwear was not common. When parents

went to market they left the children outside and closed the door of the house. They did not leave any food so children could only eat if their neighbours gave them something. Now they leave food with neighbours and ask them to take care of them. Richer households prepare better quality food for children buying pre-fabricated food such as flour. There has not been so much change in rearing children aged 3-6 apart from trying to feed them balanced food and keep them clean. The woman heading the poor FHH said there are households which cannot afford fruit for their children.

In the past children of 7-12 were expected to work; they kept their own personal hygiene and asked for something to eat when they were hungry. Now parents try to feed them three times a day. One woman said that while a few households have progressed the majority don't rear their children as they should. Another said that parents are interested to know where and how they spend their days. Now there is less child work so children can play when they come back from school. Older children look after their younger brothers and sisters – washing their clothes and keeping their personal hygiene.

### **Completing education**

The middle-wealth household head said that the government now required every family to send children to school at the age of seven which has brought changes to the lives of small children. A rich man of 29 said during his time children started school between 10 and 15 years of age.

Some children move in and out of school for various reasons. For example from the rich household one daughter (13) in Grade 6 dropped out once due to serious illness; a son in Grade 5 (11) dropped out last year because the household had a problem herding livestock; another son in Grade 4 (10) also dropped out last year to herd livestock – he does not like going to school and does not attend regularly; a daughter in Grade 4 had never dropped out; a son aged 8 was repeating Grade 1 but did not attend regularly. The eldest son (24 and married) scored 2.29 in the Grade 10 national exam and failed to join preparatory school. He is studying ICT at a private college in Arba Minch. A son of 18 is attending Grade 10. A daughter of 22, married, with a child and living in Sodo, has returned to school in Grade 9.

The successful farmer said that youth in the community are not successful in education because most of them are lazy. Some have very poor families who do not send them to preparatory school in Selamber. The wife in the politically-active household said that young men have a problem of education because the quality in Wacha is not good so many don't score good grades and those who succeed have to go to Selamber town which is expensive.

The woman heading the poor FHH said that the majority of the community is too poor to cover the schooling expenses of the children though parents are accepting schooling as a primary responsibility. There are adult women students though their number is insignificant compared with the number of adult men at school. Young men have plenty of time to attend school regularly; young women are also involved in trading and domestic work.

A woman said that in the past parents with daughters were interested to arrange marriages as early as possible because they wanted to get the bride gift from the bride-groom but now families are motivated to keep their children of both sexes in school.

### **Adolescence and youth**

Children 12-16 are considered old enough to keep their personal hygiene. In the past families gave their children responsibilities; boys helped their fathers on the farm and girls supported their mothers in domestic work. They were considered to be able to stand on their own feet without any follow-up. Now parents are more concerned about their lives as HIV/AIDS has become a worry. They want to know how and where they spend their time.

Ten years ago many children aged 17-20 were married and some had had one or two children. As a result the involvement of parents declined as children built their independent households the young

men became farmers and the young women became housewives. Now the community members do not want their children to get married.; they do what they can to send them to higher education and if they drop out they let them live with them and get involved in different activities, for example casual labour, trading, domestic work etc. However, once children are 17 they are able to lead an independent life and the parents' influence decreases. It is difficult for parents to monitor their children in this age range – 'they just ignore the family'. In the past couples would get married either by betrothal or abduction and young women preferred to have a partner chosen by their parents. Now they choose their partners themselves.

Those who don't get married at this age they may stay with their parents and engage in different activities; some may help with farming and domestic work while others continue their education; some, particularly women engage in trading.

## **Growing up male in Do'oma**

### **Circumcision**

A woman said that in the past males got circumcised when they planned to marry or sometime after they got married. There was a big ceremony. Now there is no uniformity about the choice of time to circumcise boys; a few do it within 40 days of birth. Another respondent said that boys are circumcised at around the age of 6 or 7 at the health centre or private clinic. Another that it takes place during adolescence though a few households are doing it when the son is 4-5.

### **Boys' work**

Boys may help fetch wood, grass and water, with herding, and as farming assistants.

### **Completing education**

The rich young man (1) said that the school system is not good for high school students because they have to help their families on the farm in the remaining time after school and don't have enough time to study; he would prefer half day schooling.

### **Sexual initiation**

The rich young man said he got his first girlfriend at the age of 15 and had sexual intercourse with her at the age of 17 in the forest at her instigation; they were married when he was 20. The middle-wealth young man (30) had his first sex with his girlfriend when he was 15. The poor young man got married when he was 16 because he was too shy to have a girlfriend. His mother and all the relatives opposed the early marriage but he chose his wife himself and his first sexual experience was on the date of the wedding.

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

There is a playground at the centre of the two villages provided by the kebele which is used (one said rarely) by young men for football. They are pushed to go to the wereda town to play table tennis and other things.

A farmer said that youth are not exposed to bad habits so far because of religious values. The Protestant church has condemned addictions and punishes the addicted. The poor FHH head said the number of men with bad habits has significantly declined.

The young middle-wealth woman (17) said young men have time for leisure. After school they stay in the wereda town playing table tennis and football. The problem they face is that they develop bad habits such as smoking *gaya*.

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

Youth have a shortage of land and few alternative job opportunities. The wife in the politically active household said that those students who completed Grade 10 and could not find a job are waiting for

their families to cover their costs. A farmer said that the good work for young men is agricultural only, although the investment farm offered opportunities from 1996-2005. Another said that they find it hard to access irrigated land as it is already occupied. The dryland they get from the kebele is very small and depends on unreliable rainfall; some do not put any effort into this land. The wife in the poor household said that young men do not want to stay in the community because there is no economic opportunity for them.

The young rich youth (19) said the only non-farm opportunity in the area is trading agricultural products and livestock between various markets in the wereda which have different price rates. The problem is that young men have no start-up capital and credit access is not easy as the first youth clients used the money on consumption and couldn't repay.

The middle-wealth woman (31) said there is a problem because many young men could not pass the Grade 10 national exam. They stay with their families without doing a job; a few do not have the knowhow to plough and cannot work on the family's land.

### Getting married

Ten years ago boys got married starting from 18. The wife in the politically-active household said that now young men are not interested in getting married; the majority have girlfriends. The middle-wealth household head said getting married is a challenge but they do it in a bad economic situation in their later twenties. A rich man of 29 said parents don't let their girls marry landless men and now young men have to wait until they are 25 or more. His wedding cost 5,500 *birr* most of which came from his earnings on the investment farm. The rich young woman (30) said that it is harder for young men to find a marriage partner because they can no longer force girls to be their wives through abduction.

The middle-wealth man of 30 told his parents about his sexual initiation and there was no consequence except they told him he couldn't marry his girlfriend because she was the daughter of a witch (*buda*). He had to part with her after both cried sitting under a tree. In 2003 he married another girl who was chosen by his father; he wanted to marry that year but he didn't like at the beginning but now he is having a good relationship and feeling for her gradually. He used to fight with her frequently and sometimes he beat her but gradually he has stopped fighting following advice from older friends. The poor man (33) chose his wife and his parents were keen as he was 26 by then. The middle-wealth 25 year-old man chose his wife without family interference.

### Establishing an independent household

When a young man wants to get married first he builds a house near his family residence. However, setting up an independent household is difficult as there is no means of livelihood in the community except for farming. Some may get married if they can access farmland from the family as a gift or work on (some of the) land in a share-cropping arrangement. The successful farmer said that youth with low economic status try to build their own family and have many children which keeps them in worsened poverty. The rich young man said girls are told to marry young men with very small non-irrigated land and some bear many children and face economic problems at home. He is an orphan so has his parents' land. Some strong young men can access other's irrigated land through share-cropping or contract purchases that enable their family to have a better status. The middle wealth young man of 30 left home and married in 2003; the kebele gave him non-irrigated land for farming and building a hut; now he has half a hectare of irrigated land. His aspiration is to work hard on his farm and access some more irrigated land where he can grow onions and red peppers and then buy a motorbike to transport people from the kebele to the town.

The poor man (33) said if someone can work at least as a farm labourer he can have space from the kebele to construct a hut with co-operation from the community and then he can set up his life. However it was easier to get a land, house and wife 10 years ago than it is today. His family lost 4 oxen to disease in 2003 and life was not good for him or his parents after that; he decided to marry

and try his luck as he was 26. He got 1.5 hectares of dry land but when the rain was not good could not cover the food for his family. This year he is planning to plant sorghum as the Amharas do as it doesn't need too much rain. His future aspiration is to buy oxen and work hard on his farm if his health is improving; he has had bouts of gastritis in the last five years.

The rich young man (25) said that land shortage became a problem for youth of his age mainly after 2007 due to the park expansion. Also the investment took a large area in 1997. Though young people have a problem getting access to land they can approach older people with large irrigated land to work for share-cropping or if they can afford buy in contract agreements. His father died when ten years ago and then he took on the role of farmer and administrator with his mother. He hasn't married as he preferred to help his mother and educate the younger children. His plan was to get richer first and now he has a motorbike, which needs some repairs, two oxen, two cows, three goats, seven chickens and 2 hectares of irrigated land which belongs to the whole family. He is planning to marry his girlfriend in the coming two years; he has been in the friendship for a year. He has to construct a new hut for himself and he will be able to use some of the family land for agriculture.

The middle-wealth young man (25) left home to get married in 2008; before that he lived with his mother and four siblings. His father died when he was 12. He completed Grade 10 in 2009 but there is no TVET in the area and he can't afford to go to a private college. His marriage was not any barrier to his education. He bought irrigated land with money he got from an equib; he constructed a hut and started life.

The poor young man lived with his older brothers after his parents died but moved out because his brother's wife didn't like him. He got land from the kebele and built a hut and then got married in 2009. He works on half a hectare of non-irrigated land which only produces when the rain is good. He works for share-cropping maize and sweet potato which brings in food for 4 months; the rest is covered by PSNP support, farm labour and producing charcoal.

The middle-wealth young man (19) has not left home but built himself a hut in the family compound in 2008 and lives alone though he eats and works with the family. He wants to study accounting and work in towns outside the wereda.

The poor young man (20) is married with a 2-year old son. His father died when he was 6 and when his mother re-married he went to live with his aunt. The kebele gave him land to build a hut in 2008 and he married and left home then. He received half a hectare of dry land in 2011. He began to work as a sharecropper when he was 15 and gets about 2 quintals of maize and 2 quintals of sweet potatoes. He engages in farm labour (20 *birr* a day) and cuts grass and sells it in the town and joined PSNP in 2011. He wants to work hard at share-cropping and buy his own irrigated land and then build an iron sheet house.

### Having children

The rich young man (29) has three children, the middle-wealth (30) has four, and the poor (33) has three. The middle-wealth young man of 25 has one daughter and the poor young man (26) has two.

### Community participation

Youth who have completed high school are respected and acknowledged as 'strong hands of the community'. However their voice in the community could not be described as influential. Except for those working in the kebele administration structure the others have no voice. As most young men are not interested to live in the community they do not want a voice in community affairs; although there are a few who fight for their rights and keep asking for provision of land, credit and so on. Although the kebele has been working to get young women's participation in the ruling party there is no interest on their part.

The rich young man of 29 said that young people participate in church activities and co-operate on

public issues like house construction, helping at funerals and weddings and Deگو. The middle-wealth man (30) said he doesn't participate in youth organisations because they are not functional. The poor man (33) said youth participate in all community affairs except elders' and kebele meetings. The middle-wealth woman (31) said that though the wereda is trying to mobilise youth to join different organisations they are not willing to push the kebele administration to work on their issues. They are interested in joining religious institutions and attending church regularly.

## **Growing up female in Do'oma**

### **Circumcision**

The middle-wealth household head said that previously it was the open and right thing to practice female circumcision; it was done with a festival with neighbours and friends and cost 500-700 *birr* for the food. After 1993 the act began to be condemned and after 2005 serious action has been taken with the arrival of the health extension programme. The act was declared an offence against the law with imprisonment and fine and now no-one practices it. His wife said the community is still resisting the government's ban.

The rich wife said that females get circumcised at the age of 14 or 15. While the government wants to ban it because it has a bad effect in times of delivery, the community considers it as a basic action to maintain personal hygiene. The politically-active wife said it now takes place at the age of 7 or 8; the poor wife said between 8 and 15; the poor FHH 8-10; the richer FHH at 15 and above – years ago they got circumcised when they got ready to marry. The wife in the middle-wealth household said that community members circumcise their daughters when they are ready to get married or after they get married. She is against it as it is banned in the bible. She did not let her older daughter get circumcised but she may do it in the forest with a friend for fear of cultural exclusion.

The middle-wealth girl (17) said that, as all girls in the community do, I got circumcised in 2008 (when she was 14). I faced no problem. It was my interest to get circumcised because others insulted me. The poor girl also got circumcised by her own interest because she could not live in the community confidently if she did not.

### **Girls' work**

In the past girls who got a chance to go to school did not attend class regularly because they were obliged to do domestic work including rearing the younger children. The middle-wealth woman (31) was the oldest daughter and at six years old was fetching water from the river, taking care of her younger sisters and brothers, cooking food such as roasted maize, washing her clothes, cutting grass and collecting firewood, and sometimes making maize flour using a traditional mill. The mother of the poor woman (27) died when she was 2. Her father re-married and her stepmother had two children. She burdened them with domestic work; when she was six she used to cook food, go to the grinding mill, fetch water from the river, collect firewood, cut grass and so on. When she was 14 she started working on the farm. She joined school when she was 12 and learned up to Grade 4 but dropped out because her stepmother wanted her to do domestic work as her older sister had left the household to get married.

The middle-wealth girl (17) said that when she was six she did nothing because there were grown-up children in the household. She joined Grade 1 when she was seven and has never dropped out; she is currently a Grade 10 student. She started doing domestic work when she was 14 and has never worked as a trader.

The poor girl (17) who lives with her parents and two brothers said that girls have a work burden which hinders them from following education properly. Girls are responsible for fetching water before they go to school and when we return we have to prepare dinner. Our parents consider school as a break for us. We can't read because there is no electricity and parents don't allow us to use lamps for long because kerosene is so expensive. My family say to me they would not get any

benefit from my education; we are teaching you for your husband. She started doing all kinds of household work when she was 13 and started trading when she was 14. Her family is not willing to buy clothes for her and told her to cover her expenses. She does not go to school on Thursdays because it is market day. She started to help her father on the farm this year. She is currently in Grade 10 and said if she gets good grades she will join preparatory in natural science; if I fail I will trade maize. Later she said her aspiration was to open a boutique in the wereda town; otherwise she would like to trade maize and other agricultural products. She does not want to leave the community.

### **Completing education**

The rich young woman (30) said that when she was adolescent girls started school very late and dropped out in the first three to five grades. She joined Grade 1 when she was 8 and dropped out after two years; then after five years she re-joined but again dropped out after three years because she accepted a marriage proposal.

The rich young woman of 25 is a Health Extension Worker. She is the older of two sisters and after completing Grade 10 joined Dilla Health College and got a certificate in health extension.

The middle-wealth young woman (27) said that when she was an adolescent parents did not allow them to do homework. 'When we picked up our exercise books they ordered us to do something'.

Young women have burdens in the family like household chores, taking grain to mills, selling grain and fruit in the market, fetching water, caring for their younger siblings etc and these hinder them from good achievements in school so most don't go beyond Grade 10. A woman said most drop out between Grades 8 and 10 and cannot find a good job in the community as they are not courageous to complete their education.

The middle-wealth woman (27) who has seven children attended school up to Grade 7. She wants to continue with her education and is begging her husband to let her go to school. The poor woman (27) said when she was an adolescent they have a better chance to join primary school, but not secondary school. Now girls have a chance to go to high school in the community as well as higher education in neighbouring weredas. Most of them want to complete their education at least until Grade 10.

The rich young woman (17) says now girls can access high school in the community and parents send them to school as they did their brothers. However, there is no tutorial programme to support girls. The middle-wealth girl (17) who is the second oldest of seven children living at home said that thought our parents send us to school without brothers we have no time to study and do homework with our friends. We spend much time on domestic jobs and they are not happy to cover our school expenses. They need us to engage in trading and other activities. Young men have enough time to attend class regularly and study. She is currently in Grade 10 and said if she scored good grades she will join preparatory school; if not she will go to a college at Wolayta town. She wants to be a Development Agent but does not want to live in the community. After 6 years she wants to get married.

### **Sexual initiation**

The rich farmer said there was some abduction and rape in the community five years ago but the law is now taking very harsh measures - up to 17 years imprisonment. The rich young man (19) had his first sexual experience with his girlfriend who was from the Barya clan when he was 18; he met her without knowing she was from the clan. His father heard about it and advised him to focus on education but said 'if you are in love just have sex with her and leave her' which he did.

The HEW (25) had her first boyfriend when she was 17 and had no problem with her first sexual experience.

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

Girls have no recreation at all like young men's football.

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

In the past women were not involved in farming or non-farming work because the community considered them physically weak to do these kinds of jobs.

Through petty trading many girls and young women earn money to cover some of their living costs including those that are school-related.

The middle-wealth woman (31) said her parents were not happy about the marriage as they did not want to lose her contribution to the household.

The Health Extension Worker (25) started working in the community in 2008; she lives with her parents and sister. She aspires to upgrade her education level and get an urban job.

### **Getting married**

The rich young man (25) said that when he was 19 adolescent girls faced problems of arranged marriages, abduction, rape and less access to school; all of these have changed as a result of government interventions through the kebele administration and the wereda court. Girls can now choose their partners.

The middle-wealth woman (31) said that in the past marriage was not a right for females, it was an obligation. Those resisting betrothal marriage could be abducted and raped. Once a woman was abducted they lost their chance of marrying another man so they had no choice other than setting up household with the abductor. Now adolescent girls are free to choose the endeavours for their lives, including husbands. Although the chance of friendship had started ten years ago now the chance to know each other has increased because couples do not have to hide their relationship from the community; it is getting acceptance as a modern way of behaving. She got married when she was 17; her husband and she were friends and knew each other very well but their relationship was not open as the community tradition would not accept it. She was trading teff and coffee in the market and met her husband there. It was a common practice for young men to go to the marketplace to look for girls. Her husband said he wanted to marry her and she was interested and he sent elders to her parents. They were married a year after meeting.

The middle-wealth woman (27) said that parents forced them to get married earlier than now though they gave them the chance to choose their marriage partners; females who resisted marrying were abducted.

Abduction had reduced as people are aware the law could penalise offenders seriously. There was a case in the last six months where two young men co-operated to abduct a girl coming from Wacha town. They were caught red-handed; one of them escaped and left the area but the one who wanted to marry the girl is still in prison.

A woman said there is no problem to get married but they are not interested. Girls of 15 can marry and there are no legal measures. A man said that most drop out of school and get into early marriage, from when they are 16 although they are not induced by parents. They don't have a problem to get married, especially those with good looks, unless they are from the Barya clan who should marry within the clan.

A woman said that there are parents who want to choose a marriage partner for their daughters but the children are resisting. Some parents refuse to cover their daughter's schooling expenses as a punishment if she ignores their marriage partner choice. Girls try to have an income source to cover their schooling and other expenses; there are some girls in the community who cover their school expenses and support their families by engaging in trading.

The poor FHH head said that young women want to improve their livelihood and do not want to be dependent on their husbands.

The rich young man (19) said that there is no arranged marriage but parents push their daughters to marry at the age of 17-20. Girls from the Barya clan have little chance to marry; there are up to 28 who can't get a husband. These girls have the chance to be the second wife of a man from the same clan. The informant's older brother loved a girl from the Barya clan and consulted his father who refused to allow him even though the brother sent elders to mediate with his father.

The rich young woman (30) got married at 20 to her boyfriend; they arranged to send elders to her family who were happy about the husband. The poor young woman (30) was born in a neighbouring highland kebele and went to Selamber to work in a café when her father died; she stayed there six years and was married for a year; then she decided to visit her family in the kebele. She went on foot and was abducted by the man she is currently living with. He is a widower with five children and all but one are living with in the household. She begged him to let her go but he refused and brought her to Do'oma. She is still living with him though she hates him much. She has been pregnant three times; two pregnancies failed to come to full term and the one infant died after a year. She aspires to have children.

The middle-wealth woman (27) said that girls focus on education as well as trading and if they fail to succeed in both they need to marry. However, men in the community do not like marrying females whose age is above 20 and as a result they may lose the chance of being a first wife. Her father had two wives; he got the second, her mother, because his first wife consecutively gave birth to baby girls. He abducted her mother one her way back from a church conference. Before he abducted her he sent elders to ask her family if he could marry her. She resisted because she did not want to be a second wife; the Kalehiwot church prohibited it. Her parents also rejected the proposal. He built a separate house for her mother far from the other wife's residence; the first wife left her children with him and went to her family. Her mother gave birth to two boys but was not happy living with the husband. When she got pregnant for the third time she went to Sodo and stayed there with her sister; then she returned to her family and gave birth and the mother and daughter stayed there supported by her brother. The respondent met her husband in church and he was her boyfriend for a year before they got married. She decided to get married when she saw her friends change their way of dressing and improve their personal hygiene after they got married.

The poor girl (17) said that adolescent girls who live with their stepmothers want to marry soon because of the mistreatment they face at home. Girls from poor households marry earlier because their families cannot afford to cover their school expenses. The poor woman (27) decided to marry early because her stepmother used to mistreat her. Her husband had been her boyfriend for three years.

#### **Establishing an independent household**

The poor woman (30) said that setting up an independent household was easy; girls got married earlier and there was no shortage of farmland. The middle-wealth woman (27) said setting up an independent household was not difficult when she got married because the kebele had been providing (non-irrigable) land to male youths. Now setting up an independent household is harder because there is no access to land so married couples have to work with parents. Some have started working as traders or on others' farmland as casual labourers.

The 30 year old rich woman said girls do not want marriage; they want to change their life working on different activities like daily labour on farms and trading. She married a man with irrigable land which makes them self-sufficient. They took credit to build a tin-roofed and cement house and after repayment for livestock fattening. She aspires for the household to have a motorbike business. They have started to produce high value crops and she plans to trade the product in the wereda market. The middle-wealth woman (31) aspired to build a tin-roofed house. The middle-wealth woman (27)

has discussed with her husband ways of improving their livelihood; she plans to work on fattening livestock while he works on farming.

The household of the poor woman (27) is landless; her husband works as a share-cropper. Her father-in-law contributes to the kebele projects on behalf of both households. She aspires to build a tin-roofed house.

### Having children

The poor woman (30) said in the past girls gave birth within a year of being married and since contraceptive methods were not common gave birth every year.

There is a potential problem with pre-marital pregnancy which usually leads to a hurried marriage or a court process when the girl or her parents accuse the father who denies his baby. Pregnancy before marriage was said not to be common – a woman said there were two recent cases. The richer FHH said that sex before marriage has become common; some use contraceptive methods secretly.

The rich woman (30) has four daughters and a son. The rich girl (17) said that girls do not want to give birth because they want to continue their education or engage in activities such as trading. She said that last year she faced a problem which messed up her future – she went to Sodo in her break time and met a man who was working as a driver's assistant. She was a virgin. They spent two nights together and after she came back to Do'oma they sued to meet in the wereda town. One day when she was returning from the grinding mill to her house he followed her and asked her to have sex in the forest; she was not willing but he forced her. She got pregnant and told him when he came to the community. He told her to have an abortion but she refused. Her pregnancy became visible when she 4 months and told her mother and advised her to talk to her father which she did. He was very angry and brought the man to the elders in the community using militias. The elders and kebele officials asked how and when they knew each other; she explained but he denied everything. The elders wanted a break for lunch and he was meant to stay in the kebele office but ran away back to Sodo and she has not seen him since. His friend said that if she had a boy he will admit it and wants to take the child when he is one. She had the baby in September 2011. She stopped going to the Kalehiwot church when she got pregnant. The leaders of the church told her father they would stop him from preaching if he did not send her out of the household. She stayed in the wereda town for three months and came back to the household to have the baby. When she returned the church did not say anything but she is afraid to go to church until now.

She got a passing grade to go to preparatory school but could not join because she had to take care of her baby. She is planning to take the national exam again as her last year's grade was disqualified. She wants to continue her education and marry her child's father.

### Community participation

The middle-wealth woman (30) said that young men are not interested to participate in community affairs but if they set up an independent household they are obliged to participate in community work.

The rich young woman (30) said that when she was an adolescent girls were not free to attend church programmes because they feared male attack; now they attend church services regularly. The middle-wealth young woman (31) said churches were nearly absent in the past; one had to walk a long way to get to a church.

The poor young man (33) said that adolescent girls are shy to take part in community discussions in public gatherings but are co-operative when required like during weddings and other ceremonies. The rich young man (25) said when he was 19 girls were not supposed to participate in community meetings but now they take part in political party meetings, one-to-five meetings and church

services. The rich girl (17) said girls are interested in going to church.

### **Gender inequities**

The middle-wealth household wife said that women have created economic opportunities for themselves without the support of government or NGOs.

The rich farmer said that violent acts against wives has diminished compared with five years ago as women are aware of their rights and men are aware and begin to believe in discussion. His wife said that the community does not accept women's land ownership heartily. A man could not work on a divorced woman's land because it would be seen as disrespecting his wife. She gave an example of a woman who got divorced in 2011 and took her share of land but could not find a farmer willing to work on it in a share-cropping arrangement and the land became idle.

An old man said that women don't even give way on the road to men; they confront them and if a man touches them with his hand they shout loudly and say he tried to abuse me sexually which causes unfair imprisonment of men.

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

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

Kebele officials and other respondents said there were no exemptions from service costs like health and education contributions or support for poor people except for the PSNP and the FFW emergency food aid. The kebele does not give special attention to the poor. All, including those who are destitute, must pay the monthly fee for water and community contributions are assigned to everyone regardless of their economic status. A woman of middle wealth said there is wereda a programme to help poor people get free medical services at the health centre. Kebele officials choose the beneficiaries and wereda officials pass their details to the health centre and refund the medical expenses twice a year. A wereda official also said that a few poor people had been getting free medical service at the Health Centre. A poor woman said that kebele officials were reluctant to choose very poor households for programmes which involved repayment, such as the Interaid goat scheme, as they feared there would be no repayment and very poor people had no collateral. The kebele respondents suggested that there should be a programme that exclusively works with poor people to improve their welfare and that the wereda should take the lion's share in mobilising the activities.

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

Wereda officials said that the wereda does not help vulnerable people. However, there is a government effort to abolish discriminatory attitudes towards craftworkers and community informants said that since 2005 the wereda has provided irregular help in kind and cash to four orphans. They provided clothes, shoes and 900 *birr* for each orphan. The wereda administration gave a wheelchair to a community member some years ago. Mekane Yesus Synodios, a church-based charity programme, had been supporting orphans but the project was phased out in 2009.

Kebele officials said that there are a few mentally ill people and disabled adults and children in the community. There is no government or NGO intervention to help them. There are also a larger number of old people needing support, orphans, women heading households and craft workers who are not getting support. There are no sex workers in the community. The kebele administration provides land for migrants to build houses. The leader of the PTA said if an orphan drops out of school the association will search for aid to help him or her continue education. For example the association and kebele officials helped a girl to be selected for PSNP direct support. Also the wereda education bureau supported her for three years until she took the Grade 10 exam. Although the wereda stopped supporting her after she joined preparatory school in another wereda she is still receiving PSNP.

Protestants in the community have a culture of helping each other. They support elderly people, orphans and blind people and in harder times contribute grain for worse-off people. But the support is confined to the followers of the particular church

### **Promoting equity for women**

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

A wereda official said that the involvement of HEWs in the wereda has led to a better awareness regarding female circumcision, rape and abduction although these are still practised to an extent. Males convince the abducted or raped female to get married and the females fear cultural stigma and want to live with the man. Girls' education is expanding a lot although there a lot is left to deal with. There are 18 women in the wereda structure and 1046 in all the kebeles in the wereda. Even though the majority would like to have women in both structures *'there are individuals who believe women are naturally weak creatures.'*

Kebele officials said that an inclusive education against female circumcision, rape, abduction and male violence is given to community members and education is given on marriage at 18 and land rights. There are progressive and conservative elements in the community. There is no particular intervention to have women's participation in the kebele structure and no special attention to girls' education. Most women leave school earlier for various reasons.

A small women's group said that recently women have become landowners and are ensuring their rights by having a photograph on the identification cards with their husbands. HEWs have given education exclusively for women against female circumcision, rape and abduction, male violence, marriage age and land rights. However implementation is weak.

A group of men said that there have been awareness-raising attempts about female equity at various meetings held by kebele and wereda officials. There is also a magazine distributed to educated people in the community which tells about human rights and equity. A man said that the land registration in 2005 and inheritance rights have enabled them to have full ownership rights and a share during divorce; daughters can even inherit on the death of their parents. Ten years ago men could sell livestock without the consent of their wives but now women take the case to the kebele office and even the wereda court. Men should respect and consult their wives on any property sale or buying. A woman said that women have become more active politically as there are women permanently working in the kebele structure and the government has assigned women as leaders of cells.

#### **Women's organisations**

A wereda official said that there was a Women's Association in each of the 24 kebeles and in Wacha town female government employees had their own association. The associations are involved in economic activities, mainly trading, farming and spinning and they learn about their rights and how to protect their fellows' rights. The Wacha town association works on women's rights; they have a legal adviser and appeal to the court when there has been a violation of women's rights. Most of the associations have been in place since 2006/7. The official said that the co-ordinators of the associations in the kebele do not handle their responsibilities properly and are reluctant to work with the wereda's female affairs office. The wereda should finance the associations and give support via the kebele administration. The Women's League is organised in each kebele but is not functional.

A kebele official said that the Women's Association in Do'oma was organised in 2007 and was given land (50x75m) which they are cultivating to raise money to fund and strengthen their association. In late 2011 it had 19 members. All members work on the land and share the product in the harvesting season; recently they started to cultivate the high value crops of sesame and onion. One of the members said they believe that farmland size is too small to work as they wish and the harsh climate reduces their productivity. About 39 women want to join the association which has to be approved

by the kebele officials.

The leader of the Women's Association said that there were 16 members; the kebele cabinet elected the members. All are relatives and friends of cabinet members. In 2009 the members' husbands worked on their land producing 3 quintals of cotton, 300 kilos of maize, 300 kilos of onions, and 25 kilos of haricot beans. Total income from the sale was 5,650 *birr*. The following year the association gave the land for sharecropping; the farmer produced 300 kilos of maize and they sold their share for 400 *birr*. In 2011 there was a drought and all the maize died. She said the problem was shortage of irrigation water; although the land access water from the river the amount is insufficient since the land is far from the river and the main irrigation channels. Also the wereda proposal to re-organise the association is causing a problem. The wereda women's affairs office is putting pressure on the kebele to recruit new women to the association but she said the land was too small to benefit other women.

The wife in the rich household is a member of the association. She said the kebele provided the land and each of the 16 members contributed 22 *birr* and started to save 0.5 cents a month. 'The association gave credit access to members and other community members. The interest rate was 2%. We sold the products and saved the money. At the beginning of this year the association had owned 6,000 *birr* and we divided the money so we each got 350 *birr*. Now we have a very small amount of saving'. She said this year the association is not operational as the wereda wants to increase its membership to 60; they are waiting for the final decision and re-organisation. She said that the members would only like to have more women if the kebele provides more land.

The wife of the politically active household head was also a member. She said the credit interest rates for members and non-members were 5% and 10% respectively. The association has supported women to start trading and that having an income source would help women to protect their rights. For example in the past polygyny was common in the community as a woman could not live without a man as a breadwinner but if a woman has her own income source she can refuse to marry a man who already has a wife.

The wife in the poor household and the woman heading the better-off FHH said they applied to the *kebele* to be included in the Women's Association. The latter said 'They did not permit me because ethnically I am Wolayita'.

She said that the whole community was benefitting from provision of credit by the association. Some members took credit from the association and started trading; recently each association member got 350 *birr*. She also said that members were not willing to attend meetings; 'they wait for benefits without working'. She said the work could be changed if the kebele administration supported the association. They should be given an office and members should be called to meetings by proclamation.

A small group of men said that the Women's Association was getting weak and 'it is silent without any action and progress'. The association began to raise money and lend it to members who did not pay it back. A small group of women suggested that the kebele should let the Women's Association make decisions as to who could join independently. The leader of the Women's Association is a member of the kebele Health Committee

A kebele official said that the Women's League was established in February 2011 and has 58 members. They are divided into three cells and contribute 2 *birr* a month to their cell. They use the contributions to help members in urgent need of support. The kebele delivers Addis Ray magazine and various government newspapers to each cell. The leader, who has been a member of the Women's Association since it was set up, said that it had not started working since it had no resources and she did not know how many members there were.

The kebele officials elected a woman and me to lead the women's league without our presence. A kebele official sent her a letter that was sent by the wereda to announce the meeting of all women's

league leaders of the wereda. We got training from the wereda women's affairs. The training was on women's rights, HIV/AIDS prevention and control, HTPs and other related issues. In the training, they told us that there would be a separate office for the women's league in each kebele administration

The respondent said that the kebele did not help her. For example she asked the kebele chairperson to call all women to a meeting but he said he could not do this as all officials were involved in land allocation for youth. Recently she was called to a wereda meeting of kebele leaders of the women's association, federation, and league but could not go as she had a baby in September 2011 and could not leave it alone and the vice-chair of the league could not go as she had died. She said the league cannot be established unless the kebele treats it as equal with other organisations; officials should call a meeting and announce a punishment fee for absenteeism.

The DA Crops was elected to chair the Women's Federation but she said it was not operational.

The leader of the Women's Association said they had no relationship with the Women's Federation or League.

## **Youth policies and programmes**

### **Youth organisations**

A wereda official said that there are 29 youth associations and by accessing credit from microfinance they are engaged in various activities including crop trading, livestock production and fattening, retailing, carpentry and construction. The associations have been established since 2006 and have 2,628 male members and 41 female members. The main challenge is low demand for their output and shortages of market places. Crop trading and livestock fattening are more successful than the others.

There is one youth league in each kebele. They work on recruiting new party members and capacity-building. The league leaders meet the wereda's party office monthly and present a report. They work on creating political stability in their kebeles.

There is a youth federation in each kebele; the members are supposed to be politically 'neutral'. It supports the youth league and associations in each kebele. It was established in 2009 but not operational until 2011. It is highly dependent on the wereda.

A kebele official said that the information desk works most closely with youth affairs and sport. The youth association was set up in 2009. The youth participate in various meetings with wereda officers, participate in sports, and are currently planning to work on farms to raise funds while those who are educated are forming a group to get access to credit from micro-finance to engage in trade. Another kebele official said there was no Youth Association in the community as did a small group of women respondents.

Three members of the youth association were interviewed, including the 24-year old leader (M), who said that the youth association was re-established in August 2011. The earlier youth association was established in 2007 but had not functioned since then. The new association has 97 members from Womala and Do'oma. The association has no written rules or regular meetings yet but the wereda is planning to strengthen it in the future. They have done nothing yet but the plan includes awareness-raising mainly on HIV/AIDS and organising groups to access micro credit for various purposes like opening shops. M said the wereda people came and motivated them just once which he believes was mainly for the sake of reporting and to get a per diem; 'they don't take it seriously' and he doesn't have hopes of continued support and follow-up. Youth in the kebele are also reluctant to come to meetings even when the people came from the wereda.

after the establishment of the association, wereda people organized two meetings in the community. The first meeting was disrupted because the participants wanted to attend a burial ceremony that took place on the meeting day. On the second day, the participants were only 40 youth. The wereda people told us to participate actively in the kebele development projects such as watershed management. At the

wereda meeting, where the participants were kebele federation leaders, the chair of the meeting told us to initiate youths to join the federation. They said that if we are able to have strong youth federation, they will give us identification cards and money to work together. As he explained, the identification card is mandatory for us to get land in our respective kebele.

The youth league does not exist so far; the wereda has selected youth who should be members but no action has yet been taken.

The leader of the Youth Association is also the leader of the Youth Federation. The Youth Federation was established in August 2011 by the wereda youth and sport officer; it has 58 male and 32 female members. In addition to the general meeting held in the community in August the leader also attended a meeting at the wereda in September. . After the establishment of the association and the federation wereda people organised two meetings in the kebele.

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Two sons in the rich household joined the youth association though one had left the area to attend college. At the wereda meeting there were discussions about good behaviour and relations with parents and among themselves and they were told they could get organised to access credit from the wereda and engage in development activity. But he did not believe the wereda was serious about bringing change among youth. Most other household and youth respondents were not aware of the youth organisations. His wife said that the government is working to make young men active in community affairs but they are very reluctant to participate. Young women's voice in community affairs is negligible.

A young woman said that though the kebele administration has been organising meetings for adolescent girls they do not attend '*because it is nonsense for them to work with the kebele people*'. Though a 17-year old Grade 10 student and part-time trader said that she had attended a meeting held in the community by wereda people.

The federation leader said that the federation is more powerful than the league. Whatever the wereda sends for youth it has to pass through the federation. If the league needs something it informs the federation who report the case to the wereda youth and sport office. All federation members are league members. However none of the organisations have started working. He said wereda and kebele people are reluctant to support youth to strengthen their organisations and youth are not willing to participate in the organisations because they are not confident in the wereda and kebele people. He said youth should get land from the kebele and money from the wereda.

### Youth livelihoods

Wereda officials said that in 2009 and 2011 land was distributed to landless youth. For example recently in Do'oma and Hoya kebeles around 60 youth got land. A young man said the kebele distributed 'unproductive land which is not irrigated' to about 30 people, including him. No-one is using the land though he still had to pay 25 *birr* land tax. Another youth said the land was not even serving as grazing land before. However one of the Amhara immigrants said they don't know what plants to grow with low precipitation and they lack commitment to work hard at farming. The youth said that the land is infertile and we can't plough it but the migrant said they only know maize, and the land is not good for maize. He rented a piece of land given to one of the youths and grew chickbeans.

Wereda officials said there are no youth co-operatives in the wereda but there is one youth package under the agriculture bureau of the wereda and work on mountain rehabilitation projects creates job opportunities for youth. The bureau facilitates settlement and organises the different organisational structure of the youths.

In 2007 around 20 youths borrowed 21,000 *birr* from the wereda credit association and attempted to organise a service co-operative to which community members could sell their products, particularly crops like maize and *tcf*. However, because of rain shortage in their first year they were not profitable and lost 50% of their capital. With the remaining money they tried fattening bulls but this also failed. There was disagreement between the members and a few took some of the cattle home; then the co-operative ceased to exist. Estimates of how much of the debt they repaid ranged from 10% to 50%. Through the new youth association some young men are planning to organise themselves and access credit to open a shop in the kebele.

A small group of women informants said that since 2008 there has been provision of credit at the microfinance institution. There are qualifications to get credit, the main one being a good working culture. There are no youth packages involving training and advice. The women heading the richer FHH said

As I perceive, the government intervention to support youths is null as compared with the other communities. The kebele administration does not give attention to youth livelihoods. There is no provision of credit to them. There is no active and effective youth organization in the kebele. The kebele officials organize meetings for youths if and only if the wereda recommends. Finding jobs is very difficult. They become dependent on their parents. Youths do not want to get married because they have nothing to have an independent household.

The wife in the economically successful household said young women face similar problems to young men although they have petty trade as an alternative work opportunity. They are not required to have property and land to marry and is easier for them to marry.

### Youth and HIV/AIDS

Wereda officials said that there was an HIV/AIDS desk and a club in Wacha and also clubs in each school in all kebeles organised by teachers. The clubs teach about HIV/AIDS in the school and at community level. The desk provides pamphlets, condoms and other teaching materials to the clubs and there are permanently hired people at the desk.

Kebele officials said that an NGO called ESTA (Ethiopian Sustainable Tourism Alliance) began to work on HIV/AIDS by mobilising youths in 2010. They have an office in Morka and groups working in several villages. The group members give education to at least four peer groups per month. They also visit households in each village and call youths to have coffee together and discuss issues relating to HIV/AIDS. There were two consecutive HIV/AIDS blood testing three months apart in 2010/11.

### Youth recreation

A wereda official said that since 2009 they have organised a sports festival; youths from each kebele participate in athletics, football and other traditional sports. This helps to select youths to represent the wereda in the zone championships. Each kebele provides a football ground. Kebele officials said that there is a football ground in the kebele and young males, particularly students, play football at the weekends. Most of them are aged 15 to 20. There is a privately-owned table tennis table in Wacha and a few male students at the high school go to town to play in their break times. Female youth do not use recreational facilities.

There is one football ground. A small group of women said that young men are asking for more football grounds although the response of the wereda and kebele is low. There is a youth centre in Wacha town and in 2011 the wereda youth and culture bureau opened a DSTV show room. Most participants in the recreation service are male. A woman said that there is no recreation facility for

young women though some may watch TV in Wacha on market days.

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

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

#### **Climate change**

Wereda officials reported that climate change was gradually 'turning places into lowland type climate'. They claimed rural people were aware of this which helped to make environmental work with the community easier.

There was some disagreement among respondents. The kebele manager thought that the heat had decreased and rainfall increased which he associated with afforestation though a number of community members said the opposite. The head of the nursery said that coverage of land by papaya trees had reduced since 2005 as the area have become hotter.

The kebele manager said that as a result of the reduction in de-forestation and growth of newly planted trees the climate and rainfall amount are improving. The politically-active household head said that the climate was hotter ten years ago and now there is cloud and rain in the mid-year that reduced the heat. Other community members said the temperatures had increased considerably in recent years and the amount of rain had decreased and it had become increasingly irregular.

#### **Environment**

##### **Main issues**

Kebele officials said that since 2005 when the DAs came to the kebele there has been environmental protection work including terracing, dam-building to prevent erosion, tree planting and awareness-raising to protect big trees from being cut and fire.

##### **Watershed management**

A wereda official said that soil erosion had decreased since the terracing and watershed management had been practised in the kebeles.

In Do'oma terracing, and check dams and the planting of trees began in 2008 with about 220 hectares of land to be developed as part of the watershed management programme. Informants said that erosion was not a major challenge since much of the land is level although the irrigable lands on the bank of the Zage river are affected by erosion; farmers dig canals to minimise erosion but that cannot block the floods from their land when the river is in full course.

Another informant said the watershed management work was not done well at the beginning but people now they have seen the results as stony areas are now covered with grass and bushes. Some people are doing it on their own farms. The grazing for his animals had improved. Another said that the watershed intervention was not relevant for his family since it is done on one hill far away with minor effort. The poor woman head said that since the project is a recent phenomenon there is no change in the area where the checkdams have been built. The trees had dried out due to shortage of rainfall; she said that planting trees at the centre of the community would not succeed as there were no semi-arid seedlings and the rainfall was erratic. The kebele manager said that the watershed management was discontinued in 2009 as other public works like school building and canal upgrading were prioritised. A small group of male respondents said that terracing was done all over the hill but no trees had grown and the work was discontinued. One respondent said that terracing and making check dams under the PSNP Public Works was not liked by those involved as it was the hardest public work and had no visible outcome.

In rainy seasons flooding is common on inter- and intra- community roads. The kebele organised a campaign to dig wider canals.

### Trees

A group of male informants said that the area is savannah covered by a sizeable canopy of trees. The rich household head said that tree cover was reducing with areas that were dense forest ten years ago now having more scattered tree cover. A young farmer said that even the river banks no longer have forest cover as they did earlier. The politically active household head attributed this to charcoal production, the easy cutting of trees by everyone for different purposes and the burning of forest.

Wereda officials said there was a policy to protect against de-forestation by not letting livestock graze in the forests or people to burn or clear forests. Kebele officials said that the park guards are protecting the vegetation on their boundary and kebele is trying to control haphazard and illegal cutting of trees. The kebele also planted eucalyptus, grevillea and neem trees using PSNP labour and this now covers about 1 hectare.

There was a nursery during the Derg regime. Ten years ago the wereda agriculture office and Mekane Yesus Sinodyos distributed seedlings to the community. The current nurseries in the kebele and sub-kebele were introduced in 2007; they are managed by the NRM DA. Seedlings include canopy trees, fruit trees including mango, avocado and banana, and coffee. All community members have the right to take seedlings when he announces that they are ready for sale. All seedlings apart from coffee cost 0.05 cents; coffee seedlings cost 0.25 cents. The DA said that fruit seedlings planted on irrigated land are successful and some tree seedlings are growing up in the church compound because the followers have a programme once a week to take care of the trees. The coverage of papaya has reduced as the kebele has become hotter which is bad for the plants. Some trees fail to grow in homestead areas because of lack of water. The work in the nursery is done by PSNP public works in the rainy season from June to August. The DA makes them collect seeds of some plants from the community.

A young farmer said that trees were planted in a public forest in 2007 and DAs have been making efforts to make people plant trees in front of their houses. As a result he has trees in front of his house which provided good shade. The head of the nursery said that many of the seedlings distributed to community members had died because of lack of water. The nursery is providing seedlings to be planted on affected hillsides but many of these also die. He would like to have arid-environment resistant seedlings.

The rich man said that as part of a natural resource management lesson in 2005 farmers were taught to plant eucalyptus trees at the corners of the farm and around river shores, to plant other shade trees in the village, and not to burn and cut the forest. Also to cut and collect grass in the rainy season and keep it for the cattle. 'Though all these are not practised many people accepted the ideas'. There are good shade trees in front of many huts that were planted at that time. His wife said 'We are seeing trees that are beautiful in each household's compound. It is useful as shade in sunny seasons. It is where children prefer to play and sit'. The richer woman heading a household said the community is planting trees around homestead areas as well as around farmlands that have access to water. Previously there were no seedlings but now not only are the community well aware of the relevance of trees but also the kebele administration is distributing seedlings of different tree types. The poor household head said that tree cover has improved in the last six years. He had planted 30 eucalyptus trees which he can use when he wants to build a house. The trees in the community changed the view of the village and there is shade everywhere. The male informant group (who did not have irrigated land) said that once the administration distributed trees to a number of households though the trees do not grow because of shortage of rainfall. The kebele administration does not do anything to prevent forests and wooded areas from de-forestation.

### Grazing land

Grazing land was reduced by the park in 2008 and the investment in 1997. Part of the grazing land

used for the investment has been open since the investor left the community and grazing on it has been possible for the last five years. Informants said that what is left is equally accessible to all community members. A group of male respondents said that there is no grazing land management in the community. Kebele officials said that grazing land management focuses mainly on preventing individual farmers from cutting grass on public land and preventing livestock from other kebeles from grazing on the kebele's small grazing land. An official said that there is an area protected for grass to grow mainly for hut roofs. A person who is building a hut should apply to the kebele, they check he is building a hut and if so allow him free access.

There is a long-standing perception in the community that cattle will be more healthy and fat and will not be affected by *mejger* (a pest) if they feed on grazing land where new grass grows after the burning of the old grass. The DAs are now trying to change this belief and take the burners to the wereda court

### **The Maze National Park**

The park is located on the border of the kebele. It is protected by guards from grazing, the hunting of wildlife and deforestation. One guard said that the area was rehabilitating with returning vegetation and grass cover and as a result different animals are coming back to it. The poor household head said that wildlife protection had affected the household negatively as they can't protect their fields and cattle from wild animals and kill them. His ox was eaten by a lion last year. Killing baboons leads to imprisonment by the park administration. The rich household head said that wildlife had declined but with the park expansion there were now species like *gosh*, pigs, foxes, different kinds of baboons and lions. The lions sometimes come into the kebele; if someone wants to cross with cattle at night lions never allow them to pass. The politically active household head said that the Park's strict rules against hunting had contributed to the return of wild animals including antelope.

### **Soil fertility**

The rich household head said that the soil was productive and very fertile ten years ago but since became infertile. To upgrade the soil fertility the government is providing chemical fertiliser and orienting about compost through the DAs.

## **Infrastructure**

### **Roads and transport**

The road from Wacha, the wereda town, to Morka which is on the main road to Wolayta was being improved and new bridges constructed during the second fieldwork period in December 2011/January 2012. Many respondents said that the bridge construction was a very important thing done for them by the government. The rich household head said the road is now becoming good with two new bridges that allow easy networking all year and frequent transport will be available once the bridge and road are completed. He can plan the trading of grain to Morka and Wolayta because of the easy road network.

Two years ago people started to use motorbikes to travel from Do'oma (10 *birr*) and Womalo (20 *birr*) to Wacha.

### **Electricity**

Electricity came to Wacha in 2008. Wereda officials said that it had not reached any kebele so far and although there was a plan to install it in four kebeles (including Do'oma) the plan was not being implemented. The wereda vice administrator said their plan for 2012 is to strive to finish the electricity project.

Community members said that in 2009 the wereda office made Do'oma kebele households contribute 30 *birr* each to provide them electricity which people contributed very willingly. In 2010, the line was moved in to the village and the other sub-kebele called Womala, five months ago, but it

is not yet wired to each house and not powered at all. Recently additional poles were put in place in the villages in different directions. There is more on the electricity story on page 134

### Communications

The mobile network has been in place since 2007 but it doesn't work at night and people have to go to Wacha to charge their phones. Estimates of the number of cell phones in the kebele varied from 80 to 500. A man who bought one in 2009 paid 950 *birr* though he said it is cheaper now. People without mobile phones could use their neighbours' phones freely to receive calls and paying 2 *birr* a minute to make them. Some people buy a 5 *birr* card and ask to use the phone. People used the phones in times of emergency to call relatives, to talk to children attending school and college in towns, and to talk to other relatives and friends. When people go to towns to buy materials they check that they have arrived safely without being robbed and they are able to get a car on the way back. Some farmers check the prices of their products in Wolayta Sodo or elsewhere. For example one informant wanted to sell 17 quintals of onions and was going to transport them to WS but when he phoned his relative there to ask the price it was 5 *birr* a kilo compared with 6 *birr* in the local market so he saved himself the transport cost and a lower price. The woman heading the richer FHH said if she needs money she calls her children and they send it immediately.

The *delala* complained that sometimes the network fails for hours and ease of communication was reduced since it did not work at night. A telephone line reached Wacha town in 2011 which is a second option but not easily accessible to him as lives in the village.

The kebele office has had a wireless phone since 2007 but it has not worked since 2009 due to lack of funds to buy a card to re-charge it. People used to pay 3-4 *birr* for a minute which respondents regarded as not fair. However, a number of woman said the phone was accessible and they would like it to be re-connected.

### Livelihoods and recent events/changes

#### Generally

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

The farming economy is dependent on both PSNP and emergency FFW which is given to almost 75% of the population. For example in 2009 there was rainfall shortage and crop failure that caused serious food shortages in 2010; people had to sell livestock and other property to supplement the support from FFW and PSNP. In 2006 there was a good harvest which covered the food consumption of many households up to March 2007 but then they needed FFW as a gap filler.

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

Inflation has affected everything as Table 1 shows

**Table 1: Price changes 2004/5 to late 2011**

Item	Price 2004/5 - <i>birr</i>	Price late 2011 - <i>birr</i>
50 kg fertiliser	466	561
1 kg improved seeds	240	400
Ox	1000-1200	2500-4000
Daily labour	5	20
1 quintal maize	340	540
1 kg sweet potatoes	1	2.5
1 kg butter	40	100
Eucalyptus tree	10	30
4 mangoes	1	4
4 avocados	1	4
Piece sugarcane	1	5

Item	Price 2004/5 - <i>birr</i>	Price late 2011 - <i>birr</i>
1 litre oil*	9	45
Salt	1	2
Soap	3	10
Sugar*	8	25
Kitchen dish	60	100-120
Transport Wacha-Morka	3	10
Transport Wacha-Wolayta Sodo	10	50

\*The Wacha municipality has provided oil and sugar with a discount since 2010. One kg of sugar costs 15 *birr* and one litre of oil costs 25 *birr*; no-one can buy more than one kilo or litre.

## Smallholder Agriculture

### Weather and pests in last few years

There has recently been an invasion of pests on the vegetables grown on the irrigated land and some farmers were 'bankrupted'. The pest is like a worm which affects the roots and leaves of plants; it has started to affect the maize after it has ripened.

One farmer said he hardly harvests any fruit from his five mango trees because of pests that affect the fruit when it is about to ripen.

### Land for farming

#### Farm land allocation

#### Irrigated land

Farmers with irrigated land can produce twice a year. One official said that there are about 325 irrigation users out of which about 25 accessed it in the last five years through contract purchase as some sell when they leave the area, some sell when they face serious problems like illness, and some sell part of their irrigated land for different reasons. Out of the 325 there are about 120 with large plots between two and 4.5 hectares. The kebele manager said that out of 450 households 200 have irrigated land. A small group of respondents said that one quarter of the community have no access to irrigated land and half of them do not have enough water on the irrigated land which they have. A divorced man whose house burned down with ten goats and all his property inside in 2005 sold his 1 hectare of irrigated land for 4,500 *birr*. The earlier settlers who arrived before 1987 had easy access to irrigated land and immigrants up to 1997 could access small plots of irrigated land. Since then access depends on contract agreements or share-cropping. Late immigrants and youth have less or no access to irrigation.

A Maze Park guard said that about 60 farmers from Womalo had expanded their farm land into park territory for irrigation around the Maze river banks. They had grown bananas, sugarcane, avocados, and other fruit but had been evicted by the park administration. A few were given replacement (rainfed) land in 2011 but others failed to provide legal documents related to their landholding and did not get replacement land.

#### Rainfed land

The kebele distributed grazing land to community members as farmland in 2006, 2007 and 2008. In 2009 and 2011 small plots of dry land were distributed to landless youth. A group of men said that unproductive 'desert' land was given to 30 young men which was not even serving as grazing land before.

#### Land registration

A wereda official said that 80% of the land registration in the wereda had been done and the rest would be completed soon. Photos of couples are on the certificates. The rights are of equal property ownership for both in the couple. Officials said that 99% was completed in the kebele though the

kebele manager said there are some farmers who come and complain that they are not registered so now they are registering them with temporary certificates from the kebele and their cases are forwarded to the wereda to get them the original certificate. This assures their land ownership and the size of the land is legally approved so that no-one can push their boundaries. The certificate shows couples' photographs, names and signature giving women clear ownership rights at the time of divorce. A small group of women said that before women did not have the right to own land but now the identification card declares the equal land rights of men and women.

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

Share-cropping on irrigated land is fairly common. Some owners grow vegetables on their irrigated land for one of the two annual growing seasons and rent or sharecrop it out in the other.

A 31 year old man said that in 2009 he sold his ox and bought half a hectare of irrigated land. Some in-migrants bought land with money brought from home and one man saved his PSNP money to buy half a hectare of land.

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

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

The main subsistence crops are maize, followed by *tef* and sweet potatoes. Earlier cash crops included sugarcane, bananas, mangoes, potatoes, avocados, cabbage and eucalyptus trees. From 2005 a few Amhara in-migrants started growing peanuts, sesame, onions, tomatoes, peppers and other new crops on irrigated and rain-fed land. The new crops allow higher earnings because within a small area of land and with lower water consumption a high value product is harvested. In 2011 some of the migrants experimented successfully with growing haricot beans while another tried to produce rice. The champion Model Farmer said that the Amhara immigrants had demonstrated that it was possible to harvest a considerable amount of production from  $\frac{1}{4}$  hectare of land. He said that the crops require hard work while the local people had preferred easy crops which did not need day-to-day follow-up and hard work. He planted maize, *tef*, onions, tomatoes, red peppers, mangoes and oranges; the vegetables were most valuable and earned big money. Using improved technology and ways of farming increased productivity and increased prices of agricultural products also helped.

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

On irrigated land recently onions and peppers were the most important. Many people with irrigable land tried these high-value products and a few have improved their livelihoods including four who built houses with corrugated iron roofs and a young man who bought a motorbike which is used for a transport business between the villages and Wacha town. One early settler said that the 'expansion is underway'. Before the pests became a threat farmers were earning between 3000 and 7000 *birr* from onion production on  $\frac{1}{4}$  hectare of land. There were a number of success stories; for example a farmer who earned about 29,000 *birr* between 2005 and 2011 even though he lost about 40 quintals of tomatoes last year due to lack of market. Other farmers faced problems posed by pests, lack of knowledge, and excessive rain at the wrong time. Farmers have also been planting fruit trees including bananas, oranges and mangoes on irrigated land and some grow eucalyptus for sale and coffee for home consumption. About three people grow cotton on small areas of land.

##### **New crops**

The first three Amharas came to the area in 2005. When they asked for land the kebele officials told them it needed time to get irrigated land and when they asked for rain-fed land told them they would not be able to grow anything because of rain shortage. The three farmers said they would like dry land and the officials showed them idle land and allowed them to have as much as they wanted. They began to grow new crops like sorghum, spices, sesame, and chickpeas which need strong sun and can grow well with limited rainfall, unlike maize which totally fails if it does not get prolonged water. The local assumption was that dry land did not grow maize and therefore it did not grow

anything but they had grown sorghum, sesame, chickpeas, black cumin and red pepper and people had begun to copy them. On the dry land sesame and spices have not suffered from pests and so long as the rain comes on time output can be good. The Kalehiwot church had a good harvest on its land in 2011. The problem is that most of the early settlers do not have dry land as they were not interested in the past and much of the land is in the hands of young people many of whom have not yet started to grow the new crops.

### Farming technologies

**Improved seeds** were first given to richer farmers in around 2004 with the rationale that they were the only one able to repay debts properly. After the election everyone got access to them with fertiliser that every farmer must take on credit; 'if somebody is not interested his farm land will be taken away'. At the beginning of 2010 the agriculture bureau distributed improved vegetable and cereal seeds. A woman respondent said that one problem with the extension programme is that there is no provision of seeds such as onions, carrots and garlic.

One informant said that the government are trying to educate the community about farming through the DAs and providing fertiliser and improved maize seeds to enhance productivity '*though some are forced to take fertiliser without their consent.*' One respondent said that the government has focused on trading fertiliser in the last three years and ignored agricultural education and other community issues that should have been the concerns of government. PSNP beneficiaries have their fertiliser bill deducted from their PSNP payments. One woman said that the kebele officials decide the amount of fertiliser we should take and use.

A small group of farmers said the price of 50 kgs of fertiliser had risen from 400 *birr* to 500 *birr*. AA said if there is no wind and snow he produces 22 quintals of maize on irrigated land using 150 kilos of DAP and 100 kilos of urea. He has 10 children and keeps 15 quintals for food and sells 7 quintals for 2,400 *birr* from which 1230 goes for DAP, 600 for urea and 300 to repay the debt for improved seeds, leaving 270 *birr*. Before using improved seeds and fertiliser he could not afford to cover his family's food consumption, though he is still complaining about the amount of credit he has to repay. A young farmer said that in the past on his half hectare of irrigated land he could produce 5-6 quintals of maize but after using improved seeds and fertiliser with line planting and spacing techniques he could produce about 15 quintals. The head of the politically-active household said after the agricultural extension programme came in with fertiliser and improved seeds he produced 35 quintals of maize when before it was only 10 quintals.

A young farmer said in 2011 he took fertiliser on credit '*because it is a must*'. Everybody collected it, paid 527 *birr* per 50 kilos, and stored it at home while waiting for the rain which did not appear in the year. When they wanted to sell it the price had fallen to 100 *birr* because it is irrelevant if the rain doesn't come. Another said he doesn't have irrigated land and a small plot of rainfed land was only given this year but he had been forced to take fertiliser which he didn't use and which spoils in storage. Another informant with one hectare of rainfed land has been forced to take fertiliser on credit for the last five years but had not benefited due to rain shortage in all years except 2009. A woman said that sometimes the wereda gives compensation for households who used fertiliser but got nothing because of rain scarcity; it is usually not more than 250 *birr*. Another said that the kebele had recently forced everyone to take fertiliser for winter irrigation production. '*When the fertiliser comes every farmer should take it on credit even those who don't have irrigated land.*' The woman heading the poor FHH said that as she is a PSNP beneficiary she has an obligation to take fertiliser every year; the money is deducted from the PSNP payments. As she is not engaged in farming in the previous two years she gave the fertiliser to households with land in an unclear arrangement to share their production; they got no product due to erratic rain. However this year she could not find anyone to take the fertiliser so she left it with someone who is a PSNP beneficiary and assigned by the kebele officials to share the fertiliser with her and is hoping to find someone who will use it in a sharing arrangement. She said that though she has no land she has not right to say no to the

fertiliser as it is a responsibility of all PSNP beneficiaries and there is no possibility of not repaying as they deduct the debt from the PSNP money which comes through the kebele officials and DAs. The woman heading the better-off household, who has never received food aid, said *'The development agents told me to take fertilizer. However, my children resist using fertilizer as they said to me the land would adapt it and this would make the natural fertility of the land decline dramatically.'*

One farmer told the kebele chairman that he did not need much fertiliser because he is not gaining the amount of product he hoped for by applying fertiliser to all his land and he believes the soil is actually fertile on its own. The chairman promised to discuss the matter with the DAs and do what he could. A DA said that the nature of some of the soil is not compatible with inorganic fertiliser but to meet the administration demands they make the farmers use fertilisers. A farmer said that after they started using fertiliser productivity decreased. Another said he applies only part of the fertiliser to a small portion of his land and sells the rest without the knowledge of the kebele officials and DAs as he is not allowed to do so. He thinks if he frequently uses fertiliser the land may require it all the time which is not good for him. The politically-active household head said when he first applied fertiliser with improved seeds in 2009 on irrigated land his maize output went up from 10 quintals to 35. But in subsequent years he had not got so much product.

The DAs and the agriculture office at the *wereda* have not been able to provide **pesticides** and there is no private trader in the area supplying them. The migrants use pesticides on the plants as they grow. They have bought sprayers costing around 1500 *birr* which they carry on their backs. The sprayers and pesticides come from Addis Ababa and Awasa. Some farmers are using pesticides but need to learn more about which pesticides are suitable for which crops. Some complained about not being able to get them from the government. Local people usually sell their products as soon as they are harvested due to fear of pests in storage. One farmer said that the maize produced from improved seeds is affected by pests in storage. The migrants use pesticides to protect their stored crops so can sell them at a later date. People have started to build grain storages using stones, wood and mud.

The Amharas brought a pesticide called Mankuze which cost 800 *birr* per litre from Addis Ababa and shared/sold what was left to the villagers. One farmer had bought some recently in Wolayta Sodo town.

The Champion Farmer employed two Amhara immigrants to work on sorghum farming as they knew a lot about it. They were also given land for share-cropping onions and tomatoes and they taught the family how to grow them independently. One of the immigrants reportedly showed the DA Crops how much fertiliser should be added to each spot of seeds. In addition to the **new crops** the Amharas know the **types of soil** where different kinds of seeds should be planted; on red soil they plant maize, sorghum and sesame and on black soil peppers and onions. They can identify the **right period for sowing** each product. For example the local custom has been to plant maize in April and when May and early June become dry the plants die. The migrants plant maize in June when the summer rains begin which helps it to grow well. They have also introduced **new planting techniques**. For example they spread red pepper seed directly on the farm rather than growing seedlings and transplanting them.

Local farmers used to plough the irrigated land just once and scatter the seeds randomly but now they **plough the land three times** and **plant the seeds in line**. They started to use improved seeds and fertiliser in 2004/5. One of the DAs complained that community members and kebele officials resisted adopting the new agricultural technologies they were recommending 'because we belong to another *wereda*'. From 2009 the *wereda* agricultural office provided curved iron to model farmers which it was intended to improve ploughing though it was found to be hard for the oxen to pull on land that was not smooth. They resist using it as it is heavy weighing around 5 kilos. Local ploughs are long and heavy with blunt iron tips but the Amharas have shown them that light wood and pointed tips produce better ploughing. Also the wood joining the oxen is shorter, which increases

the power to plough and is less tiring for the oxen and the farmer. A respondent said that though the DAs had taught people to make compost people are not doing so although animal dung is applied directly to plants. However, the middle wealth household head said he leaves maize stubble on the farm and the decay is used as an organic fertiliser. He is also applying compost to his half hectare of irrigated land after the DA Crops educated him. By combining compost with chemical fertiliser he doubled his output. He also said that he has been taught that tilling horizontally on irrigated land will help the crop hold water better than the earlier vertical style of ploughing. The politically active household head said that had used compost in 2009 on maize around his hut for experimentation. It was good for increasing production and maintaining soil fertility but it was hard work to make and transport to his field which was at a distance.

The Amharas also introduced **new ways of working**. Unlike local practice they work from the crack of dawn until noon, take a break for two hours, and then return to work; all family members, including women and children, are involved.

### Irrigation technologies

#### Irrigation

Small land irrigation on the river banks in Womala started in 1980 and canal irrigation was introduced in the main kebele in 1989 by UNICEF. This system has been extended to many farmers through the PSNP public works (see map above). The volume of water is not sufficient as the rivers dry up when the weather is hot after January and the canal is small. Last year the dam was damaged by flooding and the wereda tried to repair it but did not do enough; it might be totally damaged if a serious flood comes. Two brothers said that the community tried to mend the dam with mud, wood, stones and grass but still the water volume is not as good as it was before. He said that there has been water shortages in 2010. Even now the dam is not working properly because the water is getting a way out before getting in to the canal. They said that the wereda promised to apply to the Region to get funds for the dam in 2009 but there was no news about it so far. A small group of farmers said that agricultural extension just started to build two big water distributing dam points to distribute to community farmlands but they don't have the capacity to finish what they started as farmers couldn't make a canal to their farms. They said if the government gave much attention to it the kebele could benefit much. The two brothers said the dam should be re-built and the canals widened. One of them said that without the irrigation human beings could not exist here.

Kebele officials said that there are eight groups of irrigation users and for each there is one organiser and turn supervisor who opens the canals to share the water equitably. He is elected by the user group. The DAs, mainly the NRM DA, are assigned to organise the group activities and supervise the group leaders. There is a rule that governs the water use and turns are clearly known for each farmer. There is a 60 *birr* fine for a farmer who tries to take others' turns, a 10 *birr* fine for missed canal-clearing work, and if anyone fights over water the community elders will penalise them up to 150 *birr* for each disputant. One problem is that here is no rule that states the penalty if group leaders are biased. The kebele manager said that water management is done by the water committee which distributes the water through the canals in turn, first to the seedlings or plants which need much water then to others that have grown well and require little water. Usually there is conflict and confusion in sharing but they solve it by using the water committee and community elders. MT (34) said he was head of irrigation users and in charge in the kebele to regulate water use in general. There is no committee but irrigation users are organised in two groups in Do'oma kebele and three groups in Womala sub-kebele. He is also the leader of one of the groups in the main kebele which has about 50 members. Water share is given in turn through canals to each household farm depending on the type of crop they are growing and the season. Recently people have been growing crops like onions and peppers which need more water and they are provided once a week or more depending on the age of the plant.

In the sub-kebele the canal is made by users' co-operation which is just traditional by putting stones,

wood and mud to make a dam and digging canals. This needs huge labour efforts by the sub-kebele because whenever the water is powerful it damages the dam and every year they have to build a new one. A woman with household land near the river said that there had been no reduction in irrigation water since she had started to plough the land 23 years ago. A group of farmers said they wished the government would assist in drawing on the river water and distributing it 'since it is beyond the capacity of the farmers'.

The investor's irrigation canal, which was dug in 1997 but has been out of use since 2005, is much bigger than the community canal. He took water from the Zage river whose water decreases between December and May. The water could still be enough for the smallholders further down the river so long as the investment didn't take a big share. However, the investment did take a huge amount of water and during those three months the sub-kebele didn't get enough. The water users feared the investor as he is legal but they fought among themselves to share the small amount. In 2003 during the dry season the investor started to use all the water leaving the community canal dry. Then the irrigation head and the kebele administration went to the wereda administrator who resolved the issue by allowing the community 4 days a week and the investor 3 days. The effect was a reduction of income from fruit though maize can grow if it gets water twice a year. A small group of interviewees said they wished to get a share of the investors' land which is abandoned as the land is well planned and a canal has been made through the farms. The investment farm has just been sold.

A farmer with two hectares of irrigated land said that canals are expanding but there has been no major expansion of the dam and he feels it is now fully utilised. He said that if we are to reach more farmers the canal must be upgraded or another one dug from the same river (Zage) or from the Masta. There was a suggestion that land which can be irrigated easily should be distributed to farmers in the community and a large irrigation canal from Zage river should be constructed by the government to make the water available in each peasant's farm. Respondents said that the role of the government is minimal to work for upgrading of the irrigation.

### Water harvesting

Wereda officials said that in 2006 water harvesting was one of the irrigation programmes done widely, but there was 'an awareness gap' among farmers in the community. The plastic bag for one hole cost 4,500 *birr* but people didn't use it well. Though some farmers tried to use it for producing vegetables the plastics were stolen during the dry season when there was no water inside. They are used for roof building, for ceilings and many other purposes as the plastic is so strong. Kebele officials said that the water harvesting programme was introduced at the start of the agricultural extension programme after 2005 did not work due to shortage of rain and evaporation. Plastic was given to model farmers to put in front of their houses. The holes were made and they were supposed to share the water with their neighbours and educate others to use the technology. Interested people shared it although the rain was not enough to capture a big volume of water. A few people produced vegetables using harvested water. Since 2008 the programme has been abandoned as in 2007 there was very little rain and some people began to steal the plastic. The politically active household head used some of the plastic to guide canal water into the water harvesting hole that was under a tree to prevent evaporation. He used this water to plant onion seedlings which helped him to support them until they were transferred to the field. He said that water harvesting from rain was less likely due to its inconsistency and the fact that evaporation dries it fast. The plastic meant for water harvesting has been used in many different ways in the community. A number of children drowned in the holes when they were full of water.

### Livestock contributions to livelihoods

It was estimated that more than 90% of people had at least one ox. The rich respondent household had a pair of oxen and two bulls raised at home which would soon be oxen, ten dairy cows five of which were currently providing milk, two heifers and two calves.

The Amharas have demonstrated new ways of feeding and using oxen. The local custom has been only to plough until 11 am in the morning and then mix them with the herd to graze. The Amhara feed the oxen pancakes of maize with salt in the morning for breakfast and then plough their farm until noon. During the break from 12.00 to 2.00 the oxen are fed grass or other food and then they work in the afternoon. At night local oxen are kept between two poles and tied with ropes so they cannot choose a comfortable place to sleep; also there are stones on the floor to stop it getting muddy so the oxen prefer to stand than sleep on the stones. The Amhara clean the muddy ground regularly and don't use stones and leave the livestock untied so they can choose a comfortable place to sleep. When livestock are given grass it is put on a platform made of wood so that it is not spoiled. A few locals have begun to care for their oxen and plough in the afternoon.

The Amharas buy an ox for 3000 *birr* and while it is ploughing it gets fattened because even at night they let them graze around the villages and they feed them well the whole day. The Amharas' oxen don't plough much for about six months since they only produce once during the summer season and the vegetable farms are very small so don't use much of the oxen's energy. They can sell them for 5000 *birr* or more. Local people use their oxen throughout the year as they try to have a double harvest of maize; this is criticised by the Amhara who say that rather than producing a low value crop twice it is better to produce a high value crop once leaving the soil with time to rehabilitate. A respondent said that one Amhara farmer bought three oxen last week paying 3,500 *birr* for each from his pepper sale while he could not even buy a cock from his maize sale on which he had worked the whole year. He also said that, unlike local farmers, when they bought an ox local farmers counted the teeth and checked all the body to make sure they bought a strong one.

The Champion farmer, who owned 10 milking cows, 14 oxen, 15 bulls and 7 heifers in 2008, said that there is enough grazing and water which allowed him to have easy access for bull fattening.

Some farmers have started making hay when it is abundant and storing it to protect the livestock from drought and also feeding livestock with crop residues.

Livestock are vulnerable to diseases. For example one respondent household of middle wealth had lost 20 livestock due to disease between 2001 and 2010 when they had only six. Another households had lost two cows, two oxen and two calves in 2010. The poor household head claimed he had many oxen before 2009 but that four oxen and four cows had died in the 2009 epidemic when many cattle died in the community. He had a big ox which a lion from the park had eaten five months earlier and all that remained was a pregnant cow due to give birth shortly and a calf. The wereda agricultural office provided new breed chickens on sale with a discount in 2007 and 2009; they cost 30 *birr* each and each household was only allowed one hen and one cock. The rich household had 12 chickens in 2009 but all died due to disease.

One respondent was trying to make traditional beehives, though the people in the community were not using his cheap product very well; it only cost 3.50 *birr*. He kept beehives in twelve traditional beehives he had made; he would like to have modern beehives but they are unaffordable.

The award-winning Model Farmer derived his main income from livestock fattening.

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

A small group of women said that large working parties called *dego* are common in harvesting and cultivating seasons. These groups are also involved in house-building and ploughing. The community also practices small working parties called *kripe*. The poor head of household said he joins neighbours in *dego* for cutting grass for house construction, constructing a house, during ploughing and the spreading out of seeds, and during weeding, harvesting and grinding. But he said people prefer to co-operate with families with young working men rather than an old man alone like him. The woman heading the poor FHH said that as soon as her husband died the household stopped co-operating on farm work. It is difficult for her family to help individuals building houses with labour or materials like wood and stone. She usually provided lunch for the people working on the house.

Share-cropping is common, especially for landless community members, The owner of the land is obliged to work together on the plot and share the costs of inputs like fertilisers and improved seeds equally. One share-cropper said that he got two quintals of maize every year from irrigated land. The landowner doesn't allow him to plant anything else as maize has a short production span and leaves time for the owner to plant other things like onions and peppers in the same year after getting his crop share. Another informant said he only gets half the product though he is doing the entire job. Another said he provides improved seeds and fertilise as the kebele makes him take fertiliser on credit by force, and the landowner provides the land and the oxen. The agreement is equal shares. A young man said that landless youth can approach older people with large irrigated landholdings for share-cropping and those who can afford to can buy land in contract agreements. Another young man began share-cropping work when he was 15; he gets about 2 quintals of maize and 2 quintals of sweet potato.

There is share-rearing; the household in charge of rearing may take livestock products like milk and butter, or the newly born calves. A woman respondent breeds two shared cows. She provides fodder and shelter for the cow. If she gets enough milk she processes it and gives the butter to the owners. The only benefits she gets are cheese and sometimes milk.

Ox-sharing is also common; those farmers who own one ox look for another to pair with. The rich household head said he lends oxen to community members he knows well at ploughing time. People also share farming tools with neighbours. The small group of women said that small working parties and ox-sharing have expanded in the last ten years. One respondent said that the church had contributed a lot in making group work in farming common in the community. The politically-active household head said that labour co-operation increased when the formal 1-5 groups and party cells facilitated the earlier *dego* co-operation. The poor head of household said that the role of agricultural extension in enhancing co-operation in farming is vital, by initiating group work and co-operation. Another respondent said that *dego* in farming is a long-standing custom and the DAs had not brought anything new.

## Agricultural labour

### Daily labour

Richer farmers employ daily labour paying 20 *birr* a day. It was estimated that about one-third of men in the kebele did farm labour. The 10-year old son in the poor FHH worked as a herder all day long in return for food.

Women can get daily labour weeding. One daughter in the poor female-headed household earned 10 *birr* a day for 10 days collecting hot peppers while a younger one earned 10 *birr* a day for three days work.

The wife in a poor household wanted to work on other people's farm but her considerably older husband would not let her as he feared another farmer 'would take his young wife from him' and if she began to go out every day he feared her behaviour might change.

### Longer-term agricultural employment

The huge investment in Do'oma which discontinued in 2005 provided alternative earnings for many farmers in the kebele. The Zage Agro Industry employed about 600 daily labourers. One report was that the investor used to pay 3-5 *birr* a day when the wage rate elsewhere was 3 *birr*. Another was that the daily labour 'per diem' was around 20 *birr*. Some people said that the private investor was involved in initiating the community to join the opposition party CUD and the government unfairly made him lose his land and property. The Regional improved seed bureau tried to grow maize in 2009 but the land was unproductive. In 2011 the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia announced an auction and the winners of the bid have visited the investment site. Those who won the auction were said to be government officials in SNNPR and Tigray; they began operating during the second field period.

## Government farming interventions

### Development Agents

Wereda officials said that the three agricultural extension workers, crop, livestock, and NRM, are present in all kebeles. They said that DAs are assigned to work in their expertise and they co-operate in working on all the activities without considering their expertise. They stay in the kebele compound and train farmers and they go to each farm and provide advice. Vets are only found in six kebeles but as vets graduate from school, they will be assigned in the rest of the kebeles. The inputs provided are improved seeds, fertiliser, pesticides, crop storage medicine and various vegetable seeds. Most of the farm inputs except seeds are given on credit after 50% initial payment. The wereda also provide improved livestock and poultry to be sold at fair prices after subsidising them. There are farm tools given to be used at times of public works.

The DAs said they distribute work among them based on districts. There is a direction from the government to make DAs all-inclusive. The Crops DA is a woman aged 27 who was appointed in 2006. The NRM DA is a 25 year-old man. The Livestock DA is male and 26.

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

#### Model farmers

The DAs started to elect **model farmers** in 2010. They assessed working culture, capacity to teach others and the total productivity of the household land. Only two model farmers in the kebele were selected and rewarded as **champions** in 2008. The one who came first is a 41-year old farmer; he had three hectares of land of which two were irrigated. His main income came from livestock fattening and the rest from farming, mainly vegetables using irrigation. He was one of the first settlers in the area and had the chance to access a large irrigated farm. Having irrigated land is the main reason for his success. The criteria are adoption of modern techniques and having higher assets and wealth in the community. He was rewarded with medals made of gold, though he does not know the weight, and given a certificate. The advantage of being a champion is that it encourages work and progress; the system initiated many farmers who used to resist modern farming techniques.

#### Development teams and 1-5s

Development teams were established in 2009 and there are twelve with between 18-25 members. Each development group has a leader and is organised into smaller one-to-five teams. Members are farmers who share borders. They work together on members' land in turn helping each other during ploughing, harvesting, threshing and shelling of maize, and small-scale irrigation canals.

Since the new development group/one-to-five structure was formed the development unit has given training to the group leaders once. It was about reducing losses at harvest time, weed control, how to make farmlands ready for cultivation, the importance of the use of pesticides and herbicides, preparation of animal fodder, and the importance of watershed management. The wereda agriculture office ordered the DAs to give training for 15 days to the development group leaders. They should train their one-to-five leaders for five days and each one-to-five group should get three days training from their leaders. However the unit only gave the training for two days as the group leaders were not prepared to stay for 15 days without getting anything. They said it was difficult not to work on their farms for 15 days. Subsequently they did not train their prospective groups and the new proposed mechanism to train the people on new agricultural technologies in one-to-five groups did not succeed. The DA said that they had achieved nothing through the new structure until now. Accordingly he suggested structures that take reality into consideration. The requirement of the wereda ignored the working culture of the community. It is not common for farmers to take long trainings as an obligation. Most of the development group leaders are models and do not want to waste time by taking and giving training. He said that the leaders of the groups and the one-to-five groups are not willing to implement interventions that are proposed by the development unit.

### The Farmers' Training Centre

The FTC was built in 2007. There are three buildings. Though the main building is of low quality it is large. It has no water or electricity. It is also used for kebele and party meetings and the kebele manager is using the FTC office. The FTC has 0.25 hectares of irrigable land which is used for a seedling nursery and cultivation. One farmer said it was not used very well. The demonstration site is very small for practical teaching and the arid nature of the environment makes demonstrations fail which discourages farmers from implementing the extension advice. Interviewed in September 2011 Kebele officials said that the FTC had graduated 60 farmers from the centre but that no training was currently going on as two of the DAs had gone to Wolayta and Arbaminch Universities to attend summer degree programmes as the government had provided them with the chance to upgrade.

In 2009 60 farmers were selected from Womala sub-kebele and Do'oma and trained in two rounds for a continuous period once a week. The training covered ploughing style, seeding style, livestock fattening and caring, bee-keeping, afforestation and good times to plant trees. A small group of farmers said that some people have begun to fatten cattle and get a big profit and everyone in the community has been planting in rows since 2009. Vegetables were introduced after the training, mainly onions, tomatoes and peppers, although credit for this is given to the Amhara in-migrants by most community members including kebele officials. The rich household head said his agricultural productivity had improved because of the efforts of the DAs but his attempt to produce sesame is mainly from the Amhara in-migrants' experience.

The DAs give training to the community on harmful agricultural practices including burning land expecting better grass to grow and growing *chat* and eucalyptus. Working days were affected by Orthodox and Protestant holidays and programmes but the government intervened through kebele officials, community elders and religious leaders, and now there is a change of attitude. The Orthodox Christianity followers reduced the saints' days and they only do not work on yearly saints' days, which are no more than 20 days per year excluding Sundays. There are Orthodox Christians who spend yearly saints' days on non-farm activities.

### Crops interventions

Kebele officials said that the **crop extension worker** has duties to provide seeds, fertiliser and pesticides, to educate farmers door-to-door and in the fields, and to provide them with new technology. The Crops DA said they provided fertilisers in the last year and gave extension advice on row planting, livestock fodder and crop storage. She said she could not be confident to say the packages had been successful as the community is resistant to new agricultural technologies. The problem in crop extension work is the shortage of improved seeds and fertiliser and of demonstration sites.

The Champion farmer said he consulted the DAs when he faced any farming issue. For example in 2010 his farm was affected by new pests and consulted the Crops DA. The DA went to the wereda Agriculture office and brought him pesticides which protected his farm. However, there is no general support with pesticides and this is the main problem discouraging farmers to grow high-value vegetables. The extension programme was helpful: fertiliser helps to increase production and the advice about planting in lines and having appropriate spacing was good. A cash-crop trader said that DAs taught the community about growing onions, red peppers, and sesame, but that practical experimentation is done by Amhara migrants who are pioneers with these items. A group of Amhara farmers said that the DAs never helped them technically. Even when they encountered a problem like pests it needed frequent visits and begging to get their co-operation. Also the migrants do not feel they have less knowledge than the DAs. One said that one of the DAs had asked his advice when he was confused about the distance for maize planting and the amount of fertiliser for each seed.

One informant said that there is the one-to-five principle of agricultural extension by which those trained in the centre teach their four neighbours. One of his neighbours taught him about planting in

lines and other techniques which he is using. Another said that he had received lessons from the DAs and is now using the modern techniques they taught.

### Livestock interventions

A kebele official said that the livestock DA is mostly responsible for livestock, and educating farmers about reproduction, vaccines, feeding and treatment. The DA said he gave extension advice on the preparation of animal fodder, cleaning of livestock yards and using veterinary services provided by individuals and the wereda agriculture office.

There is no artificial insemination service so the community has no choice of type of cattle, only the local. There are new poultry breeds but also an epidemic that attacks chickens. One woman said that the number of poultry supplied by the DAs was very small. Another said her household had benefited from the poultry as they now eat eggs regularly.

The DA said that farmers are reluctant to practice improved animal fodder. Two years ago they gave training on preparation of animal fodder using urea. Five household implemented it for a year but stopped because of the rising price of urea. The head of the poor household said that the livestock DA taught him how to prepare feed by adding salt to it although much of the orientation is not followed by the family except adding salt and water to the grass. He said he couldn't apply all the things he was told as it required a plastic carpet to prepare the feed from grass and salt after keeping it on the ground for 15 days. Buying the plastic and salt is too expensive for him. A number of farmers said they had started cutting grass in the rainy season and storing it for later use.

There are regular livestock epidemics in drier seasons such as March and April. At this time tsetse flies bring a disease that kills many oxen and cows. Many cattle died in 2008 and 2010. There is not enough manpower and medicine to control the disease. Vaccine for cattle was provided in the kebele but in the last two years farmers have accessed services at the wereda. The head of the poor household, who lost all his cattle in 2010, went to the wereda agriculture office who said that was no medicine. He could not find another source of medicine for him to inject in his cattle; he even went to Morka town but there was a high demand for medicine and he couldn't find any. The woman heading the poor FHH said that vet service was provided by the wereda agriculture office at least once a month. Sometimes she buys medicine from the veterinary pharmacy in Wacha and community members experienced in injecting cattle provide the injection.

The DA Livestock said *'There is an animal health graduate who works in three kebeles. His service is mobile so that people in the kebele cannot get the service when they want. He comes to the kebele each month. However, when there is an epidemic, he gives service to the kebele every 15 days. However, the service is not enough compared to the severity of the diseases in drier seasons.'* The respondent said that mobile vaccination of livestock started in 2009 and in the beginning the service was to cover 5 to 6 kebeles. The fieldworker interviewed a mobile vet who was assigned to three kebeles, including Do'oma, in September 2011 but did not start working until December due to delays in the delivery of medicines by the wereda agricultural office. He identified contact people and provided his cell phone number to be contacted when there is an emergency. Also he visits all three kebeles at least once a week. He has to walk between kebeles carrying a bag of medicines weighing about 12 kilos. He said the challenges he faced were walking in the very hot sun and untimely supply of medicines. There are also smuggled medicines circulated for sale which have expired in all the kebeles.

A wereda official said that the concept of zero-grazing policy was there. He said the policy involved the utilisation of all possible land for productive activities including investment, farming by peasants etc. Implementation was slow because people had an awareness gap hindering them from using more land for farming and giving more importance to grazing land. After the park expansion there are few grazing lands, although this varies from kebele to kebele. The investment that is going on is part of the zero grazing policy. Kebele officials said that zero grazing as a policy had not been

officially forwarded to the kebele. However, the investment, the park, and land distribution to individual farmers had reduced the size of the grazing land and community members were now complaining that they did not have enough. They said that even at wereda level the policy was not there except that other programmes like investment, and population growth lead to the process of zero grazing.

A small group of farmers had the following views.

The park expansion and investors' land holding made the community lose their wider grazing land and what is left now is called 'field' small size that is about two 500x500 m. The advantage of the investment is mentioned as good since we could get a chance to earn by labour work in time of drought as an alternative income source. But the park is considered as totally negative as it took their natural resource access like firewood, grass, and grazing land. Park guards fight them when they attempt to cut grass.

D said that he constructed a hut last year, but still he couldn't cut grass to cover the roof. A also said that he wanted to buy and breed cattle, *' but my single ox and cow couldn't get enough grazing land, by chance when the cattle entered the park land, the guards threatened me and said sell your cattle if you don't have space'*. B said I am poor and I partly rely on selling wood and grass that the park doesn't allow since 2008.

### **NRM interventions**

The NRM DA said that last year he worked on watershed management and seedling and tree planting. He said that the community's co-operation in natural resource management is not satisfactory as the projects need a long time to bring changes. For instance, most have no confidence in the workability of watershed management. Tree-planting is not successful because of the shortage of rainfall and the wereda has not provided seedlings that are suitable for the environment of the kebele.

### **Non-farm occupations**

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

The investor also provided non-farm jobs. For example a rich young man (29) was employed on the investment farm as a driver's assistant between 1997 and 2003 with a salary of 150 *birr* a month. The guards were also permanent employees.

Three young men were employed as Park guards. S, aged 23, was hired in 2009. He is educated up to Grade 6 and dropped out because of family economic problems. He applied when the park announced a vacancy which required age 20 and Grade 5 education and a letter about his good behaviour from the kebele. The park provides a gun, uniform, shoes, sleeping bag, raincoat, water container and bag. He works eight hours in a shift and has Sunday off. If any issues arise at work he is expected to contact the leader of the guards but there have been no such issues.

He is paid around 800 *birr* a month. He is now studying by distance learning for Grade 7 in Selamber school as he would like to shift to an office job in the park and there are promotion possibilities for those who achieve Grade 10.

Guards for the school and Health Post were also employed. A woman was employed by the kebele to open the waterpoint once a day in the morning.

An alternative to PSNP is non-farm work in town like painting walls; the average payment is 35 *birr* a day.

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

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

Men cut construction wood from the forest for sale. Around ten men are engaged in making and selling charcoal. For example the poor youth (26) earned about 100 *birr* a month from producing

charcoal. Both men and women sell firewood and grass in Wacha and this activity was said to be growing. One man said he might get 6 *birr* for a typical amount of grass.

M, who is a potter, sells her clay works by taking them to Wacha and Maze markets and carrying them to villages on non-market days. In 2010 crop failure due to shortage of rain forced her to find another income source and she started collecting firewood from the forest and carrying it to Wacha town. She hoped to get 25 *birr* for the wood she is carrying in the picture. She is also carrying two plastic bottles to buy lighting fuel for herself and for her neighbour.

### Trading

There are three young men engaged in trading cash crops. One informant, D aged 28 who began trading in 2008, described how he traded bananas and maize by buying from farmers and transporting the products to Wolayta Sodo, and in the case of bananas, also to Addis Ababa and Nazret. He contacts traders in those towns and if there is demand he transports the bananas there. He also buys livestock from Maze market in Kemba wereda, and sells them in Deramalo wereda where there is a higher price. He is assessing markets elsewhere for onions, red pepper, and sesame as farmers are now shifting gradually to these high value items. Since last year, these three items have been available for market with enough amounts and he is planning to engage in trading these items up to Addis Ababa and Nazret. The rent for car/truck is 6000 *birr* for one trip to Addis Ababa and 5000 *birr* to Nazret. He brings consumption goods back from Addis Ababa and Nazret which he sells to Wacha town traders. He use to sell some in the village but a sudden price rise confused people and they could not buy from him so he stopped doing this last year. He said he earned 10,000 *birr* profit per annum but this was small as there are many costs and crops are not available between April and July.

The three traders are friends and their relationship is more co-operative than competitive. They take loans among themselves, exchange information on getting markets in towns and also co-operate in finding crops in the villages. They face a number of problems. The transport owners are based in Wolayta Sodo and there charges are high as the road is not good. The cost of transport is the main problem hindering growth and sometimes causing crises. The other problem is cancellation of the contract after bananas have been collected which causes them to perish and crisis for the trader since there is no local transport alternative. They don't have enough capital and the maximum micro-credit available is 2000 *birr* which they don't take since it doesn't help them. They had a problem of high wereda tax which was 900 *birr* for 50 quintals. They complained and it was reduced to 200 *birr*.

There is one *delala* in the community who links farmers with products for sale with traders who want to transport products to towns like Wacha, Morka, Wolayta Sodo, Addis Ababa and Nazret and Isuzu truck owners.

The other opportunity is to trade agricultural products and livestock between the various markets of the wereda with different price rates. Between April and July many people try to engage in trade in different markets around the area to fill the food gap.

The wife of the politically active man used to sell food to workers from the investor's farm. She had asked her husband to buy a small plot of land in Wacha to build a shop. She has been buying and selling maize at Wacha for the last five years and her daughters have been involved for the last four years. She uses the profit to buy cooking equipment and clothes for household members while her daughters buy clothes, underwear, shoes and exercise books.

The woman heading the poor female-headed household and her daughters traded bananas which was a seasonal activity.

She had stopped trading since she became a PSNP beneficiary. As she explains, banana trading is not profitable if she has to consider the labour power she loses to carry the fruit to the market, that approximately takes her 1 hour and 15 minutes to walk. The other challenge to the profitability of her

nonfarm business is the warmer environmental nature of the area; the bananas become perishable within a short period. In addition to this, the fluctuation in market price of bananas is also causing a problem for her. The farmers, the producers of bananas, sell their product at a fixed price for the given production season. However, as she elaborated, other traders who purchase bananas at Wacha town set different market prices for different market days, even within a week. Having these problems mentioned herein above, she says that her profit is five to twenty birr by trading banana purchased from the producer for twenty birr.

The head of the richer FHH traded salt as an additional source of income but planned to stop as she said it was unprofitable. Sometimes her son brought salt from Wolayita Sodo and did not ask for payment.

### Transport

A few provide **motorbike transport** from the kebele to Wacha. The rich youth (25) bought a used motorbike for 15,000 *birr* in 2010 and provided service for a year which brought him a profit of 4000 *birr*. The bike then broke down but he had a plan to sell it and adding money from his grain sale, to buy a new *bajaj* type motorbike.

The rich household opened a **shop** in 2008 but closed it in early 2010. They sold soap, salt, sugar, gums, coffee, soft drinks, exercise books, pens etc. The man said that the villagers took credit but did not repay their debts and did not bring bottles back and this had led to bankruptcy. His wife gave one reason for closing it because mice had damaged some of the goods. The other was that the business had been profitable to start with but had started to fail after a year and she found that her children who worked in the shop when she was doing domestic work had been stealing money. She was still trading but the size of the business had declined; she stored the commodities in the children's bedroom which was relatively free from mice. She started the business with 400 *birr* and at the time of the interview had capital of 1000 *birr*.

### Traditional health services

The man in the poor household practised the removal of uvula using blades and string charging 5 *birr* for the service. Apart from **Traditional Birth Attendants** and a **bone-setter** there was said to be only one other traditional healer. He provides services for snake bites, liver disease, an illness that causes swollen glands. He also provides treatment for infants with diarrhoea, vomiting and weight loss though if the illness is severe he refers them to modern medicine. He treats gonorrhoea but the incidence has become rare as people are aware and there is modern medication for it. Women with excessive menstruation '*because of the eggs broken inside and shifted to a wrong place*' are given a syrup made locally from leaves. Some people also have a powerful eye which affects the victim when he eats something so that afterwards he hates the smell of the specific food and is unable to eat it. The healer gives him medicine to make him vomit and then he can eat the type of food again. He enjoys his work very much even when people come with shouting victims in the middle of the night.

He gives two types of medication. One involves smoking the person with a special wood root and the other making them drink juice of leaves. If the smoke doesn't cure him the drink will. He also treats livestock when they are ill, bleeding from the nose, tears fill their eyes, they never eat or sleep; he gives them leaves' juice and smokes roots of plants. Whenever a sick person or animal comes he goes to the forest and riverside to collect the leaves or roots relevant for the specific sickness. If he feels patients need modern medicine he refers them. The job has no regular working hours. Some day he may have many clients but at other times no-one might come for a week.

He does not receive any money for his services from people in the kebele though they want to pay. He said he is healthy and can earn well on his farm and if he is paid people may make him responsible for risks like death, and it doesn't feel good to take money at all. He doesn't want to make it a business. No-one so far has died after taking his medicine. However, if anyone comes from another kebele or wereda he charges various amounts from 5-50 *birr* depending on their ability to pay and the services provided. Mainly they come with constipation and he charges them 15 *birr*. He

said patients and those who bring them might stay two or three days in his house and he provides them with food and coffee for which they pay. There are two opinions from the community. Some say he is earning from the healing practice while others appreciate his free service.

There are more than 40 TBAs in the community; the cost of services varies. Sometimes the service is free and the family taking the service, usually the husband, decides the cost. They support pregnant women and infants at the time of delivery but have no roles in taking care of mother and baby after the birth. The demand for the service is high. For example in the peak (drier) season 9-10 women in the sub-kebele give birth in a month and 7-8 in the kebele. There is a period when demand goes down to 2-3 birth attendances a month. One TBA said she takes whatever money she is given; she has never received more than 20 *birr*. She described some problems and successes.

Sometimes people become reluctant to call me to attend a birth. After things get worse, they invite me to attend. If there is a delay, the infant may die in the womb or immediately after birth. Until now, I faced one infancy death but not among the women. In attending birth, I focus on saving the life of the mother rather than the infant. I am well experienced so that I have not faced any major problem except the death of one infant since I have started to give the service.

The health centre told a pregnant woman that her pregnancy was too complicated to be handled by the centre. They told her to go to hospital to get an operation. However, she was too poor to cover the medication cost at hospital. She returned to the community waiting for her death. Her family called me to look for her. When I arrived at her home, she was very powerless and frustrated. I immediately started to treat her. I put a hotter metal dish on her head and then I put butter on the dish. Then, the hot melted butter helped her to relax and I started massaging all her body. Then, within two hours, she gave birth to a beautiful baby boy."

### Production

The wife in the poor household baked *injera* using *tef* and sorghum and sold it on market day which brought in 20 *birr* a week. She sells about 70 *injera* on each market days.

There are six carpenters in the community. One who was interviewed said he makes furniture, doors and windows, and farm tools. He cuts wood from the riverside and community forest, carries it home, and shapes the item that a customer has ordered from him. On average he might spend a week in a month on the work and he earns about 130 *birr* a month in addition to his farm work. There is no competition as such and the relationship among carpenters is good; people go to the nearest carpenter and give their order. The common problem for all carpenters is there is less access to wood as the area is becoming populated and the park does not allow cutting of trees on the other side. He suggests that the park could allow access to older trees since the new ones are growing well.

There are a few craft workers. Pottery is a source of income for ten women in Do'oma. One potter who was interviewed said she makes stoves for making *injera* and pots of different sizes. She gets clay from another *kebele* which is a three-hour walk.

### Government non-farm livelihood interventions

When asked about non-farm interventions wereda and kebele officials did not mention any livelihood interventions. When a group of women was asked the same question a poor female respondent who has pottery as a secondary occupation said that though pottery is an occupation followed by a number of women in the community there has been no intervention to support them. There are also a group of women who spin cotton together in the drier seasons and sell their product in the market, but there is no support for them either.

## Marketing

### Output markets

Before 2005 the common cash crops were *tef*, maize, sweet potatoes, chat and coffee. Now the

number of cash crops is increasing although chat is no longer produced and coffee is no longer sold. Farmers sell maize, *tef*, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, hot peppers, onions, bananas, sugarcane, and mangoes. In addition to the diversification in products the amount of staples and vegetables supplied to the market is relatively high compared with the past. Farmers with irrigable land provide large amounts of cereal and high value crops twice a year. Also returns are better since the market price of these products has increased. A quintal of maize was about 150 *birr* five years ago but now it is about 550 *birr*.

During a FGD with some Amhara in-migrants they said that there is very low demand compared with the production of peppers, onions and other new items. The wereda town market can be satisfied with the products of two or three strong farmers and it gets saturated so it is necessary to find markets elsewhere. Traders are less interested to come to get products as the transportation is costly and inconvenient. There is only one trader who comes from Wolayta who is begged to come all the time. This year they sold their products very cheaply, especially the peppers. One farmer took his peppers to the Addis Ababa market two years ago but the traders there know you don't have a store. They promised to buy at a good price but when evening came they proposed a cheaper price and he had no choice but to sell at 7 *birr* a kilo which is half the price at which they were selling. There is no problem with maize as traders will come and take it from Wolayta.

There is a problem with tomatoes; if one of them takes his product to Wacha town market he can fulfil the demands of the market for that day while if two or three of them take tomatoes they will be left with perished tomatoes at the end of the market day. D said that last year he lost almost all his tomato production because of very poor demand for tomatoes. M said that, the market problem results from less effort by the general community to produce these items and make the area known for these products. Now there are a few migrants who produce high surpluses but the rest of the community is on experimentation and only few have adopted it well. For example in Basketo area, there are about 500 migrants and settlers who settled there, the road is very bad, even worse than the Do'oma road, but traders come from Addis Ababa and take out their products with reasonable prices. But in Do'oma, there is no huge surplus that attract traders as their resource area, and for the farmers to take the product to towns, there is a problem of knowledge of the areas and the system.

B produced a large amount of onions last year and wanted to transport them to Selamber town where he hoped to get buyers. But for each quintal he had to pay about 40 *birr* for the transport and labour. He decided to store the onions in Wacha and rented six rooms which he filled with onions. However he could not find a buyer who would take the whole lot and more than half of them were wasted. Z transported his onions to Wolayta Sodo paying 1500 *birr* for the rented Isuzu. But even in Wolayta the price was very cheap and his gain was very low. The price of onions is quite volatile; when it is cheap everywhere it is worse in Do'oma due to distance and transportation costs.

Now the road network is improving and prices are better the vice chairman said they are hoping that traders will come to take the products.

Local farmers tend to take what they produce to sell as soon as it is harvested when the price is very low. A young Amhara in-migrant who stored his maize by applying pesticide sold it later for 500 *birr*; if he had sold it at harvest time he would have got 250 *birr*.

In recent years a few farmers have started to sell eucalyptus trees at the farmgate. Community members sell livestock and there is a little livestock fattening for sale. There are women who sell pottery and spun cotton.

### **Input and consumption markets**

A small group of women said that all farmers are obliged to buy fertiliser and improved seeds. In general community members are not interested in using other farm inputs. A few farmers buy

pesticides from vets in Wacha and use them for vegetables. Some farmers have started using pesticides and insecticides for tomato and onion production.

An Amhara farmer said that our main food maize is now affected by pests and vegetables are also at risk. The plan is to find pesticides in towns since the wereda office is less active. A said he will buy the pesticides with the onion seeds if he goes to town for them and if the maize problem is repeated next year he will not stay waiting for government help but will go to town and consult people and buy the pesticide. The vice chairman said that the pests and decrease in productivity are a concern for the kebele administration and that the kebele is planning to send a letter to the wereda asking for experts who can identify the problem and provide solutions.

Community members are buying staple foods, vegetables and household goods in greater amounts than before. Three household reportedly buy meat from Wacha town. A few households can afford to buy and drink pure coffee. Mostly they mix coffee with eucalyptus seeds.

### PSNP and other food-for-work

#### PSNP

The wereda provided the figures for PSNP beneficiaries from 1997-2002 EC shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: PSNP beneficiaries in Deramalo wereda 1997-2002EC**

year	roughly	Direct beneficiaries	Indirect beneficiaries
1997	2005	770	5680
1998	2006	2772	10023
1999	2007	2077	13329
2000	2008	2086	13131
2001	2009	2061	12755
2002	2010	2071	12762

Kebele officials said that the PSNP began in 2004. One said that there are currently 143 beneficiary households and another that there were 134 and 34 direct beneficiaries. The aid is provided from March through the next five drier months. The kebele vice-chairman provided the information in Table 3 from the PSNP register. The total number of households benefiting from PSNP in 2011 was 146, amounting to 32% of households.

**Table 3: Numbers of PSNP beneficiaries in Do'oma 2005-2011**

	Number of beneficiaries for PSNP PW beneficiaries				Number of PSNP direct support beneficiaries			
	HHs		People		HHs		People	
	MHH	FHH	M	F	MHH	FFH	M	F
2005	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40
2006	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40
2007	97	17	228	211	13	19	53	40
2008	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40
2009	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40
2010	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40
2011	97	17	234	217	13	19	53	40

The kebele task force decides how many direct beneficiaries to include depending on their situation. These up to four family members, beneficiaries have small families and are provided with support usually up to four members; the rule does not allow for more.

There are no separate budgets for Public Works and Direct Support; an average monthly lump sum of about 27,000 *birr* comes to the kebele to cover the households in both categories. The kebele

vice-chairman said that the fund is not enough to allow access to the large mass of the poor in the kebele and thought about 100 people who needed the support were not getting it due to lack of funds. The wereda plan is to graduate as many beneficiaries as possible and since last year there is a new rule to replace graduates with new beneficiaries. Last year the DAs suggested a new approach which was to deduct a member or two from those benefiting through large family size and improving their status and re-targeting a few people. But there was serious dissatisfaction and complaint from those families who were worse off and because of the conflict couldn't continue.

### **Selection of beneficiaries**

#### **Selection generally**

The kebele vice-chair said he has been a member of the task force which decides on beneficiary recruitment since 2008. He said the committee, which is considered as part of the kebele administration, is chaired by the kebele chair and includes DAs, women's affairs, the youth association, religious leaders and community elders. The group does not meet regularly but arranges meetings when needed. The status of everyone in the kebele is known well and there is discussion to assess and compare households to decide who should be part of the programme. There is no visit to each house to judge their condition. Decisions are made by counting votes and if there is a tie the chairman has the casting vote.

The vice-chairman said that the work is hard because while those who are involved praise him those who are excluded blame him but he is happy as the praise is more than the blame. The chairman and DAs are given orientation at wereda level but other members of the committee have not been trained. If there is any issue they can consult the wereda agriculture office though this has not happened. Complaints don't go to the wereda or any other body. People approach the committee if they feel that they are unfairly excluded and *'the committee tries to make them understand the criteria and priorities'*.

The kebele manager said that he takes appeals and registers name and discusses them with the DAs who are meant to know about the individual appealing. He then brings the cases to the kebele administration whose members are the chair, vice chair, information desk, party organizer, kebele commander/security, and DAs. The kebele chair is chair for decisions as well. There is no committee organized for this and the meeting is organised by the kebele manager to see any available case. He said that up to last year the main appeals were about exclusions but the wereda PSNP decided not to have any new candidates and the community is aware of this so appeals for inclusion have decreased. Last year there was no special community meeting organised for this but the issue was dealt with in five meetings organised for other things.

Since he took the position in 2010 he has received 12 appeals. All of them felt that they were even poorer than those included in the programme. But the informant said that the quota was limited and the kebele can't take every appeal. Only one of the appeals was successful because there was no budget to add any beneficiaries. None of them appealed further to the wereda but whenever wereda officials come to the kebele for other meetings these people raise the issue and the wereda officials tell them there is no additional quota from the zone.

A small group of men said that there is a kebele committee to which people can appeal if they feel they are unfairly excluded but many times complaints don't get a solution; community elders are not involved in this. A small group of women said the kebele officials choose the beneficiaries and *'we are not equal in the eye of officials; except for tax. They incline to the community members who have close ties or affiliation with them.'* There has not been any change though new kebele officials were elected in 2010/11. They said that there is no means to question the decisions of the officials and though a few community members had contacted party officials to say that there are well-off households in the programme *'taking the advantages of the destitute. However, the officials remain reluctant to consider their ideas'*. A poor woman pointed out that there were some community

members who have irrigated land included in the programme. *'Many people who are in urgent need of food aid are excluded from the programme. Among the beneficiaries most of them live a predictable life with their considerable productive capability.'* They suggested that family size should be revised and all community members in need of food aid should be included in the programme.

An elderly male direct beneficiary said that there are a few people who should have been included in the programme but are not either because they are not willing to do the public work or because the kebele quota is not big enough to include everyone. An elderly female direct beneficiary initially said that relations to officials and party membership did not have an impact on selection of beneficiaries but later in the interview said that kebele officials had told some poorer households that the quota is too small to include all households who need support. She then said that some poorer households were excluded because they were in bad relations with officials, were not party members, and were not co-operative in government interventions. She said that all the members of PSNP households were registered to receive support.

The vice-chairman provided the figures in Tables 4 and 5 from the PSNP register. He said there was no-one selected unfairly.

**Table 4: PSNP beneficiaries by household wealth status**

%	PW beneficiaries	DS beneficiaries	Population of the kebele
Poor	67	90	55
Medium wealth	33	10	40
Rich	-	-	5
	100%		

**Table 5: PSNP beneficiaries by party membership**

%	PW beneficiaries	DS beneficiaries	Population of the kebele
Party member	99	95	80
Opposition party member	-	-	-
No party member	1	5	20

#### **Public works selection and graduation**

Wereda officials said the wereda agriculture office trained the kebele administration about **selection criteria**. For the Public Works programme these are: being poorest of the poor; continuous food shortage for three years; not having livestock, having a large family size, and understanding the programme and agreeing to abide by its rules. Kebele officials said that the criteria for public works beneficiaries was having the strength to carry out public works responsibly. A small group of men said the criteria was very low economic status: mainly shortage of food at home, family size, those who have no irrigated land etc. A small group of farmers said that the criteria for selection for PSNP is not having enough land, being poor and being able to work on the public works. The vice-chairman said that there less than ten people who shouldn't have received the support last year but did because they just began working on the public work and the task force found it difficult to graduate them in the middle. They are listed as prospective graduates but not graduated yet as the wereda has not yet approved the list. When the letter comes they will stop getting the support

Wereda officials said that it was planned that graduation would take place after measuring the value of the household's assets and if it exceeded 2,900 *birr* the person would be eligible to graduate. However, now very few beneficiaries qualify so new criteria were developed and some beneficiaries were graduated. In 2008 there were 211 graduates and in 2009 there were 401. In 2011 there was an order from the Zone to graduate more beneficiaries even with very minimal criteria and 1600

were graduated. There is no credit linked to the graduation but there is an ongoing credit service related to the programme mainly aimed at enabling beneficiaries to own an ox by providing them with credit up to 4000 *birr* to be repaid in instalments deducted from the PSNP cash payments. The whole debt should be paid within four years. The repayments allow the service to be extended to other beneficiaries.

The kebele vice-chair said that there were 103 public works beneficiaries but no new beneficiaries were selected last year. The wereda gave them a quota and the kebele decided through its task force. The decisions were made before 2010 as there were no new ones last year. The criteria were having no irrigated land, ox or other cattle. Not all household members are provided with the support because there is a limited budget and the order from the wereda is to deduct one to two members from the benefit depending on the size of the family. For this year 25 *birr* is added to each household member's benefit though he is not sure if this is to be continued.

Kebele officials said that in the last eight years only four people graduated though there are about 13 people who will be out of the programme in 2012. The graduation criteria are based on assessment of the wealth of the household, mainly above 2900 *birr* assets. No credit is linked to graduation but the programme is linked to the wereda agricultural office loan for oxen that only PSNP beneficiaries can access with the instalments to be paid from every PSNP payment every two months (100 *birr*). The rationale of this was to help the people to own an ox and be productive with a systematic approach to get the money back to revolve to reach other beneficiaries.

**Table 6: PSNP graduation 2008 - 2011**

5	No. of Graduates			
	HHs		People	
	MHH	FHH	M	F
2005	-	-	-	-
2006	-	-	-	-
2007	-	-	-	-
2008	2	-	6	6
2009	-	-	-	-
2010	-	-	-	-
2011	12	1	31	31

The kebele vice chairman said the benchmark to select graduates was having irrigated land, having an ox totally or mainly out of the package, or having a milking cow, and being able to fill the food gap on his own. It was easy to see who is at what level of progress and there was no assessment of households. He provided Table 6.

There were no graduates last year but this year the wereda gave a quota of 13 people and they were graduated. They were allowed to receive a compensation fund by doing the public work in the last three months but if the wereda allowed these people to continue in the programme they might stay in. The task force selected the graduates, there was consultation with them separately in a kebele meeting with the task force. Some had complaints and some accepted it and said thank you for the support they had received. There is no loan after graduation.

The kebele vice-chairman said there were four graduates in 2009/10 who are now living in better condition. They are able to cover their food demand and have up to 6 livestock. They are taken as exemplary for other beneficiaries and always mentioned in PSNP meetings. Their life is impossible to assess as they have taken compensation payment even last year but they are in good condition, self-sufficient and not at risk of getting back into food insecurity. The kebele manager said many didn't graduate because those who took loans for buying an ox refuse to pay their debt if they graduate and the kebele tries to make them pay while being in the programme, though there is no such rule

from the wereda.

A small group of men said that people graduated if their life is assumed as improved, mainly when they buy an ox or cow, when they get employment on investment sites like being a guard, if they can repay all the debt they have taken for an ox and if the ox is still strong and working well. However so far a very small number of beneficiaries have graduated. A small group of women said that a few months ago kebele officials selected 11 households for graduation. These beneficiaries said that officials from the Zone administration had suggested that graduation has to be only by the will of the beneficiaries.

A 22 year-old man said that the kebele included him in PSNP support when they were recruiting new beneficiaries this year. Five people were selected in September including him. He didn't apply to be a member but the kebele told him that they considered his condition and notified him to join the group. He works as an organiser announcing the next day's work and supervising it.

A 31 year-old man with seven out of eight household members registered said he has used the PSNP money in different ways. He sold his bull for 1500 *birr* and saved 1500 *birr* from the PSNP money and bought irrigated land for 3,500 *birr* with 500 *birr* to be paid later, although the seller cancelled his debt by local custom. He plants onions on the farm and earns more than 3000 *birr* each season. The following year there was a drought and he spent most of the money on food consumption, clothes, children's schooling and the Meskel holiday. In 2010 he saved 1300 *birr* and bought eucalyptus wood for his plan to build a corrugated iron sheet house. The year was a good harvest season. In 2011 he saved 1000 *birr* and bought more wood for the house. His plan this year is to buy corrugated iron sheets and build the house, but he received only 600 *birr* of the 1600 *birr* he was supposed to get from the wereda compensation fund. His wife gave birth last month and he spent 340 *birr* on her food and care and saved 240 *birr*. He planted onions on his irrigated land and hopes to get 2500 *birr*. If the harvest is good his house will be built with the help of PSNP. He said PSNP is a good help from him next to God. He joined the programme late in 2008 and was asked to graduate in 2010 but he appealed to the wereda agriculture office which evaluated his and others' condition who were forced to graduate that year and returned them all to the programme. He then took a loan of 4000 *birr* from the wereda PSNP package and bought a cow for 2000 *birr* and an ox for 2,200 *birr* adding 200 *birr*. The cow gave birth to a calf but it died. He used the ox to till his land, fattened it for three months and sold it for 3000 *birr*. He had planned to buy corrugated sheets for his house but changed his mind and bought another ox thinking he could sell it for 3000 *birr* and make a profit. But the price fell and he decided to keep it for a while but unfortunately it became sick and died.

This man said that there are people in the programme who don't deserve to be because they have irrigated land and up to seven cattle at home. However, he said these people were poor when they registered but have improved their livelihoods over time. Last year they were about to graduate but they complained they were indebted by the package and could not pay from their own pockets. Some could repay all their debts now and a few were forced to graduate this year as they have very good status. After graduation they were given compensation money and they are not part of the programme any more. He said there was no major bias in recruitment although there was a woman who came to kebele in 2009 who was included in the programme only because she is a relative of the chairman because she has no land as she was a newcomer. Now she has saved money from the PSNP and bought irrigated land and an ox with credit. There are also new people recruited who are poor although he didn't know how many. Not all poor are included because the quota was not sufficient to include them all. Two people left the programme as they did not want to do the public work; the informant replaced one of them in 2008.

A man of 35 said he was selected in 2008 as he is poor, has no ox or irrigated land, and has frequent food shortages. He was divorced in 2008 and all three people in the household were registered. His daughter married and left home but he is still receiving the support for three family members. He has recently bought an ox. He did not think that relations of officials were privileged and said as

everyone in the kebele is a party member it can't be a special criterion for inclusion.

A man of 23 with four children who was graduated from the programme in 2011 said that when he joined PSNP in 2008 he had a pair of oxen and one milking cow and 1 hectare of irrigated land and 1 hectare of non-irrigated land. On graduation he had two milking cows, two calves, two oxen, a goat, ten chickens and a new house. He said that the benchmark for graduation is having irrigated land and being able to produce sustainable food production for household consumption. He believed his graduation may be fair but other people without enough land or ox or enough production are being forced to graduate because they stayed long in the programme. He attributed his graduation mainly to the construction of a house with a corrugated iron sheet roof, though the house was financed from wealth accumulated before joining PSNP. He is happy to graduate as he no more referred to as a poor dependent of the government; now he feels a free young man who has escaped dependency. He received 600 *birr* graduation compensation last month. One of the big benefits he got from the programme was that he could get fertiliser with half payment and the other half being paid out of PSNP which enabled him to increase his productivity. Also he bought an ox in 2010 taking a 2000 *birr* loan of which he still owes about 1300 *birr*.

He said people complain they are not in the programme because they are not close to the chairman but he doesn't think these complaints are true. The number of family members registered in different households doesn't seem fair as some get all seven members registered while in some only just over half the members are registered. Last year there was an attempt to deduct some of the beneficiaries from households in the programme and use the funds to admit new households but this system was not continued. The informant said this was because the task force had '*finished their interest to include some people*'. When a member dies it is given to new ones.

A poor man of 26 who is married with a 5 month old baby said he is not included in PSNP although he appealed at the beginning of 2007. His main livelihood comes from share-cropping on others' irrigated land, working as a temporary herder, selling grass, and casual daily labour. He said the kebele chairman told him he couldn't be part of it as he didn't have farmland. In May 2011 he was given 1 hectare of dry land but he didn't start tilling it as he doesn't have an ox and couldn't get support from any farmer with oxen. He is planning to use a hoe to plant maize on it. He is not in good health as the bones of his jaw broke suddenly. He couldn't afford treatment and still can only eat potatoes and bananas but not anything else.

A widow of 45 said she was included in the programme three years ago. For the first two years two household members were registered for support and for the last year they decided to include all three members. She said at least kebele officials have started to listen to appeals brought by non-beneficiaries and by PSNP beneficiaries with a limited number of household members. She thought that there were beneficiaries who did not belong to the ruling party and that there is free and fair selection of beneficiaries by officials without considering their relations, party membership or willingness to co-operate in development projects. Officials register fewer household members in some cases but she does not know why. She said that kebele officials have been asking her to graduate. '*The kebele officials are telling me that I am better off because I bought a cow. They perceived this as a progress, though I could not understand.*'

A divorced woman of 28 said the household was better off compared with others but kebele officials selected her for the PSNP as her husband was resisting supporting the family and she was working alone to rear her children. Three out of the four household members were registered. She did not ask why one had been deducted '*believing that nothing could be changed.*' She said that kebele officials have selected their friends, relatives and other people in their network. They also help their relatives and friends by registering a greater number of household members than the existing ones. '*Those households who are close to kebele officials have registered their nieces and nephews to receive the support under the household. ... I believe that the kebele officials could not be happy and willing to include those non-party households, those households who were in bad relations with them*

*and those households who were reluctant to cooperate with the government interventions. They have even warned those PSNP beneficiaries who have bad relations with them that they could prohibit them from the PSNP support.'* She said the present officials are more accountable than the previous ones; they at least hear appeals from the community and are trying to include the poorer households when free quota is available for any reason. When they include new beneficiaries they do not consider the number of household members in their household as they have to give the support that the previous household was receiving.

The poor case study household joined the programme in April 2011 because his living condition worsened following the death of his four oxen in the previous year. Three members are registered for the programme. *'The kebele officials resisted including the other two household members.'*

A widow of 40 who is the only woman heading a household to have graduated from PSNP said that *'the kebele officials are the sole decision makers to select who should be included which paves the way for them to give priority to their relatives and other people in their network.'* All beneficiaries are party members. There has been a recent change in the way kebele officials select beneficiaries; starting from last year they have involved religious leaders and elders in the decisions. The recent officials are better than the former in their patience to hear appeals, opinions and suggestions. Kebele officials who were in power six years ago decided how many household members of each beneficiary should be registered.

Kebele officials informed her that her household would graduate at the end of 2011. *'I did not know how they identified my household for graduation. In the meeting where all the PSNP beneficiaries were participants, the development agent announced 13 households who were identified for graduation from the programme. At the end of the meeting, I asked the development agents why they identified my household. They responded that it was decided by the wereda. I did not know the benchmark for the graduation, and nobody made me aware that I should graduate this year'*. She said she could not use fertilisers without the money and that she had been planning to build a tin-roofed house. Only one of the graduates was voluntary. Kebele officials in collaboration with wereda people are allowing them to stay for one year in the programme. She said it would be good if they provided the graduate with money as a gift.

A widow of 59 whose husband died 8 years ago is supporting eight children who are all students. The household has 0.75 hectares of irrigable land and she is involved in trading. She has never been included in the PSNP programme although she has regularly asked officials to include her household. *'I told the officials that I am a female household head with many children. I begged them to include me in the programme. They responded that the household could not be included because it has farmland.'* However she said kebele officials had included relatives and other people in their networks who own large size irrigable land. She said she had appealed to the kebele chair, vice-chair, manager and elders. The elders allowed me on to the food aid programme but the kebele officials resisted accepting the decision of the elders. She said *'The kebele chairperson has included his relative. When the kebele vice chairperson became chairperson, he facilitated a situation to include his relatives and neighbours. They even brought their relatives from another wereda and included them in the PSNP. The development agents had been involved in bribes to include people in PSNP.'*

A poor 60 year old woman with half a hectare of farmland has been excluded from PSNP as officials say that she owns irrigable land and the quota is full so they have to wait until registered households graduate. However she said that they had included their relatives after they prohibited us. She said *'I am seeing households in the community that are becoming better off because they receive PSNP money. They are able to take money from that package that has helped them to improve their livelihood. I wish I could purchase a cow and an ox using PSNP money and the package.'*

A widow of 45 with 0.5 hectares of farmland said the kebele chair had excluded her from PSNP because the household had land as a means of livelihood. She said the household has a food gap

each year and 'I could not buy clothes from my sons as PSNP beneficiaries do. I could not purchase a cow or ox or build a tin roofed house without PSNP support.' More than half of PSNP beneficiaries are included in the programme because they are friends or relatives of the kebele officials.

### Direct support selection

Wereda officials said that for the Direct Beneficiary programme is for poor orphans, and elderly and other helpless people. Kebele officials said that those who can't work because they are weak, sick, old or orphans are exempted from public work. A small group of men said that those who are unable to take part in public works because they are weak from being ill or old and having no-one to care for them are registered as direct beneficiaries.

The kebele vice-chairman said that for direct beneficiaries the problem is 'clear and visible' so it is easy for the committee to decide. He gave examples of a man who is blind, one who is naturally handicapped and one who is affected by elephantiasis in his leg and can't work, and three orphans.

### Support provided

#### Overall support provided

The kebele vice-chairman provided Table 6. The cash is about 27,000 *birr* and is made through the kebele. People have to get the food from the wereda agriculture office so he doesn't know the total amount. Those with five family members registered could get 1 quintal of wheat and 1 litre of oil.

**Table 7: Number of months of food aid provision 2005-2011**

	Number of months PSNP received	No. Months contingency PSNP received	Number of months emergency food aid received
2005	6	-	-
2006	6	-	2
2007	6	-	1
2008	6	-	-
2009	6	-	-
2010	6	3	1
2011	6	-	-

As there was a bad drought in 2010 the wereda provided food and the kebele distributed it for three months. He said the money and food didn't arrive on time. The money came in four payments; two of them were double after a delay and the other two were roughly on time. The support has never been provided on time and is usually late by 5-10 days which leads to many beneficiaries looking for credit. Beneficiaries know how many household members are registered and how much is due each member but the amount given is not what is expected because it is subject to land tax, debt repayment of ox loans and fertiliser, and different kebele contributions. The amount of deduction varies from month to month which confuses and offends beneficiaries.

#### Public works support provided

Wereda officials said that usually beneficiaries are provided with cash though sometimes food is provided instead. This depends on the market price of food during the drought season after consulting beneficiaries. For example in 2008 food was provided. Kebele officials said that the cash benefit of 50 *birr* per family members registered is paid six times a year. The vice-chairman said that the support given last year was not enough because the initial amount is not enough and the deduction reduces it so people don't have the power to buy enough food to fill the food gap at all times. The support is only for six months and comes 3-4 times a year. If the support came all the year during the harvest season people would sell the product for other household expenses which would make the family sustainable in the food gap seasons. The package is important so long as the

livestock bought on credit do not die.

A small group of men said that the payment is 50 *birr* per family member registered and the total amount depends on how many members are registered from the household which is at the discretion of the kebele officials. A PSNP beneficiary with a son registered for three family members said he is supposed to get 150 *birr*; he borrowed 1560 *birr* to buy an ox; the debt is already repaid by deductions from the PSNP money but still 50 *birr* is deducted for fertiliser debt.

A 22 year old man recently recruited to the programme said the payment didn't come on time and while the quantity promised is based on the number of beneficiaries 200 *birr* deduction gets it down to 100 *birr* for him and those who took the ox package get a very small amount of money. Even so last week he had bought a goat by saving 250 *birr* from the PSNP payment and adding 130 *birr* from his pocket.

A 31 year-old man with seven household members registered said that last year he received the cash three times each covering two months.

He is expected to give much of the money away by deduction of 100 *birr* for fertilizer, 65 *birr* for land tax, 100 *birr* for ox debt repayment, and 8 *birr* for party contribution. The land tax, and party contribution are once a year but the debt repayment for both items should be done every time. Then from 350 *birr* that he is supposed to get, he should deduct different amounts at different times. The first payment out of the three was subject to all deductions and he got only 87 *birr*, but the remaining two payments were 150 *birr* and the last payment was food/ one quintal of wheat. This year he received 275 *birr* in October out of 553 *birr* that came to him, and 340 *birr* out of 1050 *birr* in the last week in December; the informant is confused about the payment because this time the total rate was high and he was charged big money for fertilizer but the kebele explained that it is the wereda fund provided as compensation, and about the bigger debt, he is complaining to the DA office.

He said he used to pay his fertiliser debt by keeping receipts but he has been told that he has 1557 *birr* outstanding from all rounds while he thinks he only owes 898 *birr*. The high price of food following drought, the payment only coming every two months and the deductions is problematic. Last year he had a food shortage between April and June and his only option was to sell a cow for 2000 *birr*. He spent half of it on food. He said that kebele officials said the money was late coming from the wereda.

A man of 35 earning 150 *birr* a month only received 20 *birr* in one round because of the deductions and this is quite common. In August 2011 he received 70 *birr* 'which is a big amount' but didn't know why. In the critical food shortage time April to June he had to borrow 150 *birr* to buy food from the Meskel Equb paying 20% interest per month. The PSNP has relieved him from worries about tax, fertiliser debt and other kebele contributions. He got an ox through the package and is spending the 20 *birr* on veterinary treatment as the ox is frequently ill.

Three men interviewed together were all PSNP beneficiaries. D with 4 registered family members is supposed to get 200 *birr* a month but after deductions, including for the ox package, gets 50 *birr*. B is registered with 3 family members and gets 150 *birr*; he said normally 50 *birr* goes for ex repayment and 50 *birr* for fertiliser and he gets only 50 *birr*. He asked the wereda officials not to deduct from his PSNP money but this time they took all his 150 *birr* as debt repayment. A with five family members only has two registered so is due 100 *birr*. He has to pay 50 *birr* for his ox debt and 50 *birr* for the fertiliser debt so he is not getting any money from PSNP. He is forced to take the fertiliser even though he has no land. D's ox is ill all the time and he has to take it to the wereda vet frequently and B's ox died after a year.

A 45 year-old widow said the household received support in September and February; each time the cash was for three months. She received 150 *birr* for each month but the support was not sufficient because the kebele officials deduct a lot of money for community contributions, agricultural inputs and land taxes. The household faces a food gap in March, April and May of each year. Another widow of 45 with five members registered said she received 250 *birr* every month for six months.

*'From the last year of PSNP support the kebele officials deducted money from the support I got for fertilizer credit, improved seed credit, package (HABP), school project contribution, sport contribution and salary for guards at school and health post. I did not even know the amount of money they deducted because it is valueless for me as we have no right to complain on the reduction of money.'*

A 28 year-old divorced woman with three members registered got 150 *birr* a month for six months. In January they got one month's pay, in March 2 months' pay, between March and September 1 month's pay, and in September 2 months' pay. She said that because the PSNP is in cash the kebele officials decide for us the amount of fertiliser we should take and use. Kebele officials also deducted money for the package, school project, sport and party membership. She did not know the amount of money for each. They do not deduct money for absence from public work. The household has a food gap in April and May; if it is severe she sells a goat or borrows money that will be repaid when her PSNP money comes. When the household cannot find anyone to lend money she borrows with an interest rate.

A small group of women said that the amount of money provided had not kept pace with inflation. The failure of officials to revise household numbers each year has resulted in an insufficiency of food aid. Also the food does not arrive on time. For example the aid for August 2011 came in the second week of September. They suggested that to ensure accountability and transparency on the part of the officials there should be general community meetings. The amount of aid provided has to be revised given the current economic situation.

#### **Direct support provided**

The kebele vice-chair said that there are no deductions for fertiliser debt since direct beneficiaries don't take it. Also they are not allowed to take package loans for livestock so that is not deducted and their land tax is very small as they have small plots of land.

A 70-year old widow with no land or relatives to support her said that all three household members were registered and they have received 150 *birr* for six months in every year for the past five years. Though it was not on time in the last year they received 900 *birr*. *'I would be happy if PSNP support was provided to us in kind. But I do not think the kebele officials would like it because they want to deduct contributions from the PSNP money.'*

A 70 year old farmer with irrigated land given for share-cropping living with his wife and step-daughter had two out of three members registered. He has been in the programme since 2007 and while he should get 150 *birr* he actually receives 50-60 *birr* after deduction of land tax, fertiliser debts, and contributions to the kebele. He received support for six months last year though the payment was four times. He sometimes receives wheat, for example the last payment last year was 50 kilos of wheat and a litre of oil. He prefers food to cash which doesn't buy enough food. The support last year was not enough; he had a food gap for five months from April which was not covered by the PSNP support. He didn't ask for support from relatives and neighbours because he said he would not get it. If PSNP stops he will have to try to survive on the crop share from his irrigated land. He said large households might have the chance to get about 1000 *birr* support but the many members can also work hard on their farm to change their livelihood. Old people unable to work are given less support. The support comes late a month or two.

A man (45) with a walking disability and living with his wife and near his sister who left home for marriage in 2007 said he has received support for four people since 2007 (wife, sister, and another sister who died in 2008). He has irrigated land given for share-cropping from which he gets 1.5 quintals of maize every six months. He is supposed to get 200 *birr* six times a year but after deduction of tax, fertiliser debt, and contributions to the kebele and party he receives 100-125 *birr*. He prefers grain to cash because the food price is high in times of drought. Though when they have grain at home they eat a lot and when they receive money they can use it a small amount at a time. He has a food gap every year from December to June. Last year he tried to fill it by finishing the

edges on traditional clothes (6 *birr* a week) and by daily labour on people's farms digging roughly around the plants and weeding by moving on his knees (10 *birr* a day). However, during drought times both works may not be available. He has no relatives and neighbours don't want to help him as he is Orthodox Christian and most of them are Protestants. Also he smokes cigarettes and *gaya* and drinks *areke* which his wife makes mainly for sale.

### The Public Works work

Wereda officials said that beneficiary household members are expected to participate in 5 days public work in a month. The kebele PSNP task force prioritises and organises the public works. (However the fieldworker later found that in Do'oma the Cabinet plays this role). Usually the work is construction of schools, health posts, FTCs, toilets for schools, canal maintenance and expansion, internal roads, and water point development.

Kebele officials said that recently the work has been canal maintenance, seedlings of trees, and building the kebele fence. A small group of women said that beneficiaries are obliged to work for around 20 hours per month. The NRM DA said the most recently completed public works are the fencing of the kebele administration area and planting banana trees in the FTC demonstration site. These are new types of banana tree provided by the wereda. Planting took three days and related work to facilitate the growing of the trees is taking place every 15 days. The kebele is planning to distribute the new seedlings to the farmers. The DA had told community members about the high productivity of the new banana and is expecting considerable demand for the seedlings.

A 45-year old widow said that the work was very difficult to engage in: *'we are the ones who are obligated to work on almost all community projects such as road construction and reconstruction, ploughing and cultivating the farmland owned by the kebele administration, watershed management, school project, health post project, and so on. Sometimes, we work more than 5 days per month'*. The number of days people have to work is not fixed; it depends on the kebele project. For example, she has worked on watershed management, intra-community road construction and reconstruction, irrigation canal digging and seedlings. The work may be hard, medium or easy; mostly it is medium. The organisers do not give materials but do give a little training at the work place. In some projects the organiser divides the work between men and women: *'for instance, if the public work is construction of intra road, we bring stones, cut weeds and remove the weeds from the way while men dig canals on the side of the road to minimize flooding.'* She prefers working on tree planting as it is relatively easier for women; they bring the seedlings while the men plant them. The public work on the irrigation canals is the most useful for her household. The least useful is planting trees as when they grow up they would be used exclusively by the kebele. The most useful work for the community is on public buildings like the new school and the least useful is the watershed management as the tree planted on the hill have all died.

The DAs monitor the public workers or assign one of the participants to do this. They register absentees and show how the work should be done. Sometimes conflicts happen during the work. For example one participant may complain that another is not working hard. Such conflicts do not need reconciliation as they are usually forgotten quickly. She said sometimes she feels exploited as the support they get and the work they do is not balanced. *'I could not consider PSNP as a support, it is a payment for our labour.'* The wage rate is 10 *birr* a day. *'In my view, 10 birr is very unfair because the environment in which we work is very hot. The wage rate would be fair if it doubled to 20 birr.'*

Another widow with five children and with five household members registered took two of her children aged 12 and 13 to participate in the work. The DAs sent them home saying they were too young but as she could not work for all the members she asked the kebele officials to allow her children to work and they did. She works for the other two registered household members as well as herself. She said mostly the working day is from 9.00 – 12.00. Community members are obliged to go if the kebele officials have proclaimed public work. As compared with the wage rate the public work is harder. Men pressurise women to engage intensively with the work as they say they are getting

the same wage rate. She said that in the last year the DA has been complaining regularly that we are too lazy. She thought that some work was too easy and 10 *birr* was an over-payment while others are heavier and could deserve more. Considering the hotter environment in which people have to work maybe it would fair to increase the rate to 15-20 *birr*. She preferred to work on watershed management as the flood from the hillsides had eroded her farmland. The most useful for her household is digging irrigation channels; irrigation has allowed the household to produce onions and hot peppers. The least useful public work for her household and the community is cultivating the farmland owned by the kebele administration. Nobody knows how the administration uses the money it gets from selling produce from the land. She thinks the most useful work for the community is road construction as this has facilitated communication and movement. The reconstruction has allowed motor bikes and cars to travel. Nursery seedlings are unimportant as they dried out.

A divorced woman respondent said they did not even deduct money for absence from public work. The work takes place between January and August. The workers are expected to bring a tool compatible with the work. She said the length of public work had recently reduced from 9.00-2.00 to 9.00-12.00. The organisers do not take account of market days; mostly they organise the work on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays while Thursday and Saturday are market days for the community. She said the wage rate for a daily labourer is 20 *birr*. *'I feel I am exploited by PSNP public work. I could not consider PSNP as a support from the government rather it is a payment for my labour power. The worst thing is that after all kebele officials deducted money from the PSNP support without our permission. Usage of fertilizer and its amount is an obligation for us. We could not claim our entire promised support. I believe the kebele administration is benefiting from PSNP public work more than we do.'*

A young man (22) said that people are not coming out for the public work on time but when the payment date comes they fill the kebele compound. Now they if they are late they have to stay longer. During the farming season individual work is given priority and people come for the public work in the afternoon. He is registered for four family members and works three days a week. He works as an organiser *'a PSNP beneficiary whose voice is loud and smart is selected and he moves round the villages shouting loudly to announce the PSNP work the next day and its type.* The announcer supervises the public work but is exempted from doing it. He likes cleaning the village most because he likes to see it clean and everyone comes on time. The most important for the household and the community is canal-clearing and maintenance as it is the basis of livelihood. Water harvesting was the least relevant as it was not successful due to rainfall shortage and faster evaporation.

A 31 year old man with six children and a wife was originally registered with five household members in 2008 but this was upgraded to seven when he had more children. Both he and his wife are involved in the work but they do it interchangeably; he said they have to do it three times a week. He said the working time is not much of a burden compared with the benefit. He prefers tree-planting because it creates shade and forest. Canal work is most important for him and the community. Terracing and making check dams are not desired or liked by him or the community because it is the hardest public work without having any visible outcome.

A poor man of 34 registered with three family members works three days a week which he said affected his farming. *'Though the days are too many, he doesn't feel that he is exploited, because the work in general is for public good, he got an ox out of it, and his tax and other duties are being covered by the programme.'* He said he could get 30 *birr* a day working on labour available in the area. This year he missed a public work to build the school because he was sick with haemorrhoids but the kebele officials didn't believe him and fined him 30 *birr*. He said sometimes fines cause arguments when the kebele want to penalise those who missed public works though this is not frequent. In 2007 some people came late and wanted to leave at the same time as those who had arrived on time but the wereda solved this problem by providing a time register for each individual

to leave according to the arrival time.

Mostly there is little work from September to December.

She said that pregnant women may be exempted from work starting from six to seven months into the pregnancy and after giving birth may be exempted for three months. If young children are registered as beneficiaries their elders have to participate in public work for them; either older children or parents have to work for longer hours. Sometimes women and children take easier tasks but this cannot always be applicable.

### Contingency PSNP

In May 2011 wheat was provided for one time in May. CB (40) said the food was a replacement for the usual cash. He is PSNP registered for three members and got 40 kilos of wheat. It was serious drought time because there was not rain in the summer even for a day. There was no maize in the market apart from that transported from Wolayta Sodo which sold for 600 *birr* a quintal which was unaffordable to community members. This was an emergency aid which helped the household to survive for 15 days and gave energy for cutting grass and collecting wood for sale. The wereda also provided emergency cash in July 2011 depending on family size: 150 *birr* for those with 3 family members and up to 300 *birr* for those with 10 members. However the kebele officials decided to cut part of the aid by 50-100 *birr* to recover fertiliser debts.

### Emergency Food Aid (FFW)

Wereda officials said that the FFW programme benefited people at times of emergency drought. The programme was permanently in place every summer between 1992 and 2005 but has only been used in times of worse drought since then: 2007, 2009 and 2010. The service is provided to non-PSNP beneficiaries (though some community informants said they got both PSNP and FFW). Beneficiaries are expected to work eight hours public work a day except those who are weak and unable to do the work. He estimated that 25% of people in the wereda are beneficiaries of the emergency FFW programme. The problem with the programme is its very low level of support which is totally disproportionate to the demands of the wereda at times of drought; this has caused dissatisfaction and complaints about selection from the community.

One kebele official said that in 2009 there was a FFW programme because of drought. Everyone was a beneficiary. The amount of food depends on family size. People were expected to work for 15 days and they were provided with wheat, oats and haricot beans with a maximum amount of 150 kilos for households with more than seven members and oil up to 4 litres. Usually the public works are canal maintenance and expansion and road maintenance. The kebele cabinet decides what work should be done. Another official said that in the recent FFW programme the cabinet included elders and religious leaders to take part in the selection.

The most recent work was the reconstruction of the road to the wereda town which took seven days. The FFW programme came in April and was a good opportunity to make the road ready for the coming rainy season. 100 households participated in the work. The kebele manager said that almost everyone in the community asked to be included as *'the majority in the community had nothing to eat at that time. The participants in the FFW programme took 25 to 125 kilogram wheat; the amount depends on their household size.'*

A small group of farmers said that the FFW programme was implemented in the kebele from 1988 to 2008 but then discontinued. The beneficiaries were those with a severe food shortage at home and they worked on roads, irrigation canals and kebele works that help the community in general. The kebele administration decides what work should be done. The appeal system is through community elders who discuss with the kebele officials and then the community gathers to discuss the selection's fairness. If the person is found eligible he can join the group. The food given is usually wheat though sometimes there is oil.

A group of women said that kebele officials implemented various development programmes between 2003 and 2006 including improving the road to Wacha town which is playing a big role in connecting the community to the wereda town and towns beyond. Apart from this the women said the programme harmed them as it was exploiting their labour by not paying sufficient reward for the work. They described wereda provision of food for underweight children and breast-feeding mothers in 2007. Kebele officials chose beneficiaries unfairly; those selected got four litres of palm oil and 25 kilos of oats. The situation was said to be similar in 2011 but no similar aid was provided.

A young man (22) said he received 40 kilos of wheat and 4 litres of oil shared with 20 people when EFA was given to non-PSNP beneficiaries in 2011. Now he is in PSNP he is not allowed to get emergency food aid. Six members of the rich household worked on the FFW programme in April 2011 for seven days. The work was very easy and participants only worked for two to three hours a day. They received 150 kilos of wheat. The wife in the poor household said they received haricot beans and palm oil; the kebele administration did not expect much work from the participants and the amount of food was enough compared with the labour power provided though it was not enough even to feed the children. Two poor women who were interviewed, a widowed potter and a divorcée, said they did not receive EFA in 2011.

### Compensation aid

The kebele manager said that in the last year the committee elected households whose farmland was flooded to receive compensation which was given in two rounds. This is the first time that kebele has benefited from this kind of compensation food aid. In the first round 96 households received 150 *birr* and in the second round a total of 282 households benefited: those with more than three household members received 200 *birr* while the others got 150 *birr*. He said that the compensation was given to non-PSNP beneficiaries. There was a delay in the provision of compensation; the effects of the drought were felt in March 2011 but the aid did not arrive until May (round 1) and June (round 2). The aid did not help the community get through the hungry season; *'the amount of money was too small as compared with the intensity of the drought as well as the market price of grain. At that time, the price of 1 kilogram of maize was 6 to 7 birr.'*

The household of the politically active man lost much of his crop to rain and flooding and the kebele provided him with 1.5 quintals (150 kilos) of wheat, oats, 3 litres of oil and haricot bean seeds. He was not required to do any work.

### Impacts on the households and the community

#### Impact of PSNP and EFA on households

##### Direct beneficiaries

The kebele vice-chairman said that in the past most of the direct beneficiaries had to ask for help from relatives and villagers and some were beggars. Since the programme was introduced they don't go round the villages begging for food. They can access loans more easily as the lenders know they can get it back from the PSNP payment. More than ten of the beneficiaries have saved money and bought goats and chickens. Five of them have reproduced goats and sold them to buy a heifer or cow.

An elderly direct support beneficiary said she can borrow money and grain from neighbours promising to repay when the PSNP money arrives. She said that PSNP had protected many households from food security and enable them to buy livestock and farmland and build tin-roofed houses by saving money from the PSNP support and using the PSNP package money. An elderly man said he could easily access up to 100 *birr* credit in the neighbourhood because people believe he can repay from the PSNP money. The ability to borrow with PSNP as surety was mentioned by many other respondents. A 34 year-old farmer said that in the past poor old men and women who could not work on farming and disabled people and orphans survived with help from people around them

and the social support system through the church and neighbourhood. PSNP had brought additional support to them.

A divorced woman of 28 with Public Works support said that PSNP support had created a culture of dependency among female-headed households with Direct Support.

### **Public Works beneficiaries**

The kebele vice-chairman said that the benefits to Public Works beneficiaries are filling the food gap in winter season and drought season and asset-building by taking a package loan from the wereda agriculture office or own savings. People in PSNP had no livestock previously so couldn't sell them and had to collect firewood for the market which affects the community forest as well as the health of people doing this hard work in the dry season. Debt used to be high at times of drought and food gap. Before the safety net arrived people were indebted to the government for land tax and fertiliser. Sometimes families are confronted with urgent needs for medication of family members and livestock, or to buy goods like salt, fuel for lamps, cabbages etc for which they were forced to sell crops at low prices but now can use the PSNP money and wait for good price times. Relatives elsewhere have been relieved as people are not sending food shortage news and requests for food every year as they used to.

The only woman graduate said

I have received PSNP for the last six years. I got the chance to be included in PSNP support starting from the beginning of the food aid programme in the community. The PSNP money has helped me to improve the livelihood of the household. Before the programme, I gave my farmland for share cropping which reduced my return from the land products by half. My household had been facing a food gap. After I was selected to get the PSNP support, I was able to reduce the number of months in which the household had been facing a food gap. Above all, I was able to buy an ox using the PSNP package money. As I could rent the ox, the farmer who works on my farmland does not share the product he produced. The PSNP money has helped me to send my children to school without any major problem, to pay land tax, fertilizer debt and contribute to the kebele projects and annual contributions.

One respondent said there is shortage of food in the spring; most of them are left with nothing to eat from February until the middle of the summer season, June to July. A rich farmer who has been very active in kebele affairs said that being a PSNP beneficiary does not bring respect; it defines you as needy and helpless. In contrast he believes he is a respected self-sustained model farmer. A young man (22) mentioned that the community in general perceived inclusion in PSNP as a sign of poverty and dependency on government aid, but on the other hand, many people except a few rich want to be part of the programme. Those who are recruited unfairly are less interested in public work and they are not worried even if they are kicked out of the programme because they have oxen, cows and a good farm.

A woman who was not a beneficiary said that the beneficiaries' way of life was easily recognisable from the others': *the clothes they wear, their home and equipment such as chair, table and the like are very different as compared to the other community members.* However the number of beneficiaries is small compared with the total population of the community. She said households headed by men are better-off as they can work on their land or that of others' in addition to the PSNP money.

An elderly male direct beneficiary said that the programme is a good thing as it is helping to keep the community from starving, especially during times of drought. The deductions have two sides: they give relief from worry about tax, contributions, fertiliser debts etc but on the other hand they take away most of the money so it is difficult to say that it avoids food insecurity. *'Those who have strong working hands in their homes took a loan and bought an ox which is really helping them, others are using the loan to have a cow which brings calves and milk to the family, some could save the money and buy goats or calves which created a chance to hold assets gradually. But old people like him and those lazy youth could spend the money on food or some spend it in drinking alcohol which didn't*

*bring any change.*' Kebele officials said that a few PSNP beneficiaries were using the money to get drunk leaving nothing to feed their families. The officials in collaboration with the community gave them advice and now they are well-behaved.

A number of other consequences were described. One respondent said that wheat is a new food that was not eaten in the community in the past and everyone likes to eat it; it is rarely sold. A young man of 20 said he had stopped helping his wife take grain to the mill and he rarely fetches water because he has to work for the PW requirement. An elderly beneficiary of direct support said the PSNP was having a positive impact on young people some of whom have been able to buy farmland and livestock.

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

The kebele manager said that the PSNP had brought safety for many people who were food insecure every year; others who were better off were suffering by helping hungry neighbours and relatives. The PSNP took this burden from the rest of the community. However, there are still families who can't have three meals a day; some even eat once.

A farmer of 31 said that the programme had saved people from selling livestock. For example last year those who were not in PSNP were forced to sell even milking cows at cheap prices to buy food at expensive prices while those in PSNP were provided with food rather than cash which helped them to preserve their assets. A 35 year-old farmer said that the selling of property was only reduced for those with a large number of beneficiaries in their household who get a larger amount after the deductions.

A direct beneficiary said that PSNP allowed people to plough their own land rather than giving it for share-cropping or using hand hoes which are unproductive.

Some people who are less interested in working have become dependent on the programme and make no effort to change their situation. There are some people who joined the programme at the beginning in 2005 whose status has not changed; they don't try any means to change their livelihood, they consume what they are given and wait for the next one. At a community level the kebele manager sees the interest of many people to be part of the programme as an indication of a common attitude of dependency preference rather than working hard for an improved life. However he said that 2/3 of beneficiaries are improving their lives. Those who drink with PSNP money are warned that they will be cancelled and they are now changing their behaviour. Those who didn't take a package loan, who don't have irrigated land, who have many children, and who are less motivated to change are the ones who do not benefit from the programme.

He said that human beings are more interested in complaining than giving thanks, but the programme brought many changes to the community. In regard to food security, people could buy maize when it was cheap, and eat at times of food gap, they could buy cows and children could get milk and milk products at home, and they could build assets by breeding from a cow, for example there is a family who took a loan and bought a cow and have got 4 calves and one of the calves has grown and given birth too. The family can sell butter and are able to change their life. The other major thing in the programme is oxen, and being able to plough. He also mentioned that people are not taking as much loan for food purchase as they did before, and they used to sell livestock at times of food gap and drought, but it was more frequent during drought time. But due to PSNP people could fill their food gap.

A widow of 45 said that the PSNP support could not protect the community from food insecurity as people still had to sell livestock and/or borrow money from different sources. Another widow of 45 said that there has been no change in the support the household receives from neighbours as a result of being a PSNP beneficiary. Especially when the payments are delayed she borrows a lot of money and refunds it when the payment comes. She said that although food insecurity is still a problem the PSNP support protect most beneficiaries from destitution. And there are beneficiaries

who have bought farmland, cow and ox, and built tin-roofed houses, which is a recent development. A few have spent the money unwisely. The PSNP support creates a culture of dependency in lazy people who are few in number. The first widow said that the programme had not created a culture of dependency as most people engaged in other activities such as farming, trading, and/or selling grass and firewood. Other female respondents said the same. A male direct beneficiary said that some young couples without irrigated land may treat it as a salary rather than looking for other means like share-cropping. A young man said that those who have developed dependency are youth, or they sold their land earlier to buy food. They receive PSNP support and eat, engage in the available irregular labour work and collect firewood for sale; sometimes their wives help by engaging in petty trade with a capital of 100 *birr* or less. These people don't try to get land and remain dependent on the programme.

Some kebele officials said that the food aid is making people lazy and it would be better to invest in extending the irrigation area using technologically advanced mechanisms rather than giving aid which is insufficient to survive.

A young man who has graduated said the programme had motivated community work that is for the public good. Another young man said that PSNP has provided incentives for public works which have been done for years in the community custom by labour contribution. When the incentive became an encouragement and forcing mechanism it developed new attitudes which are affecting the free voluntary public work.

## **Savings, credit and debt**

### **Savings by individuals**

Recently chickens have been used for immediate insurance for urgent needs like children's medication, immediate food needs, land tax payment etc protecting small ruminants and cattle from sale. If the need is beyond what they can get from chicken sale they sell livestock. The massive livestock death in 2007/8 has led people to hesitate to use livestock as a saving system. People frequently used tape recorders and other electronic goods as 'cash storage' but since 2007 this has diminished.

### **Community-organised credit**

*Iddir* could lend up to 100 *birr* and people can access loans from neighbours and relatives without interest. *Equb* lend money with interest rates of 20% per month; the amount of credit available depends on the status of the borrower. If he is poor he can't get credit of more than 100 *birr*. The woman heading the richer FHH said she had borrowed 70 *birr* from neighbours to buy maize and *enset* and 100 *birr* to buy shoes for her son. She said she would return the money now as she promised them. If she fails to repay the individuals may complain to the kebele officials. A young man said he had borrowed money for food for his wife who gave birth two months ago but he couldn't repay and the lender was offended. Now he is indebted to his neighbour for about 300 *birr*.

The rich head of household said there is a co-operative organised by 17 irrigation users. Members first contributed 150 *birr* to form the co-operative. Then they got a 20,000 *birr* loan from the Commercial Bank of Gofa. The aim of the co-operative is to enable irrigation users to engage in grain trade or any other business by providing individual loans. In 2008 he took a loan of 1500 *birr* and repaid it the following year with 150 *birr* interest. He used the credit to buy an ox which he sold for 1400 *birr* after ploughing for a year. He said the 10% interest rate was high and he doesn't want to borrow any more. The middle-wealth household head is also a member of *Do'oma mesno mehaber*. He said that now the co-operative has about 40,000 *birr* capital from its interest rate. The co-op is requesting irrigated land from the wereda in addition to what members own individually. He took a 3000 *birr* loan in 2010 to work on bull fattening. With interest he repaid 3,600 *birr*. He bought an ox for 2,300 *birr* and a small cow for 700 *birr*. The ox was fattened for four months with special care at home and sold for 3,200 *birr* then he repaid the loan adding 400 *birr* from his pocket. The benefit is

that his cow gave birth last week. He is also planning to take another loan of 5000 *birr* which he is planning to repay from his annual harvest and salary as a guard. He said the co-operative is not functioning as it planned earlier due to weak management and leadership that failed to encourage members to work on their farms with improved capacity and find markets for them. As a co-operative it gradually changed its role to a credit-offering co-operative for any type of activities including trade.

His wife said she had joined an association four months earlier. She saves 10 *birr* a month and can borrow up to 5000 *birr*. They haven't told her what the interest rate is.

### General government credit

In the wereda only the wereda credit office (OMO) is providing credit services to a few kebeles. An official said that the demand is high and above the capacity of the credit office. The micro-finance official was away attending prolonged training in Awassa. The respondent said the office is poorly organised with very few human resources and other capacity. Access to credit is open to everyone who is willing to save as well. He said that the loan size is not restricted and depends on the interest of the client though beneficiaries said it is up to 4000 *birr*. People can access the credit either by forming groups or individually and can use it as they choose. Borrowers must have a land certificate. A kebele official said that the interest rate was 10%.

A small group of men said that the wereda gave training on co-operatives and micro-credit in 2009 and after the training people began to join in groups of up to 10 members and took micro-credit from the wereda. The loan is 2000 *birr* but 400 *birr* is deducted at the beginning as saving. At the end of the year 2,300 *birr* including interest should be repaid but the 400 *birr* is given back with its interest. Approximately 300 people in Do'oma and the Womalo sub-kebele took advantage of this. The client can use the credit for what they like; for cattle, farming, trade etc. Another informant said that the wereda is providing a micro-finance service and about 60 people took credit. Some built a metal-roofed house and others spent it on consumption goods.

A young couple said they have borrowed from the OMO twice. First they built a tin roofed and cement house and after they had repaid it they borrowed 3,500 *birr* to start livestock fattening. Another young couple had bought house furniture.

A small group of farmers said that recently the wereda credit office trained an unemployed girl who had completed 10<sup>th</sup> Grade and assigned her to Do'oma kebele to offer the credit service. At the time of the fieldwork she was at the stage of motivating and informing people to use the service which will start very soon.

### Credit for agriculture including OFSP/HABP

Credit for fertiliser has been described. The wereda has provided improved poultry and goats on credit. A woman said *'they failed to be successful because the species could not resist the harsh environmental nature of the area. The number of goats, fitting species to the climate, was insignificant in number.'*

PSNP beneficiaries can borrow to buy an ox. One informant said he bought one last year *'which gives a good feeling to own this productive asset'* though its significance was limited by the frequent illness of the ox. As a result in the last year he got an additional 1.5 quintals of maize compared with when he was borrowing an ox from neighbours and using hoes. He said the debt is being repaid by PSNP and he doesn't feel that he is indebted. A woman of middle wealth said she borrowed 1657 *birr* to buy a cow which then died. *'I did not get any benefit; they are forcing me to pay back. The credit is deducted from the PSNP. Accordingly, the beneficiaries of the programme are obliged to pay 50 to 100 per month.'* She said that the kebele administration imprisons people who are unable to repay their debts.

Another woman who wanted to buy an ox said that the kebele officials only gave her 1700 *birr*

although the kebele officials said she took 2000. *'I put my signature on the list that shows I took 2000 birr. I could not give attention to what they wrote because I am illiterate. The development gave me only 1700 birr. When I talked to the kebele officials, they told me that I took 2000 birr and put my signature too. I explained them that I did not know what they are talking about. The kebele officials asked the development agent if he knew about the case. He informed them that he gave me 2000 birr. Then after, I had no other choice than accepting the situation as it is.'* She said that the repayment time is five years though she does not know the interest rate or the amount of money deducted from each month's PSNP support. She said there was no restriction on how to use the money: *'for instance, when I took the money, I informed them that I will buy a cow but I changed my plan and I bought an ox. Similar to my case, I know people who took money telling the kebele officials they want to buy ox but they used the money to start business such as small scale trading.'* She said the loan had played a role in changing the household's livelihood. For years she had been giving her land for share-cropping. Now she has an ox she can rent the ox labour power and in return get a farmer to plough her land.

Another woman was not allowed to choose what she bought with her loan.

In 2009, I got the chance to take the money and signed on the paper. The kebele officials asked me what I would like to do with the money and I told them that I want to buy a cow. However, they resisted my interest and advised me to buy an ox. I told them that I could not plough so that I do not need ox. But they insisted and responded to me that my husband has to contact them. I reminded them that I was selected to get PSNP support because I was already divorced. However, they did not want to talk with me and warned me to bring my husband with me, otherwise, they would not provide the package for the household. While I was planning to bring the case to elders, the development agent had already contacted my ex-husband and given him the money. I asked the kebele officials and the elders to protect my rights. The elders had decided to get my money. However, he resisted and bought an ox for himself. He used the ox for 2 years until it died in the last year. So, I am refunding money to the credit which I have never taken.

She said that 40 *birr* a month is deducted from the package money and it will take five years to refund all the money.

The story told by a man illustrated the riskiness of investing in cattle. He took a loan of 4000 *birr* from the wereda as a PSNP package and bought a cow for 2000 *birr* and an ox for 2,200 *birr*. The cow gave birth but the calf died after a herder had hit it with a stone. The ox was used to till his land and fattened for three months and sold for 3000 *birr*. The plan was to buy corrugated iron sheets but he changed his mind and bought another ox to sell for a profit for 3000 *birr*. But the price failed after a few days and he decided to keep it for a while. Unfortunately the ox became sick and died even though he had got vet service at the wereda. He said the interest rate was 10%. The amount available to borrow rose from 1500 *birr* to 4000 *birr* when the price of livestock rose.

Another respondent said that the package benefits those whose livestock do not die. These deaths happen because there is no veterinary service in the kebele and the one in the wereda is not an organised service and it is far for villagers to take ill cattle.

#### **Credit for non-farm activities including OFSP/HABP**

The problem for young men is that they have no start-up capital and access to credit is not easy since the first youth clients used the money for consumption and were unable to repay their loans. As a result the micro-finance in the wereda does not trust youth and requires a guarantor for loans.

#### **Debt**

A wereda respondent said that indebtedness is common in the wereda and the OMO microfinance office. The credit officers follow up repayments, remind clients of due dates and give them additional time and finally legal procedures are followed to get back the money with fines as agreed between the client and the office. He did not know how many *birr* were outstanding. The kebele

chairman said that he only knew one person who was indebted to the wereda office who was accused by the credit office and sold his ox to repay. A small group of men said that few men take loans; only at time of need in buying an ox or when a family member is ill. They said no-one was in trouble as a result of indebtedness. A small group of women said that the maximum amount owed by a debtor was around 3000 *birr*.

A farmer said that he owed the government about 300 *birr* for fertiliser which should have been paid three months ago. The kebele has not asked for repayment yet, however when they asked farmers to take another round of fertiliser loans many people were found to be indebted. They said we don't take another round until we have paid our debts but the kebele forced them to take the fertiliser and everyone, including him, took fertiliser in October for winter irrigation production. The rich household head said he owes about 2000 *birr* for fertiliser which he takes on credit twice a year. He is paying in rounds but has not paid it all as he wanted to repay from his crop product not from his savings or by selling assets. The kebele is asking him to pay the debt but there is not big measure taken yet. The debt has an interest payment but he doesn't know the rate.

Another respondent said that to the government there is fertiliser and improved seeds debt repayment (various), and ox debt repayment (100 *birr*). The debt repayment is deducted from the cash of PSNP beneficiaries once every two months

### **Co-operatives**

Wereda officials said that there were six types of co-operative:

- Consumers' co-operatives
- Irrigation co-operatives
- Youth package co-operatives
- Generalist co-operation
- Mining co-operatives
- Credit and saving co-operatives

They said that consumer co-operatives were established in 2009 and mainly bought food items when prices were low and sold them when prices were high. They are also involved in opening workshop for metal and woodwork which share their profits with members. Irrigation co-operatives produce maize, vegetables and fruit and share the profits with their members. The mining co-operative extracts sand and stone from river shores and sells them to people or organisations building houses, sharing the profits with their members. The savings and credit co-operatives were organised by a few members in 2008 with contributions of 20-30 *birr* out of which 5 *birr* goes in the savings box and the rest is lent out to members after six month accumulation of funds and after a year the money is repaid with interest. The interest is accumulated and distributed to members while the main fund is left to grow.

In the kebele there was a farmers' co-operative which collapsed in 2005 when it took a loan from the government bank and lent money to members to buy oxen who failed to repay their debts. There is a women's co-operative. One farmer said that though it began with big motivation it is now weak. They contributed 2000 *birr* and shared it among themselves to start small trading but when the membership grew the group got out of control. Now it lacks good leadership and no money has been returned by those who borrowed.

There was a community-based organisation which provided sand to the wereda's projects. They took the sand from the Maze river. Almost all members were male youth. A young woman respondent said that her husband had worked on the co-operative for a year but the kebele administration had banned it to maintain the security of the newly established National Park around the river where the sand was mined. There is more on youth co-operatives below.

## Migration

### Migration opportunities and remittances

There is seasonal (3-4 months) and longer-term migration for farm work by young unmarried men to the Abaya Agriculture Development near Lake Abaya which is part of the Semen-Omo Agricultural Development Enterprise<sup>2</sup>, the Wush Wush Tea Plantation near Jimma<sup>3</sup> and Weyto in South Omo. They also go for daily labour to Harar, Arbaminch and Wolayta Sodo; most stay for five or six months and never return. No remittances come to Do'oma families from migrants. Young women have been walking to Arbaminch, which takes one and a half days, mainly for housemaid work and prostitution since 2005; they live there and only return to Do'oma for the Meskel holiday.

A is the 18-year old daughter from the rich household. Last year she left home because she hated rural life. She lived in Wacha town with friends trying grain trading. Her father was against this and brought her home twice. Then she left for Sawla and the family heard that she is working in a hotel as a waitress although there has been no communication. Her father said 'let her try the life she aspired and she will come back if she finds it irrelevant'.

There is no international migration.

### Re-settlement experiences

A man who settled in Womalo in 1978 was re-settled in Tadele in the Gurage Zone near the Oromia Region five years later since the drought was very bad with at least four children dying every day. Those re-settled were Gamo, Wolayta, and a few Amhara. When they arrive they were given blankets, kitchen items, food for 13 months, and tents till they constructed houses. They were organized in farmers' cooperatives with 25 group members and given a large area of land, the work to be done together, and the product to be shared equally. The travel was all funded by the government, and there was no food problem as they could reach there in one day. The area was good, no disease, no death, fertile land, and good productivity. His share from his farmers group was big enough to feed him and change his economic status. His son and wife resettled together with him, and there was no health problem for his family there. The relationship with the indigenous people was very good, there were many different settlers, from Kembata, Amhara, and Wolayta, and Oromo were the local people who had a very good welcoming spirit. The main reason for his return to Do'oma was that he was forcefully conscripted to the *Tolay* military camp where he trained as a soldier for six months. He escaped and returned to Tadele but was arrested, imprisoned for 15 days and then released after signing that he would go back to the camp. Instead he left the area at night with his wife and son and came back to Do'oma. He said the life was better in Tadele compared with his life in Do'oma; those who stayed now own Isuzu cars and have constructed houses in towns like Wolkite and Walga. His brother who stayed there has a large amount of farming land, many cattle, a motor bike, and horse and donkey carts.

## Theft and burglary

A small group of women respondents said that theft of maize, mangoes, and sugarcane is common at harvest time. The kebele officials organise meetings and discuss it but there is no improvement. If there is a witness against the suspect the elders impose sanctions. They usually punish robbers in

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<sup>2</sup> According to the Ethiopian Private and Public Enterprises Supervising Agency this was a public enterprise irrigated farm, established in 1972 where 1180 hectares is irrigable (gravity and furrows) using the Billate river although damage to the water diversion canal had reportedly reduced the reliability of the water supply (<http://www.ppesa.gov.et/PublicEnterpriseProfile.aspx>). It was included in a list of 31 public enterprises for which Bid Ethiopia was inviting partnerships in March 2010 (? date).

<sup>3</sup> Advertised as an investment opportunity on the website of the Ethiopian Embassy in China <http://www.ethiopiaemb.org.cn/investpolicy43.htm>

different ways; for example forcing them to apologise and pay 400 *birr*. If the suspected robber refuses they will force him to leave the community. In May 2011 they made a man of 25 leave the community because people saw him stealing bananas from the field. There were two well-known robbers in the community; one is in jail and the other promised not to steal because of shocks that happened to his family.

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

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

Houses are built with roofs of straw or tin. Wattle and mud are used to build the walls and the floor is commonly earth.

They use material locally called *qil* to drink milk and keep their clothes in wooden boxes. There are new household goods in the last few years. People have started to buy tables and chairs and around four households use wooden kitchen cupboards. They use plastics for dough, wooden bed, and sponge mattresses. Children sleep on a carpet called *ginja*; they used to sleep on ox skins.

#### **Domestic technologies**

UNICEF provided a grain mill which functioned from 1988 to 1995 when it failed so people had to travel to Wacha to access a mill. In 2004 a joint venture by seven people who came from Gidole/Konso provided a mill until they fell out and left. An individual continued the service until 2010 but then he went back to Kemba wereda because he was ill. Now women and children have to walk to Wacha town to get mill service.

#### **Fuel and light**

People use firewood and crop residue for fuel and traditional stoves with three stones to support dishes on the fire. They use kerosene for lighting.

#### **Drinking water**

Officials said that the wereda was improving in drinking water and has a good status compared with other weredas. It is estimated that around 85% of the kebele in the wereda is accessing safe water. The African Development Bank and Entreaid are playing a significant role in the provision of safe water in the wereda. There is a committee in the wereda which is in charge of choosing the location of water points. The members are the chairman of the wereda, the chief of the water bureau, the manager of the health centre, and chiefs of the education, finance and agriculture sectors. The water bureau manages the ADB projects but Entreaid manages its own projects. There is a shortage of finance so some water points remain unfinished. Almost all are built on spring water with just three using underground water. Most underground water is too salty for household use.

Hand pump water was provided by UNICEF in 2003; until then people used river and spring water. The community contributed labour to fence the water points. The wereda adds chlorine to the water points two or three times a year. There are three water points in Do'oma and two at Womala sub-kebele. Kebele officials said that the water is underground and lifted by hand pumps. The points are not near to residential areas and there are households who walk for more than 30 minutes to fetch water. One female respondent said that sometimes people from Wacha come to the community to fetch water which leads to long queues. Another said the gate to the pump water was open twice a day in the morning and afternoon but another said they cannot access safe water at any time and have to wait for a long time to get water in the morning. She would like to have access to water point at least twice a day. A fourth respondent said that kebele officials decided that community members should access water once a day and this decision had increased disagreements among community members as they have time to complain about their issues of concern while waiting their turn.

The drinking water committee is responsible for fencing the water points, clearing the area,

collecting 2 *birr* contributions, and organising maintenance of the water points when they are broken. For example, in early 2011 when one of the points broke the committee had to negotiate with the wereda development office to provide skilled workers and funding for spare parts. The school has been re-located to a place accessible from both the main kebele and the sub-kebele which has increased the distance students have to go to water points. All community members contribute 2 *birr* a month for the maintenance of the water points; there is no exemption for the destitute. There is a hired person who is in charge of cleaning and opening the water point gate in the morning. In Do'oma a woman is paid 50 *birr* a month to clean the compound and open the door in the morning. The fences are usually maintained by campaigns. A small group of men said that there was now very little risk of waterborne diseases and women and children don't need to go to a distant river to get water. A traditional healer said that parents used to bring children affected by diarrhoea to him but since the water points were provided he does not see many cases. One woman respondent said that in the past people had no appetite to drink the river water and the heat of environment led to de-hydration.

### **Domestic work**

Recently husbands are getting involved in domestic work. There are four men in the community who make *injera* particularly for holidays. There are also men involved in the nurturing of infants and childcare. They take of their hygiene and follow up on their lessons at school.

The middle-wealth household head said that earlier people washed clothes using ash and cattle urine, though this changed after 1993.

### **Leisure and play**

Recently young men play football and cards; they also drive motorcycles as leisure. They play a chase game (*dama*) on a square flat piece of thin timber using bottle stoppers.

### **Preventive health services**

#### **The preventive health packages**

A small group of men said that the health prevention programme was launched in 2007. The programme contains sixteen packages. Health extension workers are part of the kebele cabinet and they move door-to-door educating and following-up households. They made toilets to be built (though not all have done so), and environmental sanitation and personal hygiene to be kept. They give family planning lessons and pre-natal and maternal care. They say that the kitchen and animal house should be separate from the home though the kitchen is still there in many houses.

Wereda officials said that there is no graduation for each package. To graduate households have to take all training in 16 health packages and should apply each practically on average. The wereda respondent believes that the HEWs may not give equal attention to all packages and have a tendency to concentrate on packages which can be easily accepted by the community. Though they give education on all packages there is only serious follow up on a few of them. The HEWs said that, collaborating with the volunteers they give training on the 16 health packages. Households graduate from the programme if they manage to practice all the health packages.

#### **The Health Post**

Kebele officials said that the Health Post is located in Womala and has two rooms. Its roof was taken off by wind in April 2011 and the toilet in the compound was damaged. It has no water or electricity. A small group of men said that post was constructed in 2005; it is mud-plastered and had a corrugated iron sheet roof. A small group of women said they like to access services at the health post. The re-building of the post with community labour started in December 2011. A HEW said that they had made people aware that they should bring people to the health post to get first aid. However they could not give first aid as they had no materials. They had given the service previously

when UNICEF supplied materials but they have used them all.

### **The Health Extension Workers**

Recently the number of HEWs increased from one to two. A small group of men said that though there is no health post now there are two girls living as extension workers in the community. One of the HEWs said that two extension workers were not enough because of the malaria epidemics. Also people's awareness of the health packages is low and it needs much time to work on this.

One HEW said that her working hours are not fixed; if there is an epidemic, distribution of bed nets, house spraying and other things she will work the whole day. In normal times she works for a whole day from Monday to Friday and typically works on weekends. Her gross salary is 908 *birr*. In typical months she works half a day on her permanent tasks and the other half a day on other current issues. In the last month she visited house-to-house, gave injection and implant contraceptives to two and three women respectively, diagnosed and treated malaria cases, provided vaccinations to infants, and wrote a report for the kebele manager.

The community co-operates on some packages, like malaria control and vaccinations, and resists others. They do not want to show their way of implementing different packages and dislike house-to-house visits. They fear punishment and exclusion from different benefits in the kebele. Females are more co-operative than males who consider the health package work as a luxury and irrelevant to their livelihoods. The kebele administration does not give the same attention to health extension packages as it does to agriculture extension work and other kebele development activities. Community members are not willing to participate in public works organised on health packages because they are women and there is no punishment related to the work. There is a lack of refresher courses and training for HEWs. Their work would improve if both kebele and wereda officials gave equal attention to the health packages as they do to other interventions.

### **Community Health Volunteers, the Health Development Army and Model Families**

A HEW said there are eight health volunteers. She did not know the numbers of TBAs and said they are working without asking for help from the HEWs.

### **Hygiene and environmental sanitation**

Wereda officials said that there is a hygiene and environmental sanitation programme in all kebeles. Kebele officials said that since 2006 around 13% of the community has graduated in hygiene and environmental sanitation. A man said that there has been a huge change in hygiene and environmental sanitation since the health extension programme arrived. The HEWs call out the villagers and teach them together, they move door-to-door to teach, and they are even trying to reach the community through church programmes. A group of women said that the HEWs organise meetings at various times with up to 50 participants. They ranked the packages in order of usefulness as:

1. Latrines
2. Livestock not living in the house
3. Hand-washing
4. Water purification
5. Waste disposal
6. Kitchen cupboards
7. Pest and insect controls
8. Smoke-free house

### **Latrines**

Wereda officials said that latrines were introduced to the wereda in 2004. At the beginning of the programme households were digging small holes which could not be considered as latrines. However since 2005 there has been an improvement in the quality of latrines as a result of the HEW

interventions. Around 92% of the community is using latrines though there is an awareness gap among some community members, particularly the highlanders. There are public latrines in some kebeles though not including Do'oma.

The HEWs said that around 90% of the community use latrines. They had worked intensively to make the community aware of this health package. There is a problem with keeping them clean and safe. Only 60% of them use them well. Some older people and children are frightened of using them thinking that the bad smell is dangerous for their health. *'Although the wereda people expect extension visits of 8 households per day we could not do it until now.'* Recently the HEWs with the kebele officials decided on a punishment fee for those without latrines; it is around 50 birr. However the implementation seems to be challenging as there households headed by older men and women who are too old and poor to dig latrines or hire labour to do it for them.

A small group of women said that the community started to dig latrines in 2009. The wereda provided concrete for those ten households who finished digging the holes first. It is estimated that around 90% of the community are using them. The wife in the rich household described their latrine: it has a roof and wall made from straw and has concrete. All the household members use it at all times. The politically active household also has a latrine with a roof of straw, a floor of concrete, and walls made of wood. All household members except the two youngest use it throughout the year. The children are afraid to use it because the floor is not smooth. The household digs a new hole very two years. The poor household has a latrine made of stones, dung, wood and straw. *'Children fear to use the latrine. My husband and I use the latrine regularly. Last year, my husband and I had acute watery diarrhoea. It was caused by engagement in hard work. We got cured after we got a massage by elders.'* A young man said he was using a toilet before the health extension programme came.

The poor FHH does not have a latrine. Family members use the open air and sometimes share latrines with their neighbours. She does not have a latrine as she is a widow with no grown-up son to help her and anyway there is not enough free space in the homestead. The better-off FHH has a latrine with a roof made of straw and walls covered by used bednets to avoid termite bites. All household members use the latrine regularly *'though sometimes we pee in the open air'*.

### Waste disposal

Wereda officials said that community members greatly resist co-operating with these packages and only a few households in the wereda are using them. The HEWs said that waste disposal is very uncommon though people are becoming conscious about the disposal of metallic substances and are burying them in safe places far from farmland and children. Previously farmers got injured working on farmland where materials had been unwisely disposed. *'There are some people who burn drier solid wastes. Some people dig shallow holes and dump animal dung and other solid wastes in to it. A few community members bury metal wastes such as used blades, needles and so on in the ground. Some drop them into the latrine. However, although we tried to create awareness about liquid waste management the community is not implementing it.'*

A small group of women said that the community started to use waste disposal since 2009 though some people did not understand its importance. They estimated that around 15% of households are using it particularly for solid wastes.

### Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

Wereda officials said that few households wash their hands as recommended by the HEWs. The HEWs estimated that only about 5% of households wash their hands. A woman said that a few households wash their hands after using the toilet. Sometimes they use soap but if that is not affordable they use ashes. No-one in the community uses it effectively. A HEW said that they had given intensive training on the personal hygiene packages and community members go to the river to wash their clothes and bodies. A community member said that people in the community used to feel that if a cloth is washed frequently it will wear out so it should be washed only every three or

four months: blankets and sheets only 3 times a year; children's clothes might be washed only once before they wear out on their bodies, or may not be washed at all. However, now sheets and light cotton clothes are washed every three weeks and other clothes every week or ten days. People take a shower once or twice a week and cut their nails, which was not common before. A young man said that taking a shower in the river every day was common because it is hot but now they clean the compound every week and wash clothes after a week, and wash plates and dishes with soap right after they eat.

The HEWs teach the community the importance of keeping water hygiene to protect them from waterborne diseases. Most people in the community now wash jugs and other containers they use to fetch and drink water although a few people do not give attention to the material hygiene. In general the chance of contamination of the drinking water increases after it has entered the home. One of the HEWs said *'There is a lot to work to make the community well aware of food hygiene. There are community members who do not wash dishes and other cooking equipment after they use it. Very few people regularly wash cooking equipment properly.'* The wife in the politically active household said she has tried to implement the food hygiene package but her daughters are reluctant to do this.

### **Water purification**

There is no provision of water tablets in the community as the wereda regularly puts chlorine into the underground water pumped at the water points.

### **Kitchen cupboards**

Wereda officials said that recently the HEWs have started mobilising households to make cupboards of mud and wattle. The HEWs estimated that more than 15% of households use kitchen cupboards made of timber or mud and about half of them use them properly. However increases in the price of timber has made wooden cupboards unaffordable for most households and most don't know how to make cupboards from mud. The HEWs are planning to teach the community how to make cupboards from mud and mud stoves to make bread and *injera*. A small group of women said that the community were introduced to kitchen cupboards in 2010. Wooden cupboards, usually made by men, are very expensive and mud cupboards, usually made by women, are labour intensive. In 2007 traditional stoves made of clay were distributed to 10 households for nothing. The stove enabled women to cook *wat* and make *injera* simultaneously. The wife in the rich household said that the kebele distributed improved stoves to five households in 2011 but though we have asked have not provided training on how to assemble it.

### **Healthy home environment**

A HEW said that there are significant improvements in the home environment as compared with the past. People keep their homes and surroundings as clear as possible and they cement floors and walls using animal dug and sand. One respondent said that community sanitation would be improved if everyone built a fence around their homesteads.

### **Livestock in the house**

More than half the wereda residents live with their livestock in the same house. Only 25-30% have a separate house for their livestock. The highlanders are resisting have a livestock barn. The HEWs said that 70-75% of households have separate houses for their livestock but there is a gap in keeping these houses clean. It is difficult for poorer people to build a livestock house. A small group of women said that a majority of community members are building separate houses for their livestock although some do not want to and others can't afford to.

### **Smoke free houses**

There are very few smoke-free houses in the wereda; they do not have separate kitchens. Only 20% of households, particularly households located in the lowlands, have a separate kitchen. A small

group of women said that a few households have a separate kitchen but most are still using their living room as a kitchen.

### **Pest control**

Wereda officials said that there is no pest control apart from household spraying to kill mosquitoes. A HEW said that they have included it in their training but do not give it much emphasis and the community is lagging in implementing household pest control. Community members put soap and water believing that the termites will die when they get into it.

### **Illnesses and disease prevention and control**

A small group of women ranked the various activities in the disease prevention and control programme as follows:

1. Immunisation
2. Removing stagnant water
3. Spraying houses
4. HIV/AIDS prevention
5. TB prevention
6. Bednets

The senior HEW said there was no provision of water tablets in the community but they made people aware of the importance of keeping water hygiene to protect themselves from waterborne diseases. An Amhara in-migrant said he usually spent his time on his farm and didn't take washing hands as something very important but the HEWs emphasise it and he takes it seriously now. This has brought him a feeling of cleanness though not saved him from disease as he has had no disease as a result of not washing his hands.

### **Malaria**

As described earlier malaria is a major disease which kills some people every year and many people when there is a scarcity of curative medicines at the Health Centre as there was in 2008/9 and 2010/11.

The wives in the rich and politically active households said the kebele provided them with bednets in the last year and sprayed their houses. The wife in the poor household said they did not provide bednets last year but had sprayed the house. The head's former wife and three sons died of malaria in 2000. The wife in the medium-wealth household said their house had been sprayed and they had participated in removing stagnant water. The woman heading the poorer FHH had been given a bednet and her house had been sprayed. She participated in the PSNP public work which was organised to remove stagnant water around the community villages and the river Zage. The household of the woman heading the better-off FHH has been given bednets and house spraying and she had participated in the (non-PSNP) community work to remove stagnant water.

### **Bednets**

Wereda officials said that bednets are distributed for 18 malaria-affected kebele per year. Sometimes the distribution interval is more than a year and above. When there are not enough bednets for all malaria prone areas the wereda collaborates with the kebele health workers to distribute only to vulnerable groups such as children and pregnant and breast-feeding mothers. The bednets are provided to the wereda office via the Zone office either by UNICEF or the health ministry. HEWS teach on how to use the bednets effectively. Also in times of malaria expansion there is an automatic response and the wereda, in collaboration with the health workers, mobilises the communities.

Coverage of bednets and the communities' awareness is increasing. Almost all community members collect bednets when they are distributed. However there are some problems. When a bednet tears

most household do not mend it; rather they use it for different purposes such as to cover hair. There are households who believe that the recently-distributed bednets have a lower capacity to kill mosquitoes. Before 2008 nets were treated with medicines every six months but after that the wereda distributed long-lasting treated bednets. There is no reserve to replace damaged nets. The wereda cannot access bednets in time of need; the Zone bureau decides the time of distribution.

Kebele officials said that the health post distributes bednets when the risk of malaria is high. Mostly households get a bednet once a year. In the past the health centre collaborated with volunteers from the community to distribute the nets when there was an epidemic. *'There is a vast problem in the use of bednets in the community.'* Only a few households use them properly. Even though all were trained the majority still have no confidence in the preventive capacity of bednets. They believe that the nets distributed now by the health post are not as powerful as those that were distributed by the health centre and argue that a bednet without medicine is nothing more than a piece of cloth. With this perception most households use the nets for different purposes. A few women use them to cover their hair and to put crops in the sunlight. Some use them to make fences, roofs for poultry houses and so on.

A small group of men said people believe they are being affected by malaria when using bednets so think they are less important. One of them said that the circular bed net is preferred to the rectangular one. A small group of women said the health post distributes nets every year. They cannot use the nets for long periods because of rats. The frequency of malaria is reducing. A disabled man said he is provided with a bednet which is helpful because it reduced the frequency of malaria from 2-3 times a year to only one. He gets malaria tablets from the HEWs. An Amhara in-migrant said he had malaria in 2010 and was treated at the health centre where he paid 30 *birr* and recovered in four days. He had got a bednet from the health post and uses it properly which is why he is saved from frequent attacks of malaria.

Malaria is a threat to the community and though the distribution of bednets is said to be full coverage attitudes to the nets are not fully supportive. Male respondents said their main concern was lack of treatment tablets called *kuartum* and a woman said that the bednets don't save them from malaria as they are being affected while using the nets. In the village bednets are used for various other purposes, for example for covering the chickens' house or as a door for the toilet.

They could also be spotted used to secure part of the kebele office fence and controlling 'disturbing birds' in one of the Wacha hotels.

The woman heading the more successful FHH said the wall of her latrine was covered with used bed nets to avoid termite bites.

### **Spraying and removal of stagnant water**

The HEWs said there is a programme of spraying houses once per year. Though not all houses in the community get sprayed the method has been a successful means of preventing malaria. There are a few community members who resisted but spraying is getting acceptance by the community. The kebele officials arrested those who people who left the community so as not to get their houses sprayed this year and she does not expect any more resistance to spraying. A small group of women said the health post sprays DDT in each house in the community once a year and suggested additional spraying for other pests and insects and more frequent spraying of the houses.

The wereda mobilises kebele leaders and HEWs to organise public work to remove stagnant water but community members are reluctant to work with them. Most households believe that the leaders and HEWs are exclusively responsible for removing stagnant water and working on other related disease prevention activities. In the kebeles with irrigation water there is a lot of stagnant water and most households which own irrigated land do not feel responsible for removing stagnant water from their fields.

The HEWs said that major stagnant waters are removed through PSNP labour and they collaborate with the community to remove stagnant water found near residential areas. A few households resist working with the HEWs as they under-estimate their role as a government structure. Community members are not obligated to work with the health workers and it is voluntary. There are also households who believe that the HEWs are in charge of removing stagnant water and working on other related activities. The respondents suggested that there should be a law governing the relationship of extension workers with the community, especially in time of teamwork. The senior HEW said she consulted with the kebele chairperson to organise public works to remove stagnant water but though he proclaimed about the work and the site to the community very few households participated in the work. They have been using PSNP labour so there is no problem.

A small group of women said that the kebele, particularly the HEWs, co-ordinate the removal of stagnant water by organising campaigns. Usually the participants are PSNP beneficiaries. The practice was introduced in 2008 and this has reduced the prevalence of malaria. Now the frequency of malaria is very low compared with Wacha town and neighbouring kebeles.

### Immunisation

Wereda officials said that the immunisation service is available in all kebeles. *'All infants under a year take all necessary immunisations either at the health centre or the health post'*. They get immunised in five rounds. Many households are resisting immunising their infants. There are households who visit HEWs to immunise their children and the workers also visit households to give immunisation in time of necessity. All women over 15 take immunisation against tetanus but there has been a shortage in the supply of tetanus vaccine in the wereda since 2011. There is no refrigerator in health posts and there are health centres without refrigerators.

Kebele officials said that the HEWs immunise children and women. Infants take various vaccinations until nine months. When they have had all the vaccinations properly the HEWs give them a certificate. HEWs also vaccinate children when there is an epidemic. There is no problem in the supply of vaccines except for the BCG immunisation against TB which should be given to infants aged below 45 days. However, one packet of BCG is designed for 10 infants so one born earlier has to wait until there are 10. There is also a shortage of liquids to steer the medicines. A few households resist immunising their infants and the HEWs try to convince them. Since 2006 the service has been available in the kebele. All women over 15 take immunisation.

A small group of women said girls over 15 had tetanus injections. Among different immunisations given to infants the BCG is sometimes delayed until there are ten new infants so not all get the immunisation within 45 days. They suggested the BCG is delivered in individual packages and asked for pre-natal and maternal vaccination.

### HIV/AIDS

A wereda official said that HEWs organise community-based discussions on HIV/AIDS but experts from the wereda also hold meetings, particularly in the hottest part of the wereda. *'Community members of the hotter kebeles have relatively high exposure to HIV/AIDS virus. They are more mobile than the highlanders.'* When there is provision of material the wereda conducts blood-tests in these kebeles via different groups. Most community members are willing to be tested but those who have been exposed to the transmission means of HIV/AIDS resist being tested. The team provides pre- and post- blood test advice. Treatment has been available in the wereda since 2008 and today any carrier can get treatment and advice at the health centre with no charge. But most carriers in the wereda choose to travel for treatment to Wolayta, Arbaminch and Tinicha, particularly those who live in Wacha town. The health bureau follows up HIV/AIDS clubs at the kebele level and the school administration is involved in the school clubs.

A health centre informant said that there are few HIV carriers and stigma is low. But the highlanders

fear having social relations with HIV positive individuals. Out of 6059 individuals who had a blood test in 2010 only 10 were infected. They were unwilling to admit it. For example one married woman left the area for Amhara Region when she knew her result. In another case a married couple were tested and though the man was identified as positive and the wife as negative he misinformed her and went on living with her. HIV/AIDS treatment has been available at health centres since 2008 and at the health post pre- and post- blood advice and testing service is available. The treatment to prevent mother-to-infant transmission is available at the health post. Recently a continuous blood test campaign has been prepared for the lowlanders. There is no lab that can test for other STDs. They treat them by observing the symptoms and if the case is severe refer it to hospital. Most patients come to the health centre after it gets chronic. Each quarter 2-3 patients come to the health centre. There is no stigma attached to STDs apart from HIV as it is only the patient and health officers who know about the case. They are willing to admit it because of the perception that the disease is curable.

The HEWs said there have been discussions about HIV/AIDS in the community mainly handled by the wereda since 2006. Now there an NGO called ESTA working on HIV/AIDS in the community. It has an office in Morka, 14.8 kms from Do'oma, and there is a representative in the community. Since November 2010 there is house-to-house teaching, peer discussion and calling relative to have coffee to discuss HIV/AIDS. Each programme is implemented four times a month. There have been two blood testings three months apart in 2010/11. In each programme one individual was found to be a carrier but they did not start taking treatment as they fear stigma. Both have cut themselves off from the community. One of the victims has a wife and four children; his wife does not want him to take treatment and advice because she fears stigma. There is a rumour of one HIV/AIDS death. The majority of community members are willing to take tests but those who are victims of HIV/AIDS are resisting using advice and treatment. They do not know how many get tested outside the community. The HEWs said that the kebele officials did not give much concern to activities related to HIV/AIDS. One said that while almost all community members are aware of transmission methods youth do not abstain from sexual intercourse; a few young men and women have many sexual partners. Also as community members are going to cities and towns to visit relatives or for other purposes their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is increasing. A young woman said that exposure to HIV could be high as there is increased mobility. Youth from the community go to the cities and towns to attend school and visit their relatives and on the other hand youth come back to the community to visit parents.

A small group of women said that there are actions taken by the wereda and HEWs to prevent HIV/AIDS. The HEWS have organised meetings and extension visits and from 2010/11 there is a testing programme every three months. Most community members are willing to take a blood test. HIV/AIDS testing is a pre-condition for couples to get married; for Kalehiwot followers it is considered an obligation. Most of the household case respondents said they had had blood tests. For example, husband and wife in the politically active household each had two tests three months apart. The woman heading the poor FHH said she had had one blood test which proved to be negative. She took both pre- and post- test advice and believed she had a lot of knowledge. All the members of the rich household had blood tests while only the husband in the medium-wealth household was tested.

A churchgoer said that the church is working on HIV/AIDS control and prevention. It condemns sexual relations before marriage and there is education on HIV transmission and control and the importance of diagnosis before marriage. If couples want to hold their wedding in the church they must bring blood test results to the head of the church. Another said that church had begun to teach about HIV since 2010; the wereda health bureau gave the direction.

#### **TB**

A wereda official said that HEWs provide education on the transition and treatment of TB and there

is also education at the Health Centre for those who visit for different reasons. Treatment is available at health centres and there are no shortages. Highlanders in the wereda are more exposed than lowlanders. They used to smoke Gaya and most cannot recognise TB symptoms because most Gaya users have a cough. Three years ago there were campaigns by church leaders and the school administration to teach the community about TB but recently there has been no epidemic and the wereda has not re-organised and mobilised work on TB in recent years. There is an awareness gap, particularly in the highland areas. People with the virus do not give attention to avoiding materials to eat and drink which are commonly used by the household.

The HEWs said that TB is not common in the community. The community has awareness about the transmission mechanisms and can get curative medicine at the health centre which is free. She knows three TB victims who have started taking treatment. The neighbours take care for themselves not to get the bacteria. However, she is afraid that people who live far from the victims' residences may feel that being in contact with the victims should not transmit the disease to them. A small group of women said they have been educated about how to prevent TB, how it is transmitted, and how the affected individual can prevent others from getting the virus. In Do'oma the frequency of TB is very low and still reducing. They said that the winds, which usually occur in December and January, are the main means of TB transmission. The wife in the poor household and the women heading the both FHHs said they had attended training on TB prevention and control. Wives in the rich, political and medium households said they had not had any such training.

### First Aid

Wereda officials said that there is first aid both at the health centres and the health posts although a shortage of essential materials limits the service. In times of the distribution of materials health posts are prioritised as the majority of kebele members go to health posts to get first aid. The HEWs said they give first aid though it is not satisfactory as there is a shortage of materials. The community needs to have a first aid service at the health post and the HEWs would like to have special training on first aid. A small group of women and four of the case household respondents said that there is no first aid at the health post. The wife in the medium-wealth household said the HEWs had made them aware of First Aid though there is no such service in the health post. The woman heading the poorer FHH said that when the health workers gave training on disease prevention and control they mention first aid and said that we should go to the health centre as soon as possible after an accident occurs. They also have a bandage and alcohol to take care of the wounded part.

## Food security, diet and malnutrition

### Diet

A community respondent said that people eat bread made of corn (*kita*), sometimes with milk and cheese. They eat sweet potatoes, *godere* (taro), and *boye*. *Godere* and *boye* are root crops prepared for food like sweet potatoes. The stem, leaves and taste of the two crops are different. They use both to make flour to bake *injera*. They cut the roots into pieces and dry them in the sun and then mix them with *teff* and maize.

Seasonally they eat fresh maize. A few people eat spaghetti and macaroni and more than half of the community has started to use food oil regularly. All family members, including children over three, eat together. The wife in the rich household said that there has been a change in the kind of food the household eats in the last five years.

We have been eating different types of food prepared from maize such as baked bread, roasted maize, *kurkufa*, and so on. We are eating more *injera* than before. The flour we use to bake *injera* is a mixture of *teff*, maize and *boe* (local term for a plant which the community use to eat the root). The household is eating more butter, milk and cheese. As the price of *enset* is increasing, we eat less of it as compared to the previous time. Our consumption of vegetables such as cabbage, green pepper and onion has increased. The household eats more meat than before. We eat meat at the beginning and end of fasting

seasons. We eat more pulses such as sesame than before. The household consumption of fruit such as banana, orange and mango has increased.

The diet has also changed somewhat in the medium-wealth household.

The consumption of grain i.e. maize is similar across the past years. We prepare different foods from maize flour such as baked bread, roasted maize and so on. The household consumption of *enset* has declined because the price of the crop is becoming higher and higher. The family has started to use more of fruits such as mango, avocado, banana and orange. Our consumption of palm oil has increased while our consumption of butter has declined. The household consumption of vegetables such as cabbages and onions has increased. Previously, we had been using onion for holidays because it was expensive, as the community does not produce it. Now, there is onion production in the community that makes the price lower. We are eating less eggs and milk. The household eat baked bread with sesame which is new for us. Our consumption of meat has reduced as the price of meat is increasing year to year.

The politically-active household started *'to eat more milk, butter and egg because we stop selling the products at market. We also eat more sesame, orange, mango and banana as the household and the rest of the community have started to produce sesame and fruits at large. We eat less meat than before because the price of meat is getting higher and higher each and every year.'* Although the household cannot always access balanced food she is trying to use more vegetables such as onions, potatoes and green peppers.

The diet of the poor household was much better when he was rich. *'now only a few products of maize and sweet potato are available for survival of the household. The respondent said that the diet is not proper and enough now, children and adults eat maize pancake kita with cabbage or aleko/shiferaw, when it is a time for potato they can have sweet potato as an alternative. This diet is the same all round the year, rarely when the family get money from small grain sale, they might buy meat from the market, this might happen maybe twice a year.'* His wife said there has not been a significant change although they eat less meat and livestock products like butter, milk and cheese. They are eating more vegetables like onions and cabbages.

The woman heading the poor FHH said that maize and sweet potatoes are still their staple food. They are eating less sweet potato and *enset* as the prices have risen. They are eating less livestock products as they have fewer cows. They have started to use palm oil regularly. They eat three times a day although the amount may vary according to the price of food in the market. They always gave 'coffee' with meals. They are too poor to buy it so they make it from coffee leaves. She is trying to feed the family a balanced diet as much as possible. This is the only package she has implemented.

The woman heading the richer FHH described the following changes to their diet.

We are eating less *aleco* as we prefer to have cabbage. We are drinking more milk because we are milking. Previously, we had a shared cow that did not allow us to use milk as we wish. The household is also using more butter and eggs as compared to the consumption level five years ago. Previously, the household had owned local poultry and now we have improved poultry that results in increases in production of eggs and consumption. We are eating more fruits such as oranges, mangoes and bananas because the price is becoming fair as the production is increasing. In addition to this, we have started to collect fruit from our own orange and mango trees. We have started to eat pulses such as sesame that we did not eat before. We are eating less meat as the price of meat is rising.

Wereda officials said that there is a nutrition education programme at wereda level; the HEWs run the programme and there is no direct involvement of wereda officials in the education. Sometimes staff at the health centres give nutrition education to visitors though there is no progressive and continuous programme. The HEWs said that since 2006 they have been giving nutrition education to the community with the help of volunteers. They give training the kebele office compound and do house-to-house visits. Mostly they teach women about the importance of balanced food for all household members and especially for children and pregnant and breast-feeding women. They also teach how to prepare balanced food from easily available products. Almost all mothers are aware of the importance of breast-feeding infants for 6 months for the health of the baby and family

planning, although a few are still resisting.

In September 2011 the HEWs said that the training would be more effective if there is an intervention to provide food for children and pregnant and breast-feeding mothers. *'Especially in drought season, it has no meaning to teach them about balanced food. The majority of the community is wishing to eat at least three times per day whatever the food type and content is.'* Also in September a small group of men said there is no supplements programme for nutrition but the HEWs train mothers about child feeding techniques which do not include men. A small group of women said that the HEWs have been teaching about the importance of breast-feeding, preparation of balanced diets using community-based products, and food for pregnant and breast-feeding mothers and as a result mothers have started to take care of their children and themselves. They prepare a soup from a mixture of maize, haricot beans, sesame, linseed, sorghum, *tef* etc and give them fruit like avocado, mango, papaya and banana.

### Food in/security

The usual 'hungry season' is from March to July but may be longer in times of extreme drought. In 2006/7 the wereda provided wheat for those most affected by drought and also food for children and breast-feeding mothers. Emergency food aid provided in 2008 included wheat, oats, palm oil and haricot beans. Kebele officials said that only a few drought-vulnerable households received aid for 3-5 months on average. The kebele was struck by drought in 2010/11 but there was no emergency food aid though the PSNP provided food rather than cash in May 2010. A man registered with three family members said he got 40 kilos of wheat. The wereda sent emergency cash in July 2010: 150 *birr* for those with 3 family members and 300 *birr* for those having up to 10 members. But the kebele officials decided to cut part of the aid to take 50-100 *birr* for the repayment of fertiliser debts. A young farmer who is not part of PSNP received 200 *birr* for 7 family members but 100 *birr* had to go to the fertiliser debt re-payment. He bought 30 kilos of maize with the money he got which fed his family for 10 days. A small group of men said that the food aid and money is just a 'painkiller' since the drought is prolonged and the amount of aid very small.

### Nutrition interventions

Wereda officials said that the wereda does not provide supplements but there is child nutrition supplied by the zone office via the wereda. Though the programme does not include all malnourished children most such children in the highland kebeles had accessed it. There were around 309 beneficiaries under the age of 18. After stopping for a year the wereda is collecting data on the numbers of malnourished children and based on the information will provide processed food like BP100. There is no feeding centre or school feeding in the wereda.

While working in the kebele compound in September 2011 one of the researchers encountered a nutrition programme in which babies 6-18 months are given supplementary food BP100-plumpy nut donated to the wereda by Family Health International. The HEWs were trained and the service for first round beneficiaries began in September 2011. Babies whose weight is greater than 4 kilos and whose arm measured 12 cm or more were given the supplementary food at the health post. Those whose measures were less were referred to the health centre for special treatment.

### HTPs affecting health

#### Circumcision

A wereda official said that male circumcision takes place at any time depending on parents' willingness. In the past the community used to circumcise males at the age of 20. After different interventions by the kebeles the age declined to 10 or 11. The HEWs teach communities to circumcise males within 7 days of birth and households in Wacha are implementing the advice. There have been interventions against female circumcision since 2005 and there has been a significant change since then. However the conservatives resist the intervention; resistance is more

significant in highland parts of the wereda. He estimated that around 10% of community members do not support the intervention and visit traditional practitioners to circumcise females. If kebele leaders access information on female circumcision they do nothing other than trying to convince both parties. There is no punishment at all.

Kebele officials said that there is no intervention against male circumcision and the community circumcises boys aged 10 or above. A few prefer to circumcise within a month. There is no traditional practitioner in the community; they get service at the health centre. There has been training against female circumcision since 2006. Community members have been trained about the health problems resulting from the practice. Some community members resist the intervention; they are afraid of the elders' pressure who are much concerned about culture. Also they believe circumcision makes females courageous. Though there has been a reduction some go to traditional practitioners at night. Officials from the kebele and wereda have given advice to the traditional practitioner but she resists stopping. No legal measures are taken against traditional practitioners and if female circumcision is to be stopped the community has to enact and practice an internal law.

Three elders said that males are circumcised at the health centre. Female circumcision was common in the community before 2005 but then it was banned by kebele officials as it is against the law and the HEWs also taught people by going door-to-door and via meetings with the community elders. People sometimes circumcise by night; this has been found out and elders made them promise not to do this again. By now no-one circumcises girls.

A small group of women said the majority of parents do not allow their sons to be circumcised during infancy as it is difficult for them to get well soon. Now they are circumcised at age ten and above. There used to be people who circumcised traditionally but no longer. Five years ago female circumcision was a common practice in Do'oma. Today there is a significant change though it is not satisfactory. BW said that community members have started to resist female circumcision because of the awareness created by the HEWs. They are more convinced and fear the pain which will follow in time of birth rather than the problem of insensitivity which their daughter could face in time of sexual intercourse. MW who is poor said she could not support the science which is against female circumcision '*It is against traditional law of the community, we are ashamed of the elders.*' In general there are community members who want their daughters to be circumcised and who are practising it without the knowledge of the community, the HEWs or the kebele officials.

The wife in the rich household said that her older daughter is circumcised and she would be happy if future grand-daughters were circumcised. '*The government intervention to ban female circumcision is not acceptable to the community. We want to maintain our culture. We could not believe circumcision has a bad effect in women's health. Beyond this, the government is reluctant on the intervention. The kebele officials know when and where the community members continue circumcising females.*'

The husband in the medium-wealth household said that previously it was the open and right thing to circumcise daughters. It was practised with a festival with neighbours and relatives and cost 500-700 birr for the food preparation. After 1993 the act began to be condemned and after 2005 serious action has been taken with the arrival of the health extension programme. The act was declared an offence against the law, with imprisonment and fine, and gradually people became aware of its impact during delivery and now no-one practice FGM. His wife said that community members circumcise their daughters when they are ready to get married or after they get married. Both the government and church are banning it believing it has side effects in time of delivery. Some people want to continue the practice to preserve the long-lasting culture. The culture has dominated the new generation too so that young men and girls want to have circumcision. She is against it because it is banned in the Bible and would be happy if community members accepted the government intervention. She did not let her older daughter be circumcised though she may do it the forest with her friend because they fear cultural exclusion. However, later she said that government

interventions relating to women were good except the banning of female circumcision. With regard to male circumcision she said community members circumcise their sons at the health centre and private clinic in Wacha. They wait until they are at least 6 or 7 and resist circumcising them in infancy because they believe they will lose weight and become physically weak. To prevent these problems a boy has to ask for his favourite food and drink after he is circumcised.

The wife in the politically-active household said that before the EPRDF came to power girls were circumcised after they got married. Now it takes place at the age of 7 to 8. The government is banning female circumcision because it believes the action would make delivery challenging for pregnant women. They also say that circumcision makes women senseless in time of sexual intercourse which may become the reason for divorce. People want to continue circumcision because it has been the norm for long years. Her elder daughter is circumcised and she wants to circumcise her younger daughters too and in the future she would like any grand-daughters she has to be circumcised. *'I want my daughters and granddaughters to be self-confident in the community. Those women and girls who are not circumcised are discriminated against and insulted by other community members including young men and women. Because of this, they could not be interested to lead their lives in the community keeping its coherence.'*

The wife in the poor household said now females are circumcised between 8 and 15. *'The government is banning female circumcision. The reason it gives is that it makes delivery hard. Some people in the community want to continue circumcising their daughter because all generally accept circumcision. They believe it is keeping personal hygiene. My daughters are too young to get circumcised. When they grow up, I would like to circumcise them. The only reason which may prohibits me is government punishment. If the government starts to punish the actors, I will find another means to get circumcision to my daughter. I will do this because I want to have confident children. Above all, I would be happy if my daughters get acceptance by the community.'* Her husband said that if a girl is not circumcised *'she will remain with her dirt'*.

The woman heading the poor FHH said that circumcision is a culturally acceptable practice. Uncircumcised females are very shy to talk with their friends as well as their family and males do not want to marry females who have not been circumcised. She said *'let alone the younger females, girls aged 4 to 6 are very ashamed of not getting circumcised. .. The time is the age of hygiene; circumcision is essential for females to keep their hygiene. Additionally females should be free to live with the rest of society and to be chosen for marriage.'* Her older daughter is circumcised and she is planning to circumcise the younger ones as they grow up. She said in the past males were circumcised when they planned to marry or sometimes afterwards. There were traditional practitioners who used different herbs but infection was very common. There was a big ceremony following circumcision. The woman heading the better-off household said that young women lose their confidence if they are not circumcised. Everybody in the community, including children, insults them. Because of this pressure some even beg older women to circumcise them hiding in the forest. All her daughters are circumcised.

A woman said that the Kalehiwot church clearly condemns female circumcision and that Kalehiwot Protestants at least stopped getting their daughters and grand-daughters circumcised. Many people may continue the practice but they do it in secret. Orthodox Christians are openly practising it. The church declared that female circumcision is against the bible and if there is concrete information the circumcised and the practitioners would be expelled from the congregation for 5-6 months. Another respondent said the church had punished a girl who was circumcised in the forest hiding from the community. They got the information because she faced severe health problems and was treated at the health centre.

Five of the case study young women said they had given birth and were circumcised but had had no delivery problems. One young woman said *'As all girls in the community do, I got circumcised in 2008. I faced no problem with the circumcision. It was my interest to get circumcised because others*

*insulted me.'* Another said *'I got circumcised by my own interest [consent] because I could not live in the community confidently if I did not get circumcised.'* A young man said that his younger sisters around ten are not circumcised and his mother is insisting to circumcise them though his father and other children are telling her that it hurts in future and now it is illegal.

### Traditional medical practices

A wereda official said that traditional medical practices were very common in the wereda. Especially the highlanders have been practising cutting uvula, pulling milk teeth and treating malaria with herbs. They also treat pains by putting hot wood on the affected area, usually forehead, head and stomach. Though these practices are reducing since the wide intervention of the wereda via the HEWs there are kebeles still practising them. There are well-known traditional medical practitioners in five highland kebeles which are far from the wereda office so it is not easy to intervene continuously. In most kebeles traditional medicine for 'evil eye' is common. The wereda warns practitioners but there is no record of punishment.

Kebele officials said that since 2008 the HEWs have given training against traditional medical practices such as cutting uvula and removing swellings on the tonsils. Though they are unable to stop such practices they have shown a significant reduction. Branding is also practised to cure headache, abdominal pain and eye pains. They use two pieces of wood, one with a hole which is filled with ashes and bits of wood and friction is used to produce fire. The heated wood is placed on the upper skin where the affected area is found. Kalichas used to use various herbs to cure different diseases; now there are no kalichas in the community but there are still some community members who are using herbs for self-treatment.

Three elders said that uvula cutting only takes place at the health centre and there is no skin burning in the community except for eye treatment and prevention which is not practised at the moment. There is no pulling out of milk teeth though tooth disease is common and the treatment at the wereda is expensive. A small group of women said that there were harmful traditional practices like cutting uvulas, treating tonsils with hand, and putting scars on stomachs, around eyes and on heads using hot sticks. They have learned a lot about the health impacts of such practices like infection. The husband in the rich household said that now people are aware of infection risks and take babies to the health centre when they have uvula or milk teeth problems. His wife said that there are community members who continue cutting the uvula of their children. The husband in the middle-wealth household said that uvula cutting and milk teeth extraction are still practised. Uvula cutting is free at the health centre but traditional cutters cost 10 *birr*. Milk teeth extraction cost more than 20 *birr* but is free in the village by traditional healers. His wife said *'in general, the community is resisting such actions to reduce harmful traditional practices. For instance, the community did not stop cutting uvula of infants. They may not do it in public. They practice it either early in the morning or at night. We maintain to practice it because the curative medicine we get from health services is not working. The community had stopped feeding babies with solid food, removal of milk teeth, burning with hot iron and bleeding. This became possible because we could access curative medicine. The household has been cooperating with the government actions.'*

The husband in the politically-active household said that practices such as burning the skin on a child's face were discontinued before 2005 when awareness was raised by the health volunteers trained at the wereda. His wife said that not only community members but also kebele officials are not ready to work for the reduction of traditional practices bad for people's health. Kebele officials teach traditional practitioners to protect their instruments from blood contamination. She said the treatment at the health services was too expensive. The wife in the poor household said that cutting uvula is still a common practice. Her husband is a practitioner and cuts uvulas using blades and string. There are households who come from remote areas of the community to get the service. They pay 5 *birr*. There are a few households who treat pain by burning with hot iron as well as bleeding but the practice has declined. The woman heading the poor FHH said that though uvula

cutting is still practised the mentality has changed and many people are convinced about the health problems it can bring a child, particularly infants. As a result some get medication from the health centre and private clinics.

The woman heading the poor FHH said that if there is alternative health service provision harmful HTPs are avoided. The community are still cutting uvula because the drugs are inaccessible. The swellings may lead the children to death so they have no choice.

### Other practices harmful to health

The husband in the medium-wealth household said the government also avoided beating of the chest and hurting of the body during funerals which included scratching the face, needling the tongue, and beating one's own back with sticks.

## Reproductive health and services

### Infertility

Wereda officials said infertility in both sexes is uncommon in the wereda but there are more infertile women than men. Community members believe it is only a problem for women. There is not treatment in the wereda or any plan to introduce it. Health Extension Workers estimated that less than 1% of women in the community are infertile. However, many women do not give birth in the first few years after they are married. Many couples do not give birth for 6 years. Relatively the number of infertile males seems to be higher. Recently a couple divorced because the male was infertile and a woman who had lived for many years without a child re-married and gave birth. There is no treatment in the kebele or wereda. Praying is the only treatment in the community. Couples do not want to know which one is infertile; they take it as a secret. The disabled man who was interviewed said the problem for his wife is that they could not have a child which he feels is mainly from his infertility.

### Contraception

Wereda officials said that the health centres provide pills, injections, implants, and general and abstention advice all at no cost. Recently the total number of users is increasing and males are optimists towards it and support their wives, though the highlanders still resist. A few females from the highlands use the service but hide it from their husbands. Recently the number of injection users is decreasing; users believe that using it continuously will make them infertile. Students take lessons on contraception from Grade 5. Most women want to use contraceptives though a few resist due to their husbands' influence. The problem is aggravated by the shortage of professionals to treat side effects.

The HEWs said that contraceptive services are available at the health post and health centre and is free. They provide pills, injections and condoms and general and abstention advice. The health centre provides implants. A majority of women prefer the injection; they estimated that only 1% of women use pills as they believe they have chronic side effects. They said youth prefer abstention advice. A few use implants and condoms but married people do not like to use condoms.

A group of men said that birth control was introduced in 2007 and pills and injections are common, though women say that pills are bad for their health and discontinue taking them. Injections are more popular. A's wife has never used contraception and they have four children with 1.5 year intervals. He initiated his wife to have an injection because he felt her health will deteriorate like other women who have many children without rest and he preferred to educate his children well rather than having many more, He didn't get any advice from the health extension programme. The couple have agreed and will start to use contraceptives soon. B also has four children with the oldest being 7. His wife has never used contraception but they are planning to do so since the cost of living is becoming unaffordable. They don't think four children is enough and will think of having more in the future. The couple had lessons from HEWs about contraceptives. S has five children and the oldest

is 10. He also has never used contraceptives but they are planning to since they have had lessons from the HEWs recently.

A middle class women interviewed said she has had two injections but had got pregnant so it was hard for her to use the method confidently in the future. M uses an implant which gives her a pain in the arm; the service is only provided at the health centre or private clinics. The rich wife said the household is implementing family planning. She had an injection last year and does not mind if she becomes infertile because she does not want to give birth any more. The wife of the politically-active man said she had had an injection but it caused problems such as untimely menstruation, headaches, fever, and stress. As a result she stopped using contraception and got pregnant within 6 months. In future she is planning to use other methods.

A young man said that after young people get married they don't restrict the number of children they may have; they just keep on giving birth. But another said the HEWs are educating about family planning rather than suffering with a large family with limited resources and some young couples are accepting this.

### **Abortion**

Wereda officials said that there is a high demand for abortion but there is a shortage of professionals and improved medical instruments, though they are using instruments made of metal. Abortion takes place with the willingness of individuals; students take the lions' share of the service. Some come to the health centre after using customary methods. On average 3-4 females come to the centre to get the service each month. Private clinics also give the service. Over 50% of females use customary methods. Some go to Wolayitta to see traditional practitioners. Self-abortion also takes place by using an overdose of drugs. For example one HIV positive woman took ten ampicillin to abort by herself and got treated by the health officer at the health centre. No death is yet registered in the health centre as due to abortion; if the case is severe they refer it to the hospital. Most of the time abortion is secret and it creates an infection and the woman comes to the health centre to get treatment.

Kebele officials said that a few young females demand abortions and in cases of serious disputes between couples the women may need to abort to minimise the challenge of nurturing an infant without a man if divorce happens. It is difficult to estimate the demand in the community because abortion is a big secret. There are females who use customary methods which are available in the neighbouring kebele of Masta. No deaths have been recorded as a result of abortions. Medical abortion is not available at all health institutions including the health centre and private clinics. Most of them prefer to get a customary abortion in Masta or go to hospital to get a medical abortion. They tend to go far as they want to keep it a secret.

### **Mother and child services**

#### **Pre-natal care**

Wereda officials said that there is pre-natal monitoring and advice both at health centres and health posts. Around 69% of mothers in the wereda are believed to use the service. Since 2005 the HEWs have created a good awareness about the service but conservative people are resisting using it. The HEWs said that the health post and health centre provide pre-natal advice and monitoring and it is estimated that around 60% of pregnant women use it. They believe it has reduced maternal deaths; though there is no service for severe cases in the community they benefit from the service at the health centre which includes sending women to hospital. They suggested that food aid for pregnant women is essential; improving women's living standards would make the service more effective.

A small group of men said that pre-natal advice has been given to pregnant women by HEWs going door-to-door and calling meetings at the kebele office since 2008. The knowledge helps pregnant women to care for themselves: what they should eat, to keep themselves from hard work, to keep

sanitation and personal hygiene. There is a long queue at the health centre to get the service which annoys pregnant and weak women. Also the health centre providers don't give the service right away when needed but only when they are interested; they also mistreat clients. However, there are improvements though the problem is not yet avoided. Pregnant women minimise risks at delivery; if they know there are complications they will go to higher levels. But there is a poor road network and difficult rivers; people including pregnant women die when the water blocks them from reaching Wolayta hospital and those who can't afford to go to hospital also die at home or at the health centre. The completion of the bridges will reduce some of the problems.

A small group of women said that there is no pre-natal advice and monitoring at the health post; the service is provided at the health centre. They said it gives good service though for health problems related to pregnancy it refers women to hospitals which are too far from the community and costly. The wife in the politically-active household said she gave birth in December 2011 with the help of a TBA. She monitored her pregnancy at the health centre starting from 6 months and was vaccinated by the HEWs. The health centre gave me two check-ups and appointed her a time to go to the centre in time for delivery. But she preferred to get help from a TBA because *'we believe they are well experienced.'* At the time of delivery the HEWs were attending training in Wacha and she face no problem.

### Vaccinations

Wereda officials said that maternal vaccination is provided at health centres and health posts. Around 62% of mothers are estimated to be users. The main achievement is the reduction of tetanus. The HEWs said that all females above 15 can get vaccinations against tetanus and most females take them. A small group of men said there were vaccinations of different types: maternal vaccinations since 2005; polio vaccination; for meningitis etc. Apart from the maternal vaccine the rest existed long ago though the attitude to them has improved since 2008. A small group of women said there is no maternal vaccination service at the health post or the health centre.

The wife in the medium-wealth household said that in the past mothers were closing their homes and disappearing from the village so their infants should not be immunised. They did this because they feared that pain and fever would affect their infants. Now the community is more positive. She said the HEWs warned that people who do not use the immunisation services would not be allowed to get services from the health centre.

### Delivery

Wereda officials said that assistance with delivery is only available at the health centre. Less than 10% of pregnant women in the wereda use the service. However, most pregnant women prefer TBAs. The service is not easily accessible to the majority of the community and the shortage of transport services aggravates the problem. HEWs said there is a midwife at the Health Centre; the proportion of deliveries is estimated as less than 5%. Although they have delivery materials the HEWs do not have the knowhow to use them. The HEWs work together with the TBAs and suggest that the kebele organises training for them. A small group of women said that there is a midwife at the health centre but at time of delivery most mothers want to get help from TBAs. A young man said that when he was about to take his wife to the health centre she gave birth at home although he had to take her anyway as the placenta was not coming out soon.

### Infant care

HEWs said that advice on infant care is available at the health post and health centre. Almost all women are interested in attending training concerning infant care but only 50% care for their infants properly. Some mothers are too busy to give time to their infants while there are reluctant women who do not care about their babies' hygiene. They recommended the expansion of family planning that would give households more time for infant-caring. One said that they have given advice on how to feed children properly and although the low standard of living of the community is a

challenge to provide children with balanced food a few have started to prepare different foods for their children. A small group of men said there is advice about infant care like breast-feeding up to 6 months, supplementary foods after that, exposure to sunlight, sanitation and showering of children etc. After 2008 the intervention enabled women to have clean, healthy children and easy and safer motherhood. Previously they used to feed *muke* (thick liquid made of flour and water) after the infants were 2.5 months that made them sleep all day. Their bellies grew big, their skin seemed healthy and they suffered diarrhoea and vomiting. This is no longer a problem; the lesson reached every house through the HEWs.

A woman said that health workers educated that feeding butter to infants gave them worms and now people are not doing it. The wife in the rich household said they are trying to feed the family balanced food. The wife who had just given birth said the infant is healthy but had not received monitoring or immunisation from the HEWs; the HEWs told them to wait until the vaccination drug arrived in the community. They have not given her any advice following the birth.

### **Fistula**

Wereda officials said that the demand for fistula services is increasing. The service is not available in the wereda but the health centre refers women to Arbaminch and Yirgalem. The HEWs are responsible for bringing cases of fistula to the wereda. The wereda administration covers the transport and other expenses until the patient reaches the fistula centre. The treatment is totally free. In previous years five women were treated at Arbaminch and two are still getting treatment. Six women have been treated at Yirgalem. In the coming year the wereda plans to refer 15 women suffering from fistula. The cases are brought to the health centre and women's bureau by husbands of suffering women. The service centre do not take the patients immediately.

HEWs said there is a very low demand for fistula services in the community. Recently one woman was found to have fistula and she was treated at Wolayta hospital. The HEWs said they did not get any education regarding fistula though they are responsible for finding females suffering from it and sending them to the wereda.

### **Other reproductive health**

Wereda officials said that health centres give reproductive health services but they do not have specialised medical instruments. They use drugs used for other diseases. There is no special service for adolescents. The HEWs said there is no reproductive health service at the health post. The health centre in Wacha provides treatment for some reproductive problems but mostly the health officers recommend that they go to hospital. They do not provide training on adolescent reproductive health. They had tried to do this but the youths had not come to the meeting place.

A small group of women said that neither the health post or the health centre were giving services related to other reproductive health problems.

## **Curative health services**

### **Government**

#### **Generally**

Officials said there were two well-functioning health and two new ones under construction in the wereda but no hospital. They are able to prevent malaria epidemics and are well treating TB, typhoid and goitre at their early stages. They have provided VCT and ART for HIV/AIDS since 2008. There is a better equipped lab service and seven beds for patients. In Wacha this year the health centre is expanding its buildings. There is a shortage of health officers, midwives and pharmacists. There are 29 professionals, 7 clinical nurses, 1 midwife, 3 public nurses, 3 pharmacists and 2 health extension workers. There are curative drugs for typhoid, hypertension followed by childbirth, pneumonia and malaria.

The wereda allocates a budget for staff salaries. The health management board, wereda administration and secretary, chief of the health centre, chief of the health bureau and chairmen of the kebeles are involved in the financial declaration of the profits of the health centre. All health centres have their own bank account. Wacha health centre has saved 290,000 *birr* which can be used in the case of contingencies such as financing the purchase of medicine when there is a shortage before the end of the fiscal year. They will be refunded in the next financial declaration.

Wereda officials said that a few poor community members selected by kebele officials get an exemption from medical expenses. The kebele officials select the poor community members and send their names to the wereda. The wereda approves it and pays their medical expenses every six months. The selection of poor community members is revised yearly.

The respondents said that the shortage of professionals is the main problem facing health centres. Besides this existing professionals have a lack of technical expertise. Improving the number and quality of the staff will help to improve their service. Professionals who have trained in government institutions should be employed to improve the quality. The health service infrastructure needs developing with new buildings which are convenient for providing health services. To improve the referral linkage an ambulance is necessary. Medical equipment shortage is also a problem, particularly shortage of abortion equipment.

The health centres work in two shifts: from 8 am to 5 pm and the night shift from 6 pm to midnight. For any emergency after midnight there is always one nurse and if necessary health officers will come and handle the problem. In the peak season when the prevalence of malaria is high (may, September, October) the health centres treat on average 60 patients a day. There are hospitals in Sawla and Wolayta.

A wereda official said that the only curative drug found in Health Posts is the drug for malaria and in the rainy seasons there may be a shortage. He said the posts were mainly established to work on disease prevention activities but he said the posts should provide curative drugs for pneumonia. A group of women recommended that the posts should also provide painkillers. The Health Post in Do'oma provides malaria tablets for no charge but the availability is inconsistent. Sick people have to walk or be carried to Wacha health centre. If it is beyond the capacity of the health centre they will be referred to one of the two hospitals. Transport to the hospitals is a big problem since there is no regular transport, transport at time of need, or ambulance. There is only expensive motor-bike transport and that is not suitable for patients referred to hospitals. Also the bridge over the Domba river is not finished and there is trouble crossing the river.

### Wacha health centre

FP is a middle class resident whose one-year old daughter for sick a month ago. F took her to the health centre. Her blood test, which took only 15 minutes, showed it was malaria and the medical examination and medicine cost her 35 *birr*. Respondents said the health centre is giving satisfactory treatment for malaria but it is impossible to get curative services for chronic diseases due to lack of medical instruments and expertise. There are nurses, health officers, pharmacists, a midwife and lab technicians at the centre.

A middle wealth women of 31 with six children said she had had a pain in her leg since 2009; it swells up and she doesn't know why. She has never been for health service because she could not cover the medication cost. A poor man of 33 said that he has had gastritis pain for about five years. Sometimes it is so serious he cannot work on the farm. It is improving this year though the treatment from the health centre was not helping him much. The poor household head had malaria and an ear illness for three and a half months last year. He got treatment at the health centre for which he paid 85 *birr*. The problem was that he didn't go to the health centre in time because he did not have enough money at the time.

### Hospitals

The woman heading the poor household sad that a dog bit her son and injured his leg. With the help of neighbours she took him to the health centre and they referred him to Gofa hospital. She took him there at a cost of 80 *birr* for transport and the medication cost around 700 *birr*. Her family in Gofa helped her financially. She bought the medicine from Gofa pharmacy and when he had a check-up at the hospital after a week the professional told him his leg was cured and no more treatment was necessary.

### Private clinics

Wereda officials said there were four private clinics in Wacha. One was closed following a legal procedure. All the clinics started after 2005. The Health bureau has a mandate to regulate the activities of clinics starting from 2009 and has established an inspection desk. Depending on the level and standard of each clinic it determines what they can and cannot do. When the private clinics perform below the standard or engage in activities beyond their capacity they take actions against it.

TM is a rich woman and has been going to private clinics for curative services. In the last two months her three children have been ill. She took them to a private clinic in Wacha and spent 35-50 *birr* for each of them. *'The good thing about the service is it is easy to see nurses immediately after getting there.'* But similar to the health centre there is a lack of instruments and doctors.

### Pharmacies

There is no pharmacy in the kebele or in Wacha town though the health centre and the private clinics are providing pharmaceutical services. They sell medicines for common diseases like typhoid, TB, and malaria.

### Traditional practices

Wereda respondents said that traditional medical practice was very common in the wereda. Especially, the highlanders have been practicing cutting uvula, pulling milk teeth and treating malaria with herbs. In addition to this, they put hotter wood on the affected area to treat pains. They usually put the wood on forehead, head and stomach. Though traditional medical practices are reducing since the wide intervention of the wereda via the health extension workers, there are kebeles still practicing it in a small range. For instance, in the highland kebeles of Shela Sobo, Oshete, Dera Dime, Guge Gata and Guge Boyire there are well known traditional medical practitioners. These kebeles are far from the wereda office and so that it is not easy to intervene continuously. Above all, in most kebeles, traditional medicine for "eye evil" is common. The wereda gives warning to the practitioner, though there is no record of punishment. He recommends extensive education for the highlanders and education on "eye evil" for all members of the wereda. Body scarring is not common in the wereda.

Community respondents said that years ago traditional medicines were common in the community. The *kalichas* and witches were believed to have curative medicines. They claimed that now the community no longer uses them because of religious dogmas. The expansion of Protestantism has played a leading role in the eradication of traditional medicine. However, there is an Orthodox Christian who gives traditional medicine for evil eye and a church-going respondent said that those who cut uvula, circumcise females and so on are not Protestant which makes it difficult to punish them. However kebele officials said that some community members get services from the neighbouring highlanders. There is no holy water in the kebele. A few Orthodox Christians go to the nearby Zale kebele to get the blessing of holy water called *bilibo tsebela*.

A small group of women said that more than a quarter of the community were not economically strong enough to pay for treatment at the health centre. Mostly they treat themselves using different herbs commonly used in the community. There are bonesetters who take care of dislocations for different reasons; it is not common to go to health centres when something bad

happens to bones. There is a man who does abortions using traditional medicine but women prefer to go to nearby kebeles. They prefer to travel far from their kebele because they fear the cultural influence. There is no spiritual healer in the community; the *kalichas* terminated their work. A few people go to the neighbouring highlands to visit *kalichas*. They said it was difficult to say there has been change in the last ten years in all respects. But the accessibility of curative services at the health post, particularly for malaria, is reducing the number of people who use self-treatment. And the number of people using holy water to treat themselves is reducing due to the expansion of Protestantism. The head of the poor FHH said she face the problem of a bone cracking in her leg; gradually she is getting better due to continuous treatment by a bonesetter.

A young man said 2002 once he went to a forest, and on his way back home he was carrying firewood when he step on a big snake that attacked him. Then he was nervous and fell down on the ground. Then his belly grew very big and he became sick, his mother sold her two cows and took him to Wolayta hospital, where he was admitted and stayed more than a month. But he couldn't get cured and became bed-ridden for seven months at home. Then his mother brought a traditional healer who is expert on snakes from another kebele called Dera, who gave him traditional medicine after he made his mother sign not to ask him if he dies in case because of the medicine he drinks. After he drank the medicine given in fifteen minutes he vomited black fluid and was cured, his big belly went down and now he is totally healthy.

Self-treatment is common in the community. Usually women treat flu, stomach pain, and diarrhoea by using herbs like *tena adam*, garlic, *feto*, and linseeds. There is a plant locally called *chaemisha* which is used to treat stomach pains. Most of the herbs are freely available though some, like linseed, incur a small cost. The women respondents said it is very difficult to get cured using these self-treatment and many, particularly children, got worse as a result.

### NGOs

Orbis International delivers primary eye treatment. They give a mobile service at the health centre. They provide an easy eye operation service and medicines for the community. They also provide drugs that can cure eye disease every six months. They have also been giving training to professionals in the health centre. Mekane Yesus Synodos used to give services relating to family planning, reproductive health and HIV/AIDS related problems but have stopped the work. The Integrated Family Health Programme, with co-operation from the wereda health bureau, works on family planning services and provides materials. It has also been giving training to professionals from the health posts and health centre and it evaluates performance every six months at Zone level. The Ethiopian Sustainable Tourism Alliance (ESTA) works in the wereda with the health bureau on HIV/AIDS-related problems

### Child-rearing practices and changes

A small group of women said that there have been changes in child-rearing since the HEWs started working in the kebele. Mothers used to resist immunising their children but HEWs say using the service is an obligation. In the past mothers were not serious about breast-feeding and gave additional food to infants aged less than six months. Today, though it does not include everyone, some mothers try to breast-feed infants for the first six months. However, because of the unavailability of balanced food for breast-feeding mothers it is difficult for them to feed their babies. To compensate for this they give them soup made of a mix of cereals including sesame, maize, teff, and sorghum. Mothers were reluctant to give food on time to children aged more than six months. A few community members believe that feeding them exposes them to malaria. For children aged one to six months, particularly those who are rich or of middle wealth, try to give care and follow them up. However, there are some community members who are incapable of feeding their children three times a day.

The respondents said that it is becoming difficult to follow-up adolescent boys and girls. Some

families try to check out where and on what their sons and daughters spend their time. They also follow up on how they are dressing and eating and the manner with which they communicate with people. Older male and female youth are free to do whatever they want without getting permission from the family. The respondents are expecting associations and leagues to operate in the community and to care about the older males and females.

## Education

### General

Wereda officials said that there were now 30 schools in the wereda including the secondary school in Wacha. In general the wereda is an average performer in the Zone. It lacks budget and human resources to improve on its current status.

Wereda officials said that girl's education is expanding a lot; community members are co-operating because they believe that females could succeed as the males are doing. Some resist because they need domestic help. In the community there are examples of women who have married and had children returning to education. A 17 year-old daughter from the rich household went to Wolayta in 2008 to live with her cousin and attend Grade 9. She dropped out and married a young trader when she was 15. She gave birth in 2010 and returned to school in 2011. She works in her shop opened by her husband after school. Her husband gives a motorbike service when she takes over the shop-keeping.

There is no alternative basic education as this is not planned at wereda level.

### Pre-school

Last year a pre-school started but it has been stopped due to classroom shortages. Churches have been told to provide the service in their different Protestant compartments. There is one teacher assigned to follow-up church level pre-schools education and provide materials like chalk. The church school teaches three days a week. The headteacher said that the school convinced Orthodox Christians to send their children as there is no religious teaching and they agreed. However the informant had just come from a discussion with the kebele education committee and training board and they had decided (27<sup>th</sup> December 2011) to bring the pre-school in the kebele FTC building, though the start date had not been decided. Kebele officials said that the Kalehiwot church irregular pre-school education focused on spiritual matters. They said they have a plan to organise university and college students to provide tutorial and pre-school education in their break times. A small group of women said that the children who attend pre-school at the Kalehiwot school pay 2 *birr* a month. However they said that community members don't take the programme seriously and are reluctant to send their children to the pre-school.

A group of men with pre-school age children complained about the absence of a pre-school while people in the wereda town have access to pre-school. Until they are seven children have to be idle playing with their peers in the village and don't have an opportunity to start academic lessons.

### Primary education

#### The primary school

The first primary school built in 1988 was a mud-plastered corrugated iron sheet single building. It was demolished in 2010 when a new brick building was constructed by Czech NGOs People in Need<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The first grade children are provided with school and tutoring materials financed by People in Need. The organization also trained teachers chosen by local authorities (from the PIN website). Every year there is a fund-raising event in Czech towns called Let's Build a School in Africa). <http://www.clovekvtsni.cz/index2.php?id=436&idArt=1557>

and VSEM<sup>5</sup>, and the community in a new location between Do'oma and the sub-kebele. Do'oma Mazoriya primary school is north of Do'oma and south of Womalo and nearer to Do'oma. It has four classrooms and an office and was officially opened in September 2010. In the 2010 academic year it taught only Grade 1 and Grade 2 students while those in Grade 3 and 4 were taught in the old building.

In the 2011 academic year all classes started to learn in the new school and during the first fieldwork (September 2011) people were being mobilised to carry wood from the demolished school to the new compound to construct an additional four rooms since the number of students had grown beyond the capacity of the school donated by the NGOs. The new building started to be used in November 2011. Students have to walk to Menna school which was established in 2006 in Wacha to complete their primary schooling.

The school used to teach Grades 1-4 but Grade 5 was introduced in the 2011 school year. The headteacher gave the following figures for each Grade:

Grade 1: 89 students in one classroom; one teacher

Grade 2: 62 students in one classroom and 60 in another; two teachers

Grade 3: 53 students in one classroom; one teacher

Grade 4: 62 students in one classroom; one teacher

Grade 5: 90 students – one of the two classes in Grade 2 has to move to the new building still under construction when Grade 5 starts.

There are not enough classrooms and in Grade 5 those living near to town are not accepted as they can go to Menna school. The school has no water and it is also far from any of the kebele water points. There is no electricity but they are hoping it might be provided this year. The latrine is a pit one in very good condition. There two female and three male teachers including the head and 415 students out of which girls are 177. He believes that among children aged 7 in the community about 53% had not joined as parents send them a bit late, but the number of students is increasing from year to year. The number of girls who did not join is a bit higher than the number of boys but the difference is not that big. There is no shift system; the school teaches 7 periods a day between 8.30 am and 3.00 pm. Recently automatic promotion was ended.

Books are shared one between five except for Grade 5 where for some books like civic education it is one between nine or above. The head said that there is no problem with blackboards and office furniture as the NGOs provided that with the building. There is a shortage of chairs but they are using old chairs brought from the demolished school but if they are to take more students they need them to have seats; they applied to the wereda and are waiting for their response. One of the teachers said that the desks are second-hand and make too much noise when students sit down. She also said that there are no books for teachers and although the wereda sent three teachers to the school there is not enough human power or teaching materials to teach Grade 5 students in the school. Also the school compound does not have a fence which makes controlling students challenging. *'Above 80% of them do not want to come to class regularly. There is a problem of late comers. Parents even ask permission from teachers to send students to market, to herd livestock and do other domestic work. As compared to females, males attend classes regularly.'* A small group of women said that access to clean water needs to be provided and a room for the students to eat their lunch.

A Grade 2 teacher said that she gives four courses: English, Maths, Environmental Science and Gamo

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<sup>5</sup> College of Economics and Management, Czech Republic financed the building: <http://en.vsem.cz/vsem-in-africa.html>.

language. She gives tests on all courses once a week. She reports her lesson plans to the headteacher once a week and takes attendance daily in the morning. She teaches from 8.45-1045; 11-1; and 1-2 from Monday to Friday. Her gross salary is 1172 *birr*. Her main challenges are shortage of teaching materials and the long distance from her residence to the school. She also said that it is too much to teach more than 100 students without any help.

The head teacher said that parents should buy exercise books and pens. They also contribute 42-51 *birr* every year for education expenses though this is also collected from those without children at school. The important recent achievement of the school is community co-operation to build four classrooms and the upgrading to fifth grade.

The kebele chairman is leader of the school board (PTA). The board has eight members including four people elected from the community plus himself, the vice-chair, the information desk and the headteacher. The association meets if the head teacher reports that there is a problem regarding education. For instance when students drop out of school the head teacher brings the lists to him and he organises a meeting calling the parents of the students. If the drop-out is an orphan the association will look for aid to help the student continue education. The PTA leader monitors how community contributions for school-related projects are used and if there is community work on education-related projects he announce the time at which the work will start and what tools each participant should bring. The association may meet 5-6 times a year for 3½ hours.

The members participate in drafting the budget for the school with the education committee and the parent-teacher union. The association can influence the school budget and warn and punish teachers for bad behaviour. They also facilitate sports' competitions among community members and with other kebeles once a year. Recently the association allocated a budget and selected a site for the construction of a teachers' residence in the community. It also formulated intra-association rules because of absenteeism from meetings; absentees must pay 5 *birr* and latecomers 3 *birr*.

### Experiences of primary school

A rich young man of 28 said he dropped out of school in Grade 6. His father died when he was a baby and his uncle ploughed their land under a share-cropping arrangement. He started working on the farm when he was 8 to help his mother and when she died when he was 13 he did most of the farmwork except for the ploughing which his uncle did. His brother continued his education up to college level. A middle-wealth man aged 30 joined school when he was 14 and attended up to Grade 5 when he dropped out because his father insisted he quit and work on the farm. He was also less interested as his father wouldn't buy him clothes like other children at school wore. A 25 year-old said he dropped out of Grade 8 when his father died. A young man said that the medium of instruction being the local language denied him access to good Amharic.

The rich household has five children at primary school.

- Daughter 18 in Grade 5 in the new school; she dropped out of Menna school when repeating Grade 5 after frequent disputes with her teacher. Fetches water, takes grain to the mill, cuts grass for livestock, collects firewood with the other children at home.
- Daughter 15 attending Grade 6 in Wacha; she has some hearing disability and is in the middle rank of her year. She dropped out once because she was seriously ill. She likes going to school and attends regularly. Fetches water, takes grain to the mill, curs grass for livestock, collects firewood with the other children at home.
- Son 11 in 5<sup>th</sup> grade who was 10<sup>th</sup> out of 60 students. Last year he dropped out of school because the household faced a problem herding livestock. He likes going to school and attends classes regularly. Herds milking cows and older cows that don't suckle; sometimes assists collecting firewood.
- Son 8 in Grade 4 and a medium student; frequently sick as a baby but now only has malaria. He dropped out of school in the last academic year to herd livestock. He dislikes going to school so

does not attend regularly.

- Daughter 7 in Grade 4 and a medium student though pays more attention to her education than the daughter of 15 and the son of 11. Fetches water and shakes yoghurt to bring out the butter. She has never dropped out of school and likes going. She complains about the lack of drinking water at the school.
- Son 5 in Grade 1; between the ages of 1 and 2 he collapsed four times – his eyes turned white and he fell down on the ground suddenly. The family assumed he was dead and 'shouted in all the moments' but after an hour he would return to normal. The health centre said he had had serious malaria which had affected his mind but his father said it was a witches' problem. He no longer has the problem. He is repeating Grade 1. He likes school but does not attend regularly. He complains about the lack of drinking water.

The medium-wealth household has three children in primary school:

- F - Son 17 in Grade 6 in Wacha school; walks every day 3 kms; 5<sup>th</sup> in class rank; helps with farming every day. If the children at school in Sodo succeed and join college or university the father is thinking of sending him there to attend high school. His mother said that he permanently dropped out school this academic year. He disliked going to school and missed classes continuously.
- G – Daughter 15 in Grade 7. She temporarily dropped out of school this year because of malaria; she did not like going to school.
- C - Daughter 13 in Grade 6 in Wacha school; assists mother with domestic chores and sometimes helps with easier farm work. She has never dropped out, likes going to school and attends regularly. She complains about the shortage of textbooks and is not happy about the new site for the school. She says it is tiresome to come home for lunch and return to school.
- M- Son 9 in Grade 3 in Do'oma; fetches water and carries simple items he can lift. He dislikes going to school and misses classes deliberately without any reason.

The politically-active household has two children at primary school

- Daughter 14 who failed Grade 8 but has re-registered for the exam and is studying privately. She is in the middle rank and not interested in attending the same grade. She cooks food, carries harvest from the field, collects firewood and assists with chores. She complains that teachers miss classes and are very reluctant to follow up how students are doing and about the shortage of textbooks.
- Daughter 14 in Grade 6 in Arbaminch. She left home in September when two of her friends who had migrated earlier came for the Meskel festival and convinced her to migrate with them. She left without consulting the family. After a week she phoned her father and gave a contact phone number which he gave to his (evangelist)relatives living in Arbaminch. They took her home and she is living with them and going to school. In Do'oma she used to be absent from classes most of the time and trading maize in the market.
- Daughter 10 in Grade 5 in new school; 30<sup>th</sup> out of 56 students. Cuts grass, cleans the cattle house, carries harvest from field to home, assists in weeding, fetching water and shopping. She buys clothes and shoes from her trading income. She plans to continue education but her father doubts this because when she becomes an adolescent her interest may shift to marriage and family as with many girls in the area. Even if she wishes to young men in the area may convince her to marry and live a farming life.
- Son 8 in Grade 5; 10<sup>th</sup> out of 49 students. He takes livestock from the house to mix them with community herds. He has never dropped out, likes going to school and attends regularly. He complains the teachers are not committed to teaching and let the students copy everything from the textbook in class time as well as for homework. He gets stressed because he cannot understand just from reading without explanations from the teachers.
- Son 6 Grade 1; would rather play football and is also a victim of frequent and serious malaria.

The children in the poor household are too young to go to school.

All five of the children of the woman heading the poor FHH are enrolled at school.

- L - Daughter 18 – Grade 4; main activity is learning although she is not attending classes regularly; she works as a smallscale trader and a casual farm labourer; she wants to continue her education and trading side-by-side. She has an interest in education and mostly covers her school expenses though sometimes the mother buys exercise books and pens. Since the school moved and is further from Wacha town she cannot manage to go to the market and school on the same day so has to leave school early or be absent.
- A – daughter 12 – Grade 3; mainly goes to school though sometimes does not; trades bananas and does casual farm labour; wants to do as her sister. She likes school but gets depressed that she cannot afford what she wants to have before going to school. She covers the costs of clothes, shoes and other items while her mother buys exercise books and pens. She is happy that there is a football ground that the students play in at break time.
- F – son 10 – Grade 1; main activity learning though he is not interested and is often absent; rarely finds work as a casual labourer and also herds livestock for owners who give him food.
- M – daughter 8 - Grade 1; main activity learning though she does not attend regularly – she is absent to do domestic work. She likes school. She is relatively more responsible compared with the other children though there is no clear reason behind this. She is active and open-minded. She cooks food, fetches water, and collects firewood and cuts grass. Her mother would be happy if she learns seriously and gets a good career.
- L– daughter 7 – Grade 2; main activity education and she is attending regularly; not strong enough to do domestic work so has time to do her homework; fetches water from nearby water point.

One grandchild from the more successful FHH is attending primary school:

- Grandson 12 – Grade 7. His main activity is education; when he comes back he herds livestock. His grandmother guesses and wishes that he will continue his education.

### Secondary education

Kebele officials said that the availability of Yemo high school in Wacha town is supporting students to go further in their education. It was opened in 2005; before that people used to send their children to Sawla which is 88 kms distant in Gofa wereda. The school is built of bricks and has had electricity since 2005 and drinking water since 2009. A small group of women said that the teaching process is said to be very good and disciplined and some male respondents said it has quality education that the community appreciates. However, the latter said that there is a complaint that there are not enough good results in the national exams that enable students to go to university or college so some who can afford it send their children to other schools in Wolayita and Arbaminch. When asked about the mismatch between quality education and lack of good results they mention that farmers' children have to work on farms and don't have much time to study but still the low result confused them as they feel the school is a good one. A young man said the school hours in the high school are not good for students because they have to help their family on the farm in the time after school and don't have enough time to study. He would prefer half day schooling. The women respondents said that in the rainy season the road to Wacha is a challenge for students going to school which would be reduced by improving the road to be allweather.

Recently the community contributed for the fence of the secondary school. Most of the students from the community commute on a daily basis. The proportion of boys in the school was estimated at around 75%. There is a registration fee of not more than 25 *birr* but there is a plan to make it free. However, families may be obliged to contribute for various school projects.

It would be good to have a preparatory school in Wacha. There are students who stop their education at Grade 10 because they cannot pay the cost of studying in Morka or Selamber. A few

students are also breadwinners for their families and cannot travel far to attend higher education institutions. A middle-wealth girl of 17 in Grade 10 said if she scores good enough grades she would join preparatory school and if not she would go to a college outside the community. A poor girl of 17, also a grade 10 student said she would go to preparatory school if her grades were high enough. If she fails she will trade maize.

I like going to education though I could not give attention to what teachers say in class because I have a lot to think about. I started to work in all kinds of household works when I was 13 and I have started to assist my father on the farm this year. I have started trading when I was 14. I have no choice that finds a way to cover my basic needs because my families were not willing to purchase clothes for me. They told me to cover my expenses. I do not attend on Thursday because it is a market day.

In contrast the 20 year old son in the rich household, also in Grade 10, only assists his father on the farm on Saturdays when there is no class. His mother said he is a clever student and likes school but dislikes staying at school all day because of the heat.

Two daughters from the middle-wealth household are in Grade 10 in Wolayta Sodo one of 25 (18/67 students) and one of 19 (8/67) supported by the parents. Both attend summer classes in Wacha where college students on vacation come and teach high school students for free apart from 400 *birr* given by the wereda at the end. The 23 year-old son is in Grade 9 and supported by his relatives in Sodo for food and residence though his parents are supposed to send money for stationery, uniform, clothes and pocket money. The 16 year-old daughter in the politically active household went to Selamber town in 2010 to attend Grade 8. Her relatives in Selamber suggested it as there is better quality education and she had repeated Grade 5 and Grade 6 in Wacha. She scored good grades in the Grade 8 national exam and is doing well in Grade 9.

From the more successful FHH four out of 8 children are still in secondary education. A daughter of 22 completed Grade 10 last year and is preparing to take the national exam in a private programme. A daughter of 24 and son of 20 are Grade 10 students and a son of 18 is in Grade 9.

#### Post-secondary education

Students travel to Sawla, Wolayta, Arbaminch and other places if they are assigned. If the government assigns them they get free education and their accommodation costs are covered. Those who are poor and score grades good enough to go to preparatory school choose to join DA, teachers' or health extension training that comes in the wereda quota.

#### Government TVET

There are 12 TVET students mostly male; 5 attend agricultural colleges in Alage, Agarfa and Wolayitta Sodo. Two female students are at Agarfa agricultural college. Kebele officials said it would be good to have a TVET college in Wacha.

One of the HEWs completed Grade 10 and joined Dilla Health College where she got a certificate in health extension. A daughter from the more successful FHH is 35 and living in Wolayita town. She completed Grade 10 and left the household 9 years ago. She is married and has children and bakes *injera* and bread for sale. She is a student at Wolayita TVET.

#### Government universities

Kebele officials said that three male students have joined Arbaminch University. A 26 year-old son of the more successful FHH had a BA degree in teaching and is teaching at Wacha high school.

#### Private colleges

Some respondents said there is no student from the community studying at a private college. However, a young man said his brother went to private college (Auto mechanics) in Arbaminch this year by selling his cow for about 4000 *birr*. And the rich household head said his son of 24, who is married, was studying for a diploma in a private ICT college in Arbaminch. His father had to pay 130

*birr* for house rent, 250 *birr* for fees, 100 *birr* for pocket money, 1000 *birr* for clothes and one quintal of maize per year for food. His wife said we send him 500 *birr* a month.

### Other training

Kebele officials said that training may be given by the wereda and kebele structures. For instance the HEWs give training in their areas of concern though not on a permanent basis. It is also difficult to say that the trainings are equally accessible to all.

### Attitudes to education

A small group of men said that there has been some change of attitude towards education at all levels for both sexes since 2005. In general students are becoming aware of the importance of education to lead a better life in the future. Therefore students are resisting being farm assistants for their families. The number of students at TVET and university is increasing, particularly males. A few females have joined TVET but not yet universities. The number of girls at primary school is increasing significantly, though as the grade level goes up their numbers start to decline. There is no change in the attitudes of boys and girls to primary education; both perceive it is very essential.

The woman heading the more successful FHH said that the government intervention to expand education has affected the household's agricultural activities. *'My younger sons are students. They spend the whole day at school so that it is challenging for the household to work on the land. This situation has forced me to give my land for share-cropping which reduced the household benefit from the land by half. In addition I am the only person to work at domestic work as well as to herd livestock.* However she said it is her priority to educate her children.

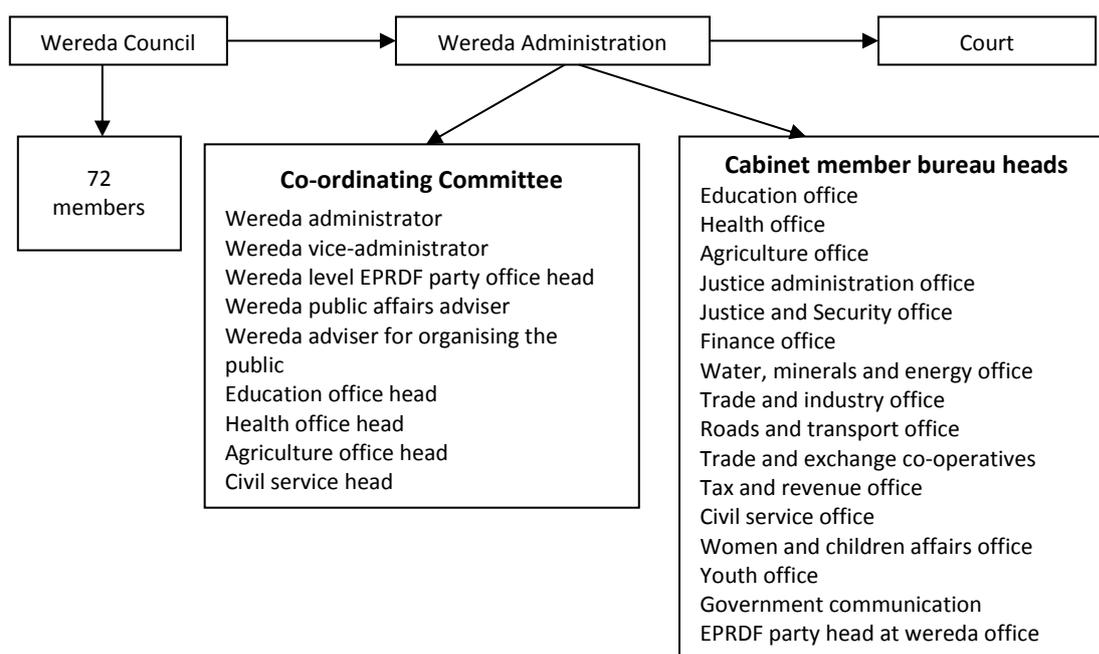
## Community management

### Wereda

#### Wereda structure

The wereda has a council with 72 members and a speaker, three judges, a cabinet made up of sixteen bureau heads and a co-ordinating committee with nine members.

Figure 1: Deramalo Wereda Structure 2012



Asked what were the good things about the structure a *wereda* official listed the following:

- The *wereda* council is the main decision-maker on serious issues during its regular quarterly meetings
- Judges are said to be free
- The cabinet is composed of heads of sector office which have their own mandates based on their expertise who can discuss their concerns at meetings
- Every sector office has direct contact with the *kebeles* in their area of work

The respondent said there were no problems or challenges resulting from the structure.

#### **Wereda Administration and the party**

The wereda organises meetings and conferences to deliver development messages 'but the participants are few in number'. There are party meetings organised for cabinet members but none with kebele officials and community members. There is no formal programme to discuss with kebele officials unless there is an urgent issue. There is a need for people with better educational backgrounds in both kebele and wereda and the linkage between wereda and kebele officials has to be strong and they have to work with communities.

#### **Justice and security**

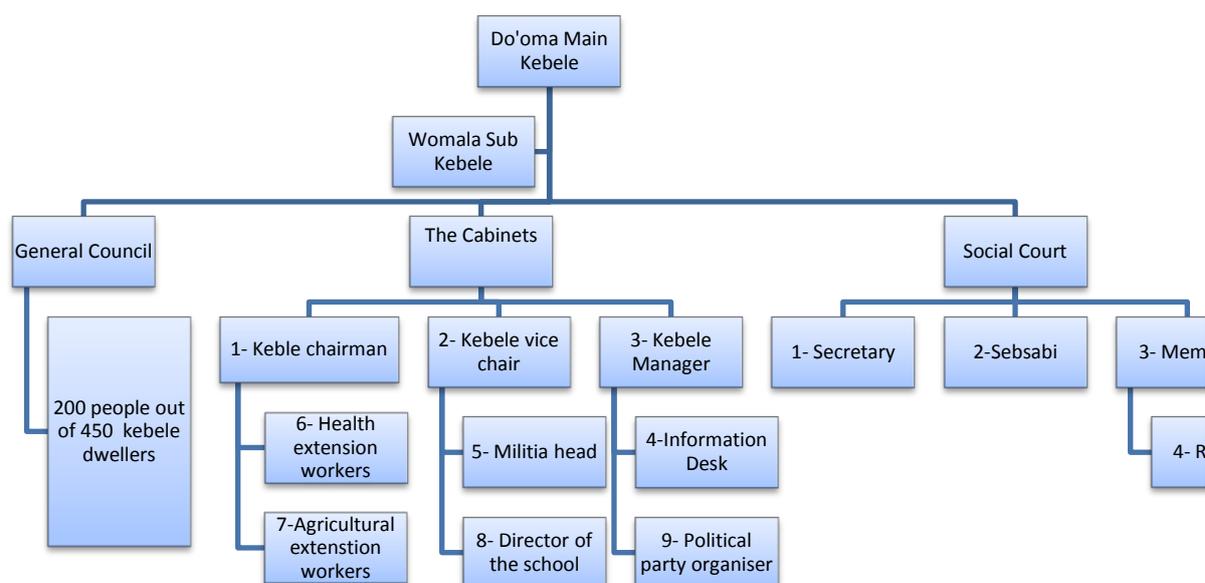
A wereda official said that before 2008 under the justice and security administration office there were police, and prosecutor. But this organization caused delay of justice in bringing cases to court fast which annoyed people. In 2008, when the BPR system was in place, the police got its own office and crime became the duty of the police including making people aware about law and security in the community. Detective police made a team and they carried out faster detection and transfer of cases to court and starting of the legal procedure. There are follow-up police officers who bring criminals to the law, keep detained criminals in prison, and also look for suspected criminals in their villages.

The official said that there was a shortage of police officers and very little training which led them to get into misbehaviour like drinking etc. Most criminals are young people with no recreation or working opportunities in the wereda. 'The criminals are now better off in education than police in the area'. There are around 400 trained military reserve soldiers in the wereda 'awaiting emergency call from the government' who don't make any contribution to peace and security activities. He suggested the government should plan to change this.

#### **Kebele and party structures**

The kebele structure is a replica of the *wereda's* having a Council, administration ruled by the Cabinet.

Figure 2: Do'oma kebele structure 2012



### The General Council

The **General Council** has 200 members, out of 450 households; 100 each are selected from the main kebele and the sub-kebele. Members are changed, and mostly re-elected, every five years. Kebele officials said that there are no women in the leadership of any of the kebele structures and there are only four women in the 200-strong kebele council and they do not attend regularly, unlike the other members. The Council has one organiser and one vice-organiser.

The kinds of issue discussed at the council include deciding what type of public work should take priority, the contributions that should be made, evaluating the kebele administration and its work, and electing the kebele chairman, cabinet members and committees. The leader of the council collects reports from each sector of the kebele administration and calls on members to evaluate the reports. He leads the evaluation meetings a report is sent to the wereda administration with the evaluation results from the council.

The leader also calls meetings to discuss arising issues. There is no regular meeting but council members decide when to meet the next time. One recent issue for the kebele council was how to support the high school in the wereda town after a letter came from the school. In June 2011 the community contributed and bought an ox for 2,300 *birr* which was given to the school to auction for the Meskel festival. They bought back the ox from the school for 4000 *birr* and sold the ox again for 2,300 *birr* and asked for contributions from the community to make up the remaining 1700 *birr*. This process was done by other kebeles who bought an ox, cultural clothes etc for auction. The last meeting of the council before the fieldwork was in October 2011. It was decided that every household should contribute 51 *birr* for the year, mainly for the school, the kebele office, the salary of the Health Post guard, and the finishing of the kebele office building. The council decided on the building of the teachers' houses inside the kebele compound which is near to the town and a waterpoint rather than where the school is re-located. The leader said the main achievement of the council is the setting up of rules governing public works but creating a common understanding of the rules and deciding on the levels of fines.

The leader said that council meetings were held at least once a month and that most members attend regularly. The kebele manager said that the council head has not been working properly recently so the whole council has been inactive; he wants improvement. The head of the rich

household said he had attended 12 council meetings in the last year.

### The kebele Cabinet

The **kebele Cabinet** has nine members: the chairman, vice chairman, kebele manager, agricultural extension worker, health extension worker, political party organiser, information officer, militia head and school director. The main activities of the cabinet are to discuss and decide on kebele administration issues. Cabinet members have the right to vote on issues which need decisions except the extension workers who can only raise issues related to their particular profession and the kebele manager who has no vote. There are weekly meetings and monthly evaluations of work although the latter is not kept regularly. All members are male except the Health Extension Worker. Apart from the Chair, Vice-chair, and manager most members do not attend cabinet meetings regularly and when they do they are late-comers. The chairperson said that cabinet members without a salary give priority to farming and herding livestock. Discussion focuses on issues coming from the wereda administration, development issues like agricultural inputs, farmers' training, school building, contribution follow-up, social affairs and other occasional issues.

In July 2011 the cabinet discussed education issues including the school expansion (purchase of inputs, community contributions, hiring of carpenters, etc) and how education should take place with quality in the new school. The chairperson said that they had decided to collect contributions from every household and start the project with community labour. By November 2011 four new class rooms had been built on the new school site and were in use. They had recently faced a problem in relation to its decision on the teachers' residence area. The cabinet, after discussing with the rest of the community, had last year decided to build houses for teachers around the school site. They managed to build seven thatch-roofed houses with community labour but the teachers refused to use them as they are in a forest area and the school is far from the main kebele Do'oma so they could not access the market, water, and the health centre. The cabinet decided to shift the teachers' house site to the compound of the farmers' training centre in the main kebele. In December 2011 the cabinet met to discuss watershed management and they selected development group leaders to give training to the other community members on watershed management.

The kebele manager suggested improvements in attendance and punctuality at regular meetings but said that cabinet members said that they did not get any personal benefit from being cabinet members and they prefer to spend their time on their farms than in kebele meetings. The chair said the government should pay salaries to cabinet members and there should be intra-cabinet rules to punish late-comers and absentees.

There are main **committees** like for education, development, peace and security and health which are meant to meet every 15 days though actually the meetings are irregular. Each committee has four to six members. Apart from the HEWs and one agricultural extension worker all committee members are male. The discussions are about their areas of concern.

### The kebele chairman

The **kebele chairman** is appointed by the General Council though the *wereda* administration has direct involvement. The chairman is responsible for the overall activities in the *kebele* for example the extension programmes and supervision of the *kebele* manager. The house and farmland of the chair is in the sub-kebele and he usually stays there and works on the issues of the sub-kebele closely while administering the activities of the whole kebele

### The kebele vice-chairman

The vice-chairman is responsible for peace and security in co-operation with the head of the militia.. The vice-chair lives in front of the Do'oma kebele office and mainly works with the kebele manager on the main kebele. The administration is planning to include cell leaders and development teams in the decision-making process. The kebele chairman has changed four times since 2005; one of the

chairs was re-elected.

### Kebele manager

Kebele officials said that notable recent changes to the kebele structure include the installation of a **kebele manager** in 2009. He is expected to work under the chairman and the information desk and party organiser are in his department. The **party organiser** is appointed by the government to recruit new members; he arranges cell meetings every 15 days with existing members and writes reports for the wereda office. The **information officer** said that he participates in the kebele cabinet and is involved in the organisation of the kebele's sport festival. He does not have a specific job description. He said he participates in cabinet meetings once a week for 4-5 hours and sometimes in meetings at wereda level. He is not paid, has no office, and has not had any training.

All activities whether agriculture, health, social affairs and any other development work are expected to be co-ordinated by the kebele manager. The kebele cabinet provides a work plan and the wereda also sends him a work plan; his monthly report goes to the cabinet and the wereda civil service bureau. He brings directions from the wereda to the kebele cabinet.

The first kebele manager was assigned in 2009 and UU is the second. His activities cover the main kebele and the sub-kebele. He is respected in the community though he does not have equal status with the kebele chair or vice chair. The kebele seal is with the chairman not the manager. He should be in the office for 8 hours a day from Monday to Friday and work at weekends if there is something urgent. He receives appeals, complaints and questions on all community affairs. He performs all the kebele activities except those that need decision-making by the chair or cabinet. He organises and supervises the public works. His gross salary is 742 *birr* a month and if participates in wereda meetings he is paid 58 *birr* per diem.

The manager is a government employee who also works as a farmer like any other peasant in the kebele. He is in his early thirties, was born in the kebele, and has spent his life there. The argument between the manager and the chairs is mainly when the kebele manager does not keep office hours and spends time on his farm but there are no serious conflicts. He said he could not work on his farm as there is a work overload at the kebele. The government should pay him a reasonable salary.

He shares offices with the DAs at the FTC since the kebele offices were demolished in 2008 and have not yet been re-built. There are enough tables and chairs in the office but there is a great shortage of stationery and every month he buys some with his own money. The kebele does not have enough budget to run the kebele work. Considering the community's low living standards which makes it hard for them to contribute money to the kebele the wereda should allocate some budget to the kebele.

Other changes were the establishment of the **Women's Association** in 2008 and the **Youth Association** and **Women's League** in 2009. It is the responsibility of the *kebele* manager to support these new bodies and the Information Desk mostly works closely with youth affairs and sport. The Women's Association has been given land which they are cultivating to raise money to fund and strengthen their Association. The Youth Association leaders participate in meetings with *wereda* officials. Young men are involved in sport and there is a plan to work on farms for fund-raising while those who are educated are forming a group to get access to credit to engage in various trading activities.

### The ruling party

Most respondents said that nearly everyone in Do'oma is a member of the **ruling party** though there seem to be two kinds of member. Contributing members pay 6 *birr* a year (12 *birr* a household with husband and wife). The kebele chair explained as the chairperson he has to lead the political party; it is an obligation. He said there are 194 contributing household members of the ruling party and apart from five or six households the rest of the community is pro-EPRDF.

One reason for the confusion seems to be the recent merging of government and party structures. The kebele chair is also leader of the party in the kebele. Until last year party members were organised under cells in their village and the cell members were neighbours. However, following the organisation of development groups and 1-5 groups the party changed the cell bases from village to farmland borders. Those party members who belong to a given cell share farmland borders. Each development group has between 25 and 48 household members. There are 12 cells and 12 development groups and the development group leaders are also cell leaders. In each group there are two development leaders and two party leaders. Not all members of development groups are party members but they are considered as members in the new structure. *'The ruling party consider development groups as a cell. The cells (development groups) are expected to meet twice a month. The party leaders provide them with discussion agendas and the party magazine (Addis Ray). The cells at large and 1-5 groups could discuss the agenda. However, the 1-5 groups are not functional until now. Except for agricultural activities, the kebele administration uses the party cell structure.'* Men and women seem to be organised in separate cells although this was not mentioned by the chair or manager.

The chair said that there are 15 party leaders in the community who one respondent said are elected by party members although a different response was that they are appointed by the government. They arrange cell meetings with existing members every 15 days and write up reports for the *wereda* office. The party leaders meet every two weeks from 9 am to 12 am. The chair said they were reluctant to come to meetings and they lacked commitment and experience. He said that the most well-known obligation of party members is the party fee but party members are not interested in paying them. *'They complain that the party membership did not benefit them except giving freedom for their children from going to the war field.'* In addition party members may be obliged to attend meetings but he said there was no punishment fee for absences. He said that everyone, party members and non-party members, could access government services equally without discrimination. Party work could be improved by providing training to the party leaders on the recruitment and handling of party members and supporting the party structures financially.

The kebele chair/party leader distributes magazines and newspapers to the cell leaders. He also monitors the discussions of each cell and looks at the questions raised and answers given in meetings. If there is a problem between cell members or if members need explanations on specific issues he participates in the cell meeting. For instance in June 2011 cell members complained to the cell leaders that there was a young man in the community who was taking their livestock to an unknown place; they asked for the presence of the party leader at their next meeting. After the meeting he started to investigate the case in collaboration with the militias who arrested him and took him to the *wereda* court where he was imprisoned for two years. The *wereda* ruling party office facilitated the situation to arrest the accused young man.

All kebele officials are party members and, apart from six men, all members of the general council are party members. These six promoted opposition parties in the 2005 and 2010 national elections. Two of them are members of a regional opposition party, three of them are members of EUP (*kinijit*) and one is a member of AEUP (*meeyad*).

The kebele manager said that some of the community contributions for the kebele administration running costs is used to pay the party fee of the kebele to the *wereda*. Each party member household contributes 12 *birr* per year. However when members of the party delay paying their fees the money from the running costs fund can be used to fill the gap. The kebele membership fee is 298 *birr* per year; this is the minimum amount that the *wereda* ruling party expect from the kebele each year. The kebele reportedly use party contributions in excess of this to cover kebele administration costs.

Community members report different experiences of party membership. A number thought that, as one person put it, being a member of the EPRDF is something that is expected of everyone and a

must. One woman informant said 'though nobody asked me to be a member of the ruling party, the kebele officials have included me in the list of membership since 2008.' She started attending cell meetings in the last year. The better-off woman heading a FHH said 'I was not interested to join the party. The kebele officials kept sending my neighbours and relatives to make me join the party. They forced me.' She said that the leaders of the party said the government would supply electricity to the community if they supported the ruling party. She said she needed nothing from the party as she had her children to support her. As a result of this she did not attend meetings.

Stories about cell meetings varied considerably. A kebele official said that party meetings for party members are not common in the community; the cell leaders meet twice a month to see how things are going concerning party activities. A small group of men said that there is a political party meeting every month attended by most community members except for recent immigrants. They said that the community is divided into 12 party cells which hold meetings every 15 days. The party meetings at all levels have fixed dates and informants move through the village with microphones. Also cell leaders go door-to-door before the meetings (this is a tiresome job). Party meetings should take a short time; up to two hours. The head of the medium-wealth household said that most of the issues in party meetings are about political member recruitment and expansion, party contributions and participation enhancement, and about development issues: experiences from other communities and how to bring development to the community.

The rich household head said there is no benefit in being a party member but he believes that all the development changes and respect for human rights came as a result of the efforts made by the party and his family had benefited with the mass. He is a leader of a party cell with 30 members and he invites to meetings, checks attendance, discusses political issues and reads out the party magazine at meetings every 15 days. The meetings affect his farming work but he feels he has to serve the party. The meetings are not just about political issues because they involve discussion about social and production issues and good and bad habits are evaluated and having such discussions every 15 days helps the villagers a lot. His wife said she does not attend all meetings and 'could not recognise the benefit of the spread of the party in the community. She said there was an intra-community rule that absentees from cell meetings should pay 5 *birr*. The politically-active head of household is a leader of a party cell and a 1-5 group. When the head had improved his economy, sanitation, health, feeding etc he was appointed as a cell leader in 2009, and a leader of a one-to-five group and a health volunteer in 2010. He is now well-respected by the community as a successful hard worker and leader. He said that co-operation had increased when these formal groupings coincided with the earlier Dego customary co-operation; the one-to-five system for health and agriculture allowed neighbours to have more cohesive social contact and co-operation. He said the only disadvantage of being a party member was the long-term conference which takes up their farming time. In 2010 he missed a day from the 12 days conference and was penalised 10 *birr*. He said that women are political party members since 2003 and regular attenders at party cell meetings since 2008.

The middle-wealth household head said that those who voted CUD during the 2005 election are now being discriminated against by the rest of the community because their choice failed; the advantage of being a member of EPRDF is being integrated with and respected by the whole community and being able to elect 'our own government' which is WPRDF. Those who were CUD members are all members of EPRDF and elected it in the 2010 election after they were advised though cell leaders and members; they were told they will be morally down when they are excluded from the whole community and the community should be uniform in political thinking to keep cohesion. His wife said that being a member of the party would help members to get benefits such as food aid, credit and so on that come through the kebele administration.

The number of meetings increased when party cell meetings became serious after 2007 and development issues were given more concern requiring more meetings. Most important meetings are those called for development issues and doing arming. The party meetings are less important and too many.

A male resident in a remote part of the community said cells discuss political issues, gender equality, social affairs and development issues such as how to enhance agricultural productivity. He thought it is good to discuss development action but a kebele budget for services such as health, education, electricity etc could bring change rather than too much talk in cell meetings by villagers. He attends 24 cell meetings a year. A landless man was a member of a party cell and a 1-5 group; this was possible because he is producing through share-cropping. He has more awareness about political issues than he had before but the meetings are time-consuming and forceful. He never misses meetings of the party because the fines are unaffordable – 10 *birr*. A disabled man said his only role in the community was membership of the EPRDF party. He doesn't understand most of the political discussions in the party cell and they are less interesting to him but as it is an expectation of community members he takes part in the party meetings. A poor man with no access to PSNP said he and his wife are party members but they only pay 6 *birr* as the family is very poor. Both of them attend party meetings at least three times a month. A poor divorced man said being a party member had not brought him anything and he doesn't understand its benefit at all. He attends all meetings because he fears the fine for absence. A carpenter said that being a political party member was not helping in any way but during elections the ruling party puts pressure on him to get his vote. This is to their own benefit and is not interested in it. He participates in cell meetings, in which he is not at all interested, but he fears the fine. A young man said he feels party membership did not bring any tangible benefit to the community; it is in the interest of the government people. Meetings take time especially when there is an annual conference which takes up to five continuous days. Another young man said he is the leader of a party cell but it has no benefit to him or his family. When there is a party conference of 10-15 days it is irritating as it takes much of his farming time. If he misses a day he has to pay 30 *birr*. Last year he had to pay 60 *birr* for missing two days. The conference happens every year. Another youth said the benefit is not for me but for the party because it makes the members vote for it during elections. Another said being a party member had not brought any change to his life but he feels it put him in agreement and harmony with officials.

A small women's group said that except for a few individuals all community members are party members. There is no regular meeting for members; the cell members and core leaders of the party meet once a week. There is one woman in the party leaders' team. A female resident in a remote area said she is not a member of the ruling party so does not attend meetings. The destitute returned divorcee said she was not a party member but sometimes attends meetings. An old woman living alone said there was no 1-5 cell structure in the community. She said 'The meetings are valueless to me. The leaders just talk about theories but not practice at all.' A poor woman potter with no access to PSNP has been a member of the ruling party since 2011; the meetings take place irregularly, not every 15 days. She said she is deriving many good things from being a party member as the meetings are propagating the direction of the government towards development. A widow and a poor divorcee also said there may be months between meetings. The divorcee said that the cell meetings have shown her how women can improve their livelihoods by engaging in trading. The wife of the politically active household head is a leader of a cell. She said the gap between meetings may extend to months because the members of the cell are uncomfortable with the programme. As a result they had only had two meetings since the beginning of 2011 when the cell was first organised. They discussed HIV/AIDS prevention, environmental hygiene and sanitation, and child-rearing. The wife in the poor household said that government meetings are more important than party meetings; there is redundancy in party meetings and the organisers of the meetings are not educated enough. She said that although the kebele has been working to get young women's participation in the ruling party they are not interested. The middle-wealth household wife said cell leaders are not well-educated to lead meetings and bring the same agenda for all meetings which makes them boring.

The kebele manager explained that there was a conflict between the residents of Do'oma and Womala due to the politicisation of the electricity service provision. He said that the residents of the sub kebele, Womala were supporters of an opposition party in 2005 national election which resulted

in the defeat of EPRDF in the sub kebele. For this reason, the wereda ruling party committee decided to give priority to Womala, particularly in the provision of infrastructure. Though the wereda promised to provide electricity to the main kebele, they first installed wire and poles in the sub kebele. As he explained, the reason for giving priority for them was to get their votes in the 2010 national election. Nevertheless, it was not easy for the wereda administration to have the consent of the sub kebele people without opposition from the main kebele residents. The installation of poles and wires was interrupted by the hostile response from Do'oma people. In the beginning of 2012 the wereda had started installing wires and poles in Do'oma kebele.

## **Committees**

### **Natural Resources Committee**

The members of the committee are all the development agents, the kebele chairman and manager, the advertisement officer and the leaders of the women's association and the youth federation. The committee started work in 2010; they decide on the NRM work in the community. For instance they chose the site for the watershed management and the land for tree planting. They also took the people who were making charcoal to the wereda court. They have started to give training on watershed management to development group leaders. The chair is the NRM DA; he has started to report the work of the committee to the wereda NRM bureau. He said the committee's work would be more successful if the wereda provided some training for the members.

### **Development Unit**

The development unit, comprised of kebele officials and the DAs, has a responsibility to be involved in development projects. For example it planned and implemented the expansion of the primary school, reconstruction of inter- and intra- community roads, and digging canals. It has started to focus on natural resource conservation; watershed management, which is very recent in the community, is one of the ongoing projects. The unit receives instructions from the wereda agricultural bureau and checks that the interventions are disseminated to one-to-five groups.

### **Drinking water committee**

There is a drinking water committee with ten members who were trained by UNICEF in Arbaminch in 2003. The leader for irrigation water is also the leader for drinking water. He was chosen as he was the only person in the community who went voluntarily to assist the drilling with labour when everyone else was watching from a distance. After the water points were completed the UNICEF representative chose him for training and requested the kebele for nine other people to be trained about water care and management. The leader of the Drinking Water committee organises and leads meetings every month and calls any urgent meetings. He inspects the cashier to check he is collecting contributions properly and sends the money to the wereda micro finance saving account. In general the work might take one or two days a month.

The leader, MT, is 34 and was appointed in 2003. He went to school up to Grade 6 but the position did not require educational status but only his commitment and interest in water points. He is also leader of one of the irrigation users' groups which has fifty household members and the leader of the kebele education committee. His future aspirations is to pump out the water by electric power, if they are provided with electricity soon.

### **Education committee**

MT said the committee was established in 1988 but he had joined it in 1999. The committee discusses education issues in the community like shortage of teachers, their performance and housing, student attendance, and the building of additional classrooms and facilities. For example the committee initiated and organised the building of four additional classrooms in the new primary school to accommodate the growing demand for places and to have space when the school is upgraded to Grade 5. The committee sent a formal letter to the wereda asking for them to send a

teacher of the new Grade 5 and provide the classroom with chairs. This month the wereda hired one teacher but the chairs have not been provided yet. The committee also decides the amount villagers should contribute to education and facilitate the collection of the money through the kebele office. In 2011 everyone contributed 51 *birr* for the new building, school guards' annual salary and for some school expenditure. The committee has been more successful this year by working closely with the kebele administration.

The problem in education in the kebele is the water problem after the school was re-located; the children are suffering from thirst. The committee also failed to make the teachers live in the school compound as there is no water. When teachers walk from town every day they will be late and tired which they are complaining about. The committee leader organises the work of the committee with the kebele chair and the head teacher and participates in the meetings and all activities of the committee. He says sometimes the work clashes with his farm activities and suggests that activities should be arranged for non-farm seasons by common agreement. There should also be incentives for the work of the committee but the school block grant comes with pre-determined expenditure and there is no room for such incentives. He aspires to the upgrading of the school to eight grades which will allow children to complete primary school in the village rather than walking long distances every day to Wacha primary school.

#### Health committee

The senior HEW started to lead the Health Committee last year. The members of the committee are the HEWs, the leader of the Women's Association and two health volunteers. The committee selects households to get bednets, monitors house spraying, supervises work on removing stagnant water and other environmental hygiene, and assess the overall immunisation and vaccination service every month. The committee participated in the distribution of trachoma medicine provided by Orbis International which took place over a week. The problem with the work of the committee is that not all members are willing to participate in meetings and other committee duties. Also community members are not willing to participate in work organised by the committee. The work would be improved if kebele officials supported the committee in organising public works in prevention and control of malaria. She asked the kebele chairperson to help organise public works to remove stagnant water but though he proclaimed to the community about the work very few households participated in it.

The HEW organises a meeting when it is necessary; for example in times of malaria epidemic they have meetings to discuss how to control it. She doesn't know how much time she spends as the meetings are rare.

#### Food aid committee

The chairman of the committee, who is also the kebele chairperson, said that the committee had eight members including the kebele chairperson, the vice chair, manager, two elders, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church leader, the Kalehiwot Protestant church leader and the women's representative. The committee was organised in 2011 and is new in its membership. Previously the kebele cabinet was working on food aid issues. The committee is responsible for choosing households which should receive different food aid programmes. Last year the committee elected households whose farmland was flooded. The committee only meets if there is a direction or food aid from the wereda. In the last year the committee met three times to select PSNP graduates and food aid beneficiaries. He said the problem is that community members did not understand the quota set by the wereda; there are too many complaints as people perceive that the committee is the decision-maker on all issues related to food aid programmes. Inclusion of elders and religious leaders is a significant improvement. The kebele chair said he gives much attention to this committee work because the issues are very sensitive. *'When the committee selects food aid beneficiaries, the selected list remains secret until the food aid arrives. When the food aid arrives in the kebele, the committee members inform the selected households though house to house visits. There is no proclamation to*

*call those selected because that will cause a problem in time of distribution.'*

### Development groups and one-to-five groups

In January 2011 the kebele Development Unit re-organised the structure and development groups and 1-5 groups organised on a neighbourhood basis came into existence. There are 12 development groups, six in the kebele and six in the sub-kebele, with between 25 and 48 member households and three leaders. One of the DAs said the idea was not new as there was a structure of 1-10 groups in the community for many years. In the beginning the development unit planned to meet the leaders of each development group twice a month. However, the DA said that the group leaders are inactive so there is no need to meet them frequently; the unit members and particularly the DAs monitor the groups informally. They ask the leaders about their activities when they meet them on public works and other related kebele community affairs.

He said the purpose of the one-to-five groups is to disseminate new agricultural advice and services through the hierarchy. The development unit plan is to give training to the development group leaders and to make them agents of the DAs. Though it is not implemented the FTC leaders are in charge of meeting the group members twice a month; the one-to-five groups in each development team are expected to meet every three days.

According to the politically-active household there are one-to-fives for women where health should be discussed.

### Governance interventions

#### The wereda council

There are three representatives for each kebele in the wereda. The kebele chairperson is one of them. He brings problems and community appeals to the wereda general assembly. The wereda assembly meeting takes place every four years for three days or so unless there is a hot issue when the assembly meets as soon as possible. At ordinary meetings the chair reports about the overall activities of all kebeles and the kebele representatives give their suggestions and corrections for the report. There is a 79 *birr* per diem for each assembly meeting day. He said the meetings are participatory and open to suggestions and questions with no limitations.

#### Accountability

An informant said that **in the wereda** every sector office has follow-up support and a monitoring and evaluation committee which makes sure that all plans are implemented on time, efficiently and effectively with proper utilisation of allocated budgets. Each committee has five members and is headed by the development sector head. The committee makes monthly reports to the wereda administrator and gives feedback to each department. Each sector has its own *gimgema* (self-criticism) every three months and the wereda administration evaluates all the sector offices when they bring their quarterly reports to the meeting. There is also a civil service and finance and economic development office at wereda level which visits and evaluates the work of every office. The general council approves the annual budget for each sector office and the wereda finance office monitors the use of the budget in each sector.

He described the evaluation of the annual report of the wereda which took place over two days in June 2010. Each sector office presented its part of the annual report and then the validity of the report was evaluated and comments, criticisms and suggestions for improvement were made. The annual report was then compiled and presented to the wereda general council which evaluated the overall progress of the wereda. The council could approve or reject the annual report as valid or not and decide either to submit it to the zone or return it for improvement.

The sector evaluation committee that was established in 2009 as part of the BPR system was said to be the best way to follow up every work process at sector level. The general evaluation at wereda

and council level was also given much credit as it evaluates all accomplishments and gaps at wereda level.

Since 2005 there have been suggestion boxes for the public and a big notebook in each office corridor for suggestions. These are collected by sector heads who raise them with relevant departments in the sector.

When the wereda wants to evaluate the work of the *kebele* administration members of the elders' group are invited to participate and sometimes the elders take the lead. In 2005 the *kebele* administration was seen to be corrupt and the elders called a public meeting and made the officials self-criticise. Finally some of them accepted their problem and were allowed to continue in office; others were demoted and new ones appointed, including the *kebele* chairman.

*Gimgema* reportedly takes place for **kebele officials** twice a year. The *kebele* council is the main participant. A *kebele* council member was involved in an evaluation in 2010. The meeting took seven days and involved *wereda* officials, elders, and *kebele* council members. The result was weakness in organising work and delayed responses and services for people. The problem with the evaluation system is that positive accomplishments are not assessed and given encouragement; they are not on the agenda at all. The focus of the discussion is weaknesses.

The latest event took place in December 2010. The current *kebele* manager (Ato Taye) appealed to the wereda and requested the *kebele* leaders to discharge their responsibilities properly. Wereda officials organised the meeting and gave directions for the *kebele* leaders. As a result the core officials of the *kebele*, including the manager, the chairman, the vice-chairman, the community organiser and the house speaker, were forced to leave their positions. The wife in the rich household was at the meeting in the *kebele* compound but did not say anything. The head of the poor household had not heard about the meeting. The poor woman head of household said she would like a role in holding the government accountable but 'the *kebele* did not give a chance for the community to participate'. The wereda gives grades for all *kebeles* by reviewing their *gimgema* procedure and results. Do'oma was graded 'C', which is the lowest mark possible.

A small group of women respondents said that there is no female participation in the *kebele* accountability exercise and the number of male participants is not significant. People rarely appeal against decisions by *kebele* officials. Citizen's report cards and suggestions boxes are not available at the *kebele* office. The *kebele* officials post plans and progress of the *kebele* each quarter of the year though nobody pays any attention to them. They suggested that there should be community-inclusive self-criticism of *kebele* officials at least once a year. 'We should not always be called on to contribute in cash and kind for projects. We have to know and give ideas on the way *kebele* officials do their jobs.' They said that all-inclusive discussions at the beginning of the budget year might help community members to be involved and spend their time intensively on prioritised areas of development. They also suggested that suggestions boxes should be made available.

### Planning and consultation

**Wereda officials** organise general **meetings** every one or two years; most participants live in Wacha town. Cabinet members worked hard to consult community members on different economic and political issues from 2008 to 2010. These discussions paved the way for community members to have a common understanding on different issues, particularly on the plans and progress of the wereda. They were popular, particularly among residents of Wacha town. In the past there were fewer meetings and it was not common for wereda officials to consult the people. In those days meetings were about hot political issues and the cabinet was not popular.

Regarding the choice of **community work** for the FFW programme a wereda informant said that they discuss with *kebele* officials from the beginning. *Kebele* officials are in charge of choosing the beneficiaries. A *kebele* official said that the cabinet has a responsibility to choose public works. 'If the wereda sends a project I will bring the case to the cabinet meeting and we all discuss how and by

who the work should be done. The cabinet by itself chooses public works that should be done urgently'. The health post construction through voluntary community work was chosen by the cabinet because the wereda asked for urgent completion of health post buildings. A small group of men said that the cabinet made the decisions about public work and they had no complaints.

The wereda does not consult community members to develop the **community plan** from the beginning; the wereda official respondent thought this would be a good idea. The wereda should allocate enough budget to run meetings. A kebele official said that community consultation over proposed development interventions is not common; the kebele leaders, the elders' group and the religious group discuss and make decisions. There might be meetings with community members at the implementation stage. There was a plan to include cell leaders and development teams in the decision-making process. A small group of women said that the kebele officials and elders' group prepare the kebele plan by themselves although a few community members might be consulted informally; mostly relatives and friends of kebele officials. For instance W from the rich class was consulted about the amount of contribution for schools. They said most community members cannot appeal against the decisions and plans made by the kebele officials. Anyone who does is either a relative or friend of the officials or is not a member of the ruling political party. They would like to have accountable and transparent officials.

The male group said that the public come for discussion with the kebele about development activities like school building, irrigation canal development, construction of the kebele office, PSNP, agricultural and health extension issues and other occasional matters. A woman respondent said that there was a rule that women absent from government meetings should pay 10 *birr* and absentees from party cell meetings should pay 5 *birr*. The rich household head is a member of the party and the kebele council for the party. He had to attend 24 party meetings and 12 council meetings in 2010/11. He said party meetings last for up to two hours but kebele meetings can take a whole day as there are numerous issues. His wife attended training organised by the HEWs and meetings organised by women's federation and league leaders. She also attended cell meetings which were about 'community developments'. A resident from a remote part of the kebele said though is located far away he never misses kebele meetings as they have up to 30 *birr* fines; if he has a serious problem hindering participation he asks permission for absence from the kebele chairman. He attends at least eight kebele meetings a year. Another respondent said that meetings during elections usually take at least half a day.

The small male group said that taking fertiliser is 'by force, which is a must, whether one has enough land or not'.

### Security and policing

Wereda officials said there are ten people organised at kebele level under the peace and security officer to identify criminals and people misbehaving and disturbing the community. Militia give free service and though it is improving they are still not working very well to reveal illegal acts at kebele level. In 2011 the wereda established a cluster system to bring the militia activities of five kebeles into one centre, like the clustering of schools. There are sub-police stations in the cluster kebeles where the militia come together; Do'oma is not a cluster kebele.

Asked about crime in Do'oma he said that during surplus periods young men drink and get into fights and there frequent complaints of theft though there was no clear evidence. In 2010 the kebele chair, vice-chair and security and justice representative were called to the wereda council for a meeting where the types of injustice, insecurity and crime found in Do'oma was discussed and evaluated. The kebele officials accepted responsibility for avoiding these problems in future. He said there was one kebele where there was no crime which is being used as role model for others. The wereda police and justice are investigating the techniques used in that kebele to share with other kebeles.

Kebele officials said that theft and other crimes are reducing. However women are not able to move

freely, especially at night, as they fear abduction and violence. They would like to have wereda police in the community. Male community respondents said that Do'oma is peaceful but in neighbouring kebeles where there is a security problem the wereda assigned police officers. A woman respondent suggested that teamwork with wereda police would be good. A woman living in a remote part of the kebele said it was difficult for household members to stay in Wacha or Do'oma until the end of the day as they are afraid to be out in the dark because their area is relatively insecure. The security problems facing a destitute divorced woman newly returned to the community have been described above. The poor woman household head said

Sexual attacks on women and girls such as rape and abduction were commonly practised and the community was not strong enough and decisive to reject them as a bad practice. Recently, the intervention by the government coupled with the good manner of behaving has pressurised those men to stop acts against women. ... There were men who came from the neighbouring kebele causing problems of security in the community, particularly for women. They hid themselves in the forest and raped those girls and women who entered the forest area to collect firewood and to cut grass. In addition to this the incomers had been raping girls on their way to their home from the grinding mill that is located at the town. Having recognized them, the girls ran throwing their flour. Then, the men damaged the flour by slasher. For instance, she mentioned that, last year these incomers attempted to rape girls who were going home from the market.

The rich household head said there is now no abduction and rape in the community as the law is taking very harsh measures with up to 17 years imprisonment. Previously elders used to mediate in such cases but now the law imprisons elders who intervene in such affairs. He also said that male violence against wives was not there as it was five years ago. Now women are aware of their rights and men are also aware and beginning to believe in discussion.

Asked about crime the rich household head listed theft of harvests, burglary in houses of *equb* organisers, and livestock stealing as examples but said the tendency is decreasing. The kebele office was robbed of property, including corrugated iron sheets, in 2010. His wife painted a picture of considerable improvements in security in the last five years.

Before five years ago, there was fighting among men as many of them were drunk. There were also sexual attacks on women and girls. Thefts and burglary had been causing a threat against the security of the community. There was a threat of violence from other communities. There were a few men in the community coming from neighbouring kebele. They were living in the community. When they found a chance, they attempted to attack women sexually and they were involving in robberies, theft and burglary. Now there is a significant reduction in those illegal activities because of many differences. In the first place, the elders drafted intra community laws to punish those illegal actors, particularly violence among individuals. The punishment fee ranges from 200 to 400 birr. Secondly, the kebele officials, in collaboration with the community, have brought those illegal actors to the wereda court and based on the decisions made by the court, they have stayed in jail. Thirdly, the community's traditional way of exposing the actors (*awchachgn*) has become more influential and important to tackle unlawful acts and actors. Lastly, the expansion of Protestantism has contributed to the peace and security of the community."

The wife of the politically-active head also said that the increased role of churches in the kebele has influenced people's behaviour. The wife in the poor household said

The community is a safer place to live than it was before five years. Thanks to Meles Zenawi, there is a law that protect humans from danger and violation. Violent fights had declined because people have fear of God. They do want to have blessing from God by respecting what is written in the Bible and live with others peacefully. As the community is aware of legal punishment that follows sexual attack, they are kept from it because they do not want to take the risk.

The poor woman household head said that people were becoming more tolerant and well-behaved, mainly as a result of Protestantism.

There has been a militia in the kebele since the Derg period. Now there are 20 men with guns who

work in shifts and since last year tour every night. They bring criminals and public work refusers to the kebele. People who use irrigation water when it is not their turn are fined 50 *birr*. If the person refuses to go to the kebele to pay the fine the leader of his irrigation group calls the militia and he has to pay an additional 20 *birr* for militia allowance. A number of respondents said that the militia had played a role in increasing security in the community. The rich household head said that there are some militia members who are biased and corrupted; they should be evaluated, warned and if they don't correct themselves, sacked and disarmed. The problem is they have no salary or incentives and are not motivated and devoted to the post and it is a problem to force and control them since they are doing voluntary work.

The politically-active household head said whenever there is an issue beyond the kebele's capacity the wereda police come very fast and get everything under control. For example in 2010 the electricity poles were taken to the sub-kebele by-passing the main kebele which is nearer the wereda town but does not have access to electricity. People in the main kebele stopped the truck carrying the poles and forcibly unloaded them in the main kebele. A conflict began between people from the two compartments of the kebele 'which caused big chaos in which the kebele manager and three other people were seriously injured. Now the condition was beyond the militia and the wereda police arrived before many crises happened, one policeman was injured and the conflict came under control, this time 22 people were arrested by the wereda police for six days and released.' He was one of the prisoners but described the wereda police as effective and fair. Another respondent said the wereda police mainly come to regulate PSNP payment on the payment date. Another said they were called last year when a man killed his two children using a slasher and arrived immediately. Another said they came when the iron sheets and weight measurement scales were stolen.

### Justice

A young man said that community members who want to appeal against *kebele* decisions first go to the elders; if the problem is not resolved the person can appeal to the wereda court. If the elders give decisions against the kebele decision the wereda is more likely to decide the same as the elders. A woman respondent said that it is not common and too difficult to appeal against decisions by kebele officials. 'The community are obligated to accept whatever decisions the officials reach'.

### Social court

The Dera Malo wereda court is one of two in the zone recognised as effective. The court system has improved since 2009 when the BPR system was in place and cases do not take so long as in the past. The problem is a shortage of judges. The rich household head said that there is no corruption, minor cases are referred back to local elders and judges are changed frequently so they have no time to develop biases. Now cases that used to take up to two months can be finished in 4 or 5 days. The politically active household head said that the wereda court judges and prosecutors come to the community once a year to make them aware of the laws and consequences of illegal acts. He said that if the wereda court were not there murderers, robbers, arsonists and abductors would not fear continuing their illegal actions. The villagers used to think the wereda court judges took bribes but no bias has been heard about the new ones. His wife said that the wereda court was not biased against women.

A wereda official said that the wereda court trains people for the social court at kebele level and the kebele social court is expected to see cases once a week and refer cases to the wereda court if they are beyond their capacity. But there is a follow-up gap and budget shortage. Even so most kebeles have a functioning social court. The problem is that people assigned to the court are farmers who are not educated and even engage in bribes. Also the person responsible for kebele justice and security, who is usually the vice chairman, often does not work strongly to make the social court functional and just. The official said that there is a problem from the government side as they are way behind in improving the level of human resources through training and promotion.

There is a mobile court system for remote kebeles. However the court and justice offices have no facilities compared with other sectors: no computers, photocopy machines, vehicles or motorbikes. The documents are all handwritten and there are no cameras to provide evidence of criminal acts. Zone and regional offices are well-equipped but the main work is at wereda level which is left without facilities; the upper level courts only see appeals.

The *kebele* social court has not been functioning since 2006. There were four members chosen from the kebele council. The court had been enforcing interventions such as tax, contribution and debt payments and also organised and followed up the work of the elders' group. One informant said that the wereda and kebele administrations had stopped supporting the social court. Another that the social court judges stopped working when the kebele office in which they worked was demolished for renewal. The new kebele office is under construction and the judges refused to do the judiciary process under trees. Another said that there had been a dispute and the judges could not agree to work together.

A small group of male respondents all suggested that the social court should be revived as there are many people with injustices because they can't afford to take their case to wereda level.

A (25) was accused of injuring his neighbour's cattle with a knife. He accused his neighbour of false accusations and rumour to the elders in a public meeting and finally his innocence was established, although no action was taken against the owner of the cattle.

### **Elders and dispute resolution**

If the elders, the kebele office and the church elders cannot resolve an issue it is referred to the wereda court. The elders' group in Do'oma tries to resolve conflicts and also negotiates with the wereda court to take back cases even after court decisions have been made. For example in 2008 W fought with a villager and injured him and the court decided on 8 years in prison. The elders' group discussed with the court and took back the case and decided on 800 *birr* compensation for the victim.

The elders' group has recently become more influential. They deal with disputes between community members and kebele officials and play a big role in maintaining peace and security in the community. They are the dominant decision-makers in almost all concerns of community members. For instance they punished a man who chose a marriage partner for his daughter from a neighbouring kebele by fining him 200 *birr*. A woman respondent accused a neighbour of violence against her at the wereda court. The man was imprisoned for 24 hours and the court referred the case to the elders' group but they did nothing to resolve the case. She said 'I am economically unable to go further on the case. I gave 150 *birr* to eye witness and I cannot afford more.' She argues that the elders' group are very ignorant and unfair. She would like to have a fair and independent court.

The rich household head said that all the things elders are doing are good. His wife said 'Sometimes elders are biased against women. For instance, the wereda court decided for a divorced woman to share all properties with her ex-husband. The wereda court ordered elders to implement the decision. However, elders prohibited the woman from taking household equipment. In return, they make her ex-husband to pay her some money.'

The politically active household head said that having elders as dispute resolvers was cheaper than going to the wereda court and allowed the community to deal with its problems according to its own customs. Elders also brought peace between disputants. The problem is that they decide fines for offenders in a haphazard way and there is no audit of the money they collect. They give what they choose to the kebele and share the rest among themselves using it for their own purposes. Community members had raised the issue in kebele meetings but had not received proper answers from either the kebele or the elders.

His wife said the elders are sometimes biased against women. For instance if woman asks for a divorce elders resist protecting her divorce rights; they may put pressure on her to stay with her husband or they may prohibit her from sharing property such as farmland. Although they play a big role in maintaining peace and security in the community they are very conservative about accepting women's rights guaranteed by the government.

The middle-wealth household head said that those with power may offend against the powerless and weak but then the elders bring justice to the victim. He gave the recent example of a dispute between two farmers when a rich man's cow ate maize growing on a poor man's farm. The poor man injured the cow with a big knife in front of eye witnesses. The rich man brought the cow to the poor man's house and left it there to accuse him at the wereda court. The elders mediated and came up with a solution by which the rich man covered the medical expenses since the poor man couldn't afford to and the cow stayed at the poor man's house with serious recovery care and provision of grass and other feed; the poor man is still caring for the cow which is recovering well.

Last year members of the NRM committee took those people who were producing charcoal to the wereda court who proposed that the case should be seen by the elders. They imposed fines of 50-100 *birr*, the charcoal was sold, and the money used to run the kebele works.

Two elders caused problems when they tried to protect their relatives from fines decided by the elders' group in 2010; they were demoted by the community.

#### Peace committee

The wereda official said that since 2010 there is a peace committee in each kebele led by a conflict prevention officer. There has been no serious activity by the committees so far. Whenever the court gives a decision there is dissatisfaction and hostility between the victim and the offender and this committee is intended to bring resolution and peace through cultural reconciliation. They also force individuals with 'evil eyes' to leave the community.

A community respondent said that in 2009 the wereda police office organised a group by the name of peace committee but after meeting once they had not met again. Even those elected as members don't remember they were assigned to it. He said that the wereda usually comes up with new ideas and collect people to establish something which they never come back to; rather they come up with another government idea.

#### NGOs

A wereda official said that the NGOs working in the wereda include ORBIS, People in Need, Inter Aid (French Government), UNICEF, African Development Bank and VEST for Africa; they were providing support on health, education and water. There are more NGOs in other weredas where the road networks are better. The Integrated Family Health Programme in co-operation with the wereda health bureau works on family planning services and gives training to professionals from the health posts and centres. The Ethiopian Sustainable Tourism Alliance (ESTA) works with the health bureau on HIV/AIDS-related problems.

The water in Do'oma was provided by UNICEF. and People in Need constructed a primary school in Womalo and there was one NGO providing health supplies to the *wereda* office while ORBIS helped with eye disease and prevention. An organisation working in the Maze National Park called ESTA promised to provide improved breed cows to farmers in Do'oma. They also are working on HIV/AIDS in the community (see above).

Community respondents said that the NGO called Mekane Eyesus Synodios sponsored the building of the church compound and some followers from the wereda town paid the medication expenses of some seriously ill people needing hospital treatment.

## **Community structures involved in implementation of government policies**

### **Elders involvement in implementation of government policies**

The social court ceased to operate in 2007. There were four members chosen from the kebele council and the court had been enforcing interventions such as tax and credit payment. They forced community members to contribute to kebele projects. They also organised and followed up the work of the elders' group. Recently the elders group are becoming more influential. The role of the elders' group is recognised and supported by the kebele office which provides a meeting space in its compound, accepts the decisions of the elders, and refers cases to the wereda court if they are beyond the elders' group. Sometimes the kebele wants to use the elders' group to convince villagers about an intervention, such as the effort against harmful traditional practices. The kebele considers complaints about PSNP inclusion that come through the elders' group. In the recent FFW programme the cabinet included elders and religious leaders in the selection process. This was described as a significant improvement because the decisions taken are accountable to community members.

When the wereda wants to evaluate the work of the kebele administration they invite the elders' group to participate. The elders' group interact with the kebele council leader and the kebele chairman, but their direct contact with the wereda is limited, though the wereda contacts them whenever it finds it essential. A respondent said that the community gives more importance and respect to the elders than to the kebele, though the kebele is getting power because of PSNP decision-making on whom to include and exclude, the organization of the militia etc. Sometimes people become reluctant when the kebele calls for a meeting, but if it is announced that the meeting is with community elders', everyone comes to the meeting.

The elders' group don't have any incentive except the respect that the community owes them though as suggested above the fines they impose are not audited. N, who holds both community and church elder positions, said that he feels that he should have some kind of incentive for the community elders as the work is too much and time-consuming.

### **Iddir involvement in implementation of government policies**

A small group of male respondents said that *iddir* are used to implement government policy. For example in *iddir* meetings there are lessons about HIV/AIDS and extension programmes and packages.

### **Church involvement in implementation of government policies**

One respondent said that the Protestant churches have been used for the implementation of government policies since '*long ago*'. The Kalehiwot church has been teaching about HIV prevention, control and diagnosis since 2010. The wereda health bureau gave the direction. Following instructions from the wereda health bureau couples who want to hold their wedding in the church must bring blood test results to the head of the church. They teach about hygiene, HTPs, bad habits, and women's rights. The church condemns polygyny, sex before marriage, rape, abduction and female circumcision. A respondent said that in 2007 the church advised a woman who had been circumcising females to stop her practice and she did so immediately. Another said that a girl who was circumcised secretly in the forest was punished by the church who got the information as she faced severe health problems. An elderly man said that circumcised women were not allowed to sing in the choir.

It was said that the church leaders teach followers to be hard workers and change their living standards and to co-operate with government interventions. For example the both Kalehiwot and Orthodox churches mobilised member to participate in the watershed management project last year. In the recent FFW programme religious leaders were involved in the selection of participants. The Government has also acted to try to reduce time spent on religious holidays. A man in a

household with both Orthodox and Protestant followers said that working days were affected by both Orthodox and Protestant programmes. The government started to try to change this in 2009 through kebele leaders, community elders and religious leaders and there has been some response. For example the Kalehiwot religious conference in November 2011 started on Friday afternoon rather than Thursday and was restricted to the weekend. One respondent said that religious leaders are party members and they accept that working habits should be enhanced and try to persuade church followers to reduce time spent on holidays and religious festivals.

### Community contributions for the implementation of government policies

#### Tax

Land tax depends on land size and access to irrigation. The wereda land administration bureau decides the amounts to be paid by all landowners in the community. The DAs measure the land and send the information to the bureau. All kebele officials deal with complaints. Sometimes the DAs fail to measure all the land and put an approximate amount of land on the list. Others want to change their land's registration name to other people as a result of a gift or a sale. However the kebele officials are too busy to bring the cases to the wereda finance bureau.

There seemed to be disagreement over land tax amounts. The kebele manager who is responsible for tax collection said that the maximum amount of tax was 160 *birr* and the minimum 20 *birr*. He said the land tax for one hectare of irrigable land is 35 *birr* and for one hectare of non-irrigable land is 25 *birr*. One respondent said that the maximum tax paid was 250 *birr*. A few respondents were asked about the tax they paid. Land tax on 50x100 metres of rainfed land owned by one respondent was 30 *birr* a year while one young man with 50x50 meters said he paid 20 *birr* a year. He said that even if nothing is produced on the land due to drought the tax has to be paid. Another young man with 25x50 metres of rainfed land around his hut said he paid 25 *birr* a year in land tax. A man with 3 hectares of irrigated land paid 97 *birr* in land tax. A man with 2 hectares paid 85 *birr*. Another household with 1 hectare of irrigated land paid 55 *birr*. A man given land to construct a house was paying 20 *birr* tax for it. A young woman said her household owned 1 hectare of irrigable land and paid 58 *birr* land tax. A young man with half a hectare of rainfed land said he paid 12.50 *birr*.

The kebele chair and the kebele manager collect tax from December to April; they take the money to the wereda bureau at the end of each week. They provide receipts for the land tax. Last year people resisted paying land tax

They were resisting because they believe paying tax for valueless land is not fair. Because of the erratic nature of rainfall in the last year, a drought left people without anything to eat. So people did not want to pay land tax because the production was low. I brought the case to the kebele cabinet and they decided to call all taxpayers to the meeting. The cabinet announced that paying tax is their duty so if they did not have money, they had to sell their assets such as livestock. Taking the position of the cabinet into consideration, people had started to pay the tax immediately. (Kebele manager)

The *kebele* collected land tax from 52 hectares of farm land which amounted to 18,790 *birr*. 19,330 *birr* was expected and the kebele manager said the rest will be collected with a fine. In the *kebele* there are only 10 households who did not pay land tax for last year; they are residents in the wereda town 'which makes arresting them impossible'.

A small group of women respondents said that anyone who fails to pay tax on time will be in jail for 24 hours and forced to pay a fine of around 10 *birr*. They all said 'Taxpaying is benefiting us to declare our supportive position to the ruling party'.

#### Other contributions in cash and kind

There are annual contributions for sport (5 *birr*), political party (6 *birr*), and the school guard salary, militia's uniform and health post guard salary (42 *birr*). People pay 2 *birr* a month for drinking water. Last year people contributed 42 *birr* for school construction. It was said that the kebele administration requires 3-5 *birr* irregular contributions for *kebele* expenditures. The kebele chair and

manager collect the cash contributions; they do not provide receipts but use rough paper to write down the name of the contributor.

There are also in-kind contributions such as wood, water and sand for construction; recently for the primary school and a new building in the kebele office compound. For example A had recently provided 110 pieces of wood and about 150 *birr* for various projects.

As described earlier the wereda asked for contributions to install electricity in the kebele. Officials said everyone contributed 30 *birr* while one community member said people contributed between 10-45 *birr* depending on the capacity of the household while another said he had contributed 50 *birr*.

A female respondent said that in addition the *kebele* is expected to contribute 8000 *birr* for a library and fence at Wacha secondary school, though they said that contributions beyond the *kebele* level were not common. Community members had voluntarily contributed cash for the wereda electricity project though it was not successful. The community had recently agreed with the wereda Health Centre to pay 5 *birr* annual contribution for an ambulance service. A rich woman respondent recalled that in 2007 the Red Cross collected 5 *birr* from most members of the community and gave them all members' cards but did not visit the community again. A small group of informants said that they had heard that people in Gofa wereda were contributing for the new national dam but they had not yet been approached for this.

One informant complained that kebele contributions are the same for everyone from rich to poor. The *kebele* manager said that everyone in the community was expected to contribute money, labour and in-kind contributions. There is no replacement of labour instead of cash or other considerations even for those who are very poor and helpless. If people refuse to contribute they are imprisoned for 24 hours and fined 10 *birr*. A poor woman said 'The contributions are very vast in kind; we suffer a lot to contribute materials such as water and sand. There is no exemption for vulnerable women.' She said it was very difficult for her to pay the 41 *birr* for the school expansion project and wished the officials would allow them to contribute labour and water instead. 'I am forced to borrow money from relatives or to sell crops which I stored as food security. I look for all possible alternatives to paying the requested money because I do not want to go to jail. I am the only person to care for my children.' She also argued that people who do not have children attending school should not have to contribute to school projects. A recently returned divorced woman with no land who paid no tax contributed in kind for the school-building project but did not contribute money. She said that the *kebele* officials took into consideration her inability to contribute in cash and she was exempted from it.

The rich, middle-wealth, and poor women interviewed together said that the kebele officials make community participation an obligation which demotivates the community's commitment.

The women interviewed all said that the labour contribution requested by the officials was 'beyond their capacity' and made more problematic by the harsh climate. However, both rich and poor woman said that, apart from the labour, the burden of contributions was less than the benefit they would derive. They said that the construction of a new building in the kebele office compound would not bring any change to their lives and that it would have been better to provide the necessary furniture and stationery materials in the existing office. However, though they complained they all believed that their contributions were vital for the community's overall development.

### Voluntary public works

The community has recently contributed labour for internal road-clearing, school-building, irrigation canal upgrading, constructing the kebele office, re-building the Health Post, the Farmers' Training Centre and watershed management. The work is done once a week on Wednesdays.

The kebele manager said that the kebele council decided on the types of work to be done under the

voluntary public works programme. People were reluctant to work until sanctions were imposed. He said that they still do not understand the relevance of public work. The DA NRM described how he was discussing with his office mates on how to encourage the community to participate voluntarily in natural resource management. They suggested he should work with the kebele officials on punishment fees. However, in another interview the *kebele* manager said he collected punishment fees from people who did not work on community labour projects who did not have permission to be absent. He said people ask for such permission for no good reason.

Organizing public work also has a risk. Sometimes, conflicts happen between participants as well as among kebele officials. Punishing absentees is also a difficult task to engage in. We detain those absentees who resist paying the punishment fees. Sometimes, they spend the night detained in my office. The militia are not willing to stay the night with them because they are not paid. Above all, the kebele officials are reluctant to supervise public work because they want to work on their farmland. When a kebele official fails to supervise public work, the other officials complain disagreement might happen among officials. For instance the public work on the school project was disrupted because a quarrel happened between two officials. The public work could be improved by formulating new laws to punish absentees. The community meeting that was held in November 2011, formulated new intra-community rules and made an adjustment to the fees for absentees in the public work [from 10 *birr* to 30 *birr*]. Also kebele officials have to keep creating awareness to reach consensus about the relevance of the work to community development and people's lives.

The rich household wife worked on the watershed management project with her husband and son for 2 days from 8 am to 11.30 am. She said that though the projects seems unsuccessful the DAs told the participants that the project is useful to preserve natural resources. She said that the projects had disrupted the household farming calendar. Her husband said that all the recent works were important for the community and although they sometimes disrupt farming activities the work is for the public good and he accepts it.

The politically active household head said that people were particularly interested in canal clearing and school construction and that the farming calendar was not disrupted as everyone knew the work would be on Wednesdays. His wife said she was heavily pregnant when community work was organised for the school project so her children took the stones and water for the household. Her children are 14 and 10 (daughters), and 8, 6 and 4 (sons). The poor household head said the work did not disrupt the working calendar as it was done on different days in shifts.

## ***Social re/production***

### **Social institutions and organisations**

#### **Religions**

The **Kalehiwot church** has had an organisational structure designed to expand the religion for a few years. In each village an organised group of at least 40 people work together in spreading the religion. The groups have leaders who are responsible for meeting all members once a week and preach the Bible. The leader organises and leads church elders' meetings and organises services including prayers, songs and preaching. He also plans fund-raising and purchasing for the church. He (middle-wealth household head) said that the church used to be a hut but now it is a corrugated iron sheet building with a big meeting room built by members' contributions. His wife attends the church programme three days a week. She said that social relations now tend to be based on religious lines which was not the case in the past.

The church preaches that members should be role models in community participation. The church has also contributed a lot to making group work on farming common in the community. Followers of the Kalehiwot church decided to separate from Orthodox Christians socially because the latter do not want to co-operate with craftworkers. Followers give money or food to others in need such as poor lactating mothers and those who are seriously ill. The church has land on which it produced a large amount of sesame and spices in 2011.

The Kalehiwot church has a *mehaber* with regular feasts every three months. It transcends the boundary of the kebele. When it is the turn of the kebele church men contribute money as they wished and women contribute in kind, such as *injera*. A respondent said that the feasts are a way to promote friendship and provide spiritual satisfaction; members cannot help each other in times of crisis as they are dispersed over many kebeles. The wife of the middle-wealth household said the *mehaber* brings together 12 churches in different kebeles. On the feast days there is preaching and song and richer churches invite preachers from outside.

The **Mekane Yesus church** was established in the community in 2007. At that time fourteen people from the Kalehiwot church moved to the new institution. One respondent explained he had moved because he was not happy with the loose networks and co-operation among Kalehiwot followers. At the beginning for three months there was house-to-house mobilisation of the community to join the church. Mekane Yesus Synodios sponsored the building of a church compound and some followers from the wereda town paid the medication expenses of seriously ill people at the hospital. This was one reason why people shifted from Kalehiwot church to Mekane Yesus.

The Mekane Eyesus church also has a *mehaber* with feasts every three months. There are 16 churches in the *mehaber*; for each feast men contribute money and women contribute *injera*. Members may spend two nights in celebration; there is a spiritual programme that includes preaching and songs. The chair of the church has authority to pray for ill people, lead church programmes and persuade people to contribute to the support of worse off church members in the community. Since its establishment membership of the church has increased as a result of preaching and also disagreements in the Kalehiwot church. The respondent explained that the church used the organisation of *iddirs* based on religion to recruit new members. One elderly man said he had not been a member of any church until 2005 although his parents were Orthodox Christian followers. He joined the Mekane Yesus church because many people were joining religious institutions; he chose Mekane Yesus because his neighbours were members.

Many respondents said that the expansion of **Protestantism** had brought changes to the community including a reduction in 'bad habits' and violent threats against other members of the community, particularly women. Also intra-household relations are more harmonious. There has been an increase in the number of services during the week. In the last fifteen years women have begun to preach in the Protestant church '*which was not acceptable before since women have a lower position in the community*'. Many of the young people interviewed were Protestant followers with both males and females singing in choirs. There are a few young preachers.

One respondent said that compared with Orthodox Christians Protestants share whatever they have with their neighbours and co-operate with the kebele. There is also a good culture of working on farmland together. Individual members obtained spiritual satisfaction and assurance they would be helped in future difficulties. A 70-year old woman said that the expansion of Protestantism, particularly Kalehiwot church has brought a change in people's way of behaving in the community:

In prior time, people were brave in their social relation. There was a security problem like theft and robberies. There was violation against women. People do not want to share what they have with the destitute. Some section of the society was discriminated such as craft workers. There was no cooperation on farm work. There was polygamy.

An elderly woman who had been an Orthodox Christian joined the Mekane Yesus church as she had no relatives to go to church with and her neighbours were Mekane Yesus followers. Now she gets support to plough her farmland.

The **Orthodox Christian church** leader came to the community from the Amhara Region in 2009; he has been a church leader since he was 18. They give education in the church every day of the week; the preaching may last from two to four hours depending on the size of the congregation. He gets 200 *birr* in payment. In the main kebele, apart from the Amhara immigrants, there were only two Orthodox Christian households though in the last year *iddirs* based on religious differences had led

traditional believers and non-religious people to join the Orthodox Church. Following the settlement of the Amhara immigrants they have asked the kebele for land for the church. Church followers give support to two elderly men and contribute maize to people suffering hardship. They re-build demolished houses. People from the wereda Orthodox Christian section came to teach about development in July 2011.

### Holidays

A small group of women said that in the past Orthodox Christians would not work on saints' holidays. There are around five a month not including Sundays. Today they do not work only on yearly-celebrated saints' days (20 days per year) and Sunday and there are Orthodox Christians who do non-farm activities on yearly saints' days. Also the number of Orthodox Christians has declined so there are fewer people interested in celebrating saints' days. A few Gamo elders (*kalicha*) used to consider Friday as a holiday. Protestants do not work on Sunday which is praying day. An Orthodox Christian said that Protestants were wasting their time attending church programmes as well as *mehaber* that transcend the community. These last for two consecutive days and are organised based on different age groups. All community members do not work on their land until the dead body in the community is buried.

Since 2005 the wereda administration called for meetings and educated people to change attitudes on working days. Awareness-raising have been done through kebele meetings, party meetings and churches. Religious leaders are party members and they accept the idea and try to change people in their respective churches. The kebele manager said that the immigrant Amharas are relatively resistant to accepting the interventions to reduce holidays but even though they do not work for seven days a week they are relatively effective and efficient on the remaining working days. A respondent described participating in a Kalehiwot religious conference in November. *'The ceremony lasted three days with invited preachers from Gofa, and singers from Wolayta. He contributed 10 birr voluntarily to the church committee organizing the event. The conferences are being held in the same number as before, but the government advised to reduce holidays and focus on farming, hence now the day of conference start has changed from Thursday to Friday afternoon, and people fully participate only on weekends.'*

On *Meskel* day people eat different kinds of food like maize and bula porridge, qocho, kita, raw meat and injera. They also buy clothes for their children and themselves. In April after 55 days and 3 days of fasting for Orthodox Christians and Protestants respectively they celebrate Easter. Mostly they prepare *doro wot* and *injera* though a few also slaughter goats. The wereda held a general meeting to give awareness against these practices. The community no longer sell properties to finance the *Meskel* celebration.

### Marriage, divorce, widowhood

Kebele officials said that a **marriage age of less than 18** was common in the community, particularly for females. The middle-wealth household head had an invitation to the wedding of the wereda administrator and a 15-year old girl. A man said that the point is the girl's physical appearance the question being is she mature enough rather than how old she is; birth dates are rarely registered and the age might be 15 or 20.

In order to minimise the risk of early marriage the HEWs create awareness not to give birth before 18. A wereda official said that once she is married there is no law in place to bring the couple to court. Kebele officials said that there is a law but is only implemented if the party involved brings the case to the kebele and wereda court. Compared to the past females are resisting getting married at an early age. Men have had an exclusive privilege to **choose their marriage partner**. There is a law concerning the right to choose marriage partners but the family of the groom is involved in the choice of their son's marriage partner, particularly in the betrothal type of marriage. Women could not choose their marriage partner though there is a beginning in the new generation. The

respondent said that most females wait for someone to propose to them and if they are getting older they will decide to join school.

A wereda official said that **abduction** was common in the wereda; in 2010 more than 12 females were abducted. Though there is a law against abduction the justice system makes unfair decisions against abducted females. Most of the time the court decides on three months' imprisonment though the penal code says from 18 to 20 years. The respondent said that the health centre gives false certificates for the cases under investigation. Kebele officials said that abduction is not common in the community; there is a law to punish abductors but *'it is not practical'*. One woman respondent described how she was **abducted** in 2008. The man's wife died and he immediately abducted her. After a year he asked her to allow him to marry another woman and she *'did not resist his bigamy'*. They lived with no problem for a while but then he started to be biased against her and her children and asked her to divorce him and leave the community. He said that he could take care of the children and he didn't want anything from me. She went to the wereda Women's Affairs and the chairperson helped her to bring a case in the wereda court. They decided that her ex-husband should cultivate 0.75 hectares of the land for her. They also decided he should give her 50 *birr* a month but he said he had no income source other than farming so they cancelled that decision. He took his second wife to live in another place in the community.

A wereda official said there were few female-headed households as there were low levels of divorce. Previously people used to engage in **polygamy**. Kebele officials said there were three men in the community with two wives. There is no law against polygamy but the first wife can bring the case to court. Most women do not do that because of the difficulty of getting re-married and the elders' group solves the case before it gets to court. Since most of the victims are illiterate they fear going to court.

**Marriage to a dead wife's sister** is not common in Do'oma though it happens frequently in neighbouring communities. A small group of women respondents said that marriage to a dead husband's brother is common; the family of the dead husband force their son to marry his dead brother's wife to control the son's property and safeguard his children. Mostly the wife is willing as she fears it would not be easy for her to re-marry and that his family will take the property and children away.

A wereda official said that the rights of **divorced** women to property is not implemented in most cases, especially in the highlands. The justice is not fair and there is corruption. Kebele officials said that divorced women have a right to property; there is a law and on average it is implemented. The elders' group are responsible for distributing the property between the couple. The man is responsible for rearing the children so the elders' group adds shared belonging to the children to the man's share. The woman can only take a child under the age of 5 with her. The man is responsible for giving money for the nurturing of the child. A small group of women said that if a couple get divorced the woman can take her dowry and children under 5. In addition elders may distribute land between the divorced couple with the man taking the higher share depending on the number of children above five. Divorced women can re-marry but practically it is difficult, although their right to share land is likely to make it easier. However, the man gets to remarry very soon. The community says *'It is a must for him to remarry because he needs someone to help him rear his children'*. They said that there is less divorce than in the past as the Protestant churches are intervening to reconcile couples heading for divorce. For example the kebele manager tried to divorce his wife twice as she gave birth twice from different men. The Kalehiwot church brought them to a discussion to solve the problem and they started to live together again.

### **Death ceremonies**

A kebele officials said there was a tendency of reducing **extravagant ceremonies** in the community though there are households who still spend too much money on weddings and death ceremonies, particularly the richer ones.

A small group of men said that during death ceremonies for the rich and respected many people attend and the family slaughters up to three oxen. The dead body will be wrapped in the skin of the oxen and buried. However this culture is changing because wereda officials came and taught that is harmful culture through meetings using community elders and religious leaders. One of the men's sons died in 2009; he spent 500 *birr* on *buluko* (a thick cotton blanket), 200 *birr* on *gabi* (a thin cotton blanket), 50 *birr* on perfume, and about 300 *birr* on the box. He got credit on all the items as customarily people are provided with these things in kind as soon as the death happens, though the debt should be repaid after the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the funeral.

A small group of women said that the bereaved family may provide food for the people coming to the funeral ceremony. If they are well-off the ceremony may last a week. There are community members who invite people to celebrate 40 days after death. Especially when parents die people sell many properties to invite people for the ceremony called *Teskara* there was little change in customary death ceremonies; however when there is drought, which frequently happens, expenditure is reduced.

A woman (mother of 8, oldest child aged 10) died while the fieldwork was in process and the researcher and the interviewer had to wait for his informant, the head of the rich household, to come back from the ceremony. He went and showed his sorrow by crying as other villagers do, he helped to prepare the shade house for guests and left the body in the house to be buried the next day. He contributed 3 *birr* and a kilo of maize and his wife took a jar of water and firewood. The head of the poor household went to a funeral for a 1-year old baby three months earlier. The parents were not members of the household's *iddir* so there was no money contribution; they just provided coffee. He said the time spent on a funeral for adults is 7 days and for children 4 days.

The head of poor FHH said they sold two oxen and a cow when her husband died and used the money for the funeral ceremony. The *iddir* made a tent and prepared food and drink. She could not remember the amount of money and maize contributed by *iddir* members but she received 180 *birr* from the *iddir*. She prepared a celebration at 40 days (8 households invited) and a year after death (six households invited) that cost around 700 *birr*. She prepared *injera*, *shiro wat* and *borde*. She said that her expenditure was less compared with what used to be common in the community. She said government advice was helping the community to reduce burial ceremony expenses but the cultural influence is still there. *'for instance, the celebrations for 40 days and a year were held just fearing the neighbours' rumour. The community may misperceive and put pressure on me when they get a space.'* She said not only the number of celebration days was reducing but also the number of guests.

### **Inheritance**

The *wereda* informant was not sure about the new law of inheritance.

A kebele official said there is a law in the community granting widows inheritance rights but the enforcement of the law is under question. *'There is a tendency to maintain the previous dominant culture which propagates the exclusive ownership of land to men'*.

A small group of men said that when a husband dies the wife takes the inheritance rights; when both die the older son takes the inheritance right and responsibility for caring for the younger children. In the past women had the right only when there were no sons in the household but now the new law has enabled them to share land when equal property inheritance sharing is done among the children. One said when daughters marry their brothers take their land by compensating them with a small amount of money; she leaves the land for the other siblings to cultivate as she cannot take it with her. The young respondents said he was angry about the new law since the culture was so good before when sons had the inheritance rights and the responsibility for caring for girls at home and sending them to their real home by organising colourful weddings. All three said they were unhappy with the new law as it degrades men's position in the community. One respondent said that when his father died 7 years ago he received a hectare of land in Kemba wereda; however the land is used

by his relatives as he can't work on it at a distance.

A small group of women community respondent said that inheritance takes place when the father or both parents die. Sons and daughters are equally privileged to inherit property except that daughters do not have the right to inherit the house. Even though there is a law that gives inheritance rights to mothers it is not practised; both the elders' group and the court convince mothers to live with their unmarried children until they get married. When the older ones get married she will spend her lifetime with the youngest son.

### Dispute resolution

A small group of women said that when a dispute happens in a household the immediate kin group try to settle it. If there is no solution the parties in the dispute may themselves choose the means to settle it. Earlier most households preferred to bring dispute cases to elders' groups but now the majority of community members do not trust the elders because their decisions are in favour of the richer community members. Because of this households prefer to take their cases to the *wereda* court. However, the court is not willing to deal with intra-household disputes and refers the case back to the elders' group. If the parties in dispute question the elders' judgment they take it back to the court. The respondents said that disputes between couple are reducing. *'Men are not aggressive to their women as it was before because if they get divorced he knows that she will take her share.'*

There are inter-household disputes, mostly over the stealing of irrigation water at night. Stealing has reduced as there is a 50 *birr* fine. Sometimes there are conflicts between kebele officials and community members during campaigns. Usually neighbours and the kingroups of the disputing person try to settle it.

### Customary organisations

#### Clans and lineages

There is no clan rule or leadership in the community though it is common among neighbouring highlanders. Members of a given lineage help each other in time of difficulty. They contribute 200 to 300 *birr* for special events like weddings. Some also have *iddir*. The leaders of lineages do not have a significant role though they may lead *iddir*. Couples who belong to the same lineage cannot marry each other. Young people are becoming more interested in lineage membership and they too have attachment to members. Recently, lineage *iddir* were introduced by the Giza Mala pedigree. It is the first lineage-based *iddir*.

#### Elders

The elders group contains 6-8 members elected by the community in a meeting organised in the kebele compound. The election doesn't have a regular time period, and members can work for more than ten years; an election is held if someone dies, or is found to be biased. Currently there are six members. Members should be over 35. Their livelihood is farming as for any other community member. Elders are replaced by new ones if those in position feel discomfort due to old age or miss important meetings.

The elders' group meets once a week on Tuesdays. They deal with conflict resolution apart from death and crimes against women like rape. They advise youth and adults who are disrupting the community peace. They carry out reconciliation if there are individuals in conflict in the community, they decide fines for offenders, they detect offenders including thieves, and they call the community for detecting issues which they call *dubusha* (*awchachign* in Amharic). If the offender is not willing to be judged by the elders there are social sanctions like not allowing access to fire from neighbours, denying co-operation in times of need and ignoring the family at times of death.

For example this month, the elders' group met and discussed the issue of livestock destroying people's crops on irrigated land, which is becoming a cause of conflicts. They made a rule warning community members that they would be penalised 50 *birr* if they let their cattle into people's farms

negligently, and this decision was given to all the villagers. So far no-one was found guilty of this act, because people have given more attention to keeping their animals from others' farms.

A respondent said:

The elders' work is successful because it is advising people not to get into illegal acts, and they are making people refrain from doing such acts because they are well-respected and their fines are serious. Their role is checking/blocking offences in the community. Conflict can be resolved to prevent it getting worse and causing serious fights and murder. Many cases are kept in the village rather than being taken to court which is costly and less effective in bringing peace.

One problem is that when elders decide on punishments for offenders, sometimes the offenders become enemies of the elders and threaten them by saying 'I will burn your house' etc. But if the problem is serious the elders take the case to the kebele then to the wereda, which has severe consequences for the person.

The secretary of the elders' group prepares agendas for the weekly meetings, brings witnesses for cases, write up memos, etc. He works once a week for four hours with other elders on the meeting date.

The head of the middle-wealth household said that elders are more respected than any kebele officials and can easily arrange meetings. They also negotiate with the investor for having a path for livestock through the farm and grazing access when there is no production. His wife said that though the role of the elders in the community is irreplaceable they are conservatives regarding culture which results in a bias against women. For example they do not want to guarantee the land rights of women. *'When women demand farmland, the elders and the kebele officials ask who is going to work on the land. If a woman has a grown up son, their response will be positive, if not they cancel the request without giving any justification other than gender.'*

A 50-year old woman potter said it was meaningless to go to kebele and wereda officials as they are reluctant to listen. Similarly she does not expect any solution from elders so she does not contact them.

### **Dubusha**

*Dubusha* is a sacrificial ritual used mainly for two purposes. One is to detect thieves and other kinds of criminal. The other is to get rid of evil like frequent deaths, including when women die during delivery, which happens because God/*Toso* is angry with the community. When many deaths occur people contribute money and buy a sheep and butter which is taken to the *Dubusha Goda* (leader). He will slaughter the sheep and pray to God (*Toso*) in front of a public gathering to remove disease and death from the community. The sheep and butter are meant for the prayer and no-one dares to eat them; they should be thrown away for hyenas to eat. The *Dubusha* leader is highly respected and feared. If he curses you the curse will come upon your family. He can mobilise exclusion and expel a person he feels is a threat to the community.

### **Iddir**

There are four *iddirs* which support families during mourning with memberships of 60-100. They are organised on religious, lineage and community bases. There are *iddirs* with members of the same religion. Contributions to the Kalehiwot *iddir* are 2 *birr* a month, and to the Orthodox Church 3 *birr*. The **community iddir** is the largest. Membership is open to all regardless of religious difference. There are no regular contributions but when someone dies members contribute 2 *birr* and 1 kilo of maize. The *iddir* owns cooking equipment, chairs (*adgami*) and mattress which were brought from members' contributions. Men take seriously ill members to the health centre, carrying them on the bed.

**Iddir based on lineage** have started. *Gezo Mala*, a Gamo lineage, started to organise members together; they contribute 1 *birr* a month.

The leader of the **Kalehiwot iddir** said there were three officials: the head, secretary and treasurer. There are not regular elections but if people leave the area, die or are found to be less effective they are replaced. There are 50 members and 2 *birr* is collected from each at monthly meetings. There is no credit or funding for medical costs but during burials the family gets 100 *birr* from the fund and 1 *birr* from each member. The *iddir* also provides cooked food and coffee until the 7<sup>th</sup> day and labour support from before the burial to the 7<sup>th</sup> day. Members also accompany family members to rehabilitate them. If a relative has died elsewhere then 50 *birr* is paid. One of the obligations is to carry ill people to the health centre when requested by the leaders. *Iddir* members also contribute money according to their capability when a member is seriously ill. A member of the **Orthodox Church followers' iddir** said they contributed 3 *birr* a month and at the time of death each member gives 5 *birr* and 0.75 kilos of maize.

The head of the poor household said the household was a member of the **Mekane Eyesus church iddir**. There is not regular contribution but everyone contributes 25 *birr* in six months (husband) in a year (wife) and if a member dies they have to contribute 4 *birr* and 4 kilos of maize. The *iddir* lends money to members up to 500 *birr* with an interest rate of 10% to be returned on an agreed date. The loan can be used for anything. At times of death members are given 250 *birr* and grain collected from members and the family is helped during the funeral process. He said that one problem was that people sometimes say that a relative died elsewhere in order to get money falsely. Since 2008 the *iddir* has been asking for a letter from the place where the death happened. Those people who falsely took money from the *iddir* were forced to repay but allowed to keep their membership. The head of the middle wealth household belongs to an *iddir* which provides transport up to 150 *birr* when a relative dies elsewhere. His wife said that they are not members of the Kalehiwot church followers' *iddir*. They contributed 10 *birr* to the committee which were organising community members but nothing has been done yet.

One respondent said that when his father died the *iddir* was not that strong though the members did the burial, gave about 200 *birr*, and provided food and coffee for a few days. The woman heading the poor FHH described what happened when her husband died.

The worst crisis in the household in the last five years was the death of her husband. She explains that his death was an accident that led the whole family to depression. The only help she got was from the *iddir*. For the burial ceremony, the *iddir* members prepared food and drink. They built a tent and served food and drink to those individuals who participated in the burial ceremony. All the materials to prepare food were contributed by *iddir* members. In addition to the support in kind, the *iddir* gave her 180 *birr*. However, she spent it to serve food and drink, mainly coffee for the guests. She was pleased to have support from the *iddir* though it was not enough. As she explains, the support she got did not contribute to the family food need. After all, it was spent on the ceremony's expense for the dead. Above this, she did not get any support.

She is a member of two *iddirs* and contributes 4.5 *birr* to the men's group and 2.5 *birr* to the women's group. There is payment in times of illness but there is access to loans with no interest which have to be paid back within a month. At times of death the men's *iddir* erects a tent and provides firewood and 80 *birr*; the women's group provides 1 kilo of maize and may prepare food and drink.

The rich farmer is a member of two *iddirs*, one with villagers (3 *birr* a month) and one with relatives from three other weredas (44 *birr* per annum). The relatives' *iddir* pays up to 250 *birr* if an ill family member needs referral to hospital and gives loans depending on need of 200-1000 *birr*. The village *iddir* provides grain, firewood, labour up to seven days and grass for cattle and 3 *birr* from every member.

### Equb and other savings

*Equb* is not widely practised in Do'oma. There is one for women traders. The membership varies during the year. Each member contributes 10-20 *birr* once a week, usually on market days. The head

of the middle-wealth house, who works as a guard at the investors' farm is a member of an *equb* with co-workers which was formed in September 2011. There are eight members and they are contributing 400 *birr* a month. The respondent is promised to get his 3200 sum in December when he begins house construction.

Meskel saving started in 2007. Previously the custom was to go to one of the farmer's houses and ask for his bull for the festival, the money to be paid a month later by the villagers who shared the meat. Gradually the price of bulls became expensive in the market and owners preferred to sell them there. Then some people in the community suggested this saving which they had seen in Kucha wereda and other highland places. People save on a weekly or monthly basis and everyone gets a share of the savings related to their contributions on the eve of the Meskel holiday. Some of these savings may be spent on clothes and jewellery as well as meat. Some people only use them to buy a share of a bull or ox. At Meskel early in the morning men slaughter the bull and the households share the meat according to their contribution.

There are two village-level Meskel *equb*, one in Do'oma and one in Womalo. People can pay different amounts; respondents mentioned amounts of 8, 15, 20 *birr* a month. An organiser of two Kalehiwot Meskel groups said there were about 50 members in each. Each group has a sub-organiser, secretary and treasurer. Each group meet s every Sunday evening and after worshipping and praying (3 hours or so) the contributions are collected (less than an hour). People can contribute any amount between 5 and 10 *birr* a week but cannot bring different amounts each week. At the end they collect the amount they have saved.

One respondent said the purpose of the *equb* is to prevent villagers from selling livestock to cover their Meskel expenses as the price of cattle is low. Another said that they also provide a guarantee for borrowing money when there is a food gap.

*Bankiso* is also widely practised: members save money every month for a year in the *Bankiso's* house. He is chosen base on trust and economic capacity. The amount of money is not constant depending on one's ability. At the end of the year they take back the money they put in his house. One woman described how she saved 8 *birr* a month for a year; there were about 20 households doing the same. At the end they take the money they saved and each household gives 1 *birr* to the *bankiso*.

### **Mehaber**

There are 18 members from the Do'oma Orthodox Christian followers but so far the *mehaber* has been based in the Wacha church. There is a leader called *Moss* from the Wacha church and the informant is the vice-*Moss*. Everyone contributes 2 *birr* a month and each member should organise *mehaber* festival at least once a year, providing food and drink for members. The *mehaber* supports the families of sick people and during funerals using the contributed funds. For example if anyone in a member family is referred to hospital they will be given up to 205 *birr* depending on the severity of the case. They are in process of organising the *mehaber* at kebele level; the informant is collecting 5 *birr* contributions and it will start functioning as soon as they can build a church in Do'oma.

A Protestant woman married to a man recently converted from no religion to Orthodox Christianity said that the household had a *mehaber* which belonged to her husband's kin. He said the household was not a member of a *mehaber*. She said

They meet each month in our home or in the house of my father-in-law. Their number is around 25. They contribute 2 *birr* per two month. When they meet in our home, we provide what we have. Mostly, we serve them with baked bread and coffee. When members get seriously ill, the *mehaber* contributes 400 *birr* to the concerned household. In time of death, the *mehaber* gives 500 *birr* to the family of the deceased. For those who suffer from shortage of food, the *mehaber* contributes 60 *birr*. Above all, the *mehaber* is enhancing friendship among members.

### Local informal security regime

The rich household head said that there is regular co-operation with neighbours; people help each other in times of crisis, labour need, and for better production. When a sick person needs to be carried to the clinic people co-operate. He had lent his oxen for one day for free to a young man with five family members who had lost an ox and a cow last year. Others also provided the same person with oxen for one day enabling him to till all the land he owns. He gave 10 *birr* for the destitute at church and ploughed the land of a widow for two days. He said that people feel that poverty and inequality create violence and illegality in the kebele which may cause insecurity for those who have oxen and a better life, hence sharing is advised in party cell meetings and many occasions. He co-operates with friends and relatives in other kebeles on important things like house construction, marriage and death ceremonies and during hunger. For example when he built his house some walked for three hours to help him with labour. He sent 50 kilos of maize to relatives facing starvation as a result of excessive rain in another wereda. The head of the poor household said he did not want food help from anyone except the government as he doesn't want to be called a beggar. *'I would rather die than ask grain or food help from people.'* He used to be quite rich. When his eight cattle died at the same time he said he got no support from the community or government. His wife said she sometimes sends money to her parents. He said his relatives used to visit him when his living status was good but now they don't remember him.

Husband's kin are relatively more important in social protection than the wife's kin; if the wife's kin are more important it means either that notable individuals among the husband's kin have died or they are not willing to give protection. Grown-up children may help their families but it is very rare in the community. One example was the richer FHH. In co-operation her sons are building a tin-roofed and cement house for the household. One of the sons aged 33 went to Wolayta Sodo nine years ago, completed Grade 10 and became a driver working on public transport. He visits the household regularly and as compared with the other household members in Wolayta has a strong relationship with the household. He telephones and supports the household financially. Last year she was treated in Wolayta Sodo hospital and her son covered the 600 *birr* cost. She has also provided help to him. While driving her son had an accident and severely injured a man's legs. The son took the man to hospital who told him the medication cost was 60,000 *birr*. Her son got stressed because the money was too much for him. She collected contributions from her neighbours in Do'oma and relatives in Wolayta Sodo and although it was little compared with the total asked for she was glad to contribute as much as she could. Last year she contributed 20 *birr* for a man whose eyes were injured by a drunk woman who threw a stone. A few community members contributed and her brother took the man to hospital although he lost one eye.

A small group of women said that the role of neighbours and friends in informal social security is reducing because of low living standards resulting from the low productivity of the area. The importance of rich patrons in the regime has been negligible from the beginning.

A poor man said his support network was his neighbours and friends and owners of irrigated land with whom he could work as a sharecropper. A physically disabled man said his network included his sister who lived in the neighbourhood, a few neighbours and two friends who visit regularly. He or his wife interact with kebele officials when they go to get the money. He had to borrow 100 *birr* from a close friend in the neighbourhood last month to buy salt, soap, fuel etc. He sometimes borrow cash from relatives. A poor potter without PSNP goes to her son in times of problems; if it is beyond his capacity she asks her neighbours for help. A poor widow got malaria in 2011 and her son covered the medication costs. When she doesn't have enough food she borrows maize flour from her neighbours. The daughter of a divorced woman recently got malaria and she had no money to take her to the health centre. Her neighbour gave her 30 *birr* which covered the cost of treatment. A recent female in-migrant said that for months she was looking for neighbours and other community members to feed her and her children.

A poor widow said that her family believed that her husband was there for her and there was no need for them to visit and co-operate. However, since he died they understood that she was lonely and decided to keep in touch. They gave her some money when she took her son to Gofa hospital.

In the past *huduga* was the most conspicuous re-distributive mechanism in Do'oma involving a big feast and distribution of goods by a wealthy man. The practice is significantly reduced due to drought and the effectiveness of the government intervention to reduce HTPs.

## Key social actors and their networks

### Government employees

#### Kebele manager

UU is 30 and was appointed to the position in December 2010 following 'the hot evaluation' through *gimgema* at the kebele administration. He said he competed with his relatives for the position at the wereda. The kebele officials wrote him a recommendation letter describing his potential and good behaviour. He completed Grade 10 and joined St Mary's private college distance programme of management science this year. He took short trainings on agriculture and health at the wereda office last year. His wife is a member of the Women's Association. He is a cabinet member and a party cell organiser with the kebele party organiser. He organises public works, collects taxes, receives PSNP appeals and is a youth organiser in Kalehiwot church. He has been an EPRDF member since 2004. He said he supervises the activities of all committees in the kebele and provides reports to the wereda when it is necessary. If he needed anything he went to the kebele cabinet. He said that work at kebele level was challenging so that he planned to look for a vacancy at the wereda level. *'I started distance education because I want to get out from the kebele business. In the kebele, civil servants and officials work more for the community and less for their own life but the community members do not recognize them. I have to get a job at the wereda office because I have to lead a better life.'*

#### DA Crops

She is 27 and was appointed to the kebele in 2006. She had worked in another kebele for a year before starting work in Do'oma. She has a diploma in plant science from Alage ATVET where she attended courses for three years. She was elected as chair of the women's federation although it is not operational. Her husband is an officer in the wereda land administration bureau. Though she likes her profession very much the government tendency to use DAs for political purposes is discouraging her. *'For instance we could work a lot in the expansion of high value crops in the community. However, the government always gives much emphasis to fertilisers and other inputs.'* She is working against the science because the government needs the distribution of fertiliser not the effects they bring to the community. The nature of the soil on some community land is not compatible with inorganic fertiliser but to meet the administration demands the DAs make the farmers use fertiliser. If she needs anything she consults the other DAs.

#### DA Livestock

He is 26 and works as a general DA in the community. He gives advice on the preparation of animal fodder, cleaning livestock yards and using veterinary services provided by individuals and the wereda agriculture office. He was appointed in May 2011 after working as a DA for five years in other kebeles. He attended ATEVT college in Mizan Tefere (Bench Maji Zone) and has a diploma in animal health. Since he started work he has had training in watershed management, development agents' skills and other related issues. He is chair of the development committee. He would like to leave the kebele and work in another wereda. Deramalo is far from his family's residence and the working culture of the community is negligible which demoralises the professionals. Not only community members but also kebele officials resist adopting new agricultural technologies. If he needs anything

he consults the other DAs. Also he has a manual he was given while training and in care he has forgotten

#### **Mobile veterinarian**

MM graduated from Alage Agricultural Office as a vet with a diploma in 2008. He was born and grew up in Dita Wereda in Gamo and started working in 2009 in Sheladeda kebele with a salary of 1571 *birr*. In 2011 he was given three kebeles – Do'oma, Hoyadegeza and Masta – to walk in carrying a bag full of medicines which he says weighs about 12 kilos.

#### **DA NRM**

EH is 25 and was appointed in 2006 after taking a wereda exam. He attended ATVET college in Dilla and has a diploma in NRM agricultural extension. He is head of the seedlings nursery and chair of the NRM committee. His family lives in a neighbouring wereda. He does not want to continue working in the kebele as the environment is arid and not conducive for natural resource management which discourages him. He wants to upgrade his education level. If he needs something he consults the other DAs.

#### **School director – LC**

He is 29 and trained as a generalist teacher graduating with a certificate in 2004. He became a teacher in Gugea Shale kebele in 2005 and came to Do'oma as school head in 2010. He is a member of the kebele cabinet to deal with education issues and deals with other issues as well. He was married this year to a high school student. He has two diplomas: one at his own expense in 2009 on human resource management by distance learning from Ethopis private college and the other for government summer classes in school leadership management at Arbaminch Teachers' College. He wants to keep on with his education and become a good teacher and to facilitate and improve the school by co-operating with the community and the wereda and networking with NGOs.

His network is first with the school training board, then the PTA, then the kebele education committee, then the wereda education office. And the school supervisor is always there with attempts to bring solutions to all issues. For example the school had a discussion about how to bring the pre-school out of the church to the kebele FTC as it doesn't feel good to be in a church. The discussion was done with the training board.

#### **Primary school teacher**

She is 24 years old and appointed to the school last year though she has worked in the profession for the last eight years. She completed Grade 10 and got a certificate from Arbaminch teachers' training centre. She is attending a diploma summer programme at the centre which she will complete in mid-2012. She has had training organised by USAID on the teaching and learning process in Arbaminch and from the wereda education bureau on mother tongue language. She does not live in the community and has no role. She had asked the chair of the wereda education bureau to send her to Gofa primary school but he refused saying there is no teacher to replace her. She wants to leave the profession and become an office worker or business person.

#### **Health Extension Worker 1**

She is 25. She was born in the community and lives with her parents and 18-year old sister. She completed Grade 10, joined Dilla Health College and for a certificate in health extension. She started working in the community in 2008. She is the second HEW in the community since 2006. She has attended training courses in Arbaminch and Selamber wereda and in the wereda town. She recently took a 15-day refresher course in Arbaminch.

She is member of the local political party committee and leader of the kebele health committee and women's federation. No-one in her household has a role in the community. If she needs anything

she consults the other HEW and the kebele officials. She wants to upgrade her education level and get a job in an urban area.

### Health Extension Worker 2

She is 19 and started to work in the community in January 2011. She completed Grade 10 and the wereda sent her to Wolayita TVET college where she studied for a year. She has had training in Arbaminch on HIV/AIDS prevention and control, by ORBIS International on trachoma prevention and control, and by the wereda on malaria prevention and control and malnutrition. She is a member of the Women's Association and federation. No-one in her household has a role in the community. She said *'I do not deserve to be here. I have to leave the community. This year, I am preparing to take national examination of grade 10 in a private programme. If I score a better result, I will join preparatory school. If not, I will join the diploma programme in nursing at Arbaminch town.'*

She said that if she needs something she consults the other HEW and if she can't find a solution from her colleague she goes to kebele and wereda officials. For instance she and her colleague went to the kebele and asked what they were planning to do with the damaged Health Post. The kebele said they had no budget to re-build the post. They went to the were health office and reported the case. Though the office did not give an immediate response 3-4 months later they provided tin sheets and other materials to the kebele. However, the kebele gave priority to the school project that was under construction. Now, after five months of delay, the kebele has organised a community work to start re-building the post.

### Kebele office-holders recruited from within the community (and recent changes)

#### Kebele chairs

HB was the chairperson from 2001 to 2005. BB was chair from 2005-6 and was replaced 'because his ruling period was over'. NM worked from 2006-8 when the wereda evaluated his administration, found he was good at it, and decided to proceed for another two years. His second round was found to 'full of negligence' and they decided to demote him. In October 2010 CC came to the position but left in December 2010 because his evaluation demoted him. He was replaced by HB. He is 38 and the leader of the local political party and the school board. He dropped out of Grade 8 twenty years ago. He has been a member of the kebele cabinet for 18 years starting in 1994. He has worked as chair, vice-chair, information desk, house speaker of the assembly and chair of the ruling party. He is now a member of the cabinet, chair of the development committee and chair of the youth package as well as being chair of an iddir and the Orthodox Church committee. He does not want to continue as kebele chairperson. *'I will no more work for the kebele without any benefit. Being a chairperson of the kebele has reduced the time that I should spend on farming as well as negatively affecting my social work.'*

He said if he needs advice he will consult the kebele cabinet, wereda officials and elders.

#### Vice chair – VP

He is 41 and educated to Grade 6. He was elected and appointed to the post in 2010. He was not very interested but is always willing to take any role given to him in social affairs or the administration. He thinks that he was elected because he is one of the hardworking farmers and leading his family very well, as well as having good political participation in a cell. He is also the organiser of development groups and party cells, the core person for kebele security issues, a church leader and preacher and representative of 14 protestant churches in the wereda to oversee their progress, the treasurer of an iddir and organiser of a Meskel *equb*. He is also a member of the PSNP beneficiary recruitment body. His networks are mainly with the kebele chairman, the kebele manager, the cabinet, DAs, HEWs and community elders. The wereda is the next upper network, mainly the wereda administrator and the vice. He also contacts the wereda agriculture office on issues of PSNP and other development issues like conservation.

### **Kebele council chair**

Ato C is 40 and was elected to the position in 2010; he took it because he had to accept the community role. He is educated to Grade 8 and is also a religious organiser, a model farmer, a member of the PTA and the leader of a *mehaber*. The leader wants a meeting hall for the council and to have a well-organised registrar and full facilities to document everything. His next step network is the wereda council but no issue has been referred to this higher body.

### **Political party appointee – BB**

BB and his wife are from the Gamo ethnic group. His is one of the wealthy families in the kebele. From the Derg regime until 2009 he was involved in different kebele positions as chairman, secretary, kebele social court judge etc but since 2010 he has been serving as a community elder (see below). He is also a party member, leader of a party cell and a 1-5 group and a model farmer. He was nominated as a model in 2008 and 2010 but by a few points others were upper and he failed to get the first prize.

### **Information – NS**

He is 34 and was appointed in 2008; he got the position as had worked as a leader of the local political party for three years. He dropped out after Grade 6. He is a member of the cabinet and the development committee, leader of the drinking water and irrigation water committee, and an elder dispute settler at church level. His wife has been included in the women's league though it is not operational yet. If he needs something he consults the wereda ruling party office and kebele officials. For example

'Last year, the kebele administration had distributed land to the youths. The officials were forcing the youths to pay 50 birr without a reason. From the training I took on land rights, I knew that there is no need of payment to take land. I told them to stop it but they resisted to accept me. I went to the wereda party office and explained what they were doing. The wereda party office responded that they are collecting the money because they want to build offices for the kebele. I regret to support their means of collecting money.

Also last year, farmers had occupied the unallocated land of the kebele. I brought the case to the kebele cabinet. All members of the cabinet discussed the issue and decided to move the farmers from the land with a punishment of 50 birr. Accordingly, we implemented our decision immediately.'

### **Women's Association leader**

She is 40 and was appointed in October 2010. She said she got the job as she has acceptance in the community as a strong and well-behaved woman. She dropped out of Grade 3. She is chair of the women's ruling party committee.

### **Women's League leader**

She is 32 and thinks she was appointed because she is an active and hardworking person. She dropped out of Grade 7 ten years ago. Her husband has been in the militia for 20 years.

### **Youth Association/Federation leader**

NN is 24 and was appointed to the position because he completed Grade 10 and has good social relationships in the community. He became a health volunteer last year and had some training from ORBIS International. No-one else in his family has a role in the community.

### **Holders of customary office**

#### **Elders holding office**

Elders are those who are old, talented to make good speeches, have a good personality, and who have stayed long in the community. These people are respected more than the kebele chairman, and have more power than the kebele chairman holds. If anyone is out of their words, they have the

power even to expel the person from the villages. The elders don't have any other position in the community. The kebele administration is in the network to cooperate in bringing offenders to the elders and to public meetings. It is said that the ruling party uses community elders to convince people to vote for it.

One respondent said that there are eight community elders: four in the sub kebele and four in the main kebele. Another said there are six elders and named one differently. Last year two of members were removed from office and replaced by new ones. One respondent said this was because they were found drinking much, had less participation in meetings, etc, while another said they had shown bias when they tried to protect relatives from fines decided by the group as a whole.

NA is 36 and began working as secretary to the elders' group in 2008 when he was elected as an elder because he had a good relationship with the community. He is educated to Grade 5, and is a church leader, an iddir leader, a member of the land management committee and the kebele education committee. None of his family has a community role. His aspiration in the future is to have an office and assembly hall for local elders to work separately from the kebele office.

If anything happens beyond the capacity of the group they call a meeting to request community support for their decisions by taking exclusion actions. Matters like rape, abduction, murder, and threat to the elders are referred to the kebele and the militia take the offenders to the wereda court.

BB is not on the list but says he has been serving as a community elder since 2010 (when he was removed from the post of kebele chair though he did not say that). He is also a political party appointee. He completed Grade 7 and has 10 children, three of whom have left the kebele for education or work. His main livelihood is agriculture and he is one of the rich people in the community. As described above he has been working in different kebele positions since the Derg regime. His network is with the neighbourhood, with his relatives in the Gamo highlands, and with kebele officials and DAs at different times.

FB 55, from the Wolayta ethnic group, said he was one of the six elders working in the main kebele. He has served for the last six years. His economic status has deteriorated and he was his household was selected as the poor one for in-depth interviews. He said that although he is poorer he feels that people still respect him and he is still functioning as a community elder though sometimes behind his back they say he is poor and powerless.

#### **The Dubusha Goda**

Currently it is NN; only he and his descendants can hold this position. When he dies his son will take over; if he has no son his brother will take the position. The family line is more respected than any other in the community, including elders.

#### **Iddir leader**

The leader is 36 and has been leader since 1995. Then he was 20 and single but selected as he was one of the few educated people (Grade 5) at the time. He is also a church leader and leader of the land management committee as well as a *Meskel* feast organiser. He would like to have a big tent and chairs to serve the community during deaths. At the moment they are using corrugated iron sheets to create sheds which are build and demolished every time and there are no chairs. He receives advice from the church leadership and community elders.

#### **Meskel savings group organiser**

He is 36 and was elected in 2007 because he is a church leader and trusted to manage the finances fairly. He is educated to Grade 5. He is also a member of the land management committee and an *iddir* leader. His aspiration in the future is to make the contribution at least 10 *birr* if people could afford it, because nowadays the meat for less than 500 *birr* is very small and not enough for a family in the festival, and he feels sorry when some take only that small meat.

### **Mehaber leader**

He is 41 and was appointed as vice-Moss of the *mehaber* in 1994 when the previous incumbent became too old. He was chosen as he a strong regular church attender. He was educated up to Grade 8. He is also a model farmer, kebele council chair, PTA member and the religious leader of the Orthodox Christians in the main kebele. His aspiration is to build a church in the kebele with organised services and a strong *mehaber* organisation.

### **Religious leaders**

The **Kalehiwot church** in the main kebele has seven church elders including NA, who is the leader, , and NM who was the kebele chair from 2006-2010. N is 36 and was appointed in 1998; he has been re-elected since then four times. There is no salary or incentive. He attended school up to Grade 5. He is a member of the land management committee and secretary to the elders' group. He is not happy in his position because he is angry about the behaviour of congregation members; *'many are found in adultery and theft and they don't listen and quit their bad action when they are advised.'* He also said there are people with more education who could take over the role. However the church community wants him to stay on and he fears God if he left a position given by God's people. His future wish is that the community tries to be obedient to the Government and God. He also wishes to see a church built as well as churches in town with musical instruments.

If there is a church issue requiring consultation beyond the elders he goes to the church in the wereda town. Last year they went to consult about a church member who had married a second wife which is not allowed. The church rule is to suspend the man for a year if he has an extra marital sexual relation but if he married a second wife the Bible says the second wife should be fired but this the member refused to do. Wacha church directed them to expel him from the church and this happened in December 2010. He then moved to the town and became a member of the town church after sending his new wife away.

The **Orthodox Christian** church leader who is 45 was appointed to the church in 2009. He said he got the job as he is the only person with a church education. He has no role in the community as he cannot speak the local language as he is an immigrant Amhara. In future he want to expand the church preaching and increase the size of the congregation. He asked the other church leaders to increase his salary and it went up from 100 *birr* to 200 *birr*; they also gave him some church-owned land.

### **Other notable people**

#### **Rich and successful farmers**

There are fourteen **rich and successful farmers**. The main ones are BB, CD and BE. They are respected due to their economic status but hold no position. Their main activity is farming.

BB is 41. In 2008 he owned 10 milking cows, 14 oxen, 15 bulls, 7 heifers, land in town purchased for 34,000 *birr*, a corrugated iron sheet covered house in the village which was cement plastered and well-built, two hectares of irrigated land and 1 of rain-fed land and 100,000 *birr* in cash at home. In 2011 he invested 37,000 *birr* in building a house on his land in town. He was awarded as a 'model farmer' in 2008.

#### **Businessmen and traders**

EE, 28, is a cash-crop trader dealing in bananas and maize. He began trading in 2008. He completed 12<sup>th</sup> grade in 2000 but was unable to join college and his family couldn't afford to send him to a private college. He developed an interest in trade but had no capital so he approached traders in Wacha and became an agent to collect products from villages for the traders for an equal share. He contributed his labour and his knowledge of the kebele. They let him go with them to towns and he saw the roots of trading. He worked for two years in this way while accumulating some capital. He started working on his own by telling his partners his idea; they approved it and lent him 10,000 *birr*.

His total capital in trade is about 35,000 *birr*. He is a member of the party, a cell leader, a member of the Youth Association, and a religious leader in the Orthodox Church acting as secretary of the preaching service. His network is with other traders in the kebele and traders in Wacha, Morka, Wolayta Sodo, Addis Ababa and Nazret. He uses *delalas* from Wacha or Sodo to access Isuzu trucks. The wereda finance office is where he goes if there is a tax issue. In 2010 the traders from Do'oma and Wacha held meetings and wrote an appeal letter to the wereda finance office that led to a cut in the tax rate of more than 200%.

The *delala* is 32 and has a wife and four children. He is an ex-soldier and started doing fixing in 2003. First he started working as an assistant in an Isuzu truck that started transporting people from Wacha to Wolayta Sodo only in the dry season in 2002. On the way he was connecting traders and farmers sometimes which gave him some experience. He has no other role in the community. His network is with the farmers in the village and traders and truck owners living elsewhere. When conflict arises with farmers local elders intervene. For example last week, the fixer agreed with a farmer to connect a trader to sell huge orange product for 2000 *birr*, then the fixer misunderstood the date that the trader was coming from Wolayta, and made the farmer harvest it after paying 1000 *birr* pre-payment on behalf of the trader, but the trader said that he didn't fix that day. Then the farmer accused him to the elders, and then they decided the farmer should keep the pre-payment, and the fixer apologize to the farmer. This farmer is mentioned to be the only producer of large quantities of orange and mango at this level.

The woman who opened a shop in the community has been a member of the women's association from the beginning; her husband is a member of the kebele cabinet and a respected dispute settler.

### Investors

Wereda officials said that there were three investors who took land for agricultural investment by investment licence. They planted sesame, red peppers, onions and maize. They all came from the Diaspora in America or other countries and are living in Addis Ababa. The regional investment bureau gave them the land. The benefit to the wereda is their land tax as revenue, they create labour opportunities, they produce and supply the local market with grain and vegetables even in time of drought and idle land is being utilised. There were conflicts sometimes between investors and farmers over access to grazing land and irrigation water use which were dealt with by elders and the wereda administration.

A community respondent said that since 1996 investors began to take land in the wereda; four came. The one who came to Do'oma reportedly took about 20% of the kebele's land and set up Zage agro-industry. Ato M grew an item that looks like sorghum when grown and produces fibre which can be used for broom bristles (broomcorn) and exported it. He had a huge farming and processing company that leased community grazing and woodland. The investment process failed to function from 2005 for which various rumoured reasons were given. One was that he went bankrupt because the receiver abroad refused to take the product and the national bank confiscated the farm including the buildings and machinery as collateral for his debts. Another was that the investor was involved with the opposition party CUD in the 2004/5 election period and the government blocked his account at the national bank and his farm was taken as if he was bankrupt and unable to pay his debts. Another was that people associated with the wereda requested to become partners in the business and when he refused his bank account was blocked. The investor took the case to the Regional Court at Awassa and then the federal court but while the case was being heard he died.

In 2009 a government association called *Debub Mirit Zer Amracho* took over the land and produced improved maize seed until 2010 when they stopped working because of the lack of productivity of the land. In 2011 the Ethiopian Commercial Bank issued an auction and a group of government officials from SNNP and Tigray won it.

### Skilled workers

EF is a part-time carpenter. He was interested in craft work and began to make farm tools for himself in his 20s, then he started making furniture for himself and gradually neighbours and villagers asked him to make some tools and furniture for them and finally it became a business. He has never had any training. His aspiration in the future is to make a sofa with hides and wood.

### Traditional healer

BB is 52 and grew up in Wolayta Zone. His stepfather was a traditional healer and he became his assistant. When he came to Do'oma he brought the seeds of most of the trees and bushes that are used for healing and planted them here; he adds by collecting from the forest and riverside. He has no relationship with the health post or any government agency but he refers patients to the health centre or hospital when he feels their illness is beyond his capacity.

### Traditional birth attendant

FC is 50 and a widow. She started attending births 34 years ago learning from her mother. She learned how to do it when her mother helped her to deliver her first child. She is a potter and has not farmland. If she has a problem with her work she prays to God.

The HEWs give advice to TBAs to protect themselves from blood contact but otherwise they have not received any training or equipment from the government. She asked the HEWs for equipment and training in the last year. The government has not regulated their activities.

### Ex-soldiers

H was born in Hoya Degeza kebele in the highland of Gamo in 1977. He grew up there until he was 11 years old. He resettled with his parents to Do'oma Kebele in 1988 where he attended up to Grade 4, and up to Grade 8 in Wacha town Mena primary school, but he dropped out of school in 1996 because his father used to add burdens like farm work, animal rearing, firewood and grass collecting, fetching water from the river, etc. His father also used to hit him frequently when he missed any of these chores, hence he was angry about the life with his parents; he joined the military when an announcement for recruitment came up at wereda level in 1996. He was also motivated by the salary rate which was about 201 birr per month.

First he went to Hurso Military Camp, in Somali region, where he was trained for 3 months, and was based in Tigray region in Egzertela Terara (a mountain called God heated mountain) in Adiwala kebele. He was involved in the war with Eritrea in 1998 on the Badme front on the mission called *Zemecha Tsehay Gibat*. He stayed three years only on this front but in 2001 he left the army after the Ethio-Eritrean war was over, voluntarily, and came back to Do'oma and started working as a *delala* (see above). He mentioned that after the war was completed, some of the Tigrinya soldiers began to discriminate and insult other soldiers from minorities, which made him offended and he requested to quit though was not allowed to right away, but that time after he was denied there came a policy to cut the size of the army which created a chance for him to be one of the deducted soldiers.

During his stay he had no major injury except a minor one on his leg when he was hit by bomb flickers which didn't cause any disability. He was not married by then. He was 32 years old, when got back he got one hectare of land, he was married in 2003 and now he has 4 children, 3 girls and 1 boy. He has no official position in the kebele or the wereda and never had any other roles either. He was given 4000 birr compensation but no pension. He will re-join the army if he is given a better post in army as colonel or a bit lower, otherwise his aspiration is to stay as a fixer in the community. There is no network of ex-soldiers in the community and he has nothing to do with any other officials or bodies in this regard.

UU came to Womalo in 1978 with his older brother but the government decided to move them to Tadele in 1983 due to the hard drought. The main reason for his return was forceful military

recruitment to the *Tolay* military camp, where he trained as a soldier for six months. He escaped from the camp to his resettlement place, but he was caught there by officials and imprisoned for 15 days. He was released after signing to go back to the camp, but he took his son and wife and left the area at night and came back to Do'oma.

BB was born and grew up in Wolayta Zone. He was taken to the military in 1985: first to Harar and then to Ambo. There he escaped and came back to Arba Minch because if he moved back to his village officials could have imprisoned him. He moves to Do'oma on his own in 1987.

### Youth opinion leaders

There is one opinion leader for the male youth in the community who is very much respected by most of the youth because of his good behaviour, and strong efforts in his education while being an orphan growing up with his brother, but this young man joined college in 2011 so could not be interviewed. He comes every summer and semester break, and still remains as an opinion leader to the youth in the community. People said there was no other opinion leader.

Two young women were described as role models in the community. One is 16 years old and has no relatives. She is one of the outstanding Grade 10 students in the school and also trades maize on market days leaving her no time for leisure. She aspires to have a role in the kebele administration and also wants to go to Wolayta Sodo and become a nurse. Although many young men have proposed to her she does not want to get married. She is very close to the young women in the community, very sociable and enjoyable to be with. She is well-dressed compared with the other young women in the community; she wears bodices and shirts of good quality. The second, who is 18, was born in the community. She is a Gamo, her family wealth status is medium and she has a brother and four sisters. She is a Grade 6 student and says she is one of the clever students in the community; she has been involved in trading maize and *tef* for the last three years. She said the community considers her a strong female after she started combining trading and education.

### Elite network map

The kebele leaders, the elders' group and the religious group are those who discuss and give directions and decisions on proposed interventions.

The first three Amharas came to the area in 2005 when the Model Farmer was chair of the *kebele*. They had a support letter from the *wereda* which said 'these people will educate the community about farming, but take care that they should not be in large number in the kebele'. He is a member of the Parent Teacher Association, a religious organiser for the Orthodox Christians in the main kebele, *mehaber* organiser, and speaker of the *kebele* council. No-one in the family takes any other role in the community.

A small group of women said that kebele officials tend to have attachments to wereda leaders in expectation of promotion on different occasions. They may also need the network to maintain their positions

### Network exclusions

A small group of women said that the kebele leaders are the most important decision-makers in the community and a community members who is in their network could get priority in whatever programmes run in the kebele. The network is a way to get emergency food aid, farmland, credit, and improved seeds from the wereda agricultural bureau. In addition they get the chance to represent the kebele in meetings organised by different bodies. The importance of kebele leaders is becoming crucial as the kinds of government interventions diversify. The poor woman respondent in a group of three said that thought there are many landless community members seeking farmland the kebele officials manage to give land to few households and among the majority are relatives and friends of the kebele officials. She is a widow with three children and has been asking for land as a female household head for many years. Kebele officials refused her request because they fear she

may not use it as effectively as a man. Apart from the 0.25 hectares given to the women's association no women have benefited from the land re-allocation which 'is against women's rights'. However, the middle class woman believed that officials distribute land based on the length of time requests had been made. She said her husband got land because he had been asking for it for many years. The rich woman's husband had also got re-allocated land and she believed it was fair and unbiased.

The poor woman said that to get access to credit being in the kebele official network is one of the factors while the other was capability of debt re-payment. The middle class woman pointed out that those without good relations with the kebele officials could not easily access credit even if they were capable of re-paying the debt. The three women said that the officials were not fair in their selection of PSNP beneficiaries. 'We are not equal in the eyes of officials; except for tax. They incline to the community members who have close ties or affiliation with them.' A poor widowed potter who was excluded from PSNP said when she asked them to include her they said that the quota was full. 'But informally I heard that the problem is not related to the quota but they just want to reserve space for their relatives and friends.' The leader of the women's association which has 16 members and has been given land said they were all relatives and friends of the kebele cabinet.

An NGO gave goats to people chosen by the government. The poor respondent said that the goats were given to relatives and friends of officials. A few households got three goats. Those households who got a goat were obligated to pay back one goat after the goat gave birth; though the majority failed to do so. The respondent said that officials were not willing to choose very poor households because there was a fear they would not return the goat and they had no collaterals.

### **Social interactions within the community**

#### **Government-people relations – co-operation, non-co-operation and complexity**

##### **Wereda-community relations**

The park expansion took away the **land** of many farmers and caused serious conflict with the Park administration and the wereda administration. The solution given was to provide replacement land although not all of them had received it. The park expansion began in 2004 though those who got replacement land did not get it until 2009. They lost irrigable land which was replaced with non-irrigable land.

Very few people want to use **fertiliser** and some people refuse. PSNP beneficiaries are forced to take it.

Everyone in the kebele contributed 30 *birr* for **electricity** but the service had not yet arrived. When the chairman called a meeting for other purposes people raised complaints about this. The kebele leaders promised to push the case with the wereda administration. The kebele manager told the story of how this came about.

In the first place, the wereda plan was to provide electricity for the sub kebele (Womalo) for political consumption purposes. The people in Womala were anti EPRDF in the 2005 national election. Most of the electors in the sub kebele voted for EUP (Ethiopian Union Party). In 2007, the professionals who came from the region made the map of the sub-kebele jumping the kebele, Do'oma. The then kebele chairperson asked the professionals why they preferred to make a map of the sub kebele. The professional responded that the line should pass through Do'oma so that kebele could get the service. Then, they started the installations of poles in the sub kebele, Womala. In 2009, when they came back to the community to work on more installations in the sub kebele, the people of the kebele stopped the car with all professionals from passing through the kebele, Do'oma.

Following that, there was a peace and security problem in the community. To handle the situation the wereda sent wereda police to the kebele. The young men in the community lifted off the poles from the car. As the situation become more stressed and harder, the wereda cabinet people discussed with the kebele people and asked them to apologize. The elders elected two individuals and sent them to the

regional office to appeal. Then, the regional office ordered the wereda to facilitate the making of a map for the main kebele. Accordingly, the professional made the map of the kebele and started the installation. People in the community were cooperating with them in digging holes and carrying poles without any payment. Besides this, the community members were contributing money to prepare food for the professionals, hoping the kebele could access electricity. However, although the wereda promised to provide electricity to the kebele by the 2010 national election, there is nothing done other than installation until now."

The kebele manager says that this delay has challenged the kebele officials to talk about government success and consideration for the kebele people. Following the installation, the people in the sub kebele had voted EPRDF in the 2010 national election. However, the people are waiting for the coming national election to vote for opposition parties because they feel that the government is lying to them. The kebele manager says that recently, the kebele officials had reported the situation and the future threat to the wereda manager. However, as he said, everything is as it was.

Wereda informants said that there was resistance to **land registration** at the beginning as people thought the government was going to take their land or add tax, but now they are accepting the relevance and its real purpose. 80% of it was completed by the end of 2011. Whenever the administration has banned open grazing and forest utilisation there have been conflicts with the administration that caused much trouble until people understood and accepted the idea of conservation; now they accept it.

Communities greatly resist co-operating with the **waste disposal** element of the hygiene and environmental sanitation package and very few households in the wereda are doing it. The respondent thought that HEWs may not give equal attention to all packages and there is a tendency to concentrate on those which are easily accepted by the community. Few households wash their hands as recommended by the health extension workers.

The interventions against female circumcision are not accepted as it is a culture which is mandatory for women to get married in the community.

### Kebele-community relations

During the fieldwork a meeting was held by the kebele chairman and kebele manager, with assigned wereda police, to pay PSNP money to participants. The fieldworker was interviewing nearby when he heard argument and shouting from the meeting room. The reason was that the kebele/wereda announced deductions for fertiliser and ox debt repayment, the school construction contribution (42 *birr*), and land tax all at the same time which could take all of the expected PSNP money.

The kebele manager said that community resistance to change challenged him to complete his work on time. The Information Officer said he does not want to continue working in the position as community members are not co-operative with government interventions.

A small group of women said that though there is environmental work in the community most people do not consider it useful and when there is a campaign to work on terracing on steeper ground for soil conservation many households resist participating.

A trio of women of mixed wealth said that kebele officials are not responsive and there is no means to question their decision. The community cannot appeal against decisions and plans made by kebele officials; those who do are either relatives or friends of the officials or not a member of the ruling party. A poor divorcee said she has never contacted kebele officials because she fears them. *'They are not easy and welcoming to talk with.'* She does not approach elders either. A woman potter said *'It has no meaning to go to kebele and wereda officials because they are reluctant to listen you.'*

The head of the poor FHH said that the community does not welcome the intervention regarding women's rights to land as in the dominant culture land is the property of men exclusively.

### Ethnic/clan relations

Woman who said she was excluded because she was from Wolayta

### Relations among different religious groups

The Orthodox Christian church leader argued that the expansion of Protestantism had brought nothing to the community as Protestants wasted their time attending church programmes and *mehaber* that transcend the community which lasts for two days. However he said that particularly the Kalehiwot had contributed to the reduction of HIV/AIDS in the community. The wereda health bureau had given training to all religious leaders though the others had no concrete rules to reduce and control HIV/AIDS. He said that when the Orthodox Church preaches to members not to develop bad habits they stop them and join one of the Protestant churches. He said most people considered that Protestantism represented modernisation while they assume that the Orthodox Church is traditional. Protestants have a culture of helping each other. They support elderly people, orphans and blind people in the community and in hard times give grain to those who are worse off; but to receive help one must be a Protestant.

There are some tensions between Protestant and Orthodox Christian followers. A woman of 20 claimed that social interactions were reducing and 'the people have started to hate each other'. They are not willing to help people who are not of the same religion and no longer eat meat together. An elderly woman said that Orthodox Christians discriminate against craftworkers so the Kalehiwot church has established its own *iddir* to fight against social exclusion. A young Orthodox Christian man said people had started to consider religion as a basic issue in finding a marriage partner. Four years ago there was a quarrel over who was going to slaughter a bull. Now both Protestants and Orthodox Christians have their own praying before a bull is slaughtered so now they celebrate holidays such as Meskel separately. '*In holidays they do not exchange happy wishes between them*'. However a Kalehiwot leader said that, except for meat, they eat from the same plate as followers of other religions. Also there are households whose members follow different religions. In the richer case household

The head is Orthodox Christian since last year, before that he had no religious preference though his wife was Protestant from the beginning. Their children are free to choose either of their parents' sides, and some of them got to Protestant church, four of them joined their father and the one attending 10th grade has no religious preference. But the family had no conflict about religion though there is an attempt to attract the children by the parents. There is harmony in general. The family go to their respective churches every Sunday, and those Orthodox family members also attend church at times of holidays like St. George, St. Mary etc.

His wife said

My husband and I were quarrelling in choosing which *iddir* the household should join. In the last year, the organizational structure of the *iddir* was reconstructed based on religion. My colleagues in the church had been begging me to join the Kalehiwot *iddir*. However, my husband was not comfortable to join them. Finally, I decided to respect my husband's choice and the household joined the Orthodox Christians' *iddir*.

She said there are no differences between the two Protestant churches except that they have separate *iddir* and do not support non-members in hard times. They are free to attend services in the other church. The churches prohibit members from social relations with **traditional believers** though Protestants visit the family when someone has died regardless of their religion. An elderly man said to be a traditional believer denied it saying he joined the Orthodox Christian church last year and an elderly woman said she had joined the Orthodox Church because she does not want to be the only person in the community without an attachment to a religious institution.

### Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

Everyone wants access to irrigated land but as most of this land is occupied by the early settlers

there are complaints from young men in the community; the complaints have not led to formal requests for a share. One young man said the dry land given to them is very small and doesn't help much because of rain shortage. A young woman said that young men's involvement in the community was limited because culturally elders had the lion's share in community affairs as decision-makers. A young man said that youth have good relations with the community and participate in all community affairs; church members also co-operate with youth.

## External relations

### Relations with other communities

In 2009 there was a conflict with people from Hoya Degeza kebele when Do'oma people on the border tried to access the river Masta which had been used for many years by farmers in Hoya. A few people were injured. The kebele applied to the wereda. One informant said that they decided that the new canal should be stopped but another said the wereda said they could share it though the Hoya people were still against it.

In the last year there was a conflict with people from Menena Abaya kebele over the Zage river when people in Womalo made a new canal. There were no injuries as the militia kept the situation under control. The kebele chairman said

In the last year, there was a problem with the neighbouring kebele in relation to boundaries. The community members had taken land from the neighbouring kebele to dig new irrigation channels. The neighbouring kebele officials complained about it and we wrote a letter to them to reduce frictions. Having the letter, they did not change their ideas and the wish to demolish the channels. We continued our diplomacy and sent elders to the counter kebele cabinet. There was no change through our efforts so I went to the wereda manager's office and explained the case. Although, I do not know what decision he took, they have already stopped claiming their land.

Another informant said the wereda said they should keep the canal as it is rather than causing fights.

The hunters from Kemba wereda burn the grass when they hunt wildlife around the park and sometimes the fire extends to the community grazing which meant that there might not be enough grazing for community households. Now the Maze Park has stopped the burning which reduced the pressure; though they took part of the community's land they helped in this regard.

There were stories of violent men coming from neighbouring communities and attacking women. One respondent said this was no longer a problem as the kebele administration had arrested them and taken them to the wereda court.

### Community – NGO relations

## Social cohesion in the community and beyond

A male respondent said that *'Most of the time families are affected by drought and food shortage, and as a result they sell their assets, get in to indebtedness, and it affects happiness and cheerfulness of the community.'*

Another said that the expansion of Protestantism, particularly the Kalehiwot church, had led to greater social-co-operation and security and less violence. A small group of women said that a few years ago *'some individuals created a public disturbance under the influence of alcohol. They knocked on the doors of household at night and made the community noisy. The community has drafted a law to punish them. After this, the toxic individuals become calm and stop disturbing.'* A woman said that violent fights among men are reducing partly because people have become more friendly as they are bound by religious institutions and partly because the government has formulated laws and takes measures if they are not respected.

One woman said that the new social organisation structures had contributed to bringing followers of the same religion together. If anyone in a religion-based *iddir* faces difficulties the leaders of the

*iddir* tell the others to contribute what they can. Another woman said that the elders played a big role in maintaining social cohesion.

### ***Ideas in the community***

#### **Local customary repertoire**

The conservatives are those people who conceive cultural practices as correct and want to promote them. They are against government interventions on harmful traditional practice. There are four older men aged 60 to 70 who are pagans and against the expansion of religion. They favour almost all government policies except action against female circumcision and in favour of females' inheritance rights and the right of divorced and widowed women to land and property. They believe these actions are against the tradition of the community. They are against improved seeds and fertilisers; they believe the soil is naturally fertile.

The successful farmer's wife said that the wereda people brought new ideas such as development, religious tolerance and good working culture. As she explains, the ideas which come from the towns and cities are disturbing the stability of the community. She elaborated, "The young generation is leading unstable life. They do want to work and change their livelihood. They perceive the outside as it is easy to go on without any difficulty. Because of these reasons, I do not like the ideas people brought from towns and cities to the community." The respondent says that there would not be any significant change through the radio programmes. As she explain, the habit if the community to use radio is very negligible. She pointed out that there is no international migrant in the community.

Some long-term inhabitants said that there is no culture of storage of food for security to cope with hard time; people sell their harvests without enough consideration of the amount of food needed until the next production season which causes a food gap. Also lack of hard work and knowledge of farming techniques contribute to the problem. Farming hours are from 7 am to 11.30 am as people believe that is all that men and oxen can cope with in the hot sun. There is lack of culture of hard work.

The migrants said many locals produced large quantities of low-value maize and sell it when the price is very low. They don't even keep enough food for the family. For those with irrigated land this is partly because they say 'we can produce at any time' and the other reason is that they don't have knowledge about how to use pesticides in storage. They sell their livestock to cover the food gap.

The local community is accustomed to having 9-10 children without considering their economic status. A kebele official said that an inclusive education against female circumcision, rape and abduction and male violence is given to the community. Also education is given on marriage age of 18 and land rights. There is some change following these interventions. However, the conservatives are against many of them for cultural reasons. They do not want to see women owning land. They believe a woman should be dependent on a man's resources.

The old head of the poor household said it is not bad to allow women to exercise their rights but everything should have a limit. 'Women now believe they are superior to men not equal, as the law supports them men have had to give up their status though still women lack some strength and ability that men have.

#### **Local modern repertoire**

The progressives were said to be those who engage in business, particularly cereal trading. They are very influential and are accepted both by the community and the kebele.

The successful farmer said that people are not change resistant in general. This is because the kebele is near to the wereda town and people are closer to new ideas and lifestyle, but no parent wants to see their children spending much time in town in fear of early sexual exercise and risk of HIV. There are no new religious ideas in the community, as there is no TV, the only media is radio to which the

community rarely listen, as they spend more time listening to songs.

The other new idea is gained from in-migrants who educated the community about new crops, like sesame, onions, spices, sorghum, and even other things that were not known before, he said that 'our DAs are the in-migrants'. Though these new items are now being produced, the kebele couldn't provide pesticides; pests coming with new products are a big challenge.

One man said that the expansion of Protestantism has brought a working culture. Earlier people thought there was no way of coping with drought because God had created them to live in that situation. However, now people have started to perceive that God created human beings for good and they are very optimistic that they can change the community into an appropriate area in which to live. A small group of female respondents said that most community members perceived the new land registration positively.

The Amharas work from 6 am to 12.30 pm and when they co-operate they work a full day on harvesting. The migrants said they have grown up with a culture of a full working day on the farm and they do it here too. There are very active local farmers who had adopted everything from the migrants and benefited from the new products.

None of the new migrants gave birth from 2005 until recently. When a local farmer commented that they had begun to have babies when 'you know you have wealth now' the migrants replied that they had been using birth control. A few neighbours have begun to give attention to the importance of family planning.

On women's rights a kebele official said that most community members would like to co-operate with the kebele because they believe the interventions are one way of modernising the kebele. This section of the community is progressive and moderately progressive.

### **Books, newspapers, radio and television**

People can listen to Ethiopian Radio, Radio Fana and Deutschwelle (German radio) which are all in Amharic; there are some programmes in the Wolayta and Gamo languages. People barely listen to radio and when they do it is mostly music.

In the economically successful household nine of the twelve members could read. The head read the bible and the EPRDF party newspaper and the children read textbooks and exercise books. The family listened to the news and music on the radio. The older son watches TV at the wereda town. Five of the eight people living in the politically-active household could read; the children study their education and all the family read the bible – the head reads it aloud to the family every evening. Sometimes he reads the political newspaper 'Revolutionary Democracy' that comes through the kebele which tells about the EPRDF and its activities. He would like to read other newspapers and magazines. The parents listen to radio programmes in Amharic and the children in Gamo; he hears the news like agricultural production improvement in other areas like Gojjam, about the Millennium Dam, Premier Meles's visit to Korea etc. NN and the older children watch TV programmes in town.

In the middle-wealth household the head listens to news and weather reports in Amharic and her children listen to music and sports news. Seven of the nine members can read; the wife is illiterate and the 9 year-old in Grade 3 can only read in Gamo. He can read and write letters. The family reads magazines and other writings together and discusses the issues. He reads the Bible and political party magazines but there is no reading culture in the community beyond these. On the radio people can listen to news and drama and entertainment; it is helpful to practice listening to Amharic. His uncle is hired as an artist by a drama on a Wolayta radio programmes and the family listens to it every Tuesday night at 10 pm. In the poor household both parents are illiterate and the children too young to go to school.

All the household members in the richer FHH except the head could read; when they have homework they read at night for a few hours and sometimes read the Bible. Some of them would

like more reading materials. Some go to Wacha to watch the ETV programme in Amharic on Sunday. They listen to radio programmes in their mother tongue, Wolayta, on Saturday and Sunday.

In the poor FHH all except the two younger children and the head can read but they do not do it regularly as they are too busy doing domestic work or trading. They cannot read at night as there is no light. They used to watch TV paying one *birr* to the owner but he stopped using it.

### **Urban connections and ideas**

A poor woman said that when those people who leave to live in cities and towns return to visit they dress in a new way and are good at keeping personal hygiene and learn to speak Amharic which is a symbol of modernisation.

Ideas coming from towns include cell phones, considered as being modern and a wealth status symbol, and clothes like jeans and hats. A woman said that ideas coming from towns and cities are making young people in the community restless. The middle-wealth household head said that the new styles of dressing like miniskirts, tight trousers and shirts exposing women's bodies are against the local culture of covering most of the body. He sees this new style as tempting youth sexually and exposing them to HIV/AIDS. He tells his children attending school in Sodo not to dress in such unhealthy styles. The poor head of household said some spend their time in town daily which affects their success in farming.

### **Diaspora connections and ideas**

None mentioned

### **Globalisation**

Jeans

### **Government ideology and interventions**

Wereda informants said that except among the wereda cabinet there has been no formal discussion with government employees, kebele officials, or communities on the GTP. They said that the wereda's development activity has deteriorated. The administration has become corrupted and biased and this demotivates the experts and officials in the wereda. They suggested that there should be a strong linkage between kebele and wereda officials and the wereda has to work with the community. Some male community informants said no information about the GTP had reached the community but some women said they had heard about it on the radio.

Whenever new information comes from the wereda kebele officials sends a person with a microphone to call people for a meeting the following morning. There the new ideas will be presented and discussed among kebele officials and the community. Kebele meetings are held to discuss matters like agricultural extension issues, including fertiliser and improved seeds, for public work campaigns like school construction, canal-building, road-building, and soil conservation, and PSNP. A small group of male respondents said this was a good way of sharing and discussing information. A woman's group said there are not enough chairs and tables at the FTC where training on government policies and strategies is given.

The successful farmer said that the ideas coming to this kebele are good, mainly those ideas coming from the government like agriculture and health extension programmes and natural resource conservation, etc, but he thinks that the administration both in the kebele and the wereda lacks commitment to the ideas. The politically active man said that ideas coming from the wereda officials are mainly development ideas like agricultural extension related issues, organization of associations and political issues. He feels that they are all good, and the community accepts them. A poor woman said wereda officials initiate the community work hard and change their livelihood which is relevant for personal and community development.

The HEWs organise meetings irregularly to give education on different packages.

A young man said that cultural interventions are reducing costs for funerals and weddings and avoiding female circumcision but they don't seem as successful as hoped.

The poor household head said that development issues related to agricultural extension and PSNP are relevant but the political issues are less important in terms of impact and time consuming. His wife said there is no problem with their ideas but they are more theoretical; we want practical interventions.

**Ethnic ideologies**

Not talked about publicly.

**Religious ideologies**

The expansion of religion, mainly Protestantism, has shaped people's minds towards good thinking. The poor head of household said there is easy support only within religious groups so some are excluded.