

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

**COMMUNITY SITUATION 2010
KORODEGAGA, OROMIYA REGION**

STAGE 1 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 6



Philippa Bevan

Researched by Aster Shibeshi and Yared Tefera

August 2010

This report is one of six Community Situation 2010 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage One of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Girar in Gurage (SNNP) in 2010 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in January/April 2010. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Methodology Annex of the Stage One 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 19. (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) and in-depth research in 2005 (DEEP) for some of them. Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage One Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net

COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE IN 2010	1
Community parts	1
Community in context	2
KEY SUB-SYSTEMS: HOUSEHOLDS IN 2010	3
Household structures	3
Examples of households	4
A middle wealth household which left PSNP after two years	4
A poor to average household which participated in PSNP	7
A rich household with one of three wives included in PSNP	9
A man who moved in with his ex-wife’s sister	12
A household headed by a politically active woman who is in the PSNP programme	13
A household headed by woman with illegitimate children who is a member of PSNP	15
Dependent adults	16
STRUCTURES OF INEQUALITY IN 2010	20
Genderage	20
Being male in Korodegaga	21
Being female in Korodegaga	22
Policies and programmes for the youth	26
Elderly people	27
Disabled people	27
Wealth and poverty	27
Overall community wealth	27
Household poverty incidence	27
Inequality within households	28
Problems poor people face	28
Re-distribution to poor households	28
Pro-poor government interventions	28
Upward and downward mobility	29
Ethnicity, clans and religion	29
Other social exclusion	29
FIELDS OF ACTION /DOMAINS OF POWER IN 2010	29
Cross-cutting	29
Livelihoods	30

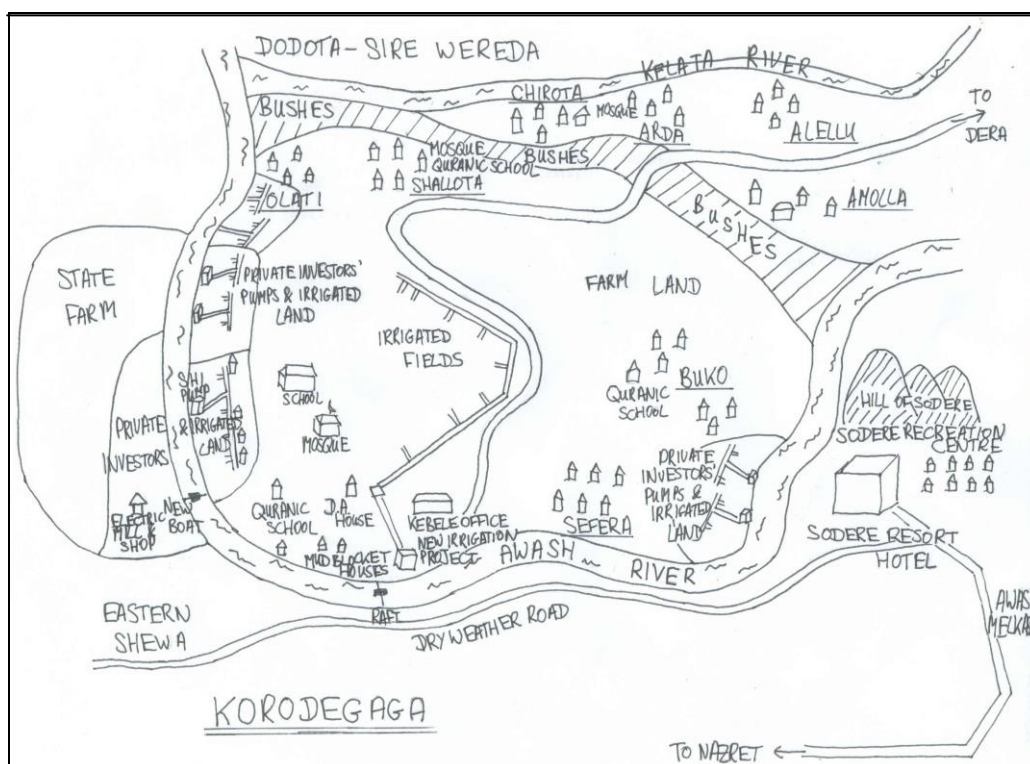
Human re/production.....	36
Social re/production	44
Community management.....	45
Ideas	54
SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN 2010.....	54
External relations.....	54
Intra-community relations.....	55
SOCIAL ACTORS	56
Map 1: Korodegaga	1
Map 2: Korodegaga rural and urban linkages.....	2
Table 1: Korodegaga Household Types 2004.....	4
Table 2: Korodegaga Demographic Structure Estimate 2004.....	21
Table 3: Korodegaga Productive Wealth Estimate 2004	27
Table 4: Kebele chairmen 2003-10	51
Table 5: Key social actors in Korodegaga in 2010.....	56
Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle – Oromiya	3
Figure 2: Dodota Wereda Structure 2003	46
Figure 3: Dodota Wereda Structure 2010	47
Figure 4: Korodegaga Kebele Structure 2003	48
Figure 5: Korodegaga Kebele Structure 2010	48

Community as a whole in 2010

Community parts

Korodegaga one of 15 kebeles (12 rural and 3 urban) found in Dodota wereda and in 2010 was reported as having around 400 households and a **population** of 1477 though it is likely that this is an underestimate. The people were pastoralists who gradually settled in 9 villages which are scattered over a large area. It takes almost two hours to walk from some villages to others. One of the villages, Sefera, has been the ‘administrative capital’ of the kebele since the Derg, and recently a number of new administration-related buildings have been built there. The inhabitants are almost 100% Muslim Oromos in contrast to other kebeles in the wereda with mixed religions. The community is composed of different clans of the Oromo people. Over half the population is under the age of twenty.

Map 1: Korodegaga



Source: WIDE

Korodegaga villages: Alkelu; Amolla; Sefera; Buko; Chirota; Arda; Shallotta; Olati; Bowra

The kebele is bounded by Awash and Qeleta rivers. In terms of climate the kebele lies mostly in the lowland area forming part of a drought-prone belt that runs north-south through the floor of the Rift Valley. Farmers produce grain crops, mainly teff and maize on rainfed land. There were severe droughts in 1984, 1994, 2002, and 2009. There have been few good rainfed harvests since the early 1980s and the community has more or less depended on food aid for survival for many years. The kebele was included in the PSNP1 though wereda officials said the food they got through the safety net was not sufficient. However, there is good irrigation potential from the rivers, which is being increasingly exploited under various institutional arrangements including some land leased to an investor from Australia. Investors and some farmers grow vegetables on irrigated land, while other farmers grow maize. A lot of people participate in irrigation work as landholders or daily labourers, particularly on investors' land and irrigation has improved overall food security, although there is still considerably dependency on rainfed outputs. Access to land is better than in other kebeles as it

has a considerable amount of communal land for use by the youth and landless. Farmers keep cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and chickens. There are virtually no local non-farm opportunities in the area; one resident worked as a Life Guard at Sodere Resort.

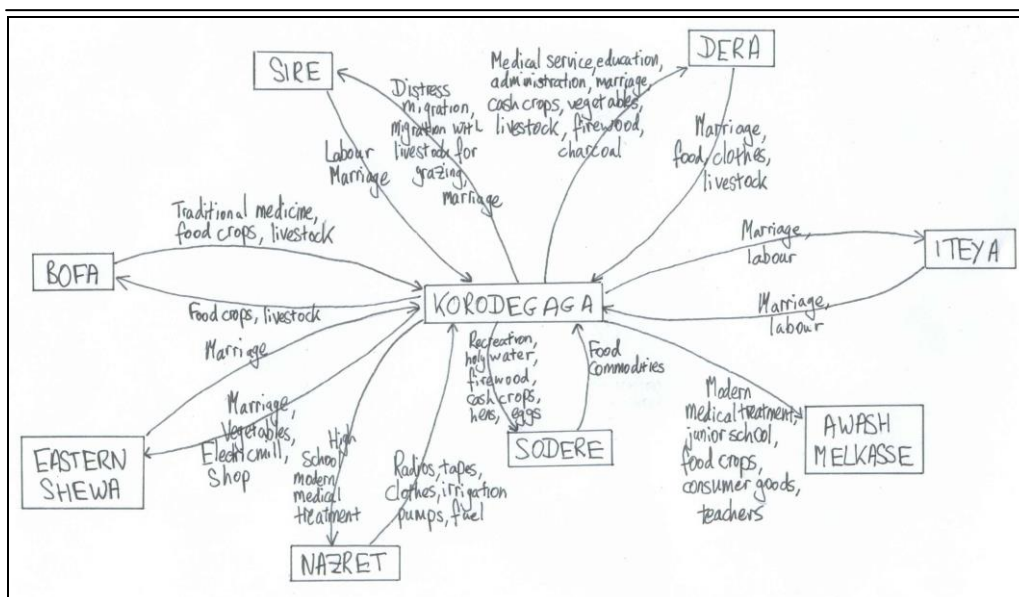
Selling firewood has been a coping strategy for poor people regularly and many people in drought situations for many years leading to progressive de-forestation, although with increasing daily labour opportunities there is less of it. There is erosion caused by wind and rain and occasional flooding of the rivers. There is a dirt road which runs to Dera and a manually-hauled raft to cross the Awash to Sodere which is on an all-weather road. In common with other rural kebeles in the wereda Korodegaga has no electricity, although there has been a supply in one place in the past. It has a full mobile network service and a one-way V-Sat telephone service due to inability to pay the bill for outgoing calls. The kebele has two elementary schools giving it a better than average teacher-pupil ratio. It has a health post, Farmers' Training Centre building, and a new veterinary building. Like most rural kebeles in the wereda rivers are the source of drinking water although one spring has been declared potable by the wereda (others are hot springs).

Wereda officials said that the main potentials for future livelihood development lay in producing three times a year using irrigation of both vegetables and cereals and cattle fattening. Major employment potentials come from the flourishing of youth and women's co-operatives, private farms and investors' farms. Improvements in food security are possible once the government irrigation scheme is working again. The recent establishment of the health post has increased the potential for health services in the community, while the building of a second school will lead to the reduction in dropout and absenteeism. Micro-credit services started in the kebele in 1993 EC and expanded recently, while a mobile telephone network is available and there is the possibility of tapping the electric power supply which goes to Sodere. (One of the investors has apparently paid the electricity company to connect Korodegaga and it will happen soon). Peace and security is improving as a result of the presence of 20 militias in the kebele.

Community in context

Korodegaga is 19 kms from Dera, the wereda capital, via Sodere and Awash-Melkassa. Inhabitants

Map 2: Korodegaga rural and urban linkages



Source: WIDE

have to cross the Awash river using a raft and walk on a footpath to Sodere to the asphalt road from Sodere to Dera. Alternatively there is a dry weather road via Dire Kiltu with a distance of 25 km.

Korodegaga had no bridge and unlike all the other kebeles in the wereda does not have all weather road access which makes it an unattractive option for the large-scale international investors who are increasingly accessing land in other parts of the wereda and beyond.

While Korodegaga is 'remote' in the sense that it can take a long time to get out of, once residents have reached the all-weather roads at Sodere or Dera they can easily reach the large town of Nazret and the smaller towns en route. Map 2 shows the marriage and economic linkages which they have with other places.

Due to proneness to drought and the lowland climatic zone wereda officials said that Dodota wereda is less wealthy than surrounding weredas, though it has a better development potential due to the irrigation potential of the Awash and Qeleta rivers.

Wereda officials said that In the wider area Wonji Sugar Factory is expanding on 2700 hectares and commercial farms and other investments have commenced. Some 10 miles from Korodegaga along the Awash there is a very large new sugar cane farm with sprinkler systems, said to be an extension to the existing Awash farm; local people said that the previous landholders had been removed from the land, settled in government-built housing and given 10 years income as promised in a Regional Proclamation. Other investments include a foreign-owned flower farm and an Indian cattle fattening estate. Apparently large tracts of land from 3 kebeles in the area have been identified for investors who had not yet been selected¹. For local farmers wereda officials said that spate irrigation covering 4191 hectares in five kebeles has started and there is potential for large-scale irrigation using the two rivers.

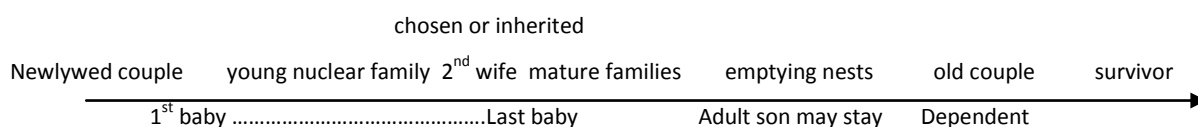
Key sub-systems: households in 2010

Household structures

Households in these rural communities are small systems with three economic functions: to produce livelihoods; to reproduce household members on a daily basis, and, at certain stages in the household development cycle, to produce and raise children to work in the future. Their position in the local development cycle relates to the ages of the leading adults. As a result of the stresses of rural life households regularly deviate from the locally accepted household development trajectory (for shorter or longer periods) with consequences for the collectivity as well as individual members. Deviator households are likely to be connected to stronger households.

The ideal-type household development cycle for a man who only has one wife throughout his life begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple (new household), has a period where the first children are born and dependent (young nuclear family), and moves into a period where children provide household labour (mature nuclear family). The 'mature nuclear stage may last over twenty years as women often have their first child before they are twenty and their last one in their forties. However, the Muslim Oromo of Korodegaga would like to practise polygamy and most frequently when the household is in the mature nuclear phase, the head either brings a second (and sometimes third) wife into the household, or sets up a separate household for the additional wife, keeping more or less connection with the first wife.

Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle – Oromiya



¹ Thanks to Tom Lavers, a Ph D student at the University of Bath UK, for sharing some of his research on land with us which is used here and later in the report.

Customarily a widow is expected to marry a brother of her dead husband, while if a wife dies the family is expected to replace her with a sister. Children usually start contributing to the household domestic and productive economies from about the age of six. As they grow up they start to work more and more for themselves until they leave the household, usually for marriage and to set up their own households.

Table 1 provides the estimate that 12% of households contain a polygamous male, though this is likely to be an underestimate. In 2005 a youth focus group said that 'most husbands have more than one wife'. Table 1 also shows that as time passes households change and that as a result of life events some 'fall off' the ideal trajectory for shorter or longer periods with particular consequences for the livelihood options and wealth statuses of their members. In 2004 a WeDE survey suggested that around 29% of households were off the ideal track in some way or other. 23% of households were female-headed.

Table 1: Korodegaga Household Types 2004

	% of households	No of households in sample
Young couple (under 30) no kids	2.4%	6
Young nuclear family (oldest child under 13)	30.6%	78
Mature nuclear family (oldest child 13 or more)	14.9%	38
Polygynous 2+ wives in the same household	6.3%	16
Polygynous male head with Wife 1	5.5%	14
Polygynous and female-headed	4.3%	11
Nuclear family with old parent	0.4%	1
Emptying nest	0.8%	2
Mature/old couples living alone or with non-children	2.7%	7
Couple heading three generational household	2.7%	7
Widows/divorced/separated women with (grand) children and maybe others	16.5%	42
Widowers/divorced/separated men with (grand) children and maybe others	3.1%	8
Stepfamily	3.1%	8
Siblings (+)	3.9%	10
Female alone	1.6%	4
Male alone	1.2%	3
Total	100%	255

Source: RANS 2004

Examples of households

A middle wealth household which left PSNP after two years

SF is 62 and lives with his wife MN who claims she is 40, his 17 year-old son and a 10 year old boy employed as a herder. He has sons in the community who have set up their own households. He has another wife who also has children. He undertakes various activities like fencing, herding cattle, preparing agricultural equipment, weeding and working on irrigation. His wife fetches water and does domestic work and also does weeding, digging, watering and harvesting vegetables and maize. In the last four years they shifted from vegetable to cereal (especially maize) production because of labour shortage.

His 30 year old son has been **employed in Dera municipality** since 2006. While he was learning in Dera the family had to bear education-related expenses like food, fuel, exercise books, clothes and transport. He used to help the household with various tasks including weeding, farming and herding cattle and they have faced a problem since they lost this support. But they are benefited as he is

employed and can support himself.

13 year-old AS **dropped out of school** last year as he was ill and they could no longer provide his educational expenses and food due to the drought. He was learning at Dewero staying with his sister and dropped out from Grade 6. His mother said he 'has no mood to learn or continue his education'. ND was hired last year. He works as a herder and also does farming, weeding and other tasks ordered by the head. His salary is 800 birr per year.

The household got good agricultural production in 2008 but last year drought led to total crop failure. SF was also involved in a **dispute over land** with his neighbour who is a woman heading a household. She accused him at the wereda and when he went to court they 'refused to consider it properly' and he lost some land to his neighbour. He incurred expenses for transport, food, the application expense at the wereda and photocopy costs; he thinks the decision is the result of a bribe by his neighbour.

Since 2005 the household's **wealth** was mostly average with not much change for a long time due to good weather for consecutive years (in 2005 and this year they faced serious food shortages). The production during this time was used for consumption and to buy clothes; it was insufficient to buy assets. Last year's **drought** led to hunger and food shortage this year. So far they have sold 6 goats and 4 sheep to buy wheat and maize. The family is using 50kg for 1 month's consumption skipping some meal times. Recently they spent 700 birr on consumption cereals. They did not get food aid and FFW as they are better off than most of the people in the community. After benefiting for 2 years they were excluded for being better-off, but MN (wife) said there are richer households than hers who are benefiting from FFW, e.g. MN (see the rich household below).

Two years ago SF bought improved maize seed of the bi-sexual type and it failed leaving him with a **debt** of 600 birr – 400 birr for the seed and 200 birr for fertiliser. DAs distributed the seed to the 130 households in the SHI irrigation scheme. He has also advised them about **compost preparation**. Last year 2 sheep died due to drought and disease. The family was involved in the **fattening of an ox** which they sold this year for 2000 birr; they used the money to buy consumption cereals. They also **rented out 1 hectare of land for 1300 birr** to buy food crops for the family. This will reduce the production for the coming year further reducing the wealth of the family. They have 10 chickens and use the money from eggs to buy coffee, fuel and salt. The **irrigation land reliably provides the family with maize**; they consider it a sustainable source of food and all the family work on the irrigated land. As it is small it cannot fully support the family's consumption. His wife took 500 birr from the kebele micro-credit. They bought two goats for breeding with some of the money; they have not yet produced kids but they expect a good result unless there is disease or drought.

Both MN and AS have been ill. She has coughing, vomiting, fever and feels tired; she suspected she has **TB** because she suffered from it 10 years ago. AS had coughing and fever. They both went to Awash Melkasa private clinic and had an injection and tablets but they didn't tell her what the illness was. Both recovered from it. Last year she fell while collecting firewood in the forest and broke her hand. She was treated by the **traditional healer** (Wegesha); it has improved but still she can't work as before.

They have not benefited from government health services. When they are ill **they go to private health services** because the drugs are not effective in the government health service and also not available. She gets education and advice from **HEWs** and she practised it like digging a toilet and keeping house and surroundings clean to prevent communicable diseases including malaria. She avoids keeping water in a container for a long time and cleans animal dung on time. People became more aware of the importance after 2008 when TDS (cholera?) affected some of the community. There are new interventions such as **spraying DDT** every 5/6 months, using **bednets** and keeping surroundings clean. HEWs also advise people to use **family planning**. HEWs educate them in meetings and also visit her place to see how she has implemented their education and advice.

She uses wood and dung cakes for fuel.

She has had **13 children** though now only 5 are alive. Generally she would like to have more. Her husband has more children from his second wife. She learned from community meetings that the government is against **female circumcision**. Among the Arssi Oromo Muslims girls are circumcised one or two months before they marry. The girls themselves are aware and don't accept this. Moreover the current situation didn't allow for the keeping of traditional practices; the girls marry by themselves without the knowledge of their parents.

Now mothers take **more care of their infants** keeping them clean and feeding them a fresh and balanced diet from their production. They take them to the health service when they are ill and for vaccination. Toddlers are fed with special food which is different from adults and their bodies and clothes are kept clean. Currently **almost all school age children go to school** and parents try to continue their education but most adolescents are not willing; they don't accept parents' advice and want to do things on their own.

This year they constructed a new hut. One of her neighbours built a house with blockets (moulded mud). Generally there is change in her and the neighbours' lives.

With regard to **infrastructure** the mobile phone is not very important for his family. The **boat** is important to get access to markets and transport products. There is no improvement in roads and transport. She travels a long distance to go to the market and well as to the grinding mill. One of her son's is a member of the **kebele militia**.

The household regularly **co-operates** with other households on agricultural activities and when they face problems, though they have not need help with problems since the last research in 2005. MN said she could borrow money or other things from her neighbours. Neighbours also assist in times of fun, e.g. during her son's wedding. SF said that the surge in development activity has not affected inter-dependence among neighbours in times of crisis. They can call relatives in other areas for help; for example her daughter helped AF with accommodation and sometimes provided food while he was a student.

The family has not participated in government-related **organisations** apart from the **Credit Association** and the **Women's Association**. The 500 birr was used to buy clothes and 2 goats. The family was asked to repay the debt after six months before the goats had reproduced. The family was **forced to sell other goats to repay the debt**. 'They did not even accept our request to skip the repayment for this year as it is a drought year and that affected our capacity to repay the debt.' MN said recently the activities of the Women's Association have increased. Every woman who has her own house, whether a wife or a FMN should be a member to get an identity card and benefits from any intervention in the area. She knows about gender laws etc in theory but has not been affected.

SF has been a member of the **iddir** since the Derg regime. It is an important association that helps members in times of crisis like death and when the ox of a member dies. MN belongs to the **female iddir**. She prays in the **Mosque** every Friday.

Considering development interventions SF considers that the family was **harm**ed by the land dispute, the micro-credit and the absence of Grade 6 at the kebele school which has meant that AS has dropped out of his education. They were also harmed by taking the improved maize seed which failed. He said they have **benefited** from digging a latrine as they can avoid and prevent disease. Their son wanted to get irrigable and rainfed land when it was distributed to landless youths but he was excluded because he was a student.

SF said that they benefited by contributing cash and labour for the construction of the new school and labour contribution for the construction of new classes in the existing school. This helps the community as a whole and he believes that Grade 6 will be opened next year and his son can continue his education. They usually pay **land tax** and other contributions; this year **because of the**

drought they expect to have mercy as before. Generally tax is important to ensure ownership. The maintained boat helped them to get easy access to the market.

The household obtains **information** mainly from **radio** programmes. They also get it from the **DA and wereda officials** whose names they do not know, **kebele officials** during meetings, **people from outside the area** when they meet in different places and **their children**. SF thinks the government model of development is good 'if they are properly implemented'. He concluded that the household had not improved its state in the last five years because low prices for agricultural products meant that they could not buy fixed assets and the cattle could not breed due to shortage of grazing land. **The interventions could not bring much change.** The price of fuel for pumps and pesticides for onions and tomatoes retards their development as they could not cover the costs.

A poor to average household which participated in PSNP

AT is almost 50 and lives with his wife BL in her mid-forties, his son AA (19) and daughter HA (13). His married daughter, TN, her husband JA and son FJ (4) was also living with them at the time of the research. His daughter ZA (24) was (voluntarily) abducted and married in 2005.

AT and his son-in-law work on farm and related tasks. JM and family came to live with them as the land he has from his parents (0.5 has) could not support his wife and child. He came to work as a **daily labourer** on an investor's farm. AA also works on the farm and herds livestock. BL undertakes most domestic work and also does weeding, digging, collecting harvest and preparing the land for planting vegetables. She also cleans the sheep's house and for oxen and cows prepares food and cleans the house. Sometimes she does daily labour, especially tomato picking and substitutes for her husband in **FFW**. TN fetches water, works on the farm and does other domestic work. ZA used to do farming, weeding and harvesting as well as domestic work. 'Her marriage harmed the family'.

Two years ago one of AT's **ox died of disease** so he gave his **land for share** to others having no ox to plough. The production was good and he was able to buy 2 oxen. However the next year one ox died falling off a cliff. Another bad thing was that AA **dropped out of school** due to the incapacity of his parents to afford the educational costs in the town. The last harvest totally failed due to drought and he sold an ox to buy food for the family. He has also sold goats.

AT considers himself to have been the poorest in the community in 2005 and to be in the same state now. In the years between his wealth improved for a while: **PSNP in 2005/6 meant he did not have to sell his cattle** and chickens and in the following year he was supported by the safety net and got a good price for his crops. The following year the production was so good that he was able to buy 2 oxen but an accident to his ox and **last year's drought** forcing him to sell the remaining ox and 9 goats to buy food have **reduced him to extreme poverty once more**. They had also taken credit from the kebele for teff seed which failed due to drought but they still had to repay the debt.

In 2005 the family got ¼ hectare of **irrigation land** from the kebele on the Self-Help scheme. They are producing twice a year; if there were not **conflict among association members** they could have produced three times a year. This year, due to the drought, they are not using it properly mainly farming maize for family consumption as its cost of production is low because there is no need to apply fertiliser and herbicides.

In 2008 the family bought 20 kg of the new improved maize seed on credit incurring a **debt of 300 birr**. It failed as they did not know how to produce. Last year the family bought seed and fertiliser with **cash that was wasted because of the drought**. The wife also borrowed 500 birr from the micro-credit association to buy teff seed, fertiliser and herbicides. Due to the drought the crop failed and the family has given ½ hectare of land for rent to repay the debt. She paid 535 birr within 7 months.

In 2005 the family had 4 goats; four years later they had increased to 14. This year they sold 9 to buy food. The family has given its **land for share** every year except in 2008 when they farmed on their own. The family has been involved in **PSNP** since 2005 working on road maintenance and terracing.

The amount of grain supplied varied each year as kebele officials changed their assessments of the family's wealth. In 2005 they received 90kg per month for 6 family members; in 2006 60 kg for 4 family members; in 2007 105 kg for 7 family members and the following year 60 kg for 4 family members. Up until September 2009 they had received 30 kg per month. Since then they have had relief assistance twice – 30 kg of wheat and 3 kg of boleke (soya beans). This year as a coping strategy AT, TN, AA and JA have been involved in **daily labour on an investor's farm**. It helped the family to get food although it is seasonal work.

'We may not have survived this year had it not been for the daily work'.

They built a new house last year which **separated animals home from people**. BL keeps the surroundings clean and there is a latrine. She still **uses river water**. The HEWs advise them to use wuha agar (purified water) but it is not available in the area. Her house has been **sprayed with DDT**.

BL and AA were sick with **diarrhoea for about a month** this year. They went together to Awash Melkasa private clinic, got the same type of drugs and were cured. HA is **chronically ill with sores on her head**; she was taken to Shebelu Tsebel (holy water) because she has been taken to the health centre and taken different kinds of medicine which did not cure her. She has improved but still she is not cured. BL suffers from **chronic stomach-ache and feels tired and has a fever**; as usual she went to **Awash Melkasa private clinic** and got an injection and drugs and showed improvement from her illness.

BL said that in the **government health service there is no medicine and the workers do not treat people well**. There is one private clinic whose name is 'basen' which gives good treatment at a reasonable price. She said it is the **will of God to decide the number of children**. Anyhow it is OK; she has **four alive while two died**. She had problems when she was pregnant as she did not feel healthy and couldn't work. She went to Wonji private clinic and got an injection and was better. She also had a problem during one delivery being **in labour for 2 days**. She didn't go to the health service for this but was helped by a **TBA**.

She agrees with the Government's ideas about circumcision. Two of her daughters married by voluntary abduction and **were not circumcised**. Infants now get better care, for example in keeping them clean, breast-feeding up to 4 months and no longer than 2 years. They should take vaccinations at 45 days and 9 months. 1-5 year olds need a balanced diet for physical and mental strength and should be kept clean. School children should spend more time on education than chores and they should be provided with school materials. Parents should give adolescents responsibility to do things their own way as at this stage they are not willing to do what parents say though they should give advice about what is good and bad. This is not necessary for young adults.

HA is in Grade 2 but has been **absent from school for 2 months because of illness** which relapses from time to time. She said her son AA **dropped out from school** because of the distance factor. He wanted to have a bicycle but the parents couldn't afford it so he dropped out. He is not interested in going back to school and is working well for himself on daily labour and on parents' farmland.

With regard to roads BL has to **travel a long distance to reach the mill** on the dry weather road from the kebele to Dera. It is difficult to cross the river to get to the mill in East Shewa with a big load. AT faces difficulty to sell his outputs at good prices locally and there is a **transport problem** to sell in further market places.

The government's security programme makes household members feel safe. There is **no electricity**; if there were there might be a grinding mill in the kebele.

Asked to suggest **improvements in interventions** to improve livelihoods AT said the Awash river should be diverted to provide **irrigation 'that does not have the cost of power'** (spate irrigation). Overall the family benefited from the **PSNP food aid until it stopped in September 2009** but were **harmed by taking credit** to grow improved maize which failed on their irrigated land and for teff

seed which failed due to the drought. BL said there are three DAs who work together but most work is done on crops. For example they have taught about **compost**. The DA Livestock is not known. A lot of livestock were affected by different diseases and a lot died. She lost 6 sheep and a pair of oxen.

He said that they had benefited from the teaching of the **HEWs** about digging a toilet, properly handling waste, washing hands before meals and after using the toilet, and boiling drinking water. **BL said she implements the advice of HEWs**. Education is given in meetings and sometimes they come to her home to observe the surrounding cleanliness. Meetings are held in the FTC it helps to protect from the sun. She is a member of the **Women's Association** and joined a **government credit-saving association** last year which was government initiated for women who are not benefiting from the SHI-initiated credit association. She is a female **iddir member**. All women are expected to have an iddir; it is important at times of crisis.

She bows and prays every Friday at Sefera **mosque**. Preachers have been teaching about religious education in the kebele since 2005 and she became aware that she should do it. Now almost everyone participates in religious practice. She is an indirect member of both SHI and government irrigations schemes. The SHI one improves more.

Last year the household paid **land tax, bazaar contribution, school contribution and others in petty cash**. This year the officials have not asked them to pay these. They are not ready to pay as they sold their goats to buy food and rented their land to pay the teff seed debt.

The household **co-operates** with other households and shares implements regularly. There have been no changes. AT doesn't have oxen and can always get assistance from neighbours and relatives in giving him their oxen for ploughing. He is a member of the **Self-Help Irrigation Association** and was elected a member of the **gerie** by kebele officials and gerie residents. The gerie helps to keep peace in the community and it is serving well. In 2005 her daughter was married in **voluntary abduction** and the following year there was a ceremony to celebrate the marriage.

The household mainly gets **information** and ideas about development from development and health programmes on the **radio** and also from **meetings** with wereda officials and other community members, neighbours and friends. AT believes that if government models of development are applied properly they may bring change, but the professionals have to be well-trained and experienced.

'The meetings are not this much important.'

Looking back over the last five years he said

*Except this year that our wealth decreased due to the drought it has been increasing due to the FFW that provides food for the family while we used other income for buying assets. Our state of wealth comes lower than we have before 1998 especially this year due to the drought. **The interventions have contributed nothing for the change in wealth.***

She said

Except this year they lived well, that they have enough farm and irrigable land to utilise and rent out. They also have a pair of oxen, sheep, goats, heifer. So they are categorised under middle wealth. Still they are among the middle wealth households in the community. But they take themselves as poor, for searching of assistance or aid. However this is common behaviour of the community members.

A rich household with one of three wives included in PSNP

The head of household RP (76) has three wives (ST - 70, NL - 56, ZM - 45) and another 9 household members: two sons, 3 daughters, 1 daughter-in-law, 1 grandson, 1 agricultural labourer and 1 herder. Since we last interviewed him in 2005 two daughters have left for marriage. ZM responded to the wife's part of this protocol. She is involved in agricultural work including weeding, digging, and

preparing the land for planting seedlings. She also herds cattle, prepares animal food and brings the animals at home at night and does **daily labour and sells firewood**.

Notable household events were the death of 15 cattle in 2005 due to shortage of fodder, good agricultural production (15 quintals of maize and 20 quintals of teff) in 2007/8 and **total crop failure in the 2009/10 harvest as a result of drought**. Seven of the cattle which died in 2005 belonged to one of his wives (ST) and this 'led her to **poverty and to be included in the FFW since 2007**.

As most of S's livestock died, especially 7 out of the 15 which died in 1997 (EC) she has been included in food aid since 1999 (EC). The kebele included her in the programme after evaluating her wealth and old age by gerie and got officials. She could not even work on terracing. She gets wheat and oil once a month. The wheat is 30kg and the oil is not constant. Her husband/head applied to kebele officials about her poverty and the kebele accepted after evaluation and started providing the aid.

RP has sold 6 cattle and about 20 sheep and goats this year and says as a result he moved from being among the 'richest in the community' to 'richer than most'. RP said that before 2005 their standard of living had been declining because land productivity and production in general was decreasing from year to year forcing them to sell livestock every year to subsidise family consumption. The years **2005 to 2008/9 were good** owing to good weather and 'our proper management of the assets'.

Due to last year's drought our wealth and standard of living highly decreased as the numbers of cattle, sheep and goats we sell for food increased drastically.

He said that **extension workers did not contribute much 'for our good production'**.

Like AT RP suggested that the family's livelihood could be improved if a new kind of irrigation were introduced.

The livelihood of our family and of the whole community would be improved if the big community irrigation starts operation and a new irrigation scheme would be opened diverting Awash river that does not require fuel, motor and other accessories. It is using Awash river directly without using pumps and electric power that may incur costs. The river has to be diverted around Shure kebele, specifically at Meta Gola area would improve our livelihood.

They constructed a new house in 2007 because the previous hut was old. She sold her ox to buy straw to cover the roof.

ZM (wife) said that she, RP and her daughter GR had been ill recently. She had stomach-ache and went to **Dera Health centre** for treatment where they said that the illness was gastric or stomach-ache. Now it is better. RP was ill and went to **Awash private clinic** for treatment; they said he had blood pressure. Now it shows some improvement but he has not recovered. Her daughter was sick of coughing, fever and **malaria** at different times. She went to **Awash private clinic** for treatment and has recovered. ZM said there was a little bit of an improvement in the service to patients and availability of drugs at the Government health centre. She suggested one improvement would be **if the health workers tried to treat people politely** and served urban and rural people equally.

She has been educated and advised by the **HEWs** on family planning, private and household cleanliness, preparation of child food, water medication, sanitation etc. She dug a latrine and is using it. HEWs come to the house to observe if they have dug the latrine and the condition of the environmental sanitation; the follow-up has increased. **This not changed the health of family members**. She said this year she is facing a serious shortage of food because of crop failure and **the absence of the PSNP**. She has sold many livestock for food expenditure. She has received food aid once this year: 30 kg of wheat and $\frac{3}{4}$ litre of oil. She uses wood and dung cakes for fuel.

She would like to have **more children** 'who are important for labour work.' She has had 5 children and 3 are alive. During pregnancy she felt tired and unable to work; she didn't seek medical

treatment as she didn't think it was necessary for that circumstance. She **supports the abolition of female circumcision**; her **step daughter** who married recently was **not circumcised**. She said the majority of the community had changed their mind on this and did not practice circumcision.

Mothers are highly taking care of their infants; they boil milk before feeding and keep bodies and feeding materials clean. Mothers also prepare special food for toddlers. Almost all send their children to school. Her grand-daughter HR is in Grade 1 at Shallotta primary satellite school. GR is in Grade 5 at Korodegaga Primary school. **Sometimes she is absent when her mother goes to market, grinding mill or wedding/funeral ceremony**. Parents try to keep to the need of adolescents – whether they want to continue their education or get married. Young adults want to do things their own way 'so parents give them income resources to support themselves'.

RP said that they co-operate with other households but it has started to decrease

*Especially the **youth has given up helping each other** because of increase in population and poverty made helping each other impossible.*

ZM said that households help each other in times of both crisis and fun. For example her husband has been seriously sick in the last two weeks and she called her neighbours to assist him. She has a sister in Dera and when she visits Dera she takes rest there. They share ideas and support each other.

The family recently held two **wedding ceremonies**. AR was married in 2007.

*The family has given **16 livestock** of which 3 are cattle and 13 are sheep and goats as a dowry. They have also given bed, box and other household equipment. They have also bought clothes for her. The ceremony alone **cost 6000 birr** of which 3000 birr from the family and the rest from the groom's parents.*

SR was married the following year

*The family has given her a dowry of **17 livestock** including 4 cattle, 12 sheep and goats and 1 donkey. The family has also given her bed, box, seats, other household equipment and clothes. The ceremony cost **8000 birr** of which 4000 birr came from the groom's parents and 4000 birr from her parents.*

SR's mother is old and has become disabled so ZM helped with the celebrations for her step-daughter's wedding.

RP (who was kebele chairman in 1995) has been **head of the PTA** for the last 8 years. He was nominated by the community

Head of PTA for the last 8 years starting in 1995b until now. Nominated by the community. Since my participation I could mobilise the community and fenced both the school and teachers' home compound, could dig toilet for the school and teachers. This shows that I could mobilise the association committee members and bring good changes where the association has no significant activity. We have planned to evaluate teachers' performance and strengthen the PTA's responsibility. To improve the service the kebele officials should enforce those members of the PTA who are reluctant. The association is important.

He is an **active leader in an iddir**.

Participated as a chairman since 1971 for 6 years and then became a cashier for 21 years till 1999. Now I am an accountant and equipment of the iddir like tents, kitchen equipment, equipment of eating and drinking are kept with me as a store. Since I kept the equipment they are well-kept and protected which were damaged before. Since we changed previous leader of the iddir is serving us very well. Iddir is important in case of death and crisis like oxen death.

ZM is the store-keeper of the 'females' iddir. She goes to the mosque every Friday.

ZM participated in a **credit association** which **harmed** the family. She borrowed 500 birr and bought 2 goats for reproduction. **One died** and when they were requested for repayment after 6 months they had to sell 2 goats. ZM has been a member of the **Women's Association** since the Derg regime; if she were not she could not get any benefits from the locality. Now its role has increased. She **joined the EPRDF last year**. She pays a yearly contribution and participates in party issues. This year its performance has increased. She participates in political and developmental meetings. From the DA she has learned how to prepare **compost** and **animal fodder**.

Other interventions he mentions which have affected him are the **primary school** attended by a daughter and the **sanitation programme** taught by the HEWs.

Benefited in that the family has dug toilet, cleaned compound, learned to wash hands before meal, sanitation of equipment, separating animals and smoke from human residence etc. All these helped me to prevent disease with the help of HEWs.

He said he also benefited from the labour and cash contributions for the school construction where the community' children learn and the **maintenance of the boat by the wereda** which helped them transport their products and go to market.

ZM was in conflict with another person over grazing land. The **kebele militia** came and took them to the **social court** and the problem was solved by mediators.

Her husband paid land tax and other contributions for all his three wives.

The household gets **information and ideas** about development from the **radio** Afan Oromo programme of agriculture, **DAs** in the kebele, **kebele and wereda officials** and other **people outside the community**. He said that had government development interventions been implemented properly they could bring development. But they are not implemented properly. **The government development interventions have done nothing for the improvement of the family economy.**

A man who moved in with his ex-wife's sister

HH is 43 and has a 13 year old daughter. In 2005 he divorced his (second) wife (the first died) and in 2007 he fell sick and went to his brother's house at Badosabetele to be cared for. He stayed there for 7 months sending his daughter to his ex-wife's sister as she was young and could not stay alone in his home. When he returned he found his house was derelict and having no resources and being unable to find thatching grass to mend the roof he joined the household of his daughter's aunt (FA) as a dependent. His ex-wife joined the household recently. The household has 7 members. FA (the head) and her son who is a student, an agricultural labourer (see below) and a herder both employed by FA and HH and his ex-wife and daughter.

HH works all the **agricultural tasks on his farm** co-operating on some with SF's farmer and using borrowed oxen. He currently collects and sells **fuel wood** (average daily income 7 birr) and does **daily labour** on an investor's farm. He throws the wood upstream and waits at Sodere while the water transports his wood and then he takes it and sells it. He has done **FFW** since 2005.

The family gets FFW. He works 2 days in a week throughout the year from 2 in the morning (8 a.m.) to 6 (12 a.m. noon). The tasks performed are terracing and road maintenance. His family gets 30 kg of maize every month for two family members. The terracing is important in environmental protection.

His **daughter goes to school**, fetches water, collects fuel wood and does other domestic work. His ex-wife does domestic work.

He has **irrigation land** but does not have a motor pump so he is not using it properly. Last year he gave the land for a **one year contract** to someone with a motor pump (comment – theoretically illegal).

HH reported the bad events in his life to be divorcing his wife and both he and his daughter falling

sick in 2007 forcing him to **sell his ox for medical treatment**. He also needed money for his **fertiliser debt**. Like the other households he reports good crop production in the 2007/8 harvest. Two sheep died last year due to shortage of forage. The household is currently suffering from **food shortage due to the drought**.

He describes a wealth trajectory over the last 5 years from poor to average to poor. He improved through buying an ox by selling teff produced using borrowed oxen. He became poorer selling his ox for medical treatment: he had stomach-ache and **typhoid** and his daughter had **TB**. In 2007 he got good production using borrowed oxen however the drought has reduced them to dependency on selling fuel wood and daily labour. His recommended development intervention is that land for irrigation is provided for all the community.

The household regularly co-operates with other households on livelihood work and sharing of implements and he can call neighbours in times of crisis. He has been begging his **neighbours** for oxen to plough since his died. He said there was a small change in that 'everybody wants to improve himself leaving somebody's problem' (though when he was sick his brothers looked after him for seven months).

As everybody is striving to improve his livelihood relatives may not help you as they did before. But there is no significant change.

HH has been a **peace and security member** of the Degaga Got since 2007. There are 5 members with one head. The got keeps guard of their respective geries and controls the activities of the geries under them: Degaga 1; Boba Sodere 1 and 2). If they see a problem in the gerie they report it to the kebele. They guard the Gots with the militia. At the beginning he was elected peace and security head of Boba Sodere gerie and served for 18 months.

*Working at gerie is tiresome as a person is requested to travel long distance to communicate with members and to give orders and to call meetings. He did not participate in other organisations and is not excluded. He does not want to serve in community organisation as it has no benefit and he was **insulted by the community members for the service provided**.*

He was harmed by incurring a **debt** for improved teff seed which then failed due to the drought. Other development interventions have been beneficial especially the FFW.

They would have died had it not been for the aid.

His contribution to the construction of the health post meant that he could get awareness about preventive health. He has dug a latrine; when they used outside they suffered from flies. He has also benefited in preventing disease by eradicating stagnant water, separating animals and smoke from human residents and keeping personal hygiene. And his daughter is benefiting from the primary school.

The household obtains **information** about development from the **radio**; there is an agricultural programme every Sunday. He also gets information from **government meetings** and **DAs** whose names he does not know. **The government policies could bring development if properly applied**.

*The family economically becomes worse due to **change in climate** where the rainfall decreases from time to time. To avoid the problem the government has requested us to plant trees and use irrigation. But we could not use irrigation due to capacity. We did not have planted trees and hence do not know its implication.*

There is not much change in societal culture.

A household headed by a politically active woman who is in the PSNP programme

RB is 42 and lives with her grand-daughter aged 9. Her son married and moved out in 2006 dropping out from Grade 5. His mother wanted him to continue his education but he was not interested. She has played women's leadership roles in the kebele for some years.

She reported a number of major household events. On the bad side she was **seriously sick for 2 months** in 2005 and **spent a lot of money** for medical treatment at **Dera Health Centre**. Two years later her grand-daughter was seriously ill with **malaria** for 15 days and this year the **serious crop failure** led to loss of assets (sale of 4 sheep) and hunger; she has been ill and faced expenditure for medical treatment. She now regards herself as among the poorest in the community. On the good side her son married and she got good production in the 2007/8 and 2008/9 harvests.

She is continually involved in **agricultural work** on the farm (irrigation and rainfed) rather than animal rearing. Her son works on her farmland for her as well as on his own. He and his wife also participate in daily labour when it is available. She does digging, weeding, planting, harvesting, **daily labour** and **petty trading**. She sells cigarettes and matches. In the past she sold coffee, salt, etc but because there is a better shop in the area her income has declined. She has participated in **FFW** since 2005 and got food aid for about 6 months of the year (February to July) to fill the food gap. The work included road maintenance, terracing (soil and stone bunds, funaju etc) cleaning irrigation channels, removing the partinium weed, the school fence, DA's office fence, etc. Until her son left she received 45 kg of wheat for 3 household members; then she received 30 kg. There has been no FFW since September 2009 but she got **relief assistance from the wereda**; 30 kg of wheat.

In 2006 she shifted her irrigation production **from vegetables to maize**, beans, local cabbage and green pepper because of a **rise in prices for inputs** needed for vegetable growing. Until 2008 she got inputs from the government on **credit** including fertiliser.

In 2005 she got sheep and chickens on credit through SHI; she repaid through her savings association. She also bought three sheep from CRS through the wereda's **revolving fund but has not repaid**. Some of her sheep and chickens have died.

In 2005 $\frac{3}{4}$ hectare of her **land was taken** for the construction of the Farmer's Training Centre. **She did not get compensation**. She has $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare of irrigable land: $\frac{1}{4}$ from the SHI initiated scheme in 2004 and $\frac{1}{4}$ in 2007 in the government scheme. The first one works and is used effectively. The government scheme failed so she uses it for rainfed agriculture.

She has good relations with other households regularly; she is sociable. She can easily get help from neighbours in a crisis; for example last month she borrowed money from her neighbour for medical treatment. She can also get assistance from relatives including a brother in Dera with whom she stayed when she was very sick for 2 months.

When her son got married she prepared a small amount of eating and drinking to celebrate with neighbours and relatives.

RB is active in a number of organisations. Her grand-daughter attends the **primary school**. She is involved in **irrigation** work in the **SHI-initiated** scheme, the **government** scheme and a **co-operative** scheme which has not yet produced. She is one of eight women who co-operated in 2008 with the aim of getting land for irrigation work. She said that the SHI scheme has improved but the government scheme has failed.

She is involved in implementing government policy directly or indirectly as she is the women's leader. She uses the kebele office for meetings with kebele officials and some women officials. It is important for meetings as it protects against the sun. She has been a **member of OPDO (EPRDF) since 2003**. Wereda officials told her that all kebele officials should be party members. **Now almost all the community has become members of OPDO**. She has close interaction with wereda officials in meetings and training since she became the women's leader. Since 2004 the interaction has become improved.

To implement different government policies **she mobilises women to attend meetings** and especially link them with election issues.

She is also a member of the **Women's Association**.

Every women in the kebele is the member of women's association, unless and otherwise, she is not a resident .

She has been a member of the credit-saving association initiated by SHI in 2000. As a landowner she is also a member of the farmers' association though it is not as active as it used to be. Things now are done through the kebele structure. She is involved in **2 iddirs** one for household heads and one for women. She has a good opinion about the organisation as it helps people in times of crisis.

She goes to pray and bow at the **mosque** every Friday.

Since 2004 preachers teach the community that they should be praying and bowing three times in a day. If not they must pray and bow on Friday.

Development interventions that **helped** her included PSNP and relief assistance, contraceptive pills, advice from the HEWs and digging and using a latrine, house sprayed with DDT in the last 5 months, and agricultural extension advised from DAs. She appreciates governance interventions which allow her to **participate on different issues equally with men**. The security arrangements are essential for her security; she feels safe because of their presence in the area. Land tax is important for ensuring its ownership.

She was **harmed** by the failure of the hybrid maize taken on credit which failed because of lack of information from the crop experts.

When she was seriously ill with stomachache she went to **Awash private clinic** for medical treatment and recovered.

She gets **information** about development **directly from the wereda**. She also listens to the **radio** and interacts with **community members**. Government models are important to the community as they set a good example of hard workers. The system encourages others to do well.

A household headed by woman with illegitimate children who is a member of PSNP

MS is 30 and is a widow. She lives with a son and a daughter from her marriage, a nephew (SM), and 3 younger children born to a man to whom she is not married and who does not live in her household. A son from her marriage aged 13 has been **hired out as a herder** to another house. SM came to live with her to help each other because his parents got divorced. He attends Korodegaga **primary school** and helps her with labour.

In 2005 MS considered herself as the poorest in the community. She was ill and faced serious food shortage and her son had a long-term illness. But things started to improve. She was helped (by WeDE researchers) to get medical treatment for her son and he was cured. In 2006 she got **2500 birr from the wereda to buy 2 oxen** and the following year **¼ hectare of irrigation land** from the government scheme. She got good maize production on it using irrigation in the following year but since it failed has been producing cereals using rain. One of the oxen died; she doesn't know whether she is meant to repay or not; she thinks she shouldn't repay it because she can't do so. Last year she was given **1000 birr 'as poor'**.

She has two hectares of farmland which was used by a relative who gave her a small amount of production. But now she **rents one hectare** that is available for irrigation work to a **private investor for 2000 birr**. As a result she reduced the frequency of **firewood selling** and **daily labour**. Her nephew helps her as labour and cultivates the remaining land using rain. She is strongly involved in agricultural activities to bring in income as well as her own production. In 2007 and 2009 she got improved maize seed on credit. Since 2005 she has been included in **PSNP and gets direct support**. She got 60 kg of wheat per month for 6 months of the year and sometimes she got **4.5 kg of fafa** (a supplementary food – corn/soya blend) and **1.5 litres of oil** if they were available. Her **son's salary for herding** (400 birr) is sent to her.

Generally her income sources have been increasing and her living standard improved, although the

drought has once more brought hunger to the household.

She has a good relation with other households at times of crisis and during feasts. She gets assistance from neighbour and relatives when she needs and there has been no change.

She gets advice from the HEW and started to take **contraceptive pills** last year. It is a good intervention to limit the number of children. In the past she went to the Health Centre to get **food aid for her malnourished child** and health check. Both her children and herself during pregnancy and breastfeeding were affected by food shortage and the wereda health centre supervisor sent her there. Now the services have come to the kebele. Like all women she is a member of the **Women's Association**. She is also a member of the Farmers' Association as she became a landowner when her husband died. Land registration has improved the rights of landowners. She is a member of a **female iddir**; it has improved and **gives credit** service in times of crisis. She is a member of the **irrigation association** for the government scheme but the scheme is not functional so she does not feel happy. Wereda and kebele officials encourage them to be party members and she has **joined OPDO/EPRDF**. Almost all are party members; it causes no harm.

She has **benefited** from a number of development interventions: the irrigable land; 30 kg of maize for seed on credit from the DAs last year; wheat from PSNP and 45 kg of wheat in one time as relief assistance; and 12.5 kg of fafa and 1.5 litres of oil for her 2-year old daughter. She dug a latrine and is using it and her home was **sprayed with DDT**. She gets education on how to prevent epidemics. Her daughter is in **Grade 2** at Koro primary school. She participates in meetings at the kebele and in different public works. She knows her legal rights and practices them. She got oxen and 1000 birr as a poor person. The presence of the militia and justice helps to keep peace in the community and she indirectly benefits.

She pays tax and contributes in different ways when she is asked to do so. **This year she didn't pay tax because of crop failure** and the officials didn't ask her to pay.

As the kebele leader told me it is common that the land tax isn't paid at the time of crisis, like there is serious crop failure.

She gets **information** about development from **meetings, neighbours** and other **people in different places** – market, millhouse etc.

There is a big change on her life. That her income sources increased i.e. she gets 2000 birr/year from land rent, 50 birr/day rent of ox, 400 birr/year son's salary, sells eggs, firewood, works daily work, etc. Again her nephew helps her as labourer, so she could use her production as food consumption in some months of the year. Physically she seems well, dressed well and she said she constructed a new house and bought some plastic materials.

Dependent adults

Adults who are not household heads or wives are regarded as dependent adults. A few dependent adults have never left home, some have returned to the parental home, while others moved in with other relatives. We were particularly interested in the extent to which dependent adults of different ages had access to development interventions.

A poor man who came to Korodegaga 2 years ago with his wife (TK) who grew up in Korodegaga (WF)

WF is 35 and lives, with his wife TK (see next story) and 3 children, in a hut constructed beside the house of LM a relatively wealthy farmer. In 2005 and 2006 he was living in Awash Melkasa and earning his living through daily labour on farm and non-farm activities. He got tired of this so tried to find shared land to work on and eventually found some in Korodegaga. As he could not commute to Koro from Awash Melkasa every day he asked LM, whose wife is a relative of his wife, to give him a plot of land to build a hut, which he did. He now **combines share-cropping with daily labour**

including weeding, farming, digging etc. Most of his shared crops failed due to the drought.

His wife suffered from 'bone cancer' for a long time in 2007. He faced a **serious shortage of money for her treatment**; neighbours and people he did daily labour with helped by contributing money. While she was at the hospital his **son with malnutrition** was given nutrients and recovered.

He has no wealth; the food from the family is bought with the money he earns from daily labour. They do not eat together when either of them have meat at home as **their religion is different** and prohibits eating meat slaughtered 'by an opposing religious follower'.

As he is not considered a kebele resident he is not allowed to participate in any organisation or share any advantage or benefit.

When his daughter got eye problems they took her to Awash Melkasa for treatment, though she is not recovered well. He benefits from using the boat to go to market and visit relatives. He hopes to get more shared land and get sufficient food for his family. He said 'if the kebele officials are willing and provide me credit I would improve my livelihood'.

Poor wife of WF (above)

TK is 30 and married to WF (see above). She participates in **daily labour** on farmland, especially irrigation works, and **buys vegetables from farmers and sells them** at Sodere, Awash and Dera. She was born in Koro and grew up there and she had her first marriage there 15 years ago. She gave birth to a son and then her husband became a soldier and left. After some years she married WF and they now have a daughter and 2 sons. Her eldest son had lived with his grandmother who died last year. This year his father came and he started to live with him.

She started to live in Awash Melkasa with her second husband but since life was not improving there came back to Korodegaga two years ago. In 2007 she was seriously ill for six months with 'cancer' (TB?) which severely affected her arm; her hand is not in use as it was before. She went to Nazret hospital for treatment and spent a lot of money (about 1500 birr). Her neighbours in Awash Melkasa and her relatives in Koro contributed 500 birr and some grain.

She is not happy in her life; since she married she has not assets such as land and livestock and her only means of livelihood is **daily labour and petty trading, which is not available all the year**. Kebele officials and other influential people **excluded her** as her second marriage is to an **Orthodox Christian from Shewa**. She said the only good thing for her is being alive for her children. She said she has nothing and lives in LM's kitchen which she has done since last year.

Her religious background is Oromo Christian; her parents live in Koro and they are Christian. Her first husband was Oromo Muslim but she did not change her religion. The nature of her work causes her to have more interaction with others; she is social and has good relations with others.

She said **she used contraceptives** from the Health Post when she needed to; otherwise she is not involved in any community organisations. She hasn't asked for land because 'she was hopeless to get it dependent on the present circumstances'. She benefits from irrigation as a daily labourer. She decided not to participate in a women's co-operative. She got food aid in 2005 and the next year left for Awash Melkasa to look for a better job. This year she got **14 kg of fafa and ½ litre of oil**. As she lives in someone else's house she didn't dig a latrine, but the education helps to keep her children clean and use fresh food etc. **She didn't participate in meetings**. Asked about her aspirations for the future she said 'her hopes are on God'.

*The government intervention should include all poor without discrimination (**relatives' bias**). She will then benefit from any intervention for poor. The way of implementing any intervention should be supervised by wereda officials closely. This may help to avoid relative bias.*

A man who came to Korodegaga 4 years ago to work as an agricultural labourer

MH (24) worked elsewhere for his parents until they died in 2005 and then needed to find work. He

came to Koro in 2006 to work for a woman head of household (BF) as a farmer. He is not paid but has been given a plot of land 'for me to use as a salary'.

Since I started to work on her farm she has benefited. Her wealth is increasing and she could buy oxen, construct corrugated iron house, pay debt from irrigation, plant vegetables and buy other livestock as I am working strongly on her farm. I have improved her living standard to a great extent. This also helps me to improve my life and accumulate wealth in the future. I worked on 0.75ha of teff last year but failed due to the drought. I also had bought 2 sheep from 2000 harvesting season that were sold to pay the punishment.

While he was working on BF's irrigation land one of their neighbours came and told him not to work on the land as it belonged to him and not BF. 'This conflict aggravated and **we quarrelled**'.

*He took the case to the wereda court with **false witnesses**. **Most people support him as I originally come from another area**. The court decided I was a criminal and **I had to pay 2300 birr**. The punishment highly reduced my wealth. BF helped me in contributing money for the punishment and was a guarantee for me.*

Like others MH got good production in 2007/8; this was sold to pay the punishment. He has recently bought a goat and it has a kid. In 2007 BF asked the kebele to include him as a member of the family to be **registered for food aid** and they agreed.

As he is not a member of the kebele participation in community organisations is not allowed for him. In relation to development interventions he benefited from **agricultural extension** in that he learned about the method of fertiliser application and from digging a latrine and preventing disease as a result of the **HEWs' advice**.

He uses the **boat** to go to market and transport products. His aspirations for the future are

To work and buy assets, learn, marry and have children and strongly work on development to improve myself.

He would like the government to provide credit improved seeds and fertilizer, and initial capital for fattening 'so that I could improve myself'.

Another man who came to Korodegaga to work as an agricultural labourer

AM is 23 and works as an **agricultural labourer** for FA in whose household the Household respondent HH (see above) lives. While he was looking for a job he met FA's brother and he negotiated between them and he came. 'I liked the weather here and hence decided to stay here.'

Until he was 18 his parents

forced me to be employed wherever they went and took my salary and used it for their own decision. I did not have any benefit for myself from my salary. But since 1997 I choose myself and employ myself where I want and could manage my wealth.

SF has given him ½ hectare of land to use and through it he is helping his parents by buying food for them as they are very poor. He said

Since I have started to work with SF, her wealth has highly improved. She could construct a corrugated iron house in the kebele and at Dera Town, the number of cattle increased from 3 to 9 now, and now they could sustain their food.

Three years ago he caught **malaria** and could not work for a week; the medical treatment cost him 130 birr.

As a result of the recent drought he only got 1 quintal of teff from his land and he sold it to pay his fertiliser debt. According to their agreement SF has to cover the cost of seed for him and as a result of the drought could not provide him with seed from her production but needed to buy it which

affected her. In 2006 SF asked the kebele to include him in the food aid as a member of the family and it was allowed.

He has **no involvement with community organisations** and the only intervention benefits he mentioned were the **food aid** (which may be stopped when I leave her house) and using the **boat** to go to market,

In the future he plans to buy an irrigation motor with his brothers who live in another area, to work on rented land and improve his livelihood.

If the government could buy a motor pump for us on credit, we could easily improve ourselves. Facilitating conditions in which we could get loan to buy goats and sheep for breeding and fattening oxen.

Divorced young woman living with her mother

ZH is 22 and lives with her mother. When she was 18 she married and went to live in Doni. The following year she **divorced** and returned to her mother's house. Before she married she worked on the household's farmland and did household chores. Since she returned she still does household chores but her agricultural work is as **daily labour** on other people's farmland including weeding, digging, harvesting onions and tomatoes, planting vegetables etc.

Before her marriage she '**aborted** – so the family felt sorry'. To remove her from the community they '**made her become abducted**'; this was facilitated by her brother. Her husband had two wives and she became the **third wife**. She lived with his eldest wife and 'in this circumstance to continue living there was hard'. She was **harmed physically and psychologically** suffering food shortage, a big workload, and from living with his first wife. She spent full days on daily labour and became pregnant. Then she went back to her mother's house and started to live there with her. Her **child died as soon as he was born**.

Five years ago she suffered from a **kidney infection** and the following year from severe abdominal pain. These have recently recurred. She went to **private clinics** at Awash and Nazret for treatment. When she gets medical treatment it shows improvement but it has not been cured since it affected her.

Two years ago she rejoined her education and is now in **Grade 7 at Sodere school**. She also does **daily labour**. Before she left for marriage she received PSNP as a household member. In Doni she did not get food aid but last year she received **PSNP** and sometimes substituted for her mother's work. She got 10 kg of flour from the school (and an exercise book). The donor was an **NGO**.

When she was at Doni the daily labourers who worked with her contributed money for her to go back to Koro. They gave her 120 birr.

The only local organisations she had relations with are the school, **the mosque** and the NGO which provided flour. Useful development interventions are the PSNP, **contraceptives**, and advice from the HEWs about sanitation.

She wishes to complete her education with a good result to get a better job.

Elderly woman who lives in an Orthodox Christian household

AB is 70 and lives in the household of one of the very few Oromo Orthodox Christian households in Korodegaga headed by DM. She came here from Shewa (around Ziway) with her husband and children during the Derg. Since then she lived with her husband's relatives at Sefera until 2 years ago when she moved to DM's household. She was an Orthodox Christian but married a Muslim and when they came to Korodegaga she changed her religion. Even though she is now living in an Orthodox Christian household she doesn't want to change again.

Her **husband died** 15 years ago and AB has **no interaction with her children**. Her son went to Addis

Ababa before his father died and she does not know where he is. One of her daughters married and went to Sire and the lives in Alemtena. She last saw them ten years ago. She has no relatives in the area. Until 2007, when she became unable to work she did **daily labour** and **sold firewood**. She does not have her own land or livestock.

Her **health is gradually deteriorating due to age**; she has severe backache, problems with eyes, ears etc and is not feeling healthy. She used to have good relations with the community when she was involved in daily labour. For some years she has been **lonely, ill and occasionally faced food shortages**. She got **food aid** as direct support from PSNP and this year she has received relief assistance three times (about 15 kg wheat). Sometimes her **neighbours give her food if there is a good harvest** as there was in 2007/8. **Now she is totally dependent.**

She has no connection with any community organisations. Beneficial development interventions included food aid of wheat, fafa and oil. She has not benefited from the preventive health services and **because of her financial problem could not get any curative services.**

For the future

She wishes to have good weather condition for production. She hopes on God; she said if there will not be good production, I can't get food or can't beg.

Elderly woman who lives with one of her wealthy son's two wives

KT is 70 and since 1997 has **lived with one of her son's two wives for some years**. Her husband died 20 years ago and she has two children. Her daughter moved to another wereda when she married.

Her son is wealthier than most farmers. She has only 1 hectare of land but she considers herself as **wealthy** 'because she satisfied one son's life'. Her son's eldest wife cared for her well so she is proud of her son's wealth. Until two years ago she was collecting the remaining **vegetables** (onions and tomatoes) **to sell in the village** as well as doing **household chores**. She still does these and also does some **cattle herding**.

Her only health problem is an **eye illness**. In 1997 her eye was surgically treated in Nazret hospital and now she can't see clearly.

*She is **happy with her family health and life condition**. 'I am enough old, so I need not good things for me, but good events on my family makes me happy.'*

She received 15 kg of wheat a month as **PSNP direct support** until September last year. Since then she has received 2 kg of fafa and ½ litre of oil from the wereda. Because of this and her son's wealth she has no food problem.

She has no involvement with community organisations. Beneficial interventions were the sanitation and the direct food aid. Her son pays the land tax as he used her land.

She wishes wellbeing for her family.

Structures of inequality in 2010

Genderage

Two key 'biological' features which affect every person's status and experience are gender and age **taken together**. While there are some aspects of the maturing and ageing process common to males and females others are specific. Table 2 provides an estimate of the demographic structure of Korodegaga in 2004. Over half (56%) of the population were under 20, equally divided between the sexes.

Table 2: Korodegaga Demographic Structure Estimate 2004

Korodegaga Demographic Structure Estimate 2004				
Birth era	Age	M (%)	F (%)	All (%)
2003/4	< 1	2	1.4	3.4
2002/3	1-2	2.5	3.4	5.9
1999/2001	3-5	4.6	4.6	9.2
Under 6		9.1	9.4	18.5
1992-1998	6-12	10.6	9.2	19.8
1988-1991	13-16	5.6	4.1	9.7
1985-1987	17-19	4.1	3.7	7.8
Working Youth		20.3	17	37.3
Under 20s		29.4	26.4	55.8
1975-1984	20-29	9.8	8.2	18
1965-1974	30-39	4.6	5.1	9.7
1955-1964	40-49	2.8	4.8	7.6
1945-1954	50-59	2.7	1.5	4.2
Adults		19.9	19.6	39.5
1935-1944	60s	1.6	1.1	2.7
1900s-1934	70s	1.3	0.7	2
Ageing		2.9	1.8	4.7
		M	F	
Total		52.2	47.8	100%

Source RANS 2004

Being male in Korodegaga

Table 2 suggests that almost 30% of the Korodegaga population are males under 20. The main risks facing under-6s are illness, food shortages and malnutrition, and lack of proper care. Young boys growing up face a number of risks apart from illnesses such as malaria, typhoid and TB: quarrelling and fighting, drowning in the river as they learn to swim, falling from trees, and annoying neighbours by destroying or stealing their vegetables. After the age of 6 or so they start to work herding cattle and doing agricultural work. They may also start attending primary school, although in the past many did not start until they are older. Religious school where they learn the sharia law is important. Boys between the ages of 6 and 12 contribute greatly to the wellbeing of the family through their herding and agricultural work.

In 2005 parents interviewed said that adolescent boys are emotional and refuse to listen to parents' advice or obey their mothers, insulting them. They also learn how to help others and prepare themselves for responsibility and how to develop good values and norms. They are exposed to risks including addictions, conflicts with peers, and 'unnecessary sexual relationships with girls' (DEEPYoungLives1). Adolescent boys are an important source of household income and are involved in a lot of work: on the farm weeding, harvesting, digging, collecting vegetables, herding, fetching water and firewood, protecting crops from animals such as apes, pigs and birds, and doing daily labour and maybe FFW. As they get older they start to work for themselves as well, using the income to buy clothes and sometimes educational materials and some acquire livestock – chickens, sheep, goats and later sometimes an ox. The workload affects their education and they usually drop-out at some point. For example of the six members of the older male Focus Group 4 had dropped out (in Grades 3, 6, 8 and 9). One 19 year-old was married with 2 hectares of land, an ox and two sheep and was a member of the sand-selling co-operative. One 15 year-old was in Grade 5, lived at home, had 1 goat and was a member of the un/loading co-operative, as was an 18-year old in Grade 8 living with

his parents with no assets.

Young men face conflicts with peers and learning how to develop an emotional relationship with a girl. Adolescents and older youths dance with their friends of both sexes on holidays and during marriage ceremonies. They swim in the river and play football.

Most men aspire to having more than one wife and one observer said it did not matter whether they were rich or poor. Sometimes when a man takes a second or third wife he brings her into the existing household but usually he shifts to the new wife with his assets and properties leaving the first one to make a living for herself and children by doing daily labour and selling wood. This happened to the first wife of the richest man in Korodegaga. There is a big impact on the children as they miss out on their father's love and as a result of poverty may not get enough food, clothes, health service or education.

Being female in Korodegaga

Childhood

Small girls up to the age of 6 or 7 face the same problems as young boys. Girls between the ages of 6 and 12 also contribute greatly to the wellbeing of the family: they do housework, look after younger siblings, and some farming activities. They also fetch wood and water (when they are at risk of being hit by boys). Adolescent girls may also do daily labour on irrigation farms and collect remaining vegetables for local sale or family consumption. The income contributes both to their own and their mother's expenditure. Girls swim in the river (at a different place from the boys) and play volleyball.

These days most adolescent girls are or have been to school although some are in Grades 1 and 2 and it was hard for them to progress beyond Grade 4 as doing so required them to live outside Korodegaga. The school is in process of being upgraded to Grade 6 through the efforts of the community (see below). When they marry they drop out of school, although there is a case of woman who was married as a third wife, divorced and came home, who is now back at school – in Grade 7. There are number of girls in Grade 5 and at least one in Grade 10 though the fieldworker could not find any female who had completed Grade 10.

Marriage

Custom involves bride wealth and in the past the bride knew nothing until the wedding day approached as her parents dealt secretly with the elders who came from the bridegroom's house. The parents of the groom selected the bride with more or less consultation with their son. Rich families seeking liaisons with other rich families still provide bountiful bride wealth and spend large amounts on the wedding ceremony. Household Respondent RP who has three wives recently married two of his daughters. AH's marriage in 2007 cost the household 3 cattle and 13 sheep and goats, household equipment, clothes, and 3000 birr. TH's marriage in the following year cost 4 cattle, 12 sheep and goats, 1 donkey, household equipment and 4000 birr.

Less wealthy households without sufficient cattle practised *wolgera* or exchange marriage. Parents looking for a wife for their son searched for a woman with a brother who could marry their daughter. There were reports that this kind of marriage was now banned (since women have the legal right to choose their husbands).

As described below, as part of the implementation of the **new Family Law**, there has been repeated training by the wereda and kebele against female circumcision, rape (reported as not uncommon in 2005), abduction, widow inheritance, and early marriage. Wereda officials said that people were reluctant to accept the interventions initially but they are now changing their minds and progress has been made.

The Arssi Oromo Muslim custom has been to circumcise girls one or two months before they get married. Most people we asked said that **female circumcision** no longer took place in Korodegaga

and gave examples of relatives who had married without being circumcised, though wereda officials said that there was some resistance to their interventions against 'harmful traditional practices'; 'it was hidden'. Kebele officials described what happened when local women had been trained to take action against the practice of female circumcision. 'They seized both the practitioner and female-harmed households at Sefera. Then the community became afraid of the action and abolished it.' A conflict among the 'Harmful Traditional Practitioner', the kebele officials and the women who had been trained ensued, which was resolved by elders. The kebele officials said that at first the community refused the intervention 'but being afraid of punishment they accepted it'.

People said that **early marriage** was not practised in Korodegaga, although this probably did not mean that no girls married before they were 18. Girls also have the right not to be **married to someone against their wishes** and can appeal to kebele or wereda officials. There was a case of a girl who, when she learned that her parents had made an agreement with the parents of a potential husband, told the school director who informed the wereda police. The police warned her family not to force her to marry and the marriage programme was cancelled. However later she agreed and married the chosen man. An observer suggested that at least half of the young women who marry **choose their own partner** though this is less likely if the family is rich. Young men are said no longer to be willing to accept their parents' choice of marriage partner.

People reported not much change with regard to **polygamy** although now there is a rule that the first wife should agree to the second marriage or he should give the first wife her share of property before marrying the second. There has recently been a case where an abandoned first wife 'accused' her husband at the wereda and refused to leave the house. The problem was resolved by community elders and she received a share of the property.

Widows now have the right to refuse to be **inherited** by their dead husband's brother. The older female Focus Group said that *wolgera* had been abolished. People also said that forced **abduction** was not common now but that there had been an increase in **voluntary abduction** or **consensus marriage** which does not involve bride wealth; the couple who want to marry don't tell their parents but 'elope'. The parents usually accept the fact and in due course arrange a ceremony called *mels*.

Livelihoods

Apart from domestic work, fetching wood and water and making dung cakes women and girls are involved in **livelihood activities** which may include agricultural and livestock-related work on their household rainfed and irrigated farms, selling firewood and vegetables, daily labour on investors' and others' farms and FFW. As with the males the work is seasonally patterned and they too have a portfolio of activities including weeding, digging, collecting the harvest, preparing land for vegetable planting, watering vegetables and maize on the irrigated land, and cleaning the animals' house.

As a result of the new **Family Law** women have recently achieved rights to individual **land** through inheritance from parents (see more below under land interventions) and sharing during divorce. There has been opposition from some men; especially men are refusing to share their parents' land with their sisters until the wereda court insists. There was a report of 'corruption in the court and archive'. A wereda official said that the court was not making decisions on the division of property quickly and when a woman took her case to the Women's Affairs they intervened and found that the archivist had hidden the file to delay the court appointment. Men are supportive of the law when the household land increases when their wives get parental land, but oppose it when their sisters come to claim a portion of parental land. One woman who had benefited said that her brother refused to share her parents' land with her and five other sisters but was forced to when they went to the wereda. A rich respondent said his wife had inherited land from her parents in another area so the family had benefited. In the long-run he said 'Oppression will be reduced in the community and equality promoted; that makes Allah happy'. However a number of other respondents said that the law was 'creating disappointment between brothers and sisters and in the long run would loosen the social bonds of the community'.

A group of eight women who set up a co-operative recently acquired access to irrigated land. Co-operative associations started three years ago but women could not participate until this year. The group had a problem getting the 2 hectares of land; when they asked the kebele for irrigable land they refused the request. The group took their case to the wereda administration who agreed with the kebele. They then complained to the head of the Women and Children's Affairs 'who immediately called the wereda administration office and irrigation office and made things well'. They then bought a licence and took three hectares of irrigable land. Even then there was a problem.

About five people whose land is adjacent to it opposed and tried to forbid ploughing it. One of the opposers was JL and when the land was ploughed, he and his children lay in front of the tractor. Then the kebele officials and elders came to resolve the problem. Still, it is in the process...

Each of the eight members contributed 600 birr each so they have 4,800 birr for fuel, pumps, transport and other inputs. The wereda is responsible for subsidising the co-operative with 20% of costs, Through the influence of the Wereda Women Affairs department the wereda provided half of the cost of the two pumps which they have received. They have prepared the land for planting vegetables; the foreign investor (from Australia – see below) ploughed the land with his tractor for no cost except the price of the fuel.

The older youth female Focus Group said first that the policy to benefit landless youth was 'not relevant for young women'. Then they said that they did not know if it was relevant or not but there was not a tendency for young females to get land either in co-operatives or individually, though they now could inherit parents' land and share land and other property with their husbands.

The land of female-headed households has been measured and registered in their names. Women can get **credit** for activities they wish to pursue and can accumulate their own assets. The NGO SHI which was operational in Korodegaga between 2000 and 2005 established a credit association which is still working with about 30 members. In 2009 the wereda co-operative department collaborating with the wereda women's credit-saving union implemented another credit association for women who were not members of the existing association. About half of the community's households have participated; there are 171 women members and 7 male members who have substituted for their wives or mothers as a result of death, divorce or migration abroad. The intervention harmed the members who borrowed 500 birr to buy inputs for the 2009/10 production as the crops failed because of the drought and they had to repay a debt of 530 birr within 6 months. Many people sold assets to repay. Another nearby credit-saving service is in process of being implemented by JICA.

Re/productive work

Due to good rainfed agricultural production in 2007/8 a number of people changed their houses from thatched *tukuls* to houses with corrugated iron roofs. The *tukuls* are small often with incomplete partitions for bed, cooking and storing food and space for keeping sheep and goats safe from hyenas. Some reporting the building of new houses said they had built a separate space for animals. Richer people were also able to replace their leather beds with wooden ones. Most households started to use improved stoves in 2006 and gradually more and more house equipment is plastic or metal. Most households have a radio and some have tape recorders.

There is no electricity in the site and drinking water, which is said sometimes to be polluted with waste from the Wonji sugar factory situated upstream, is taken from the river. Clothes are washed in the river. Wood and dung are used for fuel. All respondents said that they had dug and used latrines but it is difficult to establish the reality since the HEW warned those who did not that they would be excluded from other advantages such as food aid unless they dig latrines.

Women take their grain to grinding mills which for many involves a long walk. There is a mill the other side of the Awash river but it is difficult to take heavy loads on the boat.

Political involvement

While women are becoming more politically involved they do not hold powerful positions in the kebele, although they do seem to be able to get things done by appealing to the Women's Affairs office at the wereda level. Six women were identified as active in the community: SC (42) the Women's leader; TA (32) educated and a model family on health about to start working as a Health Promoter; BL (40) a wealthy model farmer; CG (42) respected, a good speaker, Kebele Women's Affairs, Wereda Councillor; TH respected and a good speaker who was on the PTA committee and KL (18) educated and a good speaker.

A number of our case household women respondents have recently joined OPDO/ EPRDF and they said that nearly everyone in Korodegaga now belongs to the party. It was said that in the recent 2010 elections most local men would vote for an Opposition party candidate (as they did in 2005) if there were one, but that most women supported OPDO as it had helped them to know and practise their legal rights. 'In this government women become powerful economically, socially and politically'. Women said to men 'we won in the past and we do the same now' and the men replied 'you are *bytemtota* (ones who are ruled) and it is *yeset mengst* (women's government).

Women are equally represented in wereda representation; i.e. of 100 councillors 50 are women. They have received training at the wereda in equal proportion to men. The Korodegega **woman wereda councillor** has been an active women's leader for some years and is also about to become a Health Promoter. One of the three members of the kebele social Court is a woman. The leader in the Women's Association is not powerful in the kebele as evidenced by the refusal of the kebele to give land to her women's irrigation co-operative, and the loss of a hectare of her land to build the Farmer's Training Centre for which she got no compensation; she said it is because she did not have relatives in the kebele. She came to Korodegaga in 2002 from Wello with her soldier husband and two sons. Her husband now lives with his first wife in Dera. When she asked the kebele leader to provide her with land he asked 'what do you have here?' Her son also did not get land when he formed his own household. Her youngest son dropped his education from grade 9 to go to the zone to be a soldier. She lives in another household's small hut, as a dependent, for the past two years.

The older female youth Focus Group said that over the last 5 years Government has encouraged youth to participate on local issues and urged them to become decision makers, but in practice this has not worked as only a very few young women participate in meetings. They said that the community does not accept young female involvement in reality.

Women's rights

One observer said that male attitudes to women are changing in some respects; for example one of the new small co-operatives contains a mix of men and women.

Male violence against women

One observer said that male violence towards women has reduced as awareness has increased among both men and women. They know there is a policy which forbids physical punishment. Neighbours discourage and degrade those husbands who fight with their wives knowing the act as being a sign of backwardness. Previously kicking a wife was considered as a sign of love and old people remember it as the time of being a fool. However it is not abolished completely; if it happens the problem is solved by elders. She said there is a big change. In the past without any reason they hit their wives, e.g. if he quarrelled with others outside or was upset about something he hit his wife. But now he only hits his wife as a result of their own problems. A Household Respondent wife (ZM) said that 'now her husband didn't beat her easily'.

The same observer said that forced abduction for marriage no longer exists but there are occasional rapes. This seems more likely to happen to vulnerable women. Some of the women heading households said they have been raped. An observer said that generally men now consider abduction

and rape as crimes and if they encounter it are ready to take the perpetrators before the law.

Policies and programmes for the youth

The 2004 RANS provides an estimate that 26% of Korodegaga's population were aged 17-29 (Table 2) and 56% of these youth were male. In the local polygynous system they have had problems accessing land and to some extent wives and during our research in 2005 there were many complaints from a large group of landless youths locally known as *jirata*. Since then there have been government interventions to provide young men (and a very few young women) with access to land, through distribution by the kebele of 'communal land'.

There was distribution of 40 hectares of communal land to landless youths on an individual basis in 2008. Since 2008 the youth association has been more active as a result of government policy to train youths and provide them with job opportunities through youth co-operatives; as part of this 62 hectares of rainfed land was distributed to 157 youths organised in co-operatives.

The youth co-operative programme seems to be largely designed for young **men**, although the older female Focus Group implied that it had not occurred to them to organise themselves in groups to ask for land. One of the existing groups is mixed sex. Five types of **youth co-operative** were set up: sand, un/loading, splitting and crushing stone, rain-fed land and irrigated land (6 co-operatives). Individuals with an interest in participating in a particular job organise and submit an application to the kebele cabinet that 'evaluate the aspiration' and send it to the wereda M-SE office. If the organisation is legally established (has a stamp and rules) they give a license and then the co-operative can ask the kebele for natural resources.

The leader of the Youth Association said that once the co-operatives were established the role of the YA 'becomes nil'. There used to be a contribution of 0.50 birr per month but this stopped in 2007 as nothing was being done with the money which was accumulating with the accountant. The leader said that the main challenge was that the Association could not bring any change to the youth. His role has been to get training from the wereda on different issues of development and new rules and to bring youth ID cards from the wereda. Also kebele officials call him when they want the youth to be called for meetings and give him guidelines on how to help the youth. The kebele manager teaches the youth through cells ('youth living closer') about peace, development and health. He said that 'the association was inactive and not important' and that his main achievements were the provision of ID cards and the youth co-operatives, though responses to applications for establishing co-operatives were slow.

The youth co-operatives have had mixed success. Wereda officials said that current government policy concentrated on '**minimising jobless youths**' so they organised themselves, implemented rules, and could then get a license and money from the Region through the wereda; but there had been problems including insufficient budget. Also many youths refused to participate in co-operatives though In Korodegaga it was easier to increase awareness due to the potential for irrigation. Kebele officials said that 175 youths had been organised in co-operatives to run different businesses. There are five youth irrigation co-operatives and co-operatives on rainfed land. Wereda officials said that the stone-crushing and splitting co-operative failed as the stone was of low quality and they could not get the demand and the sand production co-operatives failed because of the transport problem.

The leader of the sand co-operative said there were 24 members and the registration fee was 200 birr. They sold two trucks of sand and earned 780 birr; they constructed a road for Lorries to use to come to their site but due to the poor quality of the road trucks do not want to come to buy the sand.

Participants in the un/loading co-operative claimed to be highly benefited. They load and unload investors' farm products and equipment. They have deposited 8000 birr in the bank and shared the rest of the income among the members. Members of the older youth FGD said they had paid the

debts of their parents from the money they obtained from co-operatives. They also said that they are causing **dropping-out from school** as students are not allowed to be members of co-operatives.

Elderly people

As people grow older and less able to work they are usually looked after by their children, most frequently sons as most daughters leave Korodegaga for marriage elsewhere. The two elderly women we interviewed had both received PSNP relief assistance. One of them had no relatives in the area and had 'started to live in other people's home'. Poor sick old people cannot afford to go for modern health treatment at the health centre or private clinic.

Disabled people

We were not told of special interventions for disabled people. One returned soldier complained that he had to do PSNP work even though his war wounds made it very hard for him to do so and it took him longer than the normal person to do the tasks needed to be performed to get the food.

Wealth and poverty

Overall community wealth

Asked to compare overall community wealth at the time of interview (February 2010) with wealth in 2003 respondents claimed that the community was poorer due to the 2009 drought. 'Farmers have already sold their oxen and goats for buying cereals'. The sale of assets was confirmed in all the Household Interviews, while some farmers said that they were also renting out land in order to buy food and/or pay debts incurred for improved seed which had produced little or nothing due to lack of rain. They said that this would mean less income in future. One respondent suggested that richer farmers were selling assets in order not to be graduated from PSNP.

The drought has affected farmers of all wealth levels causing richer ones to adopt coping strategies usually reserved for poorer households.

Except this year they lived well, that they have enough farm and irrigable land to utilise and rent out. They also have a pair of oxen, sheep, goats, heifer. So they are categorised under middle wealth. Still they are among the middle wealth households in the community. But they take themselves as poor, as they are searching for assistance or aid. However this is common behaviour among the community members. BL

Household poverty incidence

There is considerable inequality in household productive wealth as Table 3 shows. In 2004 44% of households were estimated as poor on a mix of productive assets (9% destitute – 'not even a hen') in 2004 with 15.3% rich and 2.4% very rich.

Table 3: Korodegaga Productive Wealth Estimate 2004

Wealth	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative % from top	Cumulative % from bottom
Very rich	6	2.4	2.4	100
Rich	33	12.9	15.3	97.6
Middle	104	40.8	56.1	84.7
Poor	78	30.6	86.7	43.9
Very poor	10	3.9	90.6	13.3
Destitute	24	9.4	100.0	9.4
Total	255	100.0		

Source: RANS 2004

In 2005 we asked for a description of destitute people in Korodegaga.

The poor are undermined by other people in their clan or the community. Poor and helpless

people like me are excluded because we cannot contribute financially to social organisations. Old men who have wealth have a great role in decision-making and dispute resolution in the community. Poor people have no voice in the community. Destitutes have no livestock or money; sometimes physically weak, no knowledge/skill to perform work properly, little or no food, may not be able to help family, leave organisations like iddir. Some depend on help from relatives, neighbours, government. Others do daily labour or sell firewood. Two types – very poor who could change and those who don't know how to work and live with others. (DEEP)

Richer households may support poorer relatives; for example TK and her family were living in LM's kitchen. Such households may also exploit poor people – a poor woman of 50 living with her son (AU) who said that she hadn't any assets not even a house, said that the same LM had taken 15 kg of wheat in her name during the second round of relief assistance this year.

She decided not to involve the Wereda because she fears the Kebele officials and fears that she may lose different benefits from the Kebele in the future.

LM was described by key informants as head of the mosque and a respected religious leader.

Inequality within households

Young boys in poor households may be sent to work as herders or agricultural labourers in other people's households. One of the Dependent Adult respondents told how until he was 18 his parents forced him to be employed 'and took my salary and used it for their own decision'. One of the household respondent women heading a household (MS) partially depends on her 13 year-old son's herder salary of 400 birr per year. While he cannot go to school because he is working, a daughter is attending the primary school.

Problems poor people face

Because of financial problems they cannot get curative health services.

Re-distribution to poor households

One dependent old woman stressed the importance of a good harvest for poor people like her who have no productive assets since then her neighbours and relations can and will give her food.

Pro-poor government interventions

Oxen, sheep and chickens were provided for poor active farmers, women, youth and model farmers. Gerie selected the beneficiaries in the light of instructions from the wereda. About half the community benefited but because of lack of vaccinations and drugs for animal diseases a lot of the animals died. A conflict arose during selection as poor people said that the interventions were for the poor but rich people were benefiting. They complained to the wereda ARD office orally and in writing but the wereda people said they could not identify who was poor and rich and the kebele officials know well about the community and so the problem was solved. The kebele official respondent said that poor people with no relation to the officials were excluded.

PSNP and OFSP beneficiaries are selected by the gerie and they are also responsible for the public works. There is a lot of conflict during the selection for targeting. About 70% of the community benefited but because of quota shortage all poor people did not benefit.

Everybody wants to be included in PSNP. The excluded poor went to the wereda to complain and then back to the kebele officials to solve their problem. Then kebele leaders, gerie and DAs with the community discussed the issues and solved the problem... Poor people from outside the area were excluded from OFSP because of quota shortage.

A number of respondents complained of "relatives' bias" in the implementation of interventions and one said their household was excluded (not graduated) from PSNP after benefiting for two years because of their wealth status although she named the RP household as richer but still benefiting

from PSNP. RP's household is wealthy as evidenced by the two expensive marriages described elsewhere but his first wife was given PSNP direct support in 2006 after RP had argued that 7 of her animals had died in 2004 and this had led her into poverty.

Upward and downward mobility

As discussed earlier households can fall off the ideal track through death, divorce or the taking of another wife and this is likely to reduce the wealth of the household. Also households are more likely to be poor when their children have not yet reached working age. While some households get stuck in poverty traps for longer or shorter periods others work their way up the wealth hierarchy. MS, a widow who had been 'inherited' when her sister died, with four young children in 2005 and described as destitute provides an example. Through making up a quarrel with her dead sister's son over the property she got access to male labour. She received PSNP direct food aid and oxen and cash from the wereda because of her poverty (see below) and sent her son to work in another household for 400 birr per year. As a household head she also got access to irrigable land which she is renting out to a private investor for 2000 birr. She had built a new house and said there was a big change in her life.

Ethnicity, clans and religion

Nearly all residents of Korodegaga are Muslim Oromo. There are a few Oromo Orthodox Christians. There are thirteen clans (*gosa*) in the community... The Sebro is the largest in terms of population and dominant in terms of economic power and social and kin networks. ... Ogodu is the most discriminated clan because people say that members of this clan are extravagant and harsh in time of conflict. They call them *laffee gogogdu* ('dried bones') which shows the extent of the people's hatred towards them. Gulele is also not liked by many people. Members of this clan migrated to the area from Eastern Shewa in the past few decades. Thus, they do not belong to the Arssi Oromo. Moreover they are Christian in religion while all the rest are Arssi and Muslim.

Other social exclusion

There are no people from occupational castes living in the site. People who are not considered to be kebele residents are excluded; they are not allowed to participate in any organisations nor access any of the development programmes. Those who live in the house of a resident may be included in PSNP.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2010

Cross-cutting

Climate change is mentioned taking the form of rainfall decreasing from time to time. To avoid the problem the government told the community to plant trees and use irrigation but one respondent said that they did not have trees to plant so did not know if this would be a good solution. Selling wood has been a community coping strategy for some time but its practice has decreased as the alternative of daily labour has grown.

Wereda officials said that FFW interventions included planting trees but they were destroyed by animals. Other programmes are designed to protect the **environment** including: terracing, closing gorges, and removal of the partinium weed which spread seriously through the area following a flood of the Awash in 2003. The DAs and kebele officials discuss the type of work to be done in the kebele and report it to the wereda ARD/irrigation and Food Security offices. Once agreed they follow the instructions given to them. A kebele official said that the community spent most of their time on PSNP work terracing but it didn't bring any environmental change as the community allowed it to be destroyed by cattle.

DAs have been teaching farmers about the benefits for soil fertility of making and using **compost** though there are no reports of anyone actually doing this. The DA Natural Resources said that currently DAs are expected to work in all kinds of community work and all three DAs work together on every issue. There is no budget for rehabilitation work. Community members said that most attention is devoted to crops.

PSNP labour has been used to improve the local **infrastructure** with some work on the road in 2008 and the Australian investor has recently done some work on the road with his tractor. Wereda officials said a major constraint for Korodegaga was the sub-standard road and the lack of a bridge. Community residents said that improving the road would increase the price of their products in the market and that the sand-selling co-operative had failed because the road was so bad. The wereda assisted in repairing the boat in 2006. Most respondents said that the boat and the road were very important for taking produce to market. A rich farmer said that the boat has many problems, mainly during the rainy season 'and hence a bridge has to be constructed'.

The government budget has been used for the building of a number of new **public buildings** since 2008 including a Farmers' Training Centre, a kebele Administration Office, a Health Post, a teacher's house made by repairing the old school, a Savings-Credit office and a veterinary building. One of the wereda councillors raised the issue of the road/bridge at the wereda; they promised to undertake 'a step by step solution for the bridge and to use an alternative short-cut way' and 'they are doing the road'.

In relation to **watershed management** there was a failed attempt to introduce water harvesting in 2005; the sandy soil did not retain the water. For **drinking water** the wereda councillor was told that the wereda planned to develop spring water. There is currently no **electricity** generally available in the kebele although a line was taken across the river from Sodere and functioned in Sefera between 1973 and 1994. Also the government irrigation pump was connected when it was operational in 2007. Wereda officials said one of the current potentials for Korodegaga was the possibility of tapping a power supply easily from nearby.

A public V-Sat phone was installed in 2005 but its service has declined for two reasons. First the community couldn't pay its fee so it was adjusted so that calls could be received but not initiated. Second since 2007 most people have access to a mobile phone. People said that having telephones enabled them to call relatives rather than travelling to see them and they could get good information on the price of products in the market helping them to decide the best time to take their products for sale.

Livelihoods

Generally Korodegaga's soil is a mix of sandy and clay loam. Maize and teff are the principal crops grown on rainfed land. A respondent said that generally the community is improving economically but their livelihood still depends on rain-fed agriculture so when shortages occur they return to food insecurity. The people used to be pastoralists and keep cattle, sheep and goats; oxen are important for ploughing and other cattle and shoats are sold for cash. The area is drought-prone and occasionally, as in 2004/5 and 2009/10, there is almost total crop failure. Between 2005 and 2009 Korodegaga was involved in the PSNP programme. After September 2009 emergency relief was provided and there may be a PSNP2 in the kebele although the details were not available at the time of the fieldwork.

The kebele is surrounded by the Awash and Qeleta rivers which provide good irrigation potential which is being increasingly used by investors, individual farmers and co-operatives of youth and women. **Irrigation** farming was practised by the landlord during Haile Selassie's time and UNICEF provided a large pump for use by the Producers' Co-operative set up in 1986 which had some success. After the fall of the Derg the PC was abolished but the pump continued to function until it was destroyed in a flood 1992. Towards the end of the 1990s a few farmers bought small pumps to

irrigate small plots of private land and since then increasing amounts of irrigable land have been provided to incoming investors, individual farmers and small co-operatives.

Male livelihood activities in Korodegaga mostly revolve around farming. Main activities are **own-farm** rainfed and irrigated farming including vegetable growing, the same activities on **rented-in** or share-cropped land, **livestock-rearing**, **farm labour** on other people's farms including employment as an **agricultural labourer** or **herder** and **daily labour** on investors' and locals' irrigation farms, **PSNP Food-for-Work** activities involving terracing, road maintenance etc, and recently farm and non-farm work through **co-operatives**. A kebele official estimated that 15% of individuals in the community were participating in a co-operative.

Rainfed farming activities change with the seasons and irrigation work also has seasonal aspects. While some richer male household heads spend most or all of their time working on their own farms and possibly on share-cropped or rented-in land, their sons and poorer men heading households are likely to have a **portfolio of livelihood activities** which change through the year including work on their own rainfed and/or irrigated farm, working on share-cropped or rented land, daily labour, FFW, and selling wood. The female household members also have a portfolio of livelihood activities including daily labour and the sale of firewood and vegetables.

For many years there have been Korodegaga men who joined **the army** and very recently a few young men have **migrated** for work in **Saudi Arabia** and **Sudan** (probably illegally). Also there are a few young men who have attended, or are attending universities, with at least one having gained a good government job which people say has provided a role model for young males.

Land has been **measured and registered**. Wereda officials said it would develop a sense of ownership and avoid insecurity encouraging farmers to look after the land. It will also reduce disputes. Farmers on bad terms with their wives initially refused and farmers with land adjacent to communal land tried to register some of that land as theirs. These disputes were settled by elders and kebele officials through negotiation.

There has been **no re-distribution of individual landholdings** since the original Derg distribution in 1975. However, as wereda officials informed, Korodegaga has a considerable amount of communal land and the kebele began to distribute this in 2007. The first distribution of 32.5 has of land to 135 households did not help the growing number of landless young people as it involved providing **irrigable land** to tax-paying landholder, including those who already had rainfed land for use with the pump provided by SHI. Since 2007 there have been a number of distributions of communal land: earlier to some young men on an individual basis and more recently via small co-operatives to young men and in at least one case a mixed sex youth group. An individual is only allowed to belong to one co-operative.

In 2006 60 hectares of **land to be irrigated by the new government pump** were distributed to 240 households, 53 of which are female-headed. There was a conflict as some of this land had been used temporarily by farmers with permission from the kebele and they initially refused to return the land as requested by the kebele. 'Finally they were convinced in a meeting and left the land'. Land was allocated to people who already owned land using a lottery system and there were protests from those who got relatively infertile land who refused to accept their share. The kebele decided to give their shares to landless people if they refused to accept what was offered and then they accepted. The SHI irrigation scheme merged with the new government scheme and a large **irrigation association** was established. All community members wanted to join and those who were excluded refused to make kebele contributions in cash and labour. Kebele and wereda officials told them at a meeting that first landowners should have priority to get irrigable land and then all would be included when irrigation capacity is increased through the purchase of a second pump.

The kebele organised the community to contribute labour to prepare the irrigation fields while the wereda provided improved (maize) seeds and fertiliser. The scheme worked well for a year and all

households got good maize production for consumption. But then some parts were stolen and the generator was removed as it was threatened by an increase in the volume of the Awash river. While the researchers were in the field elders established with a group of youths where the stolen parts were to be found - in a kebele in East Shewa. There were rumours that a rich kebele official doing well with a private pump was also involved in the theft as he did not want competition from other irrigation users. The community collected funds to buy the parts back and requested the wereda to arrange for a transformer to be in place; it seemed possible that this would happen soon after the researchers left Korodegaga.

The **irrigation association** now has 247 members and is divided into 8 groups each with 26-30 members. Each has a group leader whose role is to control water distribution to individuals and monitor individual work performance. There was recently a change in the leadership as the association had become weaker. Members borrow money to buy inputs: 600 birr for maize or green pepper and 800 birr for onions or tomatoes and repay after production. There is no contribution as there is money in the bank contributed by SHI and the government for electricity fee, pumps maintenance and buying spare parts. There are two trained people paid 100 birr per month who operate the pumps. The association leader said that the association has received assistance from the wereda who subsidised four pumps and CRS who provided 2 pumps. Wereda irrigation officials said that one of the CRS pumps was intended for the Youth Irrigation Association but had been lent to the Irrigation Association until the youth received land. When the youths had their land the farmers refused to return the pump and the case is not yet resolved as there seem to be differences of allegiance within the wereda. The association has a building made from corrugated iron and it can be locked. It is surrounded by natural trees, small bushes and grasses and has a latrine.

Asked about who has benefited from the Irrigation Association kebele officials said

Hardworking farmers have benefited and they have improved their lives. They could also buy private pumps and work more and more, construct corrugated iron roofs, and buy oxen and cows. Those who are rich and have work experience in the past have benefited. Some poor, female-headed households, lazies who didn't work well including because of lack of seed, fertiliser, pesticides and not watering well, weeding, digging etc couldn't get good production. They also planted maize which is not profitable in the market; it is used only for food.

A man who produced three times a year said he had bought cattle and cereals for family consumption and was planning to build a house in Dera.

Many respondents said that re-starting the government irrigation scheme would bring big benefits and there was also mention of using the Awash river 'directly without using pumps and electric power that incurs costs. The river has to be diverted around Shure kebele, specifically at Meta Gola area; this would improve our livelihood.' This must be a reference to the Dodota spate irrigation system. Spate irrigation supplements the rainfall that occurs during the growing season.

Communal land has also been given to **demobilised soldiers** from the war with Eritrea and to **youths and residents with less than 0.5 has of land** organised into **co-operatives**. Since the co-operatives became established and active 62 hectares of communal rainfed land has been distributed to 157 organised youths while 33.5 has of irrigable land has been distributed to 111 youths and women organised in co-operatives. Kebele officials said that provision of communal land to co-operatives was led by the kebele. Kebele officials and DAs implement the distribution announcing the amount of land distributed to the wereda. Two distributions they described both involved 7-8 youths being given 2 hectares of land. A third co-operative of 35 youths produced maize and green peppers.

Young men in a Focus Group said that providing land to youth had created employment and improved their incomes; they no longer had to sell firewood and theft was reduced. Some complained about **corruption**. One FG member had been refused land because he was a student while other students were getting land. They gave an example of a group who organised a co-

operative but had been refused land for 'unknown reasons'. They also said that they needed help with initial capital through credit for buying pumps, fertiliser, improved seed, pesticides etc. They had heard that farmers who followed DA advice on irrigation had got higher production than those not following the advice.

Land provision for investors seems to be in the hands of the **wereda**. Officials argued that the benefits included increasing the food security status of the community, experience sharing and technological transfer from the investors to the community and the creation of employment opportunities.

There have been land investors in Korodegaga at least since the Derg time. Currently there are some who come to rent land from farmers on a short-term basis, three who are established and a recently-arrived investor from Australia. Wereda officials said that F, who took over E's land in 2007, is profitable in his production and also supports 6 orphan children in the area so they can go to school.

A kebele official said that he had organised a youth co-operative, arranged to give it some land, told the wereda and they had accepted this but

Finally the wereda requested that I give that land to an investor and I refused to do so and consulted the community. The community has supported me. The wereda was insulting me. I resigned before the issue was settled and it (26.9 has) is now given to the Australian investor.

There was a story that the Australian investor had discovered the possibility of investing in Ethiopia on the internet and applied to the appropriate office at Federal level. They referred him to the Region, who referred him to the zone and from there he was referred to Dodota wereda where officials gave him the land in Korodegaga. He could not be found for an interview.

There has been some implementation of **women's land rights** as described earlier. Cases taken to the wereda by women being replaced by subsequent wives led to some distribution of property to the original wives. The right of daughters to inherit parents' land is being implemented in some cases.

The **renting and share-cropping** of land is common. There is a wereda rule that irrigation association land should be worked by the owner and not rented or shared but kebele officials said it was difficult to apply it in practice as

some are older and don't have labour access to do this. This is the main challenge to them, because to implement the regulation, those people would be harmed and this would not be good for their social relations. To allow this, they are blamed by wereda officials.

Wereda officials said that a number of the agricultural packages had not been successful in the wereda for various reasons. Korodegaga is a particular beneficiary of interventions and because it is encircled by the Awash they anticipate that the interventions should change their life in a short period of time. However over half of the community is reliant on rainfed agriculture and there has been resistance to the new and improved seeds being developed at the Melkasa Composite Variety Research Centre.

Since 2006 there have been three **Development Agents** in Korodegaga: for crops, livelihoods and natural resources. Before there was only one whose role was to distribute inputs and collect debts at the end of the year. The DA was not forced to live in the community which is the case now. Now the three DAs link with the three *got* leaders to monitor and evaluate the performance of each farmer in each village. They train model farmers who are using the new technology and continuously assess the plants on the farm to report progress of the new technology and differences between model farmer's crops and others. There is no division of labour; for instance the DAs for Crops and Livestock are involved in soil conservation and natural resource management. Farmers said that there was little livestock support most attention being on crops.

In 2007 a **Farmers' Training Centre** was built. It is managed by the DA Crops (salary 950 birr per month) and is used as a meeting hall by the community. Farmers take training about new technologies in it. According to the DA Crops theoretically and

in principle, educated farmers should train for about six months as an academic wise. Illiterates are trained orally about three months to know and apply new technologies. If this happens they could be model farmers. The trainings are based on different modules, and they learn 3 days in a week, six hours in a day. To teach the courses we need blackboard, chalk, stationery, etc. Again we need enough land and agricultural inputs to demonstrate. The office should have 3 hectares of land for this purpose.

However, the FTC does not have the necessary resources, all teaching is oral rather than practical, and almost all farmers didn't want to participate in the training but come to the DAs seeking inputs and other resources. A DA said that some farmers didn't follow advice on **compost** and **not cutting trees** and in other responses we found no evidence that farmers were preparing compost, though it was said that cutting trees for sale had reduced due to increased daily labour opportunities.

The DAs work with **model farmers** and visit to assess how the farmers are implementing what they request or advise. To be a model farmer the important things is attitude change and acceptance of advice and education. Last year 14 farmers graduated as model farmers. Model farmers are provided with what they need for their improvement: seeds, fertilisers and technologies such as sprinklers, spades, axes etc. A DA said 'we tell other farmers to be like them, calling their name'. We initiate them to do tasks properly. We used to focus only on them but this has changed since 2008. Another respondent said that when there were quota shortages seeds were only given to model farmers. A female model farmer said it made her family proud of her and she had moral satisfaction. One of the DAs said that there have been changes both in attitude and economically in the last five years. Some farmers have changed their lives through irrigation and most of the community are developing work skills and struggling a lot to change their lives. The wereda ARD has set targets for the graduation from PSNP of all farmers in the community this year but realises this needs hard work.

A DA said the main challenges relate to lack of budget for development or demonstration in the FTC compound. There is no tape to measure land or farm implements and no facilities for extension workers like houses, transport allowance, per diem at weekends etc. There is also a lack of extension packages especially agricultural inputs whose prices are very high. For example a quintal of improved maize costs 1200 birr so some farmers are buying local seeds which are not so productive. All farmers cannot get improved seeds because of quota shortfalls. Currently farmers cannot get fertiliser on credit and many cannot afford to buy it in cash so are not using it. A kebele official said there are serious shortages of agricultural and livestock extension packages. One farmer said that this year he had requested 3kg of onions but only got 1kg, 3 kg of peppers but only got 2 kg, and he could not get any soya beans at all.

Since 2003, in different years, through the wereda ARD quotas of **improved seeds** of teff, wheat, maize, soya beans, onions, tomatoes, and green peppers have been made available **on credit**. One problem has been that in difficult times poorer households eat the seed and then face a debt problem. Some farmers have benefited from most of the improved seeds: 'Many members of the community have benefited from using improved seeds - he has been benefiting by using improved vegetable seeds. Accordingly, he could buy clothes and food, could produce cereals for household consumption, bought oxen, goats, chicken, and different utensils'. A woman said that they have a shorter growing season and are more productive.

Attempts to introduce cassava and sweet potatoes were not successful.

they were reluctant to plant sweet potatoes and even uprooted them after planting, believing that it depleted the soil fertility. Cassava was also distributed to three farmers and it also failed.

This year most people had taken improved teff on credit and even though the crop failed they were

left with a debt. The improved teff seed available in 2005 gave good production and is still used today for food and seed; 'it spreads all over the wereda'. Last year one research centre in Awash Melkasa (the Melkasa Composite Variety Research Centre) provided hybrid maize on credit which all failed as the farmers were not given proper instructions as to how they should manage the crop. This year following the drought they have been given improved teff seeds free.

Usually there are not enough seeds for all community members so they are distributed to different community groups in rounds. Recently there was a charge that kebele officials were distributing the 'important seeds' (teff and vegetables) among themselves and distributing the others which they did not need (maize, wheat and soya beans) to other people. Nobody complained to the wereda but the issue was raised in a meeting.

There were no reports of a Service Co-operative; the Irrigation Association is one source of improved seeds on credit and kebele officials another. Improved seeds distributed via the gots are only given on credit to people with no outstanding debt. Unimproved seeds are said to be provided freely to those with debts.

The common **livestock** are cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. There are a number of different livestock diseases and livestock are affected by lack of fodder in years with poor rain. Wereda officials said that there is inadequate provision of vaccination and medicine. A veterinary building was recently constructed in Korodegaga but no mention made of a veterinarian.

Wereda officials complained about the problems caused by a **bull-fattening** programme started at the Federal level.

There was no regular monitoring and evaluation system, the experts came in from Nazret, the cattle came from different areas which disseminated diseases and there were also sanitation problems, and even the bull was sick. The owner injected him himself.

Kebele officials described a programme of animal provision. Gerries selected the beneficiaries depending on instructions from the wereda which included model farmers (oxen), poor active farmers (oxen), women and youths (sheep). The list was sent to the wereda and kebele Cabinet members with the DAs bought the cattle from the market and gave them to the beneficiaries. They said about 50% of the community were involved but because of lack of vaccinations and drugs **a lot of cattle and chickens died**. As described earlier a group of poor people complained at the wereda that rich people were benefiting but no action was taken.

The older female youth Focus Group described a voluntary government scheme which provided sheep on credit; 3-4 sheep with a cost of up to 800 birr. Nearly all the sheep died (in the Focus Group three out of 6 were affected) but they still had to repay the debt. One girl's father had to rent out his land to repay 780 birr. On the other hand the younger FG had three members whose households had received a pair of oxen which had **raised their standard of living and had a positive impact on their education**. One woman told how she had received 3 sheep and a pair of oxen and had later sold some sheep and bought a cow. Another woman had got two oxen on credit (cost 2500 birr) but they had both died. She worries about the unpaid credit because if they are obliged to pay it she couldn't and she fears her land may be taken in compensation. Another woman said she could not access the package as she did not have relations with officials. She said the officials' bias continues and some people have got animals more than once. A man who took improved chickens sells eggs and buys salt, coffee, pays iddir contributions, and buys clothes for the children. The family also eat eggs.

The risks and benefits attached to keeping livestock are revealed in this household story.

In 2005 the family had 4 goats and they increased to 5 and 6 in the years 2006 and 2007 respectively. They became 7 in 2008. In 2009 all of them gave birth and became 14 in number. In 2008 the family bought 2 oxen by renting land and selling teff. One of the oxen died in 2008

from disease and the other fell from a cliff and died leaving us with 1 ox which existed previously before 2005. Recently they sold the remaining ox by fattening and 9 goats to buy food.

Local **non-farm activities** include selling firewood and vegetables (in the locality), FFW, and some of the youth co-operative activities such as sand-selling (failed), stone-splitting (failed) and un/loading lorries. One man was reported as employed at Sodere Resort as a lifeguard in the 2005 research. A young woman **migrated** to Saudi Arabia for work in 2005 and in 2008 two men went there seeking employment and a young woman went to Sudan for work. She was joined by her husband the following year; a further 3 men and 1 woman also went to Sudan at this time. They walked across the border (probably illegally). The journey was arranged by a Broker in Nazret.

Wereda officials said that not much was being achieved by **micro-finance institutions** due to low levels of saving; targets were not being met. Their programme for awareness creation on saving had not met with much success; there was no regular attendance at Korodegaga due to the distance people have to travel and the shortage of transport. Also trainers could not get to the community on time for the same reason. As noted earlier the Irrigation Association is one source of improved seeds on credit and kebele officials another.

Wereda officials also said that farmers were afraid to take credit (e.g. for pumps) in case their business fails. On the other hand they described a female model farmer (not from Korodegaga) who has capital that reached 200,000,000 birr (an amount that researchers thought might have been exaggerated) and has been to Japan for experience-sharing.

Kebele officials said that people do not want to repay their debt even if they have money. Those who got livestock on credit through the Revolving Fund have not repaid so the fund is no longer operational. The kebele manager confirmed farmers' refusal to repay debts for packages and micro-credit. 'We give awareness to the community about debt that has to be paid and assure them paying debt is mandatory.'

There are two women's credit associations (SHI and government) with a third one in process of being set up (JICA). The government scheme employed a manager this year who was assigned by the wereda and is paid 400 birr per month. Members contribute 11 birr a month: 10 birr is saving and 1 birr covers costs. They have a well-built house compared with others in the locality with a corrugated iron roof and a window. The manager uses one of the rooms as his bedroom. The association lends money to members who are not members of the SHI association though the latter are able to save in the scheme. Savings is organised in groups of 5 members; all members borrowed 500 birr and should have repaid within 6 months. The interest rate is 5 birr per month. If one of the members is unable to pay the remaining four must pay the debt. There are 178 members including 7 men who are substituting for their mothers or wives. 175 took loans and of these three have not repaid the debt, two have paid half and one recently when to join his wife in Sudan.

Most of the members have been harmed by their membership due to the drought as most used the money to buy agricultural inputs; some sold assets to repay the debt being afraid of the accumulating interest and most of these want to leave the association. A number of people suggested that in case of drought or livestock death payment should be extended without interest. The four members of the group with the Sudan emigrant are worried about his debt. A woman who used the loan to buy a heifer said she had benefited as now it is pregnant.

Human re/production

Due to good rainfed agricultural production in 2007/8 a number of people changed their **houses** from thatched *tukuls* to houses with corrugated iron roofs. The *tukuls* are small often with incomplete partitions for bed, cooking and storing food and space for keeping sheep and goats safe from hyenas. They are not very well built (see photographs) and are said to last about 10 years. Some reporting the building of new houses said they had built a separate space for animals. People

were also able to replace their leather beds with wooden ones. Most households started to use improved stoves in 2006 and gradually more and more house equipment is plastic or metal. Most households have a radio and some have tape recorders.

There is currently **no electricity** in the site (although there has been at Sefera in the past) and wood and dung are used for **fuel**. Clothes are washed in the river and **drinking water**, which is said sometimes to be polluted with waste from the Wonji sugar factory, is also taken from the river. Livestock also drink from the river. There are about 7 springs near the Awash river where the water is slightly hotter than river water. The wereda sent experts to examine the water and they said that one of the springs was potable. Since then some people use it for drinking, however it is far from most villages and because of that most of them are unable to use it. Kebele officials said that the wereda promised to provide **water purification tablets** for those who dig latrines as an incentive and did so.

Wereda officials said that in the past community members refused to dig latrines and then some did when an NGO (SHI?) requested the availability of a latrine as a pre-requisite for joining their programmes but they didn't use them. Now, they claimed all members of the community had dug ventilated latrines (VIP) because they observed families that defecate everywhere in their compounds being attacked by diarrhoea. They claimed it would reduce 75% of community diseases. However they said there were still 'problems of awareness' that required more awareness creation training.

Kebele officials said that they and the extension workers had given the awareness training under the supervision of wereda health officials. They said the intervention was successful as the wereda promised water purification tablets to those who dug latrines and there were 'indirect enforcements', people being warned that they would be excluded from other advantages such as food aid unless they dig latrines. 'Accordingly all the community has its own latrine although some of them are not using the latrine due to less attention for its importance.'

All respondents said that they had dug and used **latrines** but the fieldworkers observed that while most households have dug a latrine most **don't use them** even in Sefera. Wereda officials said that Korodegaga had 5 model households with VIP latrines but the fieldworkers said that none of them are used.

Korodegaga was badly affected by the 1984 drought and people say that since the 1980s the area has been **food insecure** and there have not been many good harvests. Dodota wereda is a **PSNP** wereda where CRS is an active partner.

Asked about the wereda's food security status officials said they get food through the safety net which is not sufficient. They said that overall the PSNP intervention 2005-9 was 'about 50% of what was hoped for'. They had planned to graduate about 1200 households with capital of about 3000 birr per household member but the drought had made them insecure again. In comparison with other kebeles Korodegaga's irrigation potential provides opportunities to resist drought-related problems so it gets relief assistance in smaller quotas than other kebeles. 'They even have a plan to graduate the community as a whole from the PSNP, except for 77 individuals'.

Wereda officials said that in future the whole kebele could use **spate irrigation**. Currently there is a system covering 5 kebeles which has 17 ponds each with the capacity to plant 14/15 hectares of land. In 2008 the beneficiaries got good production by using the ponds which worked with rainwater. If it were possible to use river water to fill the 17 ponds it 'would bring change and sustainability'.

During the **drought** of 2002 CRS provided relief assistance throughout the year. **PSNP** started in 2005 and usually provides assistance for 6 months of the year (February to July). In 2006 the **Revolving fund** provided for the purchase of cattle but it wasn't repaid so ran out of funds. Kebele officials said that there were **serious shortages of food aid**. People complained about not getting enough for

their families and they explained to them that CRS does not change the quota each year whether a new family is added or not. The kebele also decreases the aid given to one family to include more families 'which contradicts with the PSNP aim'. **Nobody graduated** from the PSNP but some **richer people were excluded**. About 70% of the community benefited. They said that Gerie officials give some aid to relatives who are better-off families meaning that some poor families are excluded. Respondents in the older male youth Focus Group said 'well-to-do families are getting the aid due to **corruption** and this situation needs to be improved'.

Many people were **appreciative of the food aid**. An elderly woman said it was essential for her to live as she has no means of livelihood and another said that without it her life was in question. A poor woman said it especially benefits poor people as it is important for their survival.

There is a big workload for DAs and kebele officials and a lot of **conflict** during the selection for **targeting**.

DAs and kebele officials discuss the work to be done under the PSNP. Then they agree a programme with the wereda and for implementation the DAs co-ordinate with the wereda ARD, especially the natural resources, soil conservation and water resource management department. There are some conflicts on **work**, and loss of time and some people don't turn up but refuse to pay the penalty in cash or food. Some people did not want terracing to be done on their land. A kebele official said that the community spent most of their time doing terracing which was destroyed by cattle. The community building work was beneficial to all. Everyone who receives food aid should pay the school contribution of 10 *birr*.

Another kebele leader said

*It reduces the saving habit of the community i.e. farmers sell their crop products expecting food aid. Paradoxically those who save their products are excluded from the aid. Moreover, it increases a **sense of dependency**. The programme has to be stopped unless there happened natural catastrophes that necessitate aid and irrigation initiated. Those without land have to work with the better-off farmers.*

The younger male youth Focus Group said that the FFW programme both helped and harmed their education.

The food protects us from disease and enables us to learn at school without hunger. In contrast it harms us when we are absent from school to participate in terracing.

PSNP1 stopped in September 2009 and between then and February 2010 emergency assistance was provided twice.

The wereda reported that a programme of **malnutrition** screening and vitamin supplementation for children was successful in that 96% of children participated. The long-run benefits are to 'avoid blindness and other related diseases and to have children with good brain health and a socially fit society'. The two problems were budget and transport and the office had to take these on credit from other offices. UNICEF provided the nutrient food and vitamins.

Kebele officials said that they controlled the distribution of food and all children and mothers suffering food shortage got the nutrients. 60 children and 24 mothers were identified as malnourished as measured by wereda experts. The majority of the community has also received nutrition training. Two HEWs were employed in 2009 and one said she teaches women about breastfeeding and preparing special food for their children. They participate in house-to-house continuous assessment to screen for malnourished children. Fafa and oil are distributed to malnourished mothers (breastfeeding and pregnant) and 'plumpinut' is given to malnourished children aged 6 months to 2 years. 'It is delicious food like porridge'. She said that the quota should be increased so that all who have the problem get the aid until the problem is solved. Another informant said that now they get it only once as the next round goes to different people.

Problematic **illnesses** in Korodegaga are malaria, TB, amoeba, diarrhoea, typhoid, eye problems and headaches. Recently people have reported frequent kidney infections, particularly affecting women, which do not respond to medical treatment.

There is a high prevalence of **malaria** between June and January, particularly when the maize ripens. The health centres are far (Dera 15km, Awash Melkasa 8 km and Nazareth 24 km) and many people don't go to them due to the cost. Preventive measures include the distribution of **bednets** and the spraying of **DDT** in and around people's homes.

Wereda officials said that the wereda plan was to distribute 2 nets per family once in 4 years, 'but there are people who have taken it but are not using it'. They said that low awareness on the part of the community resulted in them using it for other purposes like tearing it and using it to cover crops. They said that if the awareness programme had been done before distribution of the nets implementation might have been better. They also said that, given the small size of farmers' houses cone-shaped nets would be better than the rectangular-shaped ones distributed which take up too much space. Kebele officials said that the HEWS teach the community to protect themselves from different diseases. Community members said that bednets should be 'distributed adequately' and regularly. A number said that the rate of malaria incidence has decreased which is specially good for children.

With regard to **treatment** kebele officials said that in 2002 they selected 2 health promoters (1 in Sefera and 1 in Arda) who distributed tablets for malaria treatment (facider and chlorophine).

When the health post was constructed the wereda health service officials promised that all services would be given to the community at the health post. But there are no medical services; even the people couldn't get quatem (malaria medicine).

The HEW said there not much problem in getting malaria treatment; 'they know about it and they go to Awash private clinic for treatment or simply they buy the drug and use it if it is not available in the post'. At the time of the interview there was no drugs at all at the health post. One of the youth Focus Group discussants had got malaria treatment at the health post and said it had helped him not to miss school. Another respondent had paid 130 birr for his malaria treatment. Another who suffers from malaria said that since 2003 medical services have improved and it is worth going to the health centre on time.

Wereda officials said that a programme to provide **HIV testing and anti-retroviral** and counselling had failed due to a shortage of test kits. They said that the provision of ART had reduced the problem of refusal of tests because people had observed HIV carriers becoming healthy and strong after taking the ART. There is no identified HIV carrier in the kebele so far. The HEWs and wereda health professionals have been persuading people to take a blood test; 108 people have registered voluntarily for this and 80 pregnant women have been tested at the wereda health centre, all with negative results. Awareness of how the disease is transmitted is reported to be increasing. Young people are taught about it at school, other community members hear about it on the radio and parents and children discuss it. One respondent said that

Sexual behaviour is strongly changing. People are even afraid to talk with females that do not have husbands. Moreover, most males are afraid and refrain to approach those females with bad sexual behaviour.

There is sometimes **condom** access in the kebele but this is irregular though they are available in towns. One respondent said condom use is limited while another said that most youngsters use them. Several used condoms were found in a place in the kebele and some people blamed the daily labourers who come from outside the community. An observer said that the fact that there is no one in the community with HIV/AIDS suggests high condom use given 'their sexual behaviour'.

A number of respondents' have had **TB** or have family members who have had it and received long-

term treatment from government services. In 2009 there was an epidemic of **chronic diarrhoea** which killed three people in the kebele. Respondents suggested the reasons could be drinking river water, failure to use latrines, or environmental pollution. A HEW said that one serious health challenge was that small children are affected by waterborne diseases.

Two Health extension Workers were employed in 2009 and a Health Post was built with community labour; the wereda provided equipment and some construction materials. The HEWs at the **Health Post** said they control any health problems in the community closely. Women partially get contraceptives from the post and there is child and mother vaccination and sometimes malaria drugs. The post has no electricity or stove to sterilise medical equipment, and no scissors, gloves, and forceps for deliveries. The only furniture is one chair and there is no stationery so they buy it themselves. In February 2010 it had no drugs so they could only give education and advice. The main work of the HEWs is implementing the 16 packages.

The HEWs' house and fence are not yet completed and there is no pure drinking water or latrine so one of them said she lives in Dera and spends a lot of time travelling. She works four days a week in the community and reports to the wereda on Tuesdays. As she is a member of the Cabinet she meets at least once a month with one of the wereda officials 'for **political issues**'. She participates in meetings 2 or 3 times a week which also has an effect on her work. She reports weekly and monthly to the health centre. She submits daily or weekly reports to the kebele manager and gerie and got leaders help when there is training or programmes such as vaccination. DAs assist with the nutrition activities and they also teach about surrounding cleanliness when they teach about compost

Each HEW has a target of seeing 96 households per month to show them how to implement the health extension package and monitoring and evaluating. One of them said that because most of the villages she goes to are far apart and the climate is hot she ask them what they did when they come to the nearest village but she can't get accurate information because **they lie**. In 2009 60 households had graduated and this year the wereda target was to graduate 314 households. The criteria for graduation include having a latrine, a house which is separated from animals, using medicated drinking water, keeping house and surroundings clean, etc. Recently 7 Health Promoters have been selected voluntarily. They had had a week's training at the wereda on how to implement preventive health services in the community. If a household implements the packages it is taken as a model family. The **main achievements** of the HEWs were said to be the **screening of malnourished mothers and children** (though there is a quota shortage) and provision of nutritional foods, **vaccination**, and the provision of **malaria drugs and contraceptives when they are available**. Asked about challenges one HEW said that the **community wanted curative services not preventive** ones and when she does house-to-house assessments some women hide while men show her a gorge or trees when she asks them to show her the latrine. Asked about improvements she would like to see at the clinic she said drugs for simple diseases such as malaria, waterborne illness, headaches, eye problems, injuries, contraceptive pills and injections, and adequate nutritional supplements for malnourished children and mothers.

She works with a **model family** who implemented nearly all of the 16 health extension packages although '*wuha agar*' is not provided. She has been trained to provide delivery service at the Health Post but there is no equipment (scissors, gloves etc) so they have not provided the service. Current issues of concern were to increase the number of model families focusing on sanitation and family planning. She pays for stationery herself. Some farmers resist digging latrines, separating their house from animals, and keeping their surroundings clean.

One of the HEWs has relatives in Korodegega ('her parents background is in the kebele'); her parents lives in Nazret. She said that there were no females in the community who had completed Grade 10 and 'her relatives supported her'. She is paid 670 birr a month before deductions. She had 10 months training at Asela. She said there is not much satisfaction in the job; she dislikes meetings especially when she is called from work. She feels happy when people implement what she teaches.

Her aspiration is 'to learn in another department' so she can leave the current job.

Community respondents said that the preventive health programme started in the Derg period but was not effective. Now the service is greatly improved, especially after 2002. Benefits mentioned were the malaria prevention service (bednets and DDT), malaria tablets, paracetamol, demolishing stagnant water, training on cleanliness of compound, cooking area and people (e.g. washing hands before a meal), contraceptive provision, programme for malnourished children and mothers. The service could be improved by increasing the availability of medicines and equipment and assigning more trained professionals. One woman said that women working with extension workers are taking oil and fafa intended for malnourished children and mothers and that the wereda health centre should control this.

Wereda officials said that volunteer **Health Promoters** from 4 kebeles, including Korodegaga, had been trained; the allowance of 300 birr per person was paid by JICA. In the future they will serve the community without a fee. One who was interviewed dropped-out from Grade 8 when she got married and came to Korodegaga in 1991. From 2000 through a SHI initiative she received various trainings in family planning, HIV/AIDS, mother and child care, and sanitation. In 2002 she began to work as a health promoter distributing malaria drugs, pills and condoms to the community.

She was wereda councillor from 2000 to 2005 and was the Women's Association secretary before the kebele manager was employed. Because she was experienced in the work they asked her to volunteer to be an HP; she has been trained to deliver the programme for malnourished children and mothers. She is one of the model families and the only pure water user; she bought a 100 litre plastic jar and is using water-purifying chemicals. She is implementing well the 16 health extension packages. She said she was not satisfied with her previous work but now she 'feels full of energy and readiness to do well. She likes serving the community; dislikes rumours, scepticism, no transport allowance, blaming etc. Her personal ambition is to complete her education; she has a house in Dera and would like to live there with her children to complete her education.

A HEW said that people believe that **modern medical treatment** is not relevant for all kinds of diseases and sometimes use traditional drugs. One elderly woman said 'she didn't know whether curative health programmes were present or not. But she has an idea if affected people go to the health centre on time they can be cured, except for HIV/AIDS.' One chronically ill woman said that in the past epilepsy and TB had not had drugs but now 'they are curable diseases' and a few people who had suffered from the diseases for a long time had been cured

When interviewed about health services wereda officials did not focus on curative health services. Kebele officials too mostly spoke about the preventive health services although they did say that they have asked the wereda for a **clinic** but were told they should introduce basic health education before a clinic could be established. The HEW said that people did not want to go to the government health clinic as they don't get all the services: examination and drugs. 'So the rich go to Nazret and others prefer to go to **Awash private clinic** which is close and not costly'. This was confirmed in most responses from the Households, Dependent Adults and youth Focus Groups with nearly everyone saying they went to the private clinic in Awash Melkase. There was one exception: the first wife of the rich man with three wives went to **Dera health centre** for 'gastric' illness (while the other sick members of the family went to the private clinic). She said it showed 'a little bit of improvement on serving patients and the availability of drugs; slightly the health workers improve their conduct and tried to treat people politely' although they still treated rural people worse than urban people.

Family planning training has been given since the Derg period; under the EPRDF many respondents reported it as improved, particularly since 2000 when SHI introduced a programme although there was a problem of unreliable supply of pills which led to unwanted pregnancies. Wereda officials said that injectables had been introduced and considerable numbers of mothers in the wereda were using the service. This would

help to have a well-planned family that further helps families to send their children to school, to have sufficient health treatment capital and totally to have planned economy.

Some husbands have been refusing to allow their wives to use contraception so it should be easier for them to do so secretly when injections are given at the Health Post rather than the wereda. Kebele officials said that one reason the birth-rate had not fallen was the unreliable supply of contraceptives in the Health Post. Among the women respondents three women without husbands reported using contraceptives when they needed to. One wife said it was the will of God how many children you had while two wives said they would like more children; one had given birth to thirteen although eight had died. One respondent said

She has 11 children. If the programme had been improved she wouldn't have had so many children. Having more children led to being poor, however as those children grew her life standard improved. In the last 10 to 15 years she was poor, but within 4 to 5 years she became medium in the community (comment – probably rich).

Asked about health services wereda and kebele officials did not mention pregnancy and childbirth services though the older female Youth Focus Group said they have been advised that when they become pregnant they should take a vaccination and have a blood test. A woman respondent said that because of distance pregnant mother follow-up may be interrupted. The HEWs did not mention pregnancy follow-up though a poor man said his wife had gone to the health clinic for pregnancy checks and follow-up after birth until the baby was 9 months old.

One of the HEWs said they could not provide a delivery service as they had no equipment. Two Traditional Birth Attendants have been trained. One of the TBAs said she had stopped participation in delivery because of resource shortage. 'Government works more in theory than in practice'. A male key informant said that there were an increasing number of childbirth complications including taking a longer time to give birth and infant deaths at the time of birth.

A HEW said that to decrease **infant mortality** repeated education on infant care is given; how to keep them clean and prepare their food. There is anti-six child vaccination including polio which used to be given by people coming from the wereda but now should be given by HEWs. The older Female Youth Focus Group said they take their children to the health centre for vaccination after 45 days and don't use traditional drugs, though one older woman said that with regard to vaccinations distance was a problem and another when asked about improvements said that the vaccination 'services should be adequately supplied in the health post in the kebele'.

Wives in the Household Module said that there has been a change in child-rearing practices: infants should be kept clean and breastfed for at least 4 months but no longer than 2 years, cow's milk should be boiled, and they should have special food. They should be vaccinated between 45 days and 9 months and taken to the health service when they are ill. Although they all seemed to know what they should do we did not establish the extent of actual practice.

They all said that school-age children should be given school materials and sent to school. A teacher said that since 2008 government **pre-school** opportunities for the under-7s have been given in the school but it has not been effective as they learn with Grade 1 students and are not getting a teacher regularly. Only children living near the school attend. An **alternative basic education** school was opened for a few months but closed due to lack of teachers.

With regard to **primary education** wereda officials said that there has been progress in Korodegaga. In 2002 there was only one school and drop-out was high due to the distance students had to travel. Now there are two schools (new one Grades 1-2) and the community is more aware of the importance of education so drop-out has reduced. Kebele officials said that not having far to travel to school reduced the fear of the security problem mainly of the girls.

The **primary** school in Sefera used to end with Grade 4. Expansion of two class rooms and an office

begun in 2005 was completed in 2009 and the school started Grade 5. There is a plan to open up to Grade 8. Mobilised by teachers and the PTA the community built separate latrines for male and female students. The PTA also takes measures against pupils and teachers with bad discipline and the head teacher calls the PTA when there is any problem. The head teacher is a member of the kebele cabinet. The kebele monitors teachers for absenteeism.

Rain shortage caused a problem in building the new school as they needed to get mud for the walls. The community had low capacity to supply wood and straw due to the drought so the wereda provided the wood. UNICEF supplied corrugated iron for the roof, nails, doors and windows.

Continuous Professional Development (once a week) started in 2007 to improve the performance of teachers; teachers sit in on the classes of others and comment on their teaching style. It was reported to have improved the quality of pedagogy. Since 2007 the headteacher has to lead by example rather than just giving orders. Also in 2007 an Induction course to help 'fresh teachers to avoid strange things' was started. Since 2009 teachers are expected to mobilise the community to achieve what they want to do.

students do not have knowledge as required at their level. Students will be absent for a long time and return back after they missed many classes and the teacher helps the student to pass as the teacher's performance is based on the number of passed students.

The main problems facing the school are shortages of teachers and absence of teachers' accommodation, facilities and equipment due to shortage of budget. They have asked the wereda to provide another teacher to replace the one who left. Lack of teachers has forced self-contained teachers to teach grades other than the one they are assigned to. One teacher said that only 5 teachers are assigned to Grades 1-5 including pre-school; one of the teachers has been absent since last October but the wereda education office still hasn't assigned another teacher.

The school rents out land to bring in income. The community contributes 10 birr per year and also contributes when bazaar and labour contributions are needed. Parents do not make any further contributions. The school does not seem to get good support from the wereda. Asked what improvements the teachers would like to see they replied:

Fulfilling materials like good blackboard, chairs, and floor to be cemented. Additional teachers especially for grade 5 and above for subjects of natural science need to be fulfilled. Grade 5 students do not have books. The centre supervisor would not supervise and give comments and hence our school has to act as its own centre. We do not hear new things and trainings as we are considered as a satellite school from the centre.

One of the teachers said he provided educational support materials at his own expense.

There are **more girls than boys** in the school reportedly as a result of the activities of the female committee. The older female youth Focus Group said that most young females go to primary school and can learn up to Grade 4. A rich mother was opposed to the shift system: '*children should be learning a full day, but this has failed.*'

Students are often **absent** on market days (Tuesdays) as parents force them to go to market or look after the home or livestock while the parents go to market. When teachers go to people's homes to ask why they have stopped their children from coming to school 'they hate us'. Also during peak working times on the irrigation farms some participate as daily labourers and miss school. Advice and discussion with parents has brought some improvement. One parent said that there are not enough teachers and 'because of this children do not regularly attend'.

Teachers said that the big issue at the moment is **quality of education** as both the wereda and the community are questioning the quality. One teacher said that he does not support the Self-Contained system but implements it as it is a rule. 'Students in self-contained classes become weak when they get weak teachers. To tackle this problem I give tutorials for weak students to improve

their skills.’ He said there is a high workload due to the shortage of teachers, managing clubs, discussions with the community, CPD, party works twice a month on party ideology, other school tasks and environmental issues. He is also studying for summer education at the weekends. He says he did CPD with the promise of getting his licence for teaching but this is not being implemented.

The headteacher was highly satisfied with his job though not with his wage; he had started to farm with his parents to bring in more income. The other problem was that his wife was assigned in a different place so he could only see her at weekends. His aspiration was to improve his education, get a higher salary and live with his wife in the same place.

In the past most students **dropped out** after Grade 4 because their parents could not afford to send them to other areas to continue their education. Teachers approached an investor to support 6 orphans and he is providing them with exercise books, uniforms, pens and other materials and has promised to buy sheep and goats which they can use for income by reproducing them. Most students do not go to **secondary school** and those who start usually drop out. A few students go to Sodere school which goes up to at least Grade 7. There are no women in the community who have completed Grade 10. Most Wereda and kebele officials said nothing about secondary education and wereda, kebele and community all said that **TVET** was not available.

The older male youth Focus Group said they knew nothing about university opportunities but there are at least two households with sons who have degrees and work in towns and help them with resources. Another household has a son who is currently attending university; ‘the government provides accommodation and food for university students which we would have had to pay for if our child attended a private college.’

Social re/production

There is ample evidence that people in Korodegaga can still rely on local informal security regimes for **assistance in times of crisis**. One of our respondents was seriously ill for six months and spent about 1500 birr for treatment in Nazreth hospital. Neighbours, friends and relatives contributed a considerable proportion of the cost. Another who wanted to escape from her stressful marriage as a third wife could only do so because daily labourers who worked with her contributed 120 birr to pay for her travel back to her mother’s house. A man who was sick went to his brother’s house so that his brother could look after him and stayed for 7 months.

Neighbouring households still co-operate with other households to accomplish agricultural and other tasks and share equipment and implements. While one respondent said that there was ‘increased individualism due to the cost of living and government policy to increase development and wealth’ most people said that what one called the ‘surge in development activity’ had not affected inter-dependence among **neighbours** in time of crisis, although one respondent said that there may be a little change in that everybody wants to improve himself ‘leaving somebody’s problem’. However, development which increases wealth also allows people to be more generous. Two women whose households had become richer explained that this benefited neighbours and **relatives** as well as their own household. One who had built assets as a result of producing crops on private and Association irrigated land also gives the output to relatives and neighbours sometimes on credit and sometimes as aid. A household which had got a pair of oxen through an intervention lent them to her neighbours. As we have seen poor dependent people were very anxious that there should be a good harvest allowing the people they relied on to be able to help them. Neighbours also provide other kinds of support: when one woman’s husband became seriously ill she called the neighbours to assist him. One woman said she could get credit in cash or kind from neighbours, **friends** and relatives in times of crisis but they also helped in **times of fun**; for example during her son’s wedding they provided labour and cash.

One respondent said that decreases in wealth reduce co-operation with other households and suggested that young men had given up helping each other because poverty made it impossible.

However, another said that the increased activity of the Youth Association and youth co-operatives had increased youth networks where before there were few. Youths get information and employment through the organisations.

Relatives who are not neighbours also assisted the households we questioned: the son of one household lived with his aunt who sometimes provided him with food while he was going to a school nearby. One respondent suggested that the policy giving daughters the right to inherit parents' land 'created disappointment between brothers and sisters' leading to a loosening of social bonds in the community though when asked about social cohesion all case household respondents said that there has been 'not much change in societal culture'.

In 2003 there were 12 iddir, some of which had the names of particular villages. A current iddir leader told us

Participated as a chairman since 1979 for 6 years and then became a cashier for 21 years till 2006. Now I am an accountant and equipment of the iddir like tents, kitchen equipment, equipment of eating and drinking are kept with me as a store. Since I kept the equipment they are well-kept and protected which were damaged before. Since we changed the previous leader of the iddir it is serving us very well. Iddir is important in case of death and crisis like oxen death.

One iddir gave credit of 150 birr in case of illness of a family member; it should be refunded in a month. When family members or close relatives die the household is given 300 birr, 30kg of maize and 10kg of soya beans. The respondent suggested his iddir should also provide pepper and beans flour.

In a long interview an iddir leader reported that current membership is 25 men and 8 women (who are household heads). A new member pays 100 birr, 5kg of maize and 10kg of teff to register and one new member joined last year. The contribution is 1 birr every 15 days. The iddir sells agricultural production from its rented land (which members work on) when the price rises and has a bank deposit of 12,000 birr. Every member contributes 5kg of maize per year. The death benefit is 200 birr and 30 kg of maize which is given to one person closest to the dead person. Members of the iddir will take a sick member to the health centre using 'human pack' as there is no transport and lend 100 birr to be returned in a month. If an ox dies the iddir gives the owner 300 birr and all members of the iddir also plough his land for half a day.

The iddir has helped the kebele by lending its tents and other equipment for kebele events and it contributed 300 birr in cash for the bazaar to raise money for school construction. The respondent thought the iddir should support members during weddings and he would like to see the iddir participating in development works.

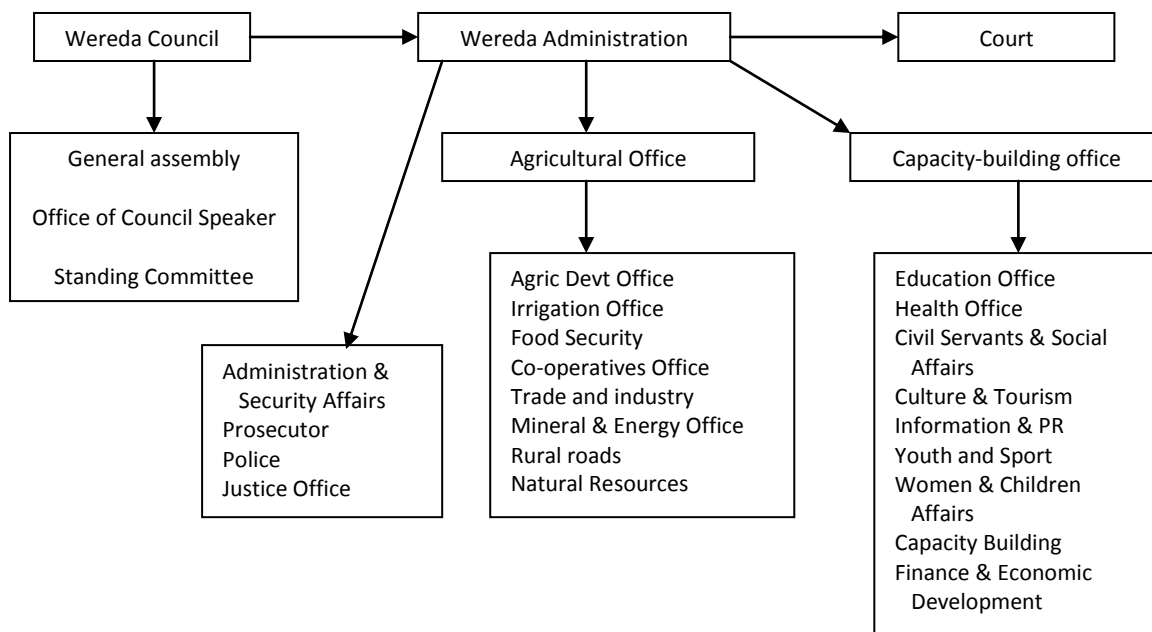
Community management

Wereda officials said that in 2005 at the request of people in Sire the Dodota-Sire Wereda was divided into two as the accessibility of most kebeles is low due to shortage of infrastructure; there is now a compact administrative structure which is relatively accessible for the community.

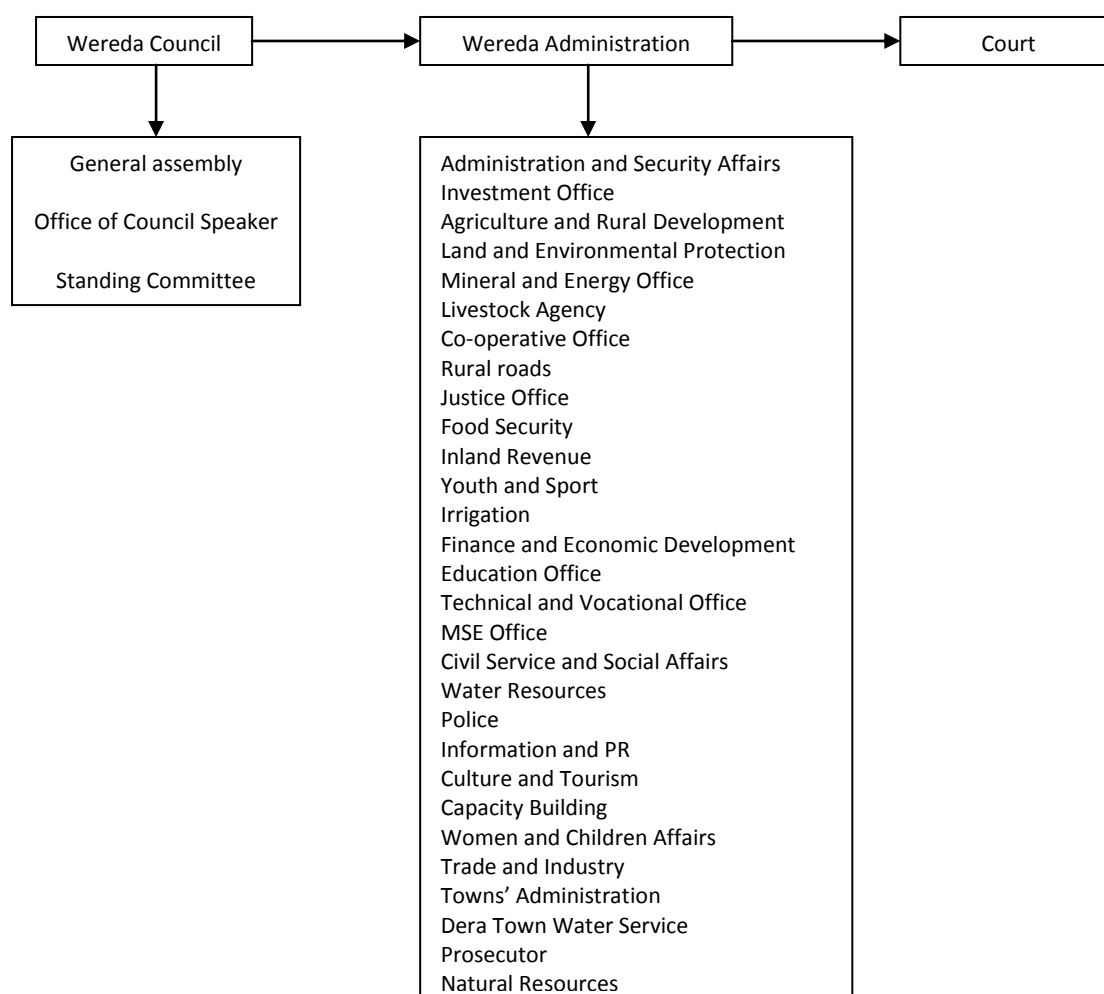
There have been some **changes in the wereda structure** since 2003. Figure 2 shows the wereda structure in 2003 and Figure 3 in 2010.

Wereda officials said that offices had been re-shuffled and new ones added; accountability was changed to shorten the bureaucratic hierarchy in order to smooth service delivery to the public as part of the Business Process Re-engineering and Good Governance programmes. Technical Committees within the Wereda Council were established with the objective of monitoring and evaluating activities of different respective sectors at wereda offices and in kebeles based on the criteria for evaluation set by the wereda.

Figure 2: Dodota Wereda Structure 2003



Asked their views on the changes the respondents welcomed the wereda council committees but were concerned that a structure that made 29 offices accountable to the wereda administration ‘could make the administration busy and become time-consuming’.

Figure 3: Dodota Wereda Structure 2010

We interviewed two **wereda councillors** from Korodegaga: 1 male and 1 female. The **man** had left school after Grade 8 in 1989 and since had worked as head of the social court, chairman of the kebele and vice-chairman of the kebele. In 2008 the kebele nominated a cabinet member for the wereda and the community elected him. He said that the wereda reports on its activities and the Council evaluates and gives comments. It approves budgets, selects and approves appointments, evaluates wereda employees, gives direction to kebele councils, approves new rules at wereda level and meets once every two months.

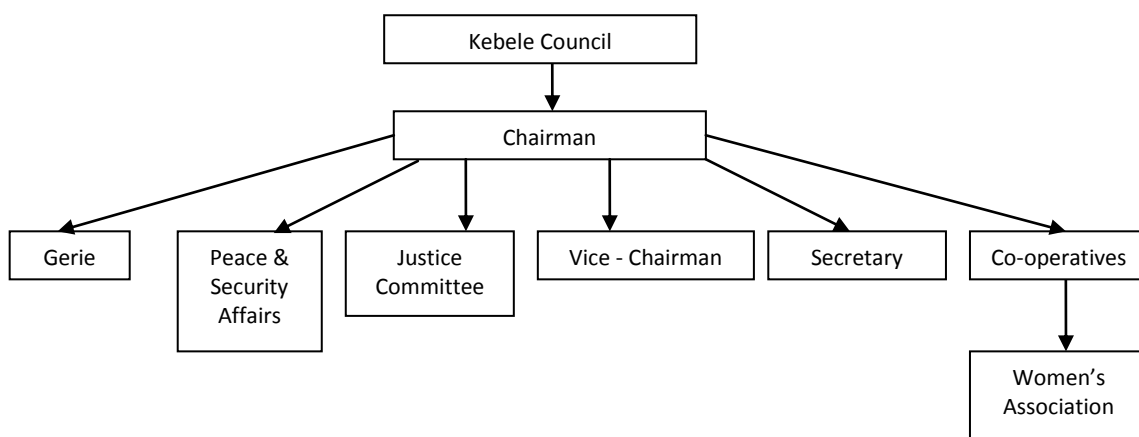
On behalf of Korodegaga he had asked why the plan for potable water had not been implemented and raised the issue of the road and a bridge. The wereda promised to undertake a 'step-by-step solution' for the bridge and to use an alternative shortcut way for the road which he said they are doing. He said the wereda planned to develop spring water and that they gave a fast response. He is paid a per diem of 35 birr per day for two or three days every two months and said that this was not sufficient for serving tea and having lunch. He complained that there were delays to the start of meetings as some council members turned up late which was not ethical.

The **female wereda councillor** learned basic education during the Derg regime; she can't write but can read Amharic letters 'a little bit'. She takes training at the wereda on political issues at different times; it focuses on development, equality and the legal rights of nations and nationalities. This year the frequency of interaction has increased. She used to participate in administrative work related to the women's association. She is a party member and was a cell organiser. She left because of the workload. She also has a position in the local credit-saving association. She goes to the wereda every

two months to follow whether the kebele has benefited or not compared with other kebeles. The issues of concern to her are the repairing of the big water pump and that kebele quotas for agricultural and livestock extension and food aid should be increased. She also shares experiences with other councillors and learns ‘how to perform the local political issues.’ She was not involved in decision-making and there was no transport allowance and no incentives for food and bed. Generally she was not satisfied with her role as from her position she couldn’t influence people. She would like to be more involved in political issues: ‘she feels full of energy and strength to serve the community well and implement government policies as well’.

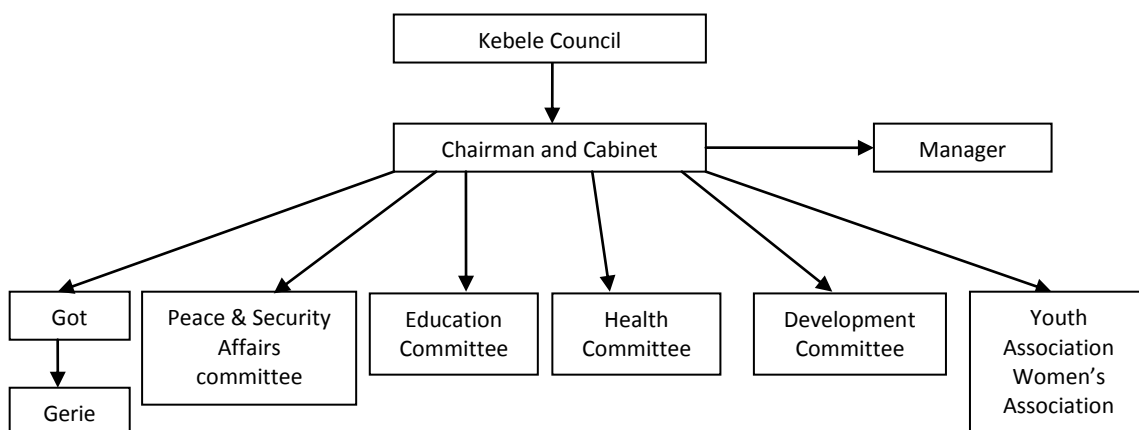
Figures 4 and 5 compare the kebele structures between 2003 and 2010.

Figure 4: Korodegaga Kebele Structure 2003



There were three changes. Kebele officials said that the **Got structure** was introduced in 2005; before that the Geries were directly responsible to the Chairman and since there are a considerable number the accountability ‘was tiresome’. Now three or more geries are accountable to each got. The kebele committees are each run by a kebele cabinet member.

Figure 5: Korodegaga Kebele Structure 2010



The other changes were that membership of the Cabinet has changed and the Secretary has been replaced with a **full-time kebele manager**. The manager appointed in 2007 is a full time worker who is in post to avoid customers’ dissatisfaction that would have prevailed due to irregular service provided by other officials who were working on a part-time basis and with unknown office time. The manager can easily facilitate the applications of community members at all times of the day.

Wereda officials said that the strength of the kebele administration has risen since the kebele manager was appointed - they say 6 months ago (2 years later than planned). Previously the farming kebele officials considered kebele tasks as part-time work. Kebele officials said the manager writes applications on behalf of community members, writes reports of kebele activities and performance for the wereda, brings issue to cabinet for decision and takes minutes of meetings. He does not make decisions.

The kebele manager has a diploma in social science obtained in 2009 through distance learning from a private college while he worked in private industry doing mechanical work. He left as it was interrupting his education and came to give free service at Korodegaga primary school. Kebele officials got to know him and proposed him for the post. He said his main achievements were that 'customers/applicants' could easily get what they want at any time as he is a fulltime manager and that he was able to prepare reports designing his own format having read books on methods of reporting that satisfied the wereda. His problems include people coming with requests out of office work time and living apart from his wife and child who live in Dera. The wereda has instructed all managers in the wereda to work on Saturdays and Sunday but he has tried to agree some adjustment of this with the kebele chair. Generally he is not satisfied with the job as he wants to be a teacher and he is not paid according to his diploma status (801 birr a month).

The kebele manager mobilised the community to build a **kebele office** which was recently completed and is in good condition and clean and well-kept, though there is **no latrine**. Inside it is well organised with charts etc on the walls (photos available). Officials complained of **shortage of stationery and seats** which they were buying with their own money. An ex-official said that since 2008 he had to pay for telephone calls to the wereda and transport and hotel costs for meeting were all covered from his own money.

There are 100 **Kebele Council** members although we heard little about what they did in practice. Theoretically the Council evaluates the activities of the kebele leaders every two months and gives direction. Wereda officials evaluate the activities of the Council every two months in a meeting. **The Cabinet** consists of 7 members. The Chair and Vice-Chair, Peace and Security Head and Head of Co-operatives (members of the community) and the Headteacher, Head of HEWS, Head of DAs (who are wereda employees). The Cabinet gives directions to the extension workers.

There are four Cabinet committees.

- The **education committee** consists of the Chairman, the headteacher, and 2 people from the community
- The **health committee** consists of the Vice-Chairman, the head of HEW and 2 people from the community
- The **peace committee** consists of the peace and security committee, the peace and security cabinet member and 2 from the community
- The **development committee** is made up of the head of co-operatives who is a cabinet member, the head of the Development Agents and two from the community.

The committees meet once a week with minutes kept by the kebele manager and their role is to design kebele plans for the respective sectors and evaluate implementation. There are women members in the education and health committees. Problems include that farmer members do not always attend the meetings and the absence of an office and stationery shortage. Those who perform well are given certificates.

There are three sub-kebeles or **got** which each contain 4 or 5 **geries**; a gerie constitutes 27-32 households. A got contains a chair, vice-chair, and secretary and co-operatives and environmental committees. Got leaders are elected by the kebele and the community. Gots take guidelines and orders from the kebele and transmit them to the gerie who transmit them to the community and implement the guidelines. A recent challenge was that gerie refused to accept some guidelines and

implement them; there was failure to keep guard of community properties. The got took their cases to the kebele and they were fined 40 birr, the standard punishment for those who refuse to accept geries' orders. Geries are involved in selecting beneficiaries of various interventions such as oxen provision and PSNP depending on the instructions from the wereda.

There are **EPRDF party cells** in the community with 20 members; one respondent said that at got level there could be about 45 cell members. Cells have a leader, vice-leader, co-operatives person and accountant. At the time of the research there was only one party (EPRDF) in the kebele. The kebele manager is the secretary and there are 14 organisers in the nine villages. Almost all landowners are members of the party; the numbers increased since 2008 as there has been strong mobilisation. Members contribute 9 birr a year: 6 birr for membership contribution and 3 birr for magazines and pamphlets. The two party organisers work with each cell which read the party literature to the members and control 'who participates in this or not'. Since last year the leaders check that this is done in each cell and report to the kebele manager. A key informant said that the propaganda is supervised every 15 days while he sends other people to teach, advise or exert external pressure in the locality every two or three days.

This year the frequency of meetings increased to two or three days a week. In the meetings they talk about community development while they criticise each and every institution and individual work performance. In principle there is no punishment related to party issues because in a democracy a person can choose whether they would like to be involved or not. But 'the fine happens indirectly and the community knows this well so they don't miss meetings or ask permission to be absent from the cell leaders'. A women's leader said the main current issues are about the election; there are a lot of meetings to create awareness and 'not to allow cheating by other political parties'. Asked what their vision and ambitions were the party members being interviewed said that they were 'hopefully waiting for other parties'. They said 'if other party (OBCO) comes we will do the same as in the 2005 election' (when the EPRDF was defeated in the site). Asked about satisfaction with how the party was run they 'spoke bitterly about meetings' they are fed up and would like to see economic development in the community.

Kebele officials take new ideas, information and rules to the community from the wereda. They are trained by the wereda on different issues and report to the wereda what is done in the kebele. They wereda also give training to the community through a programme. Officials pass directions and guidelines to the Women and Youth Associations through their committees. They give direction to gots and geries on how to run their work and evaluate them. The social court and militia are under the peace and security affairs committee and the committee reports to the cabinet. There are fines for lateness and absence at meetings.

The chair reports on sectoral activities to the wereda every week in a meeting of all kebele managers. There have been six changes of **kebele chairman** since 2003.

Table 4: Kebele chairmen 2003-10

EC	1995&6	1997	1998&9	2000	2001	2002
Name	Chairman 1	Chairman 2	Chairman 3	Chairman 1	Chairman 4	Chairman 5
Reasons for change	Reluctant, could not take measure on rule violators, could not manage and hence people refused to accept him or The wereda didn't trust his political mobilisation for the 2005 election	Just after the election he was changed because OBCO won in the area He had promised the wereda that EPRDF would win and to do so he faced a lot of conflict in the community so he was disliked by the wereda as well as the community	Biased to his own work – no time to participate at meetings in the wereda and kebele	Failed to agree with Wereda officials refusing to provide land for investment proposed by the wereda officials. He didn't want to continue in his position. The community likes him – he is a democratic leader and didn't force them to do what they didn't want but just reported it to the wereda. So the wereda doesn't want him to be the leader.	He was demoted because of corruption, i.e. irrigable land distributed to his relatives and taken for himself. He worked only for 9 months.	Acting till now

Asked about his main achievements while in the job a current leader said he had 'improved peace by avoiding theft, increased development by expanding irrigation, reduced drop-outs from school, increased health awareness by increasing the number of people that use a toilet, proper service/responsiveness to the community for their need, giving fast response to community on meetings.' One of the fieldworkers observed that 'he was not telling the reality'. The leader said the main current issues of concern were the elections, development and peace. Problems he faced were people asking for safety net aid although they are well-off leading to conflicts. He said that the government should stop the aid as it is leading to dependency. A previous leader said that the number of meetings should be reduced and all wereda sectors should arrange meetings together for the kebele officials.

Another official said that people from the wereda were coming with three day intervals to give advice and education to the community and they are also evaluating and monitoring each party cell closely. He wished the government would give attention to development work rather than concentrating on political issues.

Various accusations of corruption by kebele officials have been described at different points in this document. One of the male youth Focus Groups said that officials had refused to provide land for one Youth Co-operative 'for unknown reasons' and that 'Corruption has to be stopped'. They also agreed that well-to-do families were getting food aid due to corruption. A poor woman asked that government interventions include all poor people without discrimination as a result of 'relatives' bias'.

Governance interventions in the wereda include Business Process Re-engineering, increasing participation-forming associations, security and policing interventions, justice interventions, package for democratic participation of the people, the Good Governance Package, mobilising community labour, institutions to promulgate government development ideas and interventions, and taxation.

The **Business Process Review** process involved the re-shuffling of offices, the adding of new ones and accountability changes to shorten the bureaucratic hierarchy. Technical committees within the wereda council were established to monitor and evaluate the activities of the different sectors at wereda offices and in kebeles based on criteria set by the wereda.

Wereda officials said that there was no wide participation in development interventions before associations were established and that participation increased after the establishment of the associations. They mentioned the irrigation association as particularly successful. They said that there was 'lack of awareness' about the importance of associations and continuous awareness creation was given by the wereda capacity-building office and OPDO. An improvement suggested was that the awareness creation should come before the implementation.

The kebele was involved in the establishment of the **Women's Association**. They gave awareness creation, organised the women, initiated them to make contributions, helped them to elect their leaders and formerly sent the contributions to the bank. The wereda provided the rules and regulations and provided trainers. 200 members joined and are eligible for government credit for different business like irrigation, buying livestock, seed and fertiliser on credit. Community informants said that all women residents are members of the Association.

The Association has a leader, vice-chair, secretary, control committee, store keeper and dispute resolution committee. The leader said that women who were not members could not be included in any intervention in the community and would not get an identity card. They used to contribute 1 birr a month but no longer do so. Women are organised to discuss women's issues like their rights, HTPs, saving-credit services, preventive health services, family planning etc. They are organised according to issues that come up. When issues arise kebele officials in the gerie or got mobilise them to participate and if they don't action is taken by kebele leaders. Women who don't participate in meetings and community work will be excluded from community interventions. One of the leaders said in the past women didn't participate in meetings and didn't like the education and advice given by trained women but now a lot are becoming aware of their legal rights and practice them. Except for a few living in the remotest village women are now open to new ideas. She said the wereda court was biased towards males and do nothing related to property-sharing quickly. However the Women's Affairs office helps women to get justice.

The kebele's involvement in the establishment of the **Youth Association** took the same form as it did for the Women's Association. 175 youths joined and organised themselves into co-operatives to run different businesses. Youth Association officials said that since 2009 the association has been divided into 3 co-operatives; sand, land, and un/loading. The contribution of 50 cents per month stopped in 2007. The Association's role became 'as nil' as the co-operatives became the important organisations to help youth participate in development activities. They said that the main challenges were that they could not bring any change to the youth. The leader has a role in bringing youth ID cards and being trained in development issues and new rules but he said the association is inactive and not important.

Asked about **good governance** interventions the older female youth Focus Group said that there are a lot of changes in the community linked to it one being that young females could participate on local issues, although they said that females were not using the interventions as much as males. The younger female Youth Group said that teachers could no longer beat them when they were absent from school or hadn't done their homework and that they played in school with boys freely.

The social court now only deals with **civil cases**. It has a leader, vice-chair and a member plus two reserves. There are two militias who work with them on their working days (Mondays and Fridays). Before 2007 social courts saw both criminal and civil cases and could give punishments up to 1000 birr related to all cases. They also dealt with land cases. Since then they only deal with civil cases. The informants gave an example of a recent case

A daily labourer agreed with the school committee to plaster mud on the class rooms. At the beginning he took money (600 birr) being given a guarantee by a resident. Then he left having not done what he should have done. The committee accused the guarantor in the social court and it gave a decision that he should repay the money. After he litigated a little bit he repaid the money.

The court has close relations with kebele leaders and traditional dispute resolvers on civil cases. When any case comes first they refer to community elders; most cases are resolved through them. They report to the wereda court quarterly, bi-annually and annually and at kebele level they are accountable to the security head. The court members work as mediators as well as giving legal decisions. The respondents were relieved to no longer have to deal with criminal cases but said they are now not sure of their role.

There is no clear regulation and rules which help to guide how to do. For instance the instructions say that; the social court can see civil cases up to 1500 birr, but there is no further instruction, which helps to implement it. If a person didn't repaid his/her debt, there is no way to force him/her to pay as we couldn't annex his/her property.

Security problems in the kebele include theft and youth fighting with each other. The **peace committee** was introduced to change the role of elders so they participate in security issues. The committee has a leader and three other members that were elected in 2007; there is one member in each got accountable to the kebele chairman. They keep peace and security, maintain the law, control theft and take cases step by step to the kebele and wereda. The wereda gives training and guidelines. The committee implements the decisions of the social courts and calls with a letter a person they want in relation to a decision. Militias are under peace committee control and the committee gives them orders. The committee has meetings two days a week with the kebele administration and try to settle problems raised by community members. If got and gerie face a problem they apply to the committee which takes the case to the kebele. If the social court faces problems beyond their capacity they request the committee to take the issue to the wereda. The committee has meetings every 15 days with the militia to discuss peace and give awareness to militia. They claimed they had 'settled the problem of theft'.

A **militia** leader and member said that to be a militia member a person has to be accepted by the community. The 20 elected militia members elect their leader. The members keep peace in the night as guards patrol their respective geries (there is one for each); they protect from theft, control community property, take prisoners to the wereda and mediate when people quarrel. They are only allowed to imprison a suspect for 24 hours although kebele officials don't know this and request them to keep them longer – they need to be trained. Kebele officials evaluate their activities and send the results to the wereda. They meet kebele officials once a month and sometimes officials from the wereda peace and security attend. If a member of the militia is not available when he should be he can be fined 40 birr though they are serving the community with no payment. 'They could not refuse to serve as they would be excluded from different kebele services and advantages' – they gave the example of food aid and land and that if they or their family members had problems they would not be served.

Wereda and kebele officials talk a lot about **awareness creation** and set about creating it through frequent meetings including party meetings. Respondents talked about being 'aware'. However there is a gap between what people hear and say and what they actually do and the purpose of interventions is not always thoroughly explained to recipients. So, for example, wereda officials said that the PSNP/OFSP programme had failed to meet its goal because of the way it was implemented. One problem was the creation of a sense of dependency created in the community which stemmed from failures of awareness creation/public participation about the objective of the programme.

When the case household heads were asked what they thought of Government models of development the general response was that the ideas were good but they were not implemented

properly. For example one said:

If the models are applied properly they may bring change. Moreover, the assigned professionals have to be well-trained and experienced to bring the intended development. The meetings are not this much important.

In a non-drought year residents are expected to pay land **tax** and make extra contributions on a regular or one-off basis. One respondent said that last year she made a bazaar contribution (which would have been for the new school), a contribution to the school (regular for all taxpayers and also for PSNP beneficiaries who are not taxpayers) 'and other petty cash' which would include 'Red Cross'. This year, because of the drought, tax is not being demanded.

Community members are also mobilised to contribute labour for particular projects though it is not clear which are included in the FFW programme and which are general community work. In recent years the community has constructed the FTC, kebele and MSE office, a school, a health post, a teachers' home, a HEW home, and a veterinary building and fenced the school and teachers' home compound, and dug a women's toilet for the school and teachers.

Ideas

Government has recently been very active in trying to create awareness among Korodegaga residents on a range of issues, including trying to get them to accept the Government approach to modernisation. Alternative modern repertoires are accessible to them through the media including NGOs, and TVs in towns. Islamists have come to the site telling them they must pray every day at least three times and go to the mosque on Fridays. Many aspects of old customary repertoires have come under challenge from these modern repertoires.

One farmer suggested that it would be better to get farmers' consensus before applying any model of development.

Social interactions in 2010

External relations

NGOs

There are a number of NGOs working in the area; the two most important for Korodegaga have been Catholic Relief Service and Self-Help Initiative. CRS intervention in the kebele began in 2005 and since then it has supported the community in different ways including FFW, OFSP, a revolving fund and sometimes free provision such as pumps. SHI came to kebele in 2000 and stayed for five years. It supported the establishment of an irrigation co-operative providing pumps and money for running costs and the scheme is still in operation. It also helped a group of women to set up a savings and credit association through which they got livestock, which is still functioning.

UNICEF provided corrugated iron, nails, doors and windows for the new school. The DA Livestock requested Wonji Catholic Church to provide improved fodder species which they did last year and has asked for more this year. JICA provides funds for family planning training through the government. A new credit-saving association for women had just been set up by JICA. There is a lot of HIV/AIDS prevention training sponsored by different NGOs.

Community-wereda relations

There seems to be a **disconnect** between wereda officials and community members. Government workers at all levels seem to have a low opinion of people's intelligence and understanding, talking frequently of lack of awareness and the need to create it. The main methods for this are lecturing in non-voluntary meetings and trying to demonstrate what might be achieved through the use of Models. Community members do accept some of the advice coming from the wereda but take no

notice of much of it. From their perspective the way interventions affects their day-to-day lives is what matters and this report documents some of the problems some of them have experienced as a result, for example, of taking seeds and livestock on credit which have not worked, or having to spend a lot of time on activities which are not productive, or in meetings being lectured to. As described earlier community members are critical of the way interventions are implemented, though not of the goals that officials are trying to achieve.

Kebele leaders are unappreciated go-betweens, although they also are able to benefit their families from their positions. One said that community members are reluctant to implement new things.

Kebele officials said that if interventions fail, such as water harvesting and last year's new maize seed then all the community members and the wereda officials blame the kebele officials.

People did not want to repay the debt even when they have the ability to pay it. Wereda officials forced us to collect it on time causing a lot of conflict to happen, which he bitterly hates. He didn't get support or encouragement (praise) from community or from wereda officials.

Most of time the kebele officials participate in community mobilisation linked with politics or development and some of the people resist new idea of development or local politics. Then wereda officials blamed him for not implementing this effectively.

The serious shortages of food aid and agricultural and livestock packages are creating conflict between kebele officials and the community.

Rainfed production in Korodegaga failed in 2003 and 2009 but in the intervening years there were fewer production problems and 2007 was a very good year. An ex-kebele official said that as a result people did not accept advice from the wereda to engage in irrigation. Since the 2009 drought the wereda and kebele chair have been much more active in advising and initiating people and they have started to work strongly and accept advice.

There were a number of calls for the separation of development from politics.

The extension workers and teachers are another set of go-betweens. The three DAs are unhappy with their relation with the wereda. One of the DAs said there had been a lot of conflicts giving the example of the late delivery of reports which they were then forced to do again as they had not stuck to the 'ideal theoretical' format. He complained vociferously and frequently about being forced to stop his education by the wereda.

Another said he had no time for his own work or social life. He is expected to live in the community and work all the days in the week except Tuesday which is reporting day at the wereda. The workload has been increasing because all sectors from the wereda or above contact them on every issue in the community. He participates in a lot of meetings saying sometimes he spends a full week on meetings. He said that 'development work should be separate from politics'. Development extension workers should work on their profession. His goal is to complete his BA degree and change his current work.

Intra-community relations

There is a group of 'outsiders' who live in the community but have no rights to land and or access to many of the development interventions, particularly those related to agriculture. For example, there are about 6 Oromo Orthodox Christians some of whom said they are discriminated against. Women born in Korodegaga who marry outsiders who then come to live in Korodegaga (not many) seem to be themselves regarded as outsiders.

Social actors

Table 5: Key social actors in Korodegaga in 2010

Social positions	Main activities in the community
Wealthy, elder The 1 st model farmer in the community; wealthy, respected elder	Settling disputes in different situations He served the community as Chairman during the Derg period for a long time; now participates in conflict resolution
Wealthy, respected community elder	He is involved in conflict resolution
Wealthy, good speaker	Kebele chairman; controls overall activities in the kebele
Medium wealth	Known speaker
Educated, medium wealth Wealthy, purchaser in irrigation co-operative	Ex-chairman of the Kebele; recently, Kebele cooperative head. He serves the community as purchaser
Knowledgeable, medium wealth	Ex-chairman for long time
Speaker, educated	Acting as elder, Ex-Kebele secretary
Medium wealth, good speaker Religious leader, respected	Head of Mosque He gives advice to follow the Muslim religion and controls the mosque's security.
Community elder, respected	Participates in conflict resolution
Wealthy, respected	Contributed money when requested
Vice chairman; Cabinet member	He worked as kebele leader for a long time
Kebele manager, respected, religious	He facilitates all activities in the community and serves as secretary for all sectors. Introduces new things to the community
'Social court?' leader	From 2002 until now he has served the community – he has an ability to solve the problems.
Wereda councillor; respected	He controls the overall political issues in the kebele, gives advice etc.
Respected, wealthy elder	He participated in the school committee, resolves problems etc.
Educated; model family (on health)	Before 2001 she distributed pills, condoms, malaria tablets (Facider and chlorophine); now she is a health promoter.
Women's leader	She organises the women and tells what she heard from the wereda
Wealth model farmer	The community learns work skills
Respected, good speaker; Kebele Women's Affairs, wereda councillor, speaker	School parents committee She gives training for women
Respected, good speaker	School parents committee
Educated, good speaker	Head, Kebele credit and saving