

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT
IMPACTS IN RURAL ETHIOPIA**

STAGE ONE ANNEX 5

**FINDINGS 4: IMPACTS OF INTERVENTIONS
ON HOUSEHOLDS AND ADULT
DEPENDENTS**

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Mokoro


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Impacts of recent development interventions on households

There are differences in the uptake of interventions and their impacts across the six sites on households and individuals based on a number of factors including:

- Genderage of household head
- Stage in the household cycle
- Genderage of individuals
- Wealth and other statuses
- The field, sector and type of intervention
- How interventions across sectors interact
- The type of site
- Site specific variables

These different factors interact in complex ways which the following discussion explores. In all the sites except Geblen and Girar there is a minority of a little more one fifth of female-headed household, who may be widows, divorcees, or elderly women living with children or grandchildren. In Geblen 44% of households are female-headed while in Girar the figure is 11%. In each of the sites two women headed households were considered for in-depth discussion whereas there were four male headed households of different wealth categories described and analysed here in terms of the impact of interventions on them.

Women-headed households

The households

The way the women heading households can take up opportunities from interventions and how these affect them in comparison with the male household heads depends on a number of factors in addition to their sex, including their age and the stage they are at in their own and their household's cycle, their wealth and other statuses, the sector and type of intervention and how different interventions interact, the type of site they live in as well as specific conditions and events in that place.

The women heading households in all the sites are middle aged or elderly and in the later stages of their individual and household cycles. Although these households were not selected randomly this may be because it is not easy for younger women to be in a position of heading a household. Several of them are elderly, and living on their own as some in Dinki, Geblen, and Yetmen, or with a granddaughter as in Girar and Korodegaga. They are often in small households either single or living with one child, a son in Yetmen and a teenage daughter in Dinki. However, there are a few living with several children such as one in Girar with five children and cases in Turufe and Korodegaga. Those who are younger and managing households with children seem to be better off and more economically and sometimes politically active.

Regarding wealth most of the women-headed households are poor, except for those in Turufe. Some of them, particularly the elderly ones living on their own, are very poor or destitute relying on support from children or community charity, such as both cases in Dinki, or they may rely partly on the PSNP as was the case for the women in both aid-dependent sites. A few may be considered "middle wealth" such as one woman in Girar living with her son and wife, and the two women in Yetmen, although these case may be best understood as reflecting the status of their son's households. The exceptions are in Turufe where both the women are fairly well off, one elderly migrant woman being rich and the other a widow with land, both of whom have migrant children.

Livelihood interventions

Overall the involvement of woman heading households in livelihood interventions has been much less than male households heads. Most strikingly none of them had any interaction with the extension services. They have benefited from the synergies between policies relating to gender and policies relating to land in the land registration and certification process particularly in three sites, from credit in two sites, and from social protection in the three aid dependent sites and from an NGO in the case of one elderly woman in Girar.

The women heading households have benefited from interventions relating to land certification, particularly in Turufe, Korodegaga and Dinki. Both the women in Turufe won cases taken to the wereda court, one as an 'inherited widow' and the other in a dispute with a sharecropper who claimed her land. The widow in Korodegaga had benefited from obtaining a land certificate since her husband died, and was able to rent some land to an investor. The elderly woman in Dinki also had a certificate in her name though in practice her son was using the land. Both women in Yetmen had their land ploughed by their sons. One woman in Girar had very little land and the other had some taken from her for road construction. The elderly woman in Korodegaga also had some land

taken for the FTC. Lack of any land in the case of one woman in Dinki meant that she relied largely on assistance from a son, neighbours and community charity.

The women have hardly benefited at all from livelihood related **extension services**. One of the women in Girar mentioned that since she had very little land or livestock she was not able to benefit from extension packages. It is noteworthy that none of the women in any of the sites mentioned benefiting from assistance from the Development Agents. One very poor woman in Dinki had chickens but did not have them vaccinated as she heard it would cost money.

Both women in Korodegaga and one in Girar were able to obtain **credit**. In Korodegaga this involved credit for fertiliser and seeds, as well as livestock through NGO sponsored schemes in which the wereda was involved. One of the women is facing problems repaying since an ox she bought died, the other repaid one livestock debt but still had another to repay. In Girar the loan was from a credit association which the woman paid back through involvement in food and drink production.

Single women have benefited from **social protection** measures, particularly in the drought prone, aid-dependent sites. In the two PSNP sites both women are beneficiaries. In Geblen the older woman was exempted from work, but is sharing her ration with her cousin. The widow in Korodegaga was on direct support and the other woman was working on the food for work but also received some food aid. One of the women in Geblen had to take fertiliser to be included in the PSNP but lack of rain made this useless, and delays in PSNP payment meant she had to borrow money and food and sell assets. One of the women in Dinki obtained some grain as food aid, and the elderly woman in Girar was given some oil and fafa as aid from an NGO.

Human re/production interventions

The women heading households had much more involvement with interventions related to **re/production** than with livelihood interventions, although this was more related to health than to education. In **health** care the women in most sites had positive experiences with the extension services though there were variations between sites. This is no doubt in part related to the fact that the HEWs are women and the women mentioned them in a good light appreciating their assistance in all except the Amhara sites. The most positive case seems to be in Girar where both women had good experiences with the HEWs, the younger woman visited the HC for her hypertension, obtained trachoma preventive medicine and the older woman got her blood pressure checked regularly at the HC. The older woman got advice and dug a latrine and keeps her compound clean, whereas the younger woman receives visits from the HEW every two months, now had a latrine, a waste pit, and separated the rooms for animals and the kitchen. In Geblen too both women appreciated the HEW's advice and the HC services. In Turufe both women said they benefited from the teaching of HEWs about health care and latrines and one of them obtained painkillers from the HP. In Yetmen the older woman obtained a bednet which she values against malaria, though the trachoma preventive medicine made her ill so she would not take it. In Korodegaga the widow obtained good advice from the HEW, food aid for malnourished children and a check-up at the HC. The site where preventive health services seemed least appreciated was Dinki, where the older woman resented having to have a latrine dug, and the bednets were considered more effective against other insects rather than mosquitoes or were damaged.

Although the women headed household seem generally to appreciate the health extension services, the **cost** of services is an issue for some of the poorer women. In Dinki the younger woman cannot afford health care and has not been to any health care services in over four years, despite a heart problem. She could not afford 20 birr to have her ears cleaned and used hot butter from goat's milk which did not improve her hearing. In Girar the older woman got her blood pressure checked fortnightly at the HC, paying two birr for the check-up and 12 birr for tablets which she finds expensive. In Korodegaga one of the women spent a lot of money at the HC when she was ill and went to private clinics for herself and her granddaughter.

The women heading households did not have much involvement with reproductive health no doubt since most are elderly and past child bearing age.

Most of the women heading households had limited involvement with **education** services. This is largely related to their household types and stage in the own and their household's development cycle, since many of them are elderly and even their children are past school age, as in both cases in Girar and Yetmen, one of whom had a son who had been to school till grade 9 but returned to work the land. There were site variations with the most positive cases being in Geblen and Turufe. In Geblen one of the woman had grandchildren at school; the other woman had five children at school and sold two goats to cover education costs, revealing the high value placed on schooling. Her oldest daughter graduated from Adama university showing that in Geblen children even from poor households can benefit from tertiary education, but did not yet get a job. She remarked that it was chance not education that was important for getting work. One of the women in Turufe had benefited from the opening of a primary school nearby to which her younger children go while the older ones attend secondary school in a nearby town.

In two sites, Dinki and Korodegaga there were cases of children who did not go to school or dropped out. In Dinki the very poor woman required her daughter's assistance. Kebele officials came to persuade her to send her daughter to school but relented when she pleaded with them seeing she was bedridden. In Korodegaga both women had children or grandchildren including girls at school; however, one had a son who was a herder and the other a son who dropped out of grade five.

Community management interventions

Regarding **governance** the women heading households did not have much to say and there were no cases of any of them interacting directly or personally with justice institutions apart from the two land cases in Turufe. Positive views on governance were expressed in three sites: Dinki, Girar and Turufe. Two of the elderly women, one in Dinki and the other in Girar, emphasised that things have improved over the long term. The old woman in Girar compared conditions with the Derg times when there was conscription, mentioning that there were now improvements in health and education services, in roads and in freedoms. The old woman in Dinki said she trusted the government and approved of the way it stood by the poor. In Turufe both women were pleased with improved justice and security and said they had benefited personally. Criticisms were only expressed in two sites, of governance in Geblen and of security in Turufe. In the former one woman complained that exemptions for the poor and aged were not handled transparently. In the later one woman complained that despite improvements through security interventions there were still crop thefts.

Only in Geblen, Korodegaga and Girar did the women seem to be **politically active**. In Geblen both women are Party members and the younger one is on the wereda council, involved in teaching and food aid distribution for children. However, she complained about the way exemptions for the poor and aged were handled. In Korodegaga both the women are members of the Women's Association which is a precondition for receiving aid, and both are Party members, and one of them is politically active. One of the women mentioned that paying **land tax** was important for proving ownership and the other that she had not been asked to do so this year due to drought. In Girar both women paid taxes and one also made Gurage telethon contributions whereas the older woman was exempted being poor and old. In Dinki the younger woman had tried to send her daughter to work on the food for work but she was not accepted for unknown reasons.

Gender and related interventions

Regarding **gender** relations there have been some significant changes in several domains, and improvements were mentioned in four sites: Girar, Geblen, Turufe and Korodegaga, although marginalised women still face serious problems. The improvements were due largely to interventions on women's rights, particularly relating to land, female circumcision and violence

against women. The land policies and its implementation through the **registration and certification** process benefited some women as noted above, particularly in Turufe. Regarding **female circumcision** the older woman in Girar suggested that changes were gradual with some avoidance but now there are penalties so that uncircumcised girls can grow up without stigma. Regarding **violence against woman** in Geblen one of the women noted that things were changing, mentioning as an example the case of her son who was accused of rape and imprisoned for over two years. However, in Dinki the daughter of the younger woman had been raped by a neighbour on whose land they live and the woman was frightened even to tell her son.

Less was said about **women's participation**. In Girar both women mentioned that things were changing for women, the younger one suggesting women gain exposure at meetings and men are more aware of women's rights. In Korodegaga one of the women is politically active and suggested that gender policies had allowed women to participate alongside men.

None of the female headed households in any of the sites mentioned benefiting from **family planning** measures, though this is mainly as these came too late for many of the elderly women headed households as mentioned by a woman with five children in Geblen. There were no mentions of positive interventions by women headed households in either of the Amhara sites.

Water, electricity and communications

Regarding other services and communications there was little mention of interventions by the women heading households except in Turufe and to some extent Geblen. **Water** interventions were only mentioned in Turufe where both women had benefited from improved access, one with a water point close to her house. In Geblen the lack of interventions in water and the resulting serious problems were raised by the older woman. **Electricity** was only mentioned in two sites: Turufe and Geblen. In Turufe both women benefited and in particular mentioned the mill service (unlike men heading households), and one of them was one of the few households with a television. In Geblen the older woman mentioned electricity as a positive change for which she pays 20 birr per month. Regarding communication **mobile phones** were important for both women in Turufe for communication with migrant children. The women in Turufe mentioned the **radio and newspapers** are useful means of communication, and the women in Korodegaga the radio as well as information from the wereda and community.

Male-headed households

The households

Most of the men heading households are in their forties or fifties, in the middle or later stages of their household cycle with a number of children at home and in many cases a few children who have left. There are none who are very old unlike the women heading households. There are also very few in the early stages of the household cycle, apart from a poor recently remarried migrant in Turufe, and a middle wealth young man with small children in Dinki. Most of the households have large families, consisting mainly of their wife and children. In Korodegaga one household head has three wives and two have daughters-in-law living with them; a few have grandchildren such as a poor household in Dinki.

In all the sites there was a deliberate mix of four households ranging from rich to poor, with the richer household head often having an elite status. Though the distinctions between the categories may be somewhat arbitrary, the two aid dependent sites Geblen and Korodegaga included a very poor household, whereas Turufe and Yetmen included two poor households and Girar and Dinki two middle households.

Livelihood interventions

A major intervention has been the **land registration and certification**, which was considered

important in all sites, with less emphasis in Geblen since had registration had happened earlier in Tigray. The process was most important as we have seen for women heading household in several sites particularly in Turufe, and in Korodegaga it was only mentioned in relation to a widow. There was some difference expressed with regard to how important the certificates were for guaranteeing land rights; the rich and middle wealth households in Turufe were convinced whereas a poor household in Dinki was unsure, and several respondents from different sites and wealth categories considered land tax rather than the new certificates as the crucial guarantee.

Loss of land to development was only mentioned in two sites: Girar and in Geblen, in the former site one case for road construction and other due to an electric line, whereas in Geblen the very rich household lost some non-farm land to enclosures. In Yetmen two households, one now still rich and the other now poor, had land taken from them during the 1997 redistribution on the grounds that they were 'Derg bureaucrats' who had benefited during that regime.

With regard to **extension services** most of the advice and assistance from the DAs was focused on the wealthier households, though in Turufe and Girar poorer farmers also said they had learnt from DAs. The rich farmers in Turufe, Dinki and Geblen were among those selected as **model farmers**, though in Girar the middle wealth farmer and in Geblen a poor farmer were also considered models, the latter being awarded a hoe and a shovel at sub-kebele level for the best land and compost preparation. In Yetmen the middle wealth farmer argued that model farmers were exaggerating their achievements.

Farmers who had been working closely with the **Development Agents** benefited in terms of advice on techniques such as fertiliser and improved seeds in all sites, including on composting in Turufe and Yetmen, row planting and crop calendars in Dinki, soil and water conservation in Geblen, and pest control and advice on cross-bred livestock in Turufe. However, there were complaints in three sites: in Korodegaga several farmers as a result of lack of follow up on how to grow a new maize variety, in Turufe a poorer farmer that the DAs no longer come to farmers' houses, in Girar a middle wealth farmer that they do not come to his land as he has very little and it is close to the urban area.

Since **fertiliser and seeds** are not available on credit (except in Korodegaga where all wealth categories have obtained it, and Girar some through a Catholic mission), there were complaints from poorer and even some better off farmers, a few saying the price was out of their reach. Where there had been failure of rains, notably in Korodegaga, excessive rains in Yetmen, or crops failure as in Dinki, farmers faced **indebtedness** and had to sell assets to repay loans, and some poorer farmers did not want to take further credit for this reason.

Richer farmers in three sites, Girar and Yetmen and Korodegaga, expressed the view that the extension services were not of much use to them, and that the improvements in their livelihoods came as a result of their own efforts often in other areas, rather than because of the services provided. However, the reasons in the three sites varied. In Girar this was since the rich household was involved in non-agricultural livelihood activities and in chat and fruit production which were not the focus of the extension programme. In Yetmen this was since the farmers rely on established market-related activities and the cooperative sector has little to offer. In Korodegaga it was since the emphasis was on irrigation, investment in livestock, and drought had reduced the potential for improving livelihoods anyway.

There was a general appreciation of **livestock extension** services where these were available (there was none in Girar and Korodegaga). In Dinki households from different wealth categories had their livestock vaccinated every six months and treated against parasites once a year, and they appreciated a veterinarian being assigned to work in the Kebele. However, the middle wealth farmer lost an ox despite bringing it to the veterinarian and paying 13 birr for treatment. Likewise the very rich household in Geblen lost some cattle despite vaccinations. A policy of zero grazing and enclosures was implemented in Geblen and seems to be resulting in changes. The very rich household plans to reduce his herd, and the poor household is feeding a cow he bought through

credit using the cut and carry method.

Credit was mentioned in all sites, and by various wealth categories. However, it was more important in some sites than others, and in all sites seemed to be more risky for poorer farmers, particularly in the drought prone sites since the credit was mostly related to livestock packages and purchases. Credit seemed to be most widespread in three sites: Korodegaga, Geblen, and Girar. In Korodegaga the wives of all categories of farmers were able to obtain loans provided through the wereda. These were used for purchase of livestock, and in the case of the middle wealth farmer for clothes and the poor farmer for tef, fertiliser and herbicides. However, all faced problems with repayment due to loss of livestock and crops as a result of drought, and had to sell assets to repay loans, with more serious consequences for the poorer farmers. In Geblen the packages, some of which farmers were pressurised into taking, resulted in indebtedness as livestock packages particularly of bee-hives were not successful due to drought. One poor household bought a cow on credit which had two calves one of which died. In Girar both middle and poor farmers got credit from the Catholic mission provided through an iddir; neither wanted credit from the government, the middle farmer saying it was more useful for traders and the poor fearing indebtedness and forced asset sales. In Turufe a middle wealth farmer obtained credit from an NGO. In Yetmen a poor household got 2000 birr from ACSI used for bull fattening. In Dinki one household had taken a loan from ACSI which was returned and no longer wanted to take loans.

Cooperatives were mentioned in Geblen and Yetmen. Households of different wealth categories were members though none seemed to find it useful. In Yetmen the middle wealth household used to obtain fertiliser, seeds and dividends from the service cooperative and sell grain through it but no longer does so. The rich farmer used to be in a dairy cooperative but stopped selling milk through it as the prices were not attractive and due to feed shortage.

Human re/production interventions

The male headed households all important interactions with interventions in **health care** in all sites. There are some differences in terms of wealth categories in health-seeking behaviour though the extent to which this is significant varies between sites. The most important difference in relation to the use of **curative facilities** is in the ability to afford health care and in particular to go further to obtain private health care, particularly in wealthier sites: Turufe, Yetmen and Girar. In Turufe the middle wealth household made use of the hospital and Catholic mission clinic, whereas the rich household used these as well as private clinics in Shashemene and even a hospital in Hawasa when the head injured his leg. In Yetmen the rich household went to town for treatment for the head's hypertension and the wife's eye injury. In Girar the rich household went to Imbidir hospital for the treatment of a child sick with malaria and one of the middle wealth household went to Addis Ababa for his wife's heart problem and a daughter working there also had surgery.

Another difference related to **attitudes towards the available health care**, in the wealthier sites. In Yetmen the poor households appreciated improvements in HC being closer. However, the rich household head suggested that the HC lacked medicine, and they went to town for costly treatment. In Girar the poor household though that the HC was useful and efficient with less time to wait than in the past, but the household was too poor to make use of the services frequently. In contrast the richer household head suggested that the HC staff were less competent than those in the hospital where he obtained good services. He also complained that the HC nurse did not keep information confidential. Likewise the middle wealth household head was not impressed with the HC services and attitude of the staff, although he said the cost was less than in private clinics and his wife was treated well for a rash. The other middle wealth household has used both government and private services including referral to Addis Ababa.

In Korodegaga and Dinki there were common views across wealth groups about curative health facilities. In Korodegaga rich, middle and poor household expressed **preferences for the private clinics** rather than the government services. This was in part due to lack of drugs but also that

people were not treated politely. Even the poor household said that there was a shortage of drugs and that people were not treated well at the government services whereas they got good treatment at fair prices at the private clinic. In Dinki both rich and poor households had been to the HP but both felt that despite its proximity the services and the supplies were inadequate, and they tended to go to the HC, although even there, despite improved building and facilities, even the poor household was thinking of going further for medical care.

In cases where the modern medical facilities do not provide cures households, particularly among the poorer ones try **traditional cures**, notably holy water as in the case of a son with a mental problem in a poor household in Yetmen and a daughter suffering from chronic headache in a poor household in Korodegaga.

Increasing costs of curative care were mentioned in Geblen including by the very rich household; the rich household had spent 500 birr on a daughter's illness and 200 birr on a son's malaria treatment. In Korodegaga the very poor household sold an ox for treatment relating to typhoid and stomach ache contributing to his impoverishment.

Regarding **preventive** care there are site differences regarding the interest in the measures promoted by the HEWs ranging from enthusiasm in Girar, through interest in Turufe and acceptance in Geblen and Korodegaga to resistance in Yetmen and especially Dinki. There were also some indications of wealth playing a role in the ability to make use of soap and water in washing.

In Girar households from all wealth categories seemed to be following the advice of HEWs on latrines, and some on separate rooms for livestock and waste disposal. However, the richer and middle wealth households said they already had latrines before the HEWs promoted them. In both Dinki and Yetmen there seemed to be resistance, particularly to the **latrines**. In Dinki both the middle and poor households did not dig latrines, the latter with the excuse that they were thinking of moving house, and the rich household saying theirs was useful mainly in the rains. In Yetmen the rich household said they lacked time to implement the sanitation measures, though they now use soap. In Geblen the poor household suggested the price of soap was prohibitive. In Turufe the poor household heads mentioned learning about latrines but only the rich household, whose head is a health promoter, said his household had adopted hand washing after latrine use. In Geblen all wealth categories mentioned the advice from the HEWs; the rich household said they came to check about sanitation and cleanliness. Only the very poor household head expressed outright displeasure about the latrine, saying they suffered from flies when using it.

In terms of **education** there are issues relating to wealth and access, gender, and quality of education. There has clearly been greater access to primary education for all wealth categories. Even children from poor households in many sites go to school, and there are cases of children dropping out of primary school among the non-poor in three sites Geblen, Korodegaga and Yetmen. In Geblen a seven year old son in the very rich household was not going to school whereas his siblings were. In Korodegaga a 13 year old in the middle wealth household dropped out due to sickness and drought affecting the family's ability to pay for education costs. In Yetmen a son in a middle wealth household is herding livestock. In Girar even children from a poor household were able to go to a Catholic pre-school, whereas the head of the middle wealth household, while appreciating the quality, found the cost high. Wealthier households have sent children to better primary schools in towns in two sites: to Kuyera in Turufe and Dera in Korodegaga. Discrimination as a result of poverty was mentioned only by the very poor household head in Geblen, who had two children who were not attending school.

For **secondary school** the question of wealth becomes more important due to the cost of transport and living expenses, particularly in the three poorer drought prone sites. In Dinki only a son from the wealthy household is going to school in Aliyu Amba staying with relatives. In Korodegaga the son in the poor household dropped out of secondary school as his parents could not afford the cost of living expenses or a bicycle, whereas a son in the middle wealth household completed his education

and is now employed in the municipality. In Geblen whereas the very rich and rich households have children going to secondary school in Adigrat, even though this was mentioned as expensive by the very rich household head, the poor household had a child going to school closer in Adikelembes.

Constraints on **girls' secondary education** were related to gender issues. In two sites, Yetmen and Geblen girls stopped school for marriage or as a result of having a child. In Yetmen a daughter in a middle wealth family was made to drop out of secondary school since her parents wanted her to marry, and in Geblen a girl in a poor household stopped at grade six when she gave birth.

There has been some educational **assistance from NGOs** in three sites: Turufe, Girar and Yetmen. Whereas in Yetmen the child supported by World Vision is from a poor family, in Girar and Turufe the children obtaining scholarships were from middle wealth households.

The only direct involvement in a **PTA** was by a rich household head in Korodegaga who mentioned its role in fencing and latrines. The rich head in Girar was the only one to raise specific question to do with school quality, complaining about the self-contained and plasma systems.

Community management interventions

In the field of **community management** there are mixed views expressed in all the sites, some of which may relate to conditions by type of site, site specific conditions or events, as well as wealth and personal experience.

Regarding **good governance** the question of meetings was raised in Yetmen, Dinki and Geblen. In the Amhara sites the good governance concerns led to a reduction in meetings; whereas this was seen as positive by the rich household head in Yetmen the poor household head in Dinki did not see it as a good sign. He said: "if one goes to the Kebele without being called, one is asked 'why are you here', so people do not go". He was also concerned about the Kebele imposing fines without providing receipts. In Geblen the head of the very rich household, who is a member of the Kebele council and militia, suggested that it would be good if the Party had fewer meetings whereas the poor household head mentioned the issue of the cost of membership.

Regarding **food aid and food for work** there were mixed views in two of the sites: Dinki and Geblen. In Dinki one of the middle wealth farmers said that the food for work payments were done equitably and people given the full amount. However, the poor household head claimed that the distribution was not done transparently and fairly. In Geblen the wife in the rich household thought that the assistance was good but that it was for too short a period; she also claimed that officials helped relatives, whereas her husband argued that the problems were due to delays. In Geblen the head of the very rich household expressed the view that people should not be **pressurised into taking package credit**.

Regarding **security** mixed views were expressed in Yetmen, criticisms in Girar and a suggestion in Dinki. The context in Yetmen of the conflict over the siting of the school soured relations and was referred to by members of several households. The rich household head suggested that the disarming of the militia and leniency towards thieves resulting indirectly from the good governance package had affected security; he had employed militia to guard crops until they were harvested. The middle wealth household mentioned improvements with regard to the social courts that were dealing with cases more promptly. The wife of the rich household in Girar said that they did not benefit from the assistance of the militia when their chat and coffee were stolen as their land is far from the centre. The poor household in Dinki suggested that cooperation between the three neighbouring weredas could help to improve security by ensuring that no one harbours thieves.

The view that **taxation** has an important role in guaranteeing land rights seems to be widely held across sites, though attitudes to the amount of taxation may be related to wealth differences, particularly in two the richer sites: Girar and Yetmen, and to exemption due to drought in Korodegaga. In Girar poor and middle wealth households approved of the taxes suggesting that this

ensured that their land was legally theirs; they had also contributed to the school and the Gurage telethon. However, the rich household head, who was heavily taxed, complained that taxes were too high. In Yetmen both rich and middle wealth farmers mentioned doubling of taxes recently. In Korodegaga the rich household head pays taxes on the land of all three of his wives. The middle wealth household head mentioned that land tax guaranteed holdings and the poor household head said they had not been asked to pay tax this year owing to drought.

Gender and related interventions

Regarding **gender issues** there was a sense expressed mainly by wives that there have been positive changes in general and on particular issues, and less change in others. We have already noted the positive changes with regard to **land registration and certification** that was particularly beneficial for divorcees, widows and second wives. The insistence that the name and photograph of the spouse be included in the certificate is also some guarantee for wives.

Another area where there was a big change is in **female circumcision**. Changes are most notable in the Oromo and Southern sites, where the circumcision is carried out prior to marriage and is more harmful than that practised at birth in the Amhara sites. Views against circumcision were expressed by wives from different wealth categories in Korodegaga, Turufe and Girar; in each of these sites there were cases where the older daughters were circumcised but not the younger ones, depending mainly on the household cycle. In Girar the wife in the rich household said she regretted that the campaign had come too late for her daughters, whereas only the older girls in the middle wealth households were circumcised. In Turufe both rich and middle wealth households had only their older daughters circumcised. In Korodegaga the wife in the rich household supported abolition and her stepdaughter, who was recently married, was not circumcised. Two of the daughters in the poor household had not been circumcised and were married through 'voluntary abduction'. Most significantly in the middle wealth household the girls themselves were against circumcision and made their own marital choices.

The view that **violence against women** was decreasing as a result of interventions was expressed in two sites in Geblen by a wife and in Dinki by a man. The wife in the rich household in Geblen suggested that the laws on punishment for abduction had protected women. In Dinki the poor household head said that women were protected since punishments were severe.

However, there was also **resistance regarding women's rights** expressed particularly on the question of **women's land rights** by wealthier men in three sites: Yetmen, Dinki and Girar. In the two Amhara sites this was related specifically to women's land rights on divorce. In Yetmen both the rich and middle wealth men complained that wives took scarce land on divorce and in Dinki one of the middle wealth husbands made the same complaint. However, in this case it may be relevant that the man is a Muslim since he complained that this was against Muslim tradition. The rich husband in Girar expressed reservations about the women's rights campaign saying it encouraged divorce and more generally lack of respect for husbands.

On the question of **contraception** use, there was generally a positive view among women about the principle but few examples of women who had practised contraception. The only cases were in Yetmen and Girar. In Yetmen the wife in the poor household with four children did not want any more and had contraceptive injections, in Girar the middle wealth woman said it allowed her to have gaps between children. The limited evidence of contraception use might be a result of most of the women being older since the households are mainly in the later stages of their development cycle, and the interventions have come more recently, and many already have had many children (including cases of 10 and 11 children in Turufe), and others stopping using contraception due to illness, or hesitance such as the wife in the poor household in Geblen. Reluctance among husbands was also mentioned in some sites such as one of the middle wealth households in Dinki. The rich husband in Girar and the middle wealth husband in Yetmen both suspect their wives of taking contraceptives secretly as they have not given birth recently; the wife in Girar has not had children

as she is no longer of child-bearing age whereas the one in Yetmen no longer wants to have children as she already had six.

Gender issues seem to have been taken somewhat further in Girar than other sites. Discussion of gender roles and men's involvement in domestic work was mentioned by the poor household head who suggested there were improvements, though he felt these were mainly as a result of fear of blame rather than genuine conviction. The wife in the middle wealth household thought the gender laws were useful but that there had not been much change in women's work. Another issue that was raised in Girar was the migration of girls to work as servants in town, which the wife in the rich household said was decreasing, although migration to the Gulf states was increasing.

Water, electricity and communications

Interventions in relation to water were mentioned in two sites: Girar and Turufe, and water shortage and lack of interventions in Geblen. Differences in access to water are related in part to wealth and to geographical location as well as luck. In Girar the rich household benefited from a water point constructed near their residence by a Catholic NGO whereas the poor household uses the river since the water spring is far and there are queues. One of the middle wealth households has tapped water in their compound as the pipe happened to go past their house on the way to town, whereas the other middle wealth household contributed money for water development which was deposited in a bank account in Wolkite but nothing came of it. In Turufe closeness to the communal water points is related to residence in the central settlement and distance from water points. In Dinki water access depends on closeness to the river. In Geblen severe water shortage and lack of interventions was mentioned by the very rich and the very poor households.

Regarding **electricity** there are differences between and within sites based in part on wealth and geographical location within the site. Interventions were mentioned in all four sites that had access: Turufe, Girar, Geblen and Yetmen. Lack of access was related to wealth in Turufe, wealth and location in Girar and Geblen, and rural urban conflict in Yetmen. In Turufe all the households had access to electricity except one of the poor ones. In Girar the rich and one middle households had access, whereas the other middle household and the poor one did not, the latter as they were too far away, although they did benefit indirectly from the mill. In Geblen the rich household did not have access as their house is not located near the centre whereas the very poor household could not afford it. In Yetmen households of different wealth categories had access extended from neighbouring town dwellers, but all no longer do, the rich household apparently since the light was considered too dim, the middle wealth household as it was cut off by the power workers and the poor household as it was cut off by the townspeople after the dispute over the siting of the school. In Korodegaga electricity is linked to the question of irrigation and there is no electric power currently and in Dinki there is no prospect of it since the site is too remote and is not a kebele prioritised by the wereda as the settlement pattern is scattered.

Regarding **communications** what was considered important varies by site but differences in views were not very strong within sites. Improvements in **transport** were considered important by all households in Geblen though the rich household found it particularly useful for the son going to school in Adigrat. In Dinki improvements in the **roads** were considered useful; the rich household head mentioned that wereda people could visit more easily and the middle and poor farmers that people could get lifts from passing cars and the sick could be taken on stretchers or on the back of animals. In Korodegaga the **boat** was viewed as crucial, the rich household mentioning that the wereda had maintained it and the rich and poor households mentioning the difficulty of getting to market and grain mills carrying loads across the river. In Girar the **bridge** was mentioned by one woman as an improvement to get to market.

There were differences between sites and within sites in wireless **telephone and mobile** usage, in most sites based largely on wealth. Mobile phone use was mentioned in four sites: Girar, Turufe Geblen and Yetmen. It was viewed as particularly useful by households with migrant children in the

first two of these sites. In Girar and Geblen differences in access were related to wealth. In Girar one of the middle wealth daughters has a phone that the whole family uses; however, the poor household said they could not afford a mobile phone. In Turufe the rich household uses a mobile phone to keep in touch with migrant children; it also came in handy to mobilise support from relatives when the head had an accident. In Geblen the rich household uses a mobile phone to communicate with a daughter abroad; in contrast the very poor household had never used a phone. Only in Yetmen did the poor household have a son with a mobile which the household head uses if needed, whereas the rich household uses the tele centre and other people's mobiles if required. In Dinki the satellite phone in Chibite was said not to work well and only the poor household head had ever used the telephone in Aliyu Amba.

Whereas **radios** were mentioned as means of obtaining information by all wealth categories throughout the sites, only in Turufe and Girar was **television** used and in these sites only by rich households; newspapers were only mentioned in Turufe.

Impacts of recent developments on adult dependents

The interventions

The dependents

Overall the dependents had less involvement in all the fields of action than household heads. In particular they had less interaction with interventions in the **livelihood** field, given their dependent status and the focus of interventions on households and their heads. Within the **human reproduction** field dependents, particularly women, had more involvement in health than in education particularly since their health needs were linked to their individual conditions, and since most were beyond school age and had had not got school-age children of their own. Regarding **community management** dependents had limited involvement with measures related to good governance, security and justice. Views were expressed on these issues, and some cases of personal justice were taken to wereda and social courts in some sites.

Livelihoods interventions

Generally dependents had less involvement with livelihood interventions than household heads due to their dependent status and for some categories their age or migrant status. Many interventions are targeted at the household head or the household as a whole. The extent to which dependents were able to take advantage of opportunities provided by livelihood interventions depended on gender, age, wealth, status as residents or migrants, the type and timing of interventions in relation to the person's age and life cycle and site type or site specific conditions. The younger and old age dependents were less able to take advantage of livelihood interventions, the latter due to infirmity and dependency and the former as they often did not have their own land. Likewise migrants were working for others and did not have the status of householders who could engage with extension services. The timing of certain interventions such as land certification in relation to the dependent's age and stage in their cycle also affected whether they benefited. The type of intervention also mattered with dependents less able to make use of agricultural extension services than livestock and credit and benefiting more from livelihood social protection interventions. The uptake of intervention opportunities was also related to whether the site was drought-prone and aid-dependent or market-oriented and independent, and was related to site specific interventions.

Human re/reproduction interventions

The dependents had significantly more involvement in human reproduction than in livelihoods and more involvement in health than in education due to their needs as individuals facing health shocks and their age since they are mostly beyond school age, most of the young ones living with parents

did not have children or not of school age and most of the elderly women no longer had school age children. Some of the young men were involved in health related interventions on behalf of parents, and many of the women on behalf of their children. The extent to which dependents were able to benefit from health care and interventions also depended on wealth, and marital and migrant statuses.

Community management interventions

The dependent adults had fairly limited interactions with community management interventions. In the case of migrants this was since they were not considered part of the community and were not able to take part in community organisation, though the men did obtain IDs in Turufe and were included in food aid lists in Korodegaga.

Some views were expressed on these issues in several sites, by both male and female dependents in Geblen and Girar and by male dependents in Yetmen and Dinki. There were also cases of personal justice taken to wereda courts by a young man Geblen and the mother of a young woman in Dinki and another in Girar, and to the Kebele social courts by two women in Dinki and by male migrants in Turufe and Korodegaga.

Gender-related interventions

Dependent women have benefited from interventions designed to change women's lives. The extent to which they have benefited has depended on age, marital status and when interventions occurred, notably with regard to female circumcision and contraception and women's land rights, though there are differences between sites and marginalised status has affected the ability of the most marginalised to resort to justice.

Water, electricity and communications

Dependents had very limited involvement with other interventions. Access to **electricity** was mentioned by male and female migrants in Turufe and a dependent divorcee in Girar. However, one domestic servant in Turufe was not allowed to make use of electricity in the household she lived in, and a poor divorced woman in Yetmen could not afford it. Improved **water** was mentioned by migrant women but not the men in Turufe. One of the migrant women was exempted from fees as she was recognised to be destitute. Only one young dependent in Dinki mentioned using the **telephone** after returning from migration to contact a relative he has stayed with and no dependent women used phones.

Genderage differences in dependents' involvement in interventions

Livelihoods interventions

The women dependents were generally less involved in livelihood interventions based on agriculture, since the extension services were more focused on male and richer households. The older dependents were not involved in productive interventions due to their age. There was only one case of an older male dependent in Girar who benefited personally from some social protection assistance with clothing and a little money from the Catholic Church, though the relatives he lives with benefitted from extension services. Both older women in Korodegaga obtain direct PSNP support and one got food aid. One of the old women in Yetmen obtained a certificate for land which her son uses and pays tax on and the other used to be part of a spinning cooperative until her daughter became seriously ill.

Some women dependents were involved in **non-agricultural livelihoods** notably pottery among the poor wives in Girar; although some had received advice, two of them claimed that the extension services were not interested in them as potters and one suggested that the government should think of organising potters into an association. The female migrant dependents are involved in household

labour in Turufe and therefore invisible to the extension services. Though some women had benefited from **land rights legislation**, older women divorcees got divorced before the new legislation came into effect and a divorcee in Dinki was unable to claim land since she was an Argobba Muslim. Insofar as the women dependents are wives the extension services tend to focus on their husbands.

Some categories of women dependents, notably wives and young women living with parents, have been able to benefit from interventions relating to **livestock** and certain categories from **credit** in some sites, particularly wives in Girar and women with children in Geblen.

In the area of **social protection** there were less gender differences with women dependents working on **food for work** and receiving **food aid** in the aid dependent sites. Elderly dependents whether male or female had benefited from **PSNP direct support**, and migrant women as well as men had benefitted from **food aid** in Turufe.

Human re/production interventions

In the human reproduction field there were significant difference between the male and female dependents in the extent to which they were involved in **health care** interventions. Whereas the male dependents tended to have rather limited involvement with health care, being mainly single young healthy men without families of their own, the women dependents had more needs, since apart from the most of the young women living with parents most of the rest had families. Whereas only some of the male migrants and divorcees with families and some male dependents in Geblen had made use of curative services all the women dependents had sought health care. Among the women three had sought traditional health care, two in Dinki for tonsillitis and one in Girar to holy water for paralysis since she was too poor to afford to continue hospital treatment.

There were generally rather positive views held by the women dependents about the preventive extension services. On latrines three dependent women in Dinki mentioned not having to walk far to relieve themselves, whereas a young man said he only used the latrine in the rains and another that he did not use it as it did not have a roof.

With regard to bednets an elderly woman in Yetmen had given the only one they had to the grandson living with her. Medicine against trachoma was taken by young women in Dinki without knowing what it was for whereas an old woman in Yetmen said it helped with her vision while another claimed it dealt with internal parasites.

Women dependents were also more involved with health extension services due to the key role of the HEWs in providing contraceptives, whereas among some of the male dependents resistance to contraceptive use was expressed. Contraception was particularly important for younger women, especially those living with their parents and for those who had children without being married but not wanting to have more. Women of child bearing age also obtained some peri-natal care, to differing extents depending on site conditions. Apart from the young women living with parents and the very old ones, women with children were involved with health care facilities for their children, notably vaccinations to varying degrees depending on site conditions.

Age is also an important factor. None of the young male dependents in Dinki had made use of curative health facilities except for two who had treatment for stomach problems when they migrated to towns to visit relatives and work. In contrast several of the divorced men in Yetmen who are generally older had made use of health facilities, and the old man in Girar had received assistance from the HEWs when he broke his hand.

With regard to **education** there was limited involvement of both male and female dependents in their own education since they were past school age. However, whereas there were exceptions among the young men in Girar and Geblen who were going to school there were none among the women. Moreover, among the women there was some evidence of women dropping out of school

to take on caring or economic roles, notably a young woman in Dinki who had to look after the household when her mother left, and two young women in Girar who stopped school, one to care for her sick mother and the other due to economic problems in the household. Among the women dependents there were also a few cases who had children at school, though there was also a middle aged man in Geblen with five children at school.

Community management interventions

There were limited cases of comments on issues of good governance. These were raised by several male divorcees in Yetmen, a young man in Dinki, and several women in Geblen and Girar. Regarding personal justice it is striking that the only case of an appeal to the wereda by a dependent was by a young man from Geblen. It is even more significant that wereda courts imposed verdicts in favour of women, in the cases of mothers of women in Girar and Dinki. It is also striking that two young dependent women in Dinki were able to win cases taken to the Kebele court, and that migrant men in Turufe and Korodegaga were able to bring cases to the Kebele court.

Gender related interventions

The male dependents had little to say on gender issues except for the divorcees who resented women's rights to divorce. There were isolated cases of a young man in favour of female circumcision in Dinki and of a middle-aged man against contraceptives in Geblen. In contrast women dependents have benefited to some extent from gender-related policies in land, female circumcision, access to contraception, and violence against women.

Age mattered in terms of land rights since young dependent women have not yet benefitted personally though some noted that their mothers' had, including a case in Dinki when the wereda court renewed the contract for her mother, and another in Girar whose mother inherited land when her father died. An elderly woman in Yetmen appreciated getting her land registered though in practice her son uses it and pays the land tax. Two divorcees in Yetmen and Girar had not benefitted as their divorces were not recent. Two young women in Girar said they had benefitted from the ban on **female circumcision**.

The availability of **contraceptives** was seen as important for young women. Three women in their teens in Girar were using them as was a young woman in Dinki who had one child out of marriage and did not want another; however a wife in Geblen mentioned that the family planning came too late for her as she already had a large family. In Girar HEW were supportive of women's access to contraceptives but were intimidated by husbands' resistance.

Regarding **rights of women and girls on divorce and inheritance** in Dinki the social court defended a woman bringing a case of a man refusing to acknowledge paternity and another young woman in dividing the property when her mother remarried. However, she complained that the court did not take the case of marginalised women seriously. She mentioned that they ignored a case she brought where a neighbour's goat had eaten their crops and suggested that they took her case seriously in this instance since she had the support of an wealthy relative

Regarding **land rights** an elderly woman in Yetmen appreciated getting her land registered and a young woman in Dinki and another in Girar mentioned that their mothers had inherited land when their fathers died, though three divorcees had not, one in Yetmen as her divorce was not recent, another in Girar where the divorce was also not recent and the land small, and one in Dinki as she was an Argobba Muslim

Wealth and status differences in dependents' involvement in interventions

Livelihood interventions

Among the male dependents the wealthier young men were able to benefit from agricultural

extension services whereas migrants and divorcees had little interaction with the DAs. Access to land and livestock holdings mattered in order to benefit from extension services. Younger and migrant dependents lacked land. However, poorer dependents were able to obtain veterinary services, credit in some sites, and access to food for work and food aid.

Among the women dependents most were poor and had little involvement in livelihood interventions, and some were very poor. Exceptions were the rich wives in Geblen one of whom took loans for livestock and government credit to start a clothes shop in a small town, the other whose father is a model farmer benefitting from a number of livelihood interventions.

Migrant status also affected ability to engage with interventions: in Korodegaga the migrant men were not considered part of the community or allowed to be involved in institutions and even one who married a woman who grew up there was excluded on the grounds that she had been a Christian. In Turufe the men were able to obtain IDs through the intervention of sponsors, but the only interventions mentioned by women migrants was food aid.

Human re/production interventions

There was some evidence that wealth affected the ability of dependents, particularly among the women, to access curative health care. A poor woman in Girar who was unable to afford hospital costs for treatment for her paralysis went to holy water. Wealth was also a factor among the elderly in Korodegaga where a woman with a rich son could afford eye treatment whereas a destitute old woman suffering from hearing and sight problems could not afford treatment. Some of the women went for private health care in towns despite the cost such as a divorcee suffering from kidney problems in Korodegaga, and a woman with children in Geblen who took her father suffering from diabetes to hospital, having to raise a lot of money despite being poor.

There was also evidence that some of the dependents, particularly destitute migrant women in Turufe and a poor man in Girar, were unable to benefit from free medical care. In Turufe two of the migrant women mentioned being unable to get exemption letters from the Kebele and one had to beg for money to take her daughter to hospital. Among the men the poor young man in Geblen did receive a letter of exemption from the Kebele to receive free medical care. However, the HC staff were bureaucratic in handling his case and sent him back to get corrections to the letter. A young man living with his poor mother in Girar was unable to afford treatment for her eye problem.

Regarding education the marginalised status of being a female migrant also led to one woman in Turufe not being able to send her daughter to school as she needed the income she obtained from her working as a herder.

Community management interventions

There were a few mentions of issues relating to good governance in four sites. In Yetmen several male divorcees raised issues to do with the dispute between the wereda and the community over the siting of the school, the extent to which security had improved or deteriorated as a result of good governance measures including leniency or tough penalties towards thieves and disarming militia with differing views expressed. Allegations of nepotism over food aid were made by a middle-wealth man who is a Party member in Geblen and a young man from a rich family in Dinki. Among the women two Party members had different views, one implying corruption over food aid and another suggesting the problem was rather due to delays in PSNP payments. In Girar a very poor woman who is Party member and was elected onto the Women's Association suggested that there were some improvements for women and youth, and a poor woman was appreciative of improved security and justice. However, several of the women complained that as potters they were not given due attention in development and the mother of one of the potter women was accused of sorcery but defended by the wereda court which imprisoned her harasser.

The migrants have had a less secure status in both Turufe and Korodegaga and are not involved in

community institutions, although in the former the men were able to obtain ID cards through the intervention of sponsors and in the latter their appeal to the Kebele to be included in food aid lists was successful. One of them faced exclusions despite being married to a woman who was raised in Korodegaga on the grounds that she had been married to a Christian. The only reported case of violence relating to dependent men concerned a migrant in Turufe who was attacked and had his bicycle stolen on the way to market. Though he was able to get it back through the social court which referred the case to elders for mediation he had to pay for medical expenses for one of his attackers that he had kicked in self-defence. A migrant in Korodegaga was also involved in two land cases that came to the Kebele court, and were referred to mediation. In both cases the migrant did not feel he obtained justice, since in one case he was forced to pay compensation to a man who he accused of taking land belonging to his sponsor and in the other the people he accused of trespassing were not charged. One of the two dependent women who were raped was also a migrant in Turufe.

Gender related interventions

Regarding **violence against women** a woman in Girar said that her abusive husband behaved himself after the police intervened. However, it is noteworthy that two women in marginalised positions were subject to rape that they were unable to report. In Turufe the woman was a migrant servant who was raped by sons of her employees and in Yetmen the woman was raped by a neighbour and had two children by him and felt unable to protect herself with contraception.

Marital status differences in dependents' involvement in interventions

Livelihood interventions

Most of the male dependents were not married, either since they were young dependents in Dinki and Girar, divorced in Yetmen or migrants living with households as in Turufe and Korodegaga. There was only one married migrant among those in Turufe and one in Korodegaga neither of whom were involved in livelihood interventions.

The category of divorced men in Yetmen were particularly bitter about the loss of land to former wives. Though some divorcee women had benefited, older women dependents were divorced before the new legislation came into effect and a divorcee in Dinki was unable to get land as she was an Argobba Muslim. Two young women, one in Dinki and the other in Girar, said they had benefitted from land certification as their mothers obtained access to land when their fathers died.

Human re/production interventions

Marital status had some effect on uptake of health interventions. Among the migrant men those in Turufe had not been involved in health care whereas in Korodegaga the married migrant spent a lot of money on his wife's bone cancer. The divorced men in Yetmen had made use of curative services, two of them for their mothers, and a third for an eye illness. Among the women the wives and women with children were more involved in health care, in particular those with young children.