

The Contributions of Villagization Program...



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Graduate Studies

The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers: The Case of GOG
WOREDA, Gambella Regional State, Since 2010/11.

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Ojulu Boka, entitled "The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of the Villagers: The Case of God Woreda, Gambella Regional State, Since 2010/11" submitted to Addis Ababa University School of Social Work in partial fulfillment for the requirements of Master's of Arts in Social Work complies with the regulations of the Addis Ababa University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to assess and describe the contributions that villagization has made to the lives of the inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages in Gog woreda of Gambella regional state. The study is qualitative research and has employed a single instrumental case study. This study is also cross-sectional since it was conducted once. The participants of this research, who were selected based on data saturation, were the villagers affected by villagization which was implemented in the area. The woreda government officials with the knowledge of the implemented villagization also took part in this study as key informants. The data were collected using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, observation and document review and analyzed by employing thematic analysis method. The data collection started in 25th February, 2017 and ended in 31st March, 2017. The study revealed that villagers of the three villages had tough lives before villagization. They had a very limited access to social services like health, clean water, education, mill and transportation services. They also had poor communication and interaction with one another, including with the government because they were scattered and far away. They faced challenges in terms of security and lacked protection. Women also faced challenges in terms of gender violence and high work load because of the distance of social services. The only good thing about this life was farming since people had fertile lands. But, when villagization was implemented, the lives of the villagers improved in that they started to have a better access to social services. The study showed that villagization was implemented voluntarily and based on the consent of the local people. No one was forcibly relocated. People now have a better communication and interaction. Businesses also developed. The study showed that there is a harmony and an improved security in the villages. Villagers are happy about villagization due to the positive changes though they are facing some challenges which include the inability to farm like before and the decline in production. The other challenge is the distance between villages and the farmlands in the fields. Villagers think that villagization would have been very good if it was implemented by providing the necessary services first. However, it is possible to conclude that villagization has significantly improved the lives of the villagers by bringing positive changes which did not exist before. This study has implication for service, policy, research and education and can be used for intervention purposes. It urges service providers to reconsider the issue of basic services and provide additional ones to the relocated people. The study serves as a basis for future policy making and influences policy makers when designing policies involving population relocation. This study shows the need for further study on villagization in relation to its positive aspects and can be used as a baseline for another research on villagization. The study also has an important implication for social work education in that it can provide valuable information and be used in migration education. It enhances the knowledge on population relocation and helps others to learn about the significance of villagization in improving the lives of scattered rural people.

Key Words: Villagization, Villager, Social Services, Scattered Settlement, Gog Woreda

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The concept of villagisation refers to the resettlement of people from scattered areas into villages to provide basic social services and infrastructure. It is the concentration of the population in villages as opposed to scattered settlements so as to ensure the distribution of services such as health care and education. The main objective of villagisation is to provide or improve access to basic economic and social services (Grunditz, 2015). Guyu (2012) defines villagization as the collection of scattered settlement pattern of rural populations into a nucleated form of villages to sustainably supply rural communities with social and economic infrastructures so that they can improve agricultural production and productivity.

Carlson & Carlson (1998) referred to villagization as a forced resettlement of scattered households into planned urban settings and an efficient tool of government that facilitates the delivery of services such as health care, education, agricultural extension projects and security. Villagization is a national government program or a policy usually pursued by the state and is about relocating people from their original settlement into villages to access better socio-economic facilities (Grunditz, 2015).

Villagization is the movement of people within the same locality. It does not involve a movement from one zone to the other and from one woreda to the other. Rather, it is a shift from the vulnerable area to the new nearby area with no significance distances from their original land. It is clustering the people in the ideal place based on their interest so as to provide development services to bring tangible and radical change to the lives of the rural community (Gambella Villagization Action Plan, 2011).

Villagization positively contributes to the lives of the villagized community members or village dwellers. The contributions of villagization program can take various forms. For instance, as Lorgen (1990) noted, potential benefits/positive aspects of a villagisation program include the increased access to service provision, the chance to develop some form of meaningful village government and the more sociable and often safer environment of a village community or community life.

In Tanzanian villagization program, one of the positive things about the program was the emergence of a town and the fact that young people liked it. Although older people thought it broke the social solidarity, they later accepted the program because they felt secured by living in the villages. Consequently, it was possible for the villagers to live together harmoniously and help one another better in the villages than living in remote areas (Lorgen, 1999). In addition, the feeling of being included and being part of a larger community was one of the advantages or contributions elders appreciated about villagization program in Mozambique (Ibid). Still in Mozambique, villagisation improved the position of women in the villages (Hanlon 1991, cited in Lorgen, 1999); it involved women as full and equal members in all aspects of communal village life.

Basically, the purpose of this research is to assess and describe the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages in Gog woreda of Gambella regional state. Gog Woreda is one of the 12th Woredas (Administrative divisions) of the Gambella regional state which is settled by Anywaa people (Wosenu Mekuria, 2013). Villagization program was implemented in Gambella and specifically in Gog woreda from 2010/11 to 2012/13 mainly to enable the scattered rural people to enjoy the benefits of good governance, infrastructural development, socio-economic services, appropriate technology and

food security thereby improving their lives (Gambella Peoples' National Regional State Report on Villagization, 2012). Hence, this research, as was said above, sought to study villagization that was implemented in Gog woreda in relation to its contributions to the lives of the villagers or villagized population. This was done by assessing the pre-villagization situation, implementation process and the post-villagization program so as to know about the improvements that have so far happened in the lives of the villagers from the time of implementation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Various researches were conducted on villagization program both in Ethiopia and other African countries. Hilhorst & Leeuwen (1999) conducted a study on villagization as an emergency development in Rwanda and the findings of their study revealed that the policy contributed to the resolution of housing problem despite little achievement in terms of addressing the problem of land, agriculture and other economic activities. A study conducted in a similar country on human settlement policy and its effects on livelihoods by Havugimana (2009) shows that the only success of the program was the provision of housing service to many people while livelihoods remained a problem. Moreover, Kikula (1997) studied villagization in Tanzania in relation to its impact on environment and found that the program led to land degradation, deforestation and soil erosion, despite the provision of basic infrastructure.

In their evaluation of the success of Burundi's rural integrated villages' project, Fransen & Kuschminder (2014) found that the villagization policy failed to provide sustainable solutions for landless returnee people. Isaksson (2011) researched villagization and income generation in Rwanda and found that households relocated to government-built village settlements diversify into non-farm income generating activities to a greater extent than other rural households. In Tanzania, Kwaako (2011) investigated the long-run effects of villagization and the findings

revealed that the program resulted in increases in primary school completion rates and higher levels of community participation.

As far as researches conducted on villagization in Ethiopia are concerned, Buyuayew et al. (2016) conducted a study on challenges and prospects of villagization program in Afar region. Their findings showed that the program faced a number of challenges which include lack of awareness creation, inadequate implementation capacity, delay in farmland distribution and lack of clean water. In addition, their study revealed that pastoral health extension services, income diversification and integrated irrigation based agricultural system emerged as a result of the program.

In addressing the conflicting perspectives pertaining to villagization and land grabbing in Gambella, Moti (2014) found that there is a strong correlation between villagization program and land leases though the government had insisted that the program had no relation with land leases. Guyu (2012) did a research on the implementation, challenges, consequences and development indicators of voluntary villagization in Benishangul-Gumuz. The results of his study showed that the program was under-implemented and major principles of voluntary villagization were not respected. Although the program faced a number of challenges, the study also shows that there were some development indicators in almost all villagization sites which include the establishment of farming training centers, school, health and income diversification efforts.

Ketebo (2014) investigated the history of villagization in Arssi during the derg with particular reference to the history of Wabe model villages. His study revealed that the villagers were not happy in the clustered model villages in spite of the much effort and resources which were dedicated to the establishment of the villages. Carlson & Carlson (1998) also analyzed how villages in Kossoge of northern Ethiopia were transformed to towns and found that the

villagization policy was a positive experience in Kossoge despite the many negative effects of the policy. A study conducted by Mandefro (2016) on the impact of voluntary villagization program on rural households' poverty revealed that the program played a significant role in reducing poverty and increasing household consumption expenditure. Botterli (2015) did a research on villagization as an adaptation strategy in Afar region and found that although villagization has benefitted sedentary pastoralists through improved services and infrastructure, the program increased sedentary vulnerability by compromising certain adaptation strategies.

Grunditz (2015) conducted a research on villagization in Ethiopia in relation to rights set forth in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the right to self-determination of indigenous people and found that villagization is an acceptable solution only in theory but not in reality and should therefore be abandoned. In his investigation of land investments and villagization in Gambella, Fana (2014) found that the program was launched to create vacant spaces to be leased to investors and easily govern the population apart from making social services accessible. A research done by Human Rights Watch (2012) on forced displacement and villagization in Gambella shows that the program did not meet the government's aims of improving infrastructure and that force was used to relocate people.

However, there are dimensions of villagization which could have been important topics of research but are left untouched. For instance, dimensions of villagization such as the contributions of villagization to the lives of villagers, villagization program and the readjustment of villagers to the new environment, villagization and social relations of villagers with host communities and gender implications of villagization program are areas that are worth studying but which the above mentioned researches have failed to address. Hence, among the above mentioned

dimensions of villagization program, the researcher has chosen to conduct a study on the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Gog woreda of Gambella region.

As a matter of fact, some of the above-mentioned studies (Havugimana 2009, Fransen & Kuschminder 2014, Kikula 1997, and Isaksson 2011) focus on livelihood impact of villagization, evaluation of villagization's success, environmental effects and income generation. Others (Human Rights Watch, 2012, Fana, 2014, Botterli, 2015 and Guyu, 2012) focus on forced displacement, land investments, climate change and implementation process of villagization. In addition, some other studies (Buyuayew et al., 2016, Moti, 2014, Ketebo, 2014, and Mandefro, 2016) focus on challenges and prospects, villagization in relation to land grabbing, history of villagization and impact of villagization on rural households' poverty and do not address villagization in relation to its contributions to the lives of villagers. Furthermore, these research findings show more failures and negative aspects of the program after implementation than successes and positive contributions. Though the findings of these researches also show some successes or contributions of the program, these contributions are only treated as sub-components and not as a major research topic.

There are arguments that villagization program has totally failed in Gambella region and not benefited the relocated rural population at all. For instance, Fana (2014), Human Rights Watch (2012) and the Oakland Institute (2015) argued that villagization which was implemented in Gambella had failed and never contributed to the lives of people in terms of providing the promised social services. They argued that all that villagization did was disrupt the lives of rural people by forcing them to settle in villages without the provision of necessary social services and participation in the process. Thus, it was necessary that an empirical study be conducted on the contributions or positive aspects of villagization so as to see whether or not these arguments or

conclusions can really be generalized to every area of the region where the program was implemented.

Specifically speaking, no research has been done on the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Gambella region in general and Gog woreda in particular by emphasizing the positive aspects of the program. Hence, based on the gaps identified above, the researcher has conducted a study on the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Gog woreda of Gambella region, specifically in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages. The following research questions have guided the study:

- What kind of lives did the villagers have prior to the implementation of villagization?
- How did the implementation process of villagization look?
- What were/are the positive changes which resulted from the program implementation?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

- To assess and describe the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages of Gog woreda, Gambella region.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To assess the lives of villagers before the implementation of villagization
- To assess the implementation process of villagization program
- To assess the post-villagization situation in terms of the positive changes that happened in the lives of the villagers as a result of the program

1.4 Significance of the Study

One of the significances of this study is that it has contributed to filling the knowledge gap that exists in the area in terms of villagization's contributions. It is also hoped that the findings of this research will provide valuable information and lessons to the government, policy makers and other stakeholders regarding the changes and contributions that villagization program can bring in the lives of the villagers or the relocated communities. Furthermore, the findings of this study will be an important source of data for other researchers conducting studies on a similar topic.

1.5. Scope of the Study

This research is limited to the study of villagization program with reference to its contributions to the lives of villagers in Gog woreda of Gambella. The study was limited to the positive aspects of villagization program, that is, the improvements which happened in the lives of the inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages as a result of the program. The study included the life experiences of the villagers before villagization and covered the process in which the program was implemented, including the post-villagization in relation to the positive changes that happened. Moreover, although villagization program was launched in the entire region of Gambella, it was not be possible to conduct this study in all areas of the region where villagization was implemented. Hence, to make the research more manageable, this study was delimited only to Gog woreda and specifically to Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages.

1.6. Limitation of the Study

This study was conducted only in one part of the region, that is, in Gog woreda of Gambella though the implementation of villagization program covers the entire region. This makes the issue of representation of the whole region of Gambella questionable. Actually, this study is limited to the contributions of villagization program to the lives of the relocated people in

Gog woreda by emphasizing the positive aspects of the program. Therefore, the results of this study may not be necessarily generalized to and represent the entire region of Gambella, given the small sample size.

1.7 Organization of the Paper

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter consists of the introduction, statement of the problem, research questions and research objective. It also includes the significance, scope and limitation of the study, organization of the paper, including the definitions of key terms. Chapter two deals with the review of literatures that exist in the area of villagization. Chapter three is all about the method used to conduct this study. Chapter four presents the data collected in the field on the contributions of villagization. It presents the situation before villagization, process of implementation and the situation after the program. The fifth chapter is devoted to discussing the major findings of the study by comparing them with results of studies conducted previously on villagization. The last chapter makes a conclusion and presents the social work implications.

1.8. Definition of Key Terms

Villagization: In this study, villagization refers to the movement and settlement of scattered rural people in villages to access basic social services.

Social Services: For the purpose of this study, social services refer to the services like clean water, health, education, mills and transportation.

Villager: In this study, a villager refers to an individual who used to live far away and now resides in the village as result of relocation.

Scattered Settlement: Scattered settlement, in this study, is the settlement pattern in which inhabitants or settlers are dispersed across the land and far away from one another with a significant distance between/among them.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter presents the reviewed literatures and includes understanding villagization, historical background of villagization in Ethiopia and the rationale behind implementing villagization. It also addresses the impacts, challenges and advantages of villagization. The chapter presents the policy aspect of villagization and shows the relation between villagization and development. In addition, the relationship between villagization and land, income generation and forced relocation are included.

2.1 Understanding Villagization

Villagization is frequently confused with resettlement as the two policies often occur at the same time and may overlap. The basic notion of villagization is regroupment into villages, which usually does not involve moving significant distances. The houses in the villages may be laid out in straight lines, in a grid pattern, but this is not always the case. Resettlement involves large-scale movements of the population (Lorgen, 1999). Theoretically, all forms of settlement, readjustment, including villagization, inevitably involve resettlement, be it voluntarily or involuntarily, planned or spontaneous (Guyu, 2012). A sub-form of resettlement is sedentarization, which aims to settle pastoralists and may not involve moving away from the area in which people were living (Chambers 1969: 11, cited in Lorgen, 1999). Both resettlement and villagisation involve elements of planning and control.

According to Guyu (2012), villagization involves the establishment of nucleated villages to deliver social, economic and administrative services. Although villagization is an aspect of resettlement, it involves the relocation of scattered dwellings and settling in mostly similar geographic and administrative units. In this regard, the capacity of resettlers to readjust to new

environment is less complex than that in resettlement. As a matter of fact, villagization has the objective of grouping scattered farming communities into small villages of several hundred households each (Buzuayew et al., 2016).

Messay & Bekure (2011) although equating with internal displacement, define resettlement as a process that involves the fleeing of a person or a group of persons from their usual residence to new area forcibly or voluntarily. In all cases, the movement of individuals or group of people and voluntarism in the definitions are the principles shared by resettlement and villagization.

2.2 Historical Background of Villagization in Ethiopia

The beginning of population relocation in Ethiopia as a strategy to transform rural population dates back to the period of Haile Selassie I, most probably in 1958. But others generally suggested the commencement of this strategy to be during the early 1960s. In both cases, it seems that the beginning of resettlement in Ethiopia revolves around the period 1960s. Obviously, while resettlement program was launched in 1984 by the Derg regime and extensively implemented following the 1984 -1985 famine of Ethiopia (Sandra, 1987), villagization was initiated one year later in 1985 (Messay & Bekure, 2011).

Actually, the period of Ethiopia's political history of direct relevance to the policy of villagization begins when Haile Selassie was deposed in 1974, in a military coup (Sandra, 1987). A group of army officers, known as the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia or the Derg, came to power. After a bitter power struggle, Mengistu Haile Mariam became the chairman of the party and eventually the head of state. The Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia increasingly adopted a socialist mode of government, including nationalising all rural land (Pankhurst 1992, cited in Lorgen, 1999). During the dark days of the 1984-1985 famine, Ethiopia

made plans to relocate virtually its entire rural population - somewhere between 33 and 37 million people - by the 1990s. As part of the Derg's 10-year development plan, these relocations are labeled as two distinct but related programs: resettlement and villagization. Together they constitute one of the largest mass movements of people anywhere in the world (Sandra, 1987). The resettlement program was launched in late 1984. By March 1986, about 800,000 people had been moved, the majority from the northern highlands to distant areas in the southwest. The government contends that these relocations are necessary for ecological reasons - to rescue those who were affected by drought again and again and could not be rehabilitated in their own area.

Villagization, on the other hand, began in 1984 on a relatively small scale in selected regions of Ethiopia. It was inaugurated as a national campaign one year later, and the pace of its implementation has accelerated ever since. By February 1987, 5.7 million people (15 percent of the rural population) had been moved into 11,000 new villages. And by the end of 1987, 10 million rural inhabitants (25 percent of the population) were expected to be villagized in 12 of Ethiopia's 13 provinces. The stated purpose of villagization is twofold: to create the necessary preconditions for agrarian socialism, and to facilitate the provision of human social services by concentrating scattered homesteaders into central communities. Like resettlement, villagization is justified with ecological arguments. It was thought that the villagization program would make the distribution of people compatible with that of the natural resources (Sandra, 1987).

2.3 Rationale Behind Undertaking Villagization Program

Villagisation programs have been implemented rather frequently in Africa for the last century, with governments promising improved socioeconomic standards. During the 1970s and 1980s, the basis for villagisation programs were mainly ideological, connected with socialist

ideals of collectivization. Villagisation programs have been highly controversial due to implementation problems and state coercion (Grunditz, 2015).

Villagisation is often imposed on rural populations with the justification that it is for their own good. This argument is clearly present in the claim by governments that villagisation will facilitate the delivery of services, such as health care, education, or marketing, to previously scattered populations. Despite the paternalistic nature of a 'for their own good' argument, it must be said that service provision is the area where villagisation attracts the most praise. Where schools and clinics were built and functioning, villagers appreciated the services and felt that their quality of life had improved (Lorgen, 1999).

Basically, governments undertake villagization programs for various reasons. According to Mulugeta (2014), the aim of villagisation is to transform a scattered way of life into a settled, more modernized way of life, where the quality of life of the community will improve. It is meant to guarantee food security, and effective and efficient service delivery, including good governance, schools, health posts, and other social services.

As Alula (2009, cited in Buzuayew et al., 2016) put, the official rationale for villagization during the past villagization schemes in Ethiopia was to promote rational land use, conserve resources, strengthen security, and provide access to clean water, health and education infrastructure. During the Derg regime, the official aim of villagisation was to introduce social and economic change through a socialist agrarian transformation which also included mechanization and cooperativization (Pankhurst, 1992: 77, cited in Lorgen). Villagisation was intended to improve agricultural production, to facilitate the delivery of services such as health and education to populations which were difficult to reach in their scattered homesteads and to improve the land use of the peasants (Lorgen, 1999). Villagization program has been used by the governments as a means to end poverty and bring about development (social, political, economic, and

cultural) by gathering together pastoral and semi-pastoral communities and providing them with basic infrastructural services (Moti, 2014).

Likewise, the current Ethiopian government has also undertaken villagization program with the objectives of promoting rural development and reduce households' poverty and food insecurity problems. It took the voluntary villagization scheme as a strategy of transforming the livelihood of settlers and ensuring food security by providing socio-economic and infrastructural services (Guyu, 2012). Furthermore, the villagization plan introduced in November 2010 apparently emphasizes on rural development while incentivizing easier access to education and health facilities. Thus, it is seen as a way to facilitate the delivery of services to people living in scattered homesteads (Buzuayew et al., 2016). Furthermore, as Mhando (2011) put, the government's basic argument behind undertaking villagization program in Tanzania was to enhance as well as facilitate the provision of much needed, essential social services and infrastructure, including primary health care, education, water, and the like. In addition, Coulson (1975: 57) cited in (Lorgen, 1999) added that the original aim of Tanzanian villagization policy called ujamaa was to provide a happier life for people by living together and to increase production by working together. In Mozambique, villagization was used as a way to redistribute scarce resources and services, such as marketing services, health care, and education to the peasants by communalizing them rather than allowing them to stay in highly dispersed traditional family units (Vines 1991: 114, cited in Lorgen, 1999). It was a way to urbanize and modernize the countryside as well as a way to enable people to take political control of their own lives.

2.4 Impacts of Villagization

Villagization has a number of impacts on the settlers or villagers which can be both positive and negative depending upon the way in which it is implemented. The impacts of villagization on the livelihoods and environment are discussed as follows:

2.4.1 Livelihood Impact

Villagization has both positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of settlers. A study conducted by Havugimana (2009) in Rwanda showed that the villagization policy had great consequences for the livelihoods of people living in the villages of Ngera and Nyagahuru. According to him, villagization enlarged the vulnerability and fragility of the population dependent on rural subsistence economy due to unequal access to land and land use which made the local livelihood basis fragile. The situation is aggravated through more intensive use and overuse of natural resources (mainly because of the high population density in the rural area), and through fragmentation of land plots that makes it difficult to cultivate the land for which intensive human labor is the main input.

According to the study done by Melese & Terefe (2012) in Essera district of Southern Nations Nationalities and peoples, it was found that after the resettlement program has been executed, the livelihood status of settlers have shown improvement in some livelihood assets. The resettlement program has positively contributed to the financial capitals of settlers by improving their annual income status compared with status before the program though the credit facilities need more efforts for future improvement. The program has also helped the settlers to strengthen their social capital through local social networks or with help of local institutions. In regard to physical capital, it was noticed that the livestock production is at promising status to help settlers build their physical capital compared with prior to resettlement execution situation.

Villagization has also had a positive impact on the livelihoods of villagers of Chilanko village in Benishangul-Gumuz. As Guyu (2012) put, villagization was a success in Chilanko villagization site. In addition to the availability of basic social services in Chilanko, there were non-farm activities such as formal trades like warehouse trade, service trades such as food and

beverage selling bars, coffee and tea houses and boutiques which is an indication of a positive impact on livelihoods.

2.4.2 Environmental Impact

Despite its long run benefits, villagization inevitably affects the environment negatively. Clearing of forest for new farmlands in villagization site is one of these environmental consequences (Guyu, 2012). Villagization leads to land and environmental degradation due to increased demand for resources as a result of population concentration (Kikula, 1997). In his study on villagization in Benishangul-Gumuz, Guyu (2012) found that the construction materials for the planned 52,142 households in the region were totally taken from forest, which is a great destruction to the indigenous forest trees in the region. The concentration of livestock is also another source of ecological degradation through overgrazing. Additionally, Villagization is usually accompanied by latrine construction for waste disposals. However, the inappropriate construction and utilization of latrines and waste disposal mechanisms in villagization sites have polluted the villages, for example, in Chilanko site that may lead to other diseases (Ibid).

According to Kikula (1997), villagization increased the livestock population through resettlement and improved veterinary services in Tanzania. But this led to substantial increases in soil erosion caused by livestock overgrazing. Though livestock grazing was restricted to some selected areas, the environmental effect of this restriction was the acceleration of soil erosion. He added that the rapid changes brought by villagization led to land degradation and deforestation due to increased human and livestock population in the area. The concentration of this increased population into nucleated settlements meant a complete disruption of the traditional land management system, making land degradation inevitable. Moreover, as Lorgen (1999) stated,

villagization has adverse effects on the environment and particularly on the land used for farming or grazing and increases the risk of communicable diseases due to concentration of dwellings.

2.5 Challenges of Villagization

Villagization is susceptible to various challenges in terms of implementation and also poses challenges to the well-being of the relocated populations. As Lorgen (1990) puts, the problems arising from villagisation can be divided into those derived from the way villagisation was implemented and those arising from the actual experience of living in the new villages. In their study on challenges and prospects of villagization in Afar regional state, Buzuayew et al. (2016) found that one of the challenges the program faced was lack of awareness creation and community participation. Although the regional resettlement program strategy document states that a detail discussion was made with regional higher officials, community leaders and many other stakeholders before the implementation of the program, their field data shows that discussion with local communities and other stakeholders have been overlooked in the program. They added that many informants argued that there was less awareness creation program held, and even in some development centers, it was totally absent.

In Dubti and Aysaita woreda, for instance, the implementation of the program faced challenges from the settlers as they had no adequate information related to the intention and importance of villagization program. Moreover, the study of Guyu (2012) shows that the bad attitudes of villagers towards the program and their unwillingness to move to the constructed dwellings were some of the challenges the program faced in Benishangul-Gumuz. For this reason, the overall accomplishment of the program had not been as smooth as the plan tells. He also found that lack of commitment of the implementers, low capacity and attitudes of the implementing bodies adversely affected the overall progress of the program.

With regard to the experiences of villagers, challenges usually include the physical location of the villages, especially their distance from the fields, in terms of walking to them and protecting them from vermin and theft, and lack of water and fuel wood. It also includes adverse effects on the environment and particularly on the land used for farming or grazing, the increased risk of communicable diseases, and adverse effects on social equity or community harmony (Lorgen, 1990). As Buzuayew et al. (2016) found, clean water provision was not carefully managed in various villages in Afar region. Though the program prioritize clean and sufficient water supply, it persistently encountered problems in identifying potential water points, completion of water projects construction and purification of surface water. For instance, the absence of water for human and livestock in some villages resulted in returning of settlers to their previous homestead. Furthermore, the study found that farmland preparation and distribution for farming activity lagged behind. The delay of farmland distribution, in turn, brought insecurity on the villagers in some sites.

According to Guyu's study (2012), the failure to fulfill the promises by the government that would have been implemented ahead of relocation of the villagers was one of the challenges faced in many sites of Benishangul-Gumuz. For example, the construction of socio-economic services was not timely completed and the rendering of services was delayed. Continued conditions of poverty and food insecurity were also the challenges mainly among gumuz ethnic group. The children of this ethnic group could not dress well; families have no sufficient food to survive, no oxen and are forced to lead traditional hoe-farming system. In addition, Kuschminder & Fransen's (2012) study on Burundi's rural integrated villages shows that one of the challenges faced by villagers was the fact that they were located far from their land, which made it difficult

for them to protect their crops, maintain the harvest and provide security for women working in the fields.

2.6 Advantages of Villagization

Villagization does not only have challenges or negative effects but also it has some advantages that should be appreciated. According to Hilhorst & Leeuwen's study (1999) on Imidugudu (villagization program launched in Rwanda), one of the advantages of the program in settlement sites located in Kanzenze municipality was the building of roads, health centers and the provision of other services. The Imidugudu has substantially contributed to solve the housing problem with many families receiving houses through the program. Hence, there is an appreciation for the houses of those who were homeless. As Kwaako's study results (2011) reveal, Tanzania's villagization program resulted in short-run increases in primary school completion rates. In addition, the results indicate that districts which historically experienced higher levels of treatment also have higher levels of community participation today - specifically in reporting higher levels of attendance in village meetings and greater likelihood of knowing the names of their local community leaders today. Higher levels of treatment are also associated with improved provision of education and health facilities. Hence, the experience of late 1970s villagization transformed the Tanzanian country side and the institutional developments during this period have persistent effects across Tanzanian districts today.

With respect to service/infrastructure access, Isaksson's (2011) study results on Rwandan villagization policy (Imidugudu) suggest that living in Imidugudu or constructed villages is associated with a somewhat greater access to services and infrastructures such as markets, roads, schools, electricity and agricultural extension services.

A research conducted by Moti(2014) on Gambella's villagization program showed that the main advantage of the program was the provision of various social services in some villagization sites. He found that the water service provided by the government is sufficient. During the day time, no one would use it; however, during holydays, morning and evening times, it becomes busy since everybody wants to use it. He added that even though it is difficult to say that the service provided is fully sufficient, the progress was remarkable for two reasons: Firstly, the progress was very fantastic; since development is a process and not an end, the prospect of the progress was promising. Secondly, it is a remarkable change especially for pastoralists who have been living without such services. With regard to education, schools were built in villagization sites which were non-existent in former settlement sites. Although the quality of the schools is questionable, villagers described the establishment of these schools as the good side of the program.

2.7 Policy Aspect of Villagization

Villagisation policies have been implemented in several African countries including Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and most recently Rwanda (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2014). As Lorgen (1999) puts, while the policy of villagisation can in some cases be a feasible solution to a country's problems, the implementation, if done in certain ways, can be extremely difficult and painful for the rural dwellers involved. In 1996, Rwanda started implementing its highly controversial villagisation policy. Faced with land scarcity and an immediate housing crisis resulting from the destruction and massive population displacements of the civil war and genocide, the villagisation, or Imidugudu, policy was initially intended as an emergency housing project. At the time of the implementation, however, it was redefined as an ambitious development program establishing that all households living in scattered rural homesteads – the typical settlement pattern in Rwanda should be regrouped into organized government/donor

constructed village settlements. On top of addressing the immediate housing shortage and the problems of land use, a major ambition was for the policy to help diversify the economy. By settling people in clusters the hope was that markets would develop, stimulating non-farm income-generating activity (Isaksson, 2011).

As a response to the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees after the war and genocide in 1994, the new Rwanda government launched a settlement program called Imidugudu. Since early 1997, this program targeted the entire rural population that has to be regrouped in villages. The settlement policy was implemented with support from international agencies, including United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs). From the start, ambiguities concerning the aims and appropriateness of the policy and the performance and feasibility of implementation made the program controversial. Nonetheless, agencies supported the policy, hoping it would adequately address the shelter crisis and contribute to a solution of some of Rwanda's pressing development problems (Hilhorst & Leeuwen, 1999).

In Tanzania, numerous policies have been tried out on the rural peasant population since independence. In some ways, these policies have been, in fact, a mere continuation of colonial policies in that they aimed at integrating the peasant into the world-wide capitalist economic system. Post-independence policy measures have, in certain instances, repeated similar colonial government mistakes, such as the stifling of the development of the productive forces. Tremendous energy and resources have been put into trying to increase agricultural output in rural areas, but it has hardly borne any meaningful results. As a matter of fact, the policy of ujamaa villages required substantial amounts of resources for its implementation. The political implications were much more far-reaching to rural areas, especially with the mobilization of the

political and state machinery. Indeed, by 1974, more than 5,000 villages were in place. There was great enthusiasm among rural dwellers initially, but it waned upon the realization that no breakthrough had been made to result in the much-anticipated development changes in the rural areas (Mhando, 2011).

In Ethiopia, successive governments have attempted population relocation schemes to varying degrees. The Derg's (military government, 1974-1991) villagization and resettlement endeavor is often mentioned for its incredible scale, as well as for its ill planning, poor execution and the suffering and loss it caused for the relocated populations. Relocated people also returned to their old villages when Derg's power waned. In early 2000s, however, population relocation schemes were resuscitated and reintegrated into Ethiopia's food security and rural development strategies. To a significant extent, villagization had to remain on paper until the end of the decade when, in 2009, the Ethiopian government planned to villagize an estimated 1.5 million individuals by mid- 2015 per the GTP (Growth and Transformation Plan). The stated objective of this scheme was to provide social services through the congregation of households scattered within a five-kilometer radius to a common village. Ethiopian diaspora groups and international activists have cried foul, arguing that villagization is a sugar-coated name for the forced relocation of local people to make way for land investments. The government, in response to such criticism, stresses that the two – land transfers and villagization policy are completely unrelated (Fana, 2014).

2.8 Villagization and Development

The belief that rural development cannot be brought without villagization scheme (Mhando, 2011) has dominated the development models and approaches of those nations that used to adopt villagization. Those models prioritized villagization as mostly associated with the minds of policy makers of many developing countries mainly African governments. Mhando

(2011), for instance, tries to explain how rural development without villagization would be jeopardy in Ujamma villages in Tanzania. Such a belief is of course ignoring the experience of some developments of rural areas around the world without adoption of villagization program. Moreover, centers selected for villagization are believed to act as a springboard for development. The Ujamma villages in Tanzania, for example, were seen as the springboard upon which much change would emanate, thus enabling the attainment of higher production levels and the elimination of poverty.

There are emerging and ongoing perspectives on how, when and by what apparatus to achieve development in a society. This is due to the fact that the idea of following the principle of justifying means after end has been achieved and the notion of means justifying an end is becoming the question of all. All these difficulties arise due to various factors such as the complexity of the development concept per se, its multidimensional nature, the diversity of countries and country experiences, the different overlapping thoughts and related actions carried out at national, regional and international level, the controversy of the sustainability of development, and also the analytical difficulties in identifying cause-effect relationships between development policies and results achieved (Lorenzo 2011, cited Moti, 2014).

In Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular, in the long move to achieve development, governmentally designed and implemented projects, policies and programs are becoming the stadium of discourse for different development actors ,and concerned bodies like government , international institutions , politicians, scholars, interest groups, local communities, and civil society organizations. In Ethiopia government initiated projects like flower farming (especially in Oromia region), hydroelectric power generation, Sugar factory expansion like Omo

site, urban planning in Addis Ababa city have resulted in the resettlement of indigenous communities and thus have become arenas of debate among different social groups and actors.

As Moti (2014) puts, villagization program has been used by governments as a means to end poverty and bring development (social, political, economic, and cultural development) by gathering together pastoral and semi-pastoral communities and providing them with basic infrastructural services. According to Guyu (2012), villagization usually has the aim of ensuring sustainable supply of basic socioeconomic services such as education, health, water, credit facilities, agricultural inputs, etc and other infrastructures such as electric power, telephone and road that facilitate rural development. For example, he found that many families of villagers in Chilanko villagization site in Benishangul-Gumuz had started to go to school, got health services and clean water for drinking as a result of living in those villages, which had never been attempted before and is an important development in the region.

2.9 Villagization, Land and Income Generation

As Hilhorst & Leeuwen (1999) put, the reorganization proposed in the Imidugudu (Rwandan Villagization Program) policy could well be interpreted as an attempt to redistribute land in favor of the old case refugees and the genocide survivors. According to them, the Mayange villagization center was built in an area formerly belonging to the government, which had not been under cultivation, except for a few fields. When the families moved into Mayange, they first cultivated on plots they had rented or borrowed. In 1997, every household was allotted two hectares of land for cultivation. Since the authorities feared that people will only take the land, but not the house, land was only allotted after people actually had settled in the village. After one year, a survey turned out that only one third of the allotted land had been taken into production. At the same time, people in the village experienced land shortage. Several

explanations were given for this paradoxical feature. Lack of rain had made people wait before clearing the land, some families had no labor available due to illness or for other reasons, or they considered the land too far. The first who had arrived had got the land near to the village while others were given land at a distance up to seven kilometers from the settlement. Some people had fields at five kilometers away, but preferred to work on a smaller piece of land borrowed from others near the village. Nevertheless, the land distribution is said to have alleviated the hardships of life in Mayange. In fact, the first year they had moved to the site, they often went hungry or had to survive on cassava leaves. Frequent disease made it even more difficult to go out and find some food or work. But, this situation had considerably improved over the years.

In Gahembe villagization site, however, the land situation was more problematic. This site was surrounded by an area that before the war already had been used intensively for agriculture by other families. There was some idle land, which belonged to victims of the genocide and refugees that had not (yet) come back. As there were no regulations concerning these lands, they were not available for reallocation. As a result, only seven families in Gahembe had land of their own. Newcomers had no land at all. They borrowed land from people living in the neighborhood, some for free, others paid part of their harvest to the owner. The borrowing arrangements concerned usually tiny pieces of land. One household was found borrowing little pieces of land of five different owners, on different parts of the slope where the soil was suitable for different crops. A dry piece of land was used for peanuts, a more humid one for beans and vegetables, and a stony piece of land for cassava. The informal arrangement that people in Gahembe had for land, were not long lasting and could not resolve the actual land shortage. The Gahembe residents had expected that the local authorities were going to provide them with land. Some claimed the authorities had actually promised this. Their expectations may also have been raised because they

knew that families in Mayange had been given land. However, the local authorities so far had not made a provision for land. Some government officials acknowledged the problem; others stated that it was the responsibility of the residents to find land through informal ways. The law stipulated that an occupant of a plot had to vacate the land upon the return of the original owner, but included no clause on what the temporary occupant had to rely after giving up the land. The Kanzenze authorities had no stand on the matter, but waited for a policy for land redistribution from the central government (ibid).

According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2007), the less access to land and land scarcity for many villagers in Rwanda was due to the villagization policy and this was the major reason for the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Farmers claimed that the former land inhabited by the Ruhengeri and Gisenyi in communes bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo was illegally given to the cadres and the loyal members of the Rwanda government in May, 2005.

In their exploration of the challenges and prospects of villagization in Afar region, Buzuyayew et al.(2016) found that although the distribution of proposed 600 square meters of land for residence construction was already undergone in the majority of village centers, the farmland distribution varies between the study woredas and even in some villages it was totally not implemented. In the study region, land deals became very sensitive particularly for those pastoralists who were affected by the impact of large-scale land investment policy directly or indirectly. However, for loss of access to resources and local relocation of the pastoralists in Dubti, Aysaita and Awash Fentale woredas, the government promised to provide new social services and farmland. Thus, informants in Dubti woreda indicated that acceptance of the land distribution, the provision of farming inputs, access to water points and provision of social services enabled them to start a settled life.

According to the study conducted by Shombe (2015) on the impacts of resettlement schemes on land use and land cover changes in Boreda woreda of southern region, it was found that the resettlement completely changed land use practices in Gumgumuta resettlement village due to population pressure. The land in Gumgumuta which was communally used before resettlement has been replaced and is today owned by individual households and also divided by individual settlers. Therefore, surrounding kebeles have no right to use the former areas, those which had been communally used before resettlement. Resettlement not only affected land use and land cover change but also highly influenced the way of the life of the re-settlers.

As Fransen & Kuschminder's (2014) study indicate, the availability of land is a problem in several Burundi's rural integrated villages. In some of these villages, the government has not yet provided land and in others, in which the land has been provided, some locals claim that the land that is given to the returnees belongs to them, as had occurred in cases in Rwanda. In reality, some of the residents of the rural integrated villages had not received land ownership certificates called government distribution letter in Burundi. This is a challenge, as without a certificate, a person cannot sell the land in the future nor can an individual provide a proof to neighbors that he/she owns the land. The lack of documentation and clarity leaves room for land disputes, which are currently occurring between the rural integrated villages' residents and their neighbors.

Isaksson's research (2011) on villagization and income generation in Rwanda indicates that Imidugudu households differ surprisingly little from other rural households in terms of diversification into non-farm income sources. The slightly greater participation in non-farm income-generating activities observed among the Imidugudu households can be attributed to regional variation and household characteristics mattering for selection into the program rather than to asset endowments and improved service access. The aim of the author was to investigate

whether households relocated to government-built village settlements, as part of Rwanda's villagisation program (Imidugudu), diversify into non-farm income-generating activities to a greater extent than other rural households in Rwanda. As such, it was found that the Imidugudu poorer households engage in non-farm income-generating activities to a comparatively great extent while the least diversification was observed among the richest. But, in non-Imidugudu households, there was less diversification among the poorest. While finding similar overall levels of diversification across Imidugudu and non-Imidugudu households, one would thus be inclined to argue that the diversification that takes place in Imidugudu to a greater extent tends to be for survival rather than for accumulation.

2.10 Villagization and Forced Relocation/Displacement

The term displacement refers to the movement of population from their place of usual residence to another area. This movement is forced in the sense that in the absence of a project or natural disaster, residents would not have chosen to leave the area. The movement can be either internal or international, and is often permanent, though some possibilities of return might exist in certain cases (Sherbinin et al., 2010).

According to Ahlbrandt (2005), in Rwandan villagization program, families were unwilling to relinquish former land and livelihoods but the authorities required them to abandon and even destroy their dwellings. Authoritative and top-down directives often amounted to coercion and involved numerous cases of forced relocation. It was also found that many vulnerable displaced families were women or child-headed households and that coercion was being employed to move individuals.

Like the policies of many other independent African countries, Tanzanian policies aimed at bringing about change in the majority-populated rural areas. On the one hand, under ujamaa, the

establishment of planned settlements (ujamaa villages) was considered a voluntary, positive development endeavor. On the other hand, villagization was seen as mandatory resettlement of rural people into officially designated settlements that often entailed use of force by the state. These can be seen as two sides of Nyerere's rural development policy coin (Mhando, 2011).

A research done by the Oakland Institute (2015) on forced displacement in Ethiopia showed that the local populations were forcibly removed from their lands and resettled in ways that neglect their traditional ways of life and livelihoods although the villagization program was said to be voluntary by the authorities.

Despite the government's claim that villagization in Gambella of Ethiopia was fully conducted on voluntary basis and with the full consent and participation of the beneficiaries, Human Rights Watch's (2012) research found the process to be far from voluntary and has been accompanied by widespread human rights violations, including forced displacement, arbitrary arrest and detention. Furthermore, many beatings took place during construction of the tukuls in the new villages, where displaced people were forced to build their own new homes. Soldiers supervised the building of these tukuls; in some cases soldiers were camped out near the villages, in other cases they would arrive in the morning and leave in the evening. In these cases, soldiers were there to ensure that the villagers built their tukuls swiftly. If villagers were too slow or were seen talking in a group, they became potential targets for beatings and assaults by government troops. Often this would involve a kick, slap, punch, or hitting with the butt of a rifle, but other times the beatings would be more severe.

In his investigation of land investments and villagization in Ethiopia's Gambella regional state, Fana (2014) found that one of the major issues raised was the lack of prior consultation. He also found that local populations were coerced to join new villages and that the implementation was proceeding without obtaining free and informed prior consent from the local population.

In conclusion, the above reviewed literatures have shown what villagization is from its different dimensions. These literatures have, of course, given some background information concerning villagization program by drawing on the findings of previous researches. However, the current study, which is all about the contributions of villagization to the lives of villagers, has also come up with its own findings which are believed to have shed more light on villagization and provided some knowledge and understanding in addition to what is already known about the program. Hence, the above reviewed literatures have an important implication in the sense that they serve as a background and base for the current study on the contributions of villagization.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

This chapter deals with the methods used to conduct this study and comprises of the philosophical stance of the researcher, research design, a description of the study area, sampling and sample size, participants' inclusion criteria, data collection tools, methods of data collection, data collection procedures and method of data analysis. In addition, data quality assurance and ethical considerations are discussed.

3.1 Philosophical Stance

The researcher holds a constructivist perspective/approach to research. Constructivist approach maintains that there is no one right answer out there waiting to be identified. There will always be different ways of seeing things and a range of interpretations that can be made (Laws et al., 2003). It assumes that knowledge is constructed through communication and interaction. As such, knowledge is not out there but within the perceptions and interpretations of the individual. In short, knowledge is constructed or created by people (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). Since the aim of this study is to assess and understand the opinions, experiences and feelings of the villagers in terms of the contributions made to their lives by villagization program, the researcher has followed the constructivist approach to research in order to know about the living experiences of the villagers as perceived by themselves.

3.2 Research Design

The researcher employed qualitative research strategy so as to thoroughly know what contributions villagization program has made to the lives of the villagers. Qualitative research is concerned with how people feel or what they think about a particular subject or institution and why they do certain things (Kothari, 1990). Moreover, a qualitative approach is one in which the

inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives i.e., the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed (Creswell, 2009). Hence, qualitative research was used to conduct this study so as to gain a rich knowledge and understanding about the topic under study. Additionally, this study followed a descriptive type of research as it sought to identify and describe the contributions of villagization program to lives of the villagized people.

According to Creswell (2007), there are five qualitative approaches to research, which include narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case studies. For the purpose of this study, case study has been used in order to get a holistic and an in-depth understanding about the contributions of villagization in Gog woreda of Gambella. A case study is an empirical inquiry which investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. It is the most flexible of all research designs, allowing the researcher to retain the holistic characteristics of real-life events (Schell, 1992). According to Harling (2012), a case study can deal with either single or multiple cases. He added that there are two types of single case study, which include the intrinsic and instrumental case study. While the former is done to learn about a unique phenomenon, the latter is concerned with providing a general understanding of a phenomenon using a particular case. Therefore, since this study sought to get a general or an in-depth understanding of the contributions of villagization as a single case, it is then a single instrumental case study. This study is also a cross-sectional research since it was conducted at one point.

3.3 Study Area

Gambella People's National Regional State is one of the nine regions, which constitute the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The Regional state is located in the South-West part of

the Country, at a distance of 766 kilometers from Addis Ababa. The regional state borders the Republic of Sudan to the northwest, west and southwest, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples to the southeast and Oromiya regional States to the east and northeast. The region is administratively structured into three zones, one special Woreda, 11 Woredas, one town administration, and 225 kebeles administration. The region has a geographic size of about 34,063 square kilometer. The topography of the area is almost altitude ranging from 450 - 2500 meter above sea level, mean annual temperature ranging from 18°C - 45°C and annual rainfall ranging from 500 – 2100 millimeter. The total population of the region is 409,002 (213,001 Male & 196,001 Female) from which sixty eight percent of them are rural inhabitants (Central Statistical Agency, 2014, cited Development and Social Services Commission, 2016). The region is a home of five indigenous ethnic groups which include Anywaa 27%, Nuer 40%, Majang 5.8%, Opo and Komo 0.39 % and other nations nationalities from different parts of the country, which include Amhara 8%, Oromo 6%, Keffa 4.1%, and Tigre 1.6%.

Agro-ecologically, the region is predominantly lowland with a few midlands. Recession riverside agriculture is common, particularly maize and sorghum, and widely practiced by Anywa people along the Baro, Gilo and Akobo rivers. As the region is generally not cereal self-sufficient, alternative income sources such as fishing are important sources of food. Wild food consumption is part of the daily dietary intake given the still partly untouched bush land and natural forest resources (<http://www.ethiodemographyandhealth.org/Gambella.html>).

Though the region is endowed with untapped potential riches and is naturally conducive for rapid and sustainable development, it has lagged behind other regions in terms of socio-economic development. Therefore, it was understood that exploiting the potentials of development and achieving sustainable development in the region could be made possible

through the implementation of villagization program. Hence, the researcher selected Gambella region as his area of study given its distinct feature of being backward in terms of socio-economic developments as compared to other regions. Since the researcher is familiar with the socio-economic situation of the area, he was curious and selected this region for the study so as to know about the improvements that happened in the lives of the people whose living conditions have always been poor in the region.

Currently, the regional state is administratively divided into 13 woredas (one is special woreda), one town administration and three zones which include Anywaa zone, Nuer zone and Majang zone. Anywaa zone has, thus, been selected for this study due to some factors. As was said, Gambella is a home of five indigenous ethnic groups with their own languages and unique cultures. The fact that people in other woredas under Nuer and Majang zones speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds made the researcher to select Anywaa zone and specifically Gog woreda whose inhabitants share similar language and culture with that of the researcher. This was done to make things easy and avoid barriers which might result from the difference in cultural traditions and make the research difficult. With regard to the issue of language barrier, although the researcher could have used a translator with the people who speak different languages, this option was not considered because the researcher thought that the study would be easier and more effective if he chose to do the research in areas where people speak the same language and have the same culture as his.

Gog woreda is one of the five districts of Anywaa zone of Gambella region located at a distance of 111 kilo meter East of Gambella town. The district consists of 16 kebeles bordered by Jor woreda in the west, Abobo woreda in the north, Dimma Woreda in Northeast and the Republic of South Sudan in the south. Pingudo is the capital town and political administrative

centre of the woreda. The district's total population accounts 23,074 people (12,364 female) having 4614 households (780 female headed) with the average family size of 5 people/households. The district is homogeneously occupied by Anuak ethnic group (95.5%), Amhara 1.17%, Oromo 1.1%, and other ethnic groups accounts for 1.13 % of the total population in the district. The people practice sedentary farming in upland areas in scattered settlements (District Office of Agriculture 2015, cited in Development and Social Services Commission, 2016).

In Gambella region, there are 60,000 households. Out of these 60,000 households, 45,000 households were targeted to be villagized in a period of three years so as to bring about socio-economic improvements. The actual implementation of villagization started in 2010/11 and was completed in 2012/13. By the end of 2013, 45,000 households in Gambella had started living in villages (Gambella People's National and Regional State Report on Villagization, 2012).

In Gog woreda, villagization program was implemented in 7 villages out of 16 kebeles (villages) of the woreda. These villages include Dipach, Jangjor, Awkoy, Ateti, Abodo, Puchalla and Tata. The researcher selected the first three villages, namely Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages and conducted a study in them on the contributions of villagization program. The reason why these villages were selected was because they are closer to the town and accessible. In addition, these three villages are the villages where villagization was considered to have been successfully implemented as compared to other villages in the woreda. So, since the researcher wanted to know the contributions of the program, he selected these villages. The other reason was the fact that the researcher is familiar with the area because he has been there before and hence, became interested in conducting a study there. Initially, 878 households were targeted to be relocated to the three villages, 307 in Dipach, 374 in Jangjor and 197 in Awkoy. But, when the

program was implemented, the actual number of the households that started to live in the villages was 775. For instance, in Dipach village, there are 277 households. In Jangjor village, there are 301 households while Awkoy village has 197 households who settled there since the implementation of the program (Gog Woreda Report on Implementation of Villagization, 2017).

3.4 Sampling and Sample Size

In order to select participants for this study, non-probability sampling was used. Non-probability sampling is a sampling procedure which does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has of being included in the sample. In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; his/her choice concerning the items remains supreme. In other words, in non-probability sampling, the organizers of the inquiry purposively choose the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that they so select out of a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole (Kothari,1990). Under non-probability sampling, the researcher has specifically employed purposive sampling. Purposive sampling involves the use of the researcher's knowledge of the population in terms of research goals. That is, elements are selected based on the researcher's judgment that they will provide access to the desired information (Dattalo, 2008). Furthermore, the sample size, that is, the actual number of study participants was determined based on data saturation. Meaning, the researcher stopped selecting participants when new data no longer brought additional insights into the research. The researcher carried out interviews until interviewing another person no longer generated new information in addition to the already collected one.

The researcher deliberately selected participants from the three villages based on his belief that the selected people would provide genuine information relevant to the study purpose. The

actual number of the study participants was forty two (42). Fifteen people from the three villages participated in the in-depth interviews. A total of twenty three (23) people from the three villages participated in the focus group discussions, with nine (9) participants in Dipach, six (6) participants in Jangjor and eight (8) participants in Awkoy villages. Key informant interviews included four (4) participants from the woreda political figures who had a knowledge about the implemented villagization program. In fact, participants of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were selected with the help of a local resident whom the researcher knows and hired. In addition, the researcher was helped by the secretary of the office of the woreda administrator to find government officials with whom to conduct key informant interviews. Although the researcher did this with the help of others, the entire selection of all participants was based on predetermined criteria presented in the following section.

3.5 Participants' Selection Criteria

The selection criteria used in selecting participants for this study include being a relocated person and resident of any of the three villages. A good knowledge and understanding of villagization program that was implemented in the area was also used as a requirement for selection. The other inclusion criterion was articulation. There, actually, were numerous potential participants but only those with the ability to clearly express their feelings, opinions and thoughts were selected and included in the study. In addition, woreda administrators and other political figures were included in the study as key informants on the basis of their knowledge and experience of the program.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

Data collection tools/instruments were first developed and made ready prior to the start of data gathering in the field. These instruments included in-depth interview and focus group

discussion guides, observation checklist and audio voice recorder, developed with the help of the thesis' advisor. Tools such as in-depth interview and focus group discussion guides, including observation checklist were first developed by the researcher and shown to the advisor who later refined them. In addition, note books with pens were among the tools carried and used in the field. The in-depth interview and focus group discussion guides included questions with probing points which the researcher used to probe into issues that the participants did not mention. These were the tools which the researcher used in the field to collect data.

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data were collected in order to achieve the objective of this research. Primary data were gathered from research participants using data collection methods such as in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Secondary data were collected by reviewing documents, literatures and from reports.

3.7.1 In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. In-depth interviews are useful when you want detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Using in-depth interview as a data collection method, the researcher interviewed and collected data from selected participants in the three villages, with each interview lasting 30 minutes. The researcher first approached the interviewees, introduced himself and explained the purpose of the interview and how long it would take to finish the session. As a matter of fact, interviews were conducted after obtaining the permission of the participants. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted in secure and comfortable places chosen by the

interviewees. The researcher let the interviewees choose places suitable for conducting the interviews so that the participants would feel free to talk and provide data needed for the research.

3.7.2 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted by the researcher with the woreda government officials whom the researcher believed would provide information about the topic under study. A key informant interview is an interview with individuals who are not a part of the phenomenon under investigation, but who have special expertise or knowledge of that phenomenon. Sometimes, the key informant is a member of the population under investigation, but occupies a particular position within that population (Corbetta, 2003). In order to conduct key informant interviews, the researcher first made an appointment with the interviewees. Interviews were scheduled to take place at times when the informants were not busy with works. In addition, the researcher asked the key informants where to conduct the interviews and they chose to be interviewed in their offices. Accordingly, the researcher conducted key informant interviews with the selected officials at a different time, with each interview lasting for 20 minutes.

3.7.3 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is a means of collecting data in one group from several people who usually share common experiences and which concentrates on their shared meanings (Payne & Payne, 2004). Focus group discussion allows for interactions between the researcher and the participants and among the participants themselves (Marczyk et al., 2005). The researcher collected data by conducting focus group discussions in the three villages from the villagers. Three focus group discussions were held in the three villages, with the researcher taking the role of a facilitator in each discussion so as to generate quality data. Participants of the discussions were approached and asked to participate in the discussions whose purpose was made clear to

them and they agreed. Focus group discussions were held under trees chosen by the participants themselves. Discussions were carried out while participants were drinking coffee brought by the researcher. For each discussion, the researcher allocated 1 hour and tried to finish the sessions within the given time. Hence, each of these discussions lasted for an hour because that was the amount of time allocated by the researcher who was able to collect the needed data while interacting with the participants.

3.7.4 Observation

Observation is the other instrument of data collection that was used in this research. Observation refers to the method of data collection in which the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. In these field notes, the researcher records, using some prior questions that the inquirer wants to know at the research site (Creswell, 2009). In this study, the researcher took time to observe the environment (both physical and social) of the people as per the objective of the research. The researcher had a checklist consisting of the available social services in the villages. An observation was conducted by walking around the villages to see the available social services. In addition, the researcher observed the social environment of the villagers, that is, their daily activities and the ways in which they interact with one another in their settings.

3.7.5 Document Review

Document review, which is also an important method of data collection, was used in this research, which enabled the researcher to find relevant information. Government reports and other written materials on villagization were collected from the regional and woreda governmental offices. These documents were reviewed and served as an important source of data for the research.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

Prior to the beginning of data collection, a letter of cooperation was taken from the school of social work, Addis Ababa University and shown to the Gambella regional government. After notifying the regional government, the researcher went and submitted the letter to Gog woreda council administration. The researcher further explained the purpose of the study to the woreda administrator and asked to be given a permission to conduct a research in the area. After spending time in the office of the administrator talking, the researcher was allowed to conduct this study. Then, the researcher left for the selected villages where villagization was implemented and stayed in the house of a friend. Afterwards, participants were approached and selected based on some criteria with the help of a person hired and oriented by the researcher. But, before starting collecting data, the researcher spent a few days in the villages so as to become familiar with the people and gain their trust. After being known and introduced to the selected participants, the researcher scheduled the interviews and focus group discussions and started the actual data collection in February 25, 2017, which lasted in March 20, 2017. Key informant interviews were later conducted after data had already been collected from the villagers. So, the whole data collection started in 25th of February, 2017 and ended in March 31, 2017.

3.9 Method of Data Analysis

The analysis of qualitative data which were gathered for this study started with transcription. In conducting in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher used audio voice recorder based on the participants' willingness and also took notes at the same time. Recorded voices were then written down in the form of text and then translated from Anuak language to English. Since, the data were collected from Anuak speaking people, not only was it necessary to translate the data available in Anuak language to English, but also it was mandatory.

Then, these data, including the noted ones were arranged. The arrangement was followed by a careful and repeated reading of the data so that the researcher would be familiar with them. In addition, after carefully reading and going through the whole written data, a careful listening of the recorded voices was done again to check if there was something missed that was not written down.

As Laws et al. (2003) put, data analysis is a process of taking things apart and putting them together again. According to them, there are three distinct elements or stages to the analysis of research data which include organizing data, breaking it down into its constituent elements and bringing it back together by clarifying the meaning of the data. Basically, the researcher properly organized the transcribed and translated data after reading them and assigned themes and topics which constituted the entire chapter. Data having similar ideas were categorized and thematically analyzed under the developed themes. Additionally, codification was used by assigning pseudo names in order to address participants and indicate who said what so as to minimize biases in the analysis.

3.10 Data Quality Assurance

To ensure the quality and originality of the data, triangulation was employed. This means that data from various sources which include both primary and secondary data were cross-checked and compared. For instance, data collected through in-depth interview were compared with data collected through key informant interviews, focus group discussions and document review so as to make sure that they were genuine. Another thing that was done to make sure that the collected data were genuine and original was the establishment of a rapport and creation of a good relationship with the study participants. By establishing a rapport, the researcher gained the trust of the research participants, who later provided genuine information relevant to the study.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics deals primarily with the interaction between researchers and the people they study. Whenever we conduct research on/with people, the well-being of research participants must be our top priority (Abiyet al., 2009). Actually, before getting engaged, the researcher had the study participants signed the informed consent letter indicating their agreement to participate in the research. The consent letter was written in the native language of the participants and comprised of a statement of study purpose, principles to be respected (autonomy, dignity of participants, voluntarism, and confidentiality) and a request for their cooperation. The consent letter was first read and then signed by the individual participants after fully understanding it. For those who could not read, the researcher did the reading for them and made sure that they understood everything clearly. This was done so that participants would have the freedom to decide for themselves and become participants on a voluntary basis, which is a way of respecting the principle of autonomy of study participants.

It was also made clear to the participants that they had every right to refuse to take part in the research or stop being a research participant if they felt uncomfortable in the middle regardless of his/her previous agreement. The reason the researcher did this was to make sure that no one was forced to participate in the research without his/her permission and willingness, which is an important principle of research ethics.

When it comes to the issue of confidentiality or anonymity, the researcher made every effort to make sure that no confidential information about the study participants would be disclosed. The researcher avoided as much as possible using identifiers such as real names of the participants in the report and instead, used false or pseudo names in the data presentation section. Though the topic of study was not sensitive, it was necessary that the real names of the

participants be kept out of the report as a way of respecting their privacy. Moreover, the research participants were assured that the information they provided would not be used for anything else other than academic purpose.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation

This chapter deals with the presentation of data obtained from the field about the contributions of villagization program. It deals with the presentation and analysis of the data collected through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussion, document review and observation. The chapter presents and describes the lives that villagers had prior to the implementation of villagization program. It also shows the process and ways in which villagization was implemented and presents the contributions or positive changes which resulted from the program implementation.

Table 1.Socio-Demographic Information of the Participants

Socio-Demographic Information of the Villagers Who Participated in In-Depth Interviews					
No	Participant's Pseudo Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Village of Residence
1	Deng	M	64	Farming	Dipach
2	Gilo	M	61	Farming	Dipach
3	Awar	F	42	Farming	Dipach
4	Awili	F	50	Farming	Dipach
5	Cham	F	46	Farming	Dipach
6	Ogalla	M	38	Farming	Awkoy
7	Abuya	F	34	Farming	Awkoy
8	Bang	M	48	Farming and Business	Awkoy
9	Okello	M	43	Farming	Awkoy
10	Omot	M	40	Farming	Awkoy
11	Meher	F	38	House Wife	Jangjor
12	Obang	M	52	Farming	Jangjor
13	Aray	F	45	Farming	Jangjor

14	Ochan	M	60	Farming	Jangjor
15	Okoth	M	57	Farming	Jangjor
Socio-Demographic Information of Participants of Focus Group Discussions					
No	Participant's Pseudo Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Village of Residence
1	Gora	M	56	Farming	Dipach
2	Agwa	M	61	Farming	Dipach
3	Udola	M	40	Farming	Dipach
4	Achalla	F	41	Farming	Dipach
5	Gningori	M	46	Farming	Dipach
6	Achang	F	34	Business	Dipach
7	Oman	M	30	Nurse in the Village Health Center	Dipach
8	Gnibolo	M	32	Primary School Teacher	Dipach
9	Ariet	F	29	House Wife	Dipach
10	Chibi	M	34	Farming	Jangjor
11	John	M	46	Farming	Jangjor
12	Akwoma	M	43	Farming	Jangjor
13	Kipera	F	31	House Wife	Jangjor
14	Ajwonni	F	49	Farming	Jangjor
15	Gningiew	M	57	Farming	Jangjor
16	Othieng	M	50	Farming	Awkoy
17	Medho	F	30	Farming	Awkoy
18	Opodhi	M	54	Farming	Awkoy
19	Ogatu	M	40	Farming	Awkoy
20	Mery	F	44	Farming	Awkoy
21	Thwol	F	38	Farming	Awkoy
22	Ojwato	M	32	Business	Awkoy

23	Alangi	F	31	House Wife	Awkoy
Socio-Demographic Information of Key Informants Who Participated in Key Informant Interviews					
No.	Participant's Pseudo Name	Age	Sex	Bureau	Position
1	Bachak	41	M	Woreda Agriculture and Rural Development Bureau	Head of Agricultural Bureau
2	Wello	39	M	Woreda Council Administration	Human Resource
3	Akim	43	M	Woreda Council Administration	Legal Expert
4	Gnigwo	40	M	Woreda Finance Bureau	Head of Finance Bureau

4.1 The Situation Before Villagization Program

4.1.1 Access to Basic Social Services

4.1.1.1 Educational Service

The situation before villagization program was very tough for the people who lived in scattered settlements basically because they had a very limited access to social services like education, health service, clean water, mill houses and transportation. During this time, accessing educational service was something extremely difficult for the inhabitants of the three villages, namely Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages located in Gog woreda of Gambella regional states and many children could not go to school as a result. This was mainly because people lived scattered and far away from the available social services such as education. The distance of schools was very long and students had to spend more than two hours walking.

It was hard for children to register and attend school as the distance between places of residence and schools was long. Since the schools were located far from people during the life

before villagization program, a child had to be ten years old and above to register and start schooling. Children could not go to school at early ages or when they were ready to. Accordingly, the school dropout rate was very high. A lot of people, especially youngsters dropped out of schools and became delinquents. For many, going to school was so boring and hence their academic achievements were very poor and below the expectation. Very few students were successful in their academic lives when people lived far away from one another and the social services. However, these students greatly suffered from the long walk to school as it took hours to arrive in school and enter the class. They had to wake up very early in the morning to start a long journey to school in order to avoid being late. This was done without even having a breakfast needed to make the body strong for the long walk. Since they had to wake up very early in the morning, nobody would be awake to prepare breakfast for them and hence, they went to school without eating. As Ogalla said,

" It was very unfortunate that education service did not exist in the place where I used to live. Accessing this basic service was always a problem and as a result children did not have the opportunity to attend school at early ages. They had to wait until they were ten years old and above to start school. In addition, those who attended school from a long distance suffered because they had to wake up early and walk two to three hours."

It was also confirmed by Cham in Dipach village that only a few young people could attend school in the past, which was not easy for them because they had to spend more than two hours walking to school. Regarding children, since it was not possible for them to walk a long distance, they had to wait until they were fully grown and fearless enough to walk alone to school.

4.1.1.2 Health Service

With regard to health service, access was very limited like education service and people suffered a lot from not being able to access the service as they needed. Health service was extremely difficult to access by Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villagers during the time when villagization program was not yet implemented. In fact, inhabitants of the three villages have in the past suffered greatly from lack of health service close to them and the distance of the available health centers. In those times, since people were scattered and lived far away from health centers, whenever a person got sick, he/she had to be carried to the health center located some kilometers away from home. This was done with great difficulties and so much pain, especially when the sickness happened during the night. In addition, when sickness occurred, since the sick person had to be taken to health center for treatment, people who would carry him/her, especially men, had to be looked for as there were no people or neighbors around. It would take a long time to find people to help carry the sick individual to the health center. One had to walk to other people's houses to ask for help and this would take a long time. Hence, if the sickness was serious, it would result in death because the time taken looking for people to help and time spent on the way carrying the person to health center would delay the health service or treatment that could have made the patient get back on his/her feet. Aray, who is a resident in Jangjor village, recounted a story of a sick woman who was carried to the health center and died on the way before arrival in the following way:

"It was at noon time that someone got sick and was carried to the health center from home. Since the health center was far away, the people spent a long time on the way carrying the sick person as they walked on foot. Unfortunately, the sickness got worse on

the way and when they were about to arrive, the woman died in the arms of the ones who were carrying her."

Many people have died this way when people were scattered and lived far away from the social services like health service. Some who managed to get to the health center on time received medical treatments and avoided deaths.

The distance of health center was not only a problem for sick people but also for pregnant women. When pregnant women were on the verge of giving birth, they also had to walk a long distance to the health center for delivery, which was not easy to do. Since women with babies could not walk fast due to their pregnancies, long hours would be spent on the way to the health center and many times, babies were given birth to on the way before arriving in the health center. The situation was difficult because people walked a long distance on foot as there was no ambulance service or any car that can take a pregnant woman to the health center. Accordingly, since in most cases women gave birth at home or on the way to the health center without health professionals or midwives, there were complications associated with deliveries. As Cham said,

"The distance of health center was always a problem for people in scattered settlement, including women expecting babies. For pregnant women, the situation was very tough because of the distance they had to walk when they were about to give birth. Sometimes, they would be forced to deliver at home or on the way to health center without health professionals due to their inability to walk the long distance, which is risky."

4.1.1.3 Clean Water and Mill Service

The other basic service which was difficult to access before villagization was clean water. In fact, there were water pumps in other places and clean water was accessible only to those who lived close to the service and not to the people who were scattered far away. So, in the old times,

access to clean water was a major problem and thus people drank from ponds and wells. Like other services, water was collected from remote areas. People had to walk to distant areas to fetch water for drinking. However, the water they drank was not the clean one and as a result, water-borne diseases were common among the people. In addition, guinea worm disease was very prevalent since people lacked access to clean water. There were always new cases of guinea worm infections and due to lack of support and intervention by the concerned bodies to make the situation better, people suffered even more. Ogalla explained this as follows:

"Due to lack of clean water and the fact that people drank from ponds in the past, the risk of guinea worm disease infection was high. We suffered from guinea worm disease as we always drank water from ponds since there were no water pumps installed. It was also difficult for the government to help us with this situation as we were hard to reach."

Mill service was also one of those services which villagers desperately needed before villagization program. People used pestle and mortar to grind corn to make flour for food. Since women were the ones responsible for doing this job, they used their hands to grind corns. Other times when they were unable to use their hands or were too weak to grind corn using pestle and mortar, they had to walk a long distance to the mill located far away from home. The distance of mill from home and the fact that women used to grind with their hands used to be a persistent problem which the villagers wanted to change or end. As Abuya in Awkoy village put,

"Grinding corn using pestle and mortar was common for me since mill house was far way from where I used to live. I also went to the mill when I was not able to use my hands. But going to the mill was very time consuming since I had to spend a long time walking on the way. Sometimes, it took me so long to come back home as I had to wait to get my corn

ground since there were times during which the number of people needing the service would increase."

4.1.1.4 Transportation Service

Villagers mentioned transportation service as the other service that people previously had very limited access to. People were scattered across the land and no vehicle could reach them since there were no roads for cars. During this time, people usually traveled on foot to the town for various purposes as there was no permanent transport service. In fact, there were cars coming but this happened only sporadically and not on a regular basis. And the ones who benefited were those living by the main road. Those who were scattered in distant areas did not benefit because they lived in places which were not accessible by cars.

It was very common for these people to travel on foot to Pignudo (the capital town of the woreda located at a distance of 30 kilometers away) to buy items such as soaps, salt, coffee, sugar, oil, beans and other items, including clothes and shoes. Since these items were not available in the community and there was no reliable transport service, when people needed to buy things or goods from shops, the only option for them was to take the risk of traveling on foot to the town over a distance of 30 kilometers. It was a risky journey because people sometimes came across wild animals on the way and got attacked. Actually, people went to Pignudo town for different purposes. But, shopping was the main reason why they often went to the town because no shops were opened in the communities during the time. In fact, the situation was exacerbated by the absence of good transportation service which people could use to go to the town, buy the things they need and come back soon. Additionally, those who were too weak to walk a long distance to the town gave their money to others who were strong enough to walk the distance so

as to buy the things they needed and bring those items to them. A villager in Dipach village named Gilo put his story in relation to the difficulty of accessing transportation service as follows:

" I used to go to Pignudo town on foot to buy items such as salt, oil, soaps, beans and others since there was no transport service which could get me there soon and bring me back. Although I knew that it was a very tiring and painful travel, I did it because I had no choice. I needed those items and I had to take the risk to get them. But, the problem was that after coming back with those items, I had to share them with others who had no money to buy or did not have a chance to go to the town and buy some. Hence, they would soon be consumed and this would force me to go back for the same purpose."

Akim, who is a legal expert in the woreda council administration, also confirmed by mentioning transportation as one of those services that villagers desperately needed in the past before villagization program but had very limited access to. He said that villagers had in the past lived dispersed and far away from basic services like transportation. Though they needed the service, they were not able to access it better because there were no roads through which cars could reach them. Hence, they often walked or traveled on foot as far as Pignudo town, which was a very difficult experience for them. Akim also added that they (villagers) carried heavy things like baggage and other personal possessions on their backs and heads since there were no vehicles to carry them.

4.1.2 Social Relations and Interactions

Before the implementation of villagization program in Gog woreda, people were dispersed in various places. Villagers of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy lived scattered and were far from one another and the social services. Since people were scattered during that time, the relationship between/among them was very weak as they did not know one another very well. Each of them

lived alone in his/her house with children and husband. Others lived alone in their houses without anybody and far from other people. Whenever a problem happened, no one would soon be found to help and as a result people dealt with their problems with or without help from others. If a friend or relative got in trouble, it would take a long time before others could know about it to help because it was difficult to get information about anything. Ogalla (a resident in Awkoy village) said, *"The problem with scattered pattern of settlements was the difficulty to get help when trouble occurred."* When the help of others was needed, especially during emergency situations, one had to walk a long distance to other people's houses and ask for help. The search for people was not easy since people were scattered in distant areas. Hence, people lived without knowing about one another's lives. In addition, relatives did not often visit and hear from one another. If one needed to see or visit a relative in order to talk about family matters or discuss important issues, he/she had to take time and plan it before leaving. It required a person to take enough time and plan a visit to distant relatives and after seeing them, the visitor would come back home and stay for a very long time without meeting the relatives again.

Communication among people was very poor and hence, people lived without being able to know about anything that happened in other places. If there was something important that people needed to know or hear, it could not be heard about or easily communicated among the people. One interviewee in Jangjor village by the name Okoth expressed his feeling about how difficult it was to live without communication and interaction with others. He said,

"I lived like someone locked in a room and did not know about anything that happened somewhere else. I never knew what happened to other people and could not hear from my distant relatives about how they were doing because of the distance and lack of good communication."

People did not know what it meant to be together. There was no sense of belonging together because each one used to live alone far away from others. People never considered themselves as members of the same community who belonged together because they did not know one another well due to the distance among them. Hence, there were no unity, love and harmony among them because for these to happen, people had to be living together and close to one another. People spent most of their time alone and rarely interacted with others because there were no neighbors living closer. Since people were not together but far apart without neighbors and friends, loneliness and boredom were common aspects of their lives. As Abuya said, *"We lived alone in our own houses and the sun would set without having anyone else to talk to except your children or husband. This kind of life was common and normal for me."*

Actually, this does not mean that there was no interaction at all due to the dispersion of people. There were times people came together and interacted with one another, especially when traditional alcoholic drinks were made. Traditional alcoholic drinks used to be made occasionally and people came from their distant areas to drink and play together. Participants of the focus group discussion held in Dipach village all agreed and acknowledged that traditional drinks which were rarely made used to be the very reason why people came together and drink happily. During this time, people, especially older people and the middle aged ones came together to party and have fun. They drank, laughed together and enjoyed themselves until they finally departed in peace. As Bang said,

"In the past, though it was difficult for people to get together, there were times when they came together to drink, play and have fun. Though this rarely happened, it was an exciting moment because there were so much fun, excitement and joy in being together. People

would get drunk and depart peacefully, each to his/her own house without quarreling or fighting with one another."

In fact, this was the only time people gathered and spent a long time together interacting and sharing drinks. But, once it happened, such a get-together would not be repeated soon because people were far apart from one another and would require adequate time to plan and make the event happen again.

With regard to the social life of children, one thing that was always common for them was the fact that they lived alone with their parents, knowing only about the family life. They were raised only in the family and did not have exposure to the external social environment nor did they have a different experience other than that of the parents. Family was the only agent of socialization for them since they did not have friends to play with and learn from. Other institutions of socialization such as churches and schools did not exist and as a result, children grew up having only the experience from the family and knowing nothing about the external world. Living in scattered settlements affected the development of children because it did not allow them to learn new things from others and have different experiences. All they knew was what their parents told them because they never had the opportunity to explore the external environment and learn different things on their own. Bang explained this situation as follows:

"Prior to villagization program, each one lived in his house with his wife and children. We had little contact with others in distant areas and the sad part of this was that our children spent much of their time in the house because they had no friends to play or have fun with and learn from."

Another thing that was a challenge for the people during the pre-villagization period was the fact that it was impossible or difficult for someone to leave his/her house and go somewhere

far. One could not leave his/her child/children alone and go someplace else. This was because whenever you wanted to go somewhere for something important, no one would stay home to keep watch over the house, properties and children since there were no neighbors around who could help with that. This was a very tough situation, especially for parents with little children who could not be left alone and single mothers who had to carry out every responsibility on their own without a help from somebody. If going somewhere was really important and mandatory, one had to choose to do it at his/her own risk. Since there were baboons that would come to steal food and cause other damages, it was not safe to leave the house alone without someone to keep guard. As Gilo put, *"The absence of neighbors to keep watch over one's house or children made it difficult for a person to go somewhere for a particular purpose."*

The government had hard time reaching the people in their distant areas. Since people were dispersed and far away from the government institutions, the government could not reach the people whenever it wanted them. If there was something important that the people wanted to bring to the attention of the government, it was difficult to do. And if the government wanted to do something with the people or for the people, it could not do so easily because there was no easy way of finding and reaching those scattered people. Hence, the relation between people and government was so weak as there was no effective communication between the two. Accordingly, people were not able to get help from the government whenever they needed one. The government was also not able to do its duties to the people. Gilo explained this situation in the following way:

"Life in the old time was tough because we were alone without a helper. Our government knew nothing about our lives and the things we went through. When we needed something

or problems occurred, there was no one we could run to for help because the one that was supposed to come for our help was far away from us."

Holding a meeting was very difficult when people lived scattered in different places before villagization program. There were times when people needed to gather and hold meetings concerning things that mattered to them. However, coming together to discuss issues that affected the people or were important to them was not easy as people came from distant areas. If people wanted to meet and discuss some issues, those invited to participate in the meeting would not gather around in a short time because it took them some time to arrive at the meeting place and start on time. In fact, if there was a need for a meeting, the message concerning that meeting had to first be communicated to the people through a messenger who would walk to the scattered people and invite them. People met to talk about how to help one another in times of difficulty despite their dispersion and the distance among them. Since there were problems such as theft and robbery, they wanted to meet to discuss how they would respond to such issues and protect themselves. There were also other problems such as sicknesses and the need for food during dry season which people wanted to address. They also needed some kinds of assistance but were not able to get one because the government was far. Since the government was not with them, they dealt with these issues alone. People wanted to meet in order to discuss ways of addressing problems, talk about how to improve their lives and stay strong in that difficult situation. However, they did not often meet because of the distance and most meetings were not attended. They met very rarely and hence, the needed change never fully came. As Deng said,

"Scattered settlement made it difficult for us to come together and discuss important issues. Holding a meeting was not easy because it took a long time to get the message about the meeting to the people and come to attend it."

4.1.3 Farming Activities

Actually, farming is the only thing that villagers appreciated very much and was considered as the best thing about the previous life. Though life was hard for the people, nobody denied the role that farming played in providing food for the household. All interviewees and focus group discussants in the three villages acknowledged that farming had played a great in their lives before the implementation of villagization program. Prior to villagization, people owned very large farm lands. Each one had enough land to farm. They were free and could farm as possibly as they could because the land was so large and fertile. People grew various kinds of fruits and crops such as corn, sorghum, sugar cane, tomatoes, papaya, sweet potatoes, cassavas, yams, cabbages and many more. Accordingly, food was available, especially during the harvest when everything was ripe. In support of the above statements, Obang narrated his story as follows:

"The only thing I was busy with was farming. I owned and farmed a large land and produced enough food for my family. I could also store some of the harvest for future consumption. If there is one positive thing that I can remember about my previous life, it is farming and the availability of food."

The other interviewee, named Gilo, talked nostalgically about how good life was because of the possibility of farming and the availability of food. Despite the fact that life was hard for him and many others during that time on account of their dispersion and distance from the basic services, he acknowledged farming and the ease with which food was obtained as the only positive aspect and good thing about life before villagization program. To quote him,

"The only great thing about my previous life was that I could easily farm and produce enough food because I had a huge arable land. It was also easy to keep the crops safe

from destruction; crops could be protected from being stolen or destroyed by baboons as each of us lived near his farmland. Although there were numerous baboons which came to cause damage, I was able to guard and protect the crops and other plants in the field."

Since people were scattered in various places and owned very large farmlands, there were times when they found it hard to clear and cultivate their lands alone. Since each one of them had many hectares of land, it used to be tough for an individual farmer to do the entire farming alone without help. In this case, a farmer with large farmland and who needed to be given a hand in the field had to go looking for people to help him/her with the farming by providing something to them in return for the service rendered in the field. Though people were scattered, they had a common tradition of helping one another when it came to farming. If one needed laborers to help him/her in the field, he/she would first prepare meals and drinks. Then, interested people would be invited to work in the farm of the one who invited them in exchange for the meals and drinks which would be served later after the whole work was done. When they finished the work given to them, they would come and sit down together in a place prepared for them by the host. If the number of the invited guests was large, they sat down in separate groups and after washing their hands, the host would serve the meals followed by drinks. Hence, people ate and drank together happily and finally went home peacefully. If anyone of them needed similar help in his/her field, he/she would do the same thing and invite people to give some help. Basically, it was during clearing the farmland, cultivation and harvest time that laborers were needed to help. So, people always helped one another using this way even though they were dispersed. Deng put this in the following way:

"Even though living in scattered settlement was difficult for us, we helped one another by providing labor service to those who needed help in the farmlands. This was done in such

a way that the owner of the farmland would make meals, including drinks and invite people to provide the needed service first. And later on, after the work was over, people would sit together to eat and drink what the owner of the farm prepared."

4.1.4 Women's Work Burden

In the three villages, participants, especially women explained that there was an imbalance in sharing the duties and responsibilities of the household between men and women. While women provided unpaid and unending services to the house, men tended to have a few roles and enjoyed the great but wearisome service rendered by women. Actually, men did things such as building or repairing houses or huts. They also made or repaired fences and did other things, including hunting and collecting honey. Although their role in the farming was tremendous, women's share in the work was not negligible as well. They (women) helped their husbands in the fields in addition to the household chores.

In Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages, women previously carried a huge burden of doing household chores like cooking, taking corns to grinding mills, collecting fire wood, taking a sick child to the health center, and walking a long distance to collect water. What made the burden heavy on them was the fact that there were no mill houses and clean water closer to them, including other services. They suffered from multiple responsibilities as they spent long hours going to the mill houses and to collect water from ponds. When they returned, they cooked and served meal without resting. They also walked over a long distance to take a child to the health center during sickness. In addition, if they (women) were unable to go the mill house to make flour, they used pestle and mortar to grind corn with their hands. But, making flour using pestle and mortar instead of machine was very exhaustive and would take a long time as it had to pass

through a lot of processes. All these works were done only by women without a help from their husbands or others and it was so tiring for them. As Cham Put,

"The situation before villagization program was difficult for me. I collected firewood from the forest, cooked, ground corns with my hands or went to the mill, fetched water from a distant area and took care of the children because these were my primary responsibilities. Though I sometimes got tired and needed help, I was never given one because it was always considered my duty to do all these things."

Such a situation was even worse and very tough for single mothers who had to do everything on their own, including farming and searching for food. For other women who were living with their husbands, it was somehow better because men played their roles in the farm. They also went hunting and brought meat home. But in reality, the work load was so heavy on women because of the distance of services like mill houses and clean water.

4.1.5 Security Situation

Before villagization program was implemented, people were vulnerable and there were times when they felt threatened due to the fact that they were alone without police or militias to protect them and maintain security. Though the government wanted to reach them and put an end to their problems, it was not able to do so because they were distant and dispersed. Vulnerability and threats characterized the previous life because there was no one to protect people. Anyone could attack and rob others or take away their properties forcefully without getting caught because there was no protection for the people. Anyone could do whatever he/she wanted to anybody and get away with it. There were cases in which people who lived scattered were attacked. Inhabitants of the three villages used to be victims of attacks, violence, theft and robbery. They were defenseless and powerless to resist or respond to violence or any other harmful thing. Had they

been close to one another, it would have been easy for them to unite and stand up against an enemy or anything that wanted to disrupt their lives. However, this was not possible and hence, offenders used to get away with their offenses or wrongdoings without being brought to justice. As Wello explained,

"Villagers lived in insecurity when villagization was not yet implemented. Due to their distance and the fact that they were unreachable, they went through security problems. They never had the strength to deal with such issues as they were alone and defenseless."

Security problem was very high when there were rebellions in Gambella region which were organized by the dissatisfied indigenous people against the government and its agents. There were indigenous people who rebelled against the government years ago due to its practices that did not make them happy. At that time, the rebels fought the government and also turned against the local people and often robbed, beat and even killed them, suspecting them of cooperating with the government. In addition, when foreign and domestic investments were introduced in Gambella in recent time, there also were local people who were not happy and as a result, rebelled against the government. They rebelled because they thought the land leases were an attempt by the government to expel the local people and dispossess them of the land they had always lived in and owned. Consequently, the rebels fought the government by launching attacks against the investors and passengers on the roads as a way of expressing their anger. Some inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages who were suspected of having a connection with the government authorities used to be assaulted and threatened. They were attacked and robbed based on the suspicion that they were working with the government to report the whereabouts of the rebels and have them arrested. Hence, people were not able to be protected from violence because they were dispersed across the land and unreachable. They lived in constant fear and threats of

getting attacked and killed, especially when rebels were moving from place to place. Okello explained this situation as follows:

"Due to the fact that we were far away and vulnerable, we became subjects of attack and abuse. The presence of rebels in the past made our lives hard and increased our helplessness as we got robbed and beaten by these anti-government forces on the suspicion that we provided information to the government concerning them and no one was there to hear our cry."

Before villagization, there were times when women got assaulted by their husbands for different reasons. When violence against women occurred, the sad thing about it was that nobody was there to do something in order to stop it as people lived alone in separate and dispersed settlements. They were beaten for sometimes failing to do their duties as expected by the husbands and for other reasons as well. The worst part of this was that they were too powerless to defend themselves and never had any protection from the assaults because the government, which could have at least provided some protection, was far from them. Meher told her story of abuse by her husband as follows:

"I had gone to fetch water when my husband came home from the farmland tired and hungry only to find that nothing was cooked yet. When I came back carrying water, he asked me why there was no food and I replied by saying that I was still going to prepare it. He then blamed me for not doing my job early and I retorted that I was not a machine that can do a lot of things quickly and that he had to wait until I cooked. He then called me a lazy woman, slapped and kicked me and I fell."

Assaults always occurred, especially whenever husbands were drunk and as a result, they could do whatever they wanted to their wives without the government and other people hearing

about it. In fact, it would take other people in distant areas a long time to hear and know about cases like domestic abuse because of the distance and dispersion.

4.2 The Implementation of Villagization Program

4.2.1 The Need for Villagization Program

In Gog worda, specifically in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages, villagization program was implemented in order to change and improve the lives of the rural people who lived scattered and did not benefit from development activities and basic social services. These people lived for a long time dispersed in distant areas and as a result, had a limited access to the basic social services which would have made their lives better in some ways. Due to the fact that they were far away from the basic services and unreachable, they went through a lot of problems to which they never had solutions. The fact that basic services like health, education, safe drinking water, mill and transportation were difficult to access by them made their living conditions worse.

Accordingly, villagization program was needed to bring these distant and scattered people closer to the basic services so as to be able to have a better access to them thereby improving their lives. It was intended as a response to the poor living conditions of the rural people and to bring about rural development. It was also meant to be a solution to the inability of children to start school early. As Othieng said, "*We were told by the government officials that the purpose of villagization was for us to be able to have a better access to social services by being together in the villages.*"

The other factor that necessitated the implementation of villagization program was to improve agricultural productivity by introducing modern farming system. Since these rural people have for a long time practiced traditional farming which was characterized by heavy dependence on rain and the use of hoes, it was understood that introducing the modern farming system to

these farmers would make farming very easy thereby improving agricultural productivity. To achieve this, people had to be collected from scattered settlements and brought together. The government thought that improving agricultural productivity and maintaining food security would not happen if villagization program would not be implemented. The program was thought to be the only way out of traditional way of life. Akim, a legal expert of the woreda council administration, explained this as follows:

"Villagization program was meant to bring the scattered rural people together and transform the traditional farming system to modern one. It also was intended to modernize the rural population whose lives were characterized by backwardness by adopting the modern way of life."

Apart from bringing modernity to the rural people, villagization program was intended to put an end to deforestation. In fact, local people depended on the forest as an alternative means of livelihood. They had always relied on the forests to make a living. As a result of increasingly cutting down the trees in the forests, the government feared that such a practice by the local people would result in complete disappearance of the forest. The government was not comfortable with the fact that the local people were uncontrollably cutting down the trees and hence, used villagization program to collect the people into concentrated settlements and stop clearing the forest. This was further explained by Bachak who said,

"Forest is an important resource for development which needs to be protected from destruction. Accordingly, Villagization program was implemented by the government in order to put an end to the ongoing deforestation by the local people by providing them with alternative means of livelihood in the villages."

There are other explanations as to why villagization program was needed. For instance, it was learnt that villagization program would improve communication and interaction among the villagers. Since people were dispersed and far from one another, they never knew what it meant to be together and for this reason, did not have the opportunity to share their lives with others as members of one community. As Wello (head of the human resource department in the woreda council administration) put,

"The rationale behind the implementation of villagization program was for the scattered rural people to live together, work together and to know themselves as brothers and sisters. The program was intended to make social life possible for the people who never belonged together."

The other reason why villagization program was implemented was to provide security for the people. As was already said, inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages lived alone in scattered settlements and faced security problems in the past due to the fact that they were too far away to be reached. When they faced problems and needed some help, no one was there for them. They were alone and insecure. It was because of a situation like this that villagization program was thought to be a necessary program. According to Wello, *"The need for villagization program was to maintain security and provide protection for the vulnerably scattered population. The program was implemented to contain the operations of rebels and better the lives of the rural population who suffered from security problems."*

Villagization program was needed so that the government would easily reach the people and communicate with them whenever it wanted them. The program was needed to strengthen the relationship of the local people with the government and make communication between the two of them easy in the sense that if the villagers needed some help from the government, they could

get it with ease. And if the government wanted to meet with the villagers, it could happen easily. Wello put it in the following way:

"Villagers used to live in places which were difficult to reach. They lived far away and when something happened, the government would not know. For this reason, it was necessary that they be collected from their scattered settlements and brought together in the villages so as to establish an effective relationship between them and the government."

4.2.2 Discussions on Villagization

As a way of ensuring the participation of the people in the process of implementing the program, the government officials held various discussions with the local people trying to convince them to agree to move to villages and start a new life there. Before their movement to the villages, local people were consulted and told about villagization program, including its purposes. The process started with the government agents coming and gathering the local people for the discussion concerning the program that was going to be implemented. In fact, the discussions were held in order to make sure that the people who were going to be affected by the implementation of the program had participated in the decision making process. In the discussions, the officials first introduced the program to the people and then moved to the details. People were told about the relocation and services that would be made available to them after moving to the villages.

Though the government officials tried to convince them of the possibility of good and improved life in the villages, the local people first doubted villagization program. As the result of focus group discussion held with Dipach villagers showed, the local people questioned the sustainability of new life in the villages and how it would look like. Since the idea of villagization was to relocate people from their original land to another place, people asked whether or not they

would be given a fertile land for farming in the new place. The local people raised the issue of land because they wanted the government to guarantee to provide fertile farmlands in the villages. Though the fear of not having enough and fertile land in the villages kept the local people from believing in villagization program, this was only a temporary feeling. The officials continued to convince the local people in the discussion by saying that the government would provide everything that people would need in the villages and be responsible for any problem that might occur.

The local people were convinced to move to the villages because of the promises made to them. But, they insisted that they be allowed to farm the lands they already left behind. They asked the government to allow them to cultivate their lands in the distant area while living in the villages. Even though the government first refused to let this happen by saying that it would provide the people with fertile land for farming, it later allowed it to happen.

Actually, it was after lengthy discussions that the local people finally agreed to move to the villages and start a new life there. The local people agreed to move to the villages hoping that things would be much better for them as the government officials told them. In fact, they were convinced and believed what the government officials told them, which is why they agreed to move.

4.2.3 Service Provision

In order to make villagization program acceptable to the local people and convince them of moving to dwell in villages, the government made a lot of promises that would be fulfilled after people had already moved to villages. Since the issue of farmland was raised during the discussions with the local people, the government guaranteed that adequate and fertile farmland would be provided to each and everyone who moved to the villages in order to be able to grow

crops and secure food. The government promised to bring tractors so as to plough the land for people. In fact, the land in the villages, which was intended to be distributed to the people for farming, had a lot of trees which could only be cleared using tractors and bulldozers. Hence, the government stated that it would bring tractors and other tools in order to clear the land for the people.

According to the promise, each one was to receive four hectares of cleared land so as to farm as they wish and produce food for the household. The distribution of lands to the local people was intended to take place after tractors had already finished clearing the whole land and made it ready for farming. Though people first had some doubts to accept the program, they were later happy and began to be gradually convinced of the significance of villagization program. They were very happy to hear that they would receive adequate lands after being ploughed or cleared by the tractors. The conviction with which the government made its statements to the people was strong and led people to believe that everything would be very good in the villages. As was shown in the focus group discussion held in Awkoy village, villagers were motivated by the fact that the government promised to provide them with lands in the new place and other services. They were very happy and accepted the program with great joy. Speaking about the happiness that came due to the promises made to the people, Othieng said the following:

"We were relieved to hear that the government was going to change our lives for the better. We have lived a difficult life in the past, which we always wanted to change but could not. When the government told us about villagization and that we would be provided with farmlands in the villages, though we first had some doubts, we were later very happy and no longer wanted to go back to the forest to cut down trees to make a living. We were

already tired of cutting trees in the forest because it was a wearisome and painful work. We often got injured because of it."

Not only did the government promise to distribute enough and fertile lands to the people after moving to the villages but also it promised to provide new social services such as health, safe drinking water, mills, and education in addition to the already available ones. This was intended to make the said improvement a reality in the lives of the villagers. The government told the people that it would build and provide new schools, health centers, water pumps and grinding mills to add to the existing ones so that everyone would have an unlimited access to these basic services which they previously lacked. In line with this, Gilo said the following:

"What I want you to know is that these social services already existed before villagization. But, the government promised its own new social services such as schools, health centers, clean water, and mills in addition to the already existing ones. The government told us that these services would be made available after our settlement in the villages."

Adult education training center was also promised to be established so that villagers would have a chance to be educated and trained to acquire new farming skills. Additionally, the government promised to provide temporary shelters to the people upon arrival in the villages for a certain period of time. The idea was for them to live and stay in temporary houses until the main ones were built. According to what the government said, the new houses would be built with plates so that people would not live in houses made of grasses anymore like before. The other thing that was promised was food aid. The government promised to provide and distribute food items to the people who would start to live in the villages. The food aid would be distributed right after they arrived and settled in the villages for eight consecutive months. The aim was to maintain stability upon arrival in the villages and protect people from going hungry after the

settlement. The food aid was intended to be provided to the people for eight uninterrupted months until they were able to produce on their own and readjust to the new life. As Abuya said, *"The promise of food aid and other services made me to hope that my life would really improve in the village. For this reason, I eagerly waited for the village life to start soon."*

4.2.4 The Movement of People to the Villages

After the officials had finished the discussions with the local people and succeeded in convincing them, people from scattered settlements came and settled in the villages. In fact, the movement was voluntary. People moved to the villages without being forced by the authorities. Surprisingly, some people started the movement on their own account and settled in the villages without waiting for the scheduled and official date. They did this because they were motivated by the promises made by the government. They even took the initiative by cutting trees (timbers) for building houses. They were ready to work together with the government in order to make the implementation of the program effective and successful. However, when they moved and settled in the villages, not all of them quickly got used to the new life. Due to their attachment to their old land, some of them found it hard to readjust and as a result, felt sick. In fact, it took them some time to readjust to the new environment and get used to the new life. Upon arrival and settling in the villages, the said food aid was brought and distributed to everyone. Seeing this, villagers became very optimistic about their future and were hopeful that village life would be the nicest life ever. As Okello said, *"I was very happy that the government kept its promise by providing food aid, which made me hopeful about the future."* Villagers were very happy about the humanitarian aid distribution although that was the only time it happened and was never repeated afterwards.

With regard to the provision of shelter, it did not go as expected. The promised temporary shelters were never provided. Instead, after settling and staying for a certain period, people were made to make their shelters on their own. They were told to build their houses by themselves. Although the government had made a promise to provide temporary shelters and then build the main houses with plates rather than with grass, it was not able to do so and as a result, let the people do the job themselves. Contrary to the expectations, people started to build their own houses shortly after they arrived. The work was tiring, especially for women without husbands as they could not do the work alone. In addition, the promised social services were partly provided. After the settlement of the people in the villages and staying for a little longer period, water pumps and mills were installed and started to operate while new schools and new health centers, including the said farming training center, were not built and provided. However, the problem was that the new mills which were brought for the inhabitants of the three villages broke down shortly after they functioned. A Jangjor village resident, Okoth said,

"It brought an happiness to us that water pumps and mills were installed and started to give services after our settlement in the village. Though it took the government some time to provide the services, when they came, we were happy. But, they never lasted long in that they stopped functioning after working for a certain period of time."

With regard to the farmland, it was said that people would be provided with land for farming after arriving and settling in the villages. The land was to be cleared first using tractors which would be brought by the government and after doing the whole clearing, the distribution would start. When people arrived and settled in the villages, they waited for the government to bring the tractors in order to start clearing the land to be distributed to them. The land was, of course distributed to the people, but it was not according to the deal. In fact, the agreement

between the government and the local people was that each individual inhabitant would be given four hectares of land after being cleared by a tractor. However, what happened was a different thing. Instead of bringing the tractors to plough the land, the government brought tools such as machetes, axes and sickles so that people would do the clearing themselves. As was said, the land to be farmed was filled with trees which could only be felled by dozers and cleared using tractors. When the government brought the tools to the people in order to plough the land by themselves, villagers were a little bit unhappy because they knew that the government was the one responsible for clearing the land. As Opodhi said,

" We never felt good when we were told to plough the land by ourselves because that was not what we expected. Hence, we said to ourselves that the government was sending us back to the forest to live the lives we left. Though it never said that directly, it was as though the government was telling us to go back to where we came from."

Anxious and desperate for the land for farming, villagers expressed their feelings and asked the government over and over again to clear and provide the promised land. But, they were told they could still farm their lands in the distant fields but should dwell in the villages. The government told the villagers to clear and cultivate the lands using the tools it brought and produce food. Though the government later distributed the farmland to the people, there was a delay in the distribution. In fact, the distributed farmland was not as fertile as the previous one. Accordingly, they faced a challenge in that they were unable to farm like they did in the past and food production declined as a result. Even though some of them who had already settled in the villages went back to their old places to farm there, many of the villagers chose not to go back. They remained in the villages but farmed their lands they left behind. They continued to cultivate their lands they used to farm in their previous settlements while living in villages. But, this was

somewhat challenging because of the distance between the fields and places of residence.

Villagers had to walk long hours to the farmlands in distant places and come back, which is tiring.

In fact, they currently farm the small plots given to them by the government in the villages but at the same time farm the lands they left behind in their former places as well. And the problem with it is the long distance.

4.3 The Contributions (Positive Changes) of Villagization

4.3.1 Improvement in Access to Basic Social Services

In Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages, access to basic social services like education, health service, safe drinking water and mills improved not because new social services were provided, but because of the already available ones. In fact, the government promised the inhabitants of the three villages to build new schools and health centers which did not happen. As was said, only mills and water pumps were installed and started to provide service but never lasted long. However, improvement in accessing social services came because there were already schools, health centers, water pumps and mills which had already started giving services before villagization program was implemented. These social services already existed prior to villagization program but the problem was that people lived far away from them and did not have a good access to them. These services were accessible only to those who lived closer to them but difficult to access by those who lived in scattered settlements. So, when the people who lived in scattered settlements were villagized in the three villages, their access to these social services improved due to their proximity to them.

4.3.1.1 Educational Service

Coming to educational service, people who previously lacked better access to it began to access the service after their settlement in the villages. Now, education is no longer a problem like

before as schools are close to people. Villagers are also very happy, especially about the fact that children do not have to wait until the age of ten to start school like before. As per the observation, there are primary and secondary schools in all the three villages with teachers employed by the government who regularly do their job. Since people have been brought closer to the schools, many of them started to access education service and in one class alone, the number of students has doubled as a lot of students register every semester. As was said, children can now go to school easily whenever they are ready or at early ages without the problem of distance which characterized the previous life. In addition, one can easily find a child in a higher grade due to the fact that starting school early has become possible. Those who previously lacked or had a limited access to educational service can now go to school without walking any significant distance.

Deng expressed his view concerning the accessibility of education service as follows:

"I am so happy about villagization program basically because of the fact that children are now able to go to school. Going to school was something very hard for children in the past. But now, due to villagization program and the settlement of people in villages, schools became closer. For this reason, I am no longer worried because children can now access what was inaccessible to them in the past."

Parents are now no longer worried about the future of their children because they (children) can now grow learning at schools. It has brought so much happiness to people that what was once lacking is now available to them. They are happy that villagization program has made possible something which was impossible for their children. As Okoth put,

"I personally appreciate the fact that people are now together in villages. Although I first found it hard to welcome the idea of leaving my original land to settle in another area, I

am now happy because schools are near and people, especially children who previously could not go to school due to the distance, can now attend freely."

Reviewed documents showed that the number of students attending school has tremendously increased. In the year 2009 E.C, from grade one up to four, 269 students out of whom 141 were females registered and attended school in Gog Dipach primary and secondary school. From the fifth grade to eighth grade, a total of 125 students registered, with males numbering 60 and females 65. In Awkoy village, 193 students registered in grade one to four, 100 males and 93 females. From grade 5 to 8, 110 students registered; the number of males was 60 while that of females was 50. Similarly, in Jangor primary and secondary school, by the year 2009 E.C, 196 students (99 males and 97 females) registered for the semester. From the 5th to 8th grades, a total of 136 (76 males and 69 females) students and other 110 students of grades 9 and 10 registered. All these students are from the villagized communities and are the ones who previously did not have a good access to educational service. In fact, not only has the number of students who attend school increased, but also their performance went up as they became interested in school and started to learn together with other students. As Bachak (head of the woreda agricultural and rural development bureau) stated,

" Villagization program has improved the lives of people in Gog woreda in general and in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages in particular. Prior to the implementation of the program, accessing basic services like education was unthinkable due to the distance. But now, villagers are happy because education service has become accessible due to the proximity of people to the schools."

4.3.1.2 Health Service

The other most important thing that happened due to villagization program is the fact that access to health service has improved. Now, people are able to get medical treatment whenever sicknesses occur because there is a health center as well as health posts in the three villages which provide services to the people. If someone gets sick in the village, he/she can easily be taken to the health center/health post and get a treatment right away. No one dies anymore because of the distance of health service like before. If the sickness is serious and cannot be treated in the health post or health center in the village, the patient will be referred to Pignudo rural hospital located in Pignudo town, the capital city of the woreda. People do not have to walk a long distance on foot anymore because there is an ambulance which can take patients to the hospital in the town during emergencies. Moreover, children who could not be vaccinated previously because of the distance and the fact that they were unreachable can now be immunized and protected from the common diseases like polio. As per the analyzed document and observation, there is one health center in Dipach village and three health posts in other two villages, one in Awkoy and two in Jangjor villages with trained health professionals such as nurses, midwives and other health workers. Dipach village has a health post as well. The availability of these health stations and the proximity of people to them has improved the accessibility of health service. As Awili said,

"The fact that health service is now closer to me in the village has brought a huge relief. I now have a better access to the service and can access it any time I feel the need. I believe everyone is happy about this as well."

Due to the involvement of health extension workers in creating awareness and teaching important health issues, the health statuses of the inhabitants of the three villages have greatly improved. Since people have been concentrated in the villages living and sharing things together,

it has become necessary to promote health education at community level by providing trainings and creating awareness about important health related topics such as HIV/AIDS, seeking health service during and after pregnancy, sanitation or personal and environmental hygiene. More importantly, people started to use toilets thereby improving sanitation as a result of the intervention of health extension workers. Meher further explained this as follows:

".....The other most important thing that happened due to villagization program is the introduction of pit latrines. As a result of the teachings of health extension workers, we dug holes for toilets and hence, many people in the village started to use their own toilets. I myself have my own toilet now and am happy that I am a user. Therefore, I thank the government for hiring health workers to teach us, create awareness and introduce the use of toilet"

As the analyzed document revealed, there are model households in the three villages that have received trainings and have now started to use toilets. In Jangjor village, a total of sixty six (66) households are currently users of toilets. In Awkoy village, there are seventy six (76) households with their own toilets and forty one (41) in Dipach village. Since the number of people using toilets in the villages has increased, using the surrounding area or open space for the purpose of toilet has been reduced as well. Currently, in the three villages, a lot of people use their own pit latrines and not the open space anymore, which is a great change. Alangi, a participant in Awkoy village, put it like this,

" Some diseases were prevented as a result of awareness creation by health workers. We are regularly being taught by health workers and mid wives three times a week. These people come to us every week and teach us health related issues. We also started to use toilets as a result of the intervention and awareness creation by these health workers.

Hence, sanitation improved and people are now healthy. In addition, diseases and other health problems which could have occurred due to lack of sanitation and health knowledge have been prevented and controlled."

4.3.1.3 Clean Water, Mills, Transportation and Mobile Networks

Other basic services such as safe drinking water and mills have also become available and made a significant contribution to the lives of the villagers as well. People who inhabit the three villages currently have an unlimited access to safe drinking water as there are a lot of water pumps in the villages. As per the observation, for instance, there are six water pumps in Dipach village that are functional and currently providing a service to the inhabitants. In Jangjor village, the number of available and functional water pumps is four while in Awkoy village, there are five water pumps. Hence, inhabitants of the three villages are currently able to drink clean water free from contamination. They no longer drink water collected from ponds and wells. This has significantly reduced the risk of water borne and guinea worm diseases which used to be high. With regard to the improvement in accessing clean water service, Abuya said,

"I am very happy that I can access safe drinking water better than before. The availability of water pumps and better access to clean water in the village where I live have put an end to drinking water from the ponds, which is why I am very happy."

Mill houses are available and very much accessible to the villagers and this greatly reduced the burden that people used to carry as a result of the limited access to the service. Women no longer grind corns with their hands using mortar and pestle like they used to do. They also do not have to walk over a long distance to the mills to make a flour for food because they now live closer to mill houses and can access the service whenever they want to. Awili put it like this,

"What made villagization very good to me is the fact that mill houses are closer. I no longer grind corns with my hands like I did in the past since there is a mill house in the village where I can take my corn and have it ground whenever I want."

The problem of transportation service has been addressed as there currently are buses and mini buses, including other cars which can easily reach the previously unreachable people in their villages and provide them with the service they need. People are enjoying a good access to transportation service because there are buses which regularly come to the villages, take people to the city and bring them back whenever they need. This has made a big difference in the lives of the inhabitants of the three villages who previously lived scattered and far away from the service as they now no longer walk on foot to the city. As Awili said,

"There are vehicles coming to our village and provide transport service to the villagers. Though the road is not asphalted, the fact that there is a road along which a car can come to us is enough because it has at least reduced the problem of walking on foot."

The other important thing that has happened in the lives of the villagers is the fact that mobile network has become accessible to them. There are mobile networks in the three villages and people can make phone calls. In addition, the availability of mobile networks in the villages has enabled young people to access internet service. They can find whatever information they need from the internet without going to the city to access the service. They are also able to communicate with friends and relatives in remote areas through social media such as facebook, messenger or Gmail. Actually, not every villager uses the internet service; only those young people who have the knowledge are the ones using the service. While expressing her happiness about the accessibility of telephone networks and the fact that people started to use mobiles in the village, Meher said,

"I am very happy because I can now use a mobile phone and call someone in or outside the village. Though the network is not always active and disappears sometimes, its availability in the village has helped me. Even if you do not have a mobile phone, you can borrow your neighbor's or ask him/her to call someone you need to talk to."

As per the observation, there are solar energies in the villages' primary and secondary schools which provide electricity at night. For instance, in Jangjor primary and secondary school, there is a solar energy and in Awkoy primary and secondary school, solar energy is also available. In Dipach village, the solar energy is available in the health center. All these solar energies are currently available in the above mentioned institutions and the electricity is also limited to these same institutions. But, it has become possible for a few people who own mobile phones to charge their mobiles when their batteries are dead.

4.3.2 Development of Businesses

In the three villages, some inhabitants have opened shops and started to sell various items which were previously hard to find in the community. This has been made possible by the coming together and settlement of people in the villages. As the number of people living together increased, so did the need to have shops in the villages from which people could buy what they need without going somewhere far. The idea of starting small businesses was conceived by a few people in the villages and it later spread to others when it was seen to be a profitable endeavor. These shops were opened to satisfy the needs of the people in the villages and also for the owners to make money. Hence, the fact that some businesses have flourished in the villages has brought a huge relief to the inhabitants as they do not have to go to Pignudo town anymore to buy items such as salt, sugar, soaps, and so forth. Awar (a participant and resident in Dipach village) talked about how happy she was concerning the opening of shops in the village. She said,

"I am so happy that there are shops in the village which sell the items I need. I used to travel to the city to buy salt, soaps, oil and the like. It was very tiring for me as I often walked on foot to buy them. Now that they are sold in the village, I am happy because it is easy to buy them."

Except for other big items like clothes, shoes, and others, people get other small items in the villages from the shops opened locally. Moreover, the owners of these small businesses are making enough profit since the demand for items is higher. They also sell their items for a little higher price. There are also tea rooms and mini-restaurants where one can buy and drink tea with breads baked there. It is also possible to have breakfast because there are people who serve it. For instance, in Dipach village, people gather early in the morning to have breakfast in the restaurant and if one comes late, he/she will not find anything to eat because there so many users. In addition, it became possible for students to eat in the morning and go to school satisfied due to the availability of the services. One can also find a similar thing in Jangjor village. As per the observation, Jangjor village has shops and tea rooms whose users are also many just like in Dipach village. One can find people of different ages in a tea room consuming and chatting. The same is true in Awkoy village. In fact, all this was made possible by villagization program. Awili explained this as follows,

"The fact that buying and selling has become possible in the village is something that I like about villagization program. Now, if I want to buy something, I do not have to go farther; all I have to do is walk a few minutes to the nearby shop and buy what I need. I am really happy that this has finally become possible for me."

This was also confirmed by the head of the Gog woreda agricultural and rural development bureau, Bachak, who said that life has become good for the villagers after

villagization because they can access social services better than before. He added that villagers had seen improvements in their lives as they started to open shops due to villagization and are now selling petty items to one another, which is a good change.

The other important thing which is worth mentioning is the formation of development and business associations consisting of members that are originally from the three villages. These associations were formed through the intervention and facilitation of both governmental and non-governmental bodies in order to bring about development and a lasting change in the lives of the inhabitants. For example, there is a project which is based in Dipach village and works on livelihood improvement. It is called "Livelihood Diversification and Capacity Building Project." Its goal is to enhance the wellbeing of the people by diversifying and improving their livelihoods. Accordingly, some inhabitants of Dipach village have benefited from the intervention of this project as they are now involved in cash crop production through their association. Some others have opened shops through the support of the project and are now making a living from doing a business. Additionally, as per the observation, there are business associations in Jangjor and Awkoy villages which are currently involved in different activities and were formed through the support obtained from the government. These associations consist of the unemployed youth and are run by them. Document review showed that in Awkoy village, for instance, there are two multi-purpose business associations. One has 20 members out of whom 2 are females. The other association has 12 members of whom 3 are females. While the initial capital of this association was 6000 birr, the current account balance is 46,000 birr. These associations have farmlands and are engaged in agricultural activities for commercial purposes. They are engaged in cash crop production. In Jangjor village, there also are two associations one of which is called village youth association which is engaged in loading and unloading the trucks with rocks and other materials.

The other association is engaged in trade-related activities and currently has 85,000 birr in its bank account.

In terms of housing condition, there are people who have been able to build houses with plates through the practice of equb and stopped living in their previous houses made of grasses. Equb is an Amharic word which refers to the mechanism or a system in which a group of people associate themselves to save money by contributing a fixed amount of money every week or every two week or every month according to their agreement. The contributed money for one period of time will be given to one of the members and the process will continue until all the members get their share turn by turn. Using this system, some inhabitants of the three villages with better incomes were able to save money which enabled them to build houses with plates. For instance, observation result showed that in Jangjor village, there are 17 people of whom 9 are women who have houses made of plates. In Awkoy village, 9 inhabitants (4 men and 5 women) have changed their houses from grass to plates. Dipach village also has 15 people who have houses made of plates. These people have been able to bring about such a change in their lives through the practice of equb mentioned above.

4.3.3 Improvement in Communication

The improvement in communication that happened as a result of villagization is attributable to the fact that people are together and can easily hear from one another. This togetherness has enabled the inhabitants to interact well and get to know one another as members of the same village. Since people are no longer scattered but are together in their villages, they communicate well and are able to know whatever happens in the village or somewhere outside the village. If there is anything new that needs to be shared among the villages, that information can easily be communicated and transmitted to others without a problem. There is no more distance

between/among the inhabitants and if someone is in trouble and needs help, others can hear about it and come to help. It will not take a long time before others can hear about what happens to other people. So, whatever happens in the villages, be it a problem or something else that people need to know, can be heard about right away and responded to. As Bachak said,

"Communication has greatly improved among the villagers because they can now access information they deserve to know. Anything can easily be communicated among themselves as well. In addition, they can hear and know about not only what happens in the villages, but also something that happens somewhere."

Communication between villagers and government has become easy and possible after the implementation of villagization program. As was said, one of the reasons behind the implementation of villagization program was to promote effective communication between people and the government by narrowing the distance or closing the gap between the two. Now that people are living together in villages, it is easy for the villagers to communicate with the government. The government also can reach the people during difficult times and respond to their needs. If something goes wrong in the villages which cannot be addressed by the village government, it can be communicated to the authorities in the woreda administration for an intervention. Now, nothing happens to the inhabitants of the three villages without the government hearing about it. Additionally, whenever the government wants to have a meeting with the villagers, it can happen with ease because people are near and can be called to attend a meeting. They can come from their homes and gather for the meeting without taking so long. Head of the woreda agricultural bureau, Bachak said,

"The government now has a better relationship and communication with the villagers after villagization. Villagers can now communicate with the government better than before"

and vice versa. If villagers want something or anything happens to them, the woreda government can easily know and respond."

4.3.4 Improvement in Interaction, Development of Harmony and Security

As a result of improved interaction, people got to know one another better and are able to cooperate and work together for the betterment of their lives. Since they are together, they interact as often as possible and share their lives together. They spend enough time together eating, drinking and working without feeling lonely or bored. Villagization program has made social life possible as people started to identify themselves as members of one community who share many things in common. Okoth explained this in the following way:

"There is now a feeling of belonging together among ourselves as we came together. We identify ourselves as members of the same village. We know ourselves and care for one another. What I like about village life is the fact that we have become relatives and see ourselves as a family."

Since people have come to live together in villages, it has become easy for them to visit or see each other whenever they want. If one needs to see a relative or friend, he/she does not have to take time; you can easily go to a friend or relative's house without walking any significant distance and spend time with them. In addition, there currently are so many things which make the villagers come together and interact. For instance, they get together to have drinks or meals. They also get together often to drink coffee and interact with one another. Moreover, people get together and interact during events like spiritual conferences hosted by churches, village meetings and sport games played in the villages. The other important thing is the fact that children have got the opportunity to explore the external environment. As villagization program brought people together in villages, it became possible for the inhabitants to get to know one another better.

Likewise, since there are a lot of neighbors around, children have got to know one another as well. They have made friends and now get along with one another. They play together, eat together, and go to school together among other things. Now, they spend time not only in their houses with parents but also with friends outside homes playing or running around. They learn and have an experience not only from the family, but also from the friends, church, school and others.

The fact that people are living together in the villages and see themselves as brothers and sisters resulted in more love, unity and harmony among the inhabitants. People have harmonious relationships with one another and are united because of their being together. In fact, villagers are very happy that they are no longer scattered and alone like they used to be. They have strong relationships with one another and use the strengths they have in group to solve their problems. They are happy that they can help one another in times of needs and that they have become friends and relatives with one another. Happy about the sense of togetherness that emerged, Agwa said the following:

"One positive thing I like about villagization program is the unity and harmony that emerged among the villagers. If people are together, love and unity emerge and grow. But if they are scattered and far apart, the love among them will grow cold and eventually die."

In the focus group discussion held in Jangjor village, discussants appreciated the involvement of the village government in their lives to address common problems affecting them. The village government/administration mobilizes the villagers and engages them in various community activities that bring about improvement. For instance, social problems such as alcoholism and group fights have been controlled through the intervention of villagers and the

village government. The relationship among the villagers is very good that they cooperate and work together to address particular issues.

Another thing which is of considerable importance is the development of good moral character by children and young people as a result of the involvement of churches in the lives of the inhabitants. There are churches in the three villages which many people started to attend. Inhabitants of the villages started going to churches to worship and listen to preaching and spiritual teachings which transformed their lives. These churches also have special programs in which they provide different teachings to the villagers which are basically associated with morality and industriousness. Accordingly, virtues such as love, respect, and goodness developed among the inhabitants, giving rise to peaceful co-existence among them. Children and the youth who could have been delinquents learned to be positive thinkers due to their exposure to religious teachings. Awar explained this situation as follows:

"The presence of a church in our village has greatly helped us and our children as well. I am happy that there is a church in the village because of the comfort, hope, satisfaction and joy we get from the worship and preaching. We get together in church, pray, worship and learn new things. This not only helped us, but also our children who are now very much obedient and morally good."

In terms of security, people are now protected and safe in the villages because there are militias charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and order. Vulnerability and threats have been reduced as a result of the improvement in security situation. The improvement in security happened because there are militias assigned by the government to maintain peace and security in the villages and protect people from those who try to destroy the order. People are no longer afraid or scared of anything because they are not alone. Their being together and the

presence of militias among them have made them strong and secure. As Awili said, *"People are now strong and fear nothing. If something happens to you or somebody attacks you, you can scream and the neighbors will immediately hear you and rush to help you out of the trouble."*

Peace and security prevailed in the villages since offenders are now dealt with through the village government. Now, one cannot commit a crime or an offense in the village and escape because there are government bodies that can catch and arrest him/her. Victims of offenses such as assault, robbery, theft and other kinds of offenses are able to get justice. Moreover, people use traditional conflict resolution mechanism to address minor conflicts and offenses. If the offense is beyond the capacity of the village government, it will be transferred to woreda administration. The woreda government will look into the case and make a decision whether the offenders will be sent to jail or not. The presence of militias in the villages has helped the villagers in the sense that they are no longer vulnerable to attacks since they have a protection. Villagers cooperate with the government to address issues related to security and order. Speaking about the improvement in security and the safety of living in a village, Abuya said the following:

"I can go anywhere, come back and find my house and properties safe because there are neighbors who can watch over them. If you have children and want to go somewhere, they can stay with a neighbor without anything happening to them. I also now feel secure because of the presence of militias who maintain security"

4.3.5 Improvement in Women's Situation

With regard to domestic violence, there is a change in that women do not get beaten by their husbands like before. This is attributable to the fact that there are neighbors who can stop a man from beating his wife. Domestic violence has been reduced and is not like it used to be in the old times when women suffered assaults and beatings in the hands of their men without getting

help. Now, if the husband wants to beat his wife, he will be stopped by others. If he raises his hand or picks something up to beat his wife, the woman can scream and he will stop because of the people around. Neighbors will not watch a woman get beaten without intervening or doing something to stop it. Besides, the woman can run to a neighbor's house and hide there in order to avoid getting assaulted. Not only do the neighbors provide a protection to vulnerable women, but also the village government gets involved to stop violence against women. In fact, their helplessness and susceptibility have been reduced as a result of village life and the presence of neighbors who can help. Neighbors intervene, for instance, by pulling the fighting couples apart if the fight has already begun. And then, they will have the couples reconciled with each other after talking to both of them and settling the dispute. Additionally, women are not burdened by the load of house work like before. In fact, they still do their household chores as the tradition demands. But, the work burden on them has been reduced due to their proximity to the social services like clean water, mills and health service. They do not have to walk a long distance anymore to fetch water, and collect fire wood. They also no longer grind corns with their hands or walk a long distance to the mill houses because these services are close to them and for this reason, they are relieved. As Awar said,

"I am relieved because of my proximity to clean water services and mill houses. This is a great change for me because it has, to some extent, reduced the burden I used to carry mainly caused by the distance of the services. Another thing I like to add is that women are now better off in the villages as compared to the previous time because they have a protection from violence."

Seeing all the changes that happened in their lives as a result of the program, participants held that villagization is a good program. But, others held a slightly different position. In fact,

villagization program has been viewed by participants of the focus group discussions from two angles. While many agreed that it is a good program because of the positive changes it brought, others maintained that the government should have done a lot to make it very good. In Dipach village, for instance, participants of the focus group discussion were divided into two when asked about whether villagization was a good program or not. Six out of nine participants said that villagization is a good program because of the contributions it made to the lives of people. They held that villagization has increased access to basic social services like education, health, and clean water. Since people started to have an improved access to these basic services only after they came to live in villages, then the program is good. They also maintained that the program is good because of the social life and togetherness that emerged after the program was implemented. They appreciated villagization for its role in making people live together. They said that there is nothing more important than living together as close friends and relatives. This has been made possible by villagization program. As Deng said,

"Villagization is good because it makes community living possible and enables people to belong together. Living together is good because it is a solution to some problems which cannot be addressed by an individual person. Now that people are together, I am happy. So, villagization is good."

In other two villages, participants of the focus group discussions also said similar things. They argued that the goodness of villagization program has to do with the fact that better access to basic social services has become possible after the program was implemented. In Awkoy, for instance, villagers think that villagization is good because it enabled them to come closer to the basic services and access them better. They think that villagization has put an end to the problems they faced in the past as a result of the limited access to the services.

While the majority of focus group discussants in the three villages said that the program was good because of the changes it brought, others argued that the program was actually good, but the problem was that the government did not keep all the promises it made, which would have made villagization the best program ever. These people said that the only problem was the failure of the government to keep its promises of new schools, health centers and farmers' training center, including fertile lands distribution. They said that their only problem with villagization program was the failure of the government to provide them with the land they needed and the difficulty of farming that happened, but other things are good. They said that villagization would have been a far better program if everything that the government promised had been provided. Nevertheless, none of the participants in all the three villages chose to go back to the old life they left behind when asked about it. They never thought it was a good idea to go back to the previous life because they now have a better access to social services and are living together as members of one community, which they think is something more important than going back.

When asked about how villagization program should have been implemented, villagers all said the same thing in different ways. They said that villagization would have been a very effective program ever if the basic things that people need had been provided first prior to the movement of people to the villages. Participants said that the program should have been implemented in a way different from the way it was implemented. For instance, the promised services should have come first before moving people. New schools, health centers and houses should have been built first. Clean water, mills, transport service and others should have been provided first. Participants took the case of Afar region as an example to learn from. They said that villagization program which was implemented in Afar region was better than others because it was implemented by providing the services first. According to them, the relocation should only

take place after making everything that people need available. In this case, villagization program will greatly benefit people and no one will have anything to say against it. As Gnibolo put,

"If I were the implementer, I would have provided shelter, food, water, hospital, schools and farmland first which are close to people. These are the things I would have done to make villagization a better and an effective program. This is because these services are very essential and basic to people. Instead of moving people to the villages to provide the services later after their settlement, I would have provided the services first and moved people after I had made the services available."

To make villagization program effective and benefit people to a large extent, others argued, the government should not favor some people over others. Villagization has to be implemented in the same way everywhere. It has to be similar everywhere across all villagization sites in the region and country at large. The program should not be successful in one region and unsuccessful in another. If the government implements villagization successfully in one region and fails to do so in other parts, this will be considered by those who did not fully benefit from the program as an unfair treatment. If the promised services are not fulfilled, dissatisfaction inevitably occurs. So, services should be provided first before the movement occurs. Villagers said that villagization program is much better in other regions in that the promised services materialized to some extent and things are better in some sites compared to others. Hence, to make villagization effective and successful, people should be moved to services rather than moving services to them after they had already settled in the villages. Oman added and said,

"If I were the one in charge, I would have provided water, shelter and cleared the farmland for the villagers and distributed it according to the needs of each and everyone. I would have had new schools and new health centers built first. I would have staffed these

institutions and filled them with the necessary facilities. I would have made new roads so that every place would be accessible. This was what I would have done if I had the power and authority to implement villagization program."

Chapter Five

Discussions

Before the implementation of villagization program, inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages had trouble accessing social services like health, education, safe drinking water, and mill service. They had a limited access to these basic services basically because they were scattered and far away. Health centers were far from people and when someone got sick, he/she had to be carried over a long distance to the health center. People drank from ponds and wells because water pumps were not available at a closer distance.

Schools were far away and students spent long hours on the way walking to and back from school. Due to the distance, there was a high dropout rate and low interest in learning among students. For children, they had to wait until they were ten years old and above to start going to school. In addition, flour that would be used to make food was made using mortar and pestle. The other alternative was for women to walk a long distance to the mill house located far away and come back. In line with this, Guyu (2012) noted that accessing social services such as education, clean water and health service was difficult for people before villagization program was launched. He pointed out that people could not drink clean water. They never went to school and had health centers close to them because they were far away. Zinabu (2014) also noted that it was difficult for people to access basic social services before villagization. He pointed out that the children of villagers used to walk not less than two hours to school. In addition, the dropout rate was very high among students as they were not interested in learning due to the long distance. This indicates that it is always difficult for people to live far away from the basic services. Having a better and an improved access to basic services are possible only if people are closer to them. As

the finding showed, it is hard to live a better life while living scattered and distant from social services. That is why it is of great importance to bring people together closer to the basic services.

Scattered settlements are not suitable for a better communication and interaction among the people. The present study has shown that people were dispersed before villagization and never knew one another well since they had weak relations and rarely interacted with one another. Communication was so poor and hence, people lived without knowing what happened in other places. People never enjoyed the benefits of living and working together due to scattered settlement. It also was hard for them to come together and hold meetings organized by themselves or the government. The study also shows that insecurity was prevalent before villagization and people lacked protection because they were far away to be reached. Similarly, according to Gambella People's National Regional State's report on villagization (2012), social life never existed due to the fact that people lived scattered and far away from one another and as a result, these scattered rural people never had a chance to work together and benefit from other services as well. The other problem with regard to scattered settlement was the fact that people were unreachable when needed by the government. It also was difficult to hold meetings with the people because it was hard to find them. Security problem used to be prevalent when people lived dispersed and isolated. People could not be protected from attacks induced by local anti-government/peace forces and lived insecure because they were unreachable. Therefore, it is understandable and apparent that living in scattered settlements is invariably associated with various challenges which cannot be dealt with unless people come together. It is important to know here that if people are scattered and far away from the rest of the people, their living conditions will be worse and they will be prone to different crises.

This study has shown that there was violence against women before villagization. They were assaulted by their husbands and never had a protection from the abuses because there was no one to help. This is another problem of living scattered without people around. It shows that vulnerability always increases if one lives alone in the absence of other people who can help when trouble occurs. As a matter of, people need one another for they are social beings and have a better life when they are not isolated from one another.

The findings of this study have also shown that villagers always practiced farming before villagization. Before their settlement in the villages, inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages had large and fertile farmlands which they farmed and produced food in. The only great thing about life before villagization as was said by the participants of in-depth interview and focus group discussions in the three villages was the fact that everyone owned large lands and could farm as they wanted. But, this does not mean that scattered settlements enhance farming and increases production. It is just that people practiced farming because it was the means of livelihoods that they had always depended on. Since human beings need food wherever they are, they always have to work hard and find something to eat. That is why villagers used to farm and produce enough food for the households in the lands they had before.

As the findings of this study showed, villagization program was implemented in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages of Gog woreda in order to change and improve the lives of the rural people who lived in scattered settlements and never benefited from development activities and basic social services. The program was needed to bring these distant and scattered people closer to social services like education, health and clean water so as to be able to have a better access thereby improving their lives. Likewise, a study conducted by Mulugeta (2014) shows that the aim of villagization is to transform a scattered way of life into a settled, more modernized way of

life, where the quality of life of the community will improve. Villagization, according to him, is meant to guarantee food security and efficient social service delivery, including schools, health posts and other services. Mhando (2011) confirmed that the rationale behind undertaking villagization program in Tanzania was to enhance as well as facilitate the provision of much needed, essential social services such as primary health care, education, water and so forth. As was said, social services like education, health and clean water are extremely important for the well-being of people and having a better access to them is of paramount importance, which can only happen when people live in close proximity to them. The implementation of villagization is a clear indication that better access to social services is possible if people are together and living closer to the services. So, it is always good to seek what is better for the impoverished people such as the rural population whose access to various services is limited by improving their lives through the provision of different kinds of services.

As this study showed, the other reason why villagization was launched was to promote togetherness. Since people were scattered, they were not able to communicate and interact well with one another and as a result, did not belong together. They never had the opportunity to share their lives because their settlement pattern did not allow them to do so. Hence, villagization was needed in order to bring and concentrate them in villages so as to live and work together as members of one community thereby improving production. This finding supports the finding of the study conducted by Coulson (1975 cited in Lorgen, 1999) on Tanzanian villagization policy called ujamaa. Coulson found that the original aim of ujamaa was to provide a happier life for people by living together and increase production by working together.

In designing and implementing any particular policy or program, it is very important to consult the people who are going to be affected by the intended policy and have a discussion with

them. People who are the target of the policy should have a say and be allowed to participate in the process of implementing the program since they are the ones whose lives will be affected. The implementers should allow the views of the target population to influence the policy before any implementation happens.

As the finding of this study shows, the local people who were to be relocated to villages were first consulted before their movement. Government officials were sent to talk to them and convince them of moving to the villages to start a new life there. People were told about villagization program and promised various social services. In fact, the agreement of the local people to move to the villages was basically based on the promises of the government to provide them with social services like new health centers/posts, schools, clean water, and mills, including farmlands. After being guaranteed these services and told all they needed to know about villagization, they were allowed to express their views concerning the program so as to ensure their full participation in the process. This finding contrasts with and does not support the result of the study conducted by Fana (2014). In his investigation of land investment and villagization, Fana (2014) argued that there was lack of prior consultation with the local people and that the implementation was proceeding without obtaining free and informed prior consent from the people. Though villagization can be implemented without obtaining the consent of the local people, it has to be understood that this is the failure of the implementers to follow the right principles which guide the entire process such as consultation. The failure to consult the local people on issues affecting them may be attributed to lack of a commitment on the side of the implementers and has nothing to do with villagization program per se. Hence, it is possible to get the free will of the local people and successfully implement villagization.

The current study shows that the implementation of villagization never involved any kind of coercion and that the process was voluntary and based on the will of the local people. The local people were convinced by the officials and moved to the villages without being forced to do so. In contrast with the above finding, according to a research carried out by the Oakland Institute (2015) on forced displacement in Ethiopia, the local people were forcibly removed from their lands and resettled in ways that neglect their traditional ways of life and livelihoods. In addition, a study by Human Rights Watch (2012) on villagization reveals that the implementation process was far from voluntary and accompanied by widespread human rights violation, including forced displacement, arbitrary arrest and detention. This also indicates that ways of implementing programs such as villagization matter. Just because villagization involved coercion in a particular area does not mean that the implementation of the program is always characterized by force. Implementing villagization forcefully is a weakness of the implementer and this should be blamed on who implemented it.

With regard to the fulfillment of the promised services, not all promises were kept. There was a delay in the provision of the promised services. While it took a certain amount of time to provide some services, other services were not totally provided. Actually, new schools, health centers, water pumps, and mills were promised to be provided to the people after their settlement in the villages. When people settled in the villages and stayed for a certain period of time, water pumps and mills were installed and started operating. But, they never lasted long; they stopped functioning shortly after providing services for a certain period of time. Others such as new schools and new health centers were not built and provided. The above finding shares some similarity with the finding of the research by Guyu (2012) which showed that the provision of basic social services was delayed in some villagization sites of Benishangul Gumuz region.

According to his research finding, the failure to fulfill the promises and provide services on time was one of the gaps observed in many villagization sites. For instance, the construction of socio-economic services, including health posts and schools was not completed on time thereby delaying their provision. He found that primary schools, water wells, and health posts were actually built in some villages but absent or incomplete in some villagization sites.

Of particular importance to the local people is the issue of farmland distribution. When relocating rural people to a new place, it is of considerable importance to provide them with farmlands so that a disruption to livelihoods will not happen. For rural people whose main source of livelihoods is agriculture, providing them with sufficient and fertile lands is undeniably of paramount significance.

As this study shows, the provision of farmlands to the local people in the villages is something that was first discussed before the movement occurred. The government guaranteed that farmlands would be distributed to the people in the villages so that they would continue their farming practices without a problem. The farmlands were to be distributed after being cleared using tractors, with each person receiving four hectares of the land. But, the distribution did not go as expected and this resulted in the inability to farm like before. There was a delay in the distribution and when it happened, the lands that people received were small plots and not as fertile as the former ones thereby making farming activities somewhat difficult. Similarly, a study by Buzuayew et al. (2016) on Afar regional state's villagization found that the government had promised to provide the people with farmlands but there was a delay in the preparation and distribution of these lands for farming activities. There also were sites in which farmland distribution did not happen at all. The study identified the lack of and delay in farmland distribution, which ultimately resulted in food problem, as an indication of under-implementation

of the program. A study by Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2007) in Rwanda also pointed out that people experienced land shortage after their settlement in government-built villages. The reduced access to land had far reaching consequences for the villagers, one of which was food problem and low agricultural productivity. In fact, the delay in providing what was promised is a problem that has to do with the ways things are organized. Land shortage is bound to happen if things are not carefully planned ahead of relocation and implemented in accordance with the plan.

There are positive changes which happened in the lives of the villagers of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages due to the implementation of villagization program. These changes are currently noticeable in the lives of the inhabitants of the three villages where this study was conducted. There currently is an improvement in accessing basic social services like education, health, clean water, and mills, including transport service. In fact, there already were schools and health centers and health posts available before the implementation of villagization in the area. Access to these services improved as compared to previous time basically because of the proximity of people to them. For example, schools, health service, mills, safe drinking water, transport, including mobile networks became very accessible after the settlement of people in villages, which is a great improvement.

Though not all the promised services were provided, villagers are happy that the accessibility of the basic social services has increased after their coming together and settlement in the villages. Now, no child has to wait until the age of ten to start school. No patient has to be carried over a long distance to the health center. There are enough water pumps in the villages and hence, inhabitants can have as much water as they need. In addition, corns can easily be taken to the mill houses and ground without walking a long distance or using mortar and pestle. In line

with this, Hilhorst & Leeuwen's study (1999) indicated that one of the advantages and positive contributions of villagization program was the building of health centers, schools, roads and the provision of other services which allowed the people to have an improved access. Isaksson (2011) also pointed out that living in government-constructed villages was associated with a greater access to services like health, schools, transport and markets. Additionally, Moti (2014) found that the main positive aspect of villagization was the provision of various social services and increase in their accessibility. He noted that clean water service provision was adequate and that villagers were enjoying an unlimited access to safe drinking water. He also found that schools were built in villagization sites which were non-existent in former settlement sites and this was regarded as the good side of the program by the villagers. Therefore, it can be deduced that villagization is an important program which has to be implemented to change the lives of the rural people for the better. This also shows that the role of villagization in improving access to social services should not be underestimated and overlooked.

Another positive thing which has happened because of villagization program was the development of businesses and the fact that buying and selling have become possible in the villages where people currently reside. There are shops in the three villages which sell various items that the villagers need. This has brought a relief to the inhabitants as they no longer have to go somewhere far to buy items. There also are mini restaurants and tea rooms where any person can buy food and eat. The fact that people started to do businesses is something that happened due to villagization program. Their concentration and settlement in villages made all this possible. Such non-farm income generating activity is beneficial to the ones who are engaged in it since there are a lot of people who can buy their items. This finding supports the study result of Guyu (2012) which indicated that people started to engage in business activities after settling in the

villages in Benishangul-Gumuz region. He noted, for instance, that in Chilanko villagization site, non-farm activities such as formal trades like food and beverage selling bars, coffee and tea rooms, including shops have emerged and developed. Similarly, in their study on villagization in Afar regional state, Buzuayew et al. (2016) found that off-farm income generating activities have developed in some villages after the implementation of the program. Their study result shows that villagers were engaged in petty trade, charcoal production, selling animal and crop products, and handicraft activities. Regardless of how or where it is implemented, villagization program usually involves the concentration of people in villages which allows the people to engage in various activities such as business. This means that villagization's contribution is not only limited to social services but also extends to other aspects such as the development of businesses in the villages.

As is indicated in this study, inhabitants have got to know one another better than before as a result of their coming together in villages. The study shows that love, unity and harmony developed among the villagers as they communicate, interact with one another and work together for their own good. They feel secure because they are together and able to help one another in times of need. This has become possible because of their settlement in the villages which is the result of villagization program. In similar vein, Lorgen (1999) argued that villagization program brings about harmony and improves interaction among the villagers as they come together to dwell in villages. Village life is important because it enables the inhabitants to get to know one another better, have better communication and social interaction as compared to scattered settlement pattern. In villages, Lorgen (1999) argues, people are able to live together and identify themselves as members of the same community. He noted that villagers felt secure and were able to help one another in villages than living scattered in remote areas. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that villagization needs to be given a particular emphasis when it comes to dealing

with the lives of the rural people who live scattered and far away from one another. There is nothing more important for a human being than being together with other fellow humans as people who belong together. By nature, nobody is capable of living alone without the presence of other people in his/her life. So, it is important that villagization be promoted to enable scattered rural people to come together and share the benefits of togetherness, communication and interactions.

Villagization program is believed to improve security situation when scattered people come together and settle in villages. Security tends to improve in villages than in scattered settlements since village life brings dispersed people together and enables the government to provide the protection that people need. As the present study shows, security situation improved when people settled and started to dwell in the villages together. People are now able to be protected and safe in the villages since there are militias assigned by the government to maintain security and order. They currently feel secure and strong because of their togetherness and the presence of militias as well. This has reduced the vulnerabilities and threats that used to characterize their lives in the past. Likewise, Lorgen (1999) noted that, in terms of security, it is safer to live together in a village than alone in scattered settlements. Lorgen (1999) pointed out that coming together in villages protected the people thereby reducing the vulnerability. There is security in the villages due to the togetherness and the fact that government is able to maintain control and provide protection. Besides, villagers are able to protect and help themselves better in the villages in the sense that if one of them gets attacked and shouts, others could hear and come. Guyu (2012) also found that police and militias have been assigned in villagization sites in order to protect the people from potential security problems, which brought about a sense of security among the inhabitants.

With regard to the program per se, villagers have argued that villagization is a good program for its role in enabling scattered people to have better access to the social services. Villagers have a positive attitude towards the program due to its other benefits such as improved communication, interaction and a sense of belongingness and security. But, this does not mean that they do not have grievances. Villagers have some grievances due to some challenges that happened as a result of the program. For instance, the failure of the government to keep every promise it made, such as the distribution of fertile farmlands is one of challenges. The failure to properly distribute fertile farmlands was a challenge because it resulted in decline in production due to the inability of the villagers to farm like before. In addition, since the villagers have also chosen to farm the lands they left behind, they are facing a challenge because they now have to walk a long distance to the fields and come back. Nevertheless, villagers think that villagization is a good program but should have been implemented by building and providing the services before the relocation. Hence, it can be inferred that villagization is advantageous if implemented appropriately. But if not, it will give rise to a number of challenges. If implemented by providing the necessary services prior to the movement, villagization will be a far better program which undoubtedly improves the lives of the rural people who live in scattered settlements.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Social Work Implications

6.1 Conclusion

This study sought to assess and describe the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages of Gog woreda in Gambella regional state. This was done by assessing the previous lives of the villagers before villagization and looking into how the program was implemented. The study also identified the changes and improvements that resulted from the implementation of villagization program.

This study showed that the villagers in the three villages had difficult lives and poor living conditions prior to villagization program. This was basically because they were scattered and far away from the basic social services. It was hard for them to access education, health, transport, mill and clean water services. They had to walk long distances to get these services and this was very wearisome. Children were not able to start school at early ages; they had to be ten years old and above to go to school. Women also walked two to three hours to the mill house or collect water from ponds to drink, which was a very difficult experience. The other thing was the fact that these villagers traveled over a distance of 30 kilometers to buy basic items like salt, soaps, sugar, oil and so forth from Pignudo, the capital city of Gog woreda, because there were no shops in the local area.

Due to the fact that people were scattered before villagization program, it was difficult for them to communicate and interact with one another. People never knew about one another's lives and did not often have a chance to visit distant relatives and spend times with them. They lived without knowing what happened to other people because it was difficult to hear from one another.

Additionally, a lot of people did not know one another well and hence, there was no sense of togetherness.

This study showed that there was security problems when people lived scattered and far way from government institutions. People were vulnerable and lived in constant threats because there was no one to protect them. It was possible for anyone to cause problems or attack people and get away with it due to the fact that the government could not reach the people and give them the protection they needed. Furthermore, women suffered assaults in the hands of their husbands without getting protected. The only good thing about life before villagization was the fact that people owned large farmlands and were able to freely farm and produce food with ease because lands were fertile. Villagers in the three villages acknowledged farming as the only positive thing about the previous life.

The findings of this study showed villagization was implemented to make the lives of the people better by providing basic social services to them. The program was aimed at bringing scattered people together to benefit from government services while living together in villages. Before the relocation of people, various discussions were held with the local people in order to convince them of accepting the program. The local people were consulted and informed of things they needed to know. Moreover, various social services were promised to them although not all the promised services materialized. After the discussion and consultation, people moved to the villages without being forced to do so and settled there.

Villagization program has brought positive changes in lives of the villagers in terms of accessing social services. After the implementation of the program and settlement of people in the villages, access to education, health, transport, mill and clean water services improved as compared to the previous time due to the proximity of people to them. Now, it is possible for

children to start school at school age because distance is no longer a problem. No one has to walk a long distance to the health center, mill house and to fetch water because these services are available at a closer distance. Women have particularly benefitted from the availability of these services due to their proximity to them as they no longer have to fetch water from far away, grind corns with their hands or walk a long distance to the mill house. In addition, mobile networks have become accessible and people became beneficiaries of the service. Furthermore, businesses flourished in the villages as people started to live together. Buying and selling became possible as people opened shops in the villages. It is now easy for the inhabitants to buy whatever items they need from the locally opened shops. Except for other big items which are not available in the villages, others can be found in the shops opened in the community.

As this study showed, villagization has improved communication and interaction among the villagers due to their togetherness. People have got to know one another better than before and now identify themselves as members of the same community. If anyone is in trouble and needs help, others can easily hear about it and come to help. There is a sense of harmony and unity among the villagers as a result of villagization program. The government can also reach the people whenever it wants them because they are together in villages. People can now work together and solve their problems. Due to their sense of belonging together and the presence of village government, security improved in the villages. Moreover, women no longer get beaten like before since there are neighbors who can intervene. The village government also protects women from being assaulted and this reduced the prevalence of domestic abuse.

Even though new schools and health centers were not built as per the promises, villagers are happy that they are now together in the villages accessing the already available services. In fact, some challenges happened upon arrival in the villages, which include the difficulty to

quickly readjust, the infertility of the distributed farmlands and the subsequent decline in production, including the distance between villages and farmlands in the remote fields. Nevertheless, villagers have grown used to living in the villages and are happy that they belong together having an improved access to social services. As this research showed, since the benefits of villagization outweigh the negative, it can therefore be concluded that villagization program has positively contributed to and improved the lives of villagers in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages of Gog woreda in Gambella region.

6.2 Social Work Implications

This study indicated the role that villagization program played in making social services accessible and improving the lives of the villagers after their settlement in the villages. It also showed that some promised social services such as new schools, health centers and farming training centers were not provided. As the study shows, the improvement in accessing social services happened due to the settlement of people in villages and their proximity to the already available services which existed before villagization. Hence, this study has an important implication for a proper service delivery and urges service providers to make efforts and make sure that people relocated by villagization program have an improved access to basic social services. The study provides the government, social workers and other human service practitioners with an understanding that helps them reconsider the issue of providing basic services and making them accessible to everyone affected by villagization. As such, there is a need to rethink and take the issue of service delivery seriously. The government and other humanitarian agencies concerned with the well-being of people should work together and provide additional services to the villagers in Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages. Since the villagers are using the already available social services because some of the promised ones never came, it is of great importance

that additional services be provided by service providers to make the improvement in the lives of villagers a lasting and sustainable change.

As was shown by this study, agricultural productivity declined because the lands which were provided to the villagers after their settlement in the villages were not as fertile as the previous ones and small in size. Villagers found it hard to farm freely as possibly as they can and this affected their livelihoods to some extent. This situation provides a room for an intervention to bring about a change in terms of livelihoods improvement. The finding necessitates the intervention of government, development practitioners and other concerned bodies to provide the necessary inputs and assistances so as to make farming easy for the villagers thereby boosting production. This study also makes it necessary to train the farmers in the villages in order to acquire modern farming skills. Of particular importance is the creation of alternative means of livelihoods to the villagers.

This study has an important implication for policy as well. The findings of this study are believed to serve as a basis for future policy making in the area of population relocation. Drawing on these findings, policy makers can make policies which will best respond to the needs of the people. The study provides valuable information to policy makers which will help in making a policy that can bring sustainable changes. The findings help shape decision making in designing a policy involving population movement and helps policy makers set clear standards for a successful and effective implementation of villagization program. The study shows that policies or programs such as villagization should have clearly set standards and guidelines which must be followed during implementation so as to benefit the people to the fullest. Hence, policy makers as well as implementers should reconsider villagization program and see it from the point of view of the target population. Instead of promising things that will not be provided, it is very important to

provide services first before relocating the people. All the necessary things such as houses, health centers, water pumps, mill houses and schools have to be built first and made ready for use.

Farmlands have to be cleared and distributed to the people as well. The movement of people to the villages should take place only after everything that is basic and indispensable has been made available and ready. This has to be a principle in villagization policy that must never be compromised. It also has to be understood that villagization program will not be implemented unless the basic principles inherent in it are respected.

This study contributes to understanding the significance and role of villagization program in improving the lives of people. The study has shown how villagization program changed the lives of the inhabitants of Dipach, Jangjor and Awkoy villages for the better. However, this study shows the need for further studies on villagization program in terms of its contributions and roles in improving the lives of rural population as a rural development program. The findings of this study are not all there is about villagization's contributions. There can be other positive aspects of villagization program that are worth studying and this study can be used as a baseline for another research on villagization. There are dimensions of villagization that need to be researched in the future, which include, for example, the social relations of villagers with the host community and the readjustment of villagers to the new environment. Future studies on villagization should expand their scopes and incorporate aspects which will shed more light on villagization as a development program.

The findings of this study have important implication for social work education as well. They can provide valuable information and be used in population movement or migration studies/education. The findings can enhance the knowledge on population relocation and be used to teach people about the need to relocate the rural people in order to bring about improvements in

their lives. The study can also be used as a teaching material/guide at higher levels of education to promote knowledge and understanding about the importance of villagization program. This research is significant in that it helps others to learn that villagization is important because it changes and improves the lives of the people.

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Annexes**Annex A****Addis Ababa University****College of Social Sciences****School of Social Work****Graduate Studies (Regular)****Consent Form**

I, Ojulu Boka Karu, am a graduate program student at Addis Ababa University. I am doing my master's degree in social work (specializing in community and social development). As per the requirement for the completion of masters of arts degree in social work, I am currently conducting a research on the contributions of villagization program to the lives of the villagers in Gog worda of Gambella regional state. Therefore, I am kindly asking for your permission and cooperation to participate in my study. To gather the necessary data for this research from you, I will be using an audio recorder and take notes as well. The interview will last 30 minutes. Your recorded voice will be deleted right after the report writing is over. As such, your participation in the study is voluntary and based only on your consent. If you are not interested in taking part in the research because you think that you do not benefit from it and that it is none of your business or for any reason, the choice is yours. Moreover, if you feel uncomfortable and do not think that you can continue being a participant in this research, you have every right to quit. But I assure you that the information you provide are meant to be used only for academic purpose and will not be used for any other one. Your views, opinions, ideas and all other information will stay between me and you and will never be disclosed to a third party. In addition, your real name will not be made public and never appear in the report. If you have any question or something unclear to you, it is your right to ask me. So, feel free to express your views and say what you know about your experiences, knowing that nothing harmful is going to happen to you. Thank you so much for your cooperation!

Participant's Pseudo Name _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher: Ojulu Boka Signature _____ Date _____

Annex B

Addis Ababa University

College of Social Sciences

School of Social Work

Graduate Studies (Regular)

The aim of this study is to assess and identify ‘The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers in Gog Woreda’ of Gambella region. Hence, the following in-depth interview questions are to be answered by the individual villagers in their villages:

In-Depth Interview Guiding Questions

Background Information

Pseudo Name_____

Age_____

Sex_____

Occupation_____

Village of Residence_____

1. Can you tell me about your life before villagization?

Probing Questions:

- What is it that you appreciate about the life you had before?
- Tell me if there is anything you miss about your previous life?
- What was it that you did not like about your previous life and that you thought was a problem that needed to be addressed?
- How did you access basic services like health care, school, clean water, market, transport etc? Was it easy to access these services?

- How did you feel living in scattered settlements with people far from one another? Can you tell me about its challenges?
- Can you please describe the kind of social interaction you had with others and how often you communicated with one another?

2. Tell me about the kind of life you have now?

Probing Questions:

- Can you tell me if there are any positive changes that happened as a result of villagization?
- What is it that you particularly appreciate about villagization?
- Do you think that your life has improved? How?
- How do you see your access to basic services now?

3. Tell me about the difference between your life now and before?

Probing Questions:

- Which one do you think is better and why?
- How do you see village life as compared to life in scattered settlements?
- Can you tell me the difference that village life has made in your personal life?
- If you were to have your previous life back, would you choose to have it?

Why?

Thank you for your time!

Annex C
Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
School of Social Work
Graduate Studies (Regular)

The aim of this study is to assess 'The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers in Gog Woreda'. Hence, the following focus group discussion (FGD) questions are meant to be answered by the villagers in their villages:

Focus Group Discussion Guiding Questions

Background Information

Pseudo Name_____

Age_____

Sex_____

Occupation_____

Village of Residence_____

1. Can you please tell me what you know about villagization before?
2. Why did the government want to villagize you?
3. How was villagization implemented?

Probing Questions:

- Was there a consultation with the villagers?
 - Was there any force involved in the process
4. Do you think that villagization is a good program? Why?

Probing Question:

- Do you think that programs like villagization should be encouraged and launched as a solution to some problems facing the rural people?

5. What do you think should have been done by the government to make villagization program more effective and much better for you?
6. If you were the government, how would you have implemented villagization program?

Probing Question:

- What are the things that you would consider and include in the program so that it would benefit the people to a large extent?
7. Do you think that living together in villages is more advantageous than living in scattered settlements? Why do you think so?

Probing Question:

- What advantages of village life have you observed or experienced so far in your lives?
8. If you were to choose between your current life and the previous one, which one would you choose? Why?

Thank you for your time!

Annex D**Addis Ababa University****College of Social Sciences****School of Social Work****Graduate Studies (Regular)**

The aim of this study is to assess and identify ‘The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers in Gog Woreda’. Hence, the following key informant interview questions are meant to be answered by key persons in government which include the woreda administrators and officials:

Key Informant Interview Guiding Questions**Background Information**

Pseudo Name_____

Age_____

Sex_____

Bureau_____

Position_____

1. What is the very reason behind the implementation of villagization in Gog woreda?
2. Can you tell me how the process of implementation looked?
3. How do you describe the lives of villagers after villagization?

Probing Questions:

- What do you think are the main positive changes that happened in the lives of the villagers due to villagization?
 - What services are available to the villagers?
4. Do you think that the villagers are happy living together in villages? Why?

Thank You for your time!

Annex E**Addis Ababa University****College of Social Sciences****School of Social Work****Graduate Studies (Regular)**

This research is aimed at assessing and describing the contributions of villagization program to the lives of villagers in Gog woreda of Gambella. This observation checklist will be used by the researcher to observe the main services available in the villages under study and the social environment as well.

No	Service	Availability		Distance		Accessibility		Physical Condition	
		Yes	No	Far	Not Far	Accessible	Inaccessible	Good	Poor
1.	School								
2.	Health Center								
3.	Grinding Mill								
4.	Water Pipe/Pump								
5.	Shops								
6.	Houses								
7.	Road								

Social Environment

1. What is the nature of social interaction among villagers?

2. Are the villagers happy living together in villages?

3. How do the daily lives of the villagers look?

4. Do the villagers make use of the services available in the villages/community?

Annex F

Letter of Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any other degree in other university and all the sources of Materials used for the research project have been duly acknowledged.

Researcher's Name: Ojulu Boka

Signature: _____

Date: _____

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the thesis advisor.

Advisor's Name: Ashenafi Hagos (PhD)

Signature: _____

Date: _____