Twenty rural communities in Ethiopia and how they changed: Introducing the WIDE research and the selected policy-relevant topics

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Rural Ethiopia has undergone rapid change and transformations over the past couple of decades. However, there is limited evidence about what this looks like at a local community level and what it means for different kinds of households and people. The chapters seek to document selected aspects of change and address policy implications of the findings. Overall we suggest that the communities have become less rural and the economies more diversified through processes of growth and urbanisation. This has also led to greater differentiation and increasing inequalities with the formation of elites and widening gaps between the richest and the poorest. We consider the changes in aspirations brought about by greater access to education and migration, and the challenges facing youth and especially girls in their transitions to adulthood. In successive chapters we also document cases of economic success and women's economic participation, as well as issues of concern for the reproductive health and wellbeing of girls, and mothers and infants. While there have been considerable changes and transformations in the communities and for households and people living within them, there remain concerns relating to gender and youth issues, and the vulnerable who are still at risk of being left behind as the country strives to reach lower middle income status.

This chapter comprises four parts. In the first we introduce the history of the WIDE research over twenty years from 1994 through to 2014. The second part presents the communities and four different typologies that account for some of the aspects of their diversity: 1) regions and zones, 2) livelihoods, 3) remoteness and proximity to urban areas, and 4) cultural differences. The third part describes the research methodology, explaining the long-term community-focused qualitative case-based complexity approach, the research design and the research instruments. The fourth section outlines the rationale for the selection of the topics covered in this book, and provides summaries of our analyses related to each, followed by an overview of three cross-cutting themes or frameworks emerging from the chapters: 1) growth, poverty and inequalities; 2) change in space and over time, and 3) genderage experiences of change among women and youth. The concluding chapter returns to the topics of the chapters and the crosscutting themes, focusing on policy implications of the findings.

Introducing Ethiopia WIDE

This book is part of a longitudinal research project studying changes in twenty communities in different parts of Ethiopia since the mid-1990s. Six of these sites were first selected in 1989 by the International Food Policy Institute (IFPRI) as examples of drought-prone communities, in each of which household surveys were carried out with one hundred households. In 1994 in a collaboration between Addis Ababa University Economics Department and the Centre for the Study of African Economies at the University of Oxford it was decided to include nine further sites to represent differences in agro-ecological variation and create an ongoing panel survey. The 15 sites came to be known as the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) which carried out nine surveys on the same one hundred households in each of the sites from 1994 to

2009.[1]Three further sites were added in 1999 to represent cash crop economies and two were added in 2003 by the WIDE team to represent agro-pastoralist economies.

The WIDE Story

The research which we have come to call WIDE[2] has been carried out in these sites in Ethiopia's four central regional states using a qualitative case-based approach over three phases: 1) WIDE 1: 1994-1996, 2) WIDE 2:2003-5, and 3) WIDE 3: 2010-2013. The research has involved over one hundred researchers over the years[3].

WIDE1: 1994-1996

In 1994 the UK Overseas Development Administration that funded the surveys agreed to include village studies to contextualize and interpret the panel household data. Philippa Bevan and Alula Pankhurst worked on a design and involved students in the master's programme in Social Anthropology at Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology and Social Administration to produce literature reviews and then carry out fieldwork for a month in mid-1995 in the 15 sites. This resulted in the production of a series of 15 Ethiopian Village Studies in 1996.[4] The profiles described the location, geography, climate, history and important current economic, social, cultural and political aspects of each community, and included sketch maps and were prefaced with a collage of photographs. We also produced a comparative community analysis (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996).At the time we had not anticipated that this study, which we later called WIDE 1, would become a baseline for understanding change over almost twenty years.

WIDE2: 2003-5

A four-country research project entitled '*Wellbeing in Developing Countries*' (WeD) at the University of Bath in the United Kingdom,[5] initiated in 2003 with funding from the Economic and Social Research Council, provided the opportunity to return to the villages almost 10 years later. By then the ERHS had added three examples of the growing number of cash-crop producing communities, one producing coffee, another maize and the third wheat and potatoes bringing the total to 18 sites.

One major limitation of the ERHS was that it did not include any agro-pastoral communities. When considering adding a couple of examples, we faced the problem of finding sites for which there was baseline data. We therefore selected two sites where Ethiopian researchers and colleagues on our project had carried anthropological fieldwork for their PhDs in the 1990s: Ayalew Gebre in Karrayu (Ayalew 2001) and Melese Getu in Tsamay (Melese 2000).

WIDE2 fieldwork took place in 2003 in 20 sites. The main aim was an initial exploration of important features of rural communities relevant for the quality of life of different kinds of people. The fieldwork covered a range of topics including: history since 1991, social structures and dynamics, social differences, networks and organisations, experiences of government policies and programmes, crises and local responses, and local perceptions of various definitions of 'wellbeing', 'illbeing', class, status, power and inequality. In line with the research strategy in

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[1] See Annex 1. The first two rounds were carried out in 1994, followed by Round 3 in 1995, Round 4 in 1997, Round 5 in 1999, and Round 6 in 2009. At that point the sample was considered to be too old and unrepresentative of the communities.

[2] WIDE stands for *Wellbeing Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia*; the acronym was coined during the *Wellbeing in Developing Countries* research phase (2003-5), bringing to attention the issue of illbeing.

[3] There is a list of all the researchers involved by phase in Annex 2.

[4] http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/village-studies-15.

[5] http://www.welldev.org.uk

the other three countries: Bangladesh, Thailand and Peru, this was followed by a phase of more detailed work in four rural and two urban communities over a year and a half in 2004-5.[6] On the basis of this work we produced a number of papers on various topics such as hunger and famine (Bevan, 2004; Pankhurst and Bevan 2004), HIV/AIDS (Pankhurst 2004), agricultural development (Getachew 2004), poverty, shocks and inequalities (Bevan and Pankhurst 2006, 2007, Pankhurst and Bevan 2007) and competing models of wellbeing (Bevan 2010b). Through this programme Bethlehem Tekola completed her PhD at the University of Bath (Bethlehem Tekola 2009).

WIDE3: 2009-2014

2003 was also, coincidentally, the starting point of a period of more intensive government-led development planning, with interventions aimed to change rural Ethiopia rapidly multiplying and whose effects were mostly looked at in terms of broad 'macro' trends. Whereas the WIDE 1 and 2 stages were designed primarily as academic research, in 2009 WIDE3 built on the interest of the Ethiopian government and donor partners in understanding change during this period of rapid transformation, at a more detailed grassroots level. The funding was obtained from in-country donors interested in better understanding the impact of development interventions.[7]

WIDE3 fieldwork was carried out in three stages between the beginning of 2010 and the end of 2013. The aim was to use the data in conjunction with the WIDE1 and WIDE2 data to explore the modernisation trajectories of the twenty communities since 1995 and the contribution to those trajectories made by Government policies and programmes since 2003.

In all the stages the topics covered included: the community as a holistic system and recent changes, the community in its broader context, structures of inequality, local elites, different kinds of households and people, the livelihood systems, the human re/pro/duction system, social organisations, networks, and institutions, social cohesion, community management, and cultural ideas.

Stage 1 fieldwork was conducted in two Phases over 35 days in January/February 2010 in four communities that had been studied in depth during WIDE2 in Amhara and Oromia regions, and one each in Tigray and Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's (SNNP) regions. Of these sites three were drought-prone and aid-dependent communities and three economically self-sufficient communities.

Between Stage 1 and Stage 2 a transition project was funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), during which Stage 1 data were used for in-depth explorations of three topics which had emerged as important during the Stage 1 data analysis. The topics were: 1) inequalities among communities, households and people (Pankhurst 2011), 2) the Government 'go-betweens' in the communities (Dom 2011), and 3) youth transitions to adulthood (Bevan 2011).

We decided to focus on all the food insecure sites in Stage 2 and to carry out fieldwork later in 2013 in Stage 3 in surplus producing sites by which time interventions related to the policies of the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) would have had more impact. Stage 2 fieldwork was undertaken in two phases over 40 days in September/October and December 2011 in eight drought-prone and aid-dependent communities, of which seven were receiving Productive Safety Net Proramme (PSNP) assistance, and the eighth food aid.

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[6] We referred to this phase of intensive research as DEEP, standing for *In-depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty*.
[7] Stages 1-3 were funded through the *Joint Governance Assessment Measurement* (JGAM) Programme, a World Bank administered Trust Fund jointly funded by the Canadian, Dutch and UK government development programmes.

The communities studied in Stage 3 were all located in areas which had tended to have good weather for farming and potential for surplus production. The fieldwork phases in Stage 3 were separated by over 6 months, the bulk of the work taking place in Phase 1 over 32 days in March and April 2013. Much of the writing-up was then done. Phase 2 in November involved 12 days of fieldwork for following up interesting issues and filling gaps.

In each of the Stages community reports were produced for each community[8] together with a final report and summary analysing findings across the sites.[9] We also wrote rapid briefing notes and presentations on overall findings and sectoral issues for government and donors. For each stage we produced policy reviews and methodology papers prior to the research and methodology papers afterwards.[10]

At the end of Stage 3 a series of policy relevant briefs were produced in 2014 by researchers external to the core WIDE research team with expertise on relevant policy-related topics. Three of these were produced by the Economic Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) of the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI)[11] on the following issues relating to agricultural development: 1) Unlocking agricultural growth, 2) Farming and value chains, and 3) Work creating for the rural youth. Two other briefs were produced on 1) Equitable service delivery,[12] and 2) Models and realities of transformation.[13]

WIDE 3-4 Transition 2015-16

The current WIDE3-4 transition project has two main aims: to make more use of existing WIDE data, and prepare for further work, including a possible WIDE4 for which funding is being sought.[14] This phase includes the creation of the *Ethiopiawide.net* website and the editing and preparation of the database which it hosts. We also produced a second series of discussion briefs which were presented to senior government officials[15]. In addition to an introductory brief these included others on 1) out-migration, 2) education, 3) new economic opportunities for women and girls, 4) the health and wellbeing of infants and their mothers, 5) youth transitions to adulthood, 6) differentials and inequalities, 7) urbanisation, 8) trajectories of some successful individuals in rural communities, and 9) innovations and learning. The briefs were the basis for the chapters of an earlier version of this book entitled *Change and transformation in twenty rural communities in Ethiopia: selected aspects and implication for policy*, which was printed in Ethiopia in January 2017. After the publication we revised the briefs and produced a compilation under the title *Twenty rural communities in Ethiopia: selected discussion briefs on change and transformation*, which included one brief from the earlier series on models and relaties of transformation. The English version of compilation of briefs was printed and a translation into Amharic was produced and printed.

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[8] http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/substantive-reports
[9] http://ethiopiawide.net/publications.
[10] http://ethiopiawide.net/publications.
[11] Produced by Girum Abebe and Eden Teklay.
[12] Produced by Beverley Jones.
[13] Produced by Sarah Vaughan who joined the core WIDE team for the WIDE3-4 Transition phase.
[14] The WIDE3-4 Transition project is mainly funded by SIDA and DFID-Ethiopia, with contributions from Irish Aid.
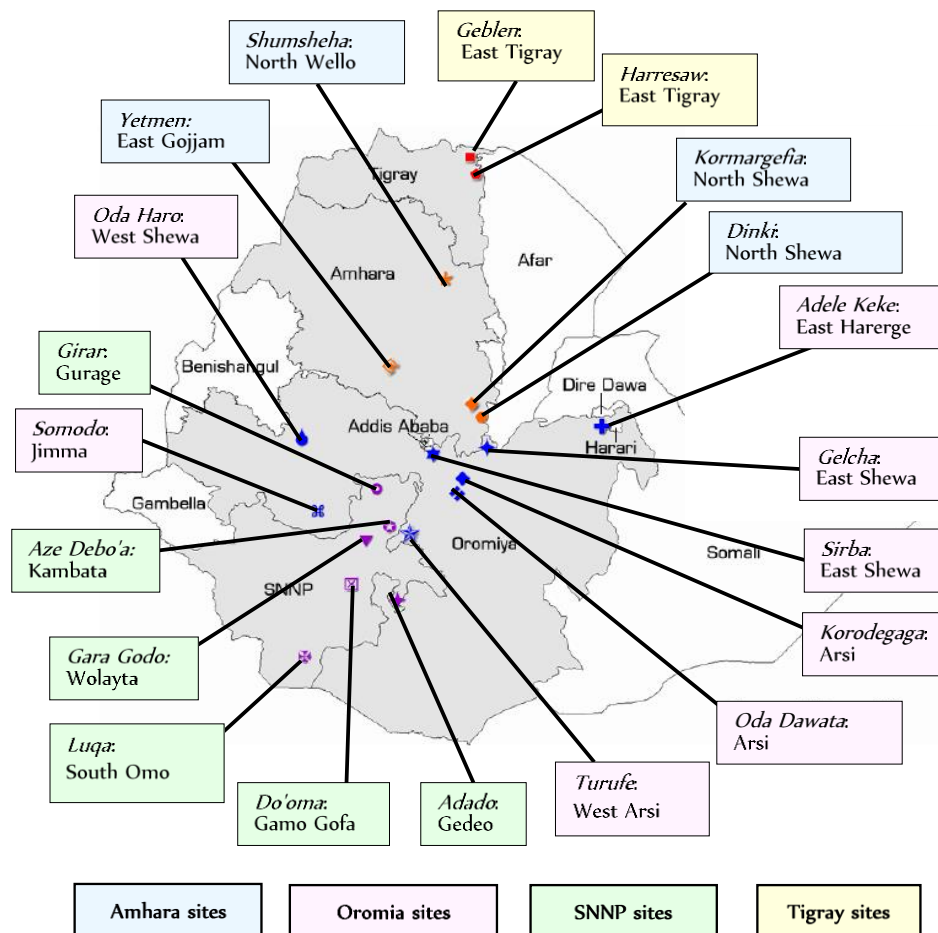[15] http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/policy-discussion-briefs.

Introducing the diversity of the WIDE Communities

The wide diversity of WIDE sites can be considered from various perspectives to identify contrasting types. We have considered the site differences in terms of regions, livelihoods, remoteness versus proximity to urban areas, and cultures (including religion and ethnicity).

Regions and zones

The twenty WIDE communities are located in the four central regions of Ethiopia: eight in Oromia, six in SNNP, four in Amhara and two in Tigray.

The WIDE communities by Region and Zone

The twenty sites are located in 16 zones and twenty different *weredas* within the four regions.

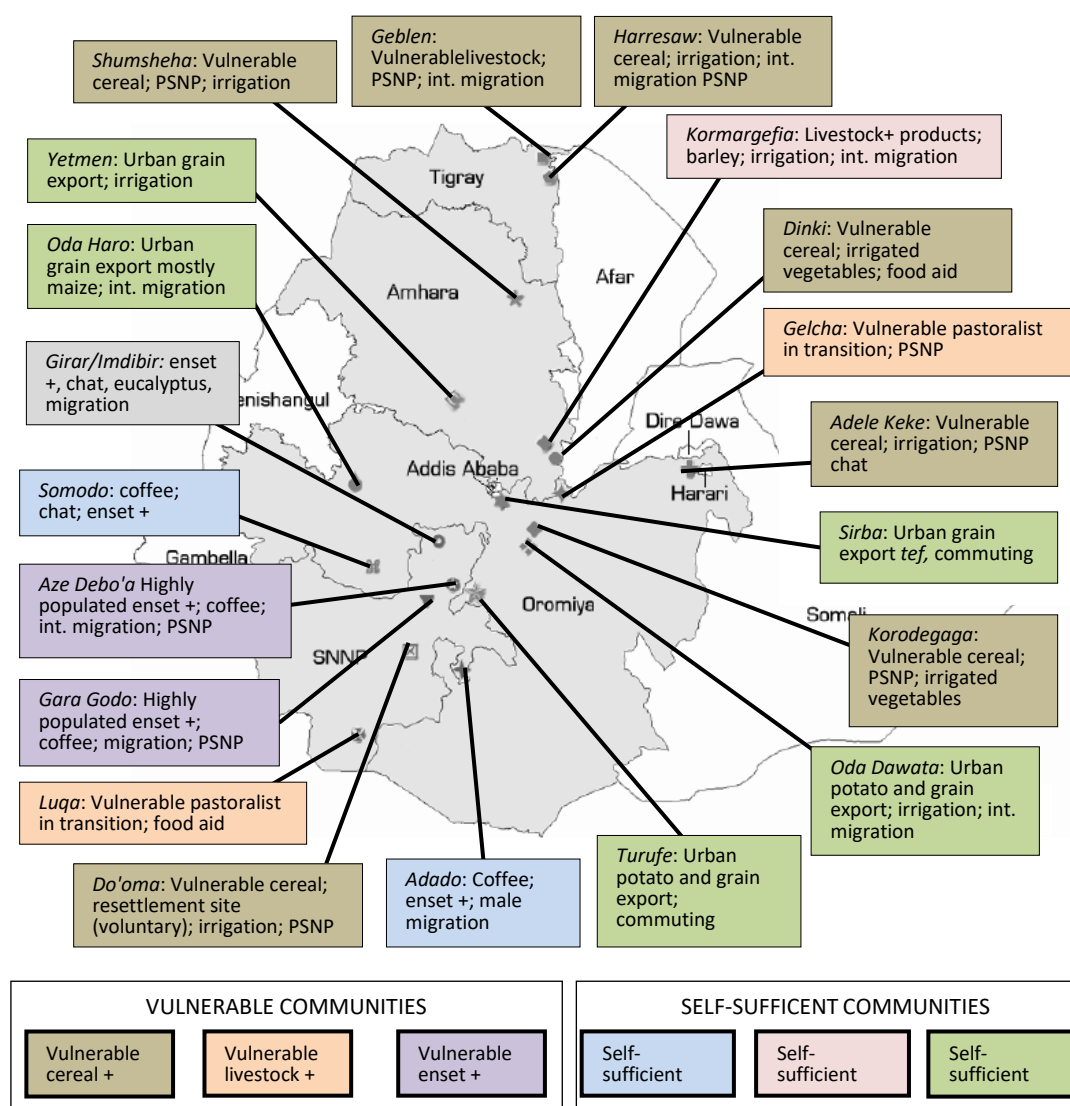*Table 1: WIDE Sites by Wereda, Zone, Region, and Research Stage*

no	Site	*Wereda*	Zone	Region	Stage
1	Adado	Bule	Gedeo	SNNP	3
2	Adele Keke	Kersa	East Harerge	Oromia	2
3	Aze Debo'a	Kedida Gamela	Kambata, Alaba and Timbaro	SNNP	2
4	Dinki	Tegulet	North Shewa	Amhara	1
5	Do'oma	Dera Malo	North Omo (Gamo)	SNNP	2
6	Gara Godo	Bolosso	North Omo (Wolayta)	SNNP	2
7	Geblen	Subhsaesie	Eastern Tigray	Tigray	1
8	Gelcha	Fentale	East Shewa	Oromia	2
9	Girar	Cheha	Gurage	SNNP	1
10	Harresaw	Atsbi	EasternTigray	Tigray	2
11	Kormargefia	Debre Berhan Zuria	North Shewa	Amhara	3
12	Korodegaga	Dodota	Arsi	Oromia	1
13	Luqa	Hamer Benna	South Omo (Tsemay)	SNNP	2
14	Oda Dawata	Tiyo	Arsi	Oromia	3
15	Oda Haro	Bako Tibe	West Shewa	Oromia	3
16	Shumsheha	Bugna	North Wello	Amhara	2
17	Sirbana Godeti	Ada'a	EastShewa	Oromia	3
18	Somodo	Mana	Jimma	Oromia	3
19	Turufe	Shashemene	East Shewa	Oromia	1
20	Yetmen	Enemay	East Gojjam	Amhara	1

Livelihood types

There are a variety of major livelihood types. We can divide them *first* on the basis of food security into two types: 1) vulnerable sites, of which there were 11, and 2) self-sufficient sites, of which there were nine. *Second*, we can distinguish by major livelihood type into three sub-types found in both food security categories, depending on what type of production is dominant: 1) cereals (12 sites), 2) *enset* (five sites), and 3) livestock (3 sites).

However, the type of cash crop that is most important varies, including in addition to cereals, coffee, *chat*, vegetables, and eucalyptus (see chapters on urbanization, inequalities, successful individuals and women's economic participation). Furthermore, the importance of the role of migration to the economy varies considerably (see chapter on migration).

Map 1:   WIDE communities by major livelihoods differences

Shumsheha: Vulnerable cereal; PSNP; irrigation

Geblen: Vulnerablelivestock; PSNP; int. migration

Harresaw: Vulnerable cereal; irrigation; int. migration PSNP

Kormargefia: Livestock+ products; barley; irrigation; int. migration

Yetmen: Urban grain export; irrigation

Oda Haro: Urban grain export mostly maize; int. migration

Dinki: Vulnerable cereal; irrigated vegetables; food aid

Gelcha: Vulnerable pastoralist in transition; PSNP

Girar/Imdibir: enset +, chat, eucalyptus, migration

Adele Keke: Vulnerable cereal; irrigation; PSNP chat

Somodo: coffee; chat; enset +

Sirba: Urban grain export *tef,* commuting

Aze Debo'a Highly populated enset +; coffee; int. migration; PSNP

Korodegaga: Vulnerable cereal; PSNP; irrigated vegetables

Gara Godo: Highly populated enset +; coffee; migration; PSNP

Oda Dawata: Urban potato and grain export; irrigation; int. migration

Luqa: Vulnerable pastoralist in transition; food aid

Do'oma: Vulnerable cereal; resettlement site (voluntary); irrigation; PSNP

Adado: Coffee; enset +; male migration

Turufe: Urban potato and grain export; commuting

VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES			SELF-SUFFICENT COMMUNITIES		
Vulnerable cereal +	Vulnerable livestock +	Vulnerable enset +	Self-sufficient	Self-sufficient	Self-sufficient

The differences between two types of sites: 1) those that have dependent economics since they are drought prone and regularly dependent on food/cash for work and 2) those that have independent economies given adequate rainfall, have far reaching implications ranging from livelihoods and differentiation and inequalities, documented in the chapters on inequalities, economic success, and women's economic participation, to access to services and governance (discussed in several chapters).

Table 2: The communities by location, livelihood and identity

A. Drought-prone and regularly dependent on food/cash-for-work					
Community	Field-work	Location	Livelihood base*	Identity groups	Region
Gara Godo	Late 2011	Remotish but new municipality	Highly-populated; gardens –cash-crop coffee, root crops, fruit & vegetables; other land grain; agricultural & urban migration; PSNP	1 ethnicity 2 religions	SNNP
Aze Debo'a	Late 2011	Near zone town but remotish	Highly-populated; gardens –cash-crop coffee, root crops, fruit & vegetables; also grain; illegal migration to South Africa; PSNP	1 ethnicity 1 religions	SNNP

A. Drought-prone and regularly dependent on food/cash-for-work

Community	Field-work	Location	Livelihood base*	Identity groups	Region
Luqa	Late 2011	Very remote	Pastoralist in transition + small irrigation + Emergency Food Aid (Emergency Food Aid)	1 ethnicity 2 religions	SNNP
Do'oma	Late 2011	Near *wereda* town but very remote	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + agricultural and urban migration + PSNP	3 ethnicities 2 religions	SNNP
Adele Keke	Late 2011	Near Haromaya & on main road	Cash-crop *chat* [some exported to the Gulf] + vulnerable cereal; irrigation + PSNP; commuting for urban work	1 ethnicity 1 religion	Oromia
Gelcha	Late 2011	Near town & main road but remote	Pastoralist in transition + small irrigation + PSNP	3 ethnicities 2 religions	Oromia
Korodegaga	Early 2010	Remotish	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + migration + PSNP	1 ethnicity 1 religion	Oromia
Shumsheha	Late 2011	Near Lalibela town	Sorghum, *tef*, beans, cattle, shoats some irrigation + migration + PSNP	1 ethnicity 2 religions	Amhara
Dinki	Early 2010	Quite remote	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + migration + EFA	2 ethnicities 2 religions	Amhara
Geblen	Early 2010	Quite remote	Vulnerable cereal + a little irrigation + migration + PSNP	2 ethnicities 2 religions	Tigray
Harresaw	Late 2011	Quite remote	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + illegal migration to Saudi Arabia + PSNP	1 ethnicity 1 religion	Tigray

B. Independent economies in areas with adequate rain

Community	Field-work	Location	Livelihood base*	Identity groups	Region
Girar	Early 2010	Outskirts of *wereda* town but remotish	Highly populated; gardens -*enset* + cash-crop *chat* & eucalyptus+ migration	1 ethnicity 4 religions	SNNP
Adado	2013	Remotish	[2003] Gardens: cash-crop coffee, *enset*, barley, maize	1 ethnicity 1+ religions	SNNP
Turufe	Early 2010	Increasingly near to expanding Shashemene	Food surplus & cash crop potatoes & grain; commuting for urban work	5+ ethnicities 4 religions	Oromia
Sirba	2013	On main highway between Bishoftu and Mojo – 20km to each	[2003] Food surplus + cash crop grain (*tef*, wheat)	1 ethnicity; 3 religions	Oromia
Oda Dawata	2013	On main road between Adama and Assela	[2003] Food surplus + cash crop potatoes, irrigated vegetables & grain in 2003	1 ethnicity, 3 religions	Oromia
Oda Haro	2013	Remotish – 16 km east of Bako	[2003] Food surplus + cash crop grain (maize+), oilseed, peppers, *chat* in 2003	2+ ethnicities 3 religions	Oromia
Somodo	2013	Remotish – 5 km from main road Jimma-Gambella; 20 km from *wereda* town	[2003] Food surplus + cash crop coffee, *chat*, and grain in 2003	2+ ethnicities; 5 religions	Oromia
Kormargefia	2013	Near Debre Berhan town	[2003] In good years some crops sold for cash - barley, beans, wheat; livestock, dairy products; weather problem – frost; 1999-2003 regular food-for-work programme	1 ethnicity 1 religion	Amhara
Yetmen	Early 2010	On all-weather road but remotish	Food surplus + cash crop grain; new irrigated vegetables; agricultural migration	1 ethnicity 1 religion	Amhara

Remoteness and proximity to urban centres

Relative proximity to or distance from urban areas of different sizes and the processes of internal urbanisation are also key parameters explaining differences between the communities, as discussed in the chapter on urbanisation and noted in several other chapters.

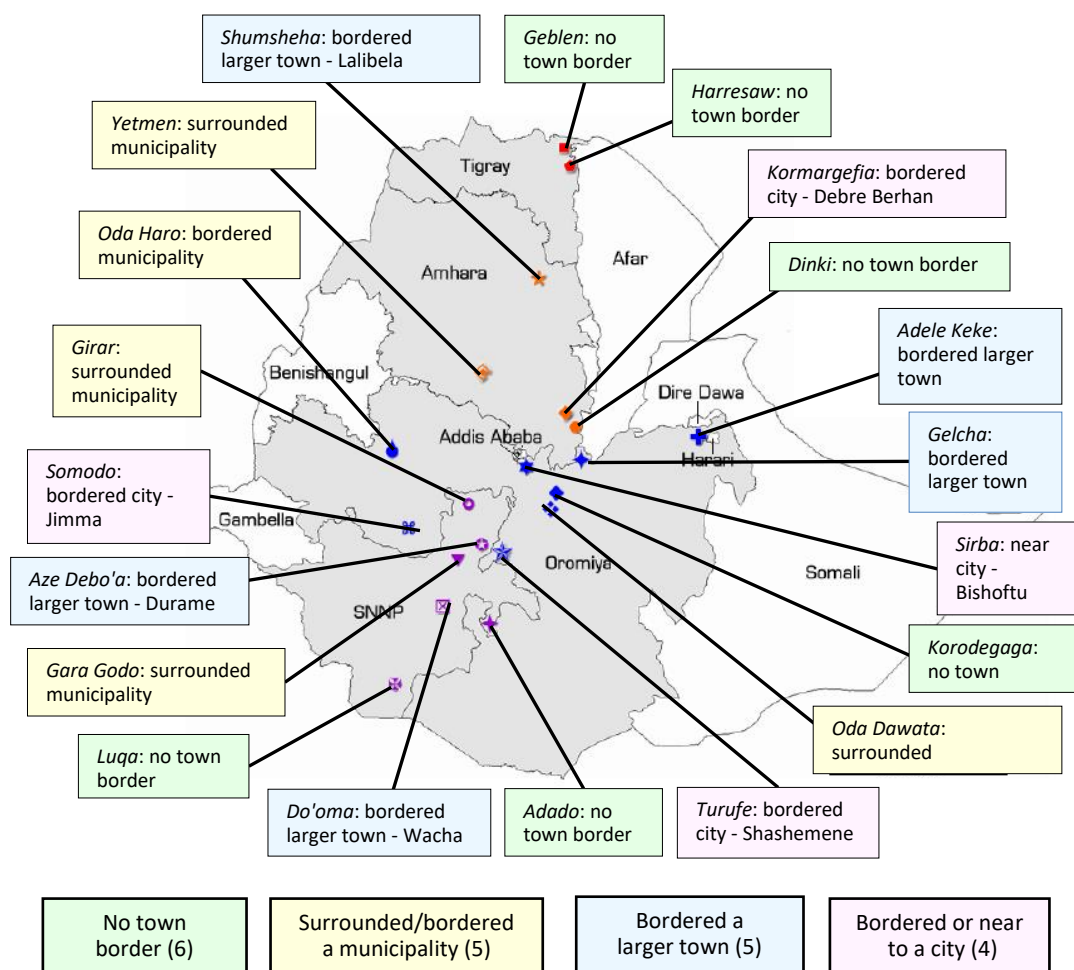*Map 2:   The WIDE3 communities within wider Ethiopia*

Shumsheha: bordered larger town - Lalibela

Geblen: no town border

Harresaw: no town border

Yetmen: surrounded municipality

Kormargefia: bordered city - Debre Berhan

Oda Haro: bordered municipality

Dinki: no town border

Adele Keke: bordered larger town

Girar: surrounded municipality

Gelcha: bordered larger town

Somodo: bordered city - Jimma

Sirba: near city - Bishoftu

Aze Debo'a: bordered larger town - Durame

Korodegaga: no town

Gara Godo: surrounded municipality

Oda Dawata: surrounded

Luqa: no town border

Do'oma: bordered larger town - Wacha

Adado: no town border

Turufe: bordered city - Shashemene

No town border (6)	Surrounded/bordered a municipality (5)	Bordered a larger town (5)	Bordered or near to a city (4)

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Table 3: The communities by proximity to towns

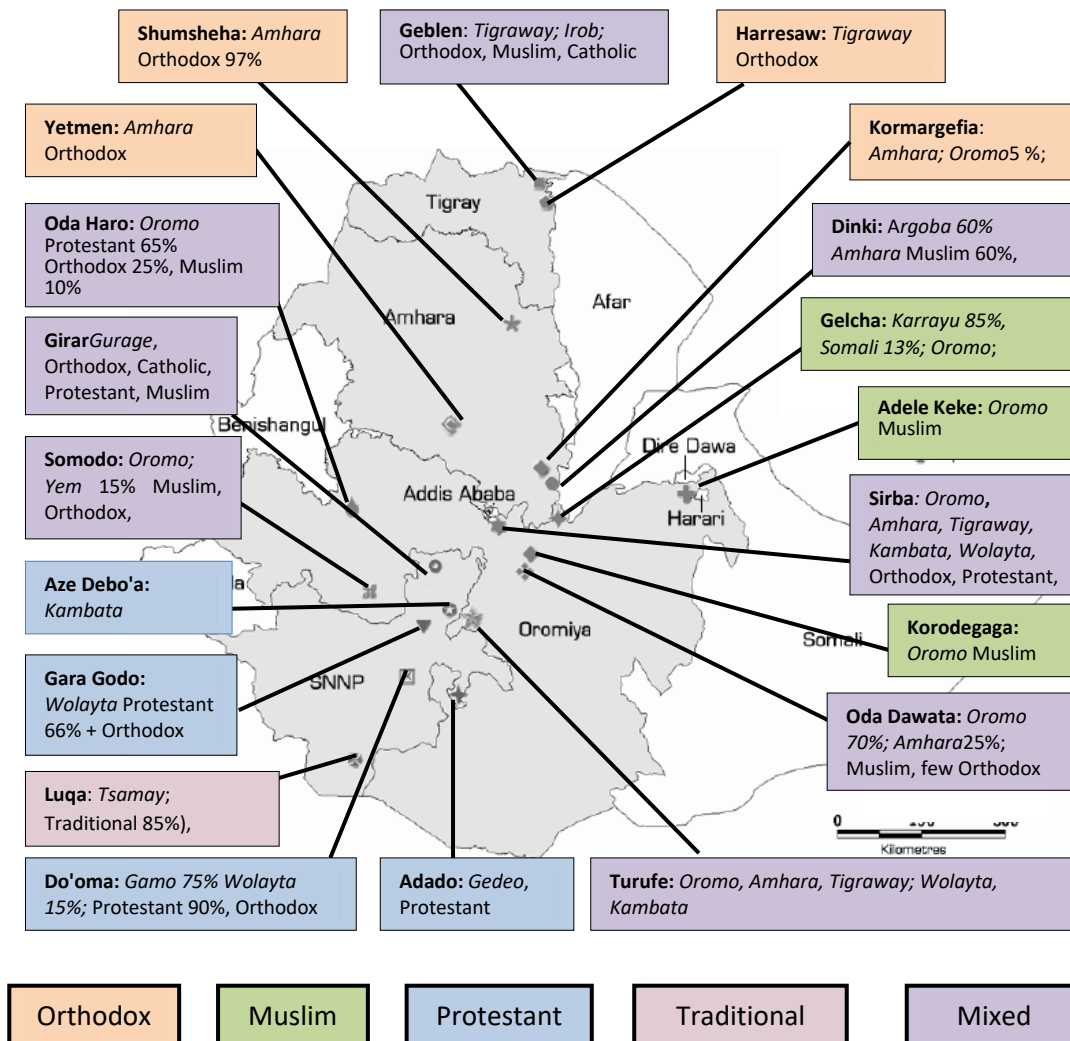| Remote	Adjacent to municipality	Adjacent to larger town (population 20-50,000)	Adjacent or near to city
Korodegaga; Sodere crossing raft on foot; Awash Melkasa 8 km from Sodere; *wereda* town Dera 19 kms crossing raft; 25 km using dry weather road; Adama 24 km from Sodere – estimated population 2015 324,000*, Addis Ababa 120 kms	**Gara Godo**; Gara Godo municipality recently established at centre, Areka on route 51 11 kms, Wolayta Sodo 41 kms one way, Addis Ababa 293 kms the other	**Do'oma**; border with Wacha- estimated population 2015 20,100* 12 kms on all-weather road to road between Sawla 88 kms one way and Wolayta Sodo 144 kms the other; 220 kms to zone capital Arba Minch; Addis Ababa 380 kms	**Somodo**; border with Jimma – estimated population 2015 177,900*, on gravel road 4 kms to Belida one way and 17 kms to Jimma the other, Addis Ababa 369 kms
Dinki; *wereda* town Aliyu Amba 8 kms on path, from there Ankober 15 kms, Debre Berhan 42 kms, Addis Ababa 173 kms	**Yetmen**; Yetmen municipality established at centre many years ago; on route 31 Bichena 17 kms, Debre Markos 64 kms, Addis Ababa 250 kms	**Shumsheha**; border with Lalibela – estimated population 2015 27,200*, all-weather roads to Bahir Dar 312 kms and Addis Ababa 674 kms	**Turufe**; border with Shashemene – estimated population 2015 147,800*. 3 kms from route 7 leading to Addis Ababa (229 kms)
Geblen; nearest small town Adi-kelembes 45 minutes' walk; Edaga Hamus 20kms; *wereda* town Freweyni 39 kms; zone town Adigrat 40 kms -estimated population 2015 86,100*, 847 kms to Addis Ababa	**Oda Dawata**; Gonde municipality established at the centre of the *kebele*; on route 9, Assela 16 kms one way, Adama 61 kms and Addis Ababa 150 kms the other	**Gelcha**; border with Metahara – estimated population 2005 21,348** including workers at the sugar factory, on route 1 to Adama 134 kms and Addis Ababa 217 kms	**Kormargefia**; border with Debre Berhan – estimated population 2015 102,100*, on route 2 Debre Berhan 10 kms one way and Addis Ababa 126 kms the other
Harresaw; *wereda* town Atsbi 17 kms, from Atsbi Wukro 26kms, Mekele, 58 kms, Addis Ababa 819 kms	**Girar**; bordering Imdibir municipality established many years ago; on gravel road from Hosaena 94 kms one way to Wolkite 32 kms and Addis Ababa 182 kms	**Aze Debo'a**; bordering Durame – estimated population 2015 46,800* 12 kms on gravel road to route 7 to Wolayta Sodo 61 kms, allweather road north to Route 51 to Addis Ababa 269 kms	**Sirba**; On route 1 20 kms from Mojo one way and 20 kms from centre of expanding Bishoftu – estimated population in 2015 147,100* the other, Addis Ababa 80 kms
Luqa; Brayle/Woito 15 kms; *wereda* town Key Afer 21 kms; zone town Jinka 63 kms – estimated population 2015 38,700*, Addis Ababa 641 kms	**Oda Haro**; bordering relatively new Tibe municipality on route 4. Bako 17kms and Nekemte 94 kms one way, Ambo 110 kms and Addis Ababa 224 kms the other	**Adele Keke**; bordering Haramaya – estimated population 2015 45,200*, on Route 10 23 kms from Harar, Dire Dawa 23 kms, Addis Ababa 470 kms	
Adado; *wereda* town Bule 10 kms; zone town Dila 25 kms – estimated population 2015 112,900*, Addis Ababa 381 kms			

* Estimated population sizes from http://www.citypopulation.de/Ethiopia.html accessed 27/08/16
** Estimated population from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metehara

Cultural differences

Major cultural differences between communities relate to religion and ethnicity. We can divide the sites into two types for each of these cultural differences into 1) homogenous sites and 2) heterogeneous sites. There is a tendency for sites that are ethnically homogenous to be also religiously homogenous and vice-versa; whereas in more heterogeneous sites, minorities and migrants often, but not always, have different religions from the dominant group.

Map 3: WIDE communities major cultural differences

Shumsheha: *Amhara*
Orthodox 97%

Geblen: *Tigraway; Irob;*
Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic

Harresaw: *Tigraway*
Orthodox

Yetmen: *Amhara*
Orthodox

Kormargefia:
Amhara; Oromo 5 %;

Oda Haro: *Oromo*
Protestant 65%
Orthodox 25%, Muslim
10%

Dinki: A*rgoba 60%*
Amhara Muslim 60%,

Girar *Gurage*,
Orthodox, Catholic,
Protestant, Muslim

Gelcha: *Karrayu 85%,*
Somali 13%; Oromo;

Somodo: *Oromo;*
Yem 15% Muslim,
Orthodox,

Adele Keke: *Oromo*
Muslim

Aze Debo'a:
Kambata

Sirba*: Oromo***,**
Amhara, Tigraway,
Kambata, Wolayta,
Orthodox, Protestant,

Gara Godo:
Wolayta Protestant
66% + Orthodox

Korodegaga:
Oromo Muslim

Luqa: *Tsamay;*
Traditional 85%),

Oda Dawata: *Oromo*
70%; Amhara 25%;
Muslim, few Orthodox

Do'oma: *Gamo 75% Wolayta*
15%; Protestant 90%, Orthodox

Adado: *Gedeo*,
Protestant

Turufe: *Oromo, Amhara, Tigraway; Wolayta,*
Kambata

| Orthodox | Muslim | Protestant | Traditional | Mixed |

Religions

Twelve of the twenty communities have populations that were exclusively or predominantly followers of one religion. Eight of these were Christian, of which four were Protestant, all in SNNP, and four were Orthodox, three in Amhara and one in Tigray. Luqa in SNNP had a considerable majority of traditional believers in customary religion, though recent conversion to Protestantism has been on the increase. The population in all three of the religiously homogeneous sites in Oromia was almost exclusively Muslim. The remaining eight sites had mixed religions: five of these were in Oromia, and one each in Amhara, SNNP and Tigray. Two of the sites in Oromia had three religious groups: Muslim, Orthodox and Protestant; Girar in SNNP and Geblen in Tigray also had a few Catholics.

Eleven of the sites had populations that were exclusively or predominantly from a single ethnicity. In three sites by far the largest majority were Oromo; in two sites the predominant group were Amhara. Tigraway, Gurage, Kambata, Wolayta, Gedeo, and Tsamay were by far the majority in one each; the last five of these in SNNP. Of the nine sites with mixed ethnicities, five were in Oromia: Oda Dawata had an Amhara minority, Somodo a Yem minority, Gelcha, which was predominantly inhabited by Karrayu, had a small Somali minority and a few Oromo households. Sirba and Turufe had migrants from both northern Ethiopia (Amhara and Tigraway) and from southern Ethiopia (Wolayta and Kambata). Two sites in Amhara had households from other ethnicities: Dinki had a large Argobba population, and Kormargefia an Oromo minority. Geblen in Tigray had a considerable Irob minority. Do'oma in SNNP had a majority of Gamo, a small minority of Wolayta, as well as migrants from Jinka town and a few Amhara households.

The WIDE research methodology

The research approach

The WIDE research can be characterised by three main features: 1) a long-term perspective, 2) a focus at the community level and 3) a qualitative data and case-based methodology. The conceptual framework is based on the complexity social science approach described below. To date the research methods have evolved over three phases from 1994 to 2013, notable changes being the involvement of female researchers from WIDE2 in 2003, and a greater focus on the role of development interventions in WIDE3.

Why a long-term perspective on the impacts of development?

There are four reasons why we have taken a long-term perspective on development in Ethiopia, comparing communities in 1995, 2003 and 2010-13. *First*, we have been able to identify and describe substantive and inter-dependent changes in the local economies, polities, societies and cultures of each of these communities. *Second*, by analysing the communities using a complexity system lens, as described below, we have been able to develop ideas about where each of these communities might be heading in the next few years. *Third*, by focusing on the period since 2003, which has seen a considerable increase in government activities and related aid-funding, we have been able to explore the impact on the communities of the combined and interacting contributions of a stream of interventions in the infrastructure, livelihoods, environment, social protection, health, education, governance, justice and social equity sectors, some of which is explored in chapters in this book. *Fourth*, we have also been able to explore the combined impact of these interventions on different kinds of community member distinguished by genderage, wealth, and other locally salient status markers (see Pankhurst and Bevan 2007 and the chapter on inequalities in this book).

Most country-specific assessments of development interventions depend on one of three approaches. The *first* is monitoring and evaluation of individual sector development programmes and projects in relation to goals set at the outset. This can provide a view of the relatively immediate impacts of a particular intervention at a particular time. The *second* involves measuring, and sometimes extrapolating, differences in administrative and survey-generated statistics between different years used as indicators of general economic development and sector progress. Recently there has been growing interest and investment in a *third* approach at project level: the Randomised Controlled Trial. Here potential beneficiaries are randomly assigned to a 'treatment group' and a 'control group' and quantitative analyses of the outcomes are used to establish the degree of difference made by the intervention. All these approaches have their uses. However, they do not provide information and analysis that is

useful for the strategic planning of future interventions in country contexts marked by considerable internal livelihood diversity and rapid change. This is the gap that research like ours is designed to fill.

We have been exploring how, in a variety of places, different kinds of planned intervention have interacted with each other, and with other ongoing events, deep community structures, and wider modernisation processes, such as the spread of modern communications and ideas, the thickening of markets, and the building of the state. Our data have also been used to identify gaps and problems with current interventions, synergies when interventions in different sectors support each other, 'antergies' when one intervention confounds another, and short and longer-term unanticipated consequences of interventions considered individually and as sets. Also, our tracking of the trajectories of the communities into the future is related to an agenda for policy design which takes account of potential change or stasis at community levels during the period when the intervention is in place. With the right information policymakers could intervene to prevent, encourage or compensate for the anticipated changes. Where stasis is predicted the use of the framework can support identification of the factors involved in blocking desirable change.

Why a focus on communities?

Community systems are spatially-defined entities. The thousands of rural community systems found in the mountains, valleys, plains and deserts of Ethiopia are sub-systems of Ethiopia's macro system. Ethiopia, with a population of over 90 million, has around 30,000 *kebele* which are the smallest administrative unit and the site of intervention implementation. The boundaries of the community systems in which we conducted the WIDE3 fieldwork coincided with local *kebele* or sub-*kebele* boundaries in 2013[16]. The three stages of WIDE provide data on the community structures and histories in 1995 (for fifteen communities), 2003 and 2010-2013; each piece of qualitative and quantitative data can be viewed as an *evidence trace* of the trajectory of the community at the time to which it refers.

We adopted a focus on communities for six main reasons. *First,* in the absence of dramatic changes in the wider context, this is the level at which development does, or does not, happen in poor rural societies. *Second,* the policy interface between government and society in rural Ethiopia is found at community level; policies, programmes and projects will only produce development if they lead to changes in local ideas, practices, community institutions and structures. *Third,* communities work as complex open social systems constituted by inter-acting economic, political, social, cultural and human sub-systems. A significant change in any of these sub-systems will cause adaptive change in the others, resulting either in positive feedback effects which reinforce the original change or negative feedback effects, which dampen the momentum of the original change. Such negative feedback mechanisms are key factors in 'poverty traps'. *Fourth,* communities are on individual trajectories and the aim of development interventions is to re-direct them onto developmental paths. *Fifth*, while in recent years development interventions have been aimed at the economic development of households and the human development of individuals, these interventions are all delivered by government structures through the prism of the community, in which different kinds of household and individual evolve in social, economic, cultural and political relationships and interactions with each other, often involving inequality, adverse incorporation and exclusion (see chapter on inequalities).

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[16] In some cases these were not totally coincident with the community boundaries studied in 1995 and/or 2003. In one case, Dinki, the 1995 *kebele* had become a *got* in a much larger kebele by 2010.

Finally, Ethiopia's rural livelihood systems, as noted earlier, are quite diverse, even within *weredas*, posing deep problems for the macro-design and implementation of economic policies and programmes appropriate to particular local conditions, especially since there is currently little accessible information about how local livelihood systems and communities work and the relative prevalence of different types. While there are regular criticisms of 'one-size-fits-all' approaches to development interventions, such approaches actually fit well with the current analytical framework used by government and donors. This mostly relies on quantitative data on households and individuals, and seeks to generalise rather than identify the differences which matter. We have not yet seen the development of a rigorous practical methodology for developing a set of 'sizes' to fit the different types of livelihood, *kebele*, and *wereda* which constitute the 'all'. A national research and evaluation focus on communities would allow for the accumulation of knowledge, which could be used to develop and monitor a portfolio of programmes in the different sectors appropriate to the different initial conditions found in differing types of community.

Why qualitative data and a case-based approach?

Improvements in computer capacities and speeds have led to rapidly growing interest in case-based approaches to empirical research, a related useful literature, and software programmes for linking interpretations of qualitative data with analyses of quantitative data.

The complexity social science approach which underpins the WIDE3 programme relies on case-based methods which have been the subject of a Handbook (Byrne and Ragin 2009), which contains examples of a range of case-based methods and techniques[17]. Byrne argues 'that integrated accounts constructed around a complexity frame offer the best narratives for describing change (2001:74)'. In order to achieve such accounts he advocates the use of four processes in a practical complexity social science: exploring, classifying, interpreting and ordering.

A possible charge that will be made by those who are not convinced by the conclusions we have drawn from the research is that they are 'anecdotal' because the data lying behind them (1) only refer to twenty sites which are not 'representative' of Ethiopia's rural communities and (2) have been 'collected' through procedures which have not 'controlled for' interviewer bias.

With regard to the first charge we fully accept that these communities are not 'representative' in the way that an appropriately-sized sample selected randomly would be. However, they were chosen by economists designing a conventional random sample household survey[18] for quantitative analysis as 'exemplars' of different types of rural community, and we have applied some well-accepted case-based methods to the data. Through a process of case analysis and comparison we have provided narratives for each community,[19] looked for commonalities and differences across the sites in relation to modernisation processes and the impact of

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[17] These include explanatory typologies in qualitative analysis, cluster analysis, correspondence analysis, classifications, Bayesian methods, configurational analysis including Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), fuzzy-set analysis, neural network analysis, choice of different types of cases for comparison (e.g. most different cases with a similar outcome; most similar cases with a different outcome), computer-based qualitative methods, ethnographic case studies, and a systems approach to multiple case study. There is a chapter on the WIDE methodology)Bevan, 2009b).

[18] The Ethiopian Rural Household Survey https://www.ifpri.org/publication/ethiopian-rural-household-surveys-erhs-1989-2009accessed 28/09/16.

[19] See twenty Community Reports on the Ethiopia WIDE website http://ethiopiawide.net/publications accessed 29/09/16.

interventions on the communities and people within them, and located each of them in the wider Ethiopian context through a process of typologising, which we hope can be expanded.

With regard to the charge of interviewer bias we would argue that empirical data are not 'given' or 'collected'; whether they are based on surveys, interviews, or participant observation they are always made and recorded by people involved in a process of interaction with other people. Furthermore, all data analysis, including the most technical of econometrics, relies on processes of interpretation involving many judgments. During the process of making our data the skilled, experienced and trained fieldworkers had to translate questions and probes in English into the appropriate local language, informants had to interpret and answer the questions in the light of their particular experiences, the fieldworkers had to engage in dialogues with the informants to follow-up on potentially interesting topics, translate the answers into notes and the notes into written narratives. Finally, we, the report writers, had to make some sense of a vast set of narratives coming from the perspectives of a range of different people involved in the development of the community including *wereda* officials, *kebele* officials, elders, militia, women's association leaders, ruling party members, opposition party supporters, farmers and their wives, women heading households, rich, middle wealth, poor and very poor people, health centre employees, extension workers and teachers, old people, young men and women, and children.

Given this complexity, how have we worked to maximise the validity of our conclusions? *First,* our qualitative data were made using protocols which contain instructions about the broad questions to be asked discursively with probes to make sure important aspects are not missed, details of what kinds of people should be asked to respond, and a space for the interviewer to follow-up interesting responses and add observational data and comments. The design is theory-based. Protocols produce narrative data about the case in question. Protocols can be applied in any number of cases and the narrative data can be coded and quantified. Types of respondent appropriate to the question are selected e.g. rich/poor, teacher/student/parent and asking the same questions of people of different types provides multiple perspectives and allows comparative analysis.

Second, we set in place a data interpretation/analysis process where first we built descriptive evidence bases combining answers from all the modules and which referred back to them. These evidence bases were revised after the fieldworkers had read and commented on them and were used in a process involving a first stage of interpretation and abstraction to construct Final Report annexes. Drafts written by each of the report writers were read by the others; when facts or conclusions were challenged the writer had to refer back to the data in the modules and if necessary make changes to the annex.

Why a complexity social science methodology?

Using ideas from complexity science and theory our complexity social science approach[20] pays attention to ontology – what is the world *really* like? and epistemology – how can we know about it? In relation to that part of the world we are looking at here – rural communities and their members – we conceptualise them as complex social and human systems which are *open*, as they depend on and interact with their environments, and *dynamic*, as they co-evolve with the open systems which make them up, constitute their contexts, and overlap with them. Our approach to knowledge is that it too is imbricated in historically changing complex systems, so that what we can know is contingent and provisional, pertaining to a particular context and a

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[20] For more on this see Bevan 2009b.

certain time-frame. However, this does not mean that 'anything goes'. We are committed to the institutionalised values and methodological rules of social science which include establishing an Evidence Base to which we can return if questions arise.

From complexity ontology we take a number of key messages. Initial conditions matter and trajectories are path dependent. Systems and their elements have different timeframes and co-evolve. Systems can change rapidly but systems with strong 'control parameters'[21] (see below) are resistant to change. Complex social systems have material, technological, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions and are constituted by elements in relationships. Structurally embedded heterogeneous *creative* agents with interests are organised in unequally structured sub-systems. In the development world these sub-systems include households, communities, kin groups, formal and informal enterprises, NGOs, political parties, donors, government, transnational companies etc. System structures involve unequal role, relationship and resource structures and have varying connectivity in different parts of the system. In some parts networks of relationship may be dense, in others there may be structural holes, and some people may be excluded from participation in many areas of the system.

Complexity theory tells us a number of things of relevance about ways to know about complex systems. Research is usually exploratory rather than confirmatory, the aim being to identify common processes and mechanisms rather than 'laws' or generalisations. Frameworks and methods depend strongly on the research question. There is continuous interaction and iteration between ideas and the field. Quantitative and qualitative data are seen as different kinds of 'traces' of the passage of the communities through time/history. Quantitative data tells you *how much* of the research object of interest there is while qualitative data tells you *what kind* of thing it is. More than one description of a complex system is possible; different descriptions decompose the system in different ways.

Complexity social science is particularly useful for informing policy (See for instance Bevan 2010a). It is essentially a frame of reference for understanding what things are like, how they work, and how they might be made to work better. When complex systems are far from equilibrium and potentially ready to move in a new direction, there is a period of 'chaos', where they seem to dither between potential alternative futures or 'attractor states' before settling for one. Accumulation of knowledge and understanding about transitions in communities that have already made them could be used to design interventions promoting potential good transitions and deterring bad ones.

Different types of community are on different development trajectories and what may be a possible development future for one type will not be possible for another type. Typologies and typological theorising can be used to identify ensembles of communities in similar situations and their control parameters and to explore what the more successful are doing that might be copied by the others, which might be something relatively simple.
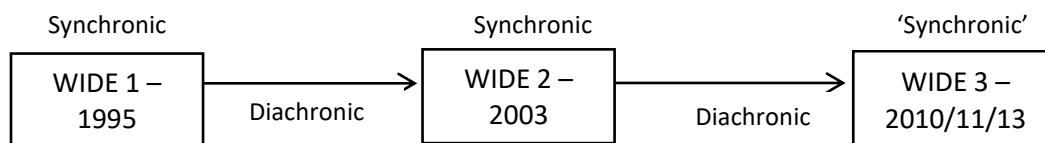
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[21] In the case of rural communities these might include the weather, a well-entrenched culture, and/or a hierarchical unequal power structure.

The research design

The communities

The communities were conceptualised as open and dynamic complex socio-material systems moving through time and co-evolving with other nested, encompassing, and over-lapping complex systems. The longitudinal data on the twenty communities was interpreted and analysed from both *synchronic and diachronic standpoints*.

Fig. 1: Synchronic and diachronic approaches to the WIDE data

Synchronic	Synchronic	'Synchronic'
WIDE 1 – 1995	WIDE 2 – 2003	WIDE 3 – 2010/11/13

Diachronic ... Diachronic

From a synchronic perspective each research visit to the WIDE communities produced 'snapshots' focusing on a short period of time, providing thick descriptions of each of the communities, and the chance to use comparative case-based analyses of the data. From a diachronic perspective the trajectory followed by each community is the result of (1) interactions among a stream of external happenings to which people organised in household sub-systems have constantly to respond, and (2) creative activities generated within the community.

Synchronic data interpretation and analysis

To gather information to aid understanding about how a complex system is working it is useful to view it from multiple perspectives (Cilliers, 2005: 257). To explore how the communities were working at the time of the WIDE3 fieldwork we adopted seven perspectives which guided the questions we asked. One looked at the community as a whole, and another at the community in its wider context. The other five 'de-constructed' the communities in different ways:

1. The evolving community eco-system: the socio-material system of place and people;
2. Five evolving and inter-penetrating functional sub-systems which are simultaneously domains of power, institutional settings and fields of action – livelihoods, human re/pro/duction, social re/pro/duction, community management, ideas (see Table 1);
3. Different kinds of open and dynamic complex household system following household life cycles;
4. Different kinds of open and dynamic people – genderaged social actors growing older;
5. Different kinds of historically-influenced social interaction among different kinds of social actors.

Table 4: The five domains of power / fields of action / functional sub-systems

	Smallholder agriculture and agricultural employment
Livelihoods	Non-farm business and non-farm employment
	Migration and remittances
	'Producing' people: pregnancy, birth, child-rearing
	'Producing' people: learning, training, formal education
Human re/pro/duction	'Reproducing' (maintaining) people: domestic work, food consumption
	'Reproducing' people: housing, household assets, water, and sanitation
	'Reducing' people: illness, conflict, ageing
	Social networks
Social re/pro/duction	Social institutions: marriage, circumcision, inheritance, land/labour/oxen exchanges
	Social organisations (including households)
	Community-initiated structures for decision-making and implementation
Community management	*Kebele* (community government) structures
	Wereda (district)structures
	Local customary repertoires
Ideas	Local modern repertoires
	In-coming ideologies, religions, cultures and other ideas

The theoretical frameworks related to the five community de-constructions described above were used to design the set of research instruments, the choice of fieldwork respondents, and the analytic matrices for interpreting and analysing the qualitative data to produce structured thick descriptions and case-based comparisons. This work allowed us to (1) identify common mechanisms at work in all the communities; (2) classify the communities into different kinds or types depending on the topic of interest; and (3) pick out the factors underlying the differences among the types. We were also able to consider the ways the communities worked as a whole under the influence of community-specific configurations of internal and external control parameters. The synchronic analysis of the WIDE3 data also produced many policy relevant research outputs.[22]

Diachronic data interpretation and analysis

Communities are spatially, economically, politically, culturally and historically located in wider complex systems. The relationships which each community has with these over-lapping and encompassing systems have a bearing on both the substance and the style of what happens. Since communities are historically located each is on a trajectory constructed by the path-dependent actions and social interactions of the actors involved. Community trajectories can change direction as a result of internally-initiated changes, linked internal and contextual changes, or big changes in context.

Social change processes depend on people acting and thinking in new ways; social continuity is found where things go on much as usual. The trajectory followed by each community depends on (1) interactions among a stream of external happenings to which people organised in household sub-systems have constantly to respond, and (2) creative activities generated within the community

In the longer-run as time passes in each community a configuration of internal and contextual locally salient inter-acting control parameters guides its trajectory. A significant change in one

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parameter has potential consequences for others and may set off a chain of knock-on effects. During WIDE3 we identified ten control parameter areas which were potentially important for guiding the trajectories of these rural communities (see Table 5).

Table 5: Parameters guiding rural community trajectories

Control parameter areas		Parameters identified as potentially important for the communities studied
Internal parameters	1. Place	Terrain, settlement, climate, ecology
		Remoteness - connections with wider world
	2. People	Current human resources/liabilities
		Aspirations
		Personal relations
	3. Lives	Human re/pro/duction infrastructures and institutions
	4. Livelihoods	Farming system
		Livelihood diversification
		Economic institutions
	5. Social relations	Community fault-lines
		Organised collective agency
	6. Cultural ideas	Customary cultural repertoire
		Modern cultural repertoires
	7. Politics	Political settlement
		Government-society relations
		Opposition party organisation
Contextual parameters	8. External aspects of intersecting functional systems	Economic – e.g. international coffee prices
		Lives – e.g. contraceptive provision, food aid systems
		Social – e.g. diasporas
		Cultural imports –e.g. religious, political, modernisation ideologies
		Political – e.g. EPRDF party
	9. Encompassing meso systems	State of meso system: economy, society, culture, politics
		Government plans for the wider area
	10. Encompassing macro systems	State of country system: economy, society, culture, politics
		State of Horn of Africa systems
		State of global systems

The development interventions

Government development interventions are designed to change community control parameters with the aim of triggering a development process within the community. Table 6 links the major interventions with the relevant control parameters.

Table 6: Community control parameters and selected development interventions

Parameter areas	Control parameters	Main development interventions

1. Place system	Terrain, settlement, climate	Watershed management, zero-grazing, tree-planting, land use Irrigation infrastructure, soil interventions
	Connections with wider world	Internal, feeder and external roads Electricity Mobile phones TV & radio infrastructure Small rural town interventions
2. People system	Human resources Aspirations Personal relations	Youth interventions Women interventions Interventions for poor & excluded Child-focused interventions (other than primary education)
3. Lives system	Human re/pro-duction infrastructures and institutions	Safe water Health extension Pre-school, primary, secondary, and post-secondary education; Functional adult literacy Child health, curative services
4. Livelihood system	Farming system	Access to farming land Crop extension Livestock extension & vets
	Livelihood diversification	Migration regulation Non-farm extension
	Economic institutions	Credit Taxes & contributions, Producer and Service Co-operatives
5. Societal system	Community fault-lines & organised collective agency	Government engagement with elites, ROs and CIOs Physical security Political security Justice
6. Cultural ideas system	Customary cultural repertoire Modern cultural repertoire	Government 'awaring' and party propaganda Government regulation of other ideas Interventions to reduce 'Harmful Traditional Practices' (HTPs)
7. Political system	Political settlement Government-society relations Opposition party organisations	*Kebele* and party organisation Elections Accountability measures including reporting upwards Planning for the community

Development interventions were conceptualised as dynamic open complex socio-material systems which are inserted into fluid community systems with the intention of bringing changes to people, institutions and the physical landscape. They combine macro-level design and monitoring and evaluation with an implementation chain which fans out from the Federal Government, through Regional Governments, zones, *weredas* and *kebeles*. They intersect and co-evolve with government bureaucracies at different hierarchical levels, and with other development interventions, community sub-systems, and in some cases with donor and NGO bureaucracies.

This framework focused on three research areas for which conceptual frameworks were developed. The *first* was the development interface where paid government officials, unpaid volunteers in official government positions and different kinds of ordinary community members interact in relation to each intervention. The *second* framework described the 'web of interventions'; the ways in which at the community level each development intervention system inter-sects and co-evolves with the community system, relevant functional sub-systems, and the other development intervention systems operating in the community. Using the *third* framework we looked at how interactions among different interventions produced synergies and their opposite, antergies.

The success of an individual intervention depends partly on how well it connects practically with

the place, people, and functional sub-systems in the particular community; development interface disconnects may be material, cultural and/or related to time rhythms. Theories of change implicit in an intervention include assumptions about what social actors will do, the institutional contexts, the human, material social and cultural resources available, which mechanisms of change will be effective, and what the outcomes will be. For a number of reasons development interventions are never implemented as planned (Pawson 2013).

The research instruments and fieldwork

The theoretical frameworks for place, people, family, economy, society, culture, polity and development interventions were used to produce a list of modernisation variates which informed the research instruments. These instruments were organised in modules which, in all three stages of WIDE3, provided *wereda* and *kebele* perspectives; community histories since 2003; in-depth household interviews; interviews with young people; and interviews with key informants. Other modules varied across the three stages to fit the sets of communities in each stage. For example, the eight communities studied in Stage 2 were all drought-prone and a PSNP module was developed for those with Productive Safety Net Programmes.

In each community a male and a female research officer conducted separate interviews, many covering the same questions providing gendered perspectives on many topics. Interviewees included rich, middle-wealth and poor men, women and youngsters, government employees working in the *wereda* and *kebele*, government volunteers from the community holding *kebele* Cabinet, Council, Committee and other official positions, leaders of community-initiated organisations, elders, religious leaders, clan leaders, model farmers, investors, traders, other business people, skilled workers, daily labourers, returned migrants, ex-soldiers, traditional health workers, and various kinds of vulnerable and excluded people.

Case-based interpretation and analysis of the data

In our Stage reports, discussion briefs, policy presentations, and academic publications we have considered a number of different kinds of case including:

- Complex social systems as cases: e.g. communities; households; people (see chapter on inequality); *iddir*; clans
- Domains of power/functional sub-systems as cases: e.g. livelihood systems; cultural repertoires
- Complex social processes as cases: e.g. female circumcision, migration (see chapter on migration)
- Modernisation features as cases: e.g. irrigation, urbanisation (see chapter on urbanisation)
- Development interventions as cases: e.g. internal road programmes, local education interventions (see chapter on education)

Thick description of individual cases makes them meaningful to outsiders; one of many examples is the twenty long community narratives, another is the household stories in those community reports, and a third the interviews with young people provided in full in the website database.

Comparison of cases involved sorting them into types on the basis of the data about the particular case of interest. This process produced many interesting results about similarities and differences among the communities. A further step was to look for patterned connections with parameters identified as potentially important through theoretical argument, for example community remoteness, livelihood system, religion, etc.

The WIDE3 research findings

Over the three Stages and since their completion in 2013 we have produced research 'answers' of a number of different kinds[23]:

1. Many synchronic and diachronic empirical conclusions – as the Summary Reports and Annexes for each of the three Stages show;

2. Many policy discussion documents and powerpoint presentations;

3. Some new conceptual directions – for example in Stage 2 considering policy-relevant variates such as irrigation and internal roads as cases which can by typed and taking this insight further in Stage 3 and beyond;

4. A number of new theoretical frameworks which can be used by other researchers;

5. Recognition of the importance of durable structures of inequality in these rural communities as described in the chapter in inequality;

6. The development of substantive theory in relation to community control parameters and future forces for change;

7. Improvements to research methods and fieldwork practice after each Stage.

Topics selected, chapter summaries and cross cutting themes

In this final part of the introduction we start by explaining the rationale for the selection of the topics addressed in the book, then provide summaries of each of the chapters highlighting the key findings, and finally outline three emerging cross-cutting themes: 1) *growth, poverty and inequalities* - at the core of the ways in which the WIDE communities have been transformed since 1995, and of central importance for the future development of Ethiopia; 2) *space and time*, providing a geographical and temporal contextualisation of change and a framework to reflect on aspects of the communities' transformations that had to do with where they are located and with the period covered by the WIDE research so far, and 3)*gender-age and the experience of women and youth,* with gender-age a critical lens to understand how peoples' experience of change differ depending on the combination of their gender and their age; in particular we focus on women and youth, two overlapping categories of genderaged individuals representing the majority of the population, and facing particular gender-age related constraints that the government is striving to address. We return to these cross-cutting themes in the concluding chapter to highlight potential linkages with policy and practice and bring together suggestions for improvements of existing interventions and/or new ones raised in the various chapters.

Rationale for the selections of topics for this book

This book addresses ten selected topics relating to change and transformation in the twenty rural communities. The issues were chosen by the WIDE team for four main reasons, often combined and interacting for a specific topic. *First* of all the topics were ones that emerged as important when we were analysing the data made thus far. For instance, while we were looking at the data coming out of the first stage of WIDE3 in six communities in 2010 and preparing the stage 1 summary report (Bevan et al. 2011), two topics, youth transitions to adulthood and differentiation and inequalities, were then selected to produce papers by Bevan (2011) and Pankhurst (2011) during the transition phase between WIDE3 stages 1 and 2, and we felt it was

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[23] These can all be found on the Publications page of the Ethiopia WIDE website http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/accessed 28/09/16.

worthwhile to revisit the topics with more data. Similarly, migration gradually emerged as an important aspect of the trajectories of many communities and was researched more systematically from stage 2 onwards; the topicality of the issue more generally in Ethiopia then prompted us to analyse the data in more depth.

Second, as we were presenting selected aspects of our findings to government and donors partners and were adapting the design of the research for stage 2 in 2012 and stage 3 in 2013 we also geared our research towards topics considered important for development, about which less was known and for which our qualitative approach could offer insights. Part of the interest was in understanding which interventions were resulting in positive changes, addressed most clearly in the chapters on successful individuals, women's economic participation and innovation and change. In a period of rapid growth there was also concern with those potentially 'left behind', considered in particular in the chapters on inequalities, youth transitions and the two chapters on reproductive health and wellbeing, and also evoked in those on education and women economic empowerment.

Third, as noted earlier, there were also issues that have become topical in the current context, notably urbanisation, migration, and to an extent, youth and inequalities. Topics such as youth and inequalities, as well as what economic success looked like in rural communities, and women's economic participation, were also identified as being of particular interest in conversations with senior government officials.

Finally, there were areas in which each of the team members had a particular interest in and had worked on before. For instance, Bevan (2004) had earlier analysed problems facing mothers and babies during periods of stress and it seemed worthwhile revisiting the topic after 'better years' for most communities, and years of more determined government action in relation to maternal and child health. Pankhurst had written on inequalities as mentioned earlier. Dom had worked on education issues, and found that interesting links emerged from the data between education, higher aspirations, more complex youth transitions, and migration.

Most of the chapters in this book were written by Pip Bevan, Catherine Dom and Alula Pankhurst, who as a team led the WIDE3 research. Sarah Vaughan, a longstanding 'friend of WIDE' who joined the WIDE team since, had analysed WIDE data to produce a brief on models of development (Vaughan 2015) which led on to her interest in understanding ways of learning in rural communities. Tefera Goshu, who had participated in the data making over the years, was interested in stories of economic success in rural areas, and took the lead in the writing on insights on economic success in the WIDE communities with Catherine Dom. Lilli Loveday, a UK-based gender expert interested in qualitative research agreed to write on women's economic participation which as noted above, was of particular interest from the point of view of 'what worked'.

Chapter summaries

We start by considering each of the ten chapters that make up the book, following the order of the sequence of the chapters, and summarising key findings, highlighting linkages with other chapters, pointing to some of the common findings across the chapters, and relating these to some other relevant studies.

Rurbanisation, urban expansion, and thickening rural-urban links 2010-13

This chapter focuses on how urbanisation, rapidly increasing in Ethiopia although from a low base, has resulted in a transformation of the twenty WIDE communities. Bevan identifies three types of interacting urbanisation-related processes: 1) *rurbanisation,* the construction of 'urban' infrastructure and buildings within the *kebele* boundaries, related to settlement pattern, the

quantity and quality of internal roads and paths, the presence and coverage of electricity and mobile phone networks, and the existence of water infrastructures for safe drinking water and irrigation; 2) *thickening rural-urban linkages*, through development of linkages in trade, work, investment and access to modern human development and well-being services, related to the extent and quality of external roads, the use of urban services by people in the communities, the extent of export of rural products to towns, and commuting and migrating for work in towns; and 3) *urban expansion* which reconfigures landscapes and boundaries, raises demand by towns for food and natural resources from rural hinterlands, and can result in disruption, loss of land and local conflicts.

In a detailed fine-grained comparative analysis, grouping communities from least to most remote, she documents how these processes interacted with other modernisation dynamics with effects on people's livelihoods, wellbeing and lifestyles, ideas and aspirations. Bevan abundantly illustrates how the WIDE communities which, twenty years ago, could be called rural and even remote, can no longer be understood in the same way, even those found some distance from any town, and suggests that an understanding of their economies and social relations would be inadequate without an appreciation of these linkages. These processes contributed to agricultural modernisation, the creation or expansion of the non-farm sector and an increase in different kinds of services and in people's access to them affecting community beliefs and practices and people's lifestyles, aspirations, relations and well-being.

However, the twenty communities have not all been affected in the same ways and are found in differing proximities and relations to urban settlements, and differences across communities were significant and multi-faceted. In analysing how these coevolving modernisation processes have affected the various communities differentially, Bevan distinguishes between four types of communities in terms of the scale and type of urban settlements and linkages: 1) six communities at some distance from any town remain comparatively remote, 2) five communities are adjacent to a municipality or have one within the *kebele* boundaries, 3) five communities are bordering larger towns, and 4) four communities are adjacent or near to cities. Internal urbanisation was much more advanced in some communities than others, the density and reach of rural-urban links varied considerably, and while there was pressure from urban expansion on the land of most of the communities bordering towns, in most places those not living near the borders were largely unaffected.

A few key patterns emerged from Bevan's analysis, three of which we wish to highlight. *First*, it was notable how the changes and opportunities resulting from urbanisation and associated modernisation processes were significantly greater in the less remote communities – including opportunities for exports of rural products and commuting for work, access to urban health and education services and to a wider range of consumer goods; contacts with urban people and ideas, etc.

Second, striking, and illustrated in several other chapters in this volume, was how the development of infrastructure and communications played a major role in growth through the quantity and quality of both external and internal roads, electrification and the expansion of mobile phone networks and were crucial in enabling local economies to diversify.

Third, in addition to differences *between* communities these urbanisation-related processes had very different implications for different categories of people *within* the same community, with poverty, remoteness and to some extent, gender-age, being the most influential factors underpinning these differences. Young people were more engaged in urbanisation processes, while people living in remoter parts of the communities and those living further from *kebele* centres and internal roads were less able to take advantage of emerging opportunities and

access urban services due to distance and cost than those living in the centres or better connected parts. The generally poor quality of internal roads and paths was a major explanatory factor of this latter pattern, as was the fact that access to electricity was almost everywhere conceived as 'connecting to the grid', which may not be feasible even in well-connected communities, in their remoter parts. More generally, poverty was a major factor limiting ways in which households and individuals could engage with these processes, which in turn resulted in a 'poverty trap' effect, further described by Pankhurst in the chapter on inequalities, and Dom, Loveday and Bevan in several other chapters. The section on crosscutting themes later in this chapter draws together these various points on the implications of poverty.

Finally, Bevan also briefly discusses how the potential urbanisation trajectories of the communities in the future are shaped by both internal and external processes, and decisions affecting the wider areas in which they are located. For instance Sirba, a community located in between the cities of Bishoftu and Mojo, is rapidly being transformed by a broad range of development interventions in that corridor involving among others the construction of a highway, railway, factories, urban expansion from both cities, and irrigation initiatives. Even Luqa, one of the two agropastoralist sites located in South Omo Zone of the SNNPR, which in 2012 was probably the remotest of all the communities, might change a lot more than others given the government's large-scale development plans for the area in which it is located.

Differentiation, inequalities and social inclusion in rural communities

This chapter illustrates how, alongside growth and transformation, the WIDE communities had experienced increasing differentiation, both between communities and, within communities, between households and individuals. In comparing communities, as also highlighted by Bevan, proximity to towns was an important differentiation factor, together with agricultural potential, irrigation and cash crops, infrastructure development and generally integration with the market. Remoteness was a factor interlinked with poverty both at community and household/individual level, as also illustrated in several other chapters in this volume – thus emerging and discussed as a crosscutting issue in the next section.

At the household level, at one end, the wealthiest households, better able to seize the opportunities created by government interventions and broader modernisation processes, especially in the better integrated communities, were forming elites whose livelihoods and lifestyles differed markedly from other households in the community (for instance owning 'villa-like' houses and trucks, sending children to private education institutions and being able to afford private health care services). At the other end, very poor and destitute households, with little or no assets, more vulnerable to shocks and sometime homeless, depended heavily on assistance, mostly from within the communities, with the exception of the PSNP in some communities and a few, on the whole quite patchy, NGO initiatives. Poor households, but with some labour capacity, who were often risk-averse given their vulnerability, depended on a range of hand-to-mouth activities which, compounded by the lack of livelihood interventions tailored to their needs, maintained them in a 'poverty trap', also documented in Loveday's chapter on women's economic participation. Thus, while the most recent though now dated statistical evidence (2010) maintains that rural inequality has remained low[24], and increasing inequality is still widely perceived as more of an urban phenomenon, this chapter suggests changing trends, with nascent class relations (poorer households working for richer ones hiring them, and elites

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[24] For instance, in its interim poverty analysis report the (then) Ministry of Finance and Economic Development indicates that the rural Gini coefficient in 2010/1 was 0.27, that is, exactly the same level as in 1995/6 (Government of Ethiopia 2012).

becoming differentiated in resources and lifestyles) and, in some communities, a decline in inter-household cooperation.

Pankhurst also suggests that there is a greater gap between the rich and poor in communities with more agricultural potential, more diversified economies (including because rich farmers invested in trade and other non-farm activities, a trend also highlighted in the chapter on economic success), and greater proximity to towns which, as Bevan indicated, usually led to more accentuated urbanisation and associated modernisation processes and a wider range of opportunities. However, these were also the communities in which poorer households had more opportunities for diversified survival options. Another dimension of the differentiation between households highlighted in this chapter is resilience to weather and production as well as social and health shocks. Shocks have more profound consequences for the poor, with fewer if any fall-back options and often ending up further impoverished.

This chapter also highlights that there were categories in the WIDE communities who, without special attention and tailored support could 'fall behind' even more – a finding resonating with that on the 'bottom income decile' of the 2014 Poverty Assessment (World Bank 2015). For these groups, namely the destitute and a number of specifically vulnerable categories (orphans, elderly, mentally-ill and PLWHA, as well as labourers, servants and immigrants in some cases), the 'trickle-down effect' does not seem to be working, and most remained largely reliant on community support.

Pankhurst also highlights the rising intergenerational differentiation as the younger generation were becoming less able to access to land, increasingly controlled by the older generation. As also discussed in the chapter on youth transitions, this inaccessibility of land compounded by the limited number of other sustainable local livelihood options, especially in more remote, less diversified economies, resulted in longer periods of unwelcome youth dependency on parents and in some instances intergenerational tensions. However, to some extent in contrast with increasing intergenerational differentiation, Pankhurst, together with Loveday in the chapter on women's economic participation, point to some reduction in gender inequalities. Both Pankhurst and Loveday highlight that female-headed households were thus not a uniformly poor and vulnerable category.

Youth transitions to adulthood and the role of interventions

How Ethiopia's young people transition to adulthood directly influences the roles they will be able to play in their own and the country's development. As such, these transitions matter enormously in this youthful country, where over half the population (57 percent) was under the age of 20 in the last census in 2007 (CSA 2007). In this chapter Pankhurst looks at a range of transition domains (personal, family, work and community) and suggests the need to recognise the cultural, social and economic rationales of customary concepts and practices around youth transitions as well as their cultural diversity as a foundation for more responsive interventions.

With regard to personal and family transitions, female circumcision and early marriage have attracted the most policy attention from the government. In both cases the strong rationales underlying these practices were still present in local community discourses, including that uncircumcised women would face various problems, circumcision would restrain women's sexual urges and generally help to 'control' them, as well as a sense for some that it was an important part of the local culture and brought respect to women. Early marriage was also seen as a form of customary social protection and a response to risks facing adolescent girls (notably of abduction, involvement in pre-marital sex, early pregnancy, abortion or having to raise children outside of wedlock without support), some of which were seen as having increased as girls and boys mixed more than in the past, at school, in the work place and in the community.

Early marriage was also a way out of poverty for some girls, and for others, a way of escaping parental control or a response to weak performance at school and the lack of local income-generating options.

Pankhurst also shows that whereas there was a sense that both female circumcision and early marriage were on the decrease (in line with trends documented in the Demographic Health Survey 2011 and the Welfare Monitoring Survey 2011[25], and for early marriage, explained in part by delayed work transitions as discussed below), there was also resistance to government bans; and customary repertoires, often advocated by older people and women, competed with modern repertoires adhered to and promoted by younger adults, more educated youth and in some sites Protestant followers. There were variations in the extent and effectiveness of interventions, depending on the cultural salience of the custom, regional approaches to 'harmful traditional practices' (HTPs) and the perceived seriousness of the problem vis-à-vis other HTPs[26], the types of interventions, the determination in implementation, integration of approaches and linkages with other sectors.

The prevailing tendency to rely mostly on imposing bans seemed to be counterproductive, with instances of female circumcision practices being driven underground hence becoming more dangerous, and examples of ever more creative ways round official checks against early marriage.[27] In contrast, Pankhurst suggests, combined approaches including enforcement of bans but based on an understanding of the rationales for the customs, and involving customary institutions and leaders, NGOs and churches alongside education and health service providers and women and children affairs' representatives in awareness-raising and convincing people of the desirability of change, as well as targeting boys together with girls, may well have greater effects.

'Voluntary abductions' were reportedly rising, as a way for young couples to make their own choices and avoid parentally imposed marriages or high marriage costs, or indeed in cases when the young woman was legally underage but wanted to marry. Forced abductions were still an important threat in some communities and the line between forced and voluntary abductions was not always clear cut, prompting new types of concerns from government officials and parents and calling for judiciousness in handling abduction cases.

In this chapter Pankhurst shows how marriage (a family transition) and economic independence (a work transition) were intimately linked, and the latter had become more difficult for young men and women in the WIDE communities. Importantly, while for most young women the main way of becoming independent from their parents was still marriage, there was a nascent shift towards expecting girls not simply to get educated but also to have an income. The key issues facing adolescent girls, Pankhurst argues, therefore go beyond female circumcision, early marriage and reproductive health and have to do with education, training, employment, enterprise and migration.

Pankhurst suggests that limited access to land by the younger generation, also noted in the chapter on inequality and in a number of recent studies (e.g. Holden 2014), was a major constraint, while contributing to limited implementation of the law giving equal land rights to young women. This was compounded by the limited availability of and access to alternative

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[25] The DHS 2011 indicates that 17.6% of 15-19-year old women were married, whereas 73% of the 45-49-year old were married by age 18 (Central Statistical Authority 2011).
[26] For instance early marriage was more of a concern in the north, and female circumcision more so in the south (Boyden et al. 2013, Pankhurst et al. 2016).
[27] For a discussion of marriage practices going underground and disguised as other social events see also Eshetu and Guday 2016 and Pankhurst et al. 2016.

livelihood options (most existing ones being in the informal sector), all the more frustrating for young people having reached some post-primary education level and with higher aspirations, yet facing un(der)employment. Dom and Loveday elsewhere in this volume, as well as Pankhurst here, highlight how as a result migration had become an increasingly common way for young people to try to achieve independence and fulfil their aspirations.

Finally, the chapter suggests that youth transitions towards a greater role in community affairs were constrained due to the hindrances on and delays in the other transitions, and there was disenchantment with the formal youth associations, not seen to address young people's most pressing economic and social difficulties, with some youth becoming more engaged in religious affairs.

Education in rural Ethiopia (2010-13): aspirations and uncertainties

This chapter documents changes that reflect the widely reported trends of massive service expansion and increased enrolment across most of the country. In most communities in 2010-13, the bottleneck in access had shifted from primary to secondary education. However, there were still seven communities without a full cycle primary school; attending grade 9 meant living away from home in most cases, and in almost all communities for upper secondary; there were seven communities with no government TVET in the *wereda*. There were large differences among communities. In a number of them (predominantly Protestant and/or peri-urban, or in Tigray), primary enrolment had increased sharply, and, often in those with already more education in the mid-90s, there were hundreds of grade 9-10 students and relatively large numbers of young people with grade 10 and further education. In contrast, secondary students were fewer than ten in an agropastoralist community, and post-grade 10 enrolment was still extremely low in two remote farming and the two agropastoralist communities.

While access, particularly to primary education had improved, Dom also suggests that education quality, much talked about and a top priority on the government policy agenda (Ministry of Education 2016), was a widespread worry in the communities, as also noted in a number of other studies (e.g. Tassew Woldehanna and Aregawi Gebremedhin 2016). Automatic promotion and self-contained teaching were not trusted. Full-day attendance was impractical given the reality of the need for children's labour in rural societies, and was only practised in one school. A range of 'lacks' and issues related to teachers were seen to contribute to poor quality education, and in turn, failure at exams and poor job prospects for the youth. As with access, and illustrating once more the negative aspects associated with remoteness (discussed in several other chapters and emerging as a crosscutting theme in this volume), remoter schools usually fared less well in relation to quality factors such as infrastructure, qualified teachers or other inputs. Where they had some choice, parents sent their children to schools perceived to be of better quality, including private schools for those who could afford the costs, as noted by Pankhurst reflecting on rural elites' lifestyles.

In addition to these differences between communities there were significant inequalities within communities, supporting Pankhurst's broader point about rising inter- and intra-community differentiation. Attending school was a lot more difficult for children from poor/ vulnerable households, who were also more likely to fail at exams, be absent frequently and drop out early; their lower educational achievements had lifelong consequences including in terms of employment. For some households even the comparatively small costs of primary education were a huge burden, sometimes not affordable for all the children, not to mention the much higher costs of post-primary education. This gap between rich and poor was a concern in all the WIDE communities. Measures to address this were few, and perceived to be insufficient. Dom also found that irregular attendance was widespread, with both community- and

household/individual-level causes such as harvests and market days for the former, and shocks for the latter. One key factor was children's work: a social norm and widespread reality in rural Ethiopia, which was frequently mentioned in the communities, often, but not always, as something that was dictated by necessity[28]. Thus many rural children and young people attended school on a dropping-out-and-back-in basis, as a result of complex mixes of family decisions, individual circumstances, often related to poverty and shocks, and decisions made by the child/ youngster her/himself.

With regard to girls' education Dom also shows that while there had been significant change, there was still a long way to go. There were big differences between communities with much less progress in some of the remoter ones. Girls faced a wide array of challenges – the same as boys, plus domestic work, lack of water and separate toilets, parents' fear of the risks, and persistent conservative attitudes. On one hand, girls' education contributed to modernising social norms around gender (e.g. educated girls being more likely to resist arranged marriage, and girls seeking to emulate role models of a 'different kind' of woman); on the other hand, conservative norms competed with more progressive ones, and young women had to navigate complex choices involving education, income-generation and marriage as explained by Pankhurst and Bevan elsewhere in this volume. So, while girls' participation was often high in lower primary, it gradually decreased higher up; in one (remote) community no one knew of a girl who had completed grade 10.[29] With a few rare but encouraging exceptions, early marriage and pregnancy still most often meant stopping studying. For many girls in poorer households schooling beyond the primary level was out-of-reach, as reflected in country-wide evidence that whilst in 2014 roughly a third of the women in the highest wealth quintile moved beyond primary education, just 1.1 per cent did so in the lowest quintile (Central Statistical Authority 2014).

Another major question addressed in this chapter is that of 'education for what'. The WIDE research shows a trajectory of exceptional change in rural Ethiopia, from mixed perceptions about the benefits of education in the mid-90s, to high aspirations and expectations that it could be a path to a modern, better life, through better jobs etc. However, particularly in communities where many had invested a lot in education, in 2010-13 these expectations were increasingly thwarted. Large numbers of somewhat educated young people, having failed at grade 10 or earlier, were left with no further education or training option and poor employment prospects, to the extent that this was viewed by some as a '*disaster for the community*'. Rising disillusion, expressed in one instance as '*creating chaos*' and seen to lead to hopelessness, also fuelled a spike in migration as Dom discusses in another chapter. Moreover, in an overly academically oriented system aspirations were generally geared towards academic success, with TVET distinctly viewed as a second best option, and many educated youth no longer saw their futures in rural areas.

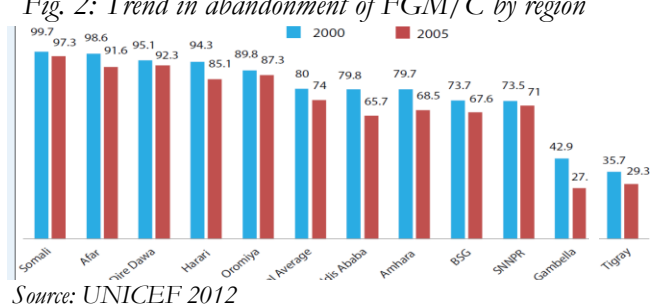### Reproductive health and wellbeing: girls in transition to adulthood 2010-13

This chapter addresses a series of risks and issues facing girls and young women as they transition to adulthood. These included female circumcision, rape, forced abduction, early marriage, pregnancy outside marriage, and access to contraception and abortion.

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[28] See also Pankhurst et al. 2015, and on the pressures facing children to combine work and school Yisak Tafere and Pankhurst 2015.
[29] While there is some evidence of boys dropping out more than girls in primary school, girls often face greater work burdens before and after school affecting their concentration and time for studying (Boyden et al. 2016).

Communities were of three types with regard to female circumcision: in five it was not practised or had virtually stopped; in nine there were attempts at enforcing the ban; in six this was not the case. Looking into patterns, Bevan suggests that these differences had more to do with cultural differences (Muslim communities were less likely to implement the ban than others; local culture pressures were strongest in communities where the practice occurred before or early in puberty), and remoteness (the ban was less likely to be implemented in remoter communities) than regional policy implementation.

Fig. 2: Trend in abandonment of FGM/C by region

Source: UNICEF 2012

Source: Percent of women 14-49 circumcised by region

There is no recent statistical evidence on the extent of abandonment of the practice. Moreover, whatever statistical evidence there is usually follows a regional approach, like the graph shown here (UNICEF 2012)[30]. Bevan, in this chapter, suggests the need to go beyond regional analyses and recognise cultural diversities within each Region.

Rape, most likely under-represented in the WIDE data considering the stigma attached to it, was still a problem with no strong action by the local government in eleven communities. Eight of these were remote, suggesting that remoteness may have made it harder for officials to deal with such crimes. All four Amhara communities were in this group and the 2004 criminal code was not implemented there. In the other nine communities rape was reportedly decreasing due to fear of punishment, although in some the law was poorly implemented and there were signs of barriers to justice, including taboos, stigma, elders' handling cases in favour of men, unrealistic requirements to file a case such as requiring three witnesses, health centres giving incorrect evidence to courts, and lack of support to more vulnerable women.

Forced abduction had declined everywhere but was still a problem in eight communities; in two it had reduced due to fear of punishment and in ten it was no longer seen as a problem. Seven communities in the first group were places where rape was also still a problem, and six were remote – suggesting the same possible explanation as for rape i.e. distance making it harder for *wereda* officials to intervene. Forced abduction was seemingly more likely to happen in predominantly Orthodox Christian communities and in the Amhara Region than in other religious types or Regions. In Oromia communities where it used to be a customary way of getting married without paying bridewealth and in one southern community, it had declined as voluntary abduction had increased, concurring with the point Pankhurst makes in the chapter on youth transitions about how this evolving practice may now support would-be spouses' agency.

Bevan, like Pankhurst, draws attention to the fact that the risks associated with early marriage and sexual relations are very different for girls of 16 or 17 and those of 13 or 14. There were some girls reportedly getting married before 18 in all communities, but the communities could be divided into three groups as follows. In (only) three communities, all three Orthodox Christian, there were serious attempts to implement the underage marriage ban. In five others

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[30] The graph is based on DHS 2000 and 2005 data. FGC was reported to have dropped to 65% in the 2016 DHS. As for violence against women this topic was no longer included in the DHS 2011 and mini-DHS 2014 did no longer include questions related to female circumcision. The 2016 DHS has a figure 35% of women having experienced violence from husbands or partners at some point.

the ban was not enforced and marriage before 15 was reported to occur – including the two agropastoralist communities. In the remaining twelve the ban was known but not enforced, however girls did not get married before 15, and the number of underage marriages of girls aged 15-17 was decreasing due to their growing participation in education and income-generating activities, and to young people's greater difficulties to achieve economic independence. These factors, also noted by Dom, Loveday and Pankhurst respectively, are also identified in some other studies (e.g. Jones et al. 2014, Erulkar 2013). However, there was a sense that a minimum age of 18 was too low, parents worried about pre-marital pregnancies, and some thought marriage was "not the government's business".

In most communities it was shameful for unmarried girls to use contraception, as also noted by Pankhurst. Pregnancies before marriage as a result could lead to a range of negative outcomes, including dropout from school, unwanted marriage, abortion or having to raise a child as a single mother. In the fifteen communities for which there were data there were two types. In six communities unmarried mothers could stay in the community with their baby; in four of these, contraceptives for unmarried girls were available from nearby towns, including injections. In nine communities, including all four southern and all predominantly Protestant communities, pregnancy before marriage was taboo; six of the communities were remote, and and in most contraception was not widely available. In addition to weak support for unmarried girls to access contraception there was little support for legal abortion and as a result, unsafe abortions were reported in fourteen communities and there had been cases of deaths.
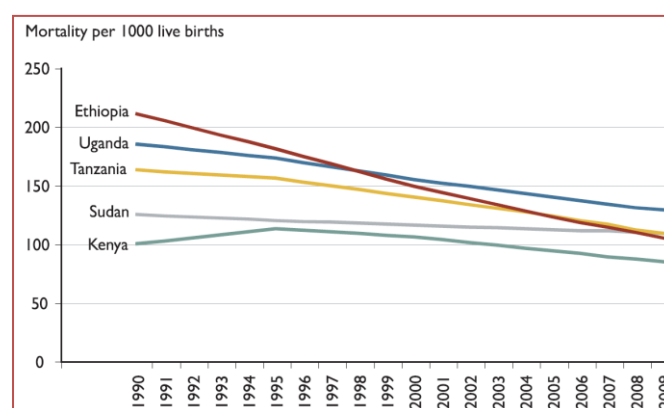
Looking at all reproductive risks together, Bevan suggests that girls and women faced on average more risks in remoter communities; and regionally in SNNP, Amhara, and the Oromo communities more distant from Addis Ababa, whereas risks were fewer than average in the Oromo communities closer to Addis Ababa, and in those where Orthodox Christianity and Islam were dominant compared to those predominantly Protestant or following customary beliefs. Bevan also shows that there were different combinations of risks in different groups of communities, which she argues, should help local officials to develop responses to the specific combination at hand.

Reproductive health and wellbeing: mothers and infants 2010-13

This chapter addresses the wellbeing of the mother-baby couple throughout the 15 months of the pregnancy, delivery, infancy cycle in the WIDE communities in 2010-13: how this had changed and was affected by key risk factors and community-level features, and how government programmes interacted with this through interventions with indirect consequences for mothers and babies, and directly in relation to availability and use of health care services.

Bevan first highlights considerable improvements in the health and wellbeing of pregnant mothers and infants between 2003 and 2010-13, linked to a range of interacting ongoing state-led modernisation processes having brought economic service developments, accompanied by some changes to local cultural beliefs and practices. There was evidence in the WIDE communities of trends such as that in the graph below, illustrating how the Ethiopian government had been able to 'do more with less' with regard to health (Balabanova et al. eds.

Under-five mortality rate 1990-2009 in selected African countries (Balabanova et al. eds 2011)

2011).

Despite improvements, there were still problems and in particular, developments were not reaching women equally. Bevan identifies four risk factors relating to: 1) inadequate diet, 2) access to water for drinking and hygiene, 3) work that is too heavy or time consuming and 4) inadequate access to ante- and post-natal care and skilled assistance with complicated deliveries.

These four risk factors are analysed in relation to four community features: 1) risks of drought and other weather-generated crisis, 2) seasonal variabilities in weather, work and food and water availability, 3) poverty, and 4) remoteness. A major conclusion is that mother-baby couples in remote places and/or in poverty were most likely to be at risk of harm. *Drought* negatively affected diets and access to water, and women's workload increased as households tried to diversify income sources to cope. The WIDE 2003 data is full of such evidence; in June 2016, thirteen of the WIDE communities were in crisis or stressed due to the El Niño-provoked drought, with likely high levels of stress on mothers and babies. *Seasonality* directly influenced diets, access to water and women's workload, and weather-related transport problems affected access to health care. *Poverty* directly affected all four risk factors. As Pankhurst shows, there was considerable and rising inequality among communities and among households; and, Bevan explains, there were many examples of poor pregnant women and mothers having inadequate diets, carrying out heavy and time-consuming work, finding it hard or impossible to afford ANC or delivery at health centre or hospital, and being less likely to take sick babies to modern health services.

Remoteness, the fourth feature, is a recurring theme in this volume. Pankhurst (inequalities), Bevan (urbanisation), Loveday (women economic participation), Tefera and Dom (economic success) all highlight more positive outcomes in less remote communities, a crosscutting issue discussed in the next section. In this chapter, Bevan suggests that remoteness is a critical determinant of access to maternal and child care. Taking the example of hospitals she explains that even in 'better served' places with hospitals near the *kebele* centre, women in labour needing urgent skilled treatment and living in remoter parts had to navigate poor internal paths and dryweather internal roads. This was worse in less well-connected communities. For example women living in remote parts of Oda Haro would have to first reach the main road and then travel 94 kilometres to the nearest hospital. Seven communities had their own health centre; in the others, distances varied from 3 to 21 kilometres from the *kebele* centre. The same constraints on access arose from the generally poor status of internal roads and paths.

Access to safe water had improved but was still beset with problems in 2013. Only five communities had virtually universal access though some people could not afford the costs; poor maintenance and slow repairs of water points was a widespread issue and there was no general awareness of the maternity risks associated with heavy work.

Economic participation of women and girls in rural Ethiopia (2010-13)

Whilst women were still carrying out most of the domestic work and playing a major role in household farming as in 1995, this chapter suggests that, alongside a good deal of continuity, there had been significant change as well in 2010-13. This included more male participation in domestic work, such as boys and men fetching water, some men involved in childcare and rearing, for instance taking an interest in their education. There had also been some improvements in women's work burdens such as easier access to waterpoints, more grinding mills, improved stoves, improved roads and better public transport. However, there were also wealth differences. For instance, richer households were able to employ domestic servants (up to a hundred households reportedly did so in Oda Dawata, one of the communities with good

agricultural potential). Alongside this change in the domestic sphere on the whole women's roles in the local economies had expanded.

Thus, albeit not without challenges, women took part in new opportunities that had emerged as important actors in the farm and non-farm sectors. These included farm daily labour; local or nearby industrial jobs (e.g. flower farms, local factories); trade (including in six communities women involved in large-scale trade, which had been wholly dominated by men in 1995); small businesses (teashops, restaurants, a few hairdressing/beauty salons); and women's cooperatives (with mixed success). Petty trade was still widespread; production and sale of alcoholic drinks remained important in a number of communities and was even increasing in some, especially for unmarried women; traditional activities (e.g. crafts such as spinning and pottery) had decreased with the expansion of other activities and competition from factory-made and imported goods. As Dom notes elsewhere in this volume, migration to towns and abroad had become an important option for young women in many communities.

However, Loveday suggests that there were large differences between communities. As part of their crosscutting positive effects, infrastructure development, improved access and urbanisation led to the emergence of a wider range of opportunities for women. In remoter communities industrial-type opportunities linked to inward investment were non-existent or linked to a very specific activity (e.g. coffee growing). Better access also mattered for trade, so that all six communities in which some women were engaged in large-scale trade were well-connected ones. Small businesses existed only where there was electricity. Irrigation and the introduction or expansion of cash crops, two other key factors in the economic growth of a number of communities, as mentioned in several other chapters, generated daily labour opportunities undertaken by women. As noted by Pankhurst regarding youth transitions, Loveday explains that land scarcity continued to matter more directly for young men, but young women were also affected as it delayed marriage; this in turn was said to encourage young women's migration in a number of communities.

Individual factors also influenced what women and girls were doing, with wealth and access to capital more significant than status in the household and age. Wealthier women, with some financial stability, often arising from being married to a successful man, had the ability to purchase wholesale, store produce, and withstand periods of low business, and were therefore those engaged in large-scale trading or petty trade of more valuable products. In contrast, poorer women traded on a small-scale or less valuable products, such as grass and fuelwood, requiring more labour. Wealthy married women were often also contributing significantly to the household's income and wealth. In contrast, poor women, married or not, were often engaged out of necessity in a wide range of hand-to-mouth non-farm activities with little return, as the household's income from farming was insufficient to sustain their livelihood and they lacked access to capital to undertake more profitable activities.

Female-headed households with land faced a particular challenge in accessing labour; sharecropping out made them potentially vulnerable to abuses whilst hiring labour could be costly. That said, as also noted by Tefera and Dom, there were examples of economically well-off women heads of household. A few age-related patterns emerged, with industrial work and migration being undertaken mostly by young women, and said to be less accessible to women with household responsibilities or children. However, Loveday suggests that any factor-specific pattern must be taken with caution; what an individual woman or girl was doing was always the result of a multiplicity of interacting community and individual factors, whose combination was unique to her.

Loveday found that shifting social norms and perceptions of women and girls and their increased economic participation were mutually reinforcing one another. The influence of education on women's and girls' economic activities was not yet widespread, except with regard to the link between education, higher aspirations, discontent with local options and migration, very salient in some communities. With expanded health care outreach, there were a few cases of women using contraception 'for economic reasons'. More broadly, while achievements varied, depending on the extent of male resistance and support of influential local actors (elders, local women leaders, courts) and on complex interactions with religious norms, there were indications that the broad, government-led gender equity agenda was slowly helping to make women more assertive, shifting perceptions away from the 'weak women' cliché and beginning to alter customary gendered divisions of labour. Conversely, the economic success of a number of women contributed to further these shifts. In turn, these shifts and the emergence of women role models at the local level broadened the horizon of other women and girls in terms of activities they undertook or considered undertaking.

These changes were not without drawbacks. Some women noted that they were now 'doing everything', as their involvement in a wider range of activities had rarely been compensated by a reduction in their other responsibilities; girls going to school sometimes resulted in greater work burdens for mothers. Changes in women's activities and roles were also sometimes met by male resistance or concerns, which some women thought were in part due to what these changes meant for men's own 'male' status. There were also cases of outright competition, with traditionally 'female' activities being taken over by men as they had become more profitable, notably in the case of dairy production.

Migrating for work from rural communities (2010-13)

This chapter focuses on experiences of people leaving the WIDE communities for work, in 2010-13 – in a context of significant change described throughout this volume (notably urbanisation, greater differentiation, and a more educated young generation) and of caution by the government vis-à-vis migration (in particular the ban on employment abroad in October 2013). Dom found that since the mid-90s there had been a marked increase in outmigration from the communities: agricultural migration coexisted with rising numbers of people seeking urban or industrial jobs in Ethiopia and abroad, and this had accelerated between 2010 and 2013. With large variations across places, and ranging from daily commuting to several years, work migration was important both in remote and well-connected communities, and in both economically struggling and striving communities. Urban/industrial migration was found in almost all of them. Migration abroad, mainly to the Gulf (Saudi Arabia in particular), but also significant to Sudan, and to South Africa in one southern community, was in part legal (at the time); but in some places it was mostly through irregular channels. Many more women migrated for work than in the mid-90s; and unlike then, when most migrants were household heads seeking a complementary income, many were young people.

Most decisions reflected a mix of push and pull factors. In particular, and as highlighted in the chapter on youth transitions, young people with limited local prospects (resulting from early dropout from school, lack of access to land, limited local opportunities and/or access to capital) aspired to 'change their life' following the example of new role models of not much educated yet successful migrants. In some communities long-standing traditions of migration also mattered, whilst in others migration was well on the way to becoming one. Migration decisions mostly seemed to be made as individual or household choices; peer or community pressure and brokers passing information or facilitating irregular migration played some role, but did not seem to be nearly as influential as some studies and the Ethiopian media assume. Rather, as

noted in other international and Ethiopian studies (e.g. van Heelsum 2016, Asnake and Zerihun 2016, de Regt 2016), individual strategies reflected a mix of aspirations and capabilities. Those from less wealthy backgrounds often had to opt for second best options making them vulnerable (notably irregular migrants abroad and poor urban migrants as Bevan notes in the urbanisation chapter). However, on the whole, aspirations played a larger role than in the past.

Most of the time, urban or industrial migration did little more than lessen the burden on the household's resources notably land at home, providing a means of survival, and expectations were usually low. Migrating to town or for industrial jobs was often leading to precarious lives, especially for women ending up in poorly-paid and -regulated, often exploitative jobs as domestic workers or bar, café or restaurant waitresses, sometimes mixed with prostitution. For young women, migration abroad seemed far preferable and was seen as such. For young men, however, finding regular work abroad was practically impossible as the demand was mostly for housemaids. Irregular migration was risky and there were stories of people from the communities having died or been harmed. Regular migration also involved risks, as migrants, sometimes unprepared for the job or poorly treated by their employers, found that in reality they had hardly any protection. Migration abroad was also costly, so would-be migrants often had to raise financial support from parents or relatives; in turn, there was an expectation that migrants would help the household by sending remittances. For poorer households depleting their assets to send a migrant abroad, the risk of ending up further impoverished was high if it did not work. Most local officials focused on risks and negative outcomes, and risks seemed well known, including from first-hand experience. In spite of this, especially in communities with many migrants, many would-be migrants weighed the risks but were not deterred, given the evidence of positive effects of successful migration for the migrant, her/his household and her/his home community.

Wider evidence highlights the dilemma. Estimates of remittance flows reaching Ethiopia show the importance of diaspora and migrants[31]. Yet in 2012, an estimate of 60 to 70 per cent of those in Middle East and Gulf Countries had migrated as irregular workers (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat 2016). In the WIDE communities, remittances enabled the younger generation to contribute to informal social protection and increased wellbeing of the family at home (including better housing, diets and health care); migration was often an alternative to education but in some cases also served to finance siblings' or even the returnees' further schooling; and increased migration-related consumption spending had multiplier effects in the local economy, especially stimulating demand for services.

Outmigration also reduced the pressure on land and on the labour market, whilst remittances/savings financed local investments and contributed to rural economic diversification and urbanisation as migrants or their families invested in non-farm activities often connected to towns, leading to the emergence of a class of 'multi-local' households, with members at home and others in town.

Migration had complex effects on household structures, contributing to later marriages (as noted by Pankhurst in this volume) and to a rise in the number of 'off-track households' (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007) (e.g. young married women whose husbands were migrants and were living with their parents or children left by migrant women with their parents). Migration generated intergenerational tensions around decisions, whilst in other cases it reduced tensions over land and youth 'idleness'. Women's much greater mobility was a big change in some of the conservative communities. Successful migration abroad was in some places seen as significantly

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[31] Estimates, varying among sources and including flows from established diaspora, range in billions US$. See http://www.ebc.et/web/ennews/-/ethiopia-remittances-from-abroad-jump-by-2-billion accessed 10/10/2016.

empowering women, but it could also lead to exploitation as seemed to be occurring in one of the southern communities – a mixed pattern of "empowerment trade-offs" documented in the international literature as well (see e.g. Tam O'Neil *et al.* 2016)[32].

Insights on economic success in rural communities in 2010/13

As a counterpoint to Pankhurst's chapter on inequalities, this chapter focuses on the other end of the socio-economic spectrum found in the WIDE communities in 2010-13, i.e. individuals who locally stood out for their economic success. The first thing that struck the authors is how diverse the profiles of these individuals were (including both men and women, married and heads of households; older and young people; farmers and traders and businesspeople), corroborating Pankhurst's point about greater differentiation and a sign, the authors argue here, of the increasing complexity of local rural economies in Ethiopia. However, amidst this diversity, the authors found evidence that economic success resulted from similar combinations of interacting factors: government action and broad contextual changes brought new opportunities in principle accessible to all in any one community; whilst personal initiative as well as access to some form of initial capital were more matters of individual mind-set and circumstances.

Personal initiative was what made those individuals aspire, keep an open mind, work hard, in short, exploit all resources at their disposal. Infrastructure development and urbanisation were key positive local context factors, leading to better access to growing urban demand and supply markets; for farmers, this combined with inflation hence enabling them to obtain better prices for their produces. A less tangible but related change in contexts was the greater vibrancy of the communities, a sense that success was valued as everyone strove to 'change her/his life' (Ege 2015). The authors also highlight how important access to some form of initial capital was: 'enough' land and labour for farmers, who could over time access more land and hire labour; financial capital; but also, critical in many instances, various forms of social capital (support from husband, parents or relatives, cooperation among spouses, household members, and traders and businesspeople, informal apprenticeships etc.). This seemed to matter more than political status, which could even make it harder to simultaneously pursue one's economic interests, although being politically well-connected brought easier access to information on potentially useful government initiatives.

It was also notable that individual economic success had community-level 'knock-on' effects, including opportunities for employment and also, a less direct but probably more important effect, the generation of 'local value chains', with opportunities in trade, transport services, loading and unloading services etc., resulting from the successful individuals' activities. These individuals were also, informally, local role models prompting local learning and change – a point that Vaughan expands in her chapter on innovation and change in the WIDE communities.

Elsewhere in this volume Bevan highlights important differences across communities in terms of infrastructure development and urbanisation. This, the authors suggest, meant that different sets of opportunities were available in different kinds of communities. Successful businesspeople, for instance, were more readily found in better-connected places experiencing one of the forms of urbanisation identified by Bevan – a pattern also identified by Loveday with regard to women economic participation. It was also clear that 'better' local contexts (notably

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[32] In a study on women migration, gender equality and the SDGs, O'Neil *et al.* (2016) found that migration can increase women's access to education and economic resources, and can improve their autonomy and status; but female migrants are at greater risk of exploitation and abuse; and unskilled female migrants work in less regulated sectors than male migrants, of which domestic work is first.

better connected communities, closer to urban markets) offered a wider range of economic opportunities.

This chapter also shows that while economic success was possible for a range of different individuals in a variety of different local contexts, it was vulnerable to fluctuations (e.g. in product price) and shocks (e.g. drought, or pest affecting production, offsetting returns on inputs). Diversification within and across farm and non-farm sectors was key to mitigate the risks of such events; and it enabled local entrepreneurs to invest the profit of one activity into another needing a boost or into a new one.

Innovation, "technology transfer" and positive social change: Models and realities of transformation

Following on from the previous chapters looking at specific aspects of change, in this chapter Vaughan focuses on some of the underlying models and drivers of transformation at play in the WIDE communities, addressing two closely interlinked sets of questions. *First*, what does the WIDE data tell about ways in which different community members learned, innovated and adopted new practices or technologies. *Second*, how was government presence manifested and experienced by people and how did these interactions shape the role of local governance and development actors and structures as agents of change in the communities. On these bases Vaughan then considers possible ways of strengthening the efficacy, inclusiveness and scope of development interventions in effecting change, which are summarised in the conclusion chapter.

The first half of the chapter highlights how development interventions were never the only, and often not the most important, change factor in the communities. Vaughan provides evidence of endogenous innovation, learning and changes of practice, highlighting four areas in particular. *First*, the WIDE data show many instances of the impact of urban culture, linkages and mobility, with new ideas seen to be coming from urban areas (see also Bevan on urbanisation) and, to an extent, arising from people's increased mobility (discussed in the migration chapter), and new services being provided in urban(ising) areas in the communities. Markers of modernity were associated with an urban culture adopted especially by young people, albeit with some unwelcome aspects.

Second, the chapter highlights how important the changes underway in gender, family and other relations were for local innovation. As is also noted in other chapters, children and youth work was a source of learning; change in gender norms was opening up new economic and learning opportunities for women; families were important sources of both learning and material resources; and innovators were often people who drew on non-technical knowledge and social resources as well as technical skills. Religion was widely perceived as a vehicle for new ideas and social norms as well, in some instances in tension with part of the community.

Third, Vaughan notes the importance of 'networks of success'. Innovation was often reflecting growing individual entrepreneurial awareness, as well as being a function of people's access to a wide range of resources, opportunities and openings (a point also noted by Tefera and Dom). Innovation was then further buttressed by various forms of networks, notably families and traders and their trading links, which helped in multiplying opportunities. Innovators, most of whom had little to do with the government system of models, were often held in high esteem in the communities – also resonating with Tefera and Dom's point about success being seen as something to emulate.

Fourth, Vaughan focuses on innovation in and around agriculture, which has been particularly dynamic in the WIDE communities. As a case in point, she notes how the introduction or

expansion of irrigation, shifting local economic interests and opportunities, was triggering innovative practices and change across a range of local actors well beyond farmers – in widely diverse local contexts, as also noted in several other chapters. More generally, farmers and others innovated and appropriated skills from a range of unexpected external sources, through often non-linear, serendipitous and localised processes. Overall, she notes, the WIDE data indicate that innovative behaviour and creative attitudes were not lacking in the communities, with many examples of the developmental potential of 'positive deviance'.

In the second part of the chapter, Vaughan describes a number of features of the government approach to bringing about changes of attitude and practices and the effects in the WIDE communities. She suggests, the strong 'supply-side' system of working systematically through models and networks, privileging collective learning and designed to maximise adoption of externally designed interventions, brought significant new knowledge and development, but often overlooked the vigour of ongoing local innovation described in the first part of the chapter. However, this also often led to insufficient understanding of micro-dynamics and of local needs and priorities, and, in turn, to packages which were often not sufficiently carefully tailored to local conditions and the capacities of different types of rural residents. Other issues in some state-led innovation included in various settings poor design, high costs, human error, poorly suited or failing technologies, insufficient quality of advice, and at times, undesirable 'side effects' – generating frustrations between communities and government local leaders and agents.

Women and youth associations, which were expected to expand popular participation in government-led innovation processes, had generally achieved much less than anticipated and were in some cases barely functional, as also noted by Pankhurst and Loveday in other chapters. More broadly, while local party members clearly played a critical role in local government and development leadership, women and youth presence in core local executive and political structures was limited in contrast with their active roles in economic development as evidenced in the chapters on women's economic participation and youth transitions, thus reducing the ability to make local development decisions and processes more inclusive. In addition, the prevailing focus on quantitative targets was limiting opportunities for local government agents to collaborate with communities to design and monitor more locally adapted packages, and restricted their ability to respond to the increasingly diversifying and diverse socioeconomic contexts described in the other chapters of this volume.

Vaughan suggests that as the economy grows and diversifies desirable trajectories of value addition will become increasingly diverse, complex and non-standard in particular through urbanisation processes. To advance government-led initiatives there were instances of pressure exerted on people and, while Vaughan notes that one should not underestimate the difficulty of engineering rapid social change, the WIDE data provide examples of social, developmental and political costs of the often prevalent top-down, standardised, rapidly implemented approach.

Five other features of the government approach, while not necessarily intentional, also seemed likely to reduce its effectiveness. These included, *first*, the concentration of multiple responsibilities among a small group of *kebele* leaders, often resulting in overwork, frustration, exhaustion and low motivation, and sometimes reducing opportunities for effective interaction with community members that could broaden the local 'developmental consensus'; *second*, a relative lack of attention to the all-important position of *kebele* manager and how s/he relates both to community members and leaders; *third*, the approach of working through models, which in practice did not seem to generate the expected 'trickle down' effect, and reinforced the distance between those believing or participating in it and others; *fourth*, the weakness of local judicial and representative structures, with hardly any evidence of these serving as

mobilisation channels for community members wanting to challenge executive policy, whereas alternative structures such as *iddirs* and elders' committees were often resorted to instead; and *finally*, the tendency to conflate local perceptions of developmental and party political interests, a consequence of the current politically-led 'developmental approach' that had a number of advantages, but also often failed to involve non-politically engaged actors and local community institutions, and to include ideas arising outside of the government/party-led vision.

Vaughan concludes that, notwithstanding plenty of evidence of successful state-led innovation, some of the examples highlight the need for closer attention to endogenous learning, priorities and knowledge. She suggests that the diversity and complexity of innovation she documents requires new paradigms for positive social changes that support the creativity of rural populations.

Cross-cutting themes

Following on from the summaries of key findings in each of the chapters, three broad crosscutting themes or frameworks have emerged, here as well as in other WIDE documents[33]. The policy implications and suggestions relating to these themes are addressed in the concluding chapter. Here we start by bringing together what this volume has to say about '*growth, poverty and inequalities*' – the most important overarching question facing development in Ethiopia, and one where the evidence from the WIDE communities has potentially useful insights to contribute. We then consider the contextual framework of '*space and time*', to reflect on geographical and temporal aspects, highlighting the diversity and patterns in the communities' transformations related to their location and changes over the period covered by the WIDE research so far. The third theme, *genderage and the experience of women and youth,* provides an embodied lens through which we seek to illustrate how two key categories of person, together representing the majority of the population, experience these transformations. They are also categories facing specific constraints, which the government seeks to address with the aim of including them more fully in the development process in the realisation that they can play a key role in the country's drive to attain lower middle income status by 2025.

Growth, poverty and inequalities

The WIDE research suggests that there has been considerable growth in rural areas over the past couple of decades and especially in the last decade (Bevan et al. 2011, 2013). Some of that has clearly been related to agricultural development, and in particular irrigation and the production of cash crops, as noted in several chapters in this book.

However, we suggest that a less recognised growth driver has been linkages with urban areas, and the related processes resulting in transformation of the economy and services as described by Bevan in the chapter on urbanisation; and, whilst processes of growth and the expansion of services have to some extent led to a reduction in poverty, equally significantly in all the communities, processes of differentiation in the economy and society have resulted in greater inequalities, as noted in the chapter on this subject by Pankhurst. This has led to the creation of elites with significantly different livelihoods, consumption patterns and aspirations, and the emergence of successful entrepreneurs who often have diversified out of the farming economy, as described by Tefera and Dom, and even some very successful women, as demonstrated by Loveday.

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[33] See Bevan et al. 2011, 2013.

In contrast, the very poor are comparatively worse off and may benefit less from services, the youth often face particular challenges in their transitions to adulthood, and young women in addition face a range of gender-related risks, as shown by Bevan, and the destitute and vulnerable categories may not be included in community institutions and continue to rely largely in the drought-prone sites on the PSNP, and in all the sites on community support, and some piecemeal assistance mainly from NGOs and religious organisations.

Agriculture, livestock and especially irrigation in the WIDE communities

Access to agricultural extension services, including fertiliser and improved seeds, has been an important enabler especially for successful farmers as noted by Tefera and Dom. In some sites livestock development, fattening and trade, and especially the dairy sector in a few sites close to urban demand for milk, have also been significant for improvements in livelihoods. However, irrigation was the area that was found to be most significant and its positive effects are described in several chapters in this book. Bevan in her chapter on urbanisation and Tefera and Dom in the chapter on economic success stress the importance of irrigation in boosting economic growth in a number of communities. In these, it was a decisive factor in the success of a number of individuals, some of whom had become very wealthy (e.g. through sale of irrigated vegetables and *chat*). In their respective chapters, Loveday and Pankhurst highlight the daily labour opportunities that irrigation, where it was present, provided to an increasing number of women, youth, and poorer people. The introduction/expansion of irrigation also provided insights on the effectiveness of local, informal innovation and change processes as analysed by Vaughan: in the WIDE communities most irrigation development was the result of such processes rather than resulting from government interventions; for instance in one site farmers learning that underground water was fairly easily accessible while doing paid labour for an NGO drilling a well for drinking water in the community; or in another taking advantage of a Chinese road construction company needing water for the works; or in a third copying in-migrant investors with expertise in river diversion. However, often the potential of irrigation was less than fully exploited as the costs of the infrastructure investments that would have been required to develop it further went beyond what private individuals were able or ready to shoulder, and government action was limited, no doubt in part given the high costs involved.

Growth, urbanisation and structural transformation at a local level

Arguably a key engine of growth has been the complex processes of urban penetration and transformation of the rural infrastructure and services, and the diversification of the economy often related to urban linkages. In this volume we show the crucial role of urbanisation and of economic transformation through local economic growth, suggesting that these were strongly inter-linked, with higher growth in better connected and market integrated communities. Bevan highlights the effects of urbanisation processes experienced by the communities, including a range of benefits in the economic sphere such as increasing demand for farm products in communities near expanding urban areas and emergence of small service businesses in internally urbanising communities. On their part, Tefera and Dom suggest that, while farming provided a foundation for many of the economically successful individuals they studied, diversification out of the farming sector was what made their success more resilient and allowed them to expand their businesses.

Poverty and inequalities in rural communities

The WIDE research tells a story of considerable change, with predominantly positive effects including local economic growth as just discussed. However, alongside growth greater

differentiation took place and inequalities became more stark, as described in the chapter on this subject by Pankhurst in which he also identifies groups of people for whom the story had been a lot less positive - the very poor and destitute, and specifically vulnerable categories such as orphans, elderly, servants, mentally ill people and People Living With HIV/AIDS. In other chapters, Dom highlights the much greater difficulties faced by poor and vulnerable children and young people in terms of access to and achievements in education, with lifelong consequences; Bevan explains that poor women and their babies were much more at risk throughout the pregnancy-delivery-infancy cycle; Loveday shows how poor and very poor women were often engaged in multiple hand-to-mouth activities with low returns and no way out as they felt that taking credit was too risky – a 'poverty trap' that Pankhurst says, affected poor men too, whilst he also highlights poor farmers' inability to access inputs that might have helped them to increase their production. The various chapters also illustrate that remoteness was linked with poverty at both community and household level, an issue further discussed below in the section on 'space and time'.

Change in space and over time

Changes in space and time are very much interconnected and a spatial-temporal framework allows us to get a better sense of differential change. Through fieldwork in 1995, 2003 and 2010-13 the WIDE research documented what had changed and not, how and for whom over these years in the twenty communities; trying to understand, through the complexity-informed approach explained earlier in this introduction, what had contributed to both change and continuity and to the differences in change/continuity patterns between the communities.

Throughout the research we have been aware that the communities' trajectories are both time- and space-specific, although across the chapters, the authors have adopted somewhat different approaches in this respect. Some of them look explicitly at change since 1995 and/or 2003, while others imply change over time based on their knowledge of the past status, but do not document it to the same extent. Likewise, while all authors relate how space (where communities are located) influenced change and explained some of the effects of differences in geography, ecology and terrain, this is more precisely documented in some chapters than in others. However, a common and pervasive theme across chapters is the link between remoteness and poverty and conversely between spatial integration or connectedness through roads, electricity and mobile networks, and better-off status, at both community and household levels. These themes are briefly expanded in this section.

Change over time: service density, external linkages and changing aspirations

In relation to time, some of the chapters explicitly look at change since 1995. In her chapter on education Dom found that there had been significant improvements in access since 1995, with easier access to primary school in most communities and, to a lesser extent but improving, better access to general secondary education. However, while perceptions of the value of education had also changed much, from mixed views on its usefulness in 1995 to more positive perspectives in 2003, in 2010-13 expectations of jobs, a better life etc. were high, but simultaneously uncertainty about the returns of education had re-emerged, especially in the communities where education had progressed most, as expectations were rarely met.

Loveday also briefly looks at changes since 1995 and found that in 2010-13, economic participation of girls and women had increased and the range of activities in which they were engaged had expanded, with new opportunities in the farm and especially non-farm sectors. Dom highlights that patterns of migration had evolved in several ways since 1995: a wider range

of destinations with agricultural migration coexisting with urban, industrial and abroad migration; new possibilities of short duration migration including commuting; and increasing migration of women and among the younger generation. Aspirations to 'change one's life' were generally playing a larger role in migrants' decisions than in the past when it was more exclusively a coping strategy.

In her analysis of reproductive health and wellbeing of mothers and babies, Bevan reviews the 2003 data as it contains a wealth of information on the issues involved, in a time of duress since 2003 was a year of severe drought. She found improvements in 2010-13 in four factors directly linked to mothers' and babies' wellbeing, namely more awareness of the importance of balanced diets and better diets for some women, somewhat increased access to safe water, more awareness of the need for pregnant women to avoid heavy work, and better access to mother and child health care services – though for all of these there remained significant constraints due notably to drought, seasonality and poverty. In his chapter on inequalities, prior to discussing the 2010-13 period, Pankhurst presents some case material from 1995 and 2004 on the characteristics of elites, rich and poor households.

In the chapters on urbanisation, youth transitions and young girls' transitions to adulthood Bevan and Pankhurst allude to changes but do not document them in the same way. Tefera and Dom mostly focus on the contemporary period although they highlight that the profiles of economically successful individuals were more diverse than in the past, with the emergence of successful traders and business-people especially in the better connected communities. Vaughan looks at change in a different way in relation to both time and space, as she discusses how localised, community-specific informal, networked and non-linear learning processes are behind some of the change in each community.

Change in space: Remoteness, connectedness and modernisation

Across all chapters and topics, a strong link emerges between space and change over time, an important aspect being that overall, greater change was visible in better connected communities. In the chapter on urbanisation Bevan distinguishes categories of communities in terms of greater or lesser proximity to urban areas of different sizes. She then documents, for each category, variations across communities in terms of ease of communication (with roads, access to mobile phone and access to electricity as main factors) and how this affected a range of domains. Beyond this chapter, throughout this volume, we highlight the positive effects that roads, electricity, mobile phones and water structures had in various spheres: access to markets and non-local work opportunities (roads and mobile phones); development of services and a few SMEs (electricity); irrigated farming (water structures); access to health and education services (roads, phones); safe water for the household (hygiene and sanitation); keeping in touch with relatives (phones) etc. These infrastructure developments, in synergy, played a crucial role in 'opening up' the communities to modernising and globalising influences[34], with effects as well on people's ideas, social norms and lifestyles, which were most accentuated in communities that were well-connected to larger urban areas.

The evidence of the converse link is also clear, in that less well-connected communities fared less well. For instance, in their study of economically successful individuals, Tefera and Dom found that in this type of community, economic opportunities were less diverse, and economic success therefore more vulnerable, than in better connected ones. Similarly Loveday shows that

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[34] Pankhurst and Agazi Tiumelissan (2012) also argue that among the twenty Young Lives study sites some more remote communities became connected and integrated more rapidly than might have been assumed due to access to electricity and mobile networks.

the range of opportunities for women and girls was wider in better connected communities. Thus, remoteness and lesser connectedness were important differentiation factors between communities. This also played out within communities, with large differences between people living nearer the *kebele* centre or an access road and those living in remoter parts of the community, sometimes at walking distances of several hours. Bevan and Pankhurst explain that remoteness was associated with fewer opportunities of all kinds and therefore poverty – a pattern also highlighted in the 2014 Poverty Assessment which noted that "*remoteness is still a defining characteristic of extreme poverty in rural Ethiopia… in 2011, poverty rates still increased by 7% with every 10 kilometres from a market town*" (World Bank 2015).

Genderage and experiences of change among women and youth

Individual experiences of change are also very much rooted in the dual characteristics of gender and age, which we refer to as genderage. We now turn to reflect on the implications of the patterns of change and continuity summarised above for two broadly-defined categories of individuals in the WIDE communities: women (with particular emphasis on girls and young women), and the youth in their transition to adulthood. These two categories are both the focus of special attention by the government, as comparatively 'disadvantaged' groups, as well as key constituencies.

In this section we consider each category successively, but the discussion should hopefully highlight the overlap between them. It is also important to stress that for women, age is crucial, with young women facing particular risks, as discussed by Bevan in one of her chapters, and that women in bearing children face other risks as described in Bevan's second chapter dealing with mothers and babies. Conversely the category of youth is often thought of more in terms of young men than young women, and, as just mentioned, young women face additional constraints as discussed by Pankhurst in his chapter on youth transitions to adulthood.

Women and girls

The various chapters of this volume present a mixed picture with regard to progress made towards more equal gender relationships in rural Ethiopia over the last two decades. On the one hand, an undeniably positive evolution had been initiated. There has been progress in the promotion of a broad array of women's rights, relating to social norms and in the economic and service spheres. These include changes in relation to marriage and divorce, gender-based violence and harmful traditional practices, access to land and inheritance etc., as well as greater participation of women and girls in economic activities, girls' education and enhanced access to reproductive health services with positive effects on the wellbeing of girls, mothers, and babies, as highlighted by Loveday, Dom and Bevan in their inter-related chapters.

Tefera and Dom highlight cases of very successful women in farming and in business, and Dom shows that in some instances outmigration was empowering young women. Because these trends are fairly recent, one might expect that some of the potentially mutually reinforcing effects of progress in different areas are only recently beginning to 'kick in' in a significant way, with trends therefore likely to be accelerating in the future. For instance, taking as an example secondary education, which is widely recognised in the literature as making a big difference in terms of women's reproductive and family health decisions, during the research period in 2010-13, it was only recently that sizeable numbers of girls had reached that level in some of the communities and this was still nascent in others. If this trend persists there might be an acceleration in changing attitudes for instance in family planning uptake, which in turn may enable more young women to be more economically active.

On the other hand, the evidence presented in the various chapters suggests that there is still a long way to go with inequalities persisting and also resistance to change from men. For girls, despite better access to primary school, combining school and work often places greater constraints on them than boys, and continuing with secondary school is more difficult and travelling to schools away from their communities is perceived as more risky as Dom points out. More generally, adolescent girls face multiple sometimes interrelated risks of abduction, rape, early marriage, teen-age pregnancy, often out of marriage, abortion, bringing up a child out of wedlock without parental or spousal support and sometimes ostracism and inability to find work and/or continue with their education, as has been documented by Bevan and Pankhurst in their respective chapters.

While protection of women's rights has improved in law and in theory, and there are cases of offences by men being punished, often the law remains lenient, elders continue to negotiate settlements, for instance in the case of abductions and early marriage, and/or women do not press charges or assert their rights, for instance to land on divorce, due to fear or reprisals, virilocal residence rules and limited access to male labour for agriculture.

In economic terms women have become more involved in a wider range of economic activities as Loveday's chapter demonstrates, and some have become particularly successful. However, women's access to capital and finance is often constrained. Moreover, the category "women" needs to be disaggregated not just in terms of age, but also by marital status and wealth. Young single women who are not yet married depend largely on their parents, and parental poverty, wealth and attitudes will often affect their options. Married women were often able to engage in their own businesses, but the extent of the scale of their activities often depended on household wealth, and their autonomy was often constrained by their family obligations and relations with their husbands and in-laws. Divorced or widowed women could be empowered heads of household as Loveday shows; however, they could also be looked down on and face constraints bringing up children and restrictions in the areas of work they could engage in. Finally, women's involvement in the political sphere, with some notable exceptions, seemed to be limited (Bevan et al. 2013), and young women's involvement in both youth and women's organisations was severely constrained, as noted by both Loveday and Pankhurst in their respective chapters.

The younger generation

In this volume youth also emerges as a crosscutting theme, with one chapter by Pankhurst devoted to youth transitions, and another by Bevan considering young women's health and wellbeing in their transitions to adulthood. However, youth issues also appear in all the other chapters. Tefera and Dom note that there were successful young people in a number of WIDE communities, including in the farming sector. In her chapter on education Dom also highlight positive aspects, with examples of young people who had made it to a 'better life' through education, though they were still only a few. Loveday provides examples of some young women seizing opportunities arising from local economic development.

Although there were examples of youth improving their lives, several chapters also highlight the problems and risks that youth face, many of which are gendered. Bevan and Pankhurst emphasise a wide range of the particular risks that adolescent girls often face, including abduction, rape and forced early marriage, high work burdens and dropping out of school, lack of access to contraception and teenage pregnancy, lack of access to legal abortions and risky customary abortions, having a child out of wedlock, denial of paternity and rejection by their parents, having to bring up a child singlehandedly, and facing difficulties with child care while working, trying to study or migrating. Young men face particular problems with access to land

controlled by the older generation with ever decreasing land holdings, inability to find work that is well-paid, attractive or commensurate with their expectations related to their level of education.

The chapters suggest that youth transitions have become longer, and possibly more complex than in the past as a wider range of choices were supposedly open to youth (with education, in particular); yet at the same time some of these choices were unattainable in practice (when youth had to quit education for various reasons) and others were no longer available for most (notably access to land). Moreover, the transitions of young men and young women were interlinked through marriage and setting up a household which could be delayed due to education, lack of land, and/or seeking a secure income or migration to find the means to become economically independent. It is also important to note that the constraints on achieving successful transitions to adulthood were that much harder for young men and young women from poorer households.

The notion of 'waithood' has gained currency in international literature, to describe transitions that have become so uncertain that many young people live in "*a state of limbo (which) is becoming pervasive and is gradually replacing conventional adulthood*" (Alcinda Honwana 2013). Yet, there are good reasons why we do not use it. The longer transitions and the difficulties faced by the young generation were clearly causes for concern across all generations in all communities; there were fears about youth sitting 'idle' and adopting 'bad habits', and reportedly some such cases in some communities. However, more commonly, young people tried to actively navigate the choices, opportunities and constraints they faced. Thus, for instance, the fast-rising youth migration that Dom describes must be understood in many cases as an active response by young people who, with a bit more education and higher aspirations as just noted, did not find worthwhile options locally, and moved to fulfil their aspirations. We also found that people in the communities generally had higher aspirations than in the past and this was especially true for the youth – something Loveday remarks on, explaining that younger women often had much higher ambitions than slightly older ones already married and with household care responsibilities. There was also considerable evidence of young peoples' entrepreneurial spirit with examples in several chapters of their involvement in trade and an increasing range of businesses.

The structure of the book

The chapters in this book follow the sequence described in this introduction. There are several ways the chapters could be linked to one another. Here we chose to start by three most striking aspects of change in the WIDE communities, striking because they concerned their very socio-economic fabric (increasing rurbanisation, rising inequalities, more complex transitions of the young generation to adulthood). This is followed by chapters focusing on a number of specific transitions by the youth, namely, formal education, which concerns a much larger group of rural young people than in the past, and the transitions of girls and young woman into womanhood. The subsequent chapters keep the focus on women – talking about the wellbeing of mothers and their babies, and about women's economic participation. The next two chapters remain in the economic sphere, the first in analysing migration, which had emerged as an important livelihood option in many of the communities and the second providing insights on economic success in the rural communities. Finally, the chapter on innovation and change contrasts local level innovation and the government approach to development. The concluding chapter picks up on the policy implications from each of the chapters and the cross-cutting themes.

Annex 1: Data coverage for the twenty communities

Site	Region	1989	1994	1995	1997	1999	2003	2004	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2013
Dinki	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	E9	S1		
Korodegaga	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	E9	S1		
Turufe	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		E9	S1		
Yetmen	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		E5	S1		
Geblen	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		G	E9	S1		
Imdibir/ Girar	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9	S1		
Shumsheha	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Adele Keke	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Do'oma	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Gara Godo	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Gelcha*	Oromia						W2						S2	
Luca*	SNNP						W2						S2	
Harresaw	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Aze Debo'a	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Debre Berhan	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Sirbana Godeti	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Adado	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Oda Dawata	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Somodo	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Oda Haro	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3

Legend:

* Pastoralist sites
E0 = 6 sites which became ERHS sites in 1994; E1-E6 = ERHS Rounds 1 to 6.
W1-W2 = Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE): WIDE 1 Community Profiles, WIDE2 Selected topics including community histories and policy interfaces.
D = In-depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty (DEEP) of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Project (WED), July 2004 to November 2005.
G = Local Governance and Food Security PhD research: Governance data (Catherine Dom).
S1= WIDE3 Stage 1 research

Annex 2: Researchers in WIDE 1 (1994), WIDE2 (2003) and WIDE3 (2010-13)

WIDE1: 1994

Lead researchers: Pip Bevan and Alula Pankhurst

Associated researchers: Bereket Kebede, Solomon Tesfaye.

32 Research Officers (all male)

Abeje Berhanu, Berihun Desta, Abu Girma, Alemu Tafese, Amaha Kenenie, Assefa Tewodros, Assefa Tolera, Ayalew Gebre, Behailu Abebe, Bekalu Molla, Berihun Mebratie, Data Dea, Dereje Feyissa, Digafe Feleke, Gebre Yntiso, Gebrie Bedada, Getachew Fule, Girma Kebede, Haileyesus Seba, Kelkilachew Ali, Kiros Gebre Egziabher, Melese Getu, Mesfin Tadesse, Million Tafesse, Minilik Tibebe, Mulugeta Gashaw, Setargaw Kenaw, Solomon Tegegne, Solomon Tegegne,Tassew Shiferaw,Teferi Abate, Yared Derbew, Zelalem Bekele, Zelalem Bekele.

WIDE2 (2003)

Lead Researchers: Pip Bevan and Alula Pankhurst

Associated researchers: Ayalew Gebre, Melese Getu, Tom Lavers

Coordinators: Yisak Tafere, Bethlehem Tekola, Theodros Wolde Giorgis

43 Research officers

23 Male research officers

Alemante Amera, Bizuayehu Andarssa, Dagne Shibru, Damtew Yirgu, Demerew Dagne, Demissie Gudeta, Ewnetu Sebhat, Fekadu Adugna, Getaneh Mehari, Getu Ambaye, Habtamu Demele, Kassahun Kebede, Kifle Mengesha, Mekete Reta, Paulos Alemayehu, Samson Abebe, Tarekegn G/Yesus, Theodros Wolde Giorgis, Woubishet Demewozu, Yilkal Kefale, Yisak Tafere, Yohannes Gezahegn, Zelalem Aberra.

20 Female research officers

Abebech Belayneh, Ajebush Argaw, Asmeret G/Hiwet, Bethel Terefe, Bethlehem Tekola, Freweyni Zerai, Hilifsty Aregawi, Kiros Birhanu , Seblewangel Ayalew, Selamawit Hailu, Selamawit Menkir, Senait Yohannes, Tigist Tefera, Tirhas Redda, Tizita Jemberu, Tsega Melese, Yenenesh Tadesse, Yirgedu Miliket, Yirgedu Tefera, Zewdie Sinshaw.

WIDE 3: (2010-13)

Lead Researchers: Pip Bevan, Alula Pankhurst, Catherine Dom

Associated researchers: Rebecca Carter, Anthea Gordon, Tom Lavers, Bethlehem Tekola

Coordinators: Agazi Tiumelissan, Workneh Abebe, Mengistu Dessalegn

29 Research officers

16 Male research officers

Agazi Tiumelissan, Alula Ayele, Dagne Shibru, Damtew Yirgu, Demissie Gudisa, Mulugeta Eyoel, Samuel Urkato. Shiferaw Fujie, Solomon G/Selassie, Tefera Goshu, Tesso Berisso, Theodros Wolde Giorgis, Tolosa Mamuye, Workneh Abebe, Yared Tefera, Yohannes Gezahegn.

13 Female research officers

Alima Jibril, Asmeret Gebre Hiwot, Asnakech Gebrekidan, Aster Shibeshi, Ayda Yimer, Bizuayehu Ayele, Dename Eyoel, Derartu Abera, Eyerusalem Yihdego, Kiros Berhanu, Maji Hailemariam, Melete Gebre Giorgis, Meseret Negash.

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