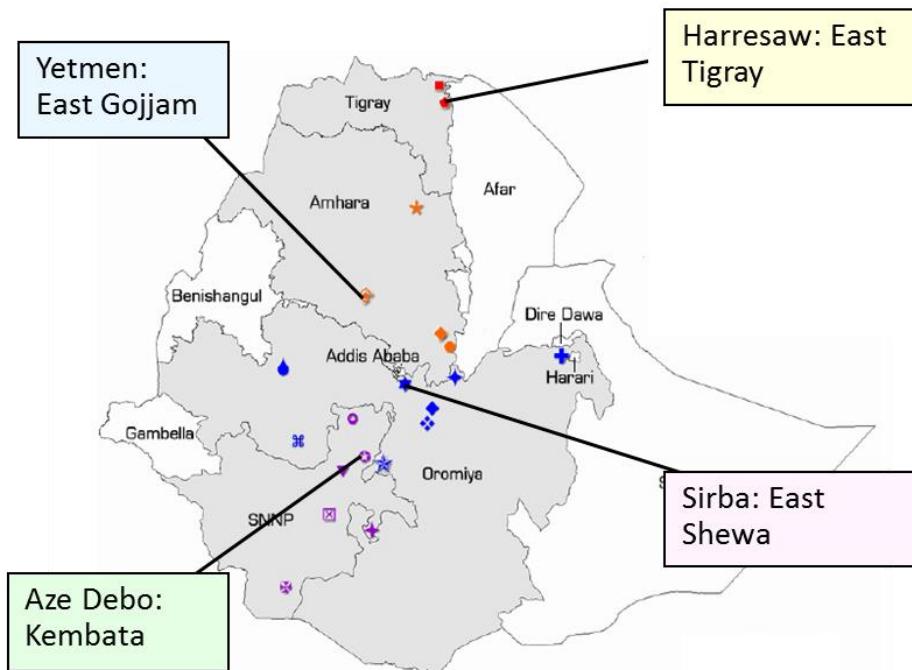




Multiple rural involvements in globally-linked modernisation processes: a comparison of four rural communities in Ethiopia

Philippa Bevan



Outline of the paper

- Introduction: an outline of the paper
- Globalisation, capitalism and modernisation: a very brief history
- Globally-linked modernisations in Ethiopia since the 1890s
- Processes connecting globalisation and rural communities
- WIDE data used in the paper
- The economies of the four communities in 2010-13
- Five key globally-linked processes differentially important in the four communities in 2018
- A comparison of globally-linked modernisations in the communities in 2018
- The continuing globally-linked modernisations of Ethiopia's rural communities:
what might the future hold?

Processes connecting globalisation and rural communities

Processes connecting globalisation with rural communities

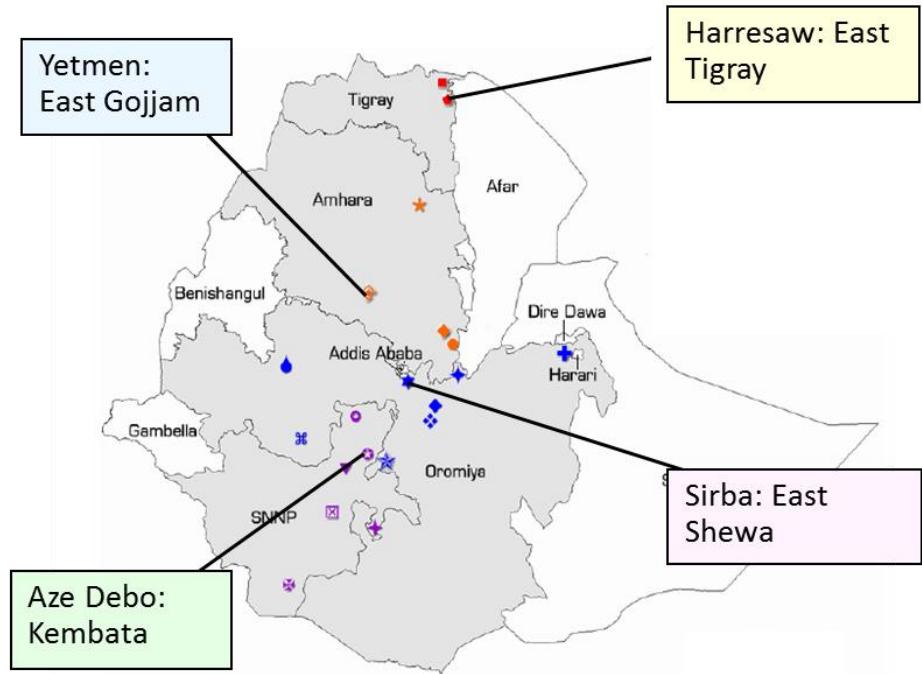
- Global inter-connections and national modernising forces enter rural communities through flows along networks linking *social actors* and *actants* – non-human objects, real and virtual, which play active roles in events and processes
- There are multiple (evolving) modernities at local rural levels - because
 - Different aspects of globalisation are differentially relevant for different types of rural community
 - There will be different responses to incoming actors, actants and flows by different types of (differentially powerful) local actors
 - Ongoing negotiations and conflicts among these local actors will influence the local modernisation trajectory

Globally-linked actors and actants important for the four communities in 2018

- *Actors living inside Ethiopia:* included people working in different levels of government, international development agencies, NGOs, foreign embassies, Protestant churches, Ethiopian corporations and co-operatives, Ethiopian satellite TV channels, and resident foreign investors and returned international migrants...
- *Actors living outside Ethiopia:* included people working in international development agencies and international NGOs, national governments – e.g. China, Protestant churches, national, & trans-national corporations, the International Coffee Organisation, the diaspora in South Africa, and nation-based, multi-national and global TV, radio and other media companies...
- *Actants:* relevant examples – imported building materials, rain, weedkillers, digital information technologies, and passports

WIDE data used in the paper

- WIDE Bridge 2018: 4 communities selected from 20 in a longitudinal study with rounds in 1994, 2003, and 2010-13
- Qualitative fieldwork in 2 rounds between January and March 2018
- Paper uses data from 2010-13 and 2018
- Fieldwork conducted in each community by 2 Research Officers, 1 male and 1 female
- Guided by the same protocols in each site
- Observation and interviews with many different kinds of people



The economies of the four communities in 2013

Two self-sufficient crop-exporting communities in 2010-13

Sirba, Ude kebele, Ada'a wereda, East Shewa zone, Oromia 2013

- Sub-kebele on main Addis-Mojo road 20 kms from Bishoftu and Mojo
- Ude town at centre of the kebele had become a municipality
- Flat, fertile land; self-sufficient & rain-sufficient: cash crops - *teff*, chickpeas, lentils, wheat and peas; some fattening and dairy

Yetmen, Felege Selam kebele, Enemay wereda, East Gojjam 2010

- Sub-kebele surrounding (small) Yetmen town
- 18 kms from Bichena and Dejen on allweather road
- Flat fertile land; self-sufficient & rain-sufficient: *teff* export to Addis, wheat, chickpeas, vetch, maize
- Cattle fattening & dairy – some hybrid; new irrigated vegetables

Sirba



Yetmen



Two rain-vulnerable aid-dependent communities 2010-13

Aze Debo, Kedida Gamela wereda, Kambata 2011

- Flattish, some high ground; on road 4 km from Durame Wereda and zone town; very densely populated
- Drought more frequent: enset-based mixed farming; coffee for export; eucalyptus sale; hybrid cattle
- Migration to S Africa; Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP)

Harresaw, Atsbi-Wemberta wereda, East Tigray 2011

- 2 sub-kebeles on E Tigray highland plateau; 1 remoter, hilly;
- Kebele centre emerging ‘town’
- Recurrent drought: barley, wheat, beans, pulses, irrigated vegetables if sufficient rain; cattle fattening & dairy – some hybrid
- Illegal migration to Saudi; PSNP + EFA

Aze Debo



Harresaw



Five key globally-linked processes differentially important in the communities in 2018

- Urbanisation
- Climate change
- Agricultural modernisation
- Migration
- Information and communication technologies

Urbanisation – top-down meets bottom-up

- *Top-down urbanisation* initiated at higher government levels guided by outside models
 - 2017 urban population in Ethiopia 17%
 - GTPII target 20%: 25 million people in 8,000 towns by 2020/21
 - Rural housing development plan: 1.7 million houses in the 17,000 rural development centres by 2020/21
 - Longer-term - Government polycentric urban development policy: clusters around Addis Ababa and ten secondary cities
- *Urbanisation from below* – resulting from interactions among local government officials, investors, landholders and other local people
- *Experiences in the four rural communities:*
 - internal urbanisation?
 - increasing rural-urban links?
 - urban creep...urban grab?

Climate change

Driven by ‘Western lifestyles’, including their spread to recently industrialised countries; Ethiopia relatively powerless

Rain

- Since 1960 long-term rain trends difficult to determine but:
 - Belg rains increasingly unpredictable
 - incidence of drought has increased
 - more intense precipitation during extreme weather events (USAID 2016)
- Since 1970s
 - rainfall decline in heavily populated areas of Rift Valley in S Central Ethiopia
 - Many areas will maintain moist climate conditions (FEWS 2015)

Temperatures

- Since 1960s mean annual temperature increased by 1°

Experiences in the four rural communities:

- changing seasonal and annual rain patterns? Consequences?
- rising temperatures? consequences?

Agricultural modernisation

- Imports of modern inputs for crops and livestock
- Exports of relevance to the four communities
- Foreign investment sought by the Government
- Benefits, risks and costs of agricultural modernisation

Agricultural modernisation – imports of modern inputs for crops and livestock

- seeds – Ethiopia's national seed strategy include a range of internal major stakeholders, including Research Institutes, the private sector and smallholder farmers - *and*
 - Dupont Pioneer *hybrid and GMO seeds*; SeedCo mainly *hybrid maize*
- fertiliser and fertiliser chemicals – 5 million quintals imported in 2017/18; historically DAP and urea - *but*
 - digital soil fertility mapping from 2012 – leading to the introduction of *new nutrients* recommended by researchers
- pesticides & weedkillers – 2016 all agro-chemicals imported > US\$100m - \$48m on pesticides ; \$52m on insecticides
 - In 2017 most *pesticides* imports from Germany, Switzerland, England, Japan, Israel, Belgium, India & US; Adami Tulu pesticide formulating plant
 - *weedkiller* imports ↑ in 2015 - 77% 2-4D; 23% glyphosates including Roundup; increasingly used by smallholders; most imports by private sector
- livestock fattening & dairy cows – 2012 demand for imported veterinary medicines – 272 tons antibiotics; 767 tons of anthelmentics; 92 tons of antiprotozoals; 692.38 thousand litres of acaricides

Agricultural modernisation – exports – macro picture

(Considering exports relevant to 1 or more of the four communities)

- Coffee exports (Aze Debo'a)
 - 2016/17 Ethiopia produced 4% of global coffee production
 - country's top export – nearly one-third of total - \$997m
 - grown by > 4m smallholders; employed 15m people along value chain
 - associated imports included pesticides
- Flower exports (Sirba)
 - 2017 export value \$280m; government target \$1bn a year
- Pulse exports [chickpeas, vetch/grass peas, lentils] (Sirba & Yetmen)
 - 2014 Ethiopia produced > 400,000 tons of chickpeas; 2nd most important pulse was vetch; and 6th lentils
 - In 2013 chickpea export value was \$42m
 - Hard to find 2018 information about pulse exports

Agricultural modernisation – foreign investment sought by Government

- seeds - Government working to attract investment
- fertilisers - since soil fertility mapping began in 2012 ‘an influx of international fertiliser companies
 - e.g. OCP Morocco fertiliser plant planned for Dire Dawa
- pesticides and weedkillers - Government invited Chinese agro-chemical industries to invest in joint ventures with local investors
- livestock – Government Livestock Master Plan - investment opportunities advertised by ATA and overseas in various places
 - milk and dairy processing
 - feed manufacturing
 - livestock genetics
 - cold storage facilities
 - chicken meat exports
 - veterinary services
- Flower farms - plan to release a further 6,100 has of land and to open the market to foreign development: Dutch, German, French and Kenyan groups
- Pulses – ITC ‘value chain roadmap for pulses’ – need ‘proven investors’

Agricultural modernisation - benefits, risks and costs

General benefits, risks and costs

- Hybrid and GMO seeds – more production but need to buy every year
- Pesticides – more production but potential environmental and human harms unless regulated and implemented correctly
- Weedkiller – labour saving advantages but reduction in daily labour opportunities and potential environmental and human harms.....
- Livestock chemicals – improve health and feed efficiency, promote growth, and reduce diseases but problems in ‘prescribing and incorrect diagnosis’ → possible residues in meat & milk, and antimicrobial resistance

Experiences in the four rural communities:

- Access to, and use of, improved seeds and different types of fertiliser and outcomes of use?
- Need for, access to, and use of different pesticides and weedkillers and outcomes of use?
- Use of fattening medicines and medicines for dairy cows and outcomes of use?
- Unintended consequences of the use of modern farming inputs?

International migration – macro picture

Middle East

- Between 2011 and 2013 flows of legal migrants to Gulf countries, mostly women to work as housemaids dramatically increased
- In October 2013 Government banned agents providing legal channels
- Shortly after Saudi crackdown on illegal migrants (estd 65%): forcible repatriation of 165,000+ Ethiopians in a 4 month period
- Subsequently the number of illegal migrants increased; Saudi govt estd 400,000 illegal Ethiopians; in 2017 another forced repatriation estd 70,000

South Africa

- Migration to South Africa unlikely to have been affected by the ban
- March 2017 estd 120,000 Ethiopians living in SA, about half illegal entrants

Sudan and South Sudan

- Migration to the Sudans unlikely to have been affected by the ban

Information and Communication Technologies and globalisation – macro view

Hardware

- Infrastructure – satellites, masts etc
- Equipment – mobile phones, computers, TVs, radios - mostly imported; some assembled in Ethiopia

Use of equipment

- Mobile phones - talking and messaging; radio; music; smartphones (very recent) – Skype/Viber etc internet; social media – Facebook etc; apps; games
- Computers - software – writing, spreadsheets etc; photographs; searching the internet...
- Internet use – e.g. educational research, shopping, watching videos, pornography, information, social media...
- Social media (very recent) – social networking – Facebook, WhatsApp...
- International TV broadcasters – EBS (Maryland); JTV (Phoenix Arizona); DStv (channels from around the world to 49 African countries); Kana (owned by MMG founded in Afghanistan, now in Central Asia, Middle East & Africa)

A comparison of globally-linked modernisations in the communities in 2018

Sirba 2018



Sirba, 20 kms from Bishoftu

Urbanisation

- Urban & industrial creep along main road; new town grabbing rural land
- Wereda plan for housing; illegal sale of rural land to investors

Climate change

- ‘Good climate change’? rained longer in September

Agricultural modernisation

- Crop and livestock production & productivity increase related to modern inputs, irrigation and increased urban demand

International migration

- > 150 young women to M East; young men started to be interested

Information and Communication Technologies

- Recent wide use of mobile phones - radio & Facebook etc for some
- TVs with satellite dishes since 2014

Trajectory into the future

- Bottom-up urbanisation combined with wereda plan implementation
- Longer-run – ‘Addis Ababa Metropolitan Cluster’?

Yetmen 2018



Yetmen, 17 kms from Dejen E Gojam

Urbanisation

- Expansion of municipality; 2016 land grab of rural settlement - resistance

Climate change not suggested

Agricultural modernisation

- Crop and livestock production & productivity increase related to modern inputs and increased urban demand

International migration

- A very few in the US/Europe; 9 women to the M East

Information and Communication Technologies

- Mobile phone used only for calling; internet only in the school
- No TVs in rural Yetmen; satellite TV in urban Yetmen; radios common

Trajectory into the future

- Slow bottom-up urbanisation; uncertainty about farmer-wereda rural settlement land standoff
- Longer-term – on edge of cluster including Bahir Dar, Gondar with Debre Markos as a secondary city; near main road Debre Markos-Addis Ababa

Aze Debo 2018



Aze Debo, 4 kms from Durame zone town Kambata

Urbanisation

- Internal urbanisation along the road; urban creep from Durame

Climate change

- Rising temperature & unreliable rain encouraging coffee diseases

Agricultural modernisation

- Crop and livestock production & productivity increase related to modern inputs, irrigation and increased urban demand

International migration

- Young men to S Africa; 20 in last year. Young women to M East since 2011. Since 2015 20 people to Sudan & S Sudan

Information and Communication Technologies

- Wide use of mobile phones including radio and Facebook etc for some; mobile phones used to make PSNP payments
- 10 TVs, a few satellite dishes; satellite TV and internet cafés in Durame

Trajectory into the future

- Potential urban/industrial grab of much of the kebele by Durame
- Longer run – S Rift Valley urban cluster Hawassa, Shashemene, Dilla

Harresaw



Harresaw, E Tigray on edge of Rift Valley

Urbanisation

- Minor internal urbanisation; small urban creep from new municipality

Climate change

- Intermittent droughts; frosts; hot winds from Afar in summer

Agricultural modernisation

- Drought hampering crop modernisation including irrigation; livestock products more successful – related to increasing urban demand

International migration

- Migration to Saudi linked to drought, debt and aspirations; reduced since Saudi crackdowns - c150 a year; increasing number of females

Information and Communication Technologies

- Wide use of mobile phones including radio and Facebook etc for some; remittances and paying ransoms for migrants
- 9 TVs some with satellite dishes; first brought from Saudi in 2014

Trajectory into the future

- Depends on the weather and Government policies; little change?
- Longer-run – Mekelle urban cluster; growth pole road thro Wukro

A comparison of globally-linked modernisations in the communities in 2018

Multiple rural modernities

Urbanisation

- Issues with compensation
- Illegal sales
- Peri-urban limbo
- Conflicts people-government

Climate change

Agricultural modernisation

- Increased productivity
- Increasing inequalities
- Agro-chemicals

International migration

Information and communication technologies

- Exposure to international TV and social media is very new
- Longer-run impacts unclear