90
Working Paper

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An International Study of Childhood Poverty

Understanding Community Variation and Change in Ethiopia:

Implications for Children

Alula Pankhurst and Agazi Tiumelissan

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First published by Young Lives in December 2012

978-1-909403-02-4

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Printed on FSC-certified paper from traceable and sustainable sources.

Funded by

UKaid
from the British people

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

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Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the children and families who participate in Young Lives research and the field researchers involved in data collection reported in this paper. We are indebted to reviewers for their constructive comments. We are also grateful to Dr Tassew Woldehanna, Asmelash Haile and Mahiderekal Fiseha for all their support with interpreting the data. However, the errors and the views expressed in this paper are ours. For Table 5 and Map 2 we wish to acknowledge as the source the International Food Policy Research Institute Ethiopia Strategy Support Programme Research Note 5.

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About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) over 15 years. **www.younglives.org.uk**

Young Lives is funded from 2001 to 2017 by UK aid from the Department for International Development (DFID), and co-funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2010 to 2014.

The views expressed are those of the author(s). They are not necessarily those of, or endorsed by, Young Lives, the University of Oxford, DFID or other funders.

Executive summary

This paper demonstrates the importance of analysing data at a community level and argues that differences between sites can be significant and changes over time can affect community contexts, with potential consequences for households and children. We suggest that communities can be classified in terms of a number of categories beyond the urban–rural and regional divides which have been the usual ways of considering variation within countries.

We began with three main aims: first, to propose a set of ways of categorising the 20 sites in the Ethiopian Young Lives study that would go beyond urban–rural and regional differences to develop additional ways of understanding community-level differences; second, to consider changes over the three rounds of study from 2002 to 2009 and how these have affected the categorisations of the communities; and third, to understand the implications of types of community for sources of support and child protection.

The paper explores and categorises community-level differences in four main areas: (1) space and time, with regard to changes in remoteness resulting from improved transport, communications and electricity supplies; (2) community economies in terms of livelihoods and shocks and external support; (3) culture and social organisation, in terms of ethnic and religious differences, and presence of, membership in, and support from community-level institutions; and (4) the extent and types of child-protection services.

The paper is divided into five sections. The first outlines the method of classifying communities into types; the limitations of the data relating to differences between the survey rounds in the numbers of communities and the questions asked; and the approach used to classify the communities into categories relating to remoteness and changes resulting from improved communications; to type of economy; to relations with external food assistance; to cultural forms and social organisation; and to types of social-protection case.

The second section explores how spatial differences in remoteness changed over time as a result of improvements in transport and expansion of communications and electricity supplies. A classification of the sites into four categories of remoteness was proposed. The review concludes that although none of the sites may be considered extremely remote within the broader Ethiopian context, four different categories of remoteness may be differentiated, and the degree of remoteness of the sites has changed quite considerably over time. This is largely due to improved means of transport, particularly in some of the remote and very remote sites. However, some relatively close sites are now by comparison less close, due to lack of or limited public transport. Therefore changes in communications may lead to an emerging levelling out of the effects of differences in remoteness that should be tracked in further rounds. Moreover, the improvements in road access can have a range of implications, notably for sale of agricultural produce, the availability of consumer goods, health care (especially in emergencies), and migration for education and work. Differential effects may be also related to wealth, depending on transport costs, which deserve further study.

A further dimension of remoteness is access to means of communication. The review shows that there has been considerable change between the rounds of study in access to telephone, mobile and internet services. The number of sites with access to telephone services increased from five in Round 1 to 18 out of 20 in Round 3. However, even if coverage has been extended to a new area, it does not follow that all households within the

area have access. There are clear urban–rural differences in the proportion of households that were connected, and by Round 3 there were only three sites in which more than half the households had telephones. The greatest access is in the three Addis Ababa sites and in a town in Oromia. Only seven sites, all of which were urban, had more than a quarter of households connected. Access in rural sites remained almost non-existent.

In contrast, the mobile phone network improved dramatically: it was non-existent in Round 1, but three years later by Round 2 all but three sites, all of which were rural, had access to mobile networks. Here again there are notable urban–rural differences, but these are less stark. There was only one site, in Addis Ababa, where more than one-third of households owned mobile phones, and the figure of more than one-fifth pertained in only three sites. However, there was only one urban site where fewer than 10 per cent of households owned mobiles. In contrast, rural sites had almost no households with mobile phones, except for a site in Oromia which is very close to a major town. By Round 3 the situation had improved significantly for urban sites, but also for rural sites. The number of users had more than doubled in all urban sites, and had more than tripled in five sites. In almost all urban sites more than one-third of households owned mobiles. Moreover, the corresponding proportion in all three Addis sites and one town in Oromia was more than two-thirds, and in one Addis site it was more than three-quarters. Furthermore, a considerable change can be seen in rural sites: five sites had more than 10 per cent of households with mobiles, from a base of virtually none in 2006. Moreover, two sites, both of which are very close to towns, had more than a quarter of households with mobiles. More importantly, two remote sites had more than one-fifth of households with mobiles, whereas they had none in Round 2. A community-site approach reveals how improvements in mobile-phone access could have important effects in integrating the more remote sites. The various impacts of changes in means of communications deserve further analysis. These could include better knowledge of market prices, enabling producers to bypass middlemen; the ability to keep in touch with migrants and relatives, which might favour remittance flows and social protection; and the ability to call for private transport in cases of health emergencies and in cases of threats to personal security.

In contrast to the rapid progress of mobile phones, internet access was slow to progress and remains an urban phenomenon. Internet was not available in Round 1, and by Round 2 in 2006 only the four urban sites in the two big cities had access. By Round 3, three other medium- and small-sized towns had access, and only one small urban site did not record access. However, none of the rural sites had internet access. The effects of internet communications on children, both positive and potentially negative, may be too early to assess, given the limited usage at this stage, but will be worth monitoring in the next round of Young Lives study with the older cohort.

The progress in access to electricity has been quite remarkable. In Round 1 all eight urban sites, but only one very close rural site, had access to electricity. By Round 2, two more rural sites had access, both of which have been classified as very close. By Round 3, eight rural sites had access and only four did not. However, access in the site does not necessarily translate into a large proportion of households being connected. Four categories were distinguished. First, in the sites in the two large cities more than 90 per cent of households have access. Second, in the other towns the proportion is above two-thirds, and in all but one town at least 80 per cent of households are connected. However, the smaller towns had a larger proportion with access than the medium towns had, which may be partly due to their being less stratified, and also because the sites selected in the larger towns include poorer neighbourhoods. Third, in two rural sites, despite their being very remote, there are small but

significant proportions with access. Fourth, in the remaining eight rural sites the proportion of households with access is under 10 per cent.

Access to electricity may be bringing about changes to remoteness, particularly in the small towns and the remoter sites. Changes which deserve further investigation include the provision of lighting at night, which can benefit children doing homework; the establishment of grinding mills, which could reduce women's work burden; better access to communications through radio and TV; the charging of mobile-phone batteries; and improved leisure opportunities with the use of tape recorders, DVD players, etc.

The third section of this paper considers the categorisation of sites in economic terms in relation to types of production, shocks, food insecurity, and consequent dependence of the site economies. The review suggested that the 12 rural communities can be classified by main crops into two basic types: cereal- and *enset*-production systems. The cereal sites can be further sub-divided into sites where cereals are the main produce, sites in which cereals are combined with pulses, and sites where cereals are combined with tubers. The *enset* sites can be divided into two in terms of the secondary crops: cereals and coffee as a cash crop. The communities rely in urban sites on trade and services, in larger cities on wage labour, and in smaller towns with rural hinterlands on agriculture, and in one site on tourism.

The first part of the third section considers natural disasters, food support, and the consequent dependence of the economy on food assistance. The most common form of natural disaster affecting the communities was drought, which struck more than half the communities in Round 1, with eight out of 12 communities receiving food aid. Other less frequently mentioned shocks were flooding in six sites, hail in three sites, earthquakes in three sites, and a landslide in one site, although the affected communities generally did not require external support. Considering all three Rounds, the sites were categorised into four in terms of the number of rounds during which they had received food support. Half the sites received some sort of food assistance over the three rounds and may be categorised as highly food-insecure. These included all four sites in Amhara and in Tigray and one rural site each in Oromia and Tigray regions. Second, sites that received food assistance for two rounds comprised three urban sites in Addis Ababa, Amhara, and the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Region, and a rural site in SNNP. Third, sites that received assistance for one round included two in Addis Ababa and two in SNNP, one rural and one urban. Finally the two sites that did not receive any food aid are both in Oromia. The classification suggests clear regional disparities, with greater food insecurity in the sites in the north of the country.

A more detailed consideration of the various forms of support, including direct food aid, food for work, employment-generation schemes, cash for work, supplementary feeding, and school feeding, led to a classification of the range of assistance provided over the three rounds. The two sites in receipt of the greatest number of types of assistance were both rural sites in Amhara region. The next category of high assistance had four in Tigray and Amhara regions. The six sites that received medium levels of food support comprise five rural sites (two in Tigray, one in Amhara, one in Oromia, and one in SNNP) and one urban area in SNNP. The two sites that have received low levels of food support are both urban sites, one in Addis Ababa and the other in Amhara. The two sites that received very low levels of food support are two urban sites in Addis Ababa and two sites in SNNP, one urban and one rural. Both sites that did not receive any support are in Oromia, one rural and one urban.

In order to establish whether sites are dependent on food aid, we need to consider not only the number of rounds during which they were reported as receiving assistance, but also what

other economic opportunities exist in the area. Most of the sites that received food for three rounds may be classified as dependent; however, in two rural sites in Oromia irrigation and commercial farms provide labour opportunities, and one of them derives income from fishing; in two sites in Tigray irrigation provides employment (and also a stone-crushing industry in one of them); and in one site in SNNP alternative sources of income are provided by coffee and forestry. Despite receiving food assistance in two rounds, all four sites in this category may be considered independent, due to sale of eucalyptus and *chat* in one SNNP site, to tourism in an urban site in Amhara, to trade in an SNNP urban site, and to opportunities for work in factories in the Addis Ababa site. Among the sites receiving assistance, only in one Round could the urban sites be considered as independent economies, due to opportunities for wage labour and petty trade, and the rural site in SNNP has sources of income from trade, *chat* sales, and handicrafts. Finally, the two sites in Oromia that did not receive any aid have independent economies: the urban site relying on trade and wage labour, and the rural site relying on forestry and employment.

The fourth section of the paper explores social and cultural organisation. In terms of population, the average urban site population was more than three times higher than the rural average, with potential implications for infrastructure and services. The review of the cultural composition of the sites concluded that there is a strong congruence between ethnic and religious diversity, with higher ethnic diversity tending to coincide with greater religious diversity. There is much greater diversity in urban areas, notably in the large cities and in the SNNP, and lowest diversity in Tigray and Amhara, with Oromia ranked in the middle. There are also important urban–rural differences, with a greater proportion of Amhara and Oromo ethnicities and Orthodox and Protestant religions in the urban areas.

The review of local-level institutions showed that the most common formal institutions were women's and youth associations, and the most common informal institutions were funeral and religious associations. However, the comparison revealed that membership of informal associations and groups is much more prevalent than membership of formal associations. Funeral associations represent more than half the mentions of membership of groups and in terms of regions are most important in Oromia and least important in Tigray. Informal credit associations are more important in urban areas and in one site in SNNP, whereas formal credit options are less common in remoter sites and totally lacking in two remote sites in SNNP that rely on money lenders. Among formal groups, women's and youth associations were more prevalent in urban areas; however, in terms of membership women's and farmers' associations were more important than youth associations, and regionally in terms of membership all three were most important in Tigray. Labour unions, producers' associations and housing cooperatives were much less common and mainly found in urban areas and membership of service cooperatives and producers' cooperatives and sports clubs was limited and concentrated in a few specific sites. Regarding support from groups and individuals, informal networks and associations represented the bulk of mentions, and formal sources were much less important. The most important source of support was family, followed by funeral associations, neighbours and friends, and religious leaders and groups. Among the formal sources, government officials are the most important, followed by women's groups and cooperatives and NGOs. Groups with small numbers of mentions include trade unions, politicians and political groups, and sports groups.

The final section of the paper considers child and adolescent protection services, drawing on the Round 2 community data. Cases of the abuse of child rights were mentioned as being referred to authorities in all but four sites, two of which were the remotest rural sites in

Amhara and Tigray respectively, and the other two towns were in SNNP. Cases were considered most commonly by district authorities, followed by school authorities, and least frequently by the local administration. In terms of sectors, cases were presented most frequently to the justice institutions, followed by the police, the administration and the schools. There was only one site each where cases were presented to the women's affairs offices, and one each to health and social-affairs offices, to an NGO and to community and religious leaders.

Regarding the proportion of cases, whereas among those relating to younger children there were roughly equal numbers of cases relating to girls and boys, 69 per cent of the adolescent cases concerned girls. The most frequent cases related to food claims, certification of parenthood, and support from the father in cases of divorce. Physical punishment and rape were the next most important, followed by education-related claims, particularly regarding refusal to allow children to attend school and enforced early marriage. Cases of child labour, abduction and abandonment were raised less frequently. Very few cases of sexual abuse, wife-beating, harassment, drop-out and violence were recorded. When regrouped into broader categories, it becomes apparent that gender-based violence cases are the most frequently reported, followed by claims related to food aid and parenthood and then cases of violence and education. Labour abuse, abandonment and housing problems were less frequently reported. A further question relating only to children suggests that cases of physical punishment are the most frequently presented, followed by cases of rape and harassment. Less frequent are cases of early marriage, deprivation of education, child labour and abandonment, whereas cases relating to food and parenthood, emphasised in the earlier question, were rare. In regrouping the responses, gender-based violence remains the most significant category, accounting for half the cases, followed by physical abuse, labour and education cases. The sites with the smallest number of cases are all remote or very remote sites in SNNP, Amhara and Tigray, suggesting that such cases were less important – or that the authorities have less capacity to address child-protection cases in remoter areas.

The data from the sites in which qualitative research was carried out suggest that child-protection issues have been given much more prominence in the two urban sites, which are in large cities, than in the rural sites. Moreover, the importance of child-protection issues has increased over the three rounds of study, especially with the involvement of the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs at the District level by the time of the third round. There has also been greater engagement of NGOs in child-rights and protection issues in the urban sites, and a greater collaboration between NGOs and community institutions, in particular funeral associations. There were even instances of tripartite collaborations between government, NGOs and community-initiated funeral associations.

Most of the focus in all the sites was on orphans, particularly those who had lost parents due to HIV/AIDS. However, this began to be broadened to poor and vulnerable children to whom NGOs, especially the ones connected with missions, were providing support. In addition, in the Tigray site the question of preventing child marriage and helping girls attending secondary schools in town was taken up by the Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office.

We conclude by suggesting that the approach adopted in this paper raises important questions about how the lives of children and their families are affected by the type of community in which they live, and how these sites have been changing over the rounds. The implications of changes in remoteness due to improved transport, communications and electricity supply deserve further study. The changes in the local economies and livelihoods are also crucial, particularly as the Young Lives children enter the labour market. Cultural

values and their interaction with external interventions seeking to bring about change are important, particularly in relation to gender issues and child protection. The role of informal institutions and associations in providing support also deserves to be better understood. The context of child-protection services has been changing, with an increasing role for government, particularly the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs, in collaboration with NGOS and community-initiated institutions. Finally, an appreciation of the implications of changes at community level for households and children could be useful in helping to assess changes in children's lives over the rounds. It is hoped that the approach adopted in this paper will stimulate further work to improve our understanding of the nature of childhood poverty.

1. Introduction: aims, method, limitations and approach

This paper seeks to understand spatial, economic, cultural and social variations among the 20 Ethiopian sites researched by Young Lives.

We began with three main aims: first, to propose a set of ways of categorising the sites that would go beyond the urban–rural and regional differences, and developing additional ways of categorising community-level distinctions; second, to consider changes over the three rounds of study from 2002 to 2009 and to assess how these have affected the categorisations of the communities; and third, to understand the implications of type of community for external support and child protection.

We document variation and classify communities into types based on differences in geography, production systems, culture and society, and relations with external support for shocks and child protection. We also consider temporal changes affecting spatial remoteness over the three rounds since the research began, covering 2002 to 2009. We contend that a consideration of differences in types of site, and site transformations over time, is crucial to gain a better understanding of community contexts in which households exist, and of the opportunities for children living within them. We suggest that a greater focus on community characteristics and changes can provide insights that may be relevant for social and child protection.

The paper is divided into five sections. The introduction describes the methods, data sources and limitations of the research and then presents the community-typing approach which forms the framework for the analysis. The second section considers differences over space and time, categorising sites in terms of remoteness and exploring differential changes resulting from improvements in roads, telecommunications and electricity. The third section focuses on differences in community production systems, vulnerability to weather shocks, and the extent of assistance provided, leading to a categorisation of sites in terms of food insecurity and the extent of the dependence of the community economies. The fourth section addresses cultural and social differences, characterising sites in terms of ethnic and religious diversity, revealing a high level of congruence in the extent of ethnic and religious diversity. The prevalence of formal and informal institutions is reviewed, followed by an assessment of membership of groups and support from various sources, demonstrating the importance of informal networks and community associations. The fifth section considers the characteristics of child-protection services in terms of the location and sectors to which cases are referred, drawing on qualitative evidence to classify the cases into types and thereby reveal the

prevalence of gender-based violence and provide an impression of the changing roles of NGOs, state services and their relations with customary institutions.

The conclusion draws out salient findings from each of the parts, making a case for the usefulness of the community-typing approach and suggesting the need to take this further by looking at implications for households and children.

1.1 Method and data sources

This paper considered data mainly from quantitative sources and in particular the three rounds of the Young Lives community-context questionnaire. For certain issues, such as the proportion of households belonging to groups and the proportion of households with access to telecommunications services and electricity, the community-context questionnaire was supplemented by questions from the household questionnaires in the Round 2 and 3 surveys.

The paper also makes use of some qualitative data. The initial community profiles that were produced for almost all the sites provided additional information on cultural composition, social institutions and livelihoods. Data concerning child protection, derived from the three rounds of the qualitative interviews, were reviewed, complementing the data from the Round 2 community questionnaire, enabling a discussion of changes. The paper also draws on the Round 2 Country Report on the Community questionnaire.

1.2 Limitations and change of focus

In terms of comparisons across the three quantitative rounds of study, several problems were encountered. First, in terms of administrative divisions: several sites were sub-divided and some were joined, making comparisons across rounds more problematic. Second, some of the key questions or modules were not retained in subsequent rounds. In particular the entire module on child protection in Round 2 was not repeated in Round 3, a feature which does not allow for an assessment of change. Third, there are very few questions on community forms of organisation, and in some cases the categories are conflated.[1] Fourth, the qualitative data provide limited information on community organisation and the data on forms of support relate mainly to a narrow consideration of child protection.

As a result of these limitations, this paper focuses on describing and analysing spatial, economic and social variations and temporal change, and the consideration of external support is limited to certain relevant aspects of livelihoods, notably food assistance and child-protection services.

1.3 Young Lives sites and the rationale for a community-typing approach

The 20 Young Lives sites were selected largely to enable understanding of rural–urban and regional differences.

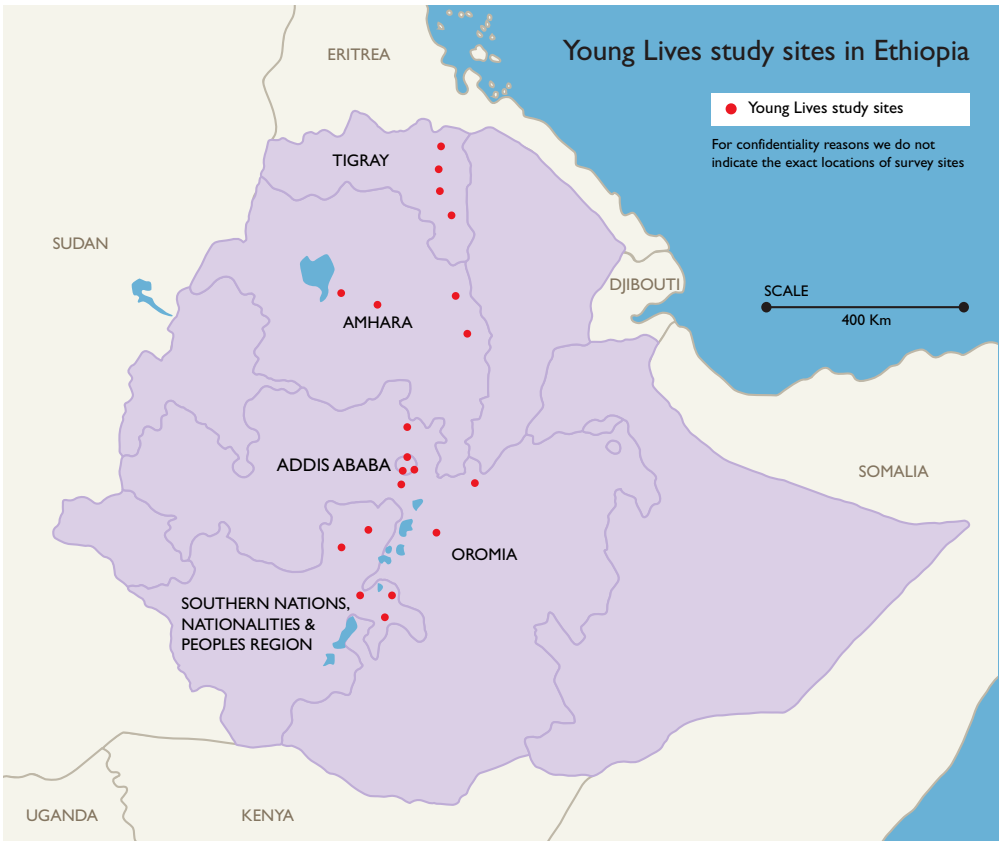
The sites are located in four major regions of Ethiopia – Amhara, Oromia, Tigray and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) – and the capital city, Addis Ababa. These five regions are the most populous and account for about 96 per cent of the country's inhabitants (Round 3 Survey Report 2011, Woldehanna et al.). There are four sites in each of

1 For instance, in the Round 1 questionnaire section 11 on social capital, the questions on membership of groups, credit associations, and funeral associations are merged.

three of the regions – Amhara, Oromia and Tigray – and five in SNNP, including a site in the regional capital. The sites include two major cities: the capital city Addis Ababa and the capital of the SNNP. In three of the four regions – Amhara, Oromia and Tigray – there is one urban site and three rural sites, whereas in the SNNP there are two urban sites and three rural sites. Of the three sites in the national capital Addis Ababa, two are each composed of two *kebeles* (administrative districts) and the site in the capital city of the Southern Region was divided into three *kebeles* in Round 2 and four *kebeles* in Round 3.

The selection was also guided by an intentional bias in favour of the inclusion of poor families within regions and localities in order to gain better insights into the lives of children growing up in poverty.[2] Map 1 shows that the sites are found predominantly on a north–south axis; there are no sites far to the east or west or the extreme south, nor in any of the four peripheral Developing Regions, largely due to concerns about difficulties in keeping track of cohorts in pastoralist areas and also to concerns that high attrition rates would limit comparability. The sites to the south of the capital city in the Southern Region are largely in the Rift Valley, the sites in Tigray are clustered in the north-east, the sites in Amhara are mainly in a cluster in the centre, the sites in Oromia are mostly in a cluster to the north of Addis Ababa and the SNNP sites are mainly in the north-eastern corner of the region.

Map 1. *Young Lives sites within the five regions*



Accessibility may well have influenced site selection to some degree; and, as we shall see, few of the sites are very remote and none may be considered extremely remote.

2 For details of the sampling, see Outes-Leon and Sanchez (2008).

Although there are 20 Young Lives sites, within the capital city Addis Ababa there are three distinct areas, two of which spanned two different *kebeles* or administrative units, bringing the total in Round 1 in 2002 to 22 sites. There has also been some change between the rounds, with the number of *kebeles* increasing, due to their sub-division. By Round 2 in 2006 there were 24 *kebeles*; in Round 3 in 2009 there were 28 *kebeles*. For most purposes this paper will use the 20 sites as the frame of reference, but where differences are relevant the 24 *kebeles* of Round 2 and 28 *kebeles* of Round 3 are considered. The site numbers will be used to refer to specific sites, because these are shorter than the pseudonyms and because additional communities resulted from sub-divisions of the sites. See Table 1.

Table 1. *Site IDs by survey round, pseudonym, region, and urban–rural classification*

No.	Site ID*	Site no.	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Pseudonym**	Region	Urban/Rural
1	ET1011	01	Yes	Yes	Yes	Bertukan	Addis Ababa	Urban
2	ET1021	02 (a)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Duba	Addis Ababa	Urban
3	ET1022	02 (b)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Duba	Addis Ababa	Urban
4	ET1031	03 (a)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Menderin	Addis Ababa	Urban
5	ET1032	03 (b)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Menderin	Addis Ababa	Urban
6	ET2041	04	Yes	Yes	Yes	Kok	Amhara	Urban
7	ET2051	05	Yes	Yes	Yes	Muz	Amhara	Rural
8	ET2061	06 (a)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Enkoy	Amhara	Rural
9	ET2062	06 (b)	No	No	Yes	Enkoy	Amhara	Rural
10	ET2071	07	Yes	Yes	Yes	Tach-Meret	Amhara	Rural
11	ET3081	08	Yes	Yes	Yes	Leki	Oromia	Rural
12	ET3091	09	Yes	Yes	Yes	Lomi	Oromia	Rural
13	ET3101	10	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ananas	Oromia	Urban
14	ET3111	11 (a)	Yes	No	Yes	Dinich	Oromia	Rural
15	ET3112	11 (b)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Dinich	Oromia	Rural
16	ET4121	12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Timatim	SNNP	Rural
17	ET4131	13	Yes	Yes	Yes	Shenkurt	SNNP	Urban
18	ET4141	14 (a)	No	Yes	Yes	Leku	SNNP	Urban
19	ET4142	14 (b)	No	No	Yes	Leku	SNNP	Urban
20	ET4143	14 (c)	No	Yes	Yes	Leku	SNNP	Urban
21	ET4144	14 (d)	No	Yes	Yes	Leku	SNNP	Urban
22	ET4151	15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Buna	SNNP	Rural
23	ET4161	16 (a)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Weyn	SNNP	Rural
24	ET4162	16 (b)	No	No	Yes	Weyn	SNNP	Rural
25	ET5171	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	Zeytun	Tigray	Rural
26	ET5181	18	Yes	Yes	Yes	Selata	Tigray	Rural
27	ET5191	19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Gomen	Tigray	Urban
28	ET5201	20	Yes	Yes	Yes	Beles	Tigray	Rural
Total	**28**		**22**	**24**	**28**			

Source: Rounds 1, 2, and 3 questionnaires and Young Lives pseudonym list

* The site ID numbers which are used in the Young Lives datasets are based on administrative divisions; however, some study sites cut across these boundaries and others were divided when the administrative lines were redrawn by the government. To simplify the presentation, site numbers have been used in most cases in the remainder of this paper.

** Pseudonyms are used in Young Lives publications to ensure that sites cannot be identified, in order to protect the anonymity of the communities and the respondents living in them.

Analysis of the Young Lives Ethiopian data has tended to focus on the overall sample, with some disaggregation by urban–rural and regional differences. However, site-level variation can also be relevant, and differences among communities and their changing trajectories may have implications for livelihoods, social support and protection, and children's well-being.

Some insights and parallels can be gleaned from another study of community types and longer-term trajectories in Ethiopia, conducted in 20 rural communities in the project on Well-being Ill-being Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE), forming the Ethiopian Longitudinal Community Study (ELCS) that began in the early 1990s and continues to the present. The study includes 18 sites from the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) and two pastoralist sites. The report from the first stage of the third phase of the study identified the following ten variables as important in understanding communities and changes within them (Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst 2010):

1. Regional variations in policies and implementation.
2. Settlement, urban and peri-urban influences and distance from towns.
3. Development services (external government and NGO support programmes).
4. Core livelihood system.
5. Diversification.
6. New technologies.
7. Cultural forms and differences (including the ethnic and religious mix).
8. Social inequalities.
9. Social integration.
10. Government–society relations.

The WIDE research found that whether communities have independent or dependent economies, whether they rely on food aid or on food for work, and what other economic activities exist have very important implications for their potential trajectories.

Although most, if not all, of these variables may be very relevant to understanding changes in Young Lives communities, for the purpose of this paper we are focusing only on those variables that we believe will be most relevant to understanding community structures and forms of social support. This means that we do not consider internal variation within communities and only certain aspects of external support. However, we have considered available evidence of forms of informal social organisation and links between formal and customary child protection services.

2. Space and time: changes in access and communications

This section considers variation in distance from towns as an index of remoteness and explores how 'remoteness' has changed over time as a result of improvements in road networks, and especially the introduction of new forms of transport, notably motorised public transport. We suggest that this has changed the configuration of remoteness, and that some sites which were very remote have become much more accessible than some sites closer to

towns. We then review changes in terms of telecommunications, suggesting that expansion of mobile-phone networks and access has been most significant, transforming some very remote sites into ones that are more integrated in terms of communications. Finally, access to electricity is shown to have improved dramatically, once again favouring some of the remotest sites, although the proportions of households with access vary considerably and are partly related to urban–rural differences. Potential implications of changes in access through roads and improved transport, telecommunications and electricity are raised and deserve further study.

2.1 Urban and rural settlement differences and remoteness

Of the 20 Young Lives sites, eight are in urban areas. Three of these are in the national capital Addis Ababa, one is in a regional capital, and the remaining four are each in one region. Of the 24 *kebeles* in Round 2, half (12) are in urban areas; and of the 28 *kebeles* in Round 3, 13 are in urban areas.

Although urban sites are all within towns, there is quite considerable variation in size of the cities and towns – a fact which may have a range of implications. See Table 2.

Table 2. *Urban sites, size of population and category*

Site no.	City/town population (2007 census)	Size category
01, 02, 03*	2,739,551	Very Large
14**	159,013	Large
13	24,133	Medium
04	17,367	Medium
19	6,929	Small
10	6,426	Small

Source: Central Statistical Authority 2007 census
* Three sites, two of which span two *kebeles* each, resulting in five *kebeles* with Young Lives households.
** One site, including three *kebeles* with Young Lives households.

For the rural sites, distance from the nearest town is a first crude indicator of remoteness. The sites may be classified into four categories: (1) ***very remote***, more than 15 km; (2) ***remote,*** 10–15 km; (3) ***close*** (6–10 km), and (4) ***very close*** (5 km or less). The actual distance is sometimes difficult to assess, since some areas of the site may be closer to towns and others much farther away, and since the towns have been growing and expanding into the surrounding rural areas, such that some very close sites may become peri-urban sites in the near future. See Table 3.

Table 3. *Distance of rural sites from nearest town by region*

Site no.	Region	Distance from nearest town	Town type	Remoteness
06	Amhara	4 km	District	Very Close
07	Amhara	5 km	District	Very Close
09	Oromia	6 km	District	Close
15	SNNP	7 km	Zonal	Close
12	SNNP	8 km	Zonal	Close
08	Oromia	8 km	Zonal	Close
11	Oromia	10 km	Zonal	Close
18	Tigray	12 km	District	Remote
16	SNNP	15 km	Zonal	Remote
17	Tigray	15 km	District	Remote
20	Tigray	15 km	Zonal	Remote
05	Amhara	30 km	District	Very Remote

Source: Community profiles; Round 1 country report

However, remoteness is related not only to distance but also to the time taken to get to the nearest town, and also to the means of getting there. Moreover, 'remoteness' is not static but has been changing, particularly recently with the construction and improvement of roads and better means of public transport, including horse-drawn carts and motorised transport. See Table 4.

Table 4. *Changes in time taken to get to the district (wereda) capital; and categorisation of remoteness*

Site no.	Time (in minutes) 1994*	Remoteness	Time (in minutes) 2002*	Remoteness	Time (in minutes) 2006	Remoteness
20	300	Very remote	150	Very remote	150	Very remote
05	240	Very remote	60	Remote	60	Remote
16	180	Very remote	180	Very remote	60	Remote
09	150	Very remote	150	Very remote	90	Remote
12	120	Very remote	120	Very remote	120	Very remote
17	120	Very remote	120	Very remote	120	Very remote
11	120	Very remote	25	Very close	25	Very close
08	60	Remote	60	Remote	20	Very close
06	45	Remote	45	Remote	45	Remote
07	30	Close	30	Close	30	Close
15	25	Very close	25	Very close	25	Very close
18	25	Very close	25	Very close	25	Very close

Source: adapted from Country Report Round 2 community questionnaire (EDRI: 2007:5)
* In minutes, using the most common means of transport. Based on retrospective questions in Round 2 questionnaire concerning 4 and 12 years ago.

The retrospective questions in Round 2 about time taken to get to the district 12 years earlier, four years earlier, and in 2006 at the time of the survey suggest that there have been changes in remoteness in terms of access to the district capital.

Half the sites do not seem to have changed much in terms of remoteness in the 12 years preceding 2006 (Sites 06, 07, 12, 15, 17, 18), mainly because they were already easily

accessible. However, the remoteness of the remaining sites has changed quite dramatically. Three sites became more accessible from 1994 to 2002 (Sites 20, 05, 11), and three sites became more accessible from 2002 to 2006 (Sites 09, 16, 08).

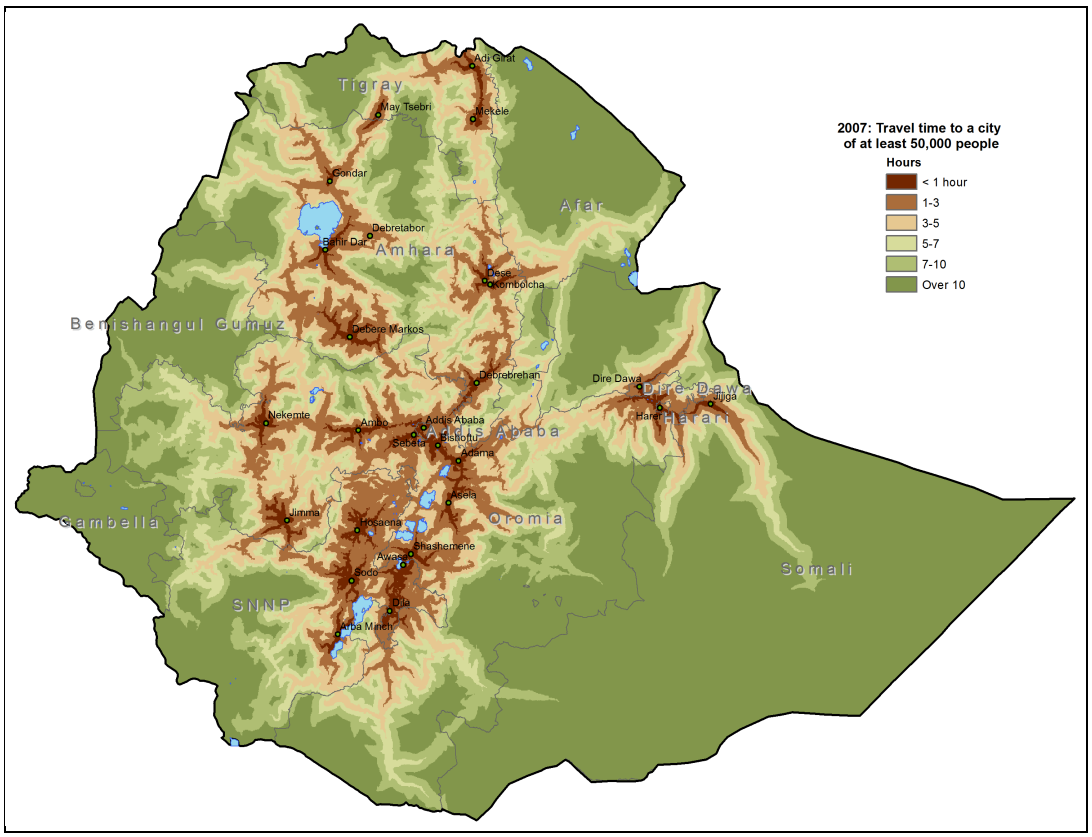
At this point it is worth considering to what extent the Young Lives sites compare with the national and regional averages. A study of change in distance from cities of more than 50,000 people shows that the proportion of the population more than 10 hours' journey from a city declined from 40 per cent in 1984 to 31 per cent in 1994 to 12 per cent in 2007, with significant regional variations. The proportion with access in under an hour was 12 per cent overall, with higher rates in SNNP and Tigray and lower rates in Amhara and Oromia. See Table 5.

Table 5. *Access to towns by percentage of the regional population*

Region	Access <1 hour	Access 1–3 hours	Access 3–5 hours	Access 5–10 hours	Access >10 hours
Tigray	10.9	15.4	12.5	53.8	7.6
Afar	0	0	1.8	9.8	88.5
Amhara	5.1	22.7	37.1	32	3.2
Oromia	9	18.1	36.4	27.8	8.7
Somali	8	0	0	13.6	78.5
Benishangul-Gumuz	0	0	0	29.1	70.9
SNNPR	12.6	52.7	12.3	18.1	4.5
Gambella	0	0	0	0	100
Harar	100	0	0	0	0
Addis Ababa	100				
Dire Dawa	100				
All Ethiopia	**12.5**	**23.6**	**25.7**	**26.0**	**12.2**

Source: Schmidt and Kedir (2009)

Map 2. *Ethiopia: travel time and remoteness, 2007*



Source: Schmidt and Kedir (2009)

In comparison, the Young Lives sites in Round 2 in 2006 may not be considered extremely remote, since none of the sites was more than three hours' journey from the district capital, and only four were more than an hour away, one in each of the regional states.

We do not have clear evidence on the extent to which these changes were the result of improvements in roads, or improvements in transport, or changes in the district capital. However, between Rounds 2 and 3 we do have evidence regarding different means of getting to the nearest (District) town, whether roads were paved, and whether sites are cut off during the rainy season; this evidence allows for a more considered discussion. Therefore, in order to assess remoteness more accurately, we need to consider changes in the means of transport. See Table 6.

Table 6. *Comparison of remoteness of rural sites in 2006 and 2009 in terms of time and means of travel*

Site no.	Means of transport and time in minutes to closest *wereda* (District) capital, 2006						Remoteness 2006	Means of transport and time 2009						Remoteness 2009
	Means 1	Time 1	Means 2	Time 2	Means 3	Time 3	By foot or public transport	Means 1	Time 1	Means 2	Time 2	Means 3	Time 3	By foot or public transport
05	Car	60	On foot	240	NA	NA	Very remote	On foot	240	Car	90	Bus	90	Remote
17	On foot	120	Car	20	NA	NA	Very remote	On foot	150	Animal	45	NA	NA	Very remote
20	On foot	150	Car	15	NA	NA	Very remote	Minibus	45	On foot	180	Animal	120	Remote
12	On foot	120	Horse & cart	45	Bus	30	Remote	On foot	90	Bicycle	60	Car	30	Remote
09	On foot	90	Animals	60	NA	NA	Remote	On foot	120	Animal	60	NA	NA	Remote
16	On foot	60	Animals	30	Bus	10	Close	On foot	30	Car	5	NA	NA	Close
07	On foot	30	Animals	10	NA	NA	Close	On foot	60	Animal	30	Car	10	Close
06	On foot	45	NA	NA	NA	NA	Close	On foot	45	Animal	30	Bajaj*	15	Very close
11	Minibus	20	Bus	25	On foot	120	Very close	Minibus	15	On foot	105	NA	NA	Very close
15	Bus	25	On foot	180	NA	NA	Very close	Car	25	On foot	120		NA	Very close
18	Bus	25	On foot	120	NA	NA	Very close	Minibus	15	On foot	15	NA	NA	Very close
08	Horse & cart	20	On foot	60	Bicycle	15	Very close	Cart	25	On foot	45	Bicycle	20	Very close

Source: Rounds 2 and 3 community surveys
* = motorised rickshaw

In 2006, taking into consideration the means of transport and time taken to reach the nearest *wereda* (district) town, two sites can be considered to have been ***remote*** and three ***very remote***; and three sites may be considered to have been ***close*** and four ***very close***.

By 2009 there were important changes in five sites, with the introduction of minibuses (20, 18), buses (05), bicycles (12), and *Bajaj*[3] (06). In three of these sites, the change could suggest a reclassification of the site: two of the three sites that could be considered ***very remote*** in 2006 may be considered ***remo****te* in 2009, since minibuses (20) and buses (05) have reduced the time taken. Furthermore, one of the three sites classified as ***close*** in 2006 may be considered to have become ***very close*** by 2009 due to the introduction of *Bajaj* (06).

To understand how changes in means of transport have affected remoteness, we can compare the remoteness in terms of distance with remoteness in terms of time taken with various means of transport. See Table 7.

3 Indian- or Chinese-manufactured motorised three-wheeled auto rickshaws.

Table 7. *Comparing remoteness in distance and time and changes*

Site no.	Region	Distance from nearest town	Remoteness distance	Time to nearest town by main means	Public transport	Paved road 2006	Remoteness time
06	Amhara	4 km	Very close	15	Bajaj*		Very close
07	Amhara	5 km	Very close	30	Animal	1	Close
09	Oromia	6 km	Close	60	Animal		Remote
15	SNNP	7 km	Close	25	Bus	1	Very close
12	SNNP	8 km	Close	45	Horse & cart		Remote
08	Oromia	8 km	Close	25	Cart		Very close
11	Oromia	10 km	Close	15	Minibus	1	Very close
18	Tigray	12 km	Remote	15	Minibus	1	Very close
16	SNNP	15 km	Remote	10	Bus	1	Close
17	Tigray	15 km	Remote	45	Animal		Close
20	Tigray	15 km	Remote	45	Minibus		Remote
05	Amhara	30 km	Very remote	90	bus		Very remote

Source: Round 2 and 3 community surveys
* = motorised rickshaw

Table 7 confirms that the relative classification of remoteness in distance and time has been affected mainly by changes in modes of transport and availability of motorised public transport. The biggest change is in a site which was classified as ***remote*** in distance (18) which can now be considered ***very close*** as a result of minibus transport. Another site which was classified as ***remote*** in distance (16) can be considered ***close*** due to bus transport.[4] Three sites that were classified as ***close*** may be classified as ***very close*** as a result of public transport, including bus (15), minibuses (11) and horse carts (08).

Conversely the lack of motorised transport may make some relatively close sites (09 and 12) seem more remote; and one site which was considered ***very close*** (07) may be better described as ***close*** since there is no public transport, and one remote site (17) which can at best be reached by horse and was classified as ***remote*** may be considered ***very remote***. However, two of the remoter sites may still be considered remote, despite motorised transport, due to the distance involved: Site 20 can be considered ***remote*** both in distance and time, since it requires three quarters of an hour even by minibus; and Site 05 may be viewed as ***very remote*** in distance as well as in time, as the journey takes an hour and a half by bus.

To take the analysis further would require data on the cost and frequency of public transport, which are available only for the Round 1 community questionnaire prior to the more recent changes. The improvements in road access may have a range of implications, notably for the sale of agricultural produce, the availability of consumer goods, the accessibility of health care (especially in emergencies), and the possibilities of migration for education and work. There may be differential effects related to wealth, depending on transport costs, which could be worth investigating.

4 This was mentioned for Round 2, but cars were mentioned for Round 3 and not buses – which is probably an omission.

2.1 Changes in remoteness resulting from improved communications

A further dimension of remoteness that is changing fast is access to telecommunications, notably telephone, mobile phone and internet services, and energy supplies in the form of electricity. Table 8 summarises changes over the three rounds in access to public and private telephones, the proportion of users, access to mobile network, and the proportion of households with mobiles and internet access.

Table 8. *Changes to telephone, mobile and Internet access from Round 1 (2002) through to Round 3 (2009)*

Site no.	Urban/ rural remote *	Availability of public and private telephone							Mobile			Internet	
		R1	R2	R2		R3			R2 network available	R2 % HH	R3% HH	R2	R3[5]
				Public	Private	Public	Private	% HH					
01	Very large	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	49	Yes	37	72	Yes	No
02	Very large	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	54	Yes	14	66	Yes	No
03	Very large	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	47	Yes	32	77	Yes	No
14	Very large	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	29	Yes	18	74	Yes	No
04	Medium	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	33	Yes	13	40	No	Yes
13	Medium	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	Yes	10	32	No	Yes
10	Small	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	53	Yes	21	60	No	No
19	Small	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	27	Yes	8	32	No	Yes
08	Very close	No	No	No	No	No	No	1	Yes	3	29	No	No
11	Very close	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	2	Yes	7	41	No	No
15	Very close	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	1	No	No	8	No	No
18	Very close	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	0	Yes	Yes	5	No	No
06	Close	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	0	No	No	4	No	No
07	Close	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	1	No	No	0	No	No
09	Remote	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	2	Yes	Yes	23	No	No
12	Remote	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	0	Yes	No	20	No	No
16	Remote	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	0	Yes	Yes	9	No	No
17	Very remote	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	1	Yes	No	14	No	No
20	Very remote	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	1	Yes	Yes	3	No	No
05	Very remote	No	No	No	No	No	No	1	Yes	Yes	6	No	No
Total		**5**	**16**	**16**	**8**	**16**	**10**		**17**			**4**	**3**

Source: Community questionnaires from Round 1, Round 2 and Round 3; household questionnaires Round 2 and Round 3

5 It may be assumed that the reply 'not available' for the first four sites was interpreted as not using the service, since availability was mentioned in Round 2.

There has been considerable change between the rounds in access to telephone, mobile phone and internet services, with the biggest changes relating to mobiles. In 2002 at Round 1, five of the 20 sites had access to telephone services, all of which were towns, although three other towns did not have access; by Round 2 in 2006, the number of sites with phone access had more than tripled; 16 of the sites had access to telephone services, and only four rural sites did not. Moreover, all the urban sites had access not only to public telephones but also to private telephone services. By Round 3 in 2009, only two rural sites had access neither to public nor private telephone services.

However, if we consider the proportions of households with telephone access in Round 3, we can see clear urban–rural differences; and only three sites had more than half of their households connected. The highest access is in the three Addis Ababa sites and in a town in Oromia which had 53 per cent of households connected. Only seven sites had more than a quarter of households connected, all of which were urban sites, and one small urban site had only 8 per cent connected. In rural sites, despite improved connectivity, most households remained without access.

Changes in mobile access were dramatic: from no data in Round 1, when mobile access was only beginning to be available in cities, to access in all but three sites in Round 2 and all but one site in Round 3. Moreover, mobile access rapidly surpassed landline access. The proportion of users increased significantly from Round 2 to Round 3: more than two-fold in all urban sites and more than three-fold in five sites. In Round 3 in all urban sites more than 30 per cent of households possessed mobiles. However, it was only in the four sites in major cities that more than two-thirds of households had mobiles. The change was more dramatic in rural sites, from a lower or even non-existent base in 2006. Moreover, some of the remote and even very remote sites had more users than some close or even very close sites, which could have significant consequences and lead to rapid changes.

Internet access changed less dramatically and remained primarily an urban phenomenon. It increased from no access in Round 1, to four urban sites in the two big cities in Round 2, to three additional towns in Round 3, but no access was recorded in any rural site.

A better understanding of community differences could reveal how improvements in mobile access may have important effects, notably in integrating the remoter sites. The various impacts of changes in means of communications deserve further analysis. The impacts could include better knowledge of market prices, which in turn could enable producers to bypass middlemen; keeping in touch with migrants and relatives, which might favour remittance flows; and being able to call for private transport in cases of health emergencies and for help in cases of threats to personal security. The effects of the internet on children, both positive and potentially negative, may be too early to assess, given the limited usage at this stage.

2.1 Changes in access to and use of electricity

There has been an even more remarkable change in access to electricity, as Table 9 amply demonstrates.

Table 9. *Changes in access to electricity over the rounds and by size of town and rural remoteness*

Site no.	Urban size/ rural remote	R1	R2	R3	
					% households
01	Very large	1	1	1	97
02	Very large	1	1	1	94
03	Very large	1	1	1	98
14	Very large	1	1	1	96
04	Medium	1	1	1	89
13	Medium	1	1	1	67
10	Small	1	1[6]	1	91
19	Small	1	1	1	95
08	Very close	0	1	1	80
11	Very close	1	1	1	83
15	Very close	0	0	1	8
18	Very close	0	0	1	5
06	Close	0	0	1	5
07	Close	0	0	0	3
09	Remote	0	0	0	8
12	Remote	0	0	1	6
16	Remote	0	0	0	3
17	Very remote	0	0	0	3
20	Very remote	0	1	1	29
05	Very remote	0	0	1	45
	Total	**9**	**11**	**16**	

Source: Community questionnaires Round 1, Round 2, Round 3; household questionnaires Round 3

In Round 1, all eight urban sites but only one very close rural site had access to electricity. By Round 2, two more rural sites had access, both of which have been classified as ***very close***. By Round 3, eight rural sites had access and only four did not, according to the data from the community questionnaire.[7] One of these was ***very remote***, one ***remote*****,** and one ***close***.

However, access in the site does not necessarily translate into a large proportion of households being connected. Four categories can be distinguished. First, in the sites in the two large cities more than 90 per cent of households have access. Second, in the other towns the proportion is more than two-thirds, and all but one town have at least 80 per cent of households connected. However, the smaller towns had a larger proportion with access than the medium towns; this may be due partly to their being less stratified, and partly to the possibility that the sample in the larger towns included a disproportionate number of poor families. Third, in two rural sites, despite their being ***very remote***, between a quarter and half of the sample have access. Fourth, in the remaining eight rural sites the proportion of

6 The data suggest no electricity in Round 2, which is presumably a mistake, since the site had electricity in Round 1 and Round 3.

7 However, a few households reported access, a fact which could be due to their living on the edges of sites, near clinics, schools, roads, urban expansion or industrial zones in site 17, which would not have been counted as the community having access (personal communication, Asmelash Haile).

households with access is under 10 per cent. These include three ***remote*** sites and one ***very remote*** site, but also two ***very close*** sites and two ***close*** sites.

One may conclude that access to electricity may be bringing about changes to remoteness, particularly in the ***very remote*** and ***remote*** sites. Trends which deserve further investigation include changes in the provision of lighting at night, which can benefit children doing homework; the establishment of grinding mills, which could reduce women's work burden; and better access to communications through radio and TV, charging of mobile phones, and improved leisure opportunities, using tape recorders and DVD players.

3. Economic dependence: production, shocks, assistance and food insecurity

This section first considers the differences in production systems and classifies the communities in terms of the types of crop produced, and other sources of livelihood. Then follows a review of weather-related shocks and the prevalence of different forms of food assistance provided, which is used to classify the sites in terms of the extent of food insecurity based on the frequency of provision of assistance. The data on production systems, alternative sources of livelihood, shocks, and assistance are combined to propose a classification of sites in terms of the extent of dependence of the economy on external support.

3.2 Types of production system and complementary economic activities

The following part characterises the diversity of economic activities in terms of major crops produced and other economic activities, and proposes a classification of rural sites into two basic types with sub-types, depending on the kinds of crops produced as staples and as cash crops and other available economic activities. For the urban sites, some livelihoods are based on trade, wage labour, services, factory work, or tourism, as well as agriculture in the case of smaller urban sites. See Table 10.

Table 10. *Main crops and economic activities by region and rural/urban classification*

Site no.	Region	Rural/ Urban	Main crops(rural) Economic activities (urban)	Other activities	Classification
20	Tigray	Rural	Cereals (teff, barley, wheat, *millet*)	Construction, trade, *street vending*	Cereals – mainly
6	Amhara	Rural	Cereals (teff, sorghum, millet, *maize*)	Construction, trade	Cereals – mainly
17	Tigray	Rural	Cereals (wheat, barley, teff); *pulses (lentils, chickpeas)*	Fishing, *trade, terracing and irrigation projects,* stone-crushing industry	Cereals – mainly
11	Oromia	Rural	Cereals (teff, wheat); *pulses (peas)*	Trade, animal husbandry, *forestry*	Cereals – pulses
5	Amhara	Rural	Cereals (barley, teff); pulses (beans)	Trade	Cereals – pulses
8	Oromia	Rural	Cereals (barley, teff, *maize*); pulses (beans)	Fishing, daily labour, *handicrafts*	Cereals – pulses
9	Oromia	Rural	Cereals (wheat barley, *maize*); pulses (beans)	Handicrafts, *petty trade*	Cereals – pulses
18	Tigray	Rural	Cereals (barley wheat); pulses (peas)	Trade *(livestock), construction*	Cereals – pulses
7	Amhara	Rural	Cereals (barley, wheat); potatoes, *beans*	Trade, daily labour	Cereals – pulses, potatoes
16	SNNP	Rural	Enset + cereals (wheat, barley); *chat*	Trade, transport*, tree crops (Eucalyptus)*	*Enset* – cereals – *chat*
12	SNNP	Rural	Enset + cereals (maize and teff); *chat*	Trade, *handicrafts*	*Enset* – cereals – *chat*
15	SNNP	Rural	Enset + coffee, cereals (teff, *maize*)	Trade, forestry, *civil service*	*Enset* – coffee
01	Addis	Urban	Trade (*daily market, street vending)*	Selling drinks, wage labour (construction), *carpentry*	Trade – wage labour, services
03	Addis	Urban	Trade	Daily labour, civil service, industry, *steet vending, portering, woodwork*	Trade – wage labour, services
02	Addis	Urban	Industry (factory work); *wage labour*	Wage labour (construction), *street vending, retail trade*	Factory work – wage labour, trade
14	SNNP	Urban	Trade	Construction, handicrafts, transport, industry	Trade – wage labour, services
10	Oromia	Urban	Trade; crops (*wheat, barley beans*)	Civil service, agriculture, handicrafts	Trade, agriculture, services
13	SNNP	Urban	Trade; crops (e*nset*, *maize, sweet potato, beans, coffee)*	Agriculture, sale of food and drinks, *daily labour*	Trade, agriculture, services
19	Tigray	Urban	Trade; crops (*barley, wheat, teff)*	Food and beverages, *agriculture*	Trade, services
04	Amhara	Urban	Trade; crops (*barley, teff, beans)*	Civil service, tourism, services, *agriculture*	Trade, services, tourism

Sources: Community questionnaires R1, R2, R3; country report on community R2; initial community profiles (*in italics)*

The 12 rural communities can be classified by main crops into two basic types: ***cereal*** (nine sites) and ***enset***[8] (three sites) production systems. The production of *enset* as a staple has important demographic, economic and social consequences, allowing for a much higher population density, providing some insurance against and resistance to food insecurity, involving forward thinking since it is a long-term crop, and resulting in a culture of planned villages (Pankhurst 1996). The cereal sites can be further sub-divided into ***sites where cereals are the main produce*** (four sites), sites in which ***cereals are combined with pulses*** (four sites), and sites where ***cereals are combined with tubers*** (potatoes, one site). The sites for which *enset* is a staple can be divided into two in terms of the secondary crops: ***cereals*** in two sites and ***coffee as a cash crop*** in the third.

8 The root of this perennial crop (*Ensete ventricosum*), popularly referred to as the 'false banana', since it looks like the banana tree, is used to produce a powder that is reconstituted into staple foods in large parts of the southern Ethiopian highlands (Pankhurst 1996).

The livelihoods in the eight urban communities are based mainly on trade in all sites and on services in most. In addition, for the four sites in the large cities (01, 02, 03, 14) wage labour is important. In a couple of the smaller urban sites with rural hinterlands (10, 13), work in agriculture is also important, and one site has benefited from tourism (04). To take this analysis further would require a consideration of the proportion of households and people involved in different activities, and the relative importance for livelihoods, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

However, the discussion can be taken further by considering the extent of dependence of the economy on external support in the case of shocks. To do so we first need to consider the extent of drought and disaster relief and the food assistance provided, in order then to classify the sites in terms of the prevalence or frequency of food insecurity.

3.2 Assistance in relation to natural disaster and food security

To understand the extent of food insecurity, a first approach involves ascertaining the kinds of support that the sites have received after natural disasters. The Round 1 Community questionnaire provides data on the type of disaster and some information on whether relief was provided and what kind. See Table 11.

Table 11. *Types of disaster and availability and type of relief provided*

Site ID	Urban/ Rural	Region	Disaster	Relief available	Type
ET2041	Urban	Amhara	Drought	Yes	Food
ET2061	Rural	Amhara	Drought	Yes	Food
ET2071	Rural	Amhara	Drought	Yes	Food
ET3091	Rural	Oromia	Drought	Yes	Food
ET4151	Rural	SNNP	Drought	Yes	Food
ET5171	Rural	Tigray	Drought	Yes	Food
ET5191	Urban	Tigray	Drought	Yes	Food
ET5201	Rural	Tigray	Drought	Yes	Food
ET3081	Rural	Oromia	Drought	No	
ET3101	Urban	Oromia	Drought	No	
ET3112	Rural	Oromia	Drought	No	
ET4161	Rural	SNNP	Drought	No	
ET1021	Urban	AA	Flooding	Yes	Food, shelter, goods
ET1022	Urban	AA	Flooding	Yes	Shelter
ET1031	Urban	AA	Flooding	No	
ET2061	Rural	Amhara	Flooding	No	
ET2071	Rural	Amhara	Flooding	No	
ET4161	Rural	SNNP	Flooding	No	
ET5181	Rural	Tigray	Hail	Yes	Food
ET2061	Rural	Amhara	Hail	No	
ET4161	Rural	SNNP	Hail	No	
ET2041	Urban	Amhara	Earthquake	No	
ET5201	Rural	Tigray	Earthquake	No	
ET5171	Rural	Tigray	Earthquake	No	
ET4121	Rural	SNNP	Mud slide	Yes	Goods
ET2071	Rural	Amhara	Pest	No	

Source: Round 1 community questionnaire

The most common form of natural disaster is drought, affecting 12 of the 22 sites in Round 1, including nine out of the 16 rural sites and three small urban sites attached to rural hinterlands affected by drought. Four of the sites are in Oromia, three each in Amhara and Tigray, and only one in SNNP, suggesting that drought is less of a problem in the *enset*-dependent sites. Relief was provided in eight of these sites, in all cases consisting of food aid. Six sites faced flooding; three of these were urban sites in the capital city and three were in rural areas, two of which were in Amhara and one in SNNP. Relief, including shelter, food ,and some goods, was provided to two of the three urban sites only.

There were three mentions of hail in rural sites in three different regions, but relief in the form of food was provided only in the Tigray site. Earthquakes were mentioned in three sites, two of which were in Tigray and one in Amhara, although no assistance was provided. Other disasters mentioned were a land slide in a rural site in SNNP, for which assistance was provided in the form of goods; and pests in a rural site in Amhara, which did not entail a need for assistance.

A more detailed approach can consider the extent to which food aid, food for work, employment-generation schemes, cash for work, supplementary feeding, school feeding, and support through the Productive Safety Net Programme have been provided. This allows for a classification of the sites on the basis of the number of different types of assistance provided over the three rounds, producing a rough indicator of food insecurity. See Table 12.

Table 12. *Food assistance and prevalence of food insecurity*

Site no.	Urban/ Rural	Region	Round 1		Round 2					Round 3 / PSNP[9]				
			Food aid	FFW R1	CFW EGS	FFW	Food aid	Supplementary feeding	School feeding	PW cash	PW food	DS	Total support	Food insecurity
5	Rural	Amhara	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	Very High
7	Rural	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	8	Very High
18	Rural	Tigray	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	6	High
16	Rural	SNNP	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	6	High
6	Rural	Amhara	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	6	High
19	Urban	Tigray	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	6	High
20	Rural	Tigray	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	5	Medium
13	Urban	SNNP	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	5	Medium
9	Rural	Oromia	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	4	Medium
17	Rural	Tigray	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	4	Medium
8	Rural	Oromia	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	4	Medium
15	Rural	SNNP	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	4	Medium
2	Urban	Addis	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	3	Low
4	Urban	Amhara	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	3	Low
1	Urban	Addis	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2	Very low
3	Urban	Addis	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	2	Very low
14	Urban	SNNP	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	2	Very low
12	Rural	SNNP	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	1	Very low
11	Rural	Oromia	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0	None
10	Urban	Oromia	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	0	None
		TOTAL	**12**	**1**	**9**	**12**	**12**	**4**	**4**	**8**	**9**	**8**		

Sources : R1 profiles ; R1, R2, R3 community questionnaires ; report on Round 2 community questionnaire
FW= Food for Work; CFW = Cash for Work; EGS= Employment-Generation Scheme; PW= Public Works; DS= Direct Support; PSNP= Productive Safety Net Programme

9 The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) has two components: (1) Public Works (PW): food for work for those able to work, and (2) Direct Support (DS) food aid for vulnerable households unable to work. Although Direct Support was not mentioned in three sites (08, 09, 15), since this is part of the PSNP design it is most likely that it was provided.

The sites can be classified into six categories of food insecurity, based on the rough indicator of the number of forms of support provided over the three rounds: ***Very high*** with 8 mentions***, High*** with 5–6 mentions***, Medium*** with 4–5 mentions, ***Low*** with 3 mentions, ***Very low*** with 1–2 mentions, and ***None*** with 0 mentions. It is significant that the sites with ***Very high*** and ***High*** ratings are all in Amhara and Tigray regions where there are many areas of chronic food shortage; in contrast, the rural sites that received ***Vow***, ***Very Low***, or no support are either urban or found in Oromia or SNNP regions, where food insecurity tends to be less prevalent.

3.3 Food assistance and insecurity and dependence of the site economies

As a further indication of the levels of food insecurity, we can summarise the findings of Table 12 by considering whether some form of food aid (including food for work and Productive Safety Net Programme support) has been provided, and the number of rounds of the survey in which they appear. Other economic opportunities may also influence food-security outcomes and be relevant to the classification of whether the site economies are dependent on assistance. See Table 13.

Table 13. *Food assistance, food insecurity, economic opportunities and economic dependence*

Site no.	Urban/ Rural	Region	Food assistance			No. of rounds	Food insecurity	Other sources of economic opportunity	Economic dependence
			R1	R2	R3				
05	Rural	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Petty trade, daily labour, labour migration	Dependent
09	Rural	Oromia	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Petty trade, wage labour, handicrafts	Dependent
17	Rural	Tigray	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Trade, irrigation, construction, stone crushing	Independent
18	Rural	Tigray	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Livestock trade, construction	Dependent
07	Rural	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Food for work	Dependent
06	Rural	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Wage labour	Dependent
19	Urban	Tigray	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Petty trade, agriculture	Dependent
20	Rural	Tigray	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Irrigation, trade, construction	Independent
08	Rural	Oromia	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Commercial farms, fishing, handicrafts	Independent
15	Rural	SNNP	Yes	Yes	Yes	3	High	Trade, coffee, forestry	Independent
16	Rural	SNNP	No	Yes	Yes	2	Medium	Eucalyptus (sale of), *chat,* trade	Independent
13	Urban	SNNP	No	Yes	Yes	2	Medium	Petty trade, daily labour	Independent
04	Urban	Amhara	Yes	Yes	No	2	Medium	Tourism, bee-keeping	Independent
02	Urban	Addis	Yes	Yes	No	2	Medium	Factory work daily labour, street vending	Independent
01	Urban	Addis	No	Yes	No	1	Low	Petty trade daily labour, carpentry	Independent
03	Urban	Addis	No	Yes	No	1	Low	Petty trade daily labour	Independent
14	Urban	SNNP	No	Yes	No	1	Low	Petty trade wage labour, handicrafts	Independent
12	Rural	SNNP	No	Yes	No	1	Low	Trade, *chat,* handicrafts	Independent
11	Rural	Oromia	No	No	No	0	None	Trade,wage labour, forestry, employment farms and factories	Independent
10	Urban	Oromia	No	No	No	0	None	Trade	Independent
Total			**12**	**18**	**12**				

Sources : R1 profiles ; R1, R2, R3 community questionnaires ; report on Round 2 community questionnaire

The sites may be categorised into four types, with provision of food assistance used as a proxy indicator for food insecurity, depending on whether they have received some sort of assistance for three, two, one, or no rounds. Half the sites (10) have received some sort of food assistance over the three rounds and may be categorised as highly food-insecure. All four sites in Tigray, including a small urban site dependent on a rural hinterland, three sites in Amhara, two sites in Oromia, and one in SNNP have received food assistance in all three rounds. Second, four sites have received food assistance for two out of the three rounds. Three of these are urban sites in Addis Ababa, Amhara and SNNP, and the fourth is a rural site in SNNP. Third, four sites had received assistance for one round and may be categorised as facing low food insecurity. Two of these are in Addis Ababa and two are in SNNP, one rural and one urban. Finally, two sites have not received any food aid: both in Oromia, one urban and one rural.

In terms of the extent to which the site economies are independent of food aid, we need to consider other economic activities. It may be suggested that only six sites that have received assistance in all three rounds rely heavily on aid, since they do not seem to have other significant means of generating income. However, four other rural sites that have received food aid for three rounds may be considered to be more independent, due to various forms of alternative income: one rural site in Oromia has irrigation and commercial farms providing labour opportunities and some income from fishing; two sites in Tigray have irrigation providing employment and one also has a stone-crushing industry; and one site in SNNP has coffee and forestry providing alternative sources of income. All the four sites that had received food aid during two rounds may be considered relatively independent, due to alternative income-generating opportunities: the sale of eucalyptus and *chat* in one SNNP site, tourism in an urban site in Amhara, trade in an SNNP urban site, and opportunities for work in factories in the Addis Ababa site. Among the sites receiving assistance only in one round, the urban sites may be considered relatively independent economies, as there are opportunities for wage labour and petty trade, and the rural site in SNNP has sources of income from trade, *chat* sales and handicrafts. The two sites in Oromia that did not receive any aid have independent economies relying in the urban site on trade with wage labour, and in the rural site on forestry and employment. We may conclude that the presence of food aid over several rounds should not lead to the assumption that the community economies are heavily reliant on food aid – unless other income-generating opportunities are limited.

4. Culture and social organisation: cultural congruence and community institutions

This section first considers differences in culture in terms of ethnicity and religion, seeking to characterise and classify the extent of ethnic and religious diversity in terms of urban/rural, regional and site-level differences; it also considers the extent of overlap between ethnic and religious diversity. This is followed by a consideration of formal and informal institutions. The site-level prevalence of informal and formal institutions is reviewed, then household membership in institutions is considered, and finally the question of support from institutions is discussed. The findings indicate that whereas there is a large range of formal and informal

institutions, membership is more concentrated in particular informal institutions such as funeral and religious associations, and support comes mainly from informal networks of family, neighbourhood, and friendship and community associations.

4.1. Population, ethnic and religious diversity and overlap

In this part, we first consider the population context of the communities, before discussing the main ethnic and religious groups. We then consider ethnicity and religion by regional, urban/rural, and site variations, and categorise sites in terms the extent of cultural diversity. Finally we discuss the extent of overlap and congruence between ethnic and religious diversity, noting differing patterns in the north and south and urban areas.

Table 14 provides basic information by site on population size and households, major languages spoken and the major ethnic group and religion for the 24 sites in Round 2.

Table 14. *Young Lives sites: region, rural/urban, population, language, ethnicity and religion*

Region	Site no.	Rural/ urban	Population size	Number of households	Average household members	Most-spoken language	Largest ethnic group	Major religion
Addis Ababa	01	Urban	14,066	2,007	7.0	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
	02a	Urban	20,060	4,046	5.0	Amharic	Oromo	Orthodox
	02b	Urban	48,107	11,899	4.0	Amharic	Oromo	Orthodox
	03a	Urban	47,000	11,750	4.0	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
	03b	Urban	40101	8,020	5.0	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
Amhara	04	Urban	7,935	2,400	3.3	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
	05	Rural	7,556	2,067	3.7	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
	06	Rural	7,111	1,451	4.9	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
	07	Rural	9,107	1,798	5.1	Amharic	Amhara	Orthodox
Oromia	08	Rural	2,835	422	6.7	Oromiffa	Oromo	Orthodox
	09	Rural	5,627	1,756	3.2	Oromiffa	Oromo	Muslim
	10	Urban	10,000	2,000	5.0	Oromiffa	Oromo	Orthodox
	11	Rural	5,000	754	6.6	Oromiffa	Oromo	Orthodox
SNNP	12	Rural	6,009	698	8.6	Guragigna	Gurage	Muslim
	13	Urban	13,165	1,649	8.0	Wolaytigna	Wolayta	Protestant
	14a	Urban	18,072	4,000	4.5	Amharic	Wolayta	Protestant
	14b	Urban	21,113	4,364	4.8	Amharic	Wolayta	Orthodox
	14c	Urban	19,307	4,349	4.4	Amharic	Wolayta	Protestant
	15	Rural	4,708	930	5.1	Sidamigna	Sidama	Protestant
	16	Rural	4,900	678	7.2	Hadiyigna	Hadiya	Muslim
Tigray	17	Rural	10,151	1,999	5.1	Tigrigna	Tigraway	Orthodox
	18	Rural	10,160	4,374	2.3	Tigrigna	Tigraway	Orthodox
	19	Urban	15,867	1,901	8.3	Tigrigna	Tigraway	Orthodox
	20	Rural	5,030	910	5.5	Tigrigna	Tigraway	Orthodox
Average			**17,649**	**3,811**	**4.6**			
Urban average			**24,370**	**5,183**				
Rural average			**6,516**	**1,486**				

Source: Community questionnaire, Round 2; and country report Round 2 on community questionnaire (EDRI: 2007:4)

Table 14 reveals wide variations in numbers of households and populations.[10] The main differences are urban versus rural, with the urban average site population more than three times higher than the rural average. This has clear implications for density of settlement, availability of infrastructure and access to services, which may go some way to explaining urban–rural differences.

In terms of the main language spoken, Amharic is the dominant language in the urban sites in the capital city Addis Ababa and in the capital of the Southern Region (SNNP). Otherwise the main language depends on the region, except for the SNNP Region, where the Region selected Amharic as the working language and where the four rural sites have different main languages, reflecting the cultural diversity of that region.

There is a close fit between language and ethnicity, except in the two large cities: in Addis Ababa one of the sites has an Oromo majority, whereas the dominant language is Amharic; likewise in the capital of the Southern Region the predominant ethnicity is Wolayta, but the main language is also Amharic.

Regarding religion, Orthodox Christianity is dominant in 17 of the 24 communities. The greatest diversity is within the SNNP. There are four Young Lives sites with Protestant majorities, all of which are in the SNNP, and three sites with Muslim majorities, two of which are in the SNNP.

However, consideration confined to the largest ethnic group and religion does not provide a sufficiently nuanced view of the extent of ethnic and religious diversity, by region, urban–rural differences, and site differences in terms of household characteristics. Table 15 presents the overall ethnic and religious diversity in terms of urban–rural and regional distributions.

Table 15. *Ethnicity of caregivers by urban–rural and regional variations*

	Urban		Rural		Addis Ababa	Amhara	Oromia	SNNP	Tigray
	No.	%	No.	%	%	%	%	%	%
Amhara	357	31.1	497	28.51	31.4	99.1	16.5	7.4	0.0
Oromo	251	21.8	328	18.82	30.7	0.0	75.6	1.7	0.0
Tigraway	201	17.5	442	25.36	9.8	0.5	0.2	1.5	100.0
Wolayta	178	15.5	0	0.00	0.5	0.0	0.0	24.2	0.0
Gurage	85	7.4	149	8.55	18.0	0.0	1.0	20.8	0.0
Other	35	3.0	42	2.41	6.8	0.0	2.3	4.8	0.0
Mixed	19	1.7	11	0.63	1.9	0.3	2.6	0.7	0.0
Sidama	13	1.1	142	8.15	0.2	0.0	0.0	21.2	0.0
Hadiya	7	0.6	127	7.29	0.5	0.0	1.6	16.9	0.0
Kambata	2	0.2	4	0.23	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.0
Agew	1	0.1	1	0.06	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
	1,149	**100**	**1,743**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Round 2 household survey

[10] The data need to be treated with caution, since it is not always clear what the unit is, and some figures may be estimates.

There are clear rural–urban and regional differences in ethnic prevalence. Among the three largest groups in the country a greater proportion of the Amhara and Oromo in the sample are urban, whereas a much larger proportion of Tigraway are rural. The fourth-largest group of Wolayta are found only in the urban areas. The data reveal increasing ethnic diversity as one moves south and a north–south divide, with both Amhara and Tigray Regions largely mono-ethnic, whereas Oromia is more mixed, and the SNNP Region is the most diverse, with no ethnic group representing more than a quarter.

Similarly Table 16 presents overall religious affiliations by urban–rural and regional variations.

Table 16. *Religious affiliation of caregivers by urban–rural and regional variations*

	Urban		Rural		Addis Ababa	Amhara	Oromia	SNNP	Tigray
	No.	%	No.	%	%	%	%	%	%
Orthodox Christian	885	77.0	1192	68.4	76.1	98.3	77.8	21.8	98.8
Protestant Christian	133	11.6	172	9.9	3.5	0.0	6.2	35.0	0.0
Muslim	111	9.7	346	19.9	19.7	1.2	15.4	37.3	1.0
Evangelists	14	1.2	6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	2.5	0.0
Catholics	4	0.3	11	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	1.4	0.0
Other	2	0.2	13	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
	Total	**1149**	**100**	**1740**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Round 2 household survey

The table reveals notable urban–rural and regional differences. The Orthodox form the vast majority of those sampled, with a higher proportion in urban than rural sites since they represent over three-quarters of the urban population but only a little over two-thirds of the rural population. Protestants form the second largest religion in the urban areas, but the third largest in the rural areas. Muslims are in second place in the rural areas, representing 20 per cent of the rural population but only 10 per cent of the urban sample. A few Protestant 'Evangelists' and Catholics are found, mainly in the urban sites. In terms of the regional distribution, the Orthodox constitute the vast majority in Amhara and Tigray, and over three-quarters in Oromia and Addis Ababa. The SNNP has the largest proportion of other religious groups, with Muslims representing 37 per cent and Protestants 35 per cent.

The urban–rural and regional distributions of ethnicity and religion provide an overview of the entire sample, at regional levels and in terms of rural–urban differences; but this does not reveal the extent of diversity between and within sites, nor does it address the overlap of ethnic and religious diversity. To understand the complexity of ethnic and religious diversity we need to explore site-level diversities and categorise the sites in terms of the degree of cultural diversity.

In Table 17 the first, second and third largest ethnic groups and the other ethnic groups are listed with the proportion of the sample that they represent. The number of ethnic groups is then used to categorise the sites into four categories in terms of the extent of diversity: (1) ***very high*** (6 to 9 groups); (2) ***high*** (3 to 4 groups); (3***) low*** (2 groups); and (4) **very *low*** (1 to 2 groups).[11]

11 Where the second group is a very small minority, this may be considered very low.

Table 17. *Ethnic diversity by site and region*

Region	Site no.	Largest ethnic group	Second largest	Third largest	Other ethnic groups	Number of ethnic groups	Ethnic diversity
Addis Ababa	01	Amhara (33%)	Gurage (25%)	Tigraway (13%)	Oromo (12%), Sidama (1%) Others (15%)	6	Very high
	02	Oromo (59%)	Amhara (25%)	Gurage (11%)	Tigraway (1%) Mixed (3%) Agew (1%)	5	Very high
	03	Amhara (36%)	Tigraway (16%),	Oromo (21%),	Gurage (18%) Wolayta (1%) Hadiya (1%) Mixed (2%) Others (4%)	7	Very high
SNNP	13	Wolayta (87%)	Amhara (5%)	Gurage (1%)	Hadiya (1%) Kembata (1%) Oromo (1%) Tigraway (1%) Others (3%)	7	Very high
	14	Wolayta (37%)	Amhara (29%)	Oromo (7%)	Sidama (8%) Tigraway (7%) Hadiya (2%) Gurage (4%0 Kambata (1%) Mixed (3%) Others (1%)	9	Very high
	16	Hadiya (79%)	Other (15% Silte)	Kambata (2%)	Amhara (1)	4	High
	15	Sidama (97%)	Amhara (3%)			2	Very low
	12	Gurage (96%)	Other (4% - Silte)			2	Very low
Oromia	08	Oromo (79%)	Hadiya (5%)	Gurage (4%)	Amhara (1%), Kambata (1%) Other (13% – Zay)	6	Very high
	09	Oromo (72%)	Amhara (24%)		Mixed (4%)	2	Low
	10	Oromo (73%)	Amhara (22%)	Hadiya (1%)	Mixed (4%)	3	High
	11	Oromo (78%)	Amhara (19%)	Tigraway (1%)	Agew (1%) Mixed (1%)	4	High
Amhara	04	Amhara (98%)	Tigraway (2%)			2	Very low
	05	Amhara (99%)			Mixed (1%)	1	Very low
	06	Amhara (99%)			Mixed (1%)	1	Very Low
	07	Amhara (100%)				1	Very low
Tigray	17	Tigraway (100%)				1	Very low
	18	Tigraway (100%)				1	Very low
	19	Tigraway (100%)				1	Very low
	20	Tigraway (100%)				1	Very low

Source: Round 2 household survey, community profiles

In regional terms there is greatest diversity in Addis Ababa, followed by sites in SNNP, and lowest diversity in sites in Tigray and Amhara, with sites in Oromia ranked in the middle. However, there is some notable variation within regions. The ten sites with ***very low*** diversity basically have a single ethnicity; they include all four sites in Tigray and in Amhara and two sites in SSNP. The only site categorised as ***low*** is in Oromia; it has a significant minority of Amhara, constituting a quarter of the population. The ***high-***diversity category has a dominant majority group of between 70 per cent and 80 per cent, and one to three important minority ethnicities. Of the three sites, two are in Oromia with Oromo majorities and significant Amhara minorities of about a fifth, and a few cases of other ethnicities or persons with mixed ethnicities. The third site is in SNNP and has a majority of Hadiya, with another category representing 15 per cent[12] and two other small minorities. The sites with ***very high*** diversity have five to nine ethnic groups. All five of these are in cities or towns: the three sites in Addis Ababa with Amhara or Oromo majorities but significant minorities especially of Gurage and Tigraway, and two towns in SNNP, with Wolayta majorities but a number of other minorities.

Although there is not the scope in this paper to explore this further, in certain contexts the extent of ethnic diversity may have implications for community cohesion, access to resources, migration patterns, power and politics, and attitudes to education, women's rights and harmful traditional practices (Pankhurst 2011). In two of the sites we find in-migrating wives from the Silte ethnic group. Moreover, an exploration of cultural practice in relation to female circumcision has revealed key differences in the timing of the operation between northern Ethiopia, where it is performed around birth, and southern Ethiopia, where it takes place around marriage – with crucial implications for girls' agency. Furthermore, the extent to which female circumcision is a private household affair, as is common in the north, or a collective rite of passage, as found in some southern groups, differs and also has important implications (Pankhurst 2011; Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2012).

In a similar vein, Table 18 explores and categorises the extent of site-level variation in religious diversity into four categories: (1) ***very high*** (5 groups); (2) ***high*** (3 to 4 groups);[13] (3); ***low*** (2 groups); and (4) ***very low*** (1 group).

12 The community profile suggests that these are mainly Silte and in-migrating wives.

13 One site (08) with only two groups has still been categorised as *high* since the second group represents almost one-third of the population.

Table 18: *Religious diversity by site and region*

Region	Site no.	Major religion	Second religion	Third religion	Others	Number of religious groups	Religious diversity
SNNP	14	Orthodox (58%)	Protestant (37%)	Muslim (3%)	Catholic (2%) Evangelical (1%)	5	Very high
	15	Protestant (82%)	Other (9%) Adventists?	Muslim (4%)	Evangelical (3%) Orthodox (1%)	5	Very high
	16	Muslim (75%)	Protestant (13%)	Orthodox (7%)	Catholic (4%) Evangelical (1%)	5	Very high
	13	Orthodox (45%)	Protestant (43%)	Evangelical (8%)	Muslim (3%).	4	High
	12	Muslim (100%)	None	none	none	1	Very low
Addis Ababa	01	Orthodox (60%)	Muslim (38%)	Protestants (2%)	none	3	High
	02	Orthodox (85%)	Muslim (9.7%)	Protestants (4%)	Catholic (1%)	4	High
	03	Orthodox (82%	Muslim (11%)	Protestant (4%)	Other (1%)	4	High
Oromia	09	Orthodox (52%)	Muslim (26%)	Protestant (22%),	Catholic (1%)	4	High
	10	Orthodox (92%)	Muslim (3%)	Protestant (2%)	Evangelical (1%)	4	High
	08	Orthodox (68%)	Muslim (32%)	none	none	2	High
	11	Orthodox (99%)	Protestant (1%)	none	none	2	Very low
Amhara	04	Orthodox (95%)	Muslim (5%)	none	none	2	Very low
	05	Orthodox (99%)	Catholic (1%)	none	none	2	Very low
	06	Orthodox (99%)	Catholic (1%)	none	none	2	Very low
	07	Orthodox (99%)	Catholic (1%)	Muslim?	none	2	Very low
Tigray	19	Orthodox (96%)	Muslim (4%)	none	none	2	Very low
	17	Orthodox (100%)	None	none	none	1	Very low
	18	Orthodox (100%)	None	none	none	1	Very low
	20	Orthodox (100%)	None	none	none	1	Very low

Source: Round 2 household survey

Orthodox Christians are found in all regions and all but one site and they represent the major religion in 15 of the sites. Muslims are the main religion in one site in SNNP and form important minorities in the Addis Ababa sites and two of the Oromia sites. Protestants are important in all the SNNP sites except one and they form a small minority in Addis Ababa, but are insignificant in the other regions.

In terms of regions, the SNNP has the highest religious diversity, followed by Addis Ababa, whereas Tigray has the lowest diversity, followed by Amhara; Oromia lies in between. However, there are some notable variations within regions. The ***very high*** diversity category with five religions is found only in three SNNP sites. The ***high*** diversity category is found in all the Addis Ababa sites, three sites in Oromia, and one in SNNP. The ***low*** diversity category with two religions is found in all four sites in Amhara, two sites in Oromia, and one in Tigray. The ***very low*** diversity category, with only one religion (or two religions but one with under five per cent of the sample), is found in all Tigray and Amhara sites, and one Orthodox site in Oromia and one Muslim site in SNNP.

However, we should be cautious in drawing conclusions about the extent of diversity. Only four sites have only one religion, and almost half the sites (nine) have three religions or more. In fact, when we consider the proportion that minorities represent, only three sites have a second minority that represents more than a third of the sample. Moreover, of the nine sites with a third religion, only one had a third religion representing more than a fifth of the sample.

As we shall see, religion can have important implications for social support. There are strong cultural traditions in Ethiopia which are intimately related to religious identities. In the Orthodox tradition, *mahiber* are faith-based rotating social groups, taking the name of a saint and celebrating at each other's houses monthly on the day dedicated to that saint. These are common and have deep historical roots in northern Ethiopia; they provide support to members, especially for social occasions such as weddings and funerals, and in times of distress. In addition, churches provide support to the destitute, with some associations called *senbete* being church-based. Saints' days and pilgrimages are important occasions for generosity from the better-off to the poor and destitute. Devout pilgrims provide food and cash to beggars and disabled people (Pankhurst 1994). In the Muslim tradition, annual feasts are important occasions for assistance to the poor and destitute, and there is an ethic of *zakat,* providing alms to the poor. Muslim sites of pilgrimage are also important sources of support for the destitute and infirm. Likewise in the Protestant tradition, church groups provide assistance to members and sometimes to the poor. Although there is not scope in this paper to explore this further, and the quantitative and qualitative data do not address this question in detail, some discussion of membership of religious groups will be considered later in the paper. Religious justifications are also influential regarding some practices defined by the State and international agencies as harmful; one example is female circumcision, with a myth invoked in the Orthodox Christian tradition and by some Muslim leaders, claiming that it had religious backing (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2012: 518).

Finally, in order to understand the convergences and divergences between ethnic and religious identities, Table 19 summarises the categorisations of ethnic and religious diversities.

Table 19. *Ethnic and religious diversity*

Region	Site no.	Urban/ Rural	No. ethnic groups	Ethnic diversity	No. religious groups	Religious diversity
Addis Ababa	01	Urban	6	Very high	3	High
	02	Urban	5	Very high	4	High
	03	Urban	7	Very high	4	High
SNNP	13	Urban	7	Very high	4	High
	14	Urban	9	Very high	5	Very high
	16	Rural	4	High	5	Very high
	15	Rural	2	Low	5	Very high
	12	Rural	2	Low	1	Very low
Oromia	08	Rural	6	Very high	2	Low
	09	Rural	2	Low	4	High
	10	Urban	3	High	4	High
	11	Rural	4	High	2	Very low
Amhara	04	Urban	2	Low	2	Very low
	05	Rural	1	Very low	2	Very low
	06	Rural	1	Very low	2	Very low
	07	Rural	1	Very low	2	Very low
Tigray	17	Rural	1	Very low	1	Very low
	18	Rural	1	Very low	1	Very low
	19	Urban	1	Very low	2	Very low
	20	Rural	1	Very low	1	Very low

The table reveals that there is a high congruence between ethnic and religious diversity. Almost all the sites with ***very high*** or ***high*** ethnic diversity also have ***very high*** or **high** religious diversity. This is especially the case in most of the urban areas, except in Amhara and Tigray. The only exceptions are two sites in Oromia, where, despite the ethnic diversity being ***very high*** (08) or ***high*** (11), the religious diversity is ***low*** or ***very low***. Although there is low religious diversity in one of these sites (08), the second minority religious group actually represents one third. Conversely, almost all the sites with ***low*** or ***very low*** ethnic diversity also have ***low*** or ***very low*** religious diversity, and this is clearly the case in all the sites in Amhara and Tigray, including the urban sites. The only two exceptions are one site in SNNP (15) with ***low*** ethnic diversity but ***very high*** religious diversity, and another in Oromia (09) with ***low*** ethnic diversity but ***high*** religious diversity. However, in the second of these the second ethnic group represents a quarter of the sample.

To conclude, at a regional level the sites in the two regions in northern Ethiopia are fairly homogeneous in terms of culture and religion. Tigray and Amhara have one main ethnic group and are both predominantly Orthodox Christian. The Oromia sites also have Oromo majorities, but a number of minorities. However, there is greater religious diversity, with three sites having Orthodox majorities and one site a Muslim majority. The SNNP Region sites are the most diverse in terms of both ethnicity and religion. There are sites with Gurage, Hadiya, Sidama and Wolayta majorities and greater religious diversity, with two rural sites having Protestant majorities and two sites Muslim majorities. It is also noteworthy that in some sites religion and ethnicity go hand in hand at a sub-site level. Thus in Site 09 the community profile notes that there are two *gots* or hamlets of Oromo Muslims and one *got* of Orthodox Amhara.

4.2. Social and cultural associations and institutions and membership of groups

This section explores the existence of informal and formal associations and institutions and the extent of membership of groups. We start by considering the prevalence of informal institutions, followed by a consideration of formal institutions, including formal sources of credit. We then consider the presence of formal and informal institutions by site and by regional and urban–rural differences, followed by the extent of membership of households in different groups.

Informal associations and institutions

There are strong traditions of customary institutions in Ethiopia. These include funeral associations, credit and savings associations, religious associations, and cultural institutions mainly concerned with dispute resolution. Funeral associations emerged in the early twentieth century, probably formed by migrants to Addis Ababa and spread gradually: first within Addis Ababa, especially at the time of the Italian occupation, then to other towns throughout the imperial period and into urban areas mainly in the highlands during the Derg and EPRDF periods (Dercon et al. 2006; Pankhurst 2010). Credit associations are also an urban phenomenon; they are associated with monetisation of the economy, were first recorded in the imperial period and involve the pooling of funds which are provided in rotation to members. Religious associations go back several centuries; in the Orthodox Church tradition, they are organised by small groups in the name of a saint, meeting in rotation monthly at each other's houses for a celebratory meal, or at the church, and providing alms for the poor. Informal cultural institutions involved in customary governance are prevalent

throughout the country, taking a wide range of forms, and are essentially involved in dispute resolution (Pankhurst and Assefa 2008).

Table 20 compiles data from the community profiles about the existence of informal associations and institutions.

Table 20. *Informal associations and institutions by region, urban–rural distribution, and site*

Site no.	Region	Urban/ rural	*Iddir* funeral association	Religious	Cultural/ religious leaders	*Iqqub* credit associations	Money lenders	Others/comments
5	Amhara	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
6	Amhara	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	*Mahiber* and *senbete* religious; traders lend money
7	Amhara	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	
8	Oromia	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	.
9	Oromia	Rural	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	
11	Oromia	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	
12	SNNP	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Women's and men's groups (*leka* men; *dado* women)
15	SNNP	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Generation-based governance (*luwa*)
16	SNNP	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Two clans with traditional leaders: conflict resolution
17	Tigray	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
18	Tigray	Rural	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	
20	Tigray	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
1	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	
2	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Trade union, veterans', pensioners' associations
3	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Youth clubs
4	Amhara	Urban	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Religious and funeral groups important
10	Oromia	Urban	Yes		No	No	Yes	
13	SNNP	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Many faith-based groups from different religions
14	SNNP*	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
19	Tigray	Urban	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	*Mahiber* active religious groups
Total			**19**	**18**	**11**	**9**	**14**	

Source: Community profiles, produced at the time of Round 1
* As there was no community profile available for this site, the information has been added from qualitative data.

Informal community institutions were mentioned throughout most of the sites. However, their presence may be more widespread than reported, since the lack of mention in the community profiles does not necessarily mean that the institutions did not exist. Funeral

associations were the most commonly mentioned, followed by religious groups, underlying the importance of religion. Cultural and/or religious leaders involved in dispute resolution were mentioned in just over half the sites, including all the rural sites except one, but only in one of the urban sites. Money lenders and/or credit associations were mentioned in most sites, except for two rural sites in Oromia (08, 11), where neither was mentioned. The customary rotating credit associations (*iqqub)* were mentioned in all the rural sites in Tigray and one rural site each in Amhara and Oromia, but none in SNNP. They were also mentioned in most of the larger urban sites, which makes sense since credit associations originated in and spread from urban centres.

Some localised specific cultural institutions mentioned include generation-based institutions in one site in SNNP (15), which have traditionally been crucial in customary governance among the Sidama (Hamer 1987: 99–129), and men's and women's groups in another site in SNNP among the Meskan Gurage (12). It was not always clear from the profiles whether women's groups were formal or informal, although, as we shall see, this is more evident in some of the quantitative data.

A number of the ethnic groups in the south have specific forms of cooperation and cultural practices that may be relevant to social support, and some traditions have implications for child protection. Among the Gurage in particular, forms of social support are very strong and there are customs of providing assistance in crises, for instance if a house burns down; women's groups are also important, sometimes pooling butter or working together and going through initiation ceremonies in groups (Shack 1966: 132–5). The Gurage are sometimes credited with having developed the *iddir* funeral associations, which started with migrants in Addis Ababa in the early twentieth century and spread first to urban areas and gradually to most rural areas in the highlands (Pankhurst 2010). In Gurage and Wolayta the preparations for celebrations of *meskel* (the Orthodox festival associated with the finding of the True Cross) are crucial, and households save regularly during the year to buy an ox to slaughter and celebrate the feast when migrants return to their home areas. In Gurage, Hadiya, Wolayta and Sidama girls' initiation rites linked to circumcision and marriage are part of the cultural traditions which have been defined by government as Harmful Traditional Practices, leading to debate and differential change and resistance (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere 2012).

Formal associations and institutions

A range of formal associations and institutions exist at the local level. These include what have been referred to as the mass associations: the peasants', women's and youth associations that were initiated under the Derg regime in the 1970s (Clapham 1988: 136–40). Cooperatives include both producers' and service cooperatives. Credit is provided by micro-finance institutions, government agricultural extension services and cooperatives, women's groups and youth groups, NGOs, missions, and (in some urban areas) banks.

Table 21 lists the formal associations and institutions that were compiled from the community profiles and the Round 3 community questionnaire.

Table 21. *Formal associations and institutions*

Site no.	Region	Urban/ Rural	Women's associations	Cooperatives	Credit	Credit services	NGOs and international organisations
5	Amhara	Rural	Yes	No	Yes		*Care*
6	Amhara	Rural	No	No	Yes	MOA	None
7	Amhara	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	ASCI MFI	None
8	Oromia	Rural	No	No	Yes		None
9	Oromia	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes		Food aid, health, education, agriculture *Catholic Relief Services*
11	Oromia	Rural	No	Yes	Yes	Busa, private MFI	None
12	SNNP	Rural	No	No	Yes	Agricultural extension packages	Agriculture
15	SNNP	Rural	No	No	Yes	Sidamo Micro Finance Institution	None
16	SNNP	Rural	No	No	Yes		*Agricultural Development Cooperation International*
17	Tigray	Rural	Yes	No	Yes	Dedebit MFI	*Save the Children, World Food Programme*
18	Tigray	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Dedebit MFI	World Vision infant feeding Schools afforestation project *World Food Programme*
20	Tigray	Rural	Yes	Yes	Yes	Government food- security credit	Food relief, *Catholic Relief Services*
1	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	No	Yes	Women's and youth credit, gov. MFIs, banks	CCF education, health
2	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	No	Yes	Emanuel Development Fund, banks, NGOs	Emanuel Development Fund credit, roads
3	Addis Ababa	Urban	Yes	No	Yes	MFI private Addis Credit Institution; banks	None
4	Amhara	Urban	No	No	Yes	ACSI MFI	Plan International school feeding, education materials; *USAID*
10	Oromia	Urban	Yes	Yes	Yes	NGOs, churches, schools	NGO microfinance *Catholic Relief Services*
13	SNNP	Urban	Yes	No	Yes	women's credit group	Religious institutions, bank , *Agricultural Development Cooperation International*
14	SNNP	Urban	Yes	No	Yes		*Save the Children*
19	Tigray	Urban	Yes	No	Yes	REST credit	*REST, World Vision*
Total			**16**	**6**	**20**		

Source: Community profiles; community survey Round 2 (2006); *italics*: from community survey Round 3 (2009)

The Community profiles and qualitative data show that sources of formal credit were mentioned in all sites. Of the 15 cases where the source was mentioned, eight were from microfinance institutions, of which two were private, while others were from the agricultural extension or food-security programmes, or from NGOs, churches, or women's and youth groups, and banks in the urban sites. Women's associations were mentioned in 13 sites and cooperatives in six sites, although a lack of mention, as we shall see, cannot be taken to mean that they were not present, and the type of cooperative was generally not mentioned. NGOs were mentioned in all but six sites, of which five are rural, two each in Amhara and Oromia and one in SNNP. They are involved in a wide range of sectors, including relief and food aid, agriculture, health, education and credit.

Table 22 considers the different formal and informal sources of credit available by site in the Round 2 community survey.

Table 22. *Providers of credit by type and site*

Site ID	Micro-finance institution	Government	NGO, church, or cooperative	Money lenders	Iddir/ iqqub	Private bank	Total	Urban/ Rural	Region
ET1021	0	2	2	1	0	0	**5**	Urban	Addis Ababa
ET1032	3	0	0	1	0	0	**4**	Urban	Addis Ababa
ET1031	2	1	0	1	0	0	**4**	Urban	Addis Ababa
ET2051	2	1	0	1	0	0	**4**	Urban	Addis Ababa
ET4144	2	1	0	0	0	1	**4**	Rural	Amhara
ET3111	1	2	0	1	0	0	**4**	Rural	Amhara
ET4141	1	2	0	0	0	1	**4**	Urban	Oromia
ET3101	1	1	1	1	0	0	**4**	Rural	Oromia
ET5201	1	1	2	0	0	0	**4**	Rural	SNNP
ET2071	1	0	2	0	1	0	**4**	Urban	SNNP
ET1022	0	1	1	0	2	0	**4**	Urban	SNNP
ET4121	0	0	3	1	0	0	**4**	Rural	Tigray
ET4143	1	1	0	1	0	0	**3**	Urban	Amhara
ET5191	1	1	0	1	0	0	**3**	Rural	Amhara
ET2041	1	0	0	1	1	0	**3**	Rural	Oromia
ET3091	1	0	1	1	0	0	**3**	Urban	SNNP
ET5181	1	0	0	1	1	0	**3**	Urban	SNNP
ET2061	0	1	2	0	0	0	**3**	Rural	Tigray
ET4131	0	1	0	1	0	1	**3**	Urban	Tigray
ET1011	0	1	1	0	0	0	**2**	Urban	Addis Ababa
ET5171	0	0	2	0	0	0	**2**	Rural	Tigray
ET4151	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**	Rural	SNNP
ET4161	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**	Rural	SNNP
Total	**19**	**17**	**17**	**15**	**5**	**3**	**76**		

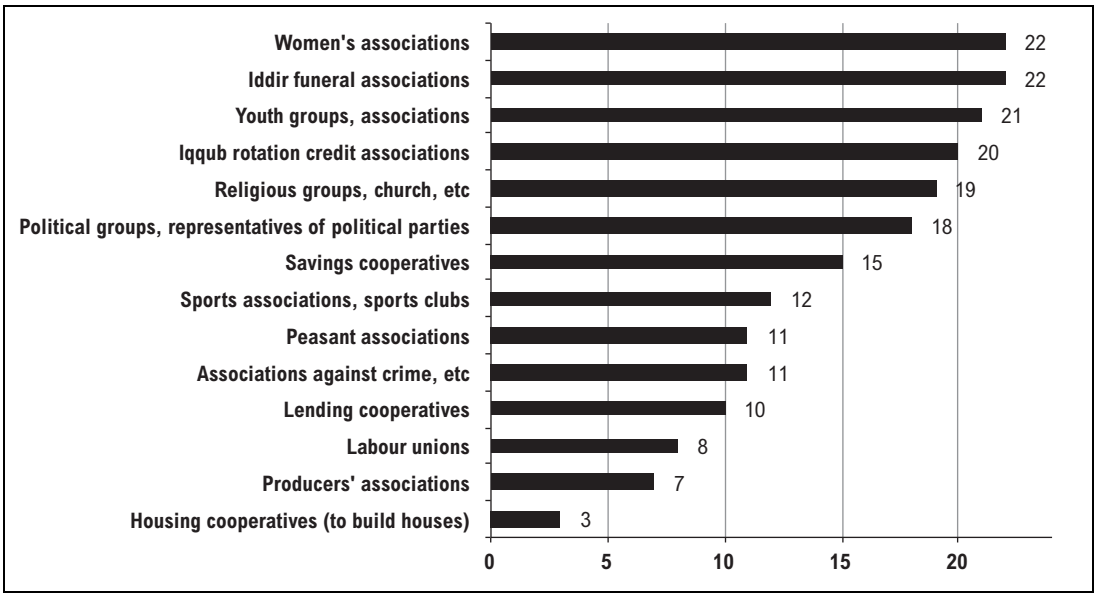
Source: Round 2 community questionnaire

The most common source of credit was microfinance institutions, in one urban site with three different micro-finance institutions and in two other urban sites and one rural site with two MFIs. This was followed by government credit, with two sources each in three urban centres. NGOs, missions, or cooperatives were also found in 17 of the communities, followed by money lenders, mentioned in 15 communities. *Iddir* (funeral association) and *iqqub* (rotating

credit association) are mentioned in only four sites,[14] and private banks in three urban sites. Two remote sites in the SNNP had no formal sources of credit and relied only on money lenders. One remote site in Tigray had only two sources from NGO/church or cooperatives.

Data from the Round 2 survey provide a more complete picture of the distribution of formal and informal institutions by site. Chart 1 considers the frequency among the 24 sites.[15]

Chart 1. *Distribution of formal and informal groups by number of sites*

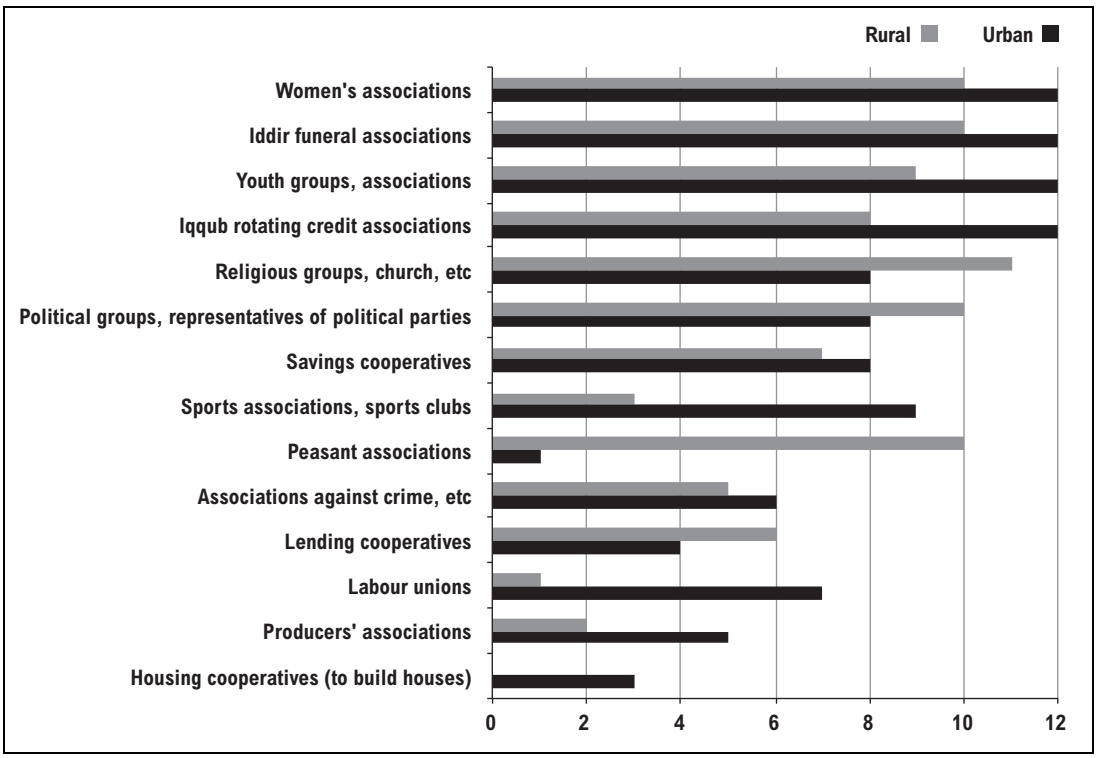


Two informal customary groups (*iddir* funeral associations and *iqqub* rotating credit associations) and two formal groups (women's and youth associations) are prevalent in the vast majority of the 24 communities. Religious groups and political groups (or representatives of political groups) are also common, followed by savings cooperatives. Types of group which are prevalent in half or fewer sites include sports clubs, peasant associations, associations against crime, lending cooperatives, labour unions, producers' associations and housing cooperatives. Regional differences do not seem to be important. However, the two sites without *iddir* are rural sites in Tigray and Amhara respectively, and it has been suggested that *iddir* emerged in and spread from the capital city and were more common in the south and less prevalent and formalised in the north (Pankhurst 2010).

14 There was evidence of *iqqub* credit associations in more sites from the community profiles, which may be due to their being considered more as informal social institutions than as credit providers.

15 These include the 20 sites plus two additional *Kebeles* in two of the Addis Ababa sites and two additional *Kebeles* in the Hawassa site in the capital of the SNNP.

Chart 2. *Community groups by urban–rural distribution*



Source: Round 2 household survey

In terms of urban–rural differences, the two most important formal associations (women's and youth associations) and the two most important informal associations (funeral and credit associations) are present in all the urban sites, but missing or not reported in a few rural sites. On the other hand, religious and political groups are mentioned for almost all rural sites, but not for some urban ones. As expected, peasant associations are almost exclusively a rural phenomenon, and labour unions and housing cooperatives are urban phenomena. Youth groups and credit associations are much more common in urban areas. Interestingly there seem to be almost as many communities with anti-crime associations in rural sites, although not in the ***very remote*** areas. There are more sites with lending cooperatives in rural areas, although producers' associations seem to be more common in urban sites. Rural sports associations and producers' associations and a labour union are found only in the ***very close*** category of sites, suggesting that their presence may be related to urban influences. The size of urban sites does not seem to be particularly relevant, apart from the presence of housing cooperatives in the large cities.

The Round 2 household questionnaire provides further evidence on the membership of groups, giving a clearer picture of their relative importance, especially since households were able to mention membership of several groups of the same type. See Table 23.

Table 23. *Household membership of groups*

Type of association/group	No.	%
Iddir funeral association	3,186	60.82
Religious group	552	10.54
Women's association	464	8.86
Farmers' association	415	7.92
Women's group	212	4.05
Iqqub credit association	163	3.11
Youth association	82	1.57
Service cooperative	59	1.13
Farmers' cooperative	51	0.97
Credit society/cooperative	32	0.61
Sports/cultural group	22	0.42
Total	5,238	100.00
Informal	4,113	78.52
Formal	1,125	21.48

Source: Round 2 household survey

Membership of informal associations and groups is much more prevalent than membership of formal associations. By far the most important type of group is the funeral association, accounting for 60 per cent of the mentions. The next most important, but with only 10 per cent of mentions, are religious groups, underlying the importance of religious organisation for social life. The two most important formal groups are the women's and farmers' associations, with somewhat fewer than 10 per cent respectively, whereas the youth associations are far less important. Women's groups, which are more likely to be informal, represent 4 per cent of mentions. Cooperatives (both service and producers') represent 1 per cent each, and credit societies or cooperatives and sports and cultural groups are the least significant, with less than 1 per cent of mentions.

In terms of regional distribution for membership of the formal groups, there was a much higher proportion in the Tigray sites for farmers' associations (57 per cent of mentions), women's associations (80 per cent) and youth associations (55 per cent) than in other regions. For several types of formal group, most of the mentions were concentrated in one site. Regarding cooperatives, the greatest number for farmers' cooperatives was concentrated in Site 18 in Tigray (75 per cent of mentions), and for service cooperatives in Site 11 in Oromia (95 per cent of mentions), and the sports groups were largely mentioned in Site 05 in Amhara (64 per cent).

In terms of the informal institutions, the *Iddir* funeral associations are most prevalent in Oromia, with an average of 307 mentions per site, followed by SNNP with 188, Addis Ababa with 165, and Amhara with 104. *Iddir* membership is very low in Tigray with an average of 27 mentions and two sites with five mentions or fewer. The *iqqub* credit associations are more prevalent in urban areas (64 per cent), with one rural site in the SNNP (16) having 21 mentions, representing 10 per cent. Membership of religious groups seems to be fairly evenly distributed, except for one entirely Muslim site in SNNP (12) which had 117 mentions, representing 21 per cent. Membership of religious groups is also quite important in two sites in Amhara (Site 06 with 82 mentions, and 07 with 62 mentions) and one site in Tigray (Site 18 with 68 mentions).

4.3. Support from groups, individuals and institutions

Although membership provides some evidence of involvement in social groups, a further understanding of the importance of groups and networks can be gained from considering the question of where households turned for support. Different sources of support at community level can be gleaned from the Round 1 question about support from groups and individuals. See Table 24.

Table 24. *Support from groups and individuals*

No.	Source of support		%	Informal	%	Formal	%
1	Family	1,289	18.8	1,289	22.6		
2	Funeral/credit associations	942	13.7	942	16.5		
3	Neighbours	926	13.5	926	16.3		
4	Friends	695	10.1	695	12.2		
5	Religious groups	735	10.7	735	12.9		
6	Religious leaders	734	10.7	734	12.9		
7	Community leaders	373	5.4	373	6.6		
8	Government officials	294	4.3			294	25.3
9	Women's groups	291	4.2			291	25.0
10	Community association/cooperative	275	4.0			275	23.6
11	Charitable/NGOs	127	1.8			127	10.9
12	Trade unions	64	0.9			64	5.5
13	Politicians	56	0.8			56	4.8
14	Political groups	47	0.7			47	4.0
15	Sports groups	9	0.1			9	0.8
16	Other	15	0.2				
	Total	**6,872**	**100.0**	**5,694**	**100.0**	**1,163**	**100.0**

Source: Round 1 community questionnaire, social-capital questions

Of the 15 sources of support mentioned, the seven most important are informal sources, representing 83 per cent of the mentions. The four most important sources represent between them more than half the mentions (56 per cent). The most important is family, representing almost one-fifth of mentions, followed by funeral associations (14 per cent), neighbours (13 per cent), and friends (10 per cent).[16] Religious groups and leaders also have 10 per cent each; it seems likely that although religious groups and leaders were the subject of separate groups of questions (11.1 and 11.2), this may be referring to the same phenomenon (as also with politicians and political groups). Among the formal sources, government officials are the most important, followed by women's groups, cooperatives,[17] and NGOs. Groups with small numbers of mentions include trade unions, politicians and political groups, and sports groups.

16 The questionnaire conflates funeral and credit associations, but it is likely that respondents referred mainly to funeral associations, which are far more common.

17 The questionnaire groups community associations and cooperatives in one category, and it is likely that this was interpreted mainly as cooperatives.

5. Child protection and youth protection

The Round 2 community questionnaire contains an interesting and useful module on child-protection services which provides data that can be used to categorise sites according to differences in protection services. In the first part of this section, we consider the location and levels at which child-protection cases were brought to authorities, and the sectors involved, leading to an analysis of the total number of cases. The second part considers the types of case reported, which we then regroup into main categories. The final part considers changes over time, based on qualitative data.

5.1 Locations and sectors to which cases were reported

Except in four sites there were positive replies to the question whether there were any institutions that received accusations or reports of abuses of children's rights. Two of these were the remotest rural sites in Amhara and Tigray respectively, and the other two were towns in the SNNP. Cases of the abuse of child and adolescent rights were considered at three levels: (1) by the *Wereda* (District) Administration or justice authorities, (2) by the *Kebele* (Community) Administration or justice authorities, and/or (3) the School Director or Parent–Teacher Committee. Most sites have cases dealt with by the District Administration (15 sites), followed by the School (12 sites), and only six sites had cases dealt with by the *Kebele*. See Table 25.

Table 25. *Locations where child-rights cases are reported*

Site ID	Urban/Rural	Region	District	Community	School	Number of cases
ET1021	Urban	Addis Ababa	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
ET2041	Urban	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
ET2051	Rural	Amhara	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
ET3101	Urban	Oromia	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
ET3111	Rural	Oromia	Yes	Yes	Yes	3
ET1022	Urban	Addis Ababa	Yes	No	Yes	2
ET1032	Urban	Addis Ababa	No	Yes	Yes	2
ET4121	Rural	SNNP	Yes	No	Yes	2
ET4161	Rural	SNNP	Yes	No	Yes	2
ET5181	Rural	Tigray	Yes	No	Yes	2
ET1011	Urban	Addis Ababa	Yes	No	No	1
ET1031	Urban	Addis Ababa	No	No	Yes	1
ET3091	Rural	Oromia	Yes	No	No	1
ET4131	Urban	SNNP	No	No	Yes	1
ET4141	Rural	SNNP	Yes	No	No	1
ET4143	Urban	SNNP	Yes	No	No	1
ET4144	Urban	SNNP	Yes	No	No	1
ET4151	Rural	SNNP	Yes	No	No	1

Table 25. *Locations where child-rights cases are reported / continued*

Site ID	Urban/Rural	Region	District	Community	School	Number of cases
ET2061	Rural	Amhara	No	No	No	0
ET2071	Rural	Amhara	No	No	No	0
ET3081	Rural	Oromia	No	No	No	0
ET5171	Rural	Tigray	No	No	No	0
ET5191	Urban	Tigray	No	No	No	0
ET5201	Rural	Tigray	No	No	No	0
	Total		**15**	**6**	**12**	**33**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire child-protection module

In five sites cases were dealt with at all three levels. Cases were seen at District and School levels in three sites, and at Community and School levels at one site. Cases were seen only at the District level in six sites, and only at the School level in two sites. There were six sites at which cases were not seen at any of the three levels. Three of these sites are in Tigray, two in Amhara, and one in Oromia. There do not, however, seem to be any clear urban–rural or regional patterns in respect of where cases were considered.

Table 26 considers the sectors and offices to which cases were reported. The questionnaire asked for first-, second- and third-choice institutions, with a total of 46 positive responses, half of which (23) concerned cases presented at the Community level and the remainder at the District level. Out of the 20 first choices, 12 were to justice institutions, of which nine were to police services. Out of the 15 second choices, eight were to justice institutions, of which five were to the courts. Of the 11 third choices, only three were to the justice system.

Table 26. *Sectors to which cases were brought*

Sector	No.	%
Justice	14	31.1
Police	10	22.2
Administration	8	17.8
Education	5	11.1
Women's affairs	2	4.4
Health	1	2.2
Social affairs	1	2.2
NGO	1	2.2
Community	1	2.2
Religious	1	2.2
Other	1	2.2
Total	**46**	**100**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire child-protection module

If we consider all the cases together in terms of sectors, we see that there is a broad range, with ten different sectors or types of institution. The justice sector is dominant, with almost one-third of cases, followed by more than one-fifth of cases taken to the police, with the administration in third place. There were only two sites where cases were presented to the Women's Affairs offices and one each to Health offices, Social Affairs offices, an NGO, and community and religious leaders. As we shall see from the qualitative data, by Round 3 this was an area where changes were taking place.

In addition, data were collected specifically on cases of the violation of the rights of adult females. Of the 20 Young Lives sites, only four did not mention any institution that dealt with these cases. These were two rural sites in SNNP (17), one rural site in Tigray (19), and two urban sites: one in Addis Ababa (010), and the other in SNNP (14). The numbers of cases presented at the three levels, in terms of age and sex, are presented in Table 27.

Table 27. *Numbers of cases concerning the rights of children, adolescents, and young women*

Site ID	Boys	Girls	Boys + girls	Teenage boys	Teenage girls	Teenage boys + girls	Female adults	Total	Urban/ Rural	Region
ET1032	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	4	U	Addis Ababa
ET4121	3	4	7	0	0	0	0	7	R	SNNP
ET5171	3	2	5	0	2	2	0	7	R	Tigray
ET4151	8	3	11	2	1	3	0	14	R	SNNP
ET3091	6	9	15	0	1	1	0	16	R	Oromia
ET3081	4	6	10	0	8	8	0	18	R	Oromia
ET1011	6	8	14	0	0	0	13	27	U	Addis Ababa
ET5201	0	9	9	0	19	19	0	28	R	Tigray
ET5181	19	13	32	0	0	0	1	33	R	Tigray
ET5191	22	14	36	0	0	0	0	36	U	Tigray
ET2061	16	23	39	0	1	1	0	40	R	Amhara
ET2071	24	14	38	0	3	3	0	41	R	Amhara
ET3111	4	18	22	8	14	22	1	45	R	Oromia
ET1031	3	5	8	2	23	25	20	53	U	Addis Ababa
ET3101	9	14	23	9	26	35	1	59	U	Oromia
ET2041	24	38	62	0	0	0	0	62	U	Amhara
ET2051	12	36	48	2	16	18	0	66	R	Amhara
ET1022	36	20	56	0	2	2	19	77	U	Addis Ababa
ET4141	35	45	80	0	0	0	0	80	U	SNNP
ET4131	13	11	24	29	29	58	0	82	U	SNNP
ET4161	47	31	78	8	4	12	0	90	R	SNNP
ET1021	36	37	73	7	13	20	5	98	U	Addis Ababa
Total	**331**	**363**	**694**	**67**	**162**	**229**	**60**	**983**		
%	48	52	100	29	71	100	6	100		

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire: child-protection module

About 70 per cent of the combined 983 cases presented to the *Wereda*, Community and Schools were cases of children, with a slight majority of girls (52 per cent). Adolescent cases represented 23 per cent of the total, of which 71 per cent concerned female adolescents. The remaining 6 per cent of cases relate to female adults. There do not seem to be any clear urban–rural or regional concentrations overall. However, there were six sites with no cases of the abuse of adolescents' rights, and 15 without adult female cases; most of the cases of female adults were in the Addis Ababa sites, with only one case each recorded in two sites in Oromia, and one in a site in Tigray.

There was also a question on how cases concerning children were dealt with in the past. See Table 28.

Table 28. *Support used in the past to provide services to children*

No.	Support	District	Community	School	Total	%
1	Formal authorities	23	12	8	43	16.5
2	Hospitals	23	15	5	43	16.5
3	NGOs	20	12	5	37	14.2
4	Community associations	18	11	8	37	14.2
5	Informal network	13	6	10	29	11.1
6	Police station	14	5	8	27	10.3
7	Ombudsman (Provincial)	10	6	2	18	6.9
8	Judicial system	3	4	8	15	5.7
9	Health centre private clinic	3	2	2	7	2.7
10	Discussion with parents	1	1	1	3	1.1
11	Parent–Teacher Association			1	1	0.4
12	Provision of school feeding			1	1	0.4
	Total	**128**	**74**	**59**	**261**	**100**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire: child-protection module

The most common support in the past was provided by formal government authorities and hospitals, the latter being more important in cases addressed at the community level; NGOs came in third place, along with community associations. Informal networks were used in 11 per cent of cases, although more commonly in cases taken to the school, and police came in fourth place with 10 per cent. The Provincial Ombudsman was mentioned in 7 per cent of cases and the judicial system in 6 per cent, although this was more common in cases taken to schools. Health centres, discussion with parents, and a Parent–Teacher Association were mentioned in very few cases. One case involving an appeal for inclusion in a school feeding programme was resolved by the PTA.

Data were also collected on who presented the claims; the findings are summarised in Table 29.

Table 29. *Person(s) who presented the claims*

No.	Presenter	Number	%
1	Child/Young person	39	17.6
2	Father	34	15.3
3	Mother	32	14.4
4	Teacher	24	10.8
5	Sibling	20	9.0
6	Adult relative	19	8.6
7	Young relative	13	5.9
8	Adult friend	17	7.7
9	Young friend	15	6.8
10	Health-centre staff	5	2.3
11	Neighbours	4	1.8
	Total	**222**	**100.0**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire, child-protection module

Most commonly children presented cases themselves; next most common were cases presented by the father and the mother. Together with the siblings, immediate family members represent over half the cases (56 per cent). Teachers presented 11 per cent of cases, but health-centre staff presented only 2 per cent, probably in part because some cases were presented to the schools, and partly because the health staff at the community level were not as prevalent in Round 2 as they became in Round 3.

5.2 Types and categories of cases

This section presents data on the different types of case and seeks to categorise them according to the major issues that they raised. See Table 30.

Table 30. *Types of cases reported to all institutions*

	Type of issue	No.	%
1	Food claims	26	21.1
2	Parenthood certification	22	17.9
3	Child beating: physical punishment	14	11.4
4	Rape	17	13.8
5	Education claim/ deprivation of education	12	9.8
6	Early marriage	10	8.1
7	Child labour	6	4.9
8	Abduction	4	3.3
9	Abandonment	4	3.3
10	Housing cases	2	1.6
11	Wife beating	1	0.8
12	Sexual abuse	1	0.8
13	Husband/wife	1	0.8
14	Harassment	1	0.8
15	Children dropping out of school	1	0.8
16	Bar fight	1	0.8
	Total	**123**	**100.0**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire, child-protection module

The most common cases related to food claims and certification of parenthood, presumably cases where men were denying support in cases of divorce; these represented between them almost a quarter of cases. Other important categories were physical punishment, rape, education claims (particularly refusal to allow children to attend school), and enforced early marriage. Less frequently raised were cases of child labour, abduction and abandonment. Only one case each of sexual abuse, wife beating, harassment, drop-out and violence in the form of a bar fight were recorded. The 16 types of case can be regrouped into eight categories, as shown in Table 31.

Table 31. *Categories of cases reported to all institutions*

No.	Category	No.	%
1	Gender-based violence	35	28.5
2	Food	26	21.1
3	Parenthood	22	17.9
4	Violence	15	12.2
5	Education issues	13	10.6
6	Labour abuse	6	4.9
7	Abandonment	4	3.3
8	Housing	2	1.6
	Total	**123**	**100.0**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire, child-protection module

The regrouping shows that gender-based violence is the most important category, followed by food claims and then cases of denial of parenthood, other cases of violence, and education issues. Labour abuse, abandonment and housing claims were much less frequently reported.

However, a further question asked only about cases relating to children. The replies are summarised in Table 32.

Table 32. *Cases relating to children reported to all institutions*

No.	Type	No	%
1	Physical punishment	36	28.3
2	Rape	32	25.2
3	Harassment	19	15.0
4	Early marriage	9	7.1
5	Deprivation of education	8	6.3
6	Forced / hard labour	8	6.3
7	Abandonment	4	3.1
8	Abduction	3	2.4
9	Food claim	3	2.4
10	Child forced to leave home	2	1.6
11	Parenthood	2	1.6
12	Death	1	0.8
	Total	**127**	**100.0**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire, child-protection module

Physical punishment was the most frequently presented case, followed by accusations of rape and harassment. Cases of early marriage, deprivation of education, child labour and abandonment were less frequent. Food claims and cases of parenthood, which were the most common responses to the previous question, were rare, which may be related to the leading nature of the questions.[18] The 12 types of case may be grouped in six categories, as shown in Table 33.

18 The earlier question specifically included food claims and parenthood issues, followed by 'other: specify'; whereas this question included harassment, rape, and physical punishment, followed by 'other: specify'.

Table 33. *Categories of cases relating to children reported to all institutions*

No.	Type	No	%
1	Gender-based violence	63	49.6
2	Physical abuse	36	28.3
3	Education	8	6.3
4	Labour	8	6.3
5	Abandonment	6	4.7
6	Food	3	2.4
7	Other	3	2.4
	Total	**127**	**100.0**

Source: Round 2 community questionnaire, child-protection module

As in Table 32, gender-based violence is the most important category, representing half the cases. However, in Table 33 physical abuse is the second most common category, followed by labour and education cases, with abandonment and food-claim cases much rarer.

There do not seem to be significant regional variations. However, the four sites with the fewest cases (two each) are all very remote or remote sites in SNNP (12, 15), Amhara (07), and Tigray (17), suggesting either that the authorities are less well geared to addressing child-protection cases in remoter areas, or that fewer issues come to their attention.

5.3 Insights from the qualitative data on child protection

There are five sites in which qualitative data have been collected for sub-samples in three rounds in 2007, 2008 and 2011. Two of these sites are in large urban centres, the national capital (01) and the capital of the SNNP Region (14). A third site is close to a large town in Oromia (08), and a fourth site is close to a small district town in Amhara (07). Only one of these sites can be considered remote (17 in Tigray). Although these sites may not represent the diversity of all the 20 sites, they do provide useful insights in relation to child protection, especially since community data on this question were collected only in the Round 2 community questionnaire in 2006, and there were important changes by 2009 which are indicative of recent changing trends.

Data from the qualitative rounds suggest first of all that child-protection issues have been given much more prominence in the two urban sites than in the rural sites; and second that the importance of child protection has increased over the three rounds, especially with the involvement of the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs at the *wereda* (district) level by the third round. There has also been more engagement of NGOs in child rights and protection in the urban sites, and there has been more collaboration between NGOs and community institutions, in particular funeral associations, and instances of tripartite collaborations with government.

Most of the focus in all the sites was on orphans, particularly HIV/AIDS orphans, with this being broadened to poor and vulnerable children to whom NGOs, especially ones connected with missions, were providing support. In addition, in the Tigray site the question of preventing child marriage and helping girls attending secondary schools in town was taken up by the Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office, suggesting a move away from a narrow focus on orphans and vulnerable children.

In the Addis Ababa site, several NGOs have been providing support to the poor with assistance directed to orphaned children, some of which involved collaboration with *iddir* funeral associations. The NGO Christian Child Fund (CCF) provided food aid, education materials and reimbursement of medical expenses to households taking care of orphans. They also organised sponsorship programmes through which some children were able to get support from sponsors, to whom they wrote and who once sent them money at Christmas. CCF also sponsored volunteer home-care givers, who visited orphans at weekends to check that they were well looked after, their uniforms washed, hair done and nails clipped. They were also involved in reproductive-health care and providing training and credit to former commercial sex workers, for instance with training in sewing, tailoring and hairdressing. Another local NGO, Berhan Integrated Community Organisation, provided support to poor families for one child in each. An NGO supported by the World Food Programme, referred to by respondents as 'Society', supported orphans and people living with HIV/AIDS. There was also mention of a local NGO that would 'collect babies who are left by their parents on the street' (Round 2: P22 M20_OP04).

In terms of the role of funeral associations, 13 were involved in providing support to poor families in cooperation with the NGOs. As one funeral association leader remarked: 'We have manpower and can give support to the poorest of the poor. The Society organisation gives support to the poor working with *iddirs. Iddirs* do not have the capacity since we do not have external support to prevent the problem' (Round 1: P4_GRI01_OP11). There was also a reference to *Iddirs* organising children into football teams (boys' and girls' teams), providing them with sports clothing and organising training. In this site, some orphans also received help such as uniforms from the 'Koran house'.

In the SNNP urban site, women form *iqqub* credit and savings groups, each member saving one *birr* per week. The *Kebele* obtained a loan from an NGO, which was then lent to credit associations, which lent on to their members to help them to engage in income-generating activities. The NGO Mary Joy sponsors coffee ceremonies in HIV/AIDS clubs, and provides education materials to children in poor families, covers education fees, especially for orphans whose parents died of HIV/AIDS, and provides them with grain. This NGO also assists elderly people who are affected by HIV/AIDS through the loss of their children, providing them with health care. An NGO called Medan Act Welag Alba helps HIV/AIDS patients, giving them flour, oil, soap and tissue paper, and education materials for the children. Several Evangelical church-based NGOs (Mulu Wengel, Kale Hiwot and Meserete Kristos) provide support to children, covering fees for attendance at private school and providing grain, clothes and soap. It was also mentioned that *Iddirs* and the parents' committee at school were giving lessons through drama on child rights (Round 3: P32_GR102).

In the rural Amhara site there was limited NGO involvement, except for Family Health International providing reproductive-health care and nutrition training. Orphans were seen to be largely the responsibility of the community, which contributes grain and cash to a community HIV/AIDS fund, although the *wereda* sometimes provides bags and shoes (Round 3:P25_OP24F).

In the Oromia site the only mention of an NGO working with women and children referred to the Rift Valley Women and Children Development Organisation, which was helping to set up a women's club that was mentioned during Round 1 but had not made much progress. There was also mention of the role of a Protestant sect called Meserete Kristos, which built a bridge and took children to hospitals, and had requested land to build a kindergarten, although the land provided was marshy and unsuitable (Round 2: P116_OP24M).

In the Tigray rural site some community self-help institutions were mentioned. The purpose of one was to encourage members to buy meat collectively for holidays. For funerals, coffee and local beer may be provided, and money may be collected for people facing problems. The women's association also organised the collection of grain and flour for members facing problems. It has a tent and pots and cups, which members of the women's association *iddir* can borrow, and those who are not members can rent (Round 3: P18_M21_CGXCX). The Relief Society of Tigray was mentioned in Round 3 as requesting lists of orphaned students and female students facing housing problems in town and who were unable to pay rent, although in practice there were quotas and only one or two girls would be assisted with 700 *birr* in co-ordination with the Office of Women's Affairs. Likewise the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission asked for lists of orphans but had a quota of only one or two per village (Round 3: P24_OP24F).

The government was also said to be providing land to orphans. During Round 3 a representative of the Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office said that 'single and double orphans' were assessed and lists sent to the government, which helped them to get credit of 1,500 *birr* (Round 3: P24_OP24F). There was also mention of the formation of a committee of seven members from the Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office that was to consider issues of children's rights. Representatives from the Women's Federation, Women's League and Women's Association were expected to be integrated with the other sectors and so far had been involved in trying to prevent under-age marriage (Round 3 P24:_OP24F). The Women's Affairs office at *Kushet* (sub-community hamlet) level was involved in trying to prevent early marriage by compiling lists of girls who were engaged. There was mention of imprisonments two years earlier and it was reported that girls wanting to resist early marriage could go to the social court to complain. A case was mentioned of a girl who wrote a letter to the *wereda*, succeeded in having her marriage cancelled even after the feast was organised and ended up going to university (Round 3: P18_M21-CGXCX). However, the women's affairs representative also mentioned that in cases of conflict 'customary ways' are still prevalent, for instance with regard to child beating. A case was mentioned where a man beat a child who was herding livestock that entered his field. The father complained, but the community asked the man to drop the case and 'create peace through the customary ways' (Round 3: P24_OP24F).

6. Conclusion

This paper has classified the Young Lives sites in four categories that go beyond urban–rural and regional distinctions; they relate to (1) geographical variations over time, (2) economic forms of production, shocks, and the extent of dependence on food assistance, (3) cultural variations in ethnic and religious diversity, and social variations in the importance of local institutions, and (4) prevalence and types of child protection services.

First, spatial differences in the degree of remoteness in distance and time from urban centres, and differences in size of urban areas, were considered. We found that 'remoteness' has been changing as a result of improvements in means of transport and communications. Certain sites which were very remote have become less distant over time, with a range of potential implications resulting from improved access to urban areas. Moreover, telecommunications, and especially the expansion of the mobile-phone network and increasing usage, are transforming remoteness unevenly, reducing the isolation of even

some fairly remote sites. Finally the spread of electricity is also affecting differences in remoteness, resulting in greater integration of some rural sites. Although urban–rural differences persist, as well as differences relating to the size of towns, the combined effects of changes in transport and access to mobile phones and electricity could lead to a levelling out of differences which deserves further investigation.

Second, sites were categorised in economic terms in relation to types of production, the frequency of shocks, food insecurity, and the extent of dependence of the economy on food assistance. There was higher incidence of drought and provision of food aid in the rural sites in the north, in Amhara and Tigray Regions, and less so in sites in the south, in Oromia and SNNP, with the latter having some *enset*-producing areas that are less drought-prone. However, the extent of economic dependence on external assistance is also related to other available opportunities. In some rural sites the degree to which the local economy relies on external assistance is affected by access to employment in irrigation, labour opportunities from commercial farms or industries, income from cash crops (notably coffee and *chat*), from forestry, and in one case fishing, and in some urban sites by income from trade, wage labour, employment, and in one case tourism.

Third, in cultural and social terms sites were classified regarding ethnic and religious diversity and the prevalence of, membership of, and support from local institutions. We found a strong overlap and congruence in the degrees of ethnic and religious diversity and a pattern consisting of homogeneity in sites within regions in northern Ethiopia, in contrast to greater heterogeneity in the southern sites and urban areas. Women's and youth associations were the most common formal institutions, whereas funeral and religious associations were the most common informal institutions. Membership of informal associations was much more prevalent than membership of formal institutions, with certain regional and urban–rural differences in the types of association. The vast majority of sources of support were from informal institutions, notably family and neighbourhood networks, as well as from associations, especially funeral groups.

Finally, child- and adolescent-protection services from the 2006 second-round survey were reviewed. Cases of abuse were reported in most sites, except the remoter sites in Amhara, Tigray and SNNP and two towns in the latter region. Cases were most frequently reported at the district level and in schools, rather than to the local administration, and they were taken to the justice sector, police, district authorities and schools, rather than to the women's or social affairs or health offices. The most frequent types of case related to gender-based violence, physical abuse and child-labour and education issues. Qualitative data from three rounds reveal differences between urban and rural sites, with a greater focus in urban sites on child protection, involvement of NGOs and collaboration between them and formal and informal institutions. The Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs was playing an increasing role at the district level by Round 3. There has also been a broadening of interest from the needs of HIV/AIDS orphans to those of vulnerable children more generally and to interventions against customs viewed as Harmful Traditional Practices, notably early marriage, especially in Tigray.

To conclude, the approach adopted in this paper raises important questions about how the lives of children and families in which they live are affected by the type of community they live in and how these sites have been changing over the rounds of study. The implications of changes in remoteness due to improved transport, communications and electricity deserve further study. The changes in the local economies and livelihoods are also crucial, particularly as the Young Lives children enter the labour market. The prevailing cultural

values, and how these interact with external interventions seeking to bring about change, are important, particularly in relation to gender issues and child protection. The role of informal institutions and associations in providing support also deserves to be better understood. The context of child-protection services has been changing, with an increasing role for government, particularly the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs in collaboration with NGOS and community-initiated institutions. Finally, appreciating the implications of changes at community level for households and children could be useful to assess changes in children's lives over the rounds of study. It may be hoped that the approach adopted in this paper will stimulate further work to improve our understanding of the nature of childhood poverty.

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Understanding Community Variation and Change in Ethiopia: Implications for Children

Changes that happen within communities can have considerable consequences for the lives of children and their families. This paper demonstrates the importance of considering the community context and shows how differences between sites can be significant.

The authors consider changes in the lives of children and young people in 20 sites in Ethiopia (eight urban and twelve rural) that were the subject of three rounds of field work by Young Lives researchers between 2002 and 2009. They assess the impact on family life of changes in the local economies and livelihoods (including types of production, the frequency of shocks, food insecurity, and the extent of dependence on food assistance); the social and economic impacts of improved access to transport, telecommunications and electricity; and the interaction between prevailing cultural values and external interventions that seek to bring about change, particularly in relation to gender issues and child protection. They describe changes in the context of child-protection services, with an increasing role for government, particularly the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs, in collaboration with NGOS and informal community-initiated institutions. They note that there has been a broadening of interest from the needs of HIV/AIDS orphans to those of vulnerable children more generally, and to interventions against customs viewed as Harmful Traditional Practices, notably early marriage, especially in Tigray.

It is suggested that appreciating the implications of changes at community level for households and children could help to explain changes in children's lives over the rounds of study, and it is hoped that the approach adopted in this paper will stimulate further work to improve understanding of the nature of childhood poverty.

Young Lives
An International Study of Childhood Poverty

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About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in 4 countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in association with research and policy partners in the 4 study countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam.

Through researching different aspects of children's lives, we seek to improve policies and programmes for children.

Young Lives Partners

Young Lives is coordinated by a small team based at the University of Oxford, led by Professor Jo Boyden.

- *Ethiopian Development Research Institute, Ethiopia*
- *Centre for Economic and Social Sciences, Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Sri Padmavathi Mahila Visvavidyalayam (Women's University), Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarollo (Group for the Analysis of Development), Peru*
- *Instituto de Investigación Nutricional (Institute for Nutrition Research), Peru*
- *Center for Analysis and Forecasting, Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam*
- *General Statistics Office, Vietnam*
- *Child and Youth Studies Group (CREET), The Open University, UK*
- *Oxford Department of International Development (ODID), University of Oxford, UK*
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