

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

STAGE ONE ANNEX 1

METHODOLOGY

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Philippa Bevan

Mokoro


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Acronyms

DEEP	in-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty (in 6 sites)
DFID	Department for International Development
ELCD	Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database
ERHS	Ethiopia Rural Household Survey
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
WeD Ethiopia	Wellbeing and Development in Ethiopia
WIDE	Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia (in 20 sites)

1. Introduction

In this Annex we locate the period of change between 2003 and 2009 in Ethiopia's longer term modernisation trajectory, outline the research problem and our methodological approach, and describe the research instruments, fieldwork and analysis process.

We designed the research programme in two stages. In the first stage we undertook fieldwork in 6 research sites purposively selected from a wider sample of 20 rural communities. In Stage 2 we plan to repeat the fieldwork in the remaining 14 sites. We have a longitudinal database with varying amounts of information on these communities, some going back to 1989, and used this to prepare a twenty community comparative baseline for 2003 (Annex 7) to use with a 1995 baseline for fifteen of the communities (www.csae.ox.ac.uk) to construct community trajectories. The 2003 baseline provides a set of tables each comparing (1) a particular societal feature or (2) experiences of a particular policy intervention across the communities. Along with the baselines we also prepared a Policy Paper on macro level policies 2003-9¹ which includes a calendar detailing when each of the different policies and programmes agreed at macro level should have begun to enter communities as particular development interventions.

Table 1: Research Plan

Stage 1	Date	
	November-December 2009	Consultative workshops and meetings with donors
		Paper 1: Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
		Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities between 2003 and 09
		Comparative Societal and Policy Baselines for Twenty Exemplar Rural Communities 2003 and 1995 (15 sites)
		Holistic Baseline and Trajectories for Six Exemplar Rural Communities 1991-2003
		Design of research instruments
	January-February 2010	New fieldwork
	February-June 2010	Three Briefing Notes sent to the Worknet
	March-May 2010	Data interpretation and analysis and writing-up
	June 2010	Dissemination in Addis Ababa
	August 2010	Final Report
Stage 2	Dates dependent on when funding is achieved	Repeat for the remaining fourteen communities

2. A long-term perspective on development in Ethiopia

Development is a process which involves dramatic changes in the way all the people in a society live. Structural changes, which have social, economic, political and cultural dimensions, are matched by changes in the ways in which people make a living, reproduce themselves, organise, make and implement political decisions, and think. The histories of countries which are considered developed today show us that there have been different routes to development dependent on how the particular country's historical trajectory interacted with the evolution of the global system. Broad

¹ See 'Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities: 2003-09', Catherine Dom, December 2009.

lessons we can take from these trajectories are that history and path dependence matter, power matters, and culture matters, and these are themes which underpin our research approach.

Ethiopia's history of planned agricultural development goes back to the end of the 19th century. Agricultural innovations, such as better farming practices and new tree species, rubber and eucalyptus, were introduced in the 1890s with the assistance of expatriates. *Emperor Menilik* established a Ministry to develop agriculture and improve resource management in 1908 and such development efforts continued through *Haile Selassie's reign* with some disruption during the Italian occupation. These modernising interventions intensified during the 1960s but were mainly directed to landlords, commercial farmers and smallholders in and around project areas. (Assefa, 2008)

Thus, while there had been Government interventions to modernise selected rural communities it was not until the mid-1970s that the new *Derg regime* set out with the intention of modernising all rural communities through the establishment of Peasant Associations or *kebele* through which policy and development interventions were to be implemented. The Derg's policy to deal with the spatial contradictions of Ethiopian statehood involved a project of *encadrement* which rapidly incorporated people into structures of control. This resulted in a structure of local government, built on peasant associations, which incorporated at least the agricultural areas into a national administrative structure. The Peasants' Associations acted as an interface between Government and local communities, although PA boundaries did not always capture one cohesive community and sometimes divided such communities.

A fundamental goal of the Derg regime was the reduction of social inequality. The nationalisation of land in 1975 replaced a landlord system with a socialist one and during the period there was legislation and the promotion of campaigns aimed at reducing various culturally-embedded status inequalities related to gender, age, ethnicity, religion, and occupation, though not pastoralism. The Derg developed socialist policies and programmes based on the model of the USSR to penetrate every aspect of rural life and *kebeles* were increasingly used to pursue a range of campaigns and mobilisations. In 1984 a vanguard single party, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia was established.

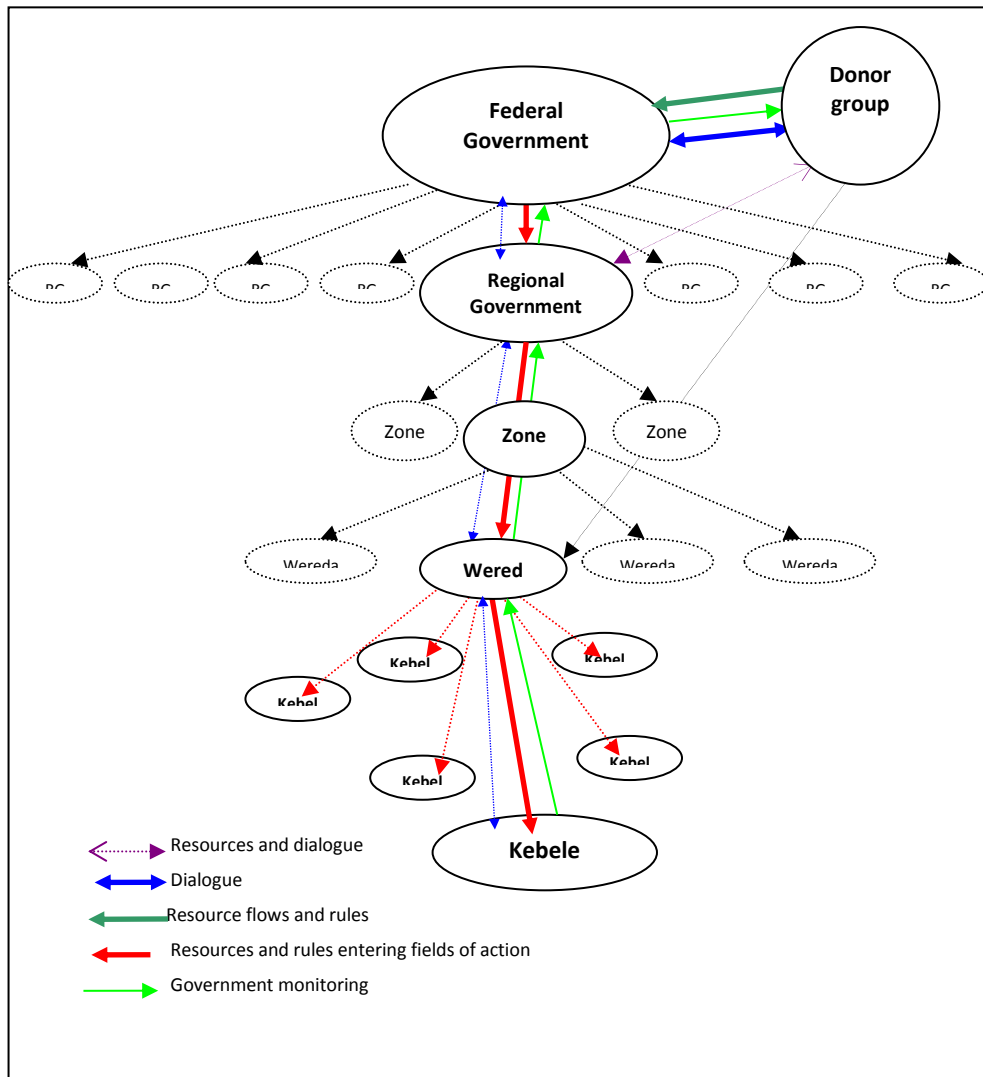
With regard to livelihoods the 1975 land reform abolished landlords and private ownership of land. Peasants, organised into Peasants' Associations through a *zemecha* campaign under which students were sent out into the countryside, were given access to State-owned land up to a maximum of 10 hectares. Other policies included resettlement, often forced, the banning of wage labour and migration, the collectivisation of land and labour via Producer Co-operatives, the collectivisation of input provision and output sale via Service Co-operatives, an Agricultural Marketing Co-operative which set grain quotas for each household to sell to it at a fixed (low) price, 'forced labour' for community projects, taxes and contributions for a range of campaigns, and conscription.

A key policy move related to human re/pro/duction² was the villagisation programme through which thousands of peasants were moved from scattered homesteads to villages which they built themselves. It was argued that it would be easier to provide infrastructure such as clean water and electricity, and services including health and education, although also enabled political control. Local social organisations were also disrupted. Religious activity was discouraged and controlled in various ways and many customary practices were suppressed. New women and youth organisations linked to the *kebele* were set up and community-based organisations, such as burial associations, were often co-opted to implement government plans. There was also a programme for changing the way rural people thought and they were frequently called to compulsory meetings to listen to socialist ideological messages of various kinds.

² The production and maintenance of people.

During the *post-1991 period* the Government has introduced and developed development interventions in all fields of activity: social, economic, human, political and cultural, latterly with an increasing aid budget, much of it disbursed through a number of the large donor-government programmes described in the Policy Paper. Figure 1 shows how these programmes first ‘enter’ the government, mostly at Federal level, and then undergo a process of implementation which despatches resources and rules to communities through actions by officials in Regional governments, weredas and kebeles.

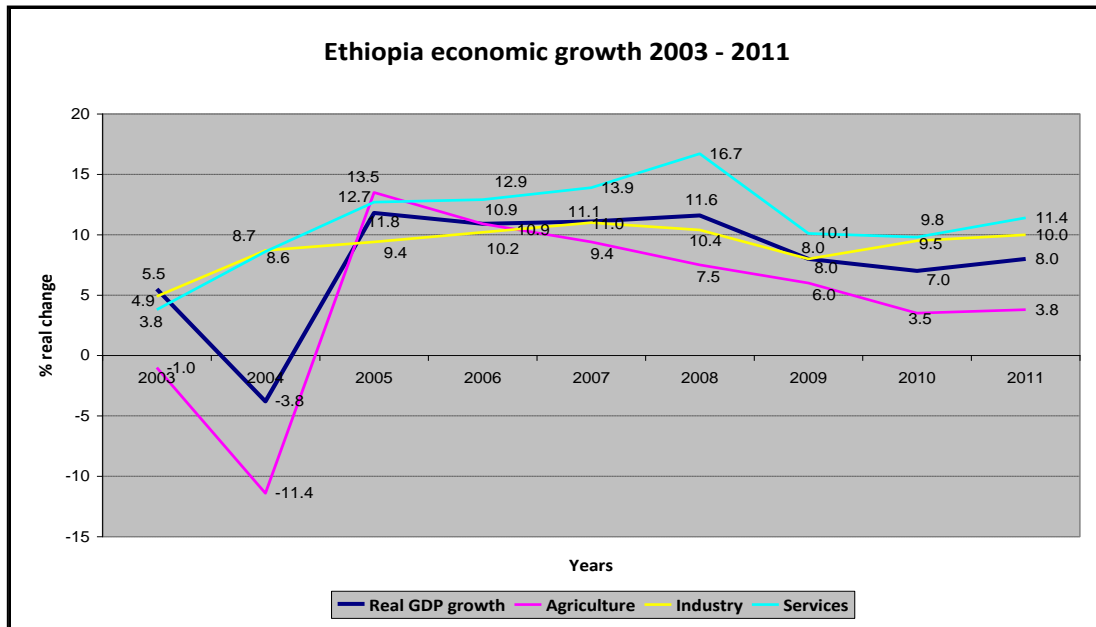
Figure 1: Aid-funded macro programmes becoming community-level development interventions



The period since the 2003 drought has seen an big increase in aid and an acceleration in rural interventions of all kinds and this is the year we are taking as the baseline for our new fieldwork programme. During the six-year period from 2003 to 2009 major changes were noted from a national perspective: high economic growth rates for five consecutive years; high inflation rates towards the end of the period; major expansion in public services; and political reform and governance changes.

Figure 2 provides figures estimating that GDP grew by more than 10% per annum between 2003/4 and 2008 with growth for 2009 estimated at 8%. Growth rates for industry and services were also at or above 10% between 2003/4 and 2008 with a drop to 8% for the estimated figures for industry in 2009. The agricultural growth rate declined during the period but was still a healthy 6.9% in 2009.

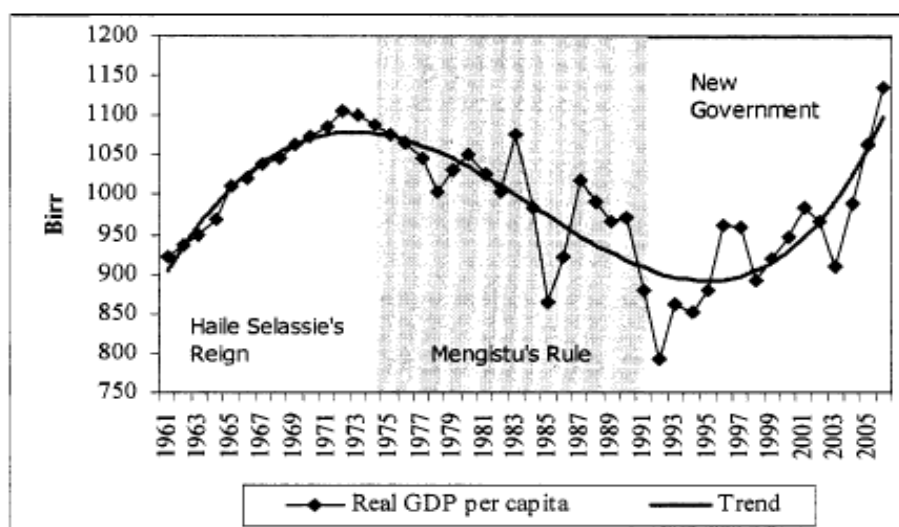
Figure 2: Ethiopia economic growth 2003-2011



Sources: 2003/4 – index mundi and PASDEP; 2005-2011 Economist Intelligence Unit: Country Report Ethiopia 2009
 Note: the Ethiopian fiscal year starts in early July leading to variations in estimations for European calendar years

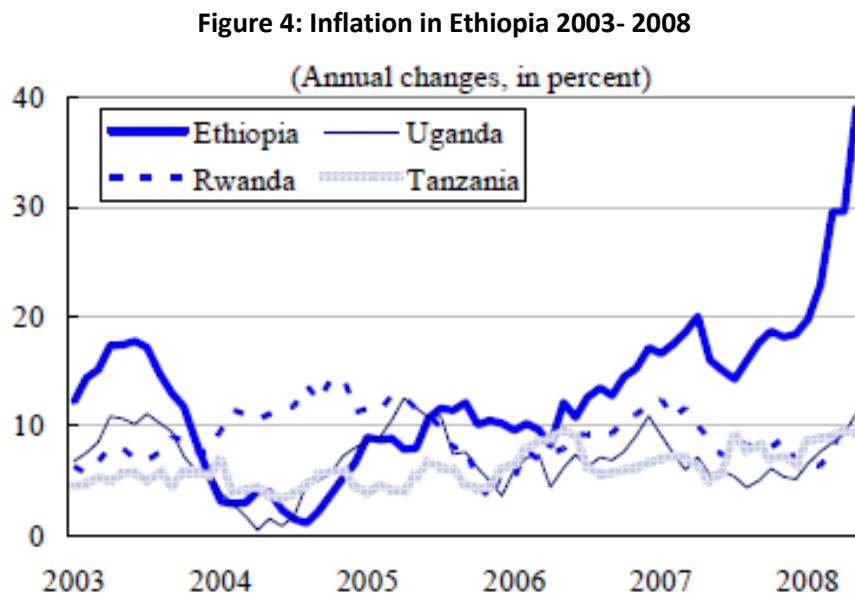
Figure 3 puts these short-term growth rates into a longer-term perspective showing that it was not until 2005 that real GDP per capita exceeded the highest point achieved during Haile Selassie's reign in 1972.

Figure 3: Long-term perspective on growth 1961 - 2005



Source: World Bank Country Economic Memorandum 2007

The inflation rate, which was close to zero at the end of 2004 had reached 20% in 2007 and then rose rapidly to 40% by the end of 2008 (Figure 4).



Source: International Monetary Fund Report "Selected Issues", 2008 (IMF 2008)

The major expansion in public services includes a very big increase in primary education enrolment rates and new health programmes including malaria-prevention and treatment and a re-structuring of health service outlets. In agriculture a range of economic development programmes associated with PASDEP have been launched while food insecurity has been addressed through the Productive Safety Net Programme and 'Other Food Security Programmes'. There has been considerable investment in infrastructural development, particularly roads, domestic water supply systems and urban expansion and development.

Political reform and governance changes include decentralisation from regional to *wereda* level and changes in *kebele* political and justice structures and sub-structures. There was an unprecedented opening of political debate and choice in the 2005 elections, followed by a swift closing down. There has been a growing focus on good governance and recognition that power structures at local level are not clearly differentiated. These changes in public service provision and political structures and governance are documented in the Policy Paper.

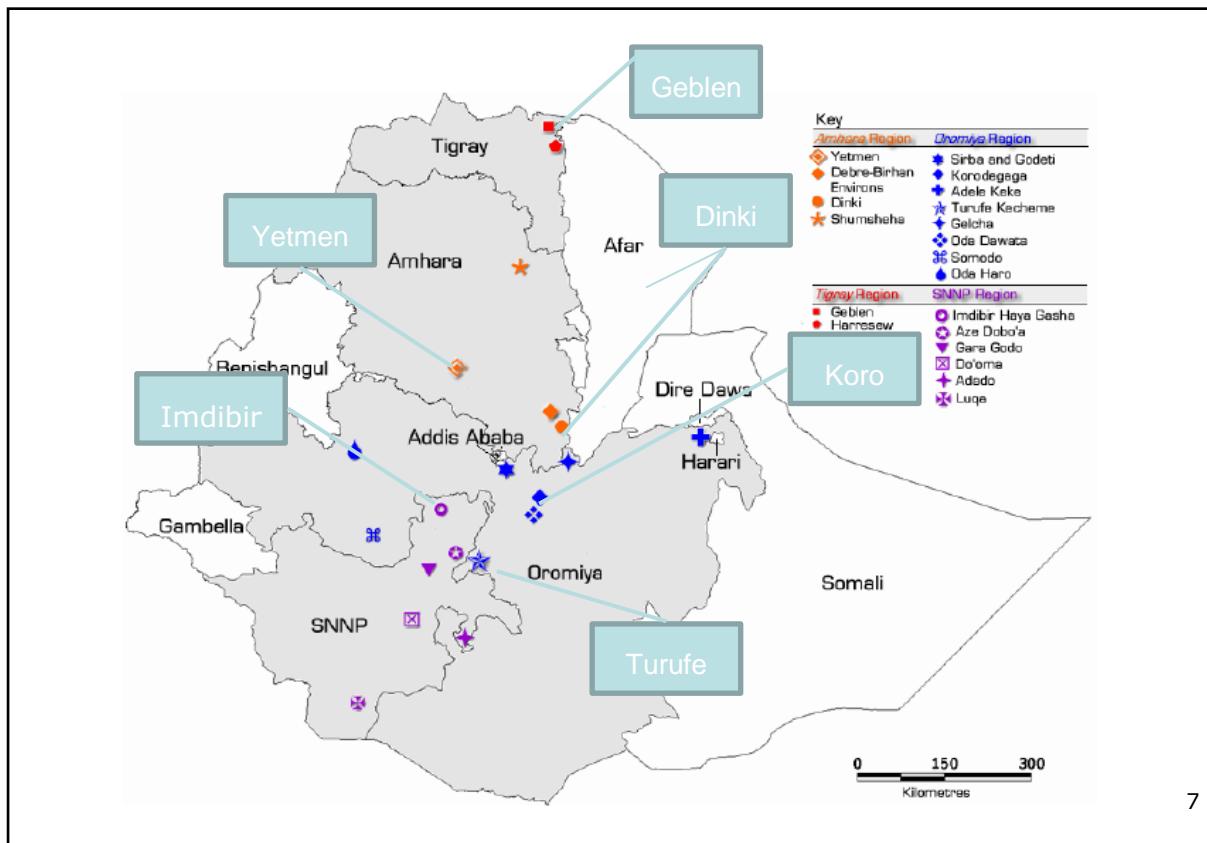
3. Specification of the problem

3.1. The research approach

The policy interface between government and society in rural Ethiopia is found at community level. Policies, programmes and projects will only produce development if they lead to changes in local ideas and practices, and community institutions and structures. Rural communities are open complex systems whose workings are not well understood; in particular little is known about (1) what actually happens when government interventions enter communities and (2) why sustainable development processes are established in some contexts but not others.

This research is designed to explore how government policies have been implemented in twenty communities since 2003 (see Figure 5), and under what circumstances, and why, they are, or are not, leading to sustainable development processes. The research is planned to be conducted in two stages. Stage 1 (November 2009-August 2010) includes the six communities which we know most about from previous research. During this stage we will develop and use research instruments which will be refined for use in Stage 2.

Figure 5: The twenty research communities and six Stage 1 sites



The research approach rigorously integrates³ qualitative and quantitative methods. We are using a complexity social science methodology, including a before-after case-based comparative analysis, to study modernisation processes between 1994 and 2010 and development interventions, processes and outcomes between 2003 and 2009 in twenty rural communities in the established Regions for which we have 2003 baseline data. We are adopting a two-way research strategy (1) tracing the consequences in 2010 of the various government interventions in the communities since 2003, and

³ The orthodox approach to combining quantitative and qualitative research in international development research is known as *Q-squared*. Economists use complicated quantitative techniques on household survey data on a restricted range of development-related variables to produce probabilistic descriptive and causal generalisations, alongside 'non-economists' who use focus groups and other 'participatory' methods in community contexts to provide parallel 'subjective' views on those variables. Researchers using the *Q-integrated* approach to international development research have a wide view of what development entails and draw on recent paradigm-shifting theoretical and methodological developments in sociology and political science (critical realism, complexity theory and case-oriented methods). A major aim is to produce evidence-based middle-range theories for development policymakers and practitioners. In the current Ethiopian context the best strategy is a focus on the community as the primary unit of research

more generally, (2) identifying the causal mechanisms and their interactions with local conditions which underpin development success and failure.

3.2. Research questions

Four broad research questions initially guided our research design and fieldwork. In the paper produced during the inception phase (Methodological Approach and Fieldwork Plan – see www.wed-ethiopia.org) we described them as follows:

The *first* is a descriptive question: what have been the impacts⁴ on rural communities and their members of the various development interventions implemented since 2003? Here we are looking for patterns of similarity and difference. We want to know what actually happened in different types of rural community as development interventions were introduced in areas such as education, health and water services, infrastructure, agriculture/livestock development, environmental protection, micro-credit, food security programmes, decentralisation to wereda level, and kebele structures.

In relation to the different interventions we will identify who benefited most, who benefited least and who was excluded and self-excluded and seek views from different sections of the community as to what was good, what was bad, and what else more useful might have been done in the light of local theories of what constitutes development and how it should be pursued. Our findings in response to this broad question will enable us to provide government, donors, and other interested parties with information on the consequences of each of the major development interventions in the different community contexts, noting that similar interventions in differing contexts may produce different outcomes (multifinality).

Secondly we will be seeking explanations of the similarities and differences of these impacts among communities, households and people of different types. What were the key processes involved? Within-case process-tracing and analysis of existing and new data from the six Stage 1 communities will be used to develop inductively a typological theory⁵ of development outcomes identifying causal mechanisms and contextual features which explain the different outcomes, noting that there may be more than one causal route to the same outcome (equifinality). Stage 2 data will be used to test and modify the typological theory.

The *third* question is how does what really happened fit with government and donor models of how development should happen? We will use what we have learned to test the implicit federal government and donor theories identified in the Policy Paper relating to how each intervention should work and identify other theories held by woreda and kebele staff and the targets of the intervention which lead them to take actions against the programme logic.

The *fourth* question is more speculative and relates to the longer-term trajectories of these rural communities. Where have they come from and where might they be going in the next few years?

As we got into the analysis we developed five empirical questions to put to the database around which the Main Report is structured:

1. In each community what were the key features of the development situation in early 2010?
2. In what ways have the development situations of the communities changed since the mid-1990s? What modernisation processes were involved in the (potentially different) trajectories we are identifying?
3. What differences were made to the trajectories and the communities by development interventions and the connections between them between 2003 and 2010?

⁴ We are not using 'impact' in a technical sense.

⁵ 'In contrast to a general explanatory theory of a given phenomenon, typological theory provides a rich and differentiated depiction of a phenomenon and can generate discriminating and contingent explanations and policy recommendations.' (George and Bennett, 2005: 235).

4. In what ways have recent social interactions, relationships and processes across the development interface affected the implementation and achievements of the various government and donor programmes?
5. What have been the impacts of modernisation as a whole, and recent development interventions in particular, on the lives of the different kinds of people who live in the communities?

4. A complexity social science methodology

Using ideas from complexity science and complexity theory our complexity social science approach⁶ pays attention to ontology – what is the world *really* like? and epistemology – how can we know about it? In relation to that part of the world we are looking at here – rural communities and their members – we conceptualise them as complex social and human systems which are open, as they depend on and interact with their environments, and dynamic, as they co-evolve with the open systems which constitute their contexts. Our approach to knowledge is that it too is imbricated in historically changing complex systems, so that what we can know is contingent and provisional, pertaining to a certain context and a certain time-frame. However, this does not mean that ‘anything goes’. We are committed to the institutionalised values and methodological rules of social science which including establishing an Evidence Base to which we can return if questions arise.

From complexity ontology we take a number of key messages. Initial conditions matter and trajectories are path dependent. Systems and their elements have different timeframes and co-evolve. Systems can change rapidly but systems with strong ‘control parameters’, which in the case of rural communities might, for example, be the weather, a well-entrenched culture, and/or a hierarchical unequal power structure, are resistant to change.

Complex social systems have material, technological, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions and are constituted by elements in relationships. Structurally embedded heterogeneous *creative* agents with interests are organised in unequally structured sub-systems. In the development world these sub-systems include households, communities, kingroups, formal and informal enterprises, NGOs, political parties, donors, government, transnational companies etc. System structures involve unequal role, relationship and resource structures and have varying connectivity in different parts of the system. In some parts networks of relationship may be dense, in others there may be structural holes, and some people may be excluded from participation in many areas of the system.

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

More than one description of a complex system is possible; different descriptions decompose the system in different ways. As shown later in the paper the adoption of multiple perspectives which each focus on a different level of community structures and dynamics generates a rich structured dataset for establishing how the system has worked as a whole.

⁶ For more on this see ‘Tracing the ‘War Against Poverty’ in Rural Ethiopia since 2003 using a Complexity Social Science Perspective: Lessons for Research and Policy in the 2010s’ a paper which Bevan will be presenting at the Chronic Poverty Research Centre Tenth Anniversary Conference in September 2010

Complexity social science is particularly useful for informing policy. It is essentially a frame of reference for understanding what things are like, how they work, and how they might be made to work better. 'Policy research seeks to discover ameliorative solutions to social problems in which small changes in the initial conditions of the life course of a person, a community, or an institution will produce great changes in the final outcome.' (Harvey, 2002). (S)ocial interventions are complex systems thrust amidst complex systems' (Pawson *et al* 2004). It also recognises political choices - '...no universal optimization principle for complex systems... many futures are possible... they differ from each other qualitatively' (Prigogine, 1997) and is against 'one size fits all' recognising that the best course of action will be context-dependent.

Development interventions try to change or develop complex, open and dynamic systems reproducing and/or changing along path-dependent trajectories. Figure 6 shows how we see development interventions entering rural communities each with the aim of launching the community on to a new trajectory of development. Figure 7 shows how we are making use of this framework to understand how development interventions entered rural communities in Ethiopia between 2003 and 2009.

Figure 6: How development intervention enter communities

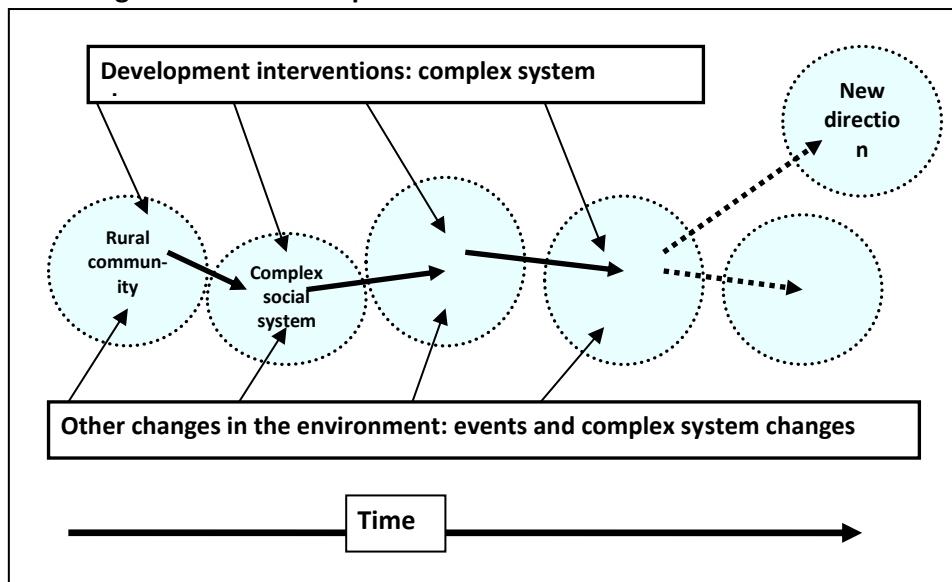
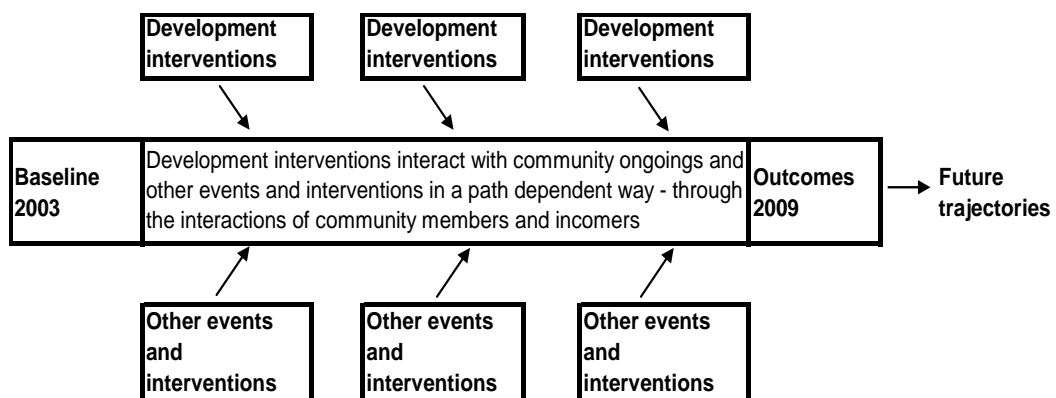


Figure 7: How development interventions entered the twenty communities 2003-9



5. Multiple perspectives on community structures and dynamics

Our framework involves two holistic views and five decompositions of community systems providing us with seven perspectives on the community.

5.1. Two holistic views of the community system

Perspective 1 – the community as a system adapting to its environment. This focuses on each community as a holistic system. We are interested in how the community works as a whole and how it relates to its material and social context. Using information organised through the other perspectives we want to try to identify its control parameters and speculate as to the trajectory it is on.

Perspective 2 – the community in the broader Ethiopian context. Here the focus is on the location of, and relationship between, the community and encompassing systems: wereda, zone, Region, country, globe. In order to identify communities with similar relationships to the larger Ethiopia we are developing a set of typologies which can be nested in different ways to suit the particular policy issue at stake. Through previous analysis of the data we have identified six useful typologies for grouping the communities: Region; livelihood system; PSNP participation; urban proximity – to markets, services and information; community ethnic mix and community religious mix. Further useful ways of classifying the communities may emerge from the new research.

5.2. Five de-compositions of the community system

Perspective 3 – community macro organisation. This involves the delineation of community structures of inequality along class, status and political power lines. How is the community structured in terms of wealth, income, poverty and extreme poverty? What forms do gender and inter-generational inequalities take? How do other community-specific status differences structure inequality. These might be differences in ethnicity, religion, clanship/lineage, length of time living in the community, and/or occupation. Finally, who are the community elites?

Using *Perspective 4* we look at a key sub-system to which (almost) everybody in rural communities belongs – *the household*. What kinds of household structures exist? What are the important differences among households? What are the local ideal household trajectories and what happens to households which never get on to these trajectories or ‘fall off’ them as a result of social shocks?

Through *Perspective 5 – intermediate social organisation* - we identify five institutional settings, or fields of action, in which community members are active and which are frequently foci for development interventions. These fields are unequally structured and are simultaneously domains of power where different kinds of people have different roles and different decision-making power. The fields/domains are: livelihoods, human re/pro/duction, social re/pro/duction, community management, and ideas.

Perspective 6 focuses on the *social interactions* which take place within and across the five fields of action. The community system is reproduced and changed through the day-to-day actions and interactions of its members and incomers. The actions of more powerful people usually have more impact, although everyone has the power to resist individually and collectively. For example, there are four types of response that members of a community can make in the face of planned change from above: exit, voice, loyalty, foot-dragging.

Perspective 7 views *social actors* as individuals with life histories. Each social actor has a genderage, class/wealth position, ethnicity, religion, maybe other community-relevant social statuses, a personality, accumulated human resources and liabilities, and a personal history related to wider community and country histories. People are inventive and have aims and make choices. However, in rural communities they are involved in a dense web of relationships; they are constrained and

enabled by the roles open to them in the different fields of action and their relative power positions in local structures of inequality.

5.3. More on Perspective 5: domains of power / fields of action in rural communities⁷

The livelihood field includes smallholder agriculture and agricultural employment, non-farm business and non-farm employment, and migration and remittances. These are the arenas in which household labour and in some cases exchanged, shared or employed labour is used to produce subsistence and cash income. They are also arenas for government development interventions, some of which are (partially) funded through aid programmes.

The domain of human/re/production includes all institutions and activities involved in the production and maintenance of people. Again the household is the focal unit supported by neighbour and kin networks. Areas/activities involved in the production of people include fertility, birth, maternal and infant health, child-rearing, health and education. The maintenance of people requires housing, household assets, water, sanitation, energy (firewood, dungcakes, kerosene, electricity), domestic work, food and other consumption, and appropriate caring by others.

Social re/pro/duction is achieved through social networks, social institutions, and social organisations, sometimes called 'social capital'. Networks are formed on the basis of neighbourhood, blood and affinal kin, and friendship relationships and often go beyond the community. In some cases clan or lineage membership brings obligations. Important social institutions order life-passages including birth, in some cases transitions to adulthood, marriage, divorce, widow(er)hood, death and inheritance. Other institutions set rules for different aspects of social life, for example resource sharing and exchanges such as work groups and share-cropping, and social exchanges such as attending funerals and visiting the sick. Social organisations include religious organisations and groups, workgroups and business organisations, community-initiated organisations providing social protection, credit and insurance, government-sponsored organisations such as service co-operatives and women and youth organisations, and community-based organisations sponsored by NGOs for particular projects.

In the domain of *community management* four types of structure are important: (1) community structures, e.g. for some decision-making and dispute resolution; (2) locally-specific wider lineage or clan structures, ethnic and/or religious structures, and political structures; (3) kebele structures including councils, committees and social courts, and (4) wereda structures. More powerful people include local elites, kebele officials, kebele managers, extension agents, and woreda officials and we are interested in the overlaps among, and networks between, people occupying local and government positions. Local elites include people who are rich, elders, educated, religious leaders, and leaders of informal and some government organisations. The election of kebele officials involves factional politics based on social identity, corporate groups (such as clans) and informal networks. Extension agents now include Development Agents, Health Extension Workers and Health Promoters, and teachers.

In the *field of ideas* local people have access to five types of cultural repertoires or models: (1) conservative customary ideas; (2) local modern ideas in favour of various moves towards individualism and egalitarianism; (3) externally financed religious mobilisations; (4) government modernisation models via woreda officials, the media and word of mouth; and (5) donor models via NGOs, the media and word of mouth. Some people are highly active in promoting particular models. People may draw on different models for different purposes.

⁷ We have used this perspective in previous analytic work for a paper prepared for the Empowerment Team in the World Bank (Bevan and Pankhurst, 2007)

We have used this Perspective 5 framework to order our 2003 societal and policy baseline data. We have also used it to produce the calendar of macro level policies and programmes which entered rural communities in the period 2003-09 which is used in the Policy Paper. This is one useful way of making linkages between macro policies and processes and outcomes at community level.

5.4. More on Perspective 2: community typologising for policy analysis

Previous analysis of the ELCD data suggested five useful community typologies which can be nested in different ways for different analytical and policy purposes. *First* there are (increasing) Regional variations in policy and implementation. The twenty sites come from the four big *Regions*: two from Tigray, four from Amhara; eight from Oromia; and six from SNNP.

Second, the communities fall into five main *livelihood categories* of broad relevance for policy. There are six vulnerable cereal sites which are regularly dependent on food aid, three highly-populated enset sites, six sites from which food cash crops are exported to urban areas; two international cash crop sites (chat and coffee), one site which exports both food and coffee, and two pastoralist sites which are in transition. *Third*, ten sites are in PSNP woredas and ten are not.

Fourth, in terms of *urban proximity* and access to markets, services and information two sites are very remote, eight remote, six relatively integrated and four peri-urban. However many of the communities considered less remote overall have remote pockets.

Fifth and *sixth* in terms of *ethnic mix* and *religious mix* across the twenty sites there are fourteen ethnic groups: Tigrayans, Amhara, Argobba, Oromo (Arssi Muslims, Shewa Christians), Wolayitta, Kembata, Yem, Kulo, Gurage, Silte, Karrayu, Gedeo, Gamo, and Tsamako. Fourteen of the communities are ethnically homogenous but only seven of these have only one religion. Three sites have two ethnic groups, while three are both ethnically and religiously heterogeneous. The religions to be found are Orthodox Christianity, Islam (Sufi and Wehabi), Protestantism (various sects), Catholicism, customary beliefs, ceremonies and practices.

Table 2 (on the next page) shows how the twenty communities vary on these six typologising categories. New typing parameters are described in the Main Report.

Typologising is useful to establish patterns and frequencies of the main different kinds of rural community to be found in Ethiopia and as a first step towards the development of a typological theory of rural community trajectories. Ethiopia's rural livelihood systems are extremely diverse, even within weredas, posing deep problems for the macro- design and implementation of policies and programmes appropriate to particular local conditions, especially since there is little easily accessible information about the systems and the relative prevalence of different types. Case-based approaches such as the one adopted here can provide typologies with descriptions of different 'exemplar' livelihood system types, while comparison of community situations and outcomes through typological theorising can assist in identification of 'control parameters' and longitudinal comparisons can be used to explore continuities and change in communities and control parameters.

During periods when complex social systems (such as these communities) do not really change it is possible to identify control parameters – dominating processes or sub-systems which, through a complex of feedback processes, ensure that the system reproduces itself in much the same way. For community systems on stable trajectories guided by control parameters there are a number of ways in which change may occur. One is a huge and sudden event or intervention from outside such as a war, land-grab or the discovery of gold. At the other extreme myriad cumulative small changes over a long period may, in complexity social science language, push the community further 'from equilibrium' until it is ready to be sent in a new direction by a relatively small new event or intervention. In between one or more meso changes may lead to relatively rapid moves towards

disequilibrium and change, for example green revolution changes combined with irrigation potential and increasing market demand.

Table 2: Typing the Twenty Communities

Region	Livelihood System	PSNP	Urban linkages	Ethnicities	Religions
Tigray					
Geblen*	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan, Irob	Orthodox Chr, Islam, Catholics
Harresaw	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan	Orthodox Christian (99%)
Amhara					
Shumsheha	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox C 98%
Debre Berhan	Food cash crop exported		Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox Chr
Yetmen*	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Amhara	OC, few practice animism
Dinki*	Vulnerable cereal		Remote	Argobba 60+% Amhara	Islam, OC
Oromia					
Sirbana Godeti	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo	Orthodox Christian, Islam, traditional
Korodegaga*	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Arssi Oromo (99%)	Islam
Turufe Kecheme*	Food cash crop exported		Peri-urban	Oromo Tigrayans Amhara Wolayitta Kembata	Islam Orthodox Chr Protestantism Catholicism
Somodo	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo (Arssi and Shewa) Yem A few Kulo, Kembata Amhara	Sufi Islam Wehabi Islam Orthodox Chr Protestantism Ritual beliefs
Oda Haro	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo	Islam, Protestant, ritual beliefs
Odadawata	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo (Arssi and Shewa), Amhara Few Gurage, Silte	Orthodox Chr Islam Protestantism
Adele Keke	International cash crop	Yes	Integrated	Oromo Few Amhara	Muslim Few OC
Gelcha	Pastoralist in transition	Yes	Very remote	Karrayu	Traditional Islam
SNNP					
Imdibir*	Highly-populated enset		Peri-urban	Gurage	Orthodox Chr Catholicism Few Muslims+ Protestants Traditional
Aze Debo'a	Highly-populated enset	Yes	Remote	Kembata	Orthodox Chr Protestants Catholics
Gara Godo	Highly-populated enset	Yes	Remote	Wolayitta	Orthodox Chr Protestants Catholics
Adado	International cash crop		Remote	Gedeo	Protestants 90% Islam., OC, Gedeo beliefs
Do'omaa	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Gamo 60% Wolayitta 40%	Protestants 70% OC 20% Syncretic
Luqa	Pastoralist in transition	Yes	Very remote	Tsamako	Tsamako beliefs Protestants

* Stage 1 sites

Identification of control parameters requires the kind of rich data traces which we accumulated in the 1995 and 2010 research which can be used to identify dominant processes (such as drought) and sub-systems (such as kinship systems). By comparing the parameters found in 1995 and 2010 for each community we have been able to draw some conclusions about the extent to which they have moved towards or beyond disequilibrium and the processes involved.

Different types of community are on different development trajectories and what may be a possible development future for one type will not be possible for another. Typologies and typological theorising can be used to identify ensembles of communities in similar situations and their control parameters and to explore what the more successful are doing that might be copied by the others, which might be something relatively simple.

6. Qualitative data and the case-based methodology

A possible charge that will be made by those who don't like or disagree for good reasons with conclusions we have drawn is that they are 'anecdotal' because the data lying behind them (1) only refer to six sites which are not representative of Ethiopia's rural communities and (2) the data have been 'collected' through procedures which have not 'controlled for' interviewer bias.

With regard to the first we fully accept that these communities are not 'representative'; they were originally chosen by economists in 1994 as 'exemplars' of six types of rural community and we have applied some well-accepted case-based methods to the data from the six sites. Through a process of case analysis and comparison we have provided narratives for each community, looked for commonalities and differences across the sites in relation to modernisation processes and the impact of interventions on the communities and people within them, and located each of them in the wider Ethiopian context through a process of typologising. As a result of this we believe we have developed a set of strong hypotheses pertaining to rural communities which can be tested and developed through more research, some of which would use existing secondary sources.

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

Given this complexity how have we worked to maximise the validity of our conclusions? First we set in place a data interpretation/analysis process where first we built descriptive evidence bases combining answers from all the modules and which referred back to them. These evidence bases were revised after the fieldworkers had read and commented on them and used in a process involving a first stage of interpretation and abstraction to construct the annexes. Drafts written by each of the report writers were read by the others; when facts or conclusions were challenged the writer had to refer back to the data in the modules and if necessary make changes to the annex. The annexes have been used to draw the empirical and theoretical conclusions presented in the main report. Any reader who doubts a fact or conclusion can consult the relevant annex and associated evidence base.

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

We made our qualitative data using protocols which contain instructions about the purpose of the protocol, the broad questions to be asked discursively with probes to make sure important aspects are not missed, details of what kinds of people should be asked to respond to the protocol, and a space for the interviewer to follow-up interesting response and add observational data and comments. Protocols produce narrative data about the case in question. The design is theory-based. Protocols can be applied in any number of cases and the narrative data can be coded and quantified. Types of respondent appropriate to the question are selected e.g. rich/poor, teacher/student/parent and asking the same questions of people of different types allows comparative analysis. Protocol data can be interpreted and analysed using qualitative software packages with linkages to statistical software packages and other kinds of data such as photographs.

7. The baseline database and the new research

7.1. The Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database (ELCD) 1994-2009

Table 3: Data coverage for the twenty communities

N	Site	Region	1989	1994	1995	1997	1999	2003	2004	2005	2007
1	Dinki	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G
2	Korodegaga	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G
3	Turufe Kecheme	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	
4	Yetmen	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	
5	Geblen	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		G
6	Debre Berhan	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
7	Shumsheha	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
8	Adele Keke	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
9	Do'oma	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
10	Gara Godo	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
11	Sirbana Godeti	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
12	Harresaw	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
13	Adado	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
14	Aze Deboa	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
15	Adado	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		
16	Oda	Oromia					E5	W2	E6		
17	Somodo	Oromia					E5	W2	E6		
18	Bako	Oromia					E5	W2	E6		
19	Gelcha*	Oromia						W2			
20	Luca*	SNNP						W2			

Legend:

* Pastoralist sites

E0 = 6 sites which became ERHS sites in 1994; E1-E6 = ERHS Rounds 1 to 6.

W1-W2 = Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE): WIDE 1 Community Profiles, WIDE2 Selected topics including community histories and policy interfaces.

D = In-depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty (DEEP) of the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Project (WED), July 2004 to November 2005.

G = Local Governance and Food Security PhD research: Governance data (Catherine Dom).

The foundations of the Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database (ELCD) were laid in 1995 through funding from DFID (then ODA) to complete societal studies of the fifteen rural communities in which economists were conducting three rounds of a panel household survey which became known as the Ethiopia Rural Household Survey (ERHS). By the end of 2004 six rounds of the survey had been

completed⁸. In 2003 a second round of societal studies was undertaken in the fifteen communities plus three new agricultural and two pastoralist sites, as part of a five year research programme financed by the UK Economic and Social Research Council known as WeD⁹ Ethiopia. This programme also included in-depth research over 17 months between June 2004 and October 2005 in four of the fifteen sites and two urban sites. The societal studies became known as WIDE1 (1995) and WIDE2 (2003) and the in-depth research as DEEP. There is additional governance data on three of the Stage 1 sites made as part of a Ph.D. programme.

7.2. Constructing the societal and policy baselines

Societal and policy baselines for the twenty sites have been included in Stage 1 of the programme to identify similarities and differences among communities in 2003, to provide a context for the work in the six sites, and as preparation for Stage 2. The data are arranged in matrices organised under the five headings of the intermediate field framework: livelihoods, human re/pro/duction/social re/pro/duction, community management, and ideas. The communities are ordered under the different headings of the community typology, Regions, livelihood system, PSNP participation, urban linkages, and cultural mix, according to the particular field and policy under consideration.

7.3. The research instruments

Twelve of the thirteen modules listed here are available on the WeD Ethiopia website (www.wed-ethiopia.org) and there is more information in the Appendix; Module 13 which is not yet on the website was piloted in Amhara Region in April.

Fieldwork 1

- Module 1: Wereda perspective on the kebele 2003-9
- Module 2: Kebele perspective on development interventions and the wereda
- Module 3: Community trajectory 2003-9
- Module 4: Community experiences of government development interventions – men and women
- Module 5: Revisit to the wereda

Fieldwork 2

- Module 6: The impact of interventions on different kinds of household
- Module 7: The impact of interventions on dependent adults and young people
- Module 8: Organisations involved in, and affected by, development interventions
- Module 9: Interviews with key development actors
- Module 10: Two common issues: (i) gender relations in practice and (ii) HIV/AIDS and interventions
- Module 11: Site-specific follow-up
- Module 12: Research Officer Designed Modules
- Module 13: Regional Module

7.4. The fieldwork process and the making of the database

The fieldwork was conducted in two phases (15 and 20 days) with a gap between for a debriefing workshop and feedback to inform the design of the Phase 2 Modules. Most fieldworkers had some access to mobile phone reception allowing interactions with the fieldwork manager. The research officers used their fieldnotes to complete 'Report Documents' which paralleled the Module structure but were in a form that made interpretation and analysis easier. A few initially submitted handwritten documents but most provided soft copies. The male and female reports were merged and edited and put into a Word database; the plan is also to make an NVivo database.

⁸ A seventh round was conducted in 2009.

⁹ Wellbeing in Developing Countries (Programme). This research programme was financed by the UK Economic and Social Research Council between 2002 and 2007 and also included Peru, Bangladesh and Thailand.

7.5. The analysis and write-up process

The three researchers each took lead responsibility for two sites, producing the Community Situation reports and providing information for a growing range of matrices which have been, or will be, used to draw conclusions about modernisation processes since 1994, the overall impact of all development interventions between 2003 and 2010, and particular sector and cross-cutting interventions. A key rule was that descriptions and conclusions in reports and matrices were linked to community 'Evidence Base Annexes' which brought together the perspectives of different kinds of community member and different kinds of 'government official' and were structured using a template based on the seven perspectives and five fields of action described above. The data from two communities was entered into an NVivo database. Experimental use of the qualitative software proved to increase the efficiency and depth of the interpretation /analysis process and there are plans to extend the use in Stage 2.

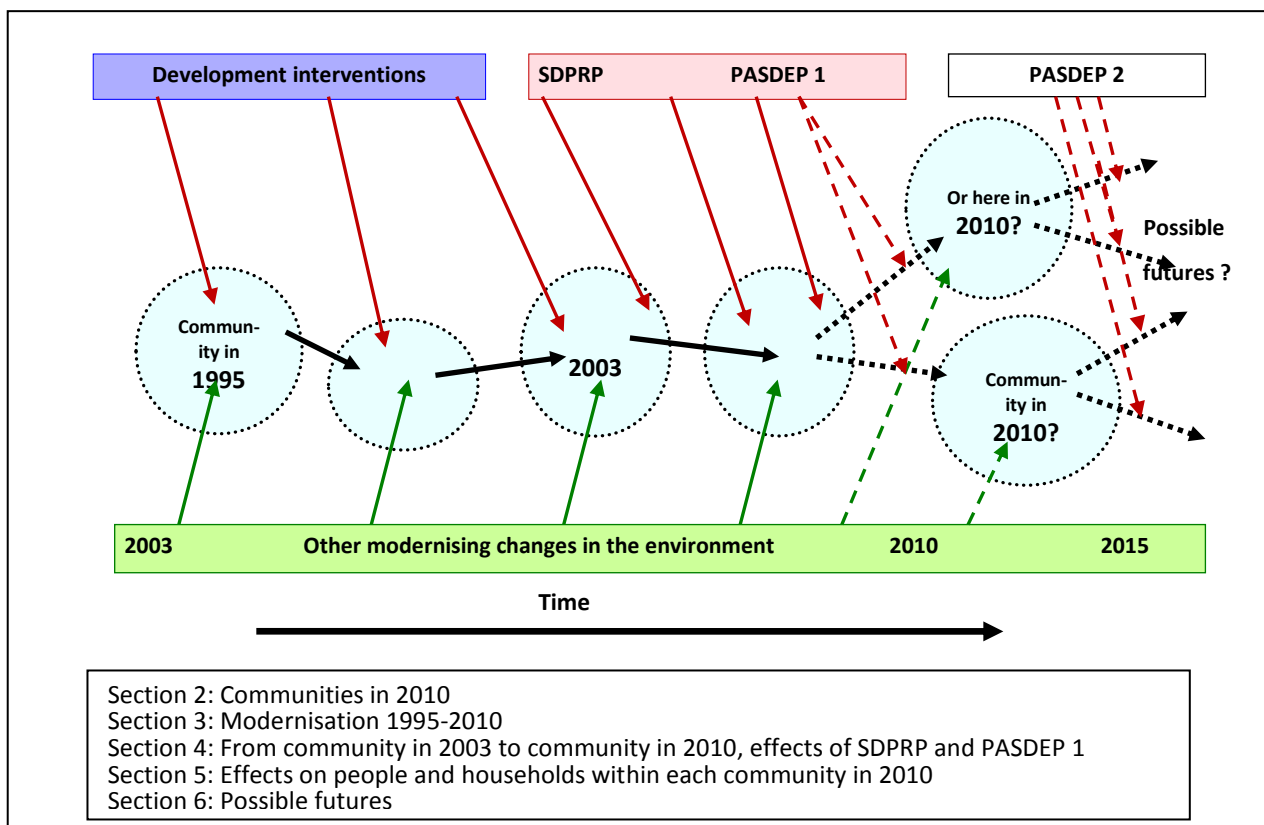
7.6. Four frameworks emerging from, and used for, analysis

During the analysis, through an iterative process, we developed frameworks to organise and understand our findings. One related to community trajectories and three to development interventions.

Community trajectories 1995 – 2010 and beyond

Figure 8 presents a map linking the empirical research questions described above to the structure of the main report (separately provided). In Section 2 we present our findings on the community situations in 2010 which link with Annex 2 (A2) and Evidence Base 1 (EB1). Section 3 (A3 and EB2) compares modernisation outcomes between 1995 and 2010 while Section 4 traces and compares development interventions and their impact between 2003 and 2010 (based on A4 and EB3). Section 5 discusses how development interventions enter rural communities. Section 6 (based on A5 and EB4) compares the impacts of interventions on different kinds of households and people. In Section 7 we conclude, and offer some speculations about the future trajectories of the communities.

Figure 8: Community trajectories 1995 – 2010 and beyond



The frameworks related to development interventions were: cultural disconnects of top-down models with local models, social interactions in the development interface space, and the web of development interventions. These last three frameworks were used in the data interpretation and analysis for Sections 4 and 5, but should also be useful for others to use in similar research elsewhere.

Figure 9: Exchanges between wereda and kebele

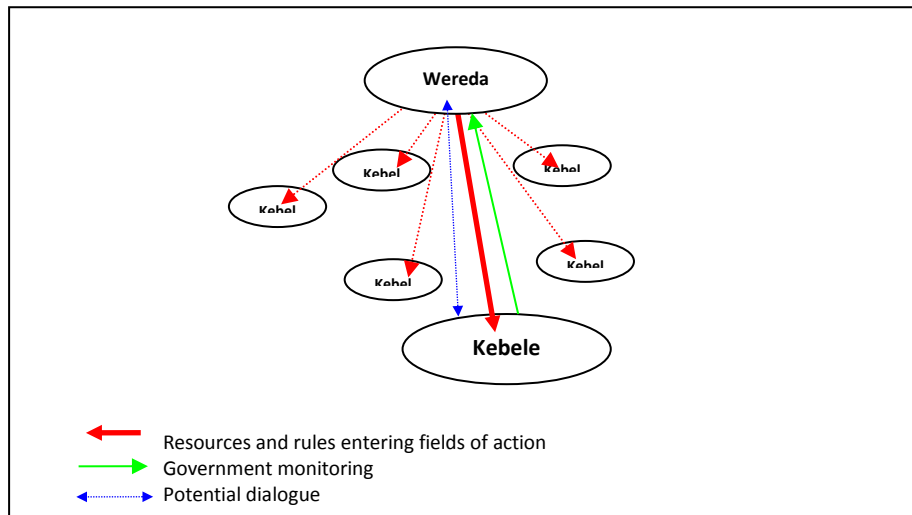


Figure 9 shows the interface between the wereda and the community with top-down policies and programmes entering the communities, monitoring reports being sent from the kebele to the wereda for upward transmission, and potential dialogue between community/kebele and wereda. The interchanges between wereda and community are affected by cultural differences which lead to complex social interactions in the development interface space.

Cultural disconnects of government and donor models with local models

Before embarking on the research we identified three ideal type cultural models of ‘development’ with potential influence on community-level social inter-actions around development interventions¹⁰: the government model (revolutionary democracy/developmental state), the donor model (a mix of economic neo-liberalism, western-style democracy and human rights, in proportions varying among donors) and the community local model (with variations among communities and different degrees of contestation within communities). These models contain some incommensurate aims and assumptions; in sociological language there are cultural contradictions which may be papered over for periods of time (as has happened with the two macro-level models) but are likely to cause problems at the social interaction level at some point.

Figure 10 shows the contrast between the cultural assumptions underpinning wereda-level sector programmes and those which are made by people living in rural communities. Both government and donors work with sector models and formal divisions of labour which are reflected in wereda structures. Fig 11 shows the wereda structure for Enemy wereda in Gojjam which, in 2010 had 17 offices 13 of which would have had a wereda-level sector programme of its own. Both government and donors use goals and targets, provide project implementation manuals to guide wereda officials, and regular formal reporting procedures. Performance in relation to government targets may be

¹⁰ These ideal-types abstract key dimensions of the different ideologies. In practice within both government and donor groups, while there was broad agreement about abstract goals, there was contestation about priorities and means of achieving goals.

used to select people for further training and promotion. This culture is quite at odds with local community ways of doing things.

Figure 10: Cultural disconnect between sector models and local models

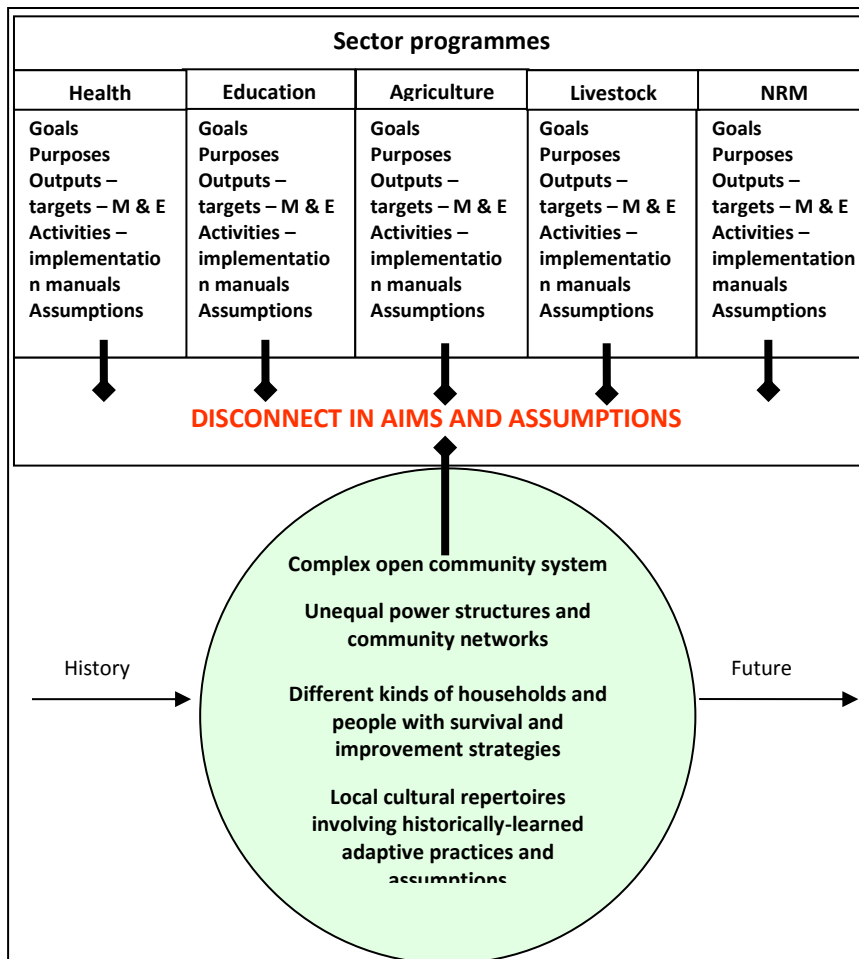
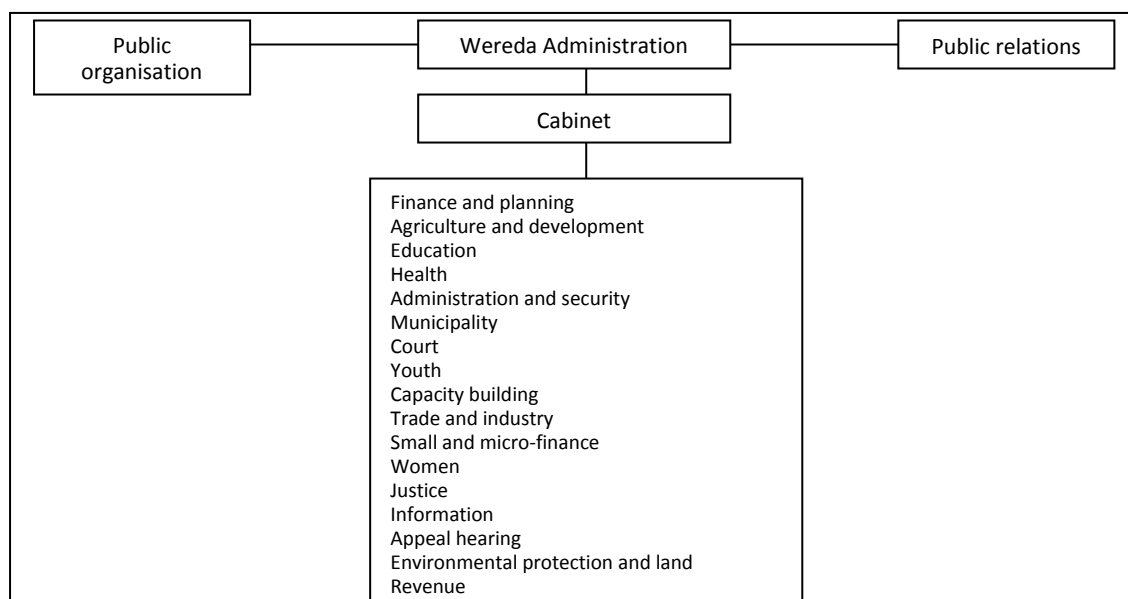


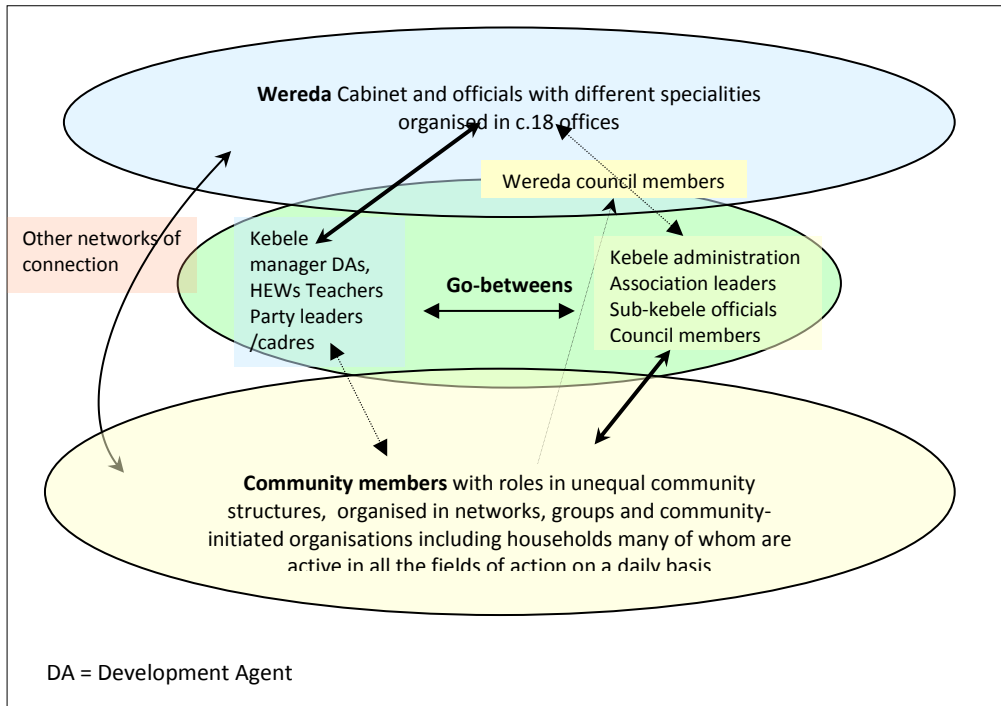
Figure 11: Enemay Wereda Structure 2010



Community subversion of formal programme objectives and rules: social interactions in the development interface space

The cultural contradictions between top-down and community development models have not been papered over; rather they have caused considerable problems for those in positions where they have to try to bridge the cultural divide. Figure 12 depicts the key development players in the wereda, kebele, and communities and identifies a set of ‘go-between’ who work in the development interface¹¹ space and interact with wereda officials and community members. Kebele managers, Development Agents (Agriculture, Livestock and Natural Resources) and Health Extension Workers mostly come from outside the community; they are employed by the wereda and given targets which, if not met, may have repercussions for their careers. A second set of ‘go-between’ – kebele and sub-kebele officials and kebele Council members are (s)elected from within the community and embedded in community networks and structures. The evidence was that many of them in the research sites were EPRDF party cadres¹² with varied levels of enthusiasm for the party including some who wanted to leave office but did not dare to. Some stories of the experiences of go-between are presented in Section 6 which is about the impacts of interventions on different kinds of people.

Figure 12: Social interactions in the development interface space



The web of development interventions

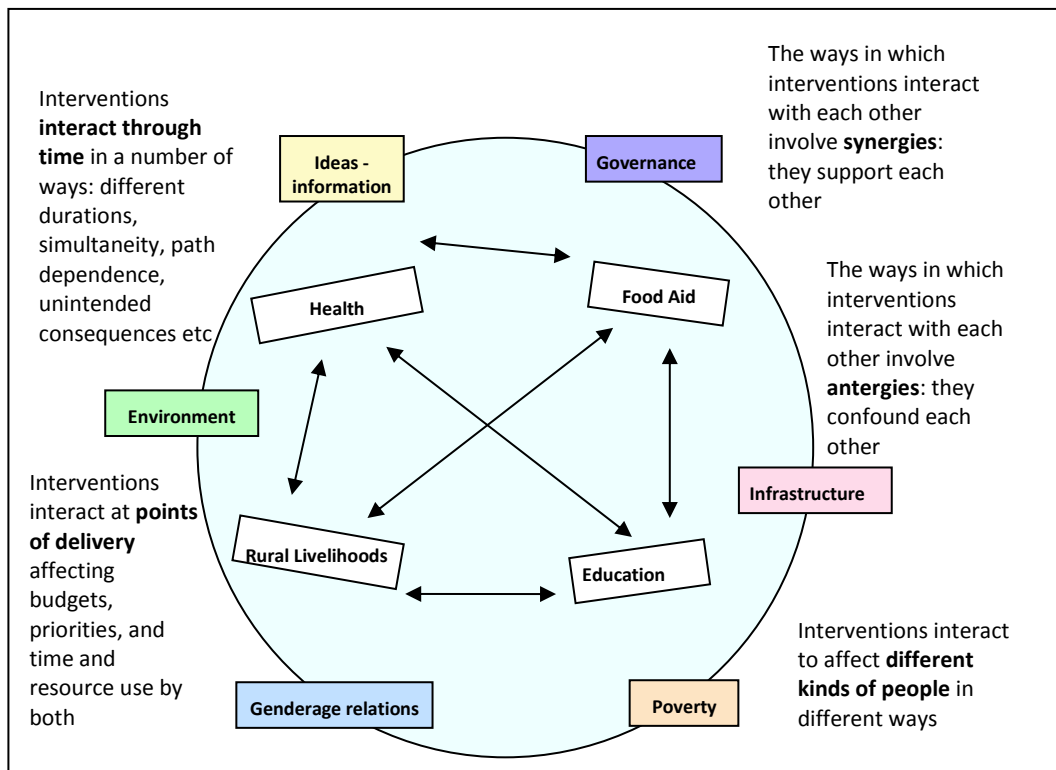
Those designing, implementing and evaluating sector programmes and projects are prone to see them as self-contained. Figure 13 presents a framework based on the argument that when a new field-focused or cross-cutting intervention enters a community it is affected by, and has consequences for, a pre-existing web of development interventions. As interventions proceed they

¹¹ A concept which has been used and argued about by sociologists (e.g. Long) and social anthropologists (e.g. Mosse, 2005)

¹² In the build-up to the 2010 election there was a big push to increase party membership and activity in the communities; in one site it was said that almost everyone was a party member.

have consequences beyond those intended by the intervention designers and implementers which may take some time to make themselves felt. The framework was used to explore inter-connections between interventions in each of the sites.

Figure 13: The web of development interventions



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