LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS IN RURAL
ETHIOPIA: STAGE 1

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND
FIELDWORK PLAN

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December 2009

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Methodological approach and fieldwork plan

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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

1.   This paper is one of *four pieces of work* prepared as the first step in a research programme investigating long-term impacts of development interventions and wider changes on rural communities and their members in Ethiopia, particularly since 2003. In it we present the *methodological framework* guiding the research and describe the *plan for fieldwork* in January and February 2010 tracing continuities and changes between 2003 and 2009.

2.   We have designed the research programme in two stages. In this first stage we will be undertaking fieldwork in 6 rural 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.

3.   We have a longitudinal database with varying amounts of information on these communities, some going back to 1989, and are using this to prepare a twenty *community comparative baseline for 2003*, alongside a 1995 baseline for fifteen of the communities which we will be using later to construct community trajectories. The comparative baseline provides a set of tables each comparing (1) a particular societal feature or (2) experiences of a particular policy intervention across the communities.

4.   We have more data relating to the six Stage1 sites and have used this, alongside information from the twenty site baseline, to construct *holistic community baselines for 2003*, with trajectories from 1995, for each of the communities.

5.   Along with the baselines we have also prepared a Policy Paper on *macro level policies 2003-9*[1] 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
	March-May 2010	Data interpretation and analysis and writing-up
	June 2010	Dissemination workshop
Stage 2	Dates dependent on when funding is achieved	Repeat for the remaining fourteen communities

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

6. In this paper 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 fieldwork plan.

2. A long-term perspective on development in Ethiopia

7. 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 the 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 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.

8. 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)

9. 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 cohesive communities.

10. 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.

11. 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.

12. A key policy move related to human re/pro/duction[2] 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. 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.

13. 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 funds 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**

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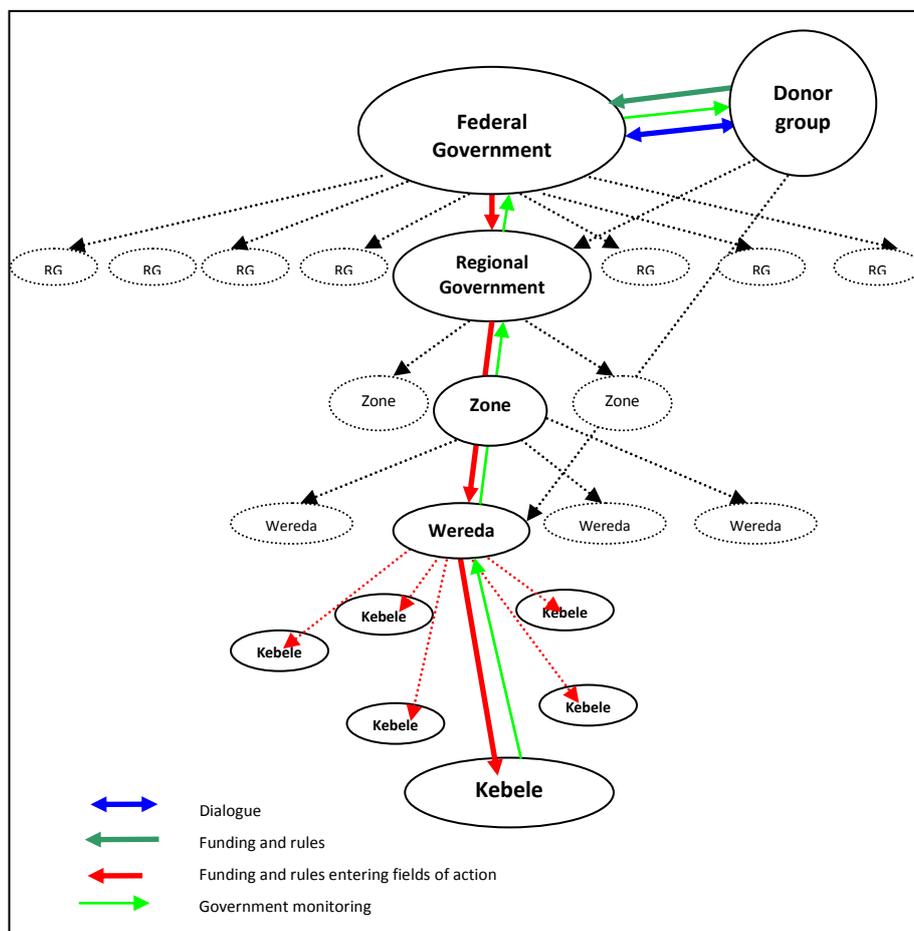
[2] The production and maintenance of people.

14. The period since the 2003 drought has seen 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;.

15. 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**
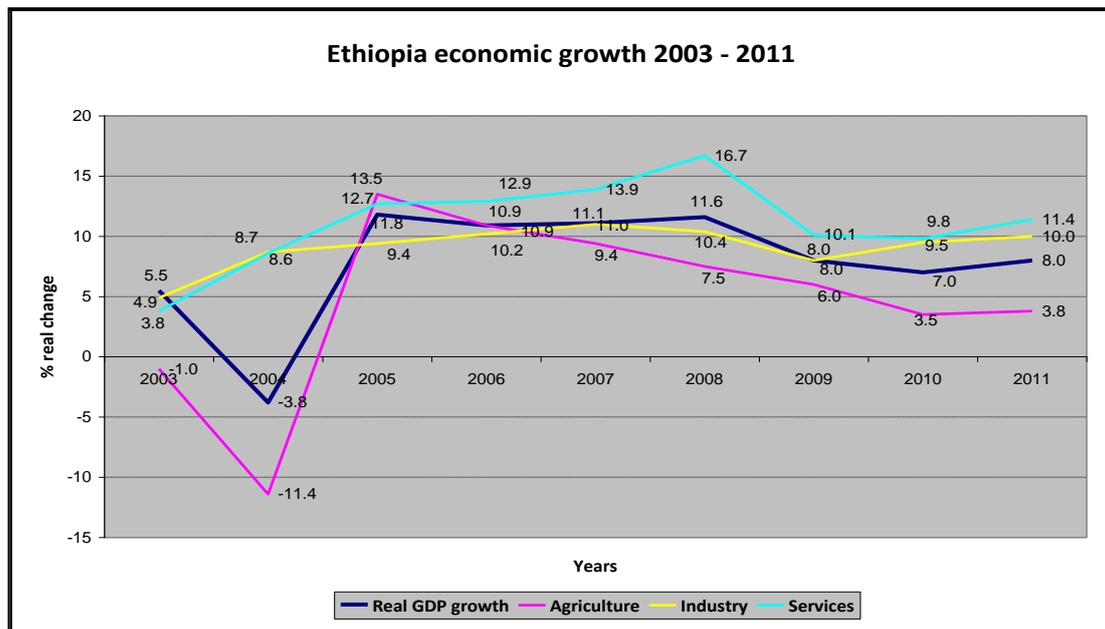
Sources: 2003/4 – index mundi and PASDEP; 2005-2011 Economist Intelligence Unit: Country Report Ethiopia 2009
Note: the Ethiopian fiscal year starts in early July leading to variations in estimations for European calendar years

Figure 3: Long-term perspective on growth 1961 - 2005
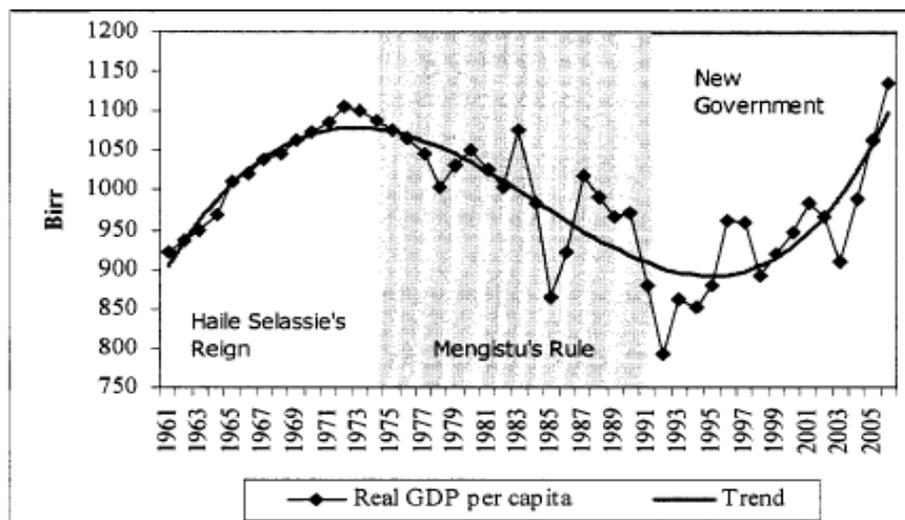
16. Figure 3 puts these short-term growth rates into a longer-term perspective showing that it was not until 2005 that real GDP per capita exceeded the highest point achieved during Haile Selassie's reign in 1972.

17. 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).

Figure 4: Inflation in Ethiopia 2003- 2008
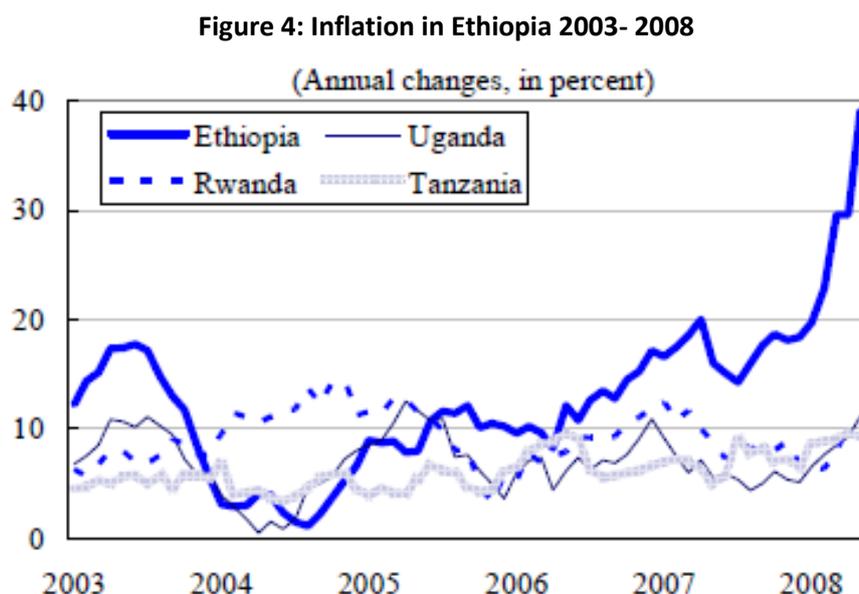
Source: International Monetary Fund Report "Selected Issues", 2008 (IMF 2008)

18. 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 security 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.

19. 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.

20. These changes in public service provision and political structures and governance are documented in the Policy Paper. The way in which our methodology informs that paper is described below.

2. Specification of the problem and the methodological approach

<u>The research approach</u>

21. 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.

22. 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-June 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
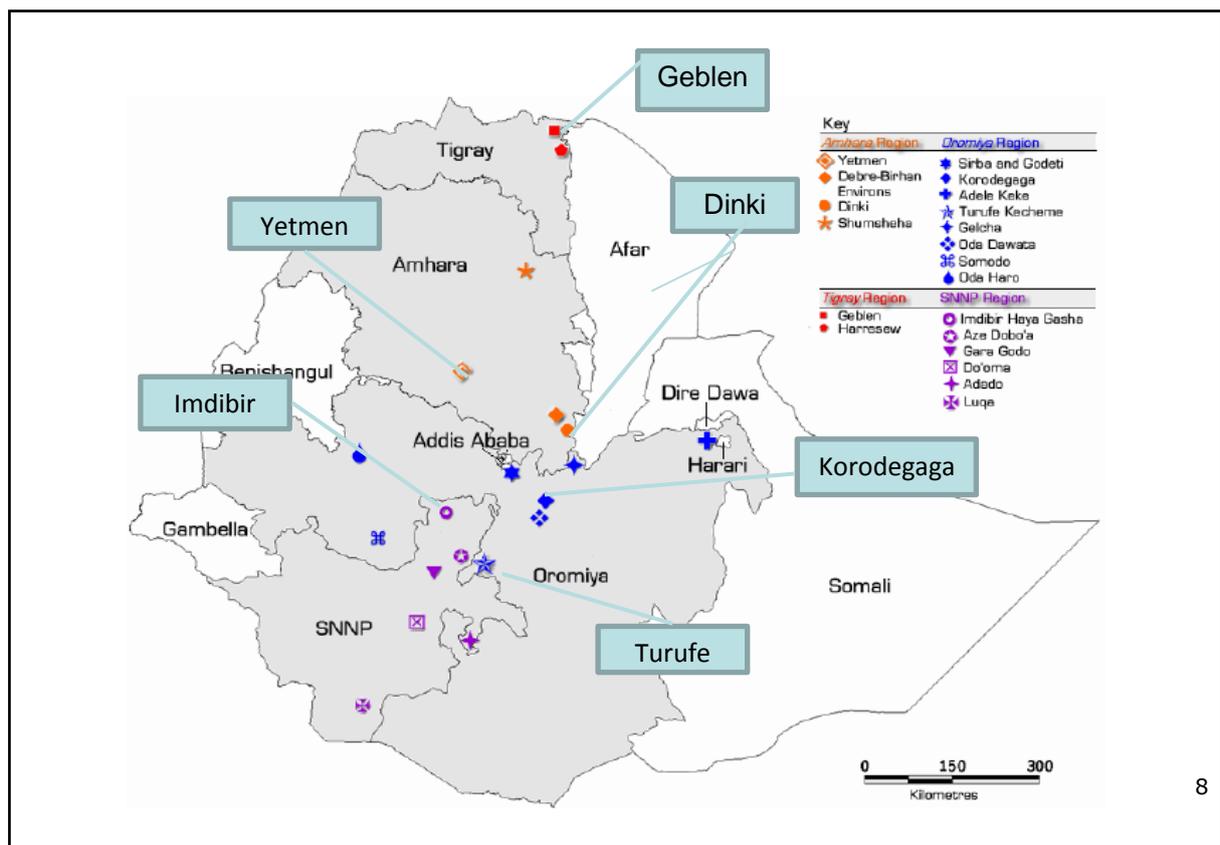
23. The research approach rigorously integrates[3] qualitative and quantitative methods. We are using a complexity social science methodology, including a before-after case-based comparative analysis, to study development interventions, processes and outcomes between 2003 and 2009 in twenty rural communities 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 more generally, (2) identifying the causal mechanisms and their interactions with local conditions which underpin development success and failure.

24. For fifteen of the twenty communities we have a prior societal baseline made in 1995, with some historical information, and access to the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey panel data with rounds in 1994 (2), 1995, 1997, 1999, and 2004. This data will be used to take a longer perspective on the development trajectories of these communities.

Research questions

25. There are four broad research questions guiding our research design, fieldwork and analysis.

26. The *first* is a descriptive question: what have been the impacts[4] 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.

27. 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).

28. *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

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[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

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

communities will be used to develop inductively a typological theory[5] 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.

29. 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.

30. 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?

A complexity social science methodology

31. Using ideas from complexity science and complexity theory our complexity social science approach 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.

32. 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.

33. 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.

34. 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

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[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).

much of the research object of interest there is while qualitative data tells you what kind of thing it is.

35. 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.

36. 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.

37. 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**
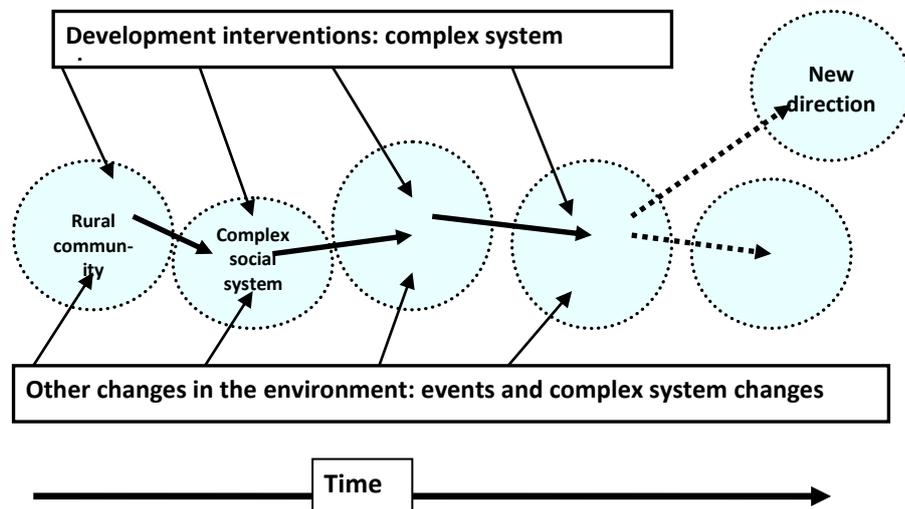
Figure 7: How development interventions entered the twenty communities 2003-9
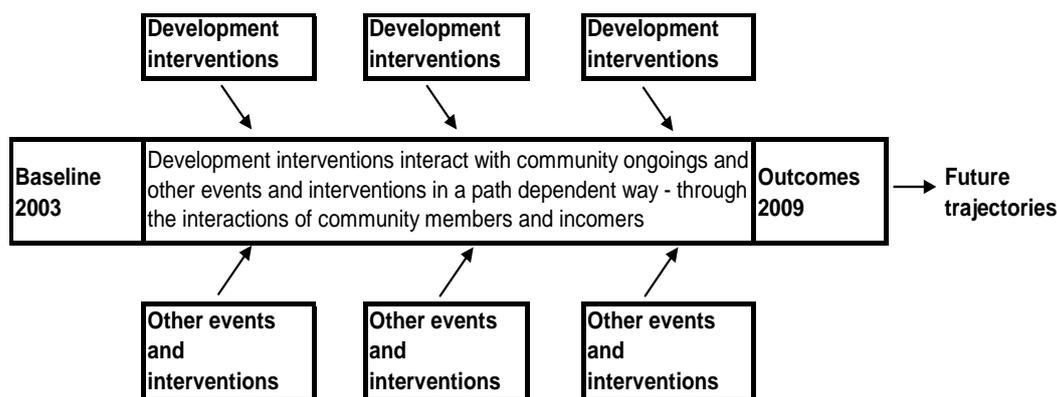
Multiple perspectives on community structures and dynamics

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

Two holistic views of the community system

39. *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.

40. *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 wealth/poverty and inequality; and community cultural mix. Further useful ways of classifying the communities may emerge from the new research.

Five de-compositions of the community system

41. *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?

42. Using *Perspective 4* we look at a key sub-system to which (almost) everybody in rural communities belong – *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?

43. 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.

44. *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.

45. *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.

More on Perspective 5: domains of power / fields of action in rural communities[6]

46.   *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.

47. 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.

48. *Social re/pro/duction* is achieved through social networks, social institutions, and social organisations. Networks are formed on the basis of neighbourhood, kin and affinal, 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,

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[6] 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)

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.

49. In the domain of *community management* four types of stucture 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 informal networks. Extension agents now include Development Agents, Health Extension Workers and Health Promoters, and teachers.

50. 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.

51. We have used this intermediate structures 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.

More on Perspective 2: community typologising for policy analysis

52. Previous analysis of the ELCD data suggests 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.

53. *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.

54. *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.

55. *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.

56. There are two classifications related to community wealth: *overall community wealth status in 2004* (7) and *overall community wealth trajectory 1994-2004* (8) and two classifications related to household poverty *% households in poverty 2004* (9) and % difference in household poverty 1994-2004 (10).

57. Table 2 shows how the twenty communities vary on the eight typologising categories developed so far. Further criteria may emerge from the new fieldwork

Case-based methodology

58. 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.

59. We have access to the ERHS panel survey which started as a random sample in 1994 and a Resources and Needs Survey administered to a random sample in four of the twenty sites in 2004. These data have and can be used in a number of case-based ways:

• For descriptive statistics to map patterns of similarity and difference
• In case-based statistical analysis to identify multiple routes to the same outcome and multiple outcomes from the same intervention. Analysis of small-N samples, e.g. 20, can also use the same logics (Ragin, 2000)
• Selection of appropriate cases for in-depth research
• Use of survey data on one case to produce a narrative

60. We collect 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 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.

Table 2: Typologising the twenty communities

Region	Livelihood System	Community wealth: average birr per household per adult equivalent			% of households in poverty			PSNP	Urban linkages	Ethnicities	Religions
Tigray		*1994*	*2004*	*% change*	*1994*	*2004*	*% difference*				
Geblen*	Vulnerable cereal	31-VPoor	74-LMed	140%	79	28	-51%	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan, Irob	Orthodox Chr, Islam, Catholics
Harresaw	Vulnerable cereal	53-Poor	76-LMed	44%	34	28	-6%	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan	Orthodox Christian (99%)
Amhara											
Shumsheha	Vulnerable cereal	80-UMed	107-Rich	34%	8	2	-6%	Yes	Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox C 98%
Debre Berhan	Food cash crop exported	80-UMed	121-VRich	51%	21	5	-16%		Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox Chr
Yetmen*	Food cash crop exported	96-UMed	121-VRich	25%	7	15	+8%		Integrated	Amhara	OC, few practice animism
Dinki*	Vulnerable cereal	40-Poor	65-LMed	62%	52	24	-28%		Remote	Argobba 60+% Amhara	Islam, OC
Oromia											
Sirbana Godeti	Food cash crop exported	91-UMed	145-ERich	59%	15	2	-13%		Integrated	Oromo	Orthodox Christian, Islam, traditional
Korodegaga*	Vulnerable cereal	29-VPoor	64-LMed	120%	68	26	-42%	Yes	Remote	Arssi Oromo (99%)	Islam
Turufe Kecheme*	Food cash crop exported	71-LMed	79-LMed	11%	23	19	-4%		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								Integrated	Oromo	Islam, Protestant,

Region	Livelihood System	Community wealth: average birr per household per adult equivalent			% of households in poverty			PSNP	Urban linkages	Ethnicities	Religions
	exported										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	99-UMed	62-LMed	-37%	13	24	+11%	Yes	Integrated	Oromo Few Amhara	Muslim Few OC
Gelcha	Pastoralist in transition							Yes	Very remote	Karrayu	Traditional Islam
SNNP											
Imdibir*	Highly-populated enset	40-Poor	35-VPoor	-11%	55	61	+6%		Peri-urban	Gurage	Orthodox Chr Catholicism Few Muslims+ Protestants Traditional
Aze Debo'a	Highly-populated enset	73-LMed	81-UMed	11%	30	23	-7%	Yes	Remote	Kembata	Orthodox Chr Protestants Catholics
Gara Godo	Highly-populated enset	17-EPoor	63-LMed	270%	89	42	-47%	Yes	Remote	Wolayitta	Orthodox Chr Protestants Catholics
Adado	International cash crop	61LMed	45-Poor	-26%	32	49	-17%		Remote	Gedeo	Protestants 90% Islam., OC, Gedeo beliefs
Do'omaa	Vulnerable cereal	34-VPoor	82-UMed	138%	62	11	-51%	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

3. Baseline database and the new fieldwork plan

The Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database (ELCD) 1994-2009

61. 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 completed[7]. 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 WeD[8] 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.

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.

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[7] A seventh round was conducted in 2009.
[8] 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.

- ■ ==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).

Constructing the societal and policy baselines

62. 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. The baselines and future analysis will make use of the following ELCD data:

- Gender-balanced protocol research in 20 communities 2003 (WIDE2)
  - Social structures and dynamics
  - Social, economic, cultural and political histories 1991-2003
  - Policy impacts on different kinds of people (19 protocols)
  - Crises and local responses: famine, HIV/AIDS, conflict
- Village studies of fifteen of the communities 1995 (WIDE1)
- For the same fifteen sites data on wealth and poverty from six rounds of the Ethiopia Rural Household Survey

63. A second set of holistic community baselines for each of the six Stage 1 communities have been constructed incorporating additional data from the DEEP and governance research.

The new fieldwork

64. A gap exists between much of the theory and evidence produced by social scientists in academic settings and the knowledge needs of policy specialists. During this project we are experimenting with methods of producing better two-way communication between ourselves as researchers and government, donor and NGO policy and practice specialists. We have already made efforts to involve the research funders and other interested parties in key research decisions from the outset of the project. In particular we need to establish together:

1. The kinds of knowledge practitioners in Ethiopia would find most useful for helping to deal with different generic and specific problems.
2. How such knowledge can be most efficiently shared with and institutionalised among policymakers and practitioners working in and on Ethiopia.

The research process is designed to include frequent opportunities for researcher-policymaker dialogue through workshops and smaller meetings, the establishment of a worknet, and internet networking and this process has already begun. The feedback we are getting is being used to assist in the design of the fieldwork instruments.

65. The twelve fieldworkers plus two support researchers and a reserve have been recruited and a consultative workshop held. The majority of the fieldworkers have worked with us in the past, some returning to the sites they studied in-depth during 2004/5. In between they have been involved in a range of research projects across the Regions and on different topics accumulating considerable

knowledge about rural areas which they shared with us in the consultative workshop. This feedback is also being used to assist in the design of the fieldwork instruments.

66. The fieldwork programme has been designed in two phases[9]. Fieldwork1 is scheduled to begin on January 8th. There will be fieldwork training followed by fifteen days of research. The researchers will return to the field early in February following a short period for group debriefing in a two day workshop, writing up and training for the second fieldwork. The debriefing will be used to identify key issues in each of the sites for follow-up in Fieldwork2. Fieldwork2 has twenty days of research which will again be followed by group debriefing and writing up.

67. During the first fifteen days researchers will interview woreda and kebele officials, extension workers, and local elites and leaders to establish the state of the community on all areas of interest in early 2010 and continuities and change since 2003. They will also ask about individual, group and community benefits and harms related to all current government development interventions, using a set of protocols which include the questions asked in 2003. This module will also be used in interviews with community members of different types selected to be appropriate to the intervention in question. There will also be time for fieldworker observation.

68. During Fieldwork2 the researchers will dig deeper into the impacts of different policies on households and people of different types. In many cases these will be households and people researched in 2004/5 and in some cases they will also be ERHS respondents. They will also explore community-initiated individual and collective action related to development, interviewing innovators and leaders, ex-soldier and migrant returnees, model farmers, other models, champions and promoters, and other locally relevant people. They will pursue issues of relevance to each community arising during the debriefing process and will complete the fieldwork with a return visit to the woreda.

69. We have allowed two weeks for the making of the database using the fieldworker reports. It will be available in two formats: in Word with a FrontPage of hyperlinks to guide access to the different parts, and in NVIVO, a qualitative software package designed to speed up the process of interpretation and analysis.

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[9] We have been constrained in the timing by the involvement of many of the fieldworkers in another research project during December and again in March.