

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS  
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: WIDE3 STAGE 2**

**STAGE 2: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH  
AND FIELDWORK PLAN**

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## INTRODUCTION

1. This paper describes the methodological approach and fieldwork plan for Stage 2 of the WIDE3 research programme (8 rural sites) which takes a long-term perspective on modernisation processes and the impacts of development interventions in rural Ethiopia. It updates and takes forward the methodology paper written in December 2009 during the inception phase of the Stage 1 research undertaken in six sites (Bevan, 2009b).
2. As a result of the Stage 1 research, in addition to establishing some substantive findings and conclusions<sup>1</sup>, we developed a number of new theoretical frameworks which have informed the re-design of research instruments for Stage 2. The frameworks are described below in Part 3 and the research instruments in Part 4.
3. As with Stage 1 we have built into Stage 2 frequent opportunities for researcher-policy-maker dialogue through workshops, smaller meetings and email exchanges with members of the WIDE3 worknet which has lost some members and gained some new ones since its launch in November 2009. Between 6<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of September 2011 we held sector-focused meetings with 7 groups of donor staff in Addis Ababa and we will be keeping in regular touch with worknet members as the research proceeds.
4. The paper is divided into four parts. Part 1 explains the value of taking a longer-term perspective on development in rural communities in Ethiopia using a case-based approach. Part 2 contains the executive summary from the Stage 1 Final Report and describes some lessons learned during Stage 1. Part 3 focuses on the general methodology underpinning the whole WIDE3 programme. Part 4 summarises key features of the Stage 2 research process: the fieldwork plan, the research instruments, the making of the database, and the interpretation/analysis and write-up plan.

## PART 1: A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL ETHIOPIA

### *The planning of development in Ethiopia*

5. Ethiopia's history of planned agricultural development goes back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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**. These modernising interventions intensified during the 1960s but were mainly directed to landlords, commercial farmers and smallholders in and around larger project areas. (Taye Assefa, 2008)
6. Thus, while there had been Government interventions to modernise selected rural communities it was not until the mid-1970s that the new **Derg regime** (1974-91) 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 local government system, 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.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst, 2010 and 2011; and Bevan 2011, Dom 2011 and Pankhurst 2011

7. 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 the special needs of pastoralists were not recognised. 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.

8. The 1975 land reform abolished landlords and private ownership of land. Peasants were organised into Peasants' Associations and given access to State-owned land up to a maximum of 10 hectares. Policies introduced during the 1980s included villagisation and resettlement, - which were 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.

9. The villagisation programme moved thousands of peasants from scattered homesteads to villages which they built themselves. In many places this was primarily a security and control programme though it was also argued that villagisation would make it easier to provide infrastructure such as clean water and electricity, and services including health and education and in some places this was the case. Local social organisations were 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.

10. Following the fall of the Derg in 1991 the pace of Ethiopia's modernisation quickened as the **EPRDF Government** introduced development interventions in all fields of activity – political, economic, human development, social, and cultural - latterly with an increasing aid budget. A significant proportion of this budget has been disbursed through a number of the large donor-government programmes described in the WIDE3 Stage 1 and 2 Policy Papers (Dom, 2009; Dom and Carter, 2011). The period since the 2003 drought has seen an acceleration in rural interventions of all kinds related to the SDPRP (2003-5), PASDEP (2005-2010) and GTP (2011-14).

### ***The WIDE3 research programme***

11. The **WIDE3 research programme** to investigate long-term impacts of development interventions and wider modernisation processes on rural communities and their members began in November 2009. The programme covers the twenty rural sites in the **Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Study** which began in 1994. **WIDE1** was conducted in fifteen of the sites in 1995 (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996) and **WIDE2** in all twenty in 2003 (Bevan, 2009a). Data from these two time-points are used in the WIDE3 studies.

12. **Stage 1**, funded by JGAM and conducted in six of the twenty rural communities, was completed in August 2010 (Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst: 2010). This was followed by a **WIDE3 Transition Project**, funded by DFID, which involved further analysis of data from WIDE3 Stage 1 and selected data from the ELCS. Papers were produced on differentials and inequality (Pankhurst, 2011), the government go-betweens working in rural communities (Dom, 2011), and youth (Bevan, 2011).

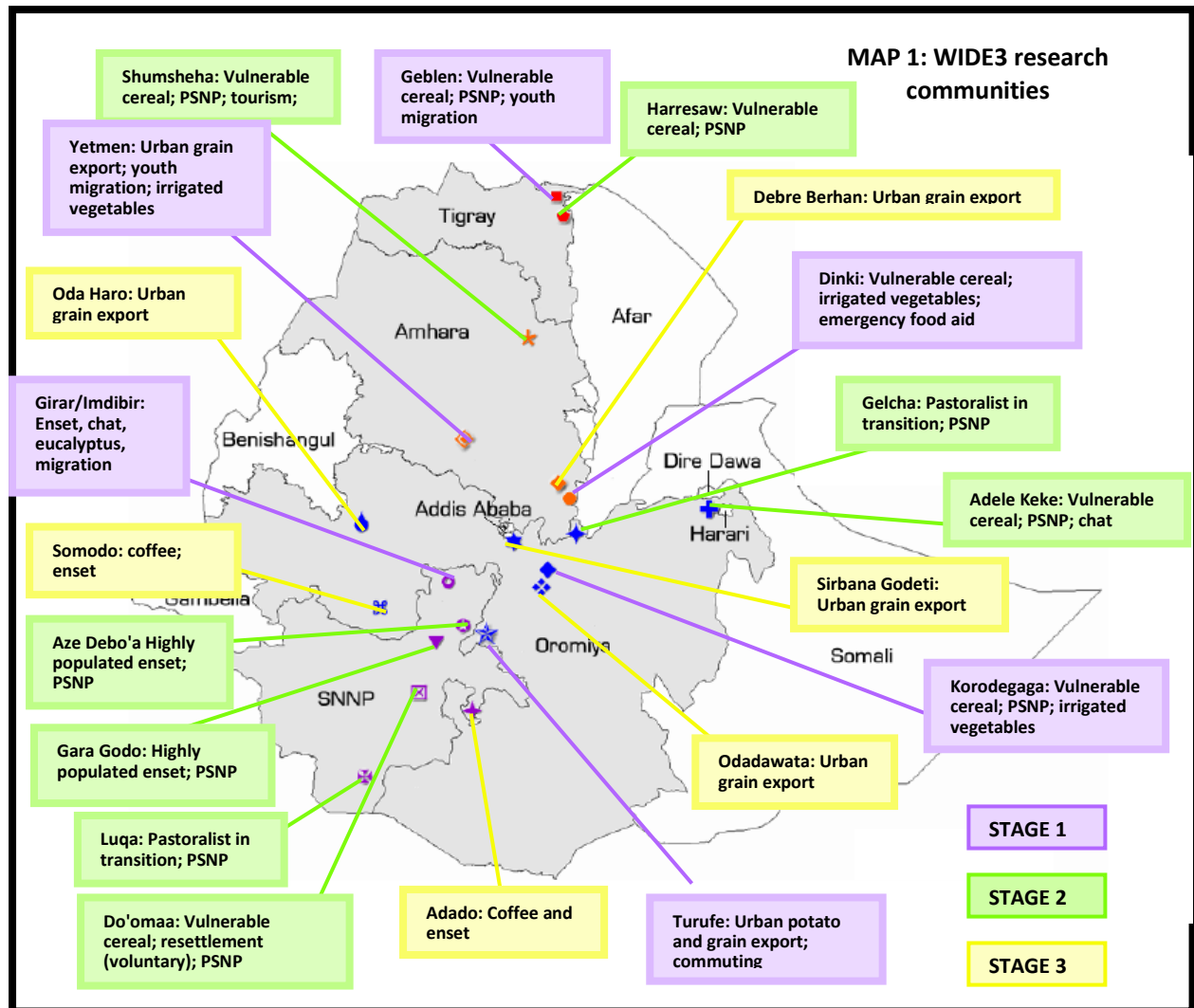
13. **Stage 2**, which is funded by JGAM and covers eight communities began in August 2011. Seven of these communities are found in PSNP weredas, while the eighth has been a regular recipient of emergency food aid. **Stage 3**, which is planned for 2013, will cover the remaining six ELCS sites which are all found in areas of agricultural potential. Table 1 sets out past and planned WIDE3 activities.

*Table 1: WIDE3 November 2009 – December 2012*

	Date	Activities/plans
<b>Stage 1</b> <b>November 2009 – August 2010</b> <b>Six communities – three aid-dependent</b>	November-December 2009	Consultative workshops and meetings with donors
		Paper 1: Stage 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 in Addis Ababa
	August 2010	Final report
<b>Transition Project</b>	December 2010 – September 2011	Three papers on: Government go-betweens Differentiation and exclusion Youth
<b>Stage 2</b> <b>August 2011 – December 2012</b> <b>Eight PSNP communities</b>	August – September 2011	Paper 1: Stage 2 Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
		Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities between 2009 and 2011
		Consultative workshops and meetings with donors
		Final design of research instruments
	September 2011 – February 2012	New fieldwork and preparation of database
	February-May 2012	Data interpretation and analysis and writing-up
	May-June 2012	Dissemination in Addis Ababa
	December 2012	Final report
<b>Stage 3</b> <b>2013</b> <b>Six High Potential communities</b>	2013	Fund-raising 2012

14. Eighteen of the rural sites in the ELCS were selected for a panel household survey<sup>2</sup> by economists at the universities of Addis Ababa and Oxford as **exemplars** of the **main rural livelihood systems** found in Ethiopia by the end of the 1990s. In 2003 we added two pastoralist sites which had been studied earlier by anthropologists. MAP 1 shows the location of all the research communities.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS); 15 sites were selected in 1994 and 3 added in 1997.



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

15. There are a number of reasons why we are taking a longer-term perspective on development in Ethiopia. *First*, the adoption of a fifteen-year perspective, through which we are comparing development levels in twenty different types of rural community across 1995 and 2010, is allowing us to identify and describe substantive and inter-dependent changes in the local economies, politics, societies and cultures of each of these communities. *Second*, by analysing the communities using a complexity system lens we are able to develop ideas about where each of these communities might be heading in the next few years. *Third*, by focusing on the period since 2003, which has seen a considerable increase in government activities and related aid-funding, we are able to explore the impact on the communities of the combined and interacting contributions of a stream of interventions in the infrastructure, livelihoods, environment, social protection, health, education, governance, justice and social equity sectors. *Fourth*, we are also able to explore the combined impact of these interventions on different kinds of community member distinguished by genderage, wealth, and other locally salient status markers.

16. Until recently<sup>3</sup> most country-specific assessments of development interventions depended on one of two approaches. The first is monitoring and evaluation of individual sector development programmes and projects in relation to goals set at the outset. This can provide a view of the relatively immediate impacts of a particular intervention at a particular time. The second involves measuring, and sometimes extrapolating, differences in administrative and survey-generated statistics between different years used as indicators of general economic development and sector progress.

17. Recently there has been growing interest and investment in a third approach at project level: the Random Controlled Trial. Here potential beneficiaries are randomly assigned to a 'treatment group' and a 'control group' and quantitative analysis of the outcomes used to establish the degree of difference made by the intervention. All these approaches have their uses. However, they do not provide information and analysis that is useful for the strategic planning of future interventions in country contexts marked by internal livelihood diversity and rapid change. This is the gap that research like ours is designed to fill.

18. We are exploring how, in different places, different kinds of planned intervention have interacted with each other, and with other ongoing events, deep community structures, and wider modernisation processes, such as the spread of modern communications and ideas, the thickening of markets, and the building of the state.

19. Our data are also being used to identify gaps and problems with current interventions, synergies when interventions in different sectors support each other, 'anergies' when one intervention confounds another, and short and longer-term<sup>4</sup> unanticipated consequences of interventions considered individually and as sets. Also, our tracking of the trajectories of the communities into the future is related to an agenda for policy design which takes account of potential change or stasis at community levels during the period when the intervention is in place. With the right information policymakers could intervene to prevent, encourage or compensate for the anticipated changes. Where stasis is predicted the use of the framework can support identification of the factors involved in blocking desirable change.

### ***Why a focus on communities?***

20. We have adopted a focus on communities for six main reasons. *First* in the absence of dramatic changes in the wider context, this is the level at which development does, or does not, happen in poor rural societies.

21. *Second* the policy interface between government and society in rural Ethiopia is found at community level; policies, programmes and projects will only produce development if they lead to changes in local ideas, practices, community institutions and structures.

22. *Third* communities work as complex open social systems constituted by inter-acting economic, political, social, cultural and human sub-systems. A significant change in any of these sub-systems will cause adaptive change in the others resulting either in positive feedback effects which reinforce the original change or negative feedback effects which dampen the momentum of the original change. Such negative feedback mechanisms are key factors in 'poverty traps'.

23. *Fourth* communities are on individual trajectories and the aim of development interventions is to re-direct them on to developmental paths

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<sup>3</sup> There are a few examples of longer-term evaluations of individual donor country programmes and a growing use of comparative cross-county qualitative evaluations of particular programmes.

<sup>4</sup> See Hirschman 1967 for examples of longer-term unintended impacts of a number of development projects in Latin America.

24. *Fifth*, while in recent years development interventions have been aimed at the economic development of households and the human development of individuals these interventions are all delivered by government structures through the prism of the community in which different kinds of household and individual evolve in social, economic, cultural and political relationships and interactions with each other, often involving inequality, adverse incorporation and exclusion.

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

### ***Why qualitative data and a case-based approach?***

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

27. The Complexity Social Science approach which underpins the WIDE3 programme relies on case-based methods which have been the subject of a recent Handbook (Byrne and Ragin, 2009) whose purpose is 'to present the methods that can be employed by case-focused researchers, certainly in such a way as to enable people to employ them in practice, but also as the foundation for a practical social science...which gets beyond the dichotomies of quantitative/qualitative – explanation/interpretation' (Byrne, 2009:2).

28. The handbook contains examples of a range of case-based methods and techniques including explanatory typologies in qualitative analysis, cluster analysis, correspondence analysis, classifications, Bayesian methods, configurational analysis including Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), fuzzy-set analysis, neural network analysis, choice of different types of cases for comparison (e.g. most different cases with a similar outcome; most similar cases with a different outcome), computer-based qualitative methods, ethnographic case studies, and a systems approach to multiple case study. As our sample of community types grows from six (Stage 1) to 14 (Stages 1+2) to 20 (Stages 1+23+3) we will make increasing use of relevant case-based techniques.

29. Byrne argues 'quite strongly, that integrated accounts constructed around a complexity frame offer the best narratives for describing change (2001:74)'. In order to achieve such accounts he advocates the use of four processes in a practical complexity social science:

30. **Exploring** which involves descriptive measurement of variate traces and examination of the patterns generated by the measurements in conjunction with exploration of qualitative materials (which might be texts, photos, artefacts)

31. **Classifying** – sorting of things into kinds on a proto-typical basis (Bowker and Starr, 1999) and (temporary) identification of meaningful boundaries of a system or ensemble of similar systems

32. **Interpreting** measures and narratives in a search for meaning



33. **Ordering** – things sorted and positioned along the dimension of time and procedures for documenting changes and when they occurred.

34. A possible charge that will be made by those who don't like, or disagree for good reasons with, conclusions we have drawn from the Stage 1 research 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.

35. With regard to the first charge we fully accept that these communities are not 'representative' in the way that an appropriately-sized sample selected randomly would be. However, they were chosen by economists using a quantitative approach as 'exemplars' of different 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.

36. As a result we believe that through Stage 1 we have developed a set of strong hypotheses pertaining to a limited set of types of rural communities. The Stage 2 and Stage 3 research will expand the number of types and, given that the communities were chosen as examples of the major rural livelihood types in existence in the later 1990s, the overall coverage should be quite wide. In the future it would be useful to use other community case studies to identify missing types, especially new ones, and to conduct a national survey and mapping of randomly selected communities/kebeles to establish the relative proportions and the major locations of the different community types.

37. With regard to the charge of interviewer bias we would argue that empirical data are not 'given' or 'collected'; whether they are based on surveys, interviews, or participant observation they are 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 (skilled, experienced and trained) fieldworkers had to translate questions and probes in English into the appropriate local language, informants had to interpret and answer the questions in the light of their particular experiences, the fieldworkers had to engage in dialogues with the informants to follow-up on potentially interesting topics, translate the answers into notes and the notes into written narratives. Finally, we, the report writers, had to make some sense of a vast set of narratives coming from the perspectives of a range of different people involved in the development of the community including wereda officials, kebele officials, elders, militia, 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.

38. Given this complexity how have we worked to maximise the validity of our conclusions? First our qualitative data was made using protocols which contain instructions about the broad questions to be asked discursively with probes to make sure important aspects are not missed, details of what kinds of people should be asked to respond 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 provides multiple perspectives and allows comparative

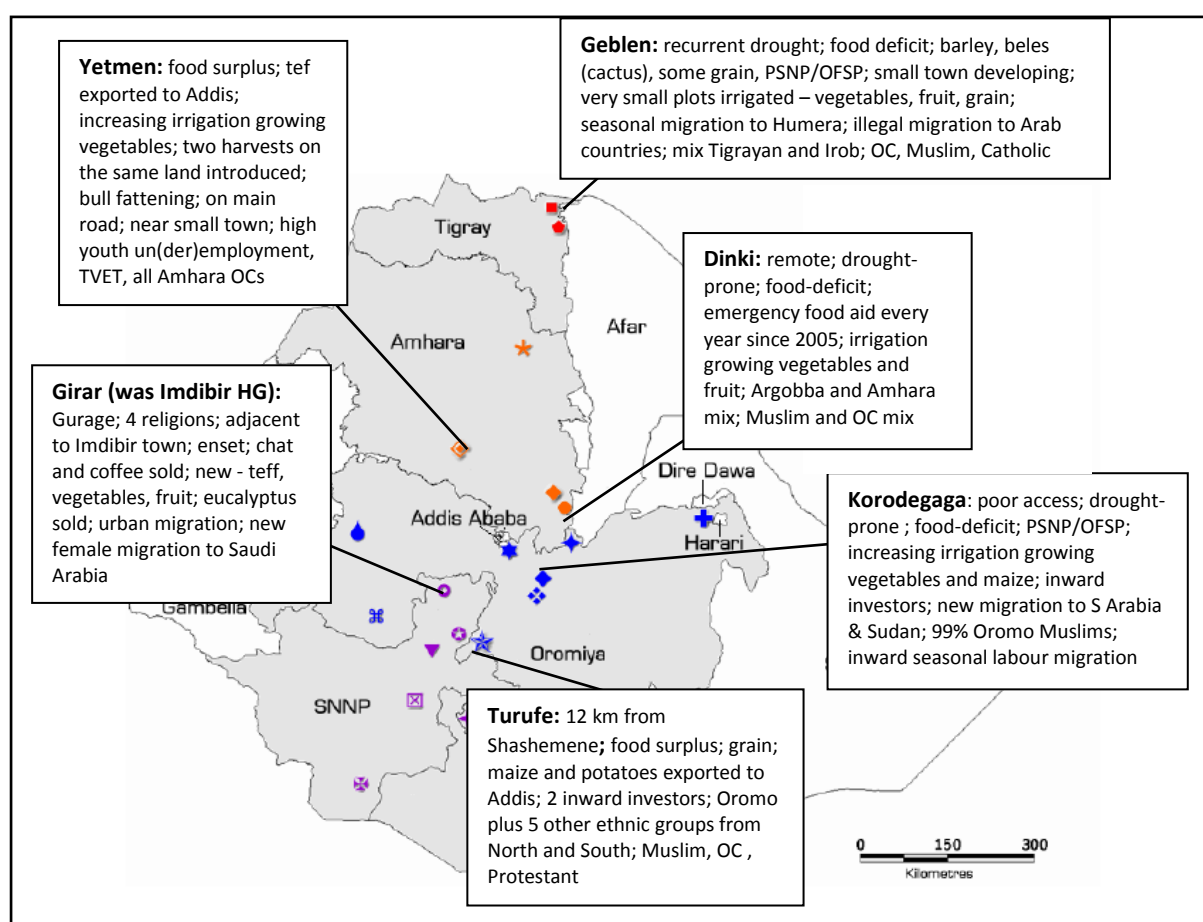
analysis. Protocol data can be interpreted and analysed using qualitative software packages with linkages to statistical software packages and other kinds of data such as photographs.

39. Second, we set in place a data interpretation/analysis process where first we built descriptive evidence bases combining answers from all the modules and which referred back to them. These evidence bases were revised after the fieldworkers had read and commented on them and 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.

## PART 2: WIDE3 STAGE 1

### *The six Stage 1 communities*

**Map 2: The Six Stage 1 Sites in 2010**



### *The Stage 1 report*

40. WIDE3 Stage 1 began in November 2009 and the final report was made available in August 2010 (Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst, 2010). The report was supported by four Evidence Bases and five Annexes. The first Evidence Base contained Community Situation Reports for each of the six Stage 1 sites. The remaining Evidence Bases drew on these reports to produce comparisons related to

modernisation processes since the mid-1990s, the impacts on communities of interventions since 2003, and related impacts on different kinds of people resident in the communities.

41. A further analysis process produced comparative Annexes related to each of the Evidence Bases and a methodology Annex. Finally these Annexes were used to produce the Final Report and its Executive Summary (see Box 1). This research process ensured that all conclusions in the Final Report could be traced back to the fieldwork interviews and the conceptual and analytic frameworks used in the data-generating and comparison processes. As described below the Final Report for Stage 2 will be constructed along similar lines.

*Box 1: WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report: Executive Summary – August 2010*

1. Since 2003 foreign aid to Ethiopia has grown considerably and a Government-donor dialogue has been conducted in the context of a poverty reduction strategy set out in the SDPRP (2002/3-4/5) and PASDEP (2005/6-9/10). In this research project our main aim was to improve knowledge and understanding of what happened when SDPRP/PASDEP-related government and donor policies and programmes designed at macro-level were introduced into different types of rural community in Ethiopia between 2003 and 2009. We set out to do this by adding new fieldwork conducted early in 2010 in six exemplar rural communities in the four established Regions to an existing longitudinal qualitative database with data points in 1995 and 2003.

2. Using a complexity social science framework and a rigorous case-based approach we have used the data from 1995, 2003 and 2010 to establish (1) the development status of each of the communities in 2010, (2) the kind of modernisation which has taken place since 1995, and (3) the contribution of the development interventions introduced into them during the period since 2003 to the current development status.

**Modernisation of the communities since 1995**

3. In all sites we found increased new public buildings, bringing petty urbanisation to the remoter sites, increased urban linkages and increased involvement in markets of all kinds. Diversification has led to bigger off-farm and non-farm sectors with more daily labour and petty business opportunities. Selected seeds and fertiliser have reached all communities leading to increased productivity in sites with good water availability, and breed cattle are beginning to spread. In three sites commercial irrigated vegetable production is an important element of the local economy. Compared with 1995 improved agricultural, livestock and NRM extension services and packages are in place. All the agricultural economies experienced recent economic growth except one in Tigray where incessant drought has led to decline. Women's involvement in economic activities has increased considerably and rights to land are beginning to be implemented; in all sites there is increasing and problematic youth landlessness and (under)employment.

4. There have been big lifestyle changes since 1995 especially for richer households. These have only taken place recently in the remoter sites. There is improved access to curative health services though it is still very difficult for very poor households and those in remoter kebele areas. There is a preference for private and mission facilities. New preventive and Mother and Child health services have been launched in all communities including family planning, various sanitation packages, malaria prevention, and vaccination though there are problems related to shortages and community resistance. People in four sites are still reliant on rivers and streams for their (unsafe) water. There have been big changes in primary enrolment, especially in the remoter sites and for girls. A few rich households are using private education at all levels. Secondary and post-secondary enrolment has increased, notably in the vulnerable PSNP-dependent Tigray site. Inequality has increased because the rich have got relatively richer. Very poor and vulnerable people do not receive the support they need. While physical security for women and girls is better, and female circumcision, abduction, early marriage and widow inheritance have diminished, there is little women's political participation. There are increased inter-generational tensions related to youth landlessness with a minority resorting to theft, addictions and violent conflict.

5. Informal social protection systems are still strong and there have not been big changes in community-initiated organisations. There has been an expansion in the range of cultural repertoires (sets of ideas) available to the community though local customary repertoires have remained strong with aspects hidden, particularly some of those characterised by the government as Harmful Traditional Practices. Compared with 1995 there is much greater penetration of the communities by the state involving a sub-kebele level array of

*Box 1: WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report: Executive Summary – August 2010*

overlapping government and party structures and associated with this a wider range of institutions and people that government can use to mobilise people to respond to development policies and packages. There is also much greater interaction between community-initiated organisations and customary institutions and government systems. There are signs of class formation as land has remained in the same hands, rich farmers have grown richer, partly as a result of the Model Farmer focus on the more successful, and numbers of landless people involved in daily labour have increased considerably.

**The contribution of development interventions since 2003 to the modernisation process in the six communities**

6. Many of the changes described above took place after 2003 with acceleration of change after 2005. During these five years development interventions grew in scope and funding through a mix of sometimes closely entwined government and donor funding and activities. At the same time a period of annual 'double-digit' growth<sup>1</sup> was entered. Our data is not of the sort that can tell us at what rate local GDPs increased annually, but they do indicate economic growth over the period in the three independent and integrated economies and the two drought-prone sites with some irrigation. In the Tigray site, while there was decline in the agricultural economy, it could be that it was counter-balanced by growth in non-farm activities and increased casual migration.

7. ADLI interventions had little impact on growth in the Gurage site which came mainly from flourishing eucalyptus and chat markets and increased chances of upward mobility for urban migrants. Eucalyptus sale was assisted by the development of internal roads, through community labour. The mobile network allowed access to information on prices. Selected seeds and fertiliser improved main crop yields in the two other independent economies. Inflated food prices accelerated the rise in marketing that was already taking place. It is not clear how important a role Development Agents played in this process. Agricultural packages of selected seeds and fertiliser for rainfed land in the three drought-prone sites did not meet with general success due to lack of rain and the same was true of the OFSP beehive and livestock packages in the Tigray site. Irrigation in two drought-prone sites and one independent economy expanded during the period, partly through the provision of credit for pumps, and became more productive with the introduction of improved seeds and sowing in lines. Donor-funded PSNP programmes in two of the drought-prone sites were shared among community members in a manner that prevented any 'graduation' from taking place; they did allow richer households to build assets or reduce asset-sale and were vital for the survival of poor and vulnerable people.

8. Land interventions followed a number of conflicting logics. The end of land re-distribution, certification, and the legalisation of extended periods for renting and leasing (with kebele or wereda agreement) was a step towards the consolidation of a 'kulak' peasant elite. 'Leasing' of communal land to youth co-operatives in Oromia and SNNP sites was a step in a 'developmental state' direction. Leasing of land to inward investors in Oromia sites (one from Australia) was a step in a (international) capitalist direction. Implementation of equal rights for women of inheritance of parental land and on divorce launched a process of increasing land fragmentation. Neither non-farm extension packages nor the establishment of small producer co-operatives contributed much to any of these economies. Access to credit for women contributed to increased but small-scale production.

9. Improvements in curative and preventive health services and access to education at all levels were a result of government programmes and funding supported by the donor-funded Protection of Basic Services programme which also financed some agriculture-related activities in the wereda budgets (notable the DA salaries). In all sites there were gaps in infrastructure, furniture, equipment, and school materials, and intermittent provision of such things as selected seeds, vaccinations, contraceptives, basic medicines and drugs. Extension workers and teachers with targets from the wereda on the one hand, and community resistance on the other, were often over-worked and stressed. The government can take full credit for the changes to women's lives described earlier. There is scope for the same kind of commitment to improving the lives of the youth and poor and vulnerable people including people who are elderly, mentally or chronically ill, or disabled.

10. Faced with communities which resist some of the planned change by refusing, ignoring or subverting the interventions designed to achieve it the government has been implementing a 'developmental state' approach to state-building with what would appear to be the goal of a one-party state in which rural communities are penetrated through a party cell system. In the run-up to the 2010 election the EPRDF went on a recruiting

*Box 1: WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report: Executive Summary – August 2010*

drive in all the communities; in some it organised households into cells with five member household with one leader. Regular party meetings, supported by propaganda provided by the party, are designed to turn farmers and their wives into willing practitioners of government packages and advice. However, our evidence suggests that five of the communities have responded to this project in their usual (slightly different) styles – by refusing, ignoring or subverting the State-building interventions. Community members of the sixth site, in Tigray, seem more supportive of the EPRDF/TPLF approach having experienced elements of it for over twenty years – although some dissent may be emerging but in a subdued form.

**Community trajectories and potential futures**

11. In speculative mode we suggest that all of the communities continued on much the same course between 1995 and 2003 and beyond to 2008 or so, with minor and cumulative changes which pushed them further from equilibrium but no important changes to the key factors determining the direction of the community (control parameters). However, by 2010 internal and external changes in three of the communities had pushed them to states of disequilibrium or 'chaos' (in the language of complexity (social) science) such that they are very unlikely to remain on the same trajectory.

12. The communities we believe may be setting off in new directions are the PSNP-dependent community in Tigray undergoing rapid youth exit after repeated failure in the core livelihood system; the peri-urban site near Shashemene which is poised to become a suburb; and the drought-prone Arssi Oromo site on the banks of the Awash which is experimenting quite successfully with a range of institutional modes for organising irrigation.

13. The communities following a course which was in place in 1995 include a tef and wheat exporting community in Gojjam which has grown richer but otherwise not changed much, a peri-urban Gurage community of whom the same can be said, and a drought-prone community near Afar which is richer as a result of some irrigation but still regularly dependent on food aid.

***Learning during Stage 1 and the Transition Project***

42. As the interpretation and analysis process evolved we increasingly recognised the importance of developing and using conceptual and analytical frameworks to organise our thinking and the data. This process continued during our work on the Transition topics during which we refined some of the Stage 1 frameworks and constructed some new ones.

43. From the Stage 1 analysis we were able to draw some useful substantive conclusions about modernisation and development in parts of rural Ethiopia since the mid-1990s. Taking different perspectives on data made since 2003 during the Transition Project we were able to offer new insights into differentiation and inequality in rural communities, the new problems facing young people moving towards adulthood in rural areas, and the roles played by government 'go-betweens' living and working in rural communities.

44. Placing one male and one female research officer in each site, as we have been doing since 2003, once more proved its worth, providing gendered perspectives on all the issues of interest. Seven of the sixteen Stage 2 Research Officers worked on Stage 1. We had not allowed enough time in the field or for writing-up though this was mainly due to under-funding and has been rectified in Stage 2. The Module structure worked well though as a result of learning from the Stage 1 experience we have made some changes to the topics covered, the people interviewed, and the way the questions are posed and responses recorded. The more generous budget for Stage 2 allowed us to increase time spent with Research Officers on training and de-briefing which has increased their motivation and readiness to take initiatives.

45. The analysis conducted during the Transition Phase informed new Modules on Youth and Marginalised People and new questions for the 'Go-Betweens'.

46. One of us experimented a little with using a qualitative software package to assist in the interpretation and analysis of the Stage 1 data on two communities. The benefits in terms of time saved and increased rigour were clear and in Stage 2 all four senior researchers will be using NVivo 9

for the initial community situation analyses (two sites per researcher) and it should prove invaluable for the higher-level case-based comparisons.

47. Turning to our attempt to bridge the development research-policy disconnect our worknet experiment with a wide membership - 99 in November 2011- and frequent contact initiated by us has worked well in a context of high donor staff turnover and heavy workloads. The first Stage 2 Briefing Note was circulated on 20 December 2011. In a complex context progress in disseminating to government policy-makers has been slow; the first workshop, hosted by the Economic Development Research Institute, was held on 19 December 2011.

## PART 3: THE EVOLVING WIDE3 METHODOLOGY

### *The ELCS database 1989-2010*

48. 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<sup>5</sup>.

Table 2: Data coverage for the twenty communities

N	Site	Region	1989	1994	1995	1997	1999	2003	2004	2005	2007	2010
1	Dinki	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	S1
2	Korodegaga	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	S1
3	Turufe Kecheme	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		S1
4	Yetmen	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		S1
5	Geblen	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		G	S1
6	Imdibir/Girar	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			S1
7	Debre Berhan	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
8	Shumsheha	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
9	Adele Keke	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
10	Do'oma	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
11	Gara Godo	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
12	Sirbana Godeti	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
13	Harresaw	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
14	Adado	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			
15	Aze Deboa	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).

S1 = WIDE3 Stage 1 research

<sup>5</sup> A seventh round was conducted in 2009.

49. 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<sup>6</sup> 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.

50. At the beginning of the Stage 1 research data from WIDE1 and WIDE2 were used to conduct a twenty community comparative baseline which was used in the Stage 1 analysis and will be used in Stage 2 analysis. This provides a set of tables each comparing (1) a particular societal feature or (2) experiences of a particular policy intervention across the communities.

### ***The research questions***

51. There are eight broad questions guiding the research:

- i In each community what were the *key features of the development situation* at the time of the research?
- ii In what ways have the development situations of the communities changed since the mid-1990s? What *modernisation processes* were involved in each of *their trajectories*?
- iii What *differences were made* to the trajectories and the communities by *development interventions* and the connections between them between 2003 and 2010?
- iv What similarities and differences can we identify in these impacts? How did they *vary among different types of community* and what are the reasons?
- v How did what happened fit with *government and donor models* of how development *should* happen?
- vi What do the *longer-term trajectories* of these communities look like? Where have they come from and where might they be going in the next few years?
- vii 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?
- viii 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?

### ***A complexity social science methodology***

52. Using ideas from complexity science and complexity theory our complexity social science approach<sup>7</sup> 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 include establishing an Evidence Base to which we can return if questions arise.

53. 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-

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> For more on this see Bevan 2007, 2009c, 2010a and 2010b.

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.

54. 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.

55. Complexity theory tells us 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.

56. 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.

57. 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.

58. When complex systems are far from equilibrium and potentially ready to move in a new direction there is a period of 'chaos' where they seem to dither between potential alternative futures or 'attractor states' before settling for one. Accumulation of knowledge and understanding about transitions in communities that have already made them could be used to design interventions promoting potential good transitions and deterring bad ones. Using this notion it is possible to imagine that Ethiopia as a whole is currently in a chaotic phase being pulled in different directions by a number of alternative attractor states including a Chinese model, an African ethnic conflict model, a Muslim-Christian conflict model and a new international-capitalist-colonial model.

59. 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.



## ***Theoretical frameworks***

60. During Stage 1 and the Transition Project we made use of six theoretical frameworks, most developed as part of the analysis process. All were used to structure the Community Evidence Bases.

### **Multiple perspectives on community social systems**

61. 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***

62. *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.

63. *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 communities which emerged from the Stage 1 research are described below.

#### ***Five de-compositions of the community system***

64. *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?

65. 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?

66. 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.

67. *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.

68. *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*<sup>8</sup>**

69. *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.

70. *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.

71. *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.

72. 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 wereda 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.

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<sup>8</sup> 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)

73. In most social situations in the *field of ideas* there is more than one cultural repertoire— a mix of institutions and mental models<sup>9</sup>. Particular Individuals may depend heavily on one of them or they may select elements from a number to suit particular situations or purposes. Some people act as cultural entrepreneurs incentivising, persuading or forcing others to conform to the institutions they are promoting and to buy into associated mental models to understand, explain and act on local happenings. Cultural repertoires may become a focus for political struggle.

74. In rural Ethiopia local people have access to seven types of cultural repertoires: (1) conservative customary ideas and institutions; (2) local modern ideas and norms in favour of various moves towards individualism and egalitarianism; (3) externally financed religious mobilisations; (4) government modernisation models and rules via wereda officials, the media and word of mouth; (5) donor models via NGOs, the media and word of mouth; (6) ideas and norms from locally-relevant diasporas and (7) more diffuse 'global' repertoires. Some people are highly active in promoting particular models. People may draw on different models for different purposes.

75. 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.

### **Cultural disconnects between donor and government models of development**

76. Donors and government occupy different lifeworlds and operate with different cultural repertoires relating to development. Cultural disconnects between donor and Government approaches to different development interventions since 2003, when the first poverty reduction strategy plan was set in place (SDPRP), were explored in some detail in the Inception Policy Paper for Stage 1 (Dom 2009) which has been updated to inform Stage 2 (Dom and Carter, 2011).

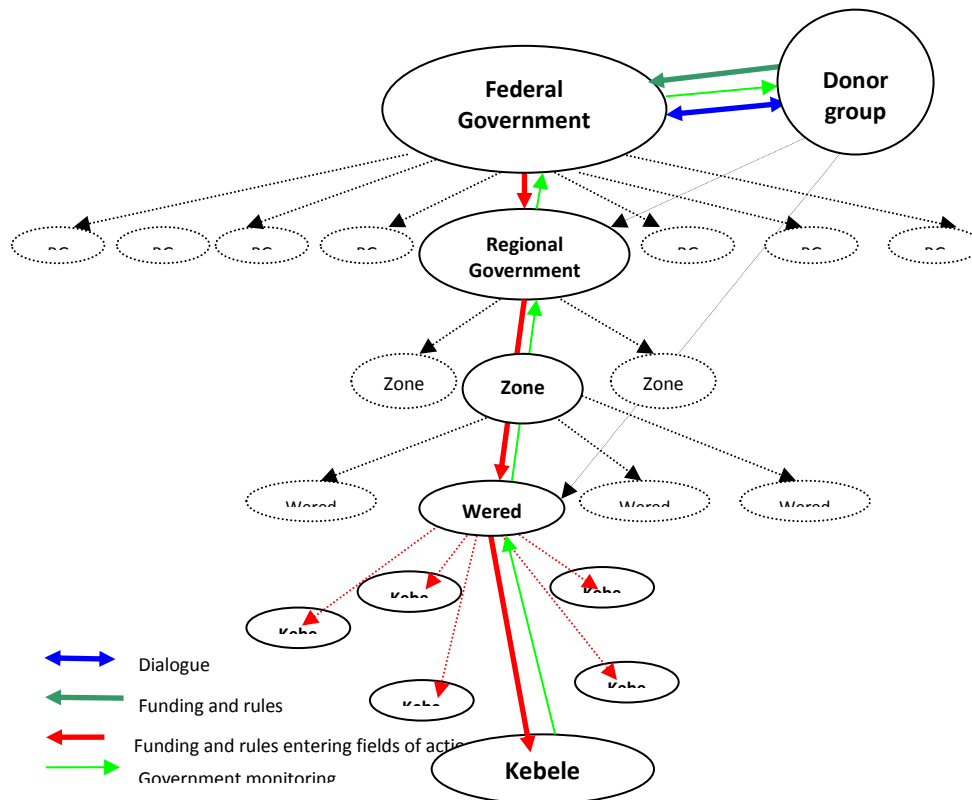
### **The policy journey**

77. Figure 1 shows how most development interventions are transmitted to rural communities and how information about their progress is relayed back to them. A few donors have had interventions which go straight to Regions around which there is a dialogue, and there are some wereda visits. Linked to regionalisation in 1994/5 and accentuated with wereda-level decentralisation in 2002/3, as part of 'building consensus' there has been dialogue between Federal and Regional governments. For example in 2010 Regions were developing their PASDEP 2 as an input in the federal PASDEP 2. There is also meant to be dialogue between weredas and kebeles to enable the latter to make suggestions relating to interventions though we found only two references to this during the Stage 1 fieldwork.

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<sup>9</sup> In an influential paper Denzau and North (1994) argued that **institutions** provide people with formal and informal rules which are used to bring some order to interpersonal relationships. At the same time **mental models** provide them with explanations of how things work and why they happen which they can use to guide choices and behaviour in situations with some ambiguity due to lack of knowledge or uncertainty. Linked institutions and mental models provide **cultural repertoires** for social actors to use in their particular **lifeworlds**

Figure 1: The policy journey

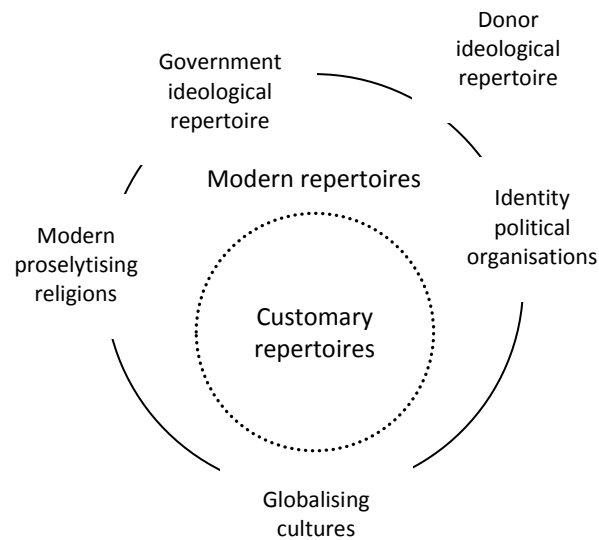


### Cultural disconnects between policy and community assumptions

78. Rural communities in Ethiopia have never been totally cut off from external influences though the degree to which such influences have entered over the years is related to levels of remoteness. Since the arrival of the Derg local cultures have been increasingly penetrated by modern ideological repertoires (mental models plus institutions) which as time passed fed into local repertoires in re-iterative processes of cultural 'bricolage', a term that describes 'the muddle' that happens when new rules and ideas meet long-standing ones (Pain and Cantor 2010: 34). Such local cultural muddles include mental models and institutions developed over many years as a result of path-dependent interactions among internal and external actors during which repertoires are adapted in a continual process.

79. It is possible to look into the muddle and identify two ideal-type cultural repertoires available at any point in time: local customary repertoires and local modern repertoires. Local customary repertoires do adapt but they are slow to change. Given Ethiopia's cultural heterogeneity rural customary repertoires are diverse; however all contain traces of external values and beliefs which entered them to differing degrees during the Imperial era which ended in 1974, the military socialist regime of the *Derg* in power from 1974 to 1991, and the current EPRDF regime which came to power in 1991. Local modern repertoires contain the most up-to-date mental models and institutions accepted by change-leaders in the communities.

Figure 2: Rural customary repertoires under pressure



80. Local customary and modern repertoires are promulgated by cultural entrepreneurs. Some people, more likely to be older (and more powerful in the community), use more of the ideas from the customary repertoire, while others, more likely to be younger, may take more from the local modern repertoire, although they may also be influenced by currently incoming ideological repertoires described below.

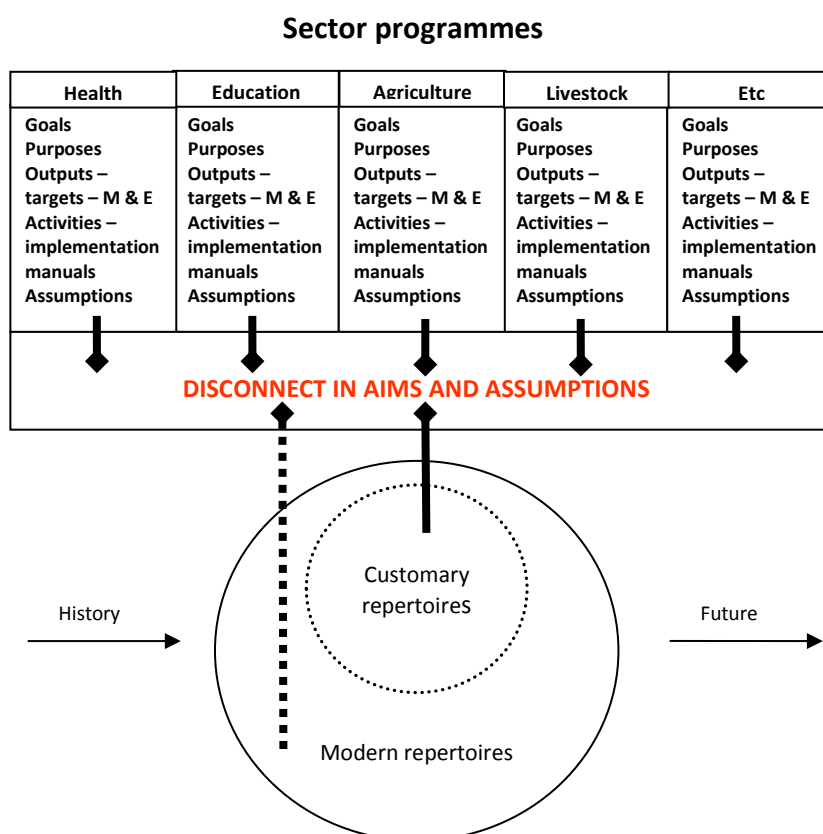
81. Ideological repertoires are developed externally and inserted into the community (1) directly by 'ideological entrepreneurs' who come to the community to convert people to their ideas, (2) via inhabitants, often young, who have learned about them on journeys outside the community, or (3) by radio, and increasingly television and social media. They include new religious doctrines, ideologies of belonging to 'imagined communities' based on ethnicity/clanship, government ideology, donor/NGO ideology, and various global repertoires. Some ideas and proposed institutions in these ideologies resonate with customary repertoires while others appear foreign.

82. The process of penetration by external ideologies has accelerated since the mid-2000s with the government extension services and *wahabbi* Islam and Protestant missionaries being particularly active.

83. Figure 3 depicts the cultural disconnects in aims and assumptions related to the mental models and institutional design associated with top-down policies and programmes and those implicit in local cultural repertoires related to the fields of action targeted by the interventions. The disconnect between customary and sector mental models and institutions is more pronounced than that between local modern and sector mental models and institutions but our evidence from the Stage 1 research showed that in most areas the gap between policy ideology and local modern repertoires of ideas is still significant.

84. Development interventions should be seen as top-down attempts to change the technological, institutional and 'ideas' landscapes within which community systems are working. Communities respond to the disturbances introduced by the interventions in a '**self-organising**' process (Room: 2011) involving interactions amongst supporters of the customary and local modern repertoires and sequenced periods of path-dependent bricolage during which local modern repertoires may change fractionally and support for them rise or fall depending on the local circumstances.

Figure 3: Cultural disconnect between top-down and local repertoires



### Social interactions in the development interface space

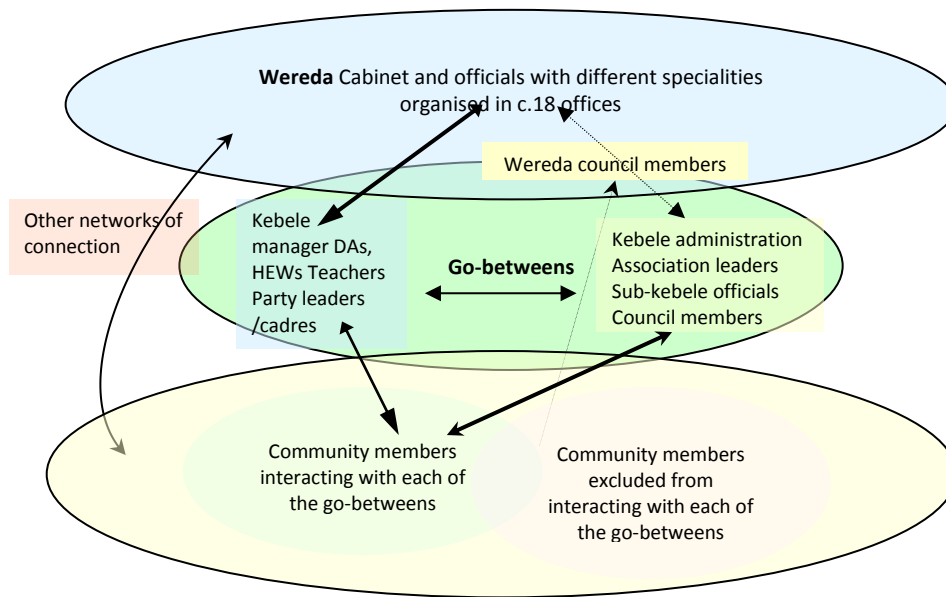
85. The cultural contradictions between top-down and community development models are not easily resolved and in all six Stage 1 sites they caused difficulties for those in positions where they had to try to bridge the cultural divide.

86. Figure 4 depicts the key development players in the wereda, kebele, and communities and identifies a set of ‘go-betweeners’ who work in the development interface<sup>10</sup> space and interact with wereda officials and community members. Kebele managers, Development Agents (Agriculture, Livestock and Natural Resources), Health Extension Workers and teachers mostly come from outside the community; they are employed by the wereda and given performance objectives (targets) which, if not met, may have repercussions for their careers. A second set of ‘go-betweeners’ – kebele and sub-kebele officials and kebele Council members - are (s)elected from within the community and embedded in community networks and structures whilst by their function they are also linked to higher government structures and, for many in the sites, to party structures.

87. Figure 4 shows that not all community members are involved in intervention interactions with the go-betweeners.

<sup>10</sup> A concept which has been used and argued about by sociologists (e.g. Long, 2001) and social anthropologists (e.g. Mosse, 2005).

Figure 4: Social interactions in the development interface space

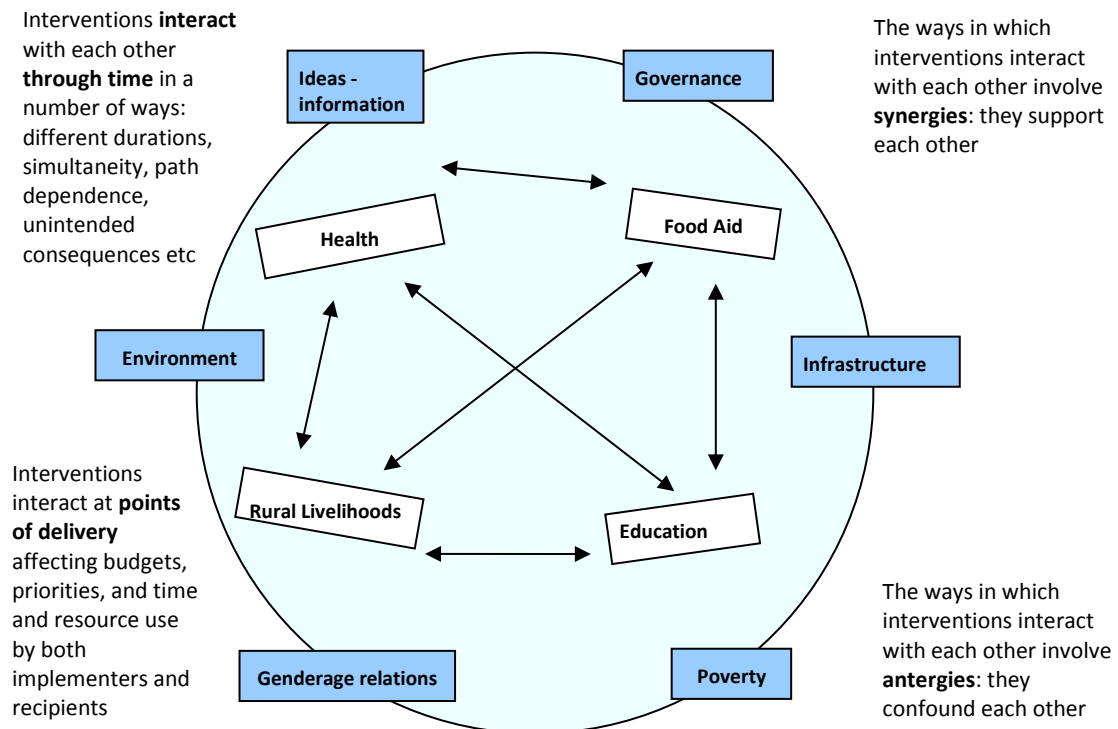


DA = Development Agent

## The web of development interventions

88. Those designing, implementing and evaluating sector programmes and projects are prone to see them as self-contained.

Figure 5: The web of development interventions



89. Figure 5 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 have consequences beyond those intended by the intervention designers and implementers which may take some time to make themselves felt. We have not used this framework in this report due to lack of time.

## ***Community typologising***

### **Typing the communities**

90. Typologising, using qualitative and quantitative data together, 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.

91. 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 seemingly guided by persistent 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 or rapid urban expansion eating away at nearby rural kebeles.

92. 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 Stage 1 community we were able to draw some conclusions about the extent to which they have moved towards or beyond disequilibrium and the processes involved.

93. 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.



94. Using the Stage 1 data we inductively identified ten parameters of importance in determining the community situations/types in 2010:

- i Regional variations in policies and implementation
- ii Urban linkages of various kinds
- iii Development services
- iv Core livelihood system
- v Diversification
- vi New agricultural technologies
- vii Cultural differences
- viii Social inequality
- ix Social integration
- x Government-society relations

95. Table 3 shows where each of the Stage 1 communities stood in relation to the identified control parameters.

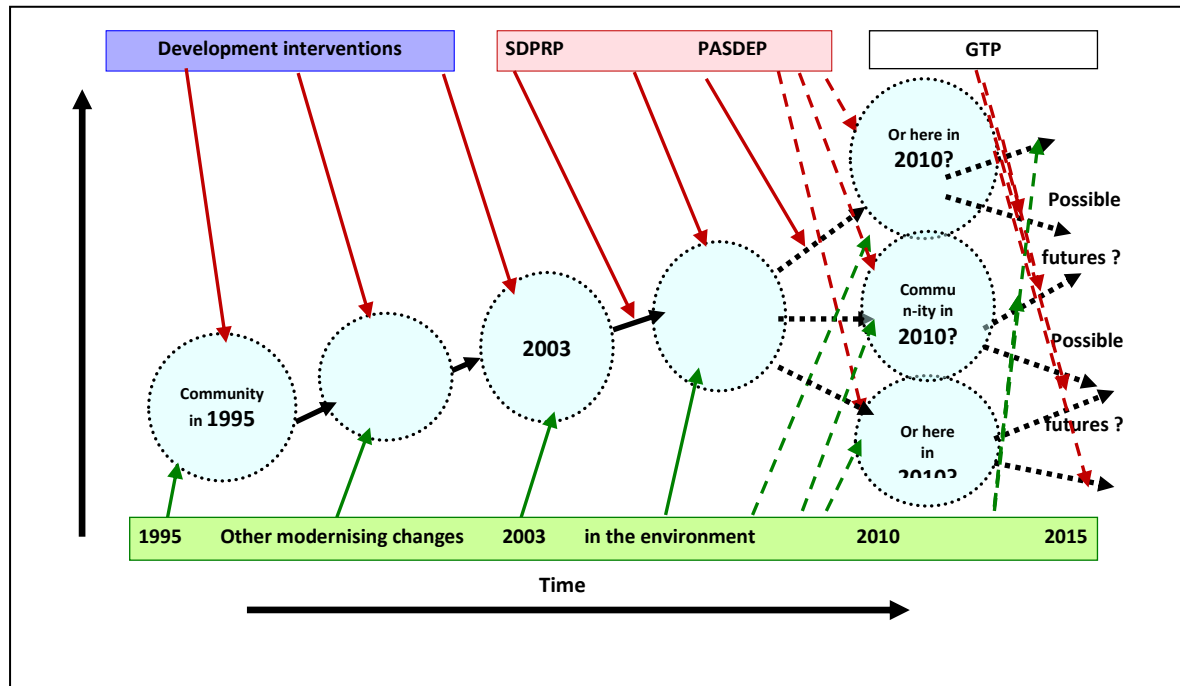
Table 3: Community typing – the six Stage 1 communities in 2010

Region	Urban linkages	Development services	Core livelihood system	Diversification	New agri technologies	Cultural differences	Social inequality	Social integration	Government – society relns
<b>Geblen (Tigray)</b>	Urbanising centre. Scattered popn. Big town accessible from centre.	PSNP OFSP HP and HC Primary school	Livestock + vulnerable cereal	Daily labour; small business; migr'n: casual urban; seasonal agricult; Gulf (mostly illegal); education	Modern beehives - failed	Tigrayan, Irob OC, Islam, Catholics	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women	No suggestion of ethnic or religious conflicts. Inter-generational tensions over land and youth exit.	Community dislikes forced package taking but kebele leadership unwilling to take to higher level
<b>Yetmen (Amhara)</b>	Small town; big town accessible; villagised	ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Grain export + livestock	Irrigated vegetables, more barley&chickpeas; medium and petty trade; education.	Selected seeds, fertiliser; irrigation; Two harvests BBM plough; breed cattle	None Amhara OC	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women	Homogenous and tightly knit. Inter-generational tensions over land.	Post 2005 party recruitmt ex-Derg bureaucrats; refusal to be mobilised; demonstrations against decisions
<b>Dinki (Amhara)</b>	Urbanising centre; big town distant scattered population	Regular emergency food aid - FFW ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Vulnerable cereal + irrigation + livestock	Daily labour, some youth casual migration, petty trade	Experiments with spices in nursery; selected seeds + fertiliser on irrigation	Argobba 60+% Amhara Islam, OC	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Amhara bit richer; Argoba pol majority	Argobba-Amhara uneasy relation. History of conflicts with Afar. Inter-generational tensions over land	Govt mobilisation hindered by democratic right of non-participation. Kebele leaders 'between 2 fires'
<b>Korodegaga (Oromia)</b>	Big town accessible from growing centre (not vehicles); scattered popn	PSNP OFSP HP and HC Primary school	Vulnerable cereal + irrigation + livestock	Daily labour. Youth loading co-op. Illegal migration to Sudan.	Irrigation, selected seeds, fertiliser; investor's tractor	Arssi Oromo – clans; Islam	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Exclusion of non-residents	Historic conflicts with nearby pastoralists. Clan political competition	Government mobilisation involving threats. Foot-dragging. All are party members.
<b>Turufe (Oromia)</b>	Big town peri-urban, some suburban. Villagised	ADLI and NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Potato and grain export + livestock	Commuting and casual migration for business + daily labour; flower farms; Gulf migrn; Education	Selected seeds, fertiliser; few breed cattle; manual thresher	Oromo + 6 Islam OC Protestants Catholics	Rich – poor Older adults – youth Men-women Oromo pol majority	Proximity to multi-ethnic Shashemene may assist social integration	Community able to mobilise against unwanted things: closing of hospital, full day school
<b>Girar (SNNP)</b>	Small town peri-urban. Big town accessible. Scattered popn	ADLI + NRM packages HP and HC Primary school	Highly-populated enset + urban migration	Chat and eucalyptus exports; daily labour; education	Selected seeds, fertiliser; tractor hire	Gurage, OC, Catholics, Protestants few Muslims+	Big gap very rich – very poor. Men - women	Inter-clan and sub-clan competition within broad Gurage mutual obligation	Post-2005 election violence. Party penetration less advanced.

## Typing the community trajectories

96. Figure 6 depicts the development trajectory of a rural community from the mid-1990s in the context of modernising changes in its context some of which are directly related to development interventions.

Figure 6: Community trajectories 1995 – 2010 and beyond



97. Using Stage 1 data we identified nine process parameters relevant for the community trajectories of some or all of the six communities since 1995:

- Regional policy change
- Urbanisation and connectivity
- Development service change
- Agricultural technology change
- New and thickening markets
- Diversification of livelihoods
- Processes related to social dis/integration
- Class formation
- State-building
- Government-society relations

98. Table 4 summarises the process parameters for each site.

Table 4: Changes in contextual parameters Important for economic trajectories

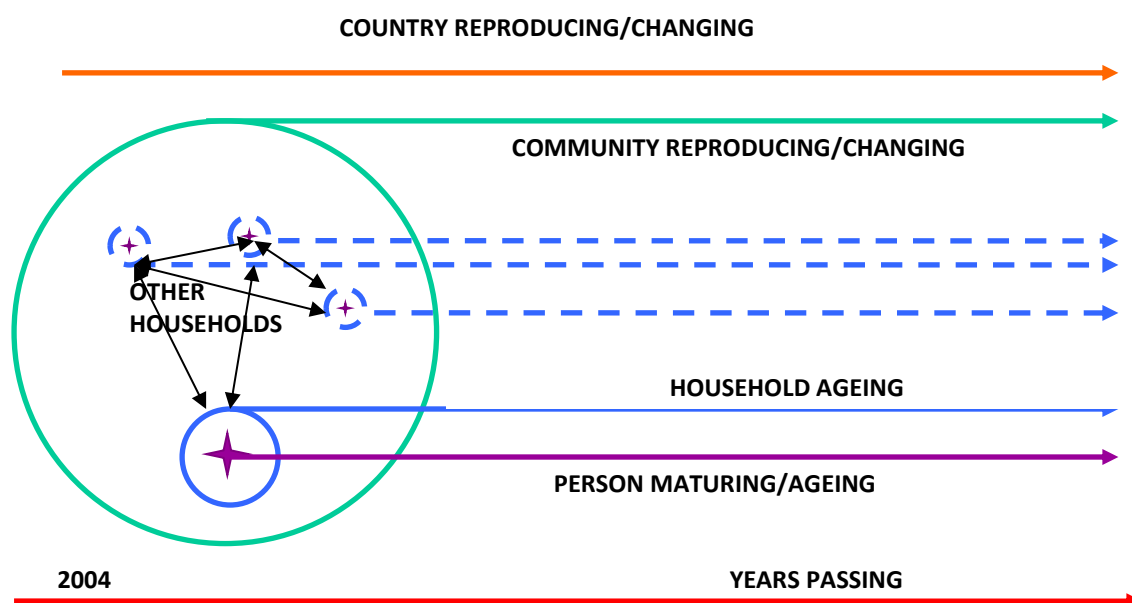
Region	Urbanisation etc	Improved development services	New technologies	Thickening markets	Diversification of livelihoods	Social integration	Class formation	Governance	Government – society relns	Current economic situation
<b>Geblen (Tigray)</b>	Easier road access <b>important</b>	PSNP VI* OFSP <b>problematic</b> Education <b>important</b>	Irrigation – <b>not VI</b>	Urban and Arab country labour markets <b>important</b>	Considerable youth long- and short-term exits	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless youth	Longstanding govt and party penetration	Not much more interaction - fear of raising problems	Aid-dependent; re-structuring of economy - agricultural decline
<b>Yetmen (Amhara)</b>	Road maintenance and mobile phones <b>important</b>	Devt Agents <b>important</b> Education <b>important</b>	Green Revn technology VI Irrigation – <b>important</b>	National grain market -VI Local vegetable market <b>important</b>	Agricultural diversification; some long-term youth exits	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless daily labourers	Govt and party penetration started after 2005; some active resistance	Much more interaction - regular resistance to unpopular measures	Independent; good recent economic growth partly due to food price rise
<b>Dinki (Amhara)</b>	Increased marketing opportunities <b>important</b>	Emergency food aid <b>important</b>	Irrigation VI Green Revn technology VI	Local vegetable market VI	Agricultural diversification; some short-term youth exits	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless youth	Govt and party penetration started after 2005	Much more interaction - community desire to be left alone	Aid-dependent; recent growth in irrigation sector
<b>Korodegaga (Oromia)</b>	Poor road access <b>problematic</b>	PSNP VI	Irrigation – VI Green Revn technology VI 1 investor's tractor	Local vegetable market VI	Agricultural diversification	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless youth and immigrant daily labour	Govt and party penetration started after 2005	Much more interaction – dislike of frequent meetings; foot dragging	Aid-dependent; recent growth in irrigation sector
<b>Turufe (Oromia)</b>	Rapid growth Shashemene VI	DAs <b>not VI</b>	Green Revn technology VI	Output and labour markets VI	Non-farm diversification	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless daily labourers	Govt and party penetration after 2005 (less than average)	More interaction - seemed to be few complaints	Independent but needed aid in 2008 drought
<b>Girar (SNNP)</b>	Internal roads <b>important</b> for loading eucalyptus	Devt Agents <b>not VI</b> Education <b>important</b>	Some tractor hire	Chat and eucalyptus markets VI Urban labour markets VI	Agricultural and non-farm diversification	No emerging serious problems	Landholders and landless youth	Govt and party penetration after 2005 (less than average)	Rioting in 2005; reduced interest in politics since. Increasing interaction	Independent

\* VI = very important

## Co-evolving communities, households and people

99. Fig 7 provides a picture of a community co-evolving with its households and people in the context of co-evolving country-level reproduction and change. Communities do not have life cycles as households and people do. They are self-organising but dynamic open social systems which have to respond to changes in their environments/contexts (Room, 2011). The trajectory followed by each community system is the result of (1) a stream of external activities and material and social events to which people organised in household sub-systems have to respond (exogenous) and (2) creative activities generated from within the community (endogenous).

Figure 7: Co-evolution of communities, country, households and people



100. Using the metaphor of rural communities as 'evolving ecosystems' households, led by their heads, can be seen as involved in a 'struggle for existence' through which they occupy an economic niche for longer or shorter periods. Households with greater wealth, status and political connection are likely to do better in the competition for positional advantage and leverage; those that are poor, socially marginalised, and politically irrelevant are likely to remain excluded or adversely incorporated. However, given the uncertainties of rural life, customary institutional arrangement for co-operation, and the important contribution to success of individual character, motivation and skills, there are varying levels of intra-generational and inter-generational social mobility both upwards and downwards.

101. The choices made by households in their different niches will respond not only to the incoming activities and events but also to what other households do in a process of self-organisation involving negative and/or positive feedback loops which may keep the community on the same path or set it off in a new direction.

102. Men and women, youth and children 'co-evolving' with their communities and households are affected by what happens to each. The consequences for individuals depends on community trajectory, household trajectory, genderage, class-wealth, status, political connection, education, health, personal characteristics and chance. The complex of choices different kinds of people make

in response to what happens to them has consequences for the future trajectory of each community and, taking all communities together, for the country.

## PART 4: THE STAGE 2 RESEARCH PROCESS

### *The eight Stage 2 research communities*

103. Map 2 locates and provides brief descriptions of the Stage 2 research communities.

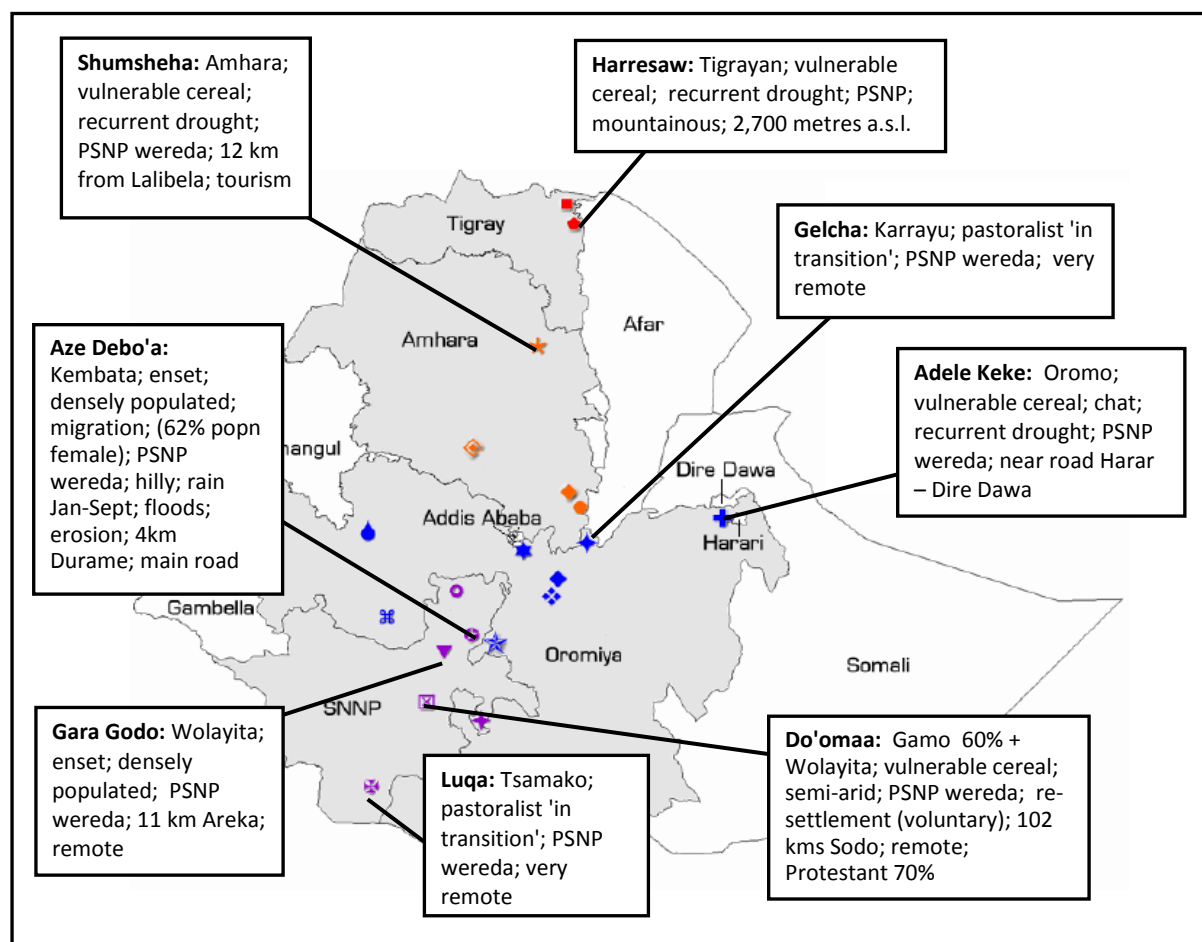


Table 5: Key features of the Stage 2 research sites

Region	Site	Wereda	Location	Livelihood	Cultures
SNNP	Luqa	Tsemaina Benna	Remote	Pastoralist in transition	1 ethnicity 2 religions
SNNP	Do'omaa	Dera Malo	Very remote	Vulnerable cereal	2 ethnicities 3 religions
SNNP	Gara Godo	Bolosso	Not remote	Highly-populated enset	1 ethnicity 3 religions
SNNP	Aze Debo'a	Kedida Gamela	Integrated	Highly-populated enset + migration	1 ethnicity 3 religions
Oromia	Adele Keke	Kersa	Integrated	Vulnerable cereal+chat	1 ethnicity 1 religion
Oromia	Gelcha	Fentale	Remote	Pastoralist in transition	1 ethnicity 2 religions
Amhara	Shumsheha	Bugna	Peri-urban	Vulnerable cereal	1 ethnicity 1 religion
Tigray	Harresaw	Atsbi	Remote	Vulnerable cereal	1 ethnicity 1 religion

104. Table 5 shows that four of the sites are in SNNP, two in Oromia and one each in Tigray and Amhara Regions. Cereals provide the staple for four communities vulnerable to drought while there are two enset-based and two agro-pastoralist livelihood systems. Two of the sites are very remote, three are remote, two integrated and one peri-urban. Unlike in Stage 1 where only two of the six sites were inhabited by people of one ethnicity in these sites this is the case for seven out of the eight sites. When religious affiliation is considered there is more diversity with five of the sites having two or three religions.

### ***Fieldwork plan and research instruments***

105. The training, fieldwork, writing-up and de-briefing is being conducted in two Phases: Phase 1 from 9 September to the end of November 2011; Phase 2 from the beginning of December until the first week in March 2012. Two research officers, one male and one female, conducted fieldwork in each site for at least 22 days in each Phase.

106. During each phase up to four weeks was/will be spent in writing-up in Addis Ababa with support and supervision from a Data manager. A three-day workshop for de-briefing the returned Research Officers was conducted in early December 2011 and a five-day de-briefing workshop is planned for the first week of February 2012.

107. Four Modules were taken to the field on the 20<sup>th</sup> September 2011. They are provided in full in the Annex to the paper.

<i>Box 2: WIDE3 Stage 2 Phase 1 research Instruments</i>
<p><b>Module 1: The kebele in the wereda</b></p> <p>Wereda officials' views on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the wereda</li> <li>• the kebele</li> <li>• current development interventions affecting the wereda in the fields of livelihoods, human development, social development, community management, ideas; and social equity</li> <li>• development potential and challenges for the research community</li> </ul> <p><b>Module 2: The kebele or village (sub-kebele)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Picture of changes in kebele structures and activities</li> <li>• Kebele leaders' experiences of current government development interventions in the fields of livelihoods, human development, social development, community management, ideas; social equity</li> </ul> <p><b>Module 3: Community history and trajectory since 2003</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Picture of events, continuities and changes in all domains of community life including external relations</li> </ul> <p><b>Module 4: Community members' experiences of Government development interventions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration of experiences of all the government interventions by different kinds of people in the community</li> <li>• 40 interventions; six community respondents for each</li> </ul>

108. Eight Modules were sent to the field in Phase 2 which began on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2011; their design was finalised following feedback during the Phase 1 de-briefing workshop. They are provided in full in the Annex to the paper.

*Box 3: WIDE3 Stage 2 Phase 2 proposed research instruments*

**Module 5: Community organisations involved in, affected by or ignored by development interventions**

- Community-initiated
- Government-initiated
- NGO-initiated

**Module 6: Community member vignettes: movers and shakers**

**Module 7: Experiences of interventions by different kinds of household and their individual members**

- Male and female headed rich households
- Male and female headed middle wealth households
- Male and female headed poor households
- In male-headed households separate interviews with husband and wife/senior woman

**Module 8: Marginalised people**

**Module 9: Youth stories– male and female**

**Module 10: PSNP and OFSP/HABP**

- Deeper exploration of the PSNP and local household asset-building programmes

**Module 11: Site specific issues (identified during fieldwork 1)**

**Module 12: Research Officers' Modules**

- Each Research Officer will follow-up on a topic of their choice

***The data journey***

109. Figure 8 shows the journey which the data, in the form of a narrative guided and set down by the Research Officer, makes from the mouth of the interviewee to the database organised in the NVivo9 software package. Data will also be available in WORD for those who do not use NVivo.

*Figure 8: Data journey - from interviewee to NVivo software package*

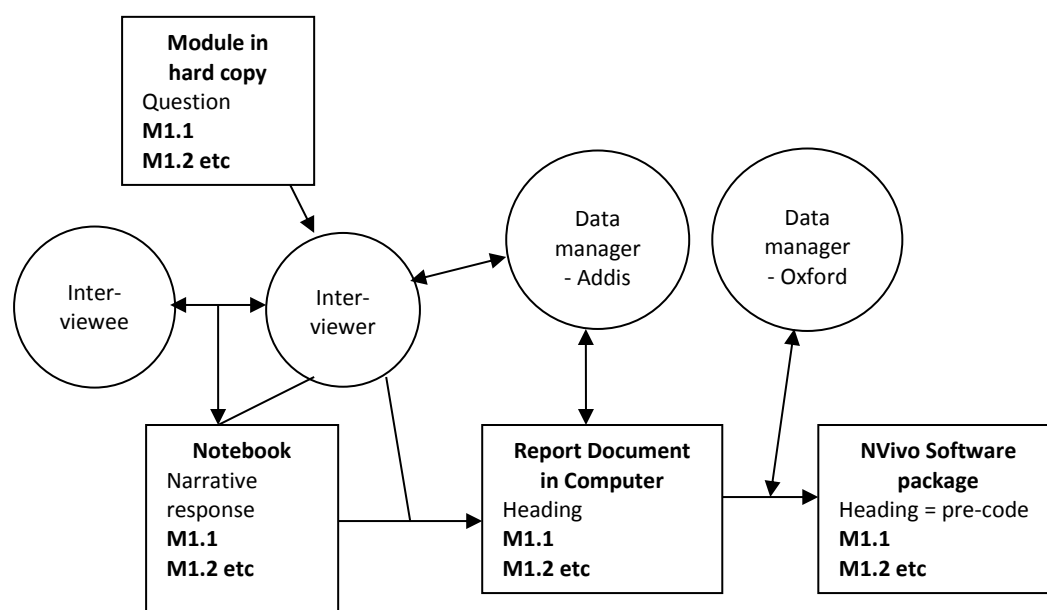
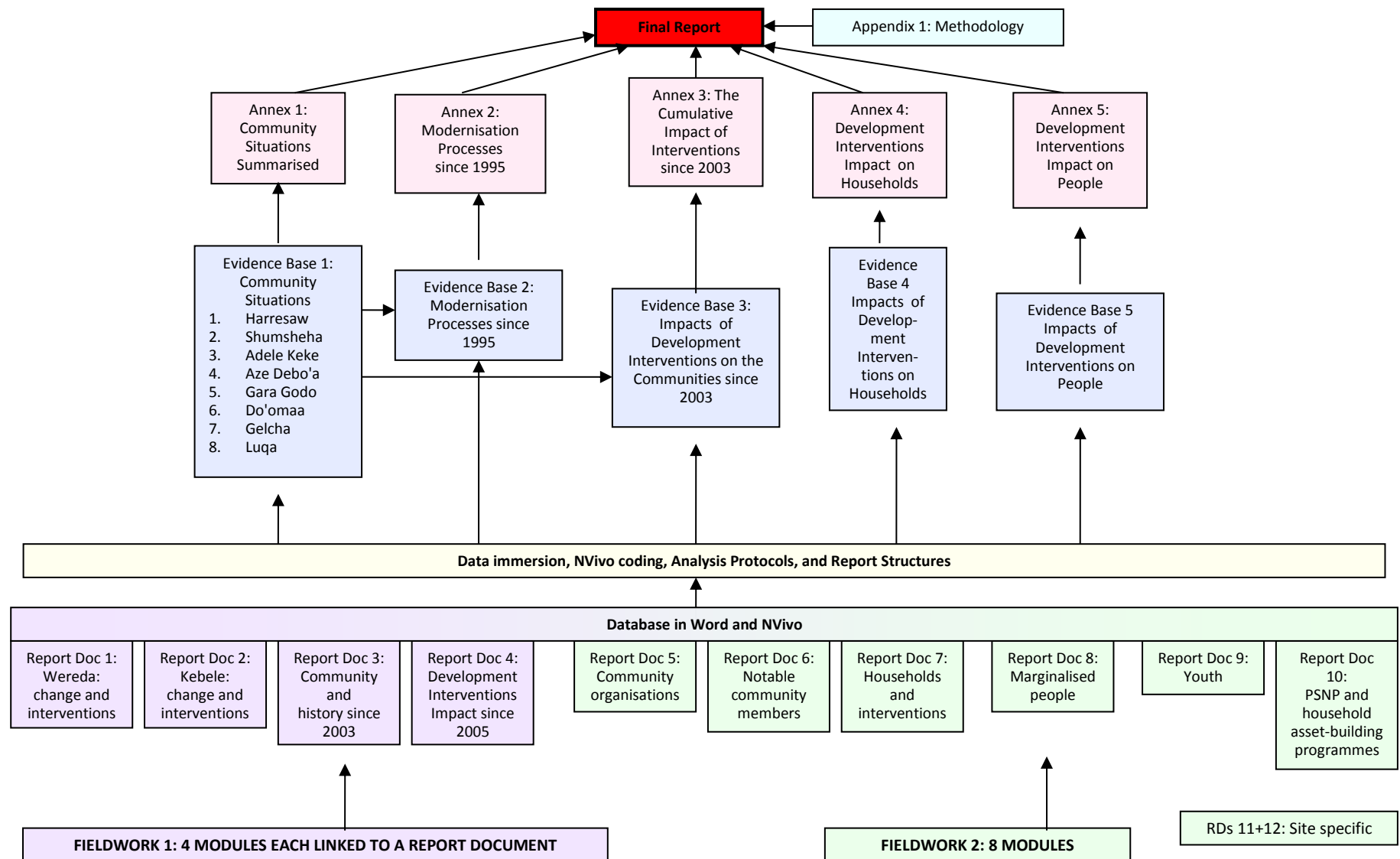




Figure 9: The interpretation and analysis process



110. Figure 9 shows how the Report Documents will be used in an interpretation and analysis process which involves total immersion in the data, NVivo coding, analysis protocols and theoretically-informed report structures.

### ***Combined analysis of Stages 1 and 2***

111. Once the Final Report on the Stage 2 sites is completed there will be some comparative analysis across the fourteen Stage 1 and Stage 2 sites.

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