

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

**STAGE 3: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH
AND FIELDWORK PLAN**

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INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the methodological approach and fieldwork plan for Stage 3 - 6 rural sites in areas with economic potential - of the WIDE3 research programme which takes a long-term perspective on modernisation processes and the impacts of development interventions in rural Ethiopia. It builds on and updates the Methodology Inception papers from Stage 1 (6 sites - Bevan, December 2009) and Stage 2 (8 sites - Bevan, January 2012) and makes use of the Stage 2 Final Report Methodology Annex (Bevan, February 2013).

Through the Stage 1 research we establishing some substantive findings and conclusions (Bevan, Dom and Pankhurst, 2010; Bevan 2011, Dom 2011 and Pankhurst 2011) some of which are summarised below in Part 2. We also developed a number of new theoretical frameworks which informed the re-design of research instruments and the subsequent analysis for Stage 2 (Bevan, Carter, Dom and Pankhurst, 2013a and Part 3) which in turn generated some new ideas for the Stage 3 methodology (Part 4).

As with Stages 1 and 2 we have built into Stage 3 frequent opportunities for researcher-policymaker 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. On 6th and 7th March 2013 we held sector-focused consultation meetings with groups of donor staff in Addis Ababa and we will be keeping in regular touch with worknet members as the research proceeds.

The paper is divided into five main 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 describes Stage 2 and some lessons which have informed the Stage 3 research design. Part 4 focuses on the general methodology underpinning the whole WIDE3 programme, and Part 5 summarises key features of the Stage 3 research process: the fieldwork plan, the research instruments, the making of the database, and the interpretation/analysis and write-up plan.

The paper is accompanied by an Annex which contains all the research instruments being used in the Stage 3 fieldwork.

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

The planning of development in Ethiopia

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**. 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)

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 *kebeles* 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.

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.

The 1975 land reform abolished landlords and private ownership of land. Peasants organised into Peasants' Associations were 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.

The villagisation programme moved thousands of peasants from scattered homesteads to villages which they mostly 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.

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, 2 and 3 Policy Papers (Dom, 2009; Dom and Carter, 2011; Dom 2013). 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

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.

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).

Stage 2, again funded by JGAM, covered eight communities and took place between August 2011 and February 2013 (Bevan, Carter, Dom and Pankhurst, 2013a). Seven of the communities are found in PSNP weredas, while the eighth has been a regular recipient of emergency food aid. **Stage 3**, funded by JGAM, began in January 2013; it covers the remaining six ELCS sites which are all found in areas of economic potential. Table 1 sets out past and planned WIDE3 activities.

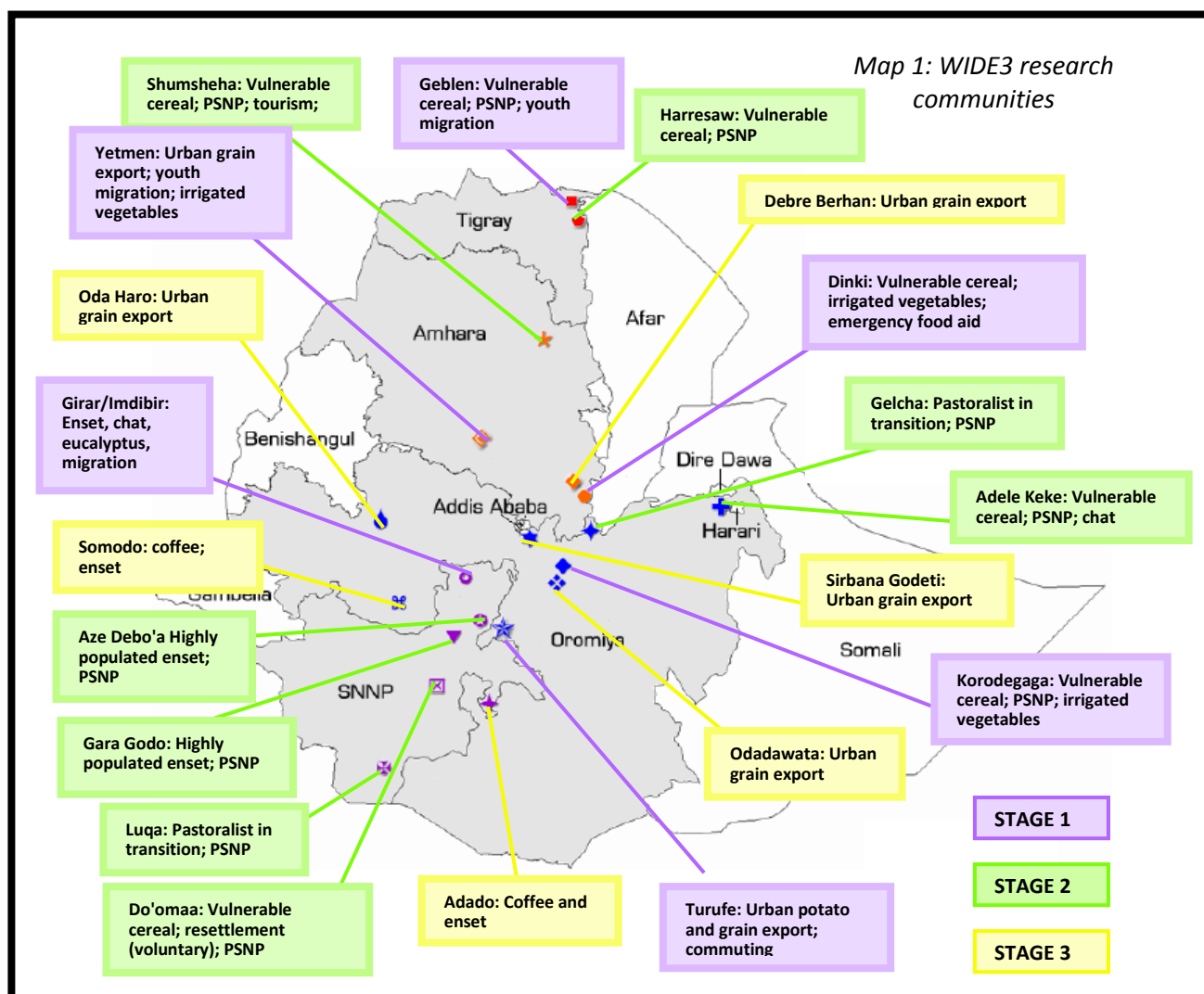
Table 1: WIDE3 November 2009 – December 2013

	Date	Activities/plans
Stage 1 November 2009 – August 2010 Six communities – three aid-dependent	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
Transition Project	December 2010 – September 2011	Three papers on: Government go-betweens Differentiation and exclusion Youth
Stage 2 August 2011 – February 2013 Eight PSNP communities	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
	February 2013	Final report
Stage 3 2013 Six High Potential communities	January – March 2013	Paper 1: Stage 3 Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
		Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities between 2011 and 2013
		Preparation of Community Stories and Evidence Bases using data from 1995 and 2003
	March - May 2013	Consultative workshops with donors including some dissemination of Stage 2 findings
		Design of Stage 3 Phase 1 research instruments
		New fieldwork (Phase 1) and preparation of the database
	June - September	Data interpretation and analysis and writing up
		Consultative workshops with donors
		Design of Phase 2 gap-filling and site-specific research instruments
	October- December	Fieldwork
		Writing of Final Report

Eighteen of the rural sites in the ELCS were selected for a panel household survey¹ by economists at the universities of Addis Ababa and Oxford as **exemplars** of the **main rural livelihood systems** found

¹ The Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS); 15 sites were selected in 1994 and 3 added in 1999.

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.



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

There are a number of reasons why we are taking a longer-term perspective on development in Ethiopia, comparing communities in 1995 and 2010-13. *First*, we are able 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.

Until recently² 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.

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.

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.

Our data are also being used to identify gaps and problems with current interventions, synergies when interventions in different sectors support each other, 'antergies' when one intervention confounds another, and short and longer-term 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?

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.

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.

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'.

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

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

² 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.

household and individual evolve in social, economic, cultural and political relationships and interactions with each other, often involving inequality, adverse incorporation and exclusion.

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 actually 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?

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.

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).

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 has grown from six (Stage 1) to 14 (Stages 1+2) to 20 (Stages 1+2+3) we are making increasing use of relevant case-based techniques.

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:

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)

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

Interpreting measures and narratives in a search for meaning

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

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 research so far is that they are 'anecdotal' because the data

lying behind them (1) only refer to fourteen sites which are not 'representative' of Ethiopia's rural communities and (2) the data have been 'collected' through procedures which have not 'controlled for' interviewer bias.

With regard to the first 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 conventional quantitative approach as 'exemplars' of different types of rural community and we have applied some well-accepted case-based methods to the data. Through a process of case analysis and comparison we have provided narratives for each community, looked for commonalities and differences across the sites in relation to modernisation processes and the impact of interventions on the communities and people within them, and located each of them in the wider Ethiopian context through a process of typologising.

As a result we believe that through Stages 1 and 2 we have developed a set of strong hypotheses pertaining to a limited set of types of rural communities. The 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.

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 always 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.

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.

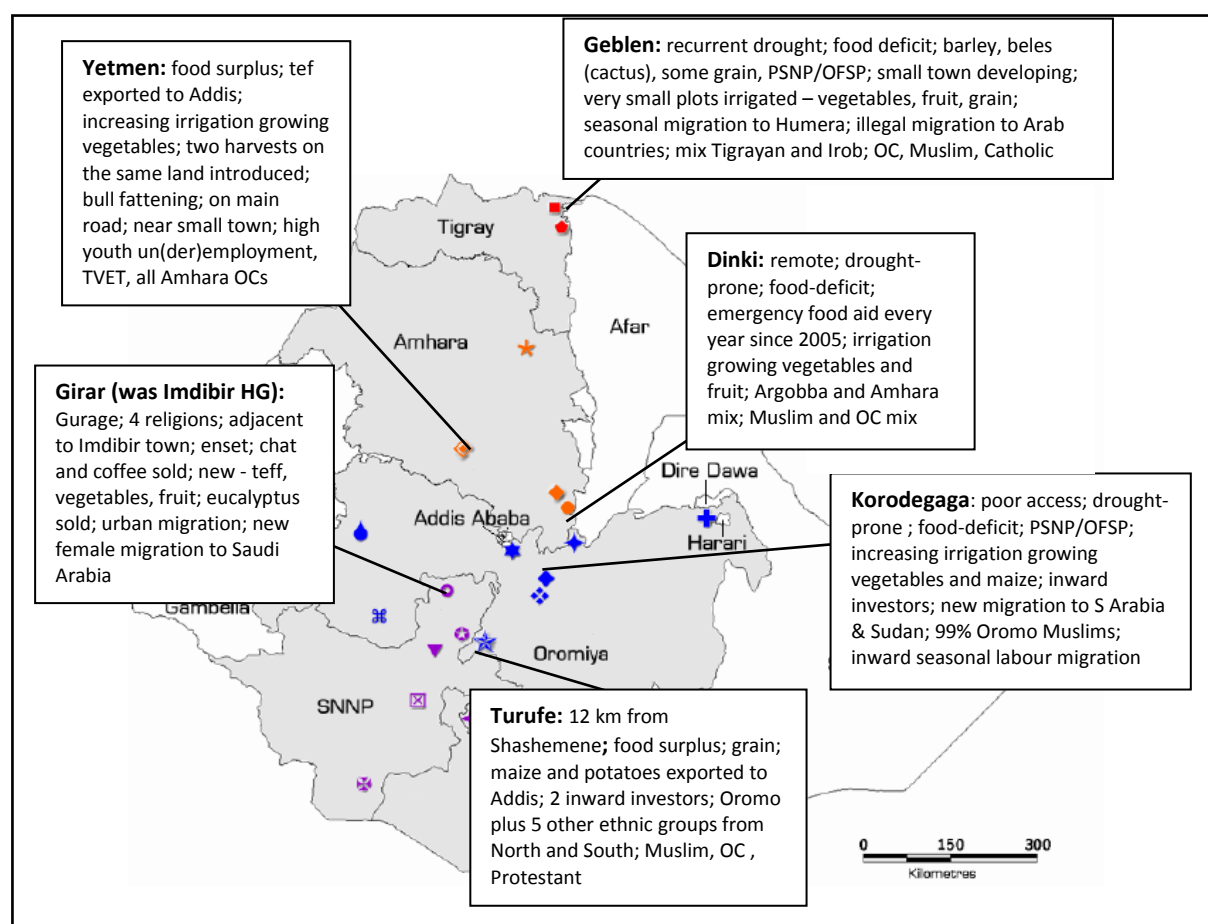
Second, we set in place a data interpretation/analysis process where first we built descriptive evidence bases combining answers from all the modules and which referred back to them. These evidence bases were revised after the fieldworkers had read and commented on them and used in a process involving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

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.

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

- 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.
- 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

- 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.
- 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.
- 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 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

- Many of the changes described above took place after 2003 with acceleration of change after 2005.

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

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' growth¹ 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.

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 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

- In speculative mode we suggest that all of the communities continued on much the same course between

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

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.

- 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.
- 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

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

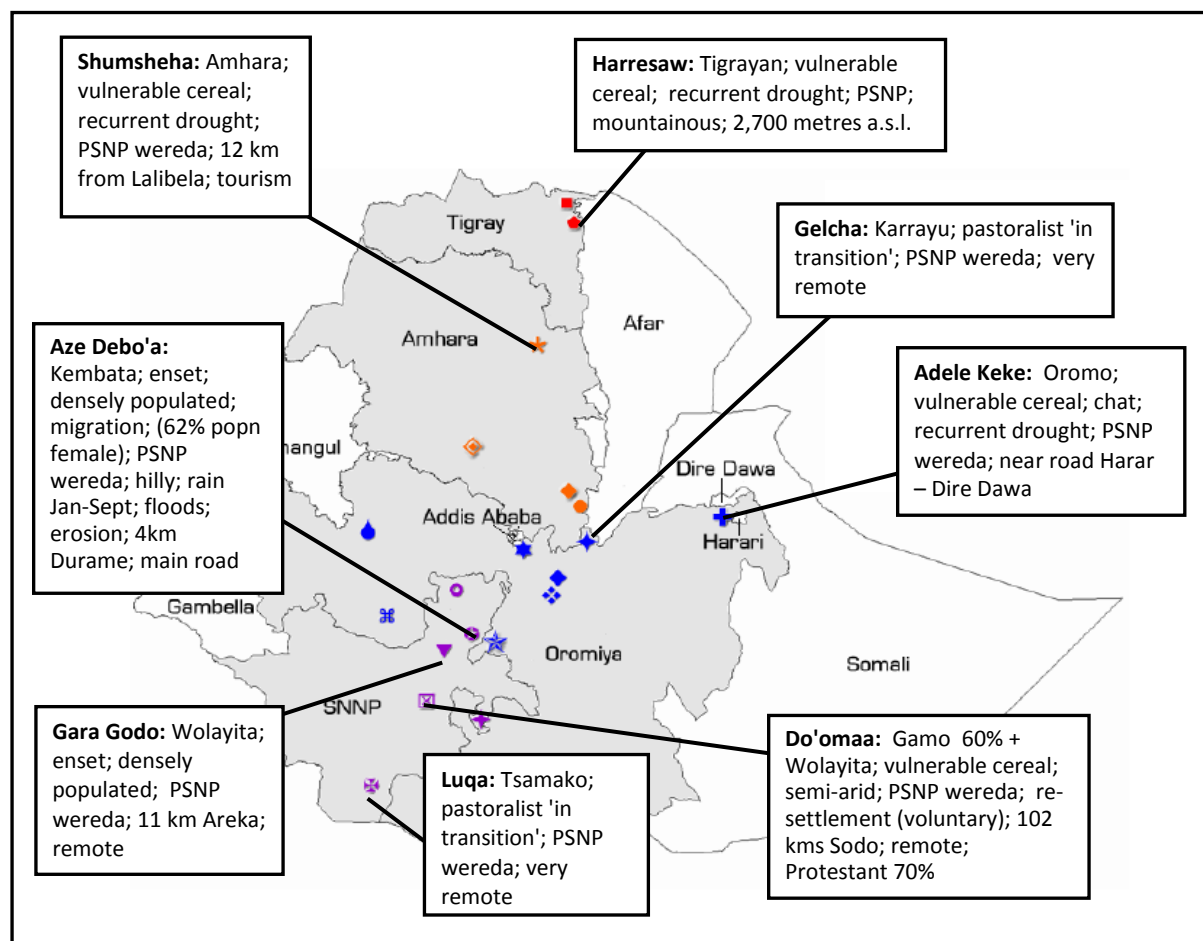
Turning to our attempt to bridge the development research-policy disconnect our worknet experiment with a wide membership - 99 in November 2011- and frequent contact initiated by us has worked well in a context of high donor staff turnover and heavy workloads. The first Stage 2 Briefing Note was circulated 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: WIDE3 STAGE 2

The eight Stage 2 communities

Map 3: The eight Stage 2 communities



The Stage 2 report

WIDE2 Stage 2 began in and the final report was made available to the worknet in March 2013 (Bevan, Carter, Dom, and Pankhurst, 2013a). The report was supported by five Evidence Bases and six Annexes. The first Evidence Base contained Community Situation Reports for each of the eight sites. The other four drew on the reports and the WIDE1, WIDE2 and WIDE3 databases to produce matrices for each community covering modernisation processes since 1995, community-government (dis)connects in 2011, the impacts of development interventions on different kinds of people in 2011, and the longer-term impacts of development interventions since 1995.

A further analysis process focusing on the most interesting research leads produced Annexes on the community situations in 2011, community modernisation, community-policy disconnects, and impacts of interventions on implementers and poor people. There was also a methodology annex and a sixth annex containing six academic papers presented at the 18th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held in Dire Dawa in November 2012.

COMMUNITY FEATURES

- There were reports of **climate change** effects from all sites including increases in temperature, shorter rainy seasons, more erratic and intense rains, unseasonal rains which damaged crops, streams drying up, and decreasing levels of groundwater.
- **Urbanisation processes** had affected all sites: in one kebele a new highway was a growth point for a tiny town, in three kebeles small towns were growing fast, while four kebele centres were in commutable distance of growing towns.
- **Roads** connecting the kebeles to the outside world had improved considerably from 2008 but inside roads were not well-developed and the access gap between residents of kebele centres and remoter parts had widened.
- While **local ecologies** provided services (which sometimes failed - water, plants, and animals used by people for food, clothing, and shelter) they also provided dis-services (for example floods, baboons eating grain, lions eating cattle, human, animal and plant pests and diseases)
- **Resource-related conflicts** with neighbours involving violence had recently occurred in four communities; in one there was also an internal conflict.

COMMUNITY LIVELIHOODS

- All eight communities had **annual rain shortages** whose severity varied by year and all had suffered at least one severe drought since 2003; nevertheless the six agriculturalist sites had experienced **economic growth** related to improvements in roads, increases in agricultural and non-farm incomes and the PSNP.
- There had not been equivalent signs of economic development in the two pastoralist sites although there were signs of a possible take-off in the more remote one.
- Improvements in agricultural incomes were related to **agricultural productivity increases**, food price **inflation**, better road **access to markets**, and **diversification** into higher-value products, many of which depended on **irrigation**. Cash-crop production and sale had increased everywhere. Failure to maintain a road had reduced access to markets in one site.
- **Improved seeds, fertiliser and new planting techniques** had contributed to improvements in agricultural productivity.
- **Irrigation schemes** were of varying importance in the sites; they involved a variety of technologies and their reach depended on annual rain patterns. Community demand for irrigation was high.
- **Rising livestock and livestock product prices** had increased investment and sales in all communities; fattening brought a good income in some. Improved breeds, zero-grazing and new fodder were found in some sites.
- **Landlessness** was a problem in all sites, especially for youth. Share-cropping, leasing and purchase of land 'by contract' were common allowing successful farmers to increase their land size and poorer landed farmers to get some income from their land while also working off-farm. **A richer farmer class** was solidifying in the agriculturalist sites with many diversifying into trade or other businesses.
- The pastoralist households mainly relied on family and customary workgroup labour. In the agriculturalist sites **household child and youth labour had declined** and employment of daily labourers risen. The economic activity of women and older girls had increased.
- In some sites the kebele 1-5 groups, which were composed of farmers with adjacent fields, were being encouraged to work together on each farmer's land in turn. Women and youth co-operatives were mostly unsuccessful.
- **Migration** for agricultural work on large farms and smallholdings were important survival strategies in three communities; in two sites accelerating illegal international migration was accompanied by a reduction in agricultural migration. Young men in the pastoralist sites went seasonally to distant pastures. There was also increasing urban migration by both sexes in all sites except one pastoralist site and an agriculturalist site where commuting was easy.
- There were growing **non-farm** business and employment opportunities in all sites notably in trade, wood/grass/charcoal-selling, and services. In some sites there were craftworkers and/or motorbike/bajaj transport-providers. Demand for local goods and services was greater in the three communities with growing small towns.

COMMUNITY LIVES

- In all communities provision of **health services**, **drinking water** and **education** had expanded considerably since 2003 bringing many benefits

- Differences in assets and lifestyle between **rich and poor households** were stark and increasing as, while poor households seemed no poorer than in the past, the 'rich' category were richer and there was a small emerging category of 'very rich'. There was a nascent 'middle class' and differentiation among 'the poor' into poor, very poor and destitute.
- Ideal households were still **patriarchal** although men's authority over women and youth had declined and in some households greater economic participation by females was paralleled with greater domestic participation by males. In the Tigray site 51% of households were headed by females. **Youth landlessness and un(der)employment** were problems everywhere.
- There were varying degrees of male opposition to **women's property rights** and achievements varied depending particularly on the relative strength and perceptions of elders and the calibre and commitment of women and their leaders in the kebele and staff in the wereda women's office.
- As a result of a greater variety of crops, improved incomes and health extension education **diets** for some babies and children had improved, though many children, particularly in poor households, still faced hunger and poor nutrition during annual hungry seasons and prolonged droughts.
- **Malaria** regularly caused deaths in the majority of communities. Stigma meant that researching **HIV/AIDS** was difficult; the highest number of PLWHAs reported in any site was 52.
- Traditional medical practices had reduced among those who could afford formal public or private **health services** which they saw as effective.
- Parental enthusiasm for **education** for boys and girls and attendance at all levels had increased; many older children, and young and older adults were combining work and education in a long-run process involving repeated dropping out and back in. In those sites with a longer history of higher education the increasing number of unemployed G10, 12 and college graduates had led to declining expectations of what could be achieved through education.
- Richer households, migrants and youth were increasingly adopting **urban-like life-styles**: TV-watching, mobile phone use, modern furniture and clothes etc. Richer people were buying houses in nearby towns.

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

- In all communities there were **strong social networks** and numerous **community-initiated organisations**; informal social protection involved neighbours, relatives and wider kin, friends and in some places Protestant churches and/or clan/lineage structures.
- All communities had networks of cultural, economic and government elites with some overlapping memberships and family connections.
- Clan or lineage structures played roles in all the communities.
- Religious identity was an increasing focus for organisation; youth interest in religion had increased.
- Community members had access to **competing local conservative and modernising repertoires** of beliefs, knowledge, norms and values. Older people, middle-aged women with less access to information and other less educated adults were more likely to adhere to customary ideas. Modern repertoires were based on acceptance of new ideas, technologies and goods. **Cultural entrepreneurs** potentially bringing new beliefs, knowledge, norms and values into the communities included wereda officials, school teachers and extension workers, opposition party followers, organisations associated with ethnic identities, religious leaders and missionaries, returned ex-soldiers, international and urban migrants, and media actors.
- The pace of change in communities was producing stresses and strains which, combined with land shortages particularly **affected relations between youth and older generations**.
- **Women** were becoming more economically active, more aware of their rights and more assertive which was appreciated by some men but not others; they were not very active in local politics.
- **Elders** played key governance roles in all communities.
- In all communities **government-community relations** were influenced by people's appreciation of new infrastructure, improved security and services, particularly education and health, and some community-specific interventions. However, there had also been instances of violent conflict, refusal to co-operate, foot-dragging, and resentful conformity.

CONTRIBUTIONS REQUIRED OF ORDINARY COMMUNITY MEMBERS FOR INTERVENTIONS TO WORK

- Ordinary community members make two kinds of contribution without which interventions will not work: (1) input-contributions - resources and time to participate in meetings and training and construct public goods and (2) beneficiary-contributions - resources and time necessary to implement the particular intervention.
- In all sites most **interventions to improve infrastructure and the environment** involved input

contributions of meeting time, labour, cash and resources such as wood. To benefit from the different public goods available people needed different kinds of resources. For example, to benefit from electricity people needed to have houses near the source and cash to pay for connections and to benefit from schools they needed to have children and sufficient resources to cover the opportunity and direct costs of their attendance.

- In all communities social courts/land administrations/kebele administrations and elders invested considerable amounts of time to resolving multiple **land** issues.
- The main immediate beneficiaries of **agricultural and livestock interventions** were wealthier farmers who were targeted because they had the land, livestock, and access to cash needed for implementation of the different projects. Middle-wealth farmers also could benefit, sometimes with a lag, as work was put in to percolate new ideas, techniques, seeds and sometimes livestock breeds.
- As described above government interest in developing the **non-farm sector** was very small and most activity was developed through investment of resources and time independent of interventions. There was evidence of a growing interest in **licensing and taxing** the sector.
- Anyone using **savings and credit organisations** needed to be generating regular cash. Most government credit not related to savings required land or group membership (social capital).
- Everywhere there were smallscale interventions which only **females or young men** could access but most potential beneficiaries did not have the resources, skills or time to use them to establish sustainable livelihoods.
- All **PSNP/Emergency Food Aid** households had to provide labour at times decided by the organisers; the planning and implementation of Public Works required inputs of time from kebele officials and Development Agents, and in some places the kebele Council, Development Team and 1-5 leaders, and/or militias.
- People receiving **food aid** needed time and a donkey or strength to carry the food. For **nutritional interventions** to work mothers had to contribute time listening to teaching from HEWs, volunteers and/or 1-5 leaders. To implement advice on better diets they had to access the new foods from their own production or in the market. Mothers had to resist pressures to sell or share the food supplements and invest time and resources to take the malnourished child to the TFC.
- To benefit from **hygiene and environmental sanitation interventions** the women who were targeted required time to be 'aware' and time, sufficient land and resources to construct latrines, waste disposal pits, separate kitchens and livestock houses, and kitchen cupboards. Hand-washing depended on carrying home sufficient water and soap and chemicals to control pests and insects had to be bought.
- **Disease prevention** packages were more dependent on supplies from the wereda and less dependent on household inputs apart from time to have awareness raised and on activities like vaccination, HIV/AIDS and TB tests, removing stagnant water, getting everyone in a large family under a single bednet.
- Use of **mother and child** services required time and sometimes resources for travel from pregnant women and women giving birth.
- In all sites people spent time and sometimes resources to get to **health centres and hospitals**, wait to see a health worker, and pay for services and drugs. Those with good organisational participation and social networks could often get assistance in covering health costs.
- Beneficiaries of **pre-school interventions** had to have a child of the right age and live close to the school. **Primary school** parents or the pupils themselves had to contribute *cash* for registration, stationery etc and children had to have enough *food* to provide energy to get them to school and learn. Children had to commit *time* for learning and parents had to replace lost labour. Parents and daughters had to resist pressures for early marriage which were stronger in communities where bridewealth was paid. Costs for secondary and tertiary education were higher.
- The pursuit of **women's rights** demanded time to attend meetings from ordinary women. Those pursuing legal cases needed courage, time and social support to go to elders, and/or the social and wereda courts.
- **Youth** seemed to have more duties than rights.
- Time and resources were needed to pursue **justice** and success was related to the ability to invest time and money and having supportive connections.

POOR PEOPLE AND DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

- The previous section shows how difficult it is for poor households and people to benefit from development interventions; at the same time many of them contribute time, labour and resources for the

implementation of some of these interventions.

- Inequality in these communities is considerable: different types of household rely on different mixes of income sources. Landed households fall into four categories:
 - those involved in big farming and maybe big business;
 - those who are mostly self-supporting on the farm but also rely on contributions by different household members from other activities (see below)
 - those who do some farming but rely more heavily on other activities
 - those renting or share-cropping their land out and working on other activities
- Landless households fall into four categories
 - farming through renting/share-cropping plus other activities
 - those only involved in non-farm businesses or employment
 - daily labour; wood/grass selling; petty trade
 - destitute relying on informal social protection
- Other activities which were on the rise included daily agricultural labour; wood, grass and charcoal selling; petty, retail and larger-scale trade; brokering; skilled and manual work and service activities in small towns in some kebeles; and agricultural, urban and international migration for periods of varying length.
- In an ideal-typical rural community in terms of livelihood assets around 15% would be rich or very rich, roughly 40% middle class, and 45% poor which could be further sub-divided into poor, very poor and destitute.
- In the eight communities poor households, particularly those with land obliged to pay tax and other contributions, on average **contributed more to public goods interventions than they received in benefits** since they faced barriers resulting from their lack of resources. They could not afford transport, electricity, mobile phones (and some said they had no-one to call). If they had no land they could not benefit from farming-related buildings and some could not afford to send their children to the schools they had helped to build.
- Most poor people derived little benefit from **livelihood interventions** and the poor people forced to buy fertiliser they could not use (in three communities) were harmed by the intervention. Some poor people in four communities benefited from livestock interventions targeted at poor people but only if the livestock did not die.
- In many places poor and vulnerable people said that **PSNP** had saved their lives. However, lack of food, time, cash, space and low social status prevented many poor people from benefiting from interventions to improve nutrition and hygiene, prevent diseases, and provide mother and child services, curative health services, and education.
- In relation to **governance** there was less pressure on poor people to participate in long meetings but access to justice was difficult. Poor tax-paying households were subject to the same flat-rate contributions as rich ones.

Learning during Stage 2

During the analysis and interpretation process we developed some new frameworks which are described in Part 4. Our increased understanding of how rural communities work as a result of Stage 2 enabled us to approach the Stage 3 fieldwork in a different way. First, as described below, we abandoned the two phase approach which used learning from phase 1 to inform the design of the phase 2 instruments. In Stage 3 nearly all the fieldwork is being conducted in a longer phase 1 following which the community reports will be drafted. The short phase 2 will be used for gap-filling and pursuing interesting site-specific issues. Second, since we know much more about the kinds of question we should be asking, we are using more focused and less exploratory research instruments.

Following the experimentation with NVivo in Stage 1 all four community lead researchers used it to help with the interpretation and analysis of the Stage 2 data on the two communities for which they were responsible. The use of headings in the Word-based Report Documents where the fieldworkers wrote up their notes allowed for a process of theoretically-based automatic coding once the

documents had been transferred to NVivo. During Stage 3 we will experiment with using it for cross-community data analysis.

PART 4: THE EVOLVING WIDE3 METHODOLOGY

The ELCS database 1989-2010

The foundations of the Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database (ELCD) were laid in 1995 through funding from DFID (then the Overseas Development Administration) 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.

Table 2: Data coverage for the twenty communities

Site	Region	1989	1994	1995	1997	1999	2003	2004	2005	2007	2009	2010	2011	2013
Dinki	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	E9	S1		
Korodegaga	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D	G	E9	S1		
Turufe	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		E9	S1		
Yetmen	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6 D	D		E5	S1		
Geblen	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6		G	E9	S1		
Imdibir/Girar	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9	S1		
Shumsheha	Amhara		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Adele Keke	Oromia	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Do'oma	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Gara Godo	SNNP	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Gelcha*	Oromia						W2						S2	
Luca*	SNNP						W2						S2	
Harresaw	Tigray		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Aze Deboa	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9		S2	
Debre Berhan	Amhara	E0	E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Sirbana Godeti	Oromia		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Adado	SNNP		E1E2	E3 W1	E4	E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Odadawata	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Somodo	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3
Oda Haro	Oromia					E5	W2	E6			E9			S3

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

In 2003 a second round of community 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 WeD³ 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 community studies became known as WIDE1⁴ (1995) and WIDE2 (2003) and the in-depth research as DEEP⁵. There is additional governance data on three of the Stage 1 sites made as part of a Ph.D. programme.

³ 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.

⁴ Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia

⁵ In-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty

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

1. There are eight broad questions guiding the research:
 1. In each community what were the *key features of the development situation* at the time of the research?
 2. 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*?
 3. What *differences were made* to the trajectories and the communities by *development interventions* and the connections between them between 2003 and 2010?
 4. What similarities and differences can we identify in these impacts? How did they *vary among different types of community* and what are the reasons?
 5. How did what happened fit with *government and donor models* of how development *should* happen?
 6. 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?
 7. 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?
 8. 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

Using ideas from complexity science and complexity theory our complexity social science approach⁶ pays attention to ontology – what is the world *really* like? and epistemology – how can we know about it? In relation to that part of the world we are looking at here – rural communities and their members – we conceptualise them as complex social and human systems which are open, as they depend on and interact with their environments, and dynamic, as they co-evolve with the open systems which make them up, constitute their contexts, and overlap with them. 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.

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

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

⁶ For more on this see Bevan 2007, 2009c, 2010a, 2010b and forthcoming.

others there may be structural holes, and some people may be excluded from participation in many areas of the system.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 type. 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

We developed some key theoretical frameworks before and during the Stage 1 analysis and used them in Stage 2. In this section the important frameworks used in and emerging from Stage 2 are presented.

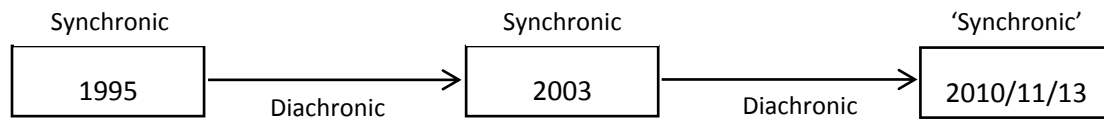
The synchronic-diachronic research framework

Synchronic analyses of complex systems focus on a 'point in time' and use an 'all-at-once' logic to consider structures of systems. *Meaning* comes from difference and similarity and from (dis)connections and patterns.

Diachronic analyses follow the 'sequential logic of a road' and can answer two questions: why a current state was born of a prior state and why a certain state progressed to some future state. The focus is on process and *meaning* comes from the narrative produced through the tracing of plot and

sequence. Figure 1 shows how we can conduct comparative synchronic analyses of the communities in 1995, 2003, and 2010/11/13 and diachronic ‘process-tracing’⁷ of the trends and events driving community trajectories between 1995 and 2003 and 2003 and 2010/11/13. We can also compare the three sets of WIDE3 communities in early 2010, later 2011 and spring 2013 to identify common trends and idiosyncratic changes over the three years 2010-13.

Figure 1: Synchronic and diachronic analyses



The seven perspectives (synchronic) framework

Using Cilliers’ suggestion that more than one description of a complex system is possible (2005: 257) we have looked at the communities from seven (synchronic) perspectives asking questions about (1) the community as a whole; (2) the community in its wider context; (3) household structures; (4) five domains of power/fields of action; (5) structures of inequality; (6) social interaction; and (7) types of social actor.

Perspective 1. The community in the wider context

Where is the community located in encompassing social, cultural, economic and political contexts?

Perspective 2. The community as a whole

What kind of community is it? How does it work as a whole? What are its main internal and contextual parameters? Which currently control its trajectory?

Perspective 3. Households

What is the local cultural ideal for household structures? What kinds of household structures actually exist? What are the important differences among households? How do households relate and interact with other households?

Perspective 4. Intermediate social organisation – five domains of power/fields of action

Community members are active in five institutional settings which are simultaneously domains of power and fields of action. These are:

The livelihood domain:

- smallholder agriculture and agricultural employment
- non-farm business and non-farm employment
- migration and remittances

The domain of human re/pro/duction:

- ‘producing’ people: pregnancy, birth, child-rearing
- ‘producing’ people: learning, training, formal education
- ‘reproducing’ (maintaining) people: domestic work, food consumption
- ‘reproducing’ people: housing, household assets, water, and sanitation
- ‘reducing’ people: illness, conflict, ageing

The domain of social re/pro/duction

- social networks
- social institutions: marriage, circumcision, inheritance, land/labour/oxen exchanges
- social organisations (including households)

⁷ Process-tracing is a method used regularly by American political scientists to trace the sequencing and importance of trends and events in the lead up to an outcome of interest.

The domain of community management

- community-initiated structures for decision-making and implementation
- *kebele* (community government) structures
- *wereda* (district) structures

The domain of ideas

- local customary repertoires
- local modern repertoires
- in-coming ideologies, religions, cultures and other ideas

Perspective 5. Community macro organisation - structures of inequality

How is the community structured in terms of class, wealth/poverty, and income? What forms do genderage inequalities and relations take? What other community-specific status markers structure inequality? Who are the community elites?

Perspective 6. Social interactions

The community system is reproduced and changed through the day-to-day actions and interactions of its members and relevant outsiders. What kinds of people do what in the five domains of power? What kinds of social interactions are involved?

Perspective 7. Social actors

Each social actor has a genderage, class/wealth position, ethnicity, religion, other community-relevant social statuses, a personality, accumulated human resources and liabilities, and a personal history. How are individuals constrained and enabled by their histories, the roles open to them in the different fields of action, and their relative power positions in local structures of inequality?

Policy frameworks

1. The policy journey

Figure 2: The policy journey

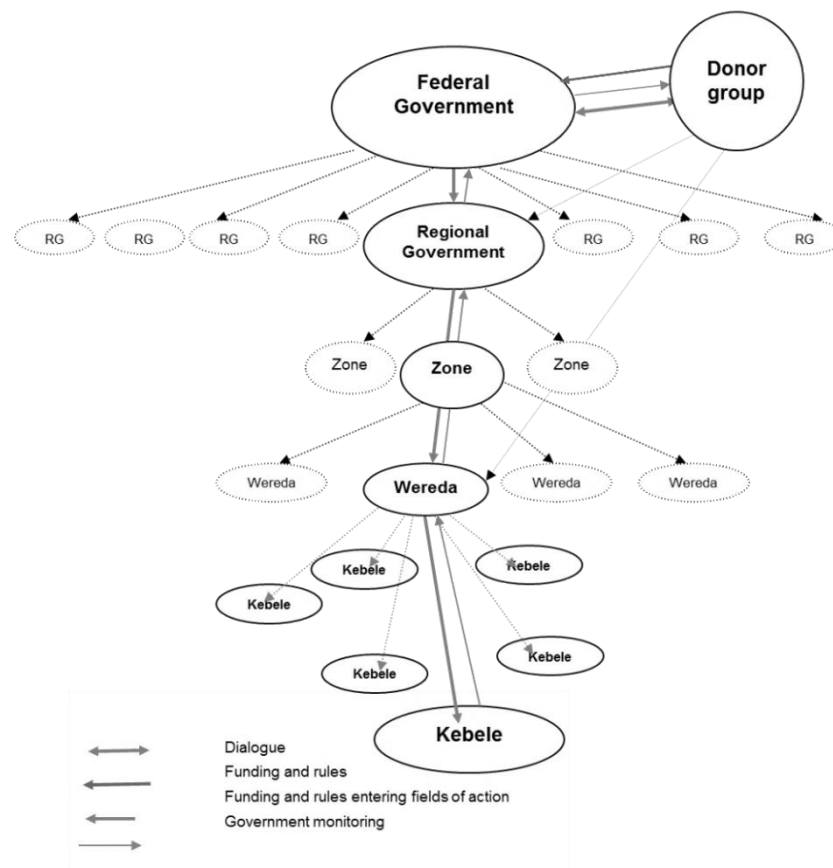
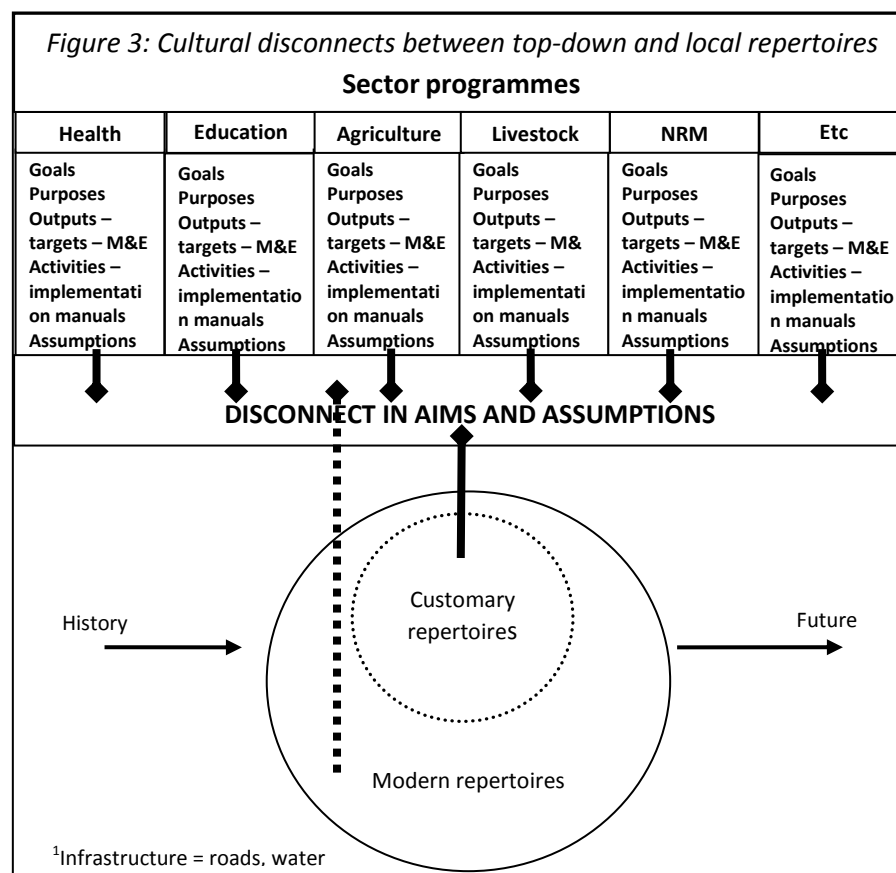


Figure 2 shows how most development interventions are transmitted to Ethiopian rural communities and how information about their progress is relayed back to government. As policies travel down the government chain at each stage it is not possible to implement the policy as designed and officials at each level have to be creative in dealing with risks not anticipated in the policy design (Hirschman, 1967). While our focus is on the *kebele* and its interactions with the *wereda* we are interested in how what happened compared with what federal and donor policymakers expected to happen.

2. Cultural disconnects

Development interventions are attempts to change the technological, institutional and 'ideas' landscapes within which community systems are working. Figure 3 depicts potential *synchronic* cultural disconnects between the aims and assumptions implicit in the mental models (ideas) and institutional designs (norms and rules) associated with top-down sector policies and programmes and local beliefs, values, norms and ways of doing things which we are calling cultural repertoires. A simple example is the clash between nationally-designed school timetables and local daily and seasonal demands for household labour. This framework of cultural disconnects was used as one focus for a deeper exploration of sector interventions in Stage 2.

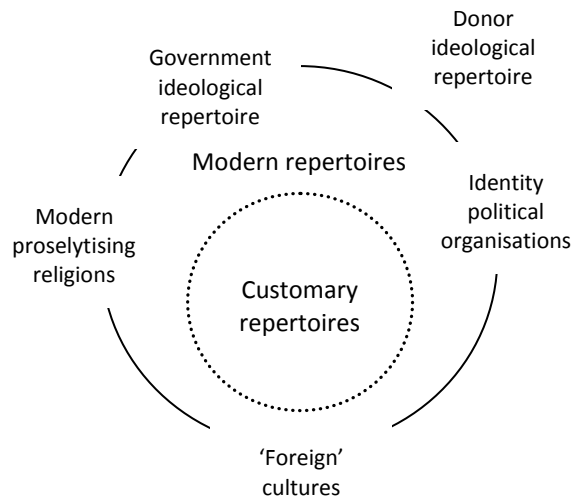


Taking a *diachronic perspective* on cultural change these communities have never been totally cut off from external influences though the degree to which such influences have entered over the years is related to levels of remoteness. Religious missionaries have operated in some parts of the country since the 19th century and since the fall of Haile Selassie local cultures have been increasingly penetrated by a number of different kinds of modern ideological repertoire. Through time aspects of these repertoires have 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).

It is possible to look into the muddle and identify two ideal-type cultural repertoires available at any point in time: the local customary repertoires and local modern repertoires depicted in Figure 3. *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 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 community opinion leaders.

Local customary and modern repertoires are promulgated by cultural entrepreneurs, for example elders and teachers. People can pick and mix ideas from the different repertoires and may also be influenced by incoming *ideological repertoires* and other 'foreign' ideas diffused in less organised ways. In recent years local repertoires have come under increasing pressure from incoming ideas associated with religion (Protestant, Muslim and Orthodox Christian), politics, urbanisation, and globalisation (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Customary cultural repertoires under pressure

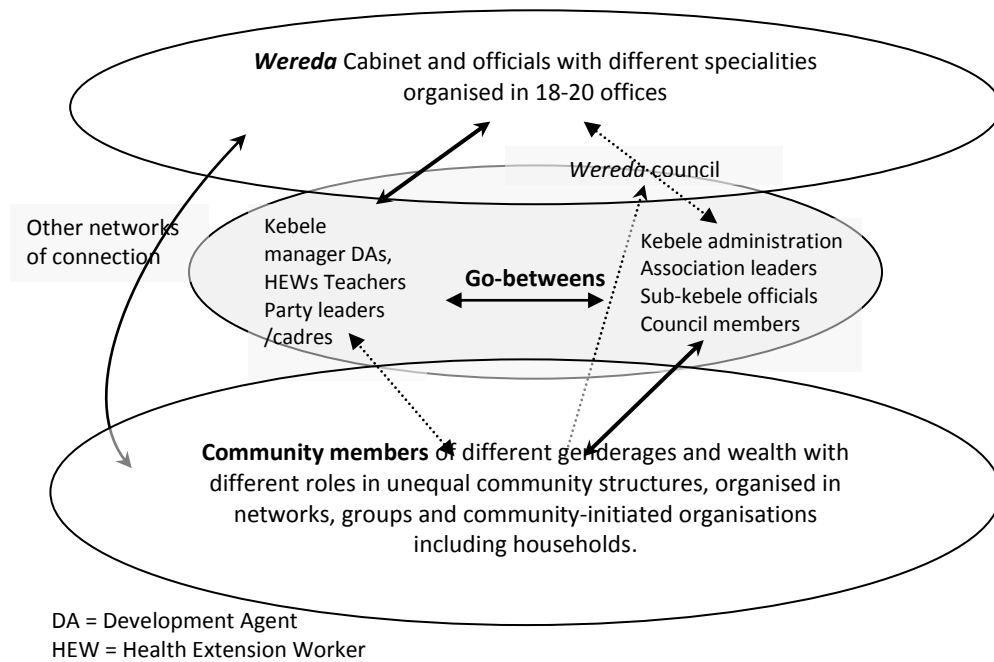


3. Social interactions in the development interface space

The cultural contradictions between top-down and community development models are not easily resolved and they cause difficulties for those whose official positions require them to bridge the cultural divide.

Figure 5 shows the key development players in the *wereda*, *kebele*, and communities and identifies a set of 'go-between' government employees who work in the development interface space interacting with *wereda* officials and community members. *Kebele* managers, Development Agents (Agriculture, Livestock and Natural Resources), Health Extension Workers and teachers mostly, though not always, 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-betweens' – *kebele* and sub-*kebele* officials and *kebele* Council members - are (s)electd from within the community and embedded in community networks and structures whilst by their function they are also linked to higher government structures and increasingly to party structures. They are unpaid 'go-between' government volunteers. This framework was used in Stage 2 to design new questions and inform data interpretation.

Figure 5: Social interactions in the development interface



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. We have started to explore these different responses.

4. The web of development interventions

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

Figure 6: The web of development interventions

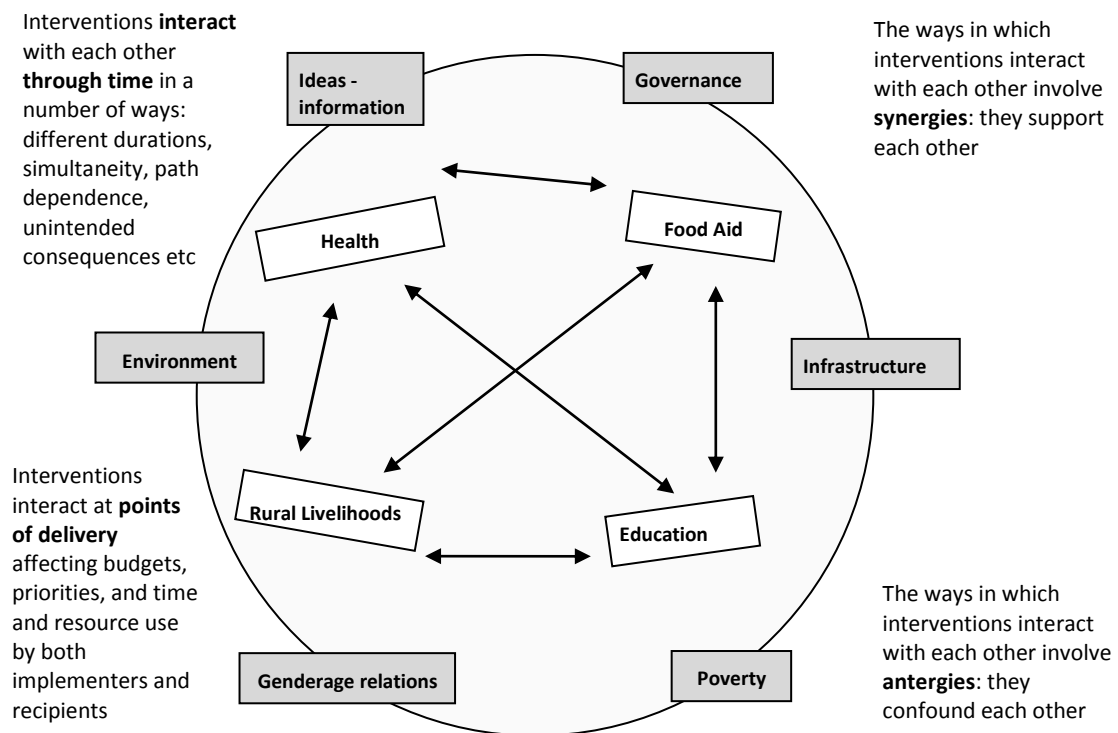


Figure 6 presents a framework based on the argument that when a new field-focused or cross-cutting intervention enters a community it is affected by, and has consequences for, a pre-existing web of development interventions. As interventions proceed they have consequences beyond those intended by the intervention designers and implementers which may take some time to make themselves felt

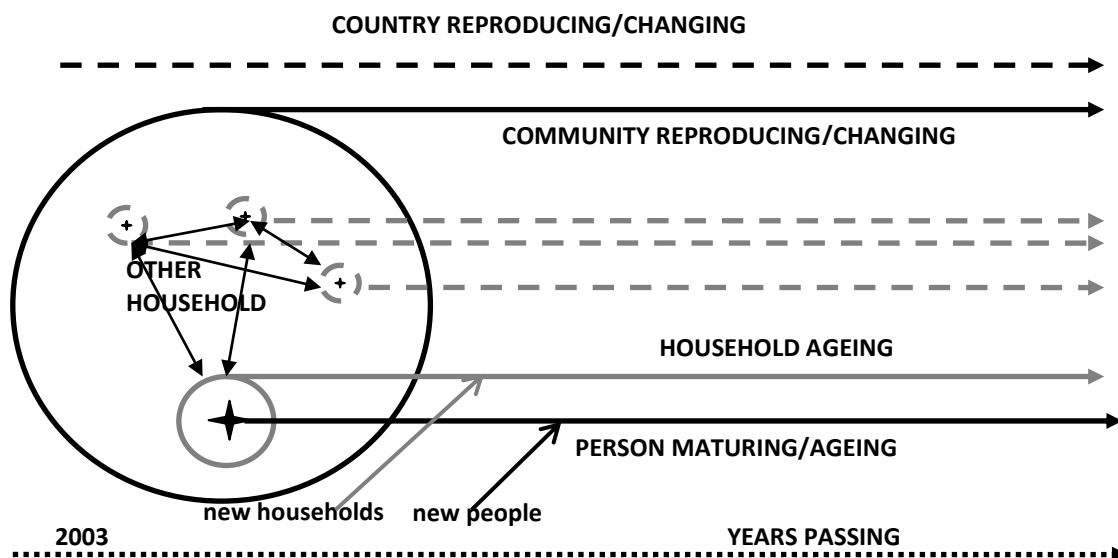
Two diachronic frameworks

This section outlines two diachronic frameworks related to co-evolution and community trajectories.

1. The community co-evolving with context and sub-systems

Fig 7 depicts a community co-evolving with its households and people and wider context. Communities do not have life cycles as households and people do. The trajectory followed by each community system is the result of interactions among (1) a stream of external happenings to which people organised in household sub-systems have to respond and (2) creative activities generated from within the community.

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



Households can be seen as involved in a 'struggle for existence' through which they occupy an economic niche for longer or shorter periods. Those 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 and/or adversely incorporated. However, given the uncertainties of rural life, customary institutional arrangements 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.

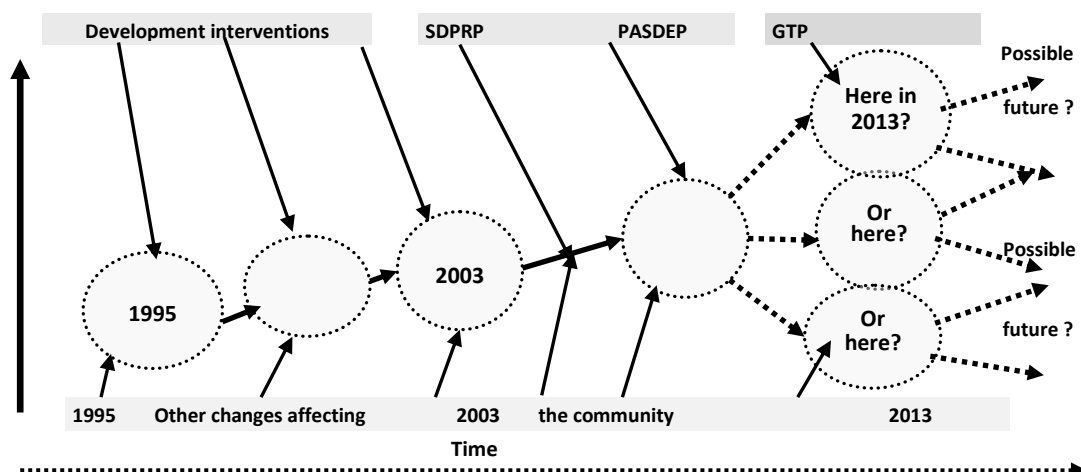
Men and women, youth and children 'co-evolving' with their communities and households are affected by what happens to each. Individual consequences depend on community trajectory, household trajectory, genderage, class-wealth, status, political connection, education, health, personal characteristics and chance. The complex of choices different kinds of people make in response to what happens to them also has consequences for the future trajectory of each community and, taking all communities together, for the country.

2. Community trajectories

What kind of trajectory is each community on? Where might each be heading? The framework in

Figure 8 shows how development interventions related to government strategy plans (the SDPRP, the PASDEP and the GTP⁸) and wider changes in context have interacted with ongoing community processes since 1995.

Figure 8: Community trajectories



Substantive theory

Looking ahead to the end of the Growth and Transformation Plan period in 2015 and beyond we have identified some wider less predictable forces for change with the potential to affect the WIDE communities. On the economic front there may be commercial investment in large-scale farming, small and larger scale industrial investment, and formalisation of the informal sector aimed at increasing the tax base. There is uncertainty in the political arena with, on the one hand, the prospect of further state/party penetration of communities, the private sector and civil society, and on the other, the pursuit by a growing class of rural-based relatively wealthy farmers, traders and businessmen of a market-led route to prosperity, and the possibility that organisations with local roots, including religious and ethnic networks, will get more active in the political arena. As a result of increasing education and greater participation in income-generating activities women's voices should grow stronger within the household and in the first instance, in economic and social domains, while the responses of the growing group of more and less educated youth to their difficult economic prospects may include a desire for political change. Illegal international migration is likely to increase exponentially creating diasporic linkages to some very different cultures.

Given this wider uncertain future we are theorising that conditions in four main areas will govern community trajectories: (1) what we are calling 'place', (2) the evolving state of the local economy, (3) the evolving state of the local political settlement, and (4) what is going on in the wider context. Table 3 shows ten parameters falling within these four areas, all of which are important for community trajectory continuity and change: a *big* change in one parameter could rapidly knock the system on to a new trajectory, or *incremental interacting changes in a number of parameters* could move the system in a chaotic direction opening up the possibility of structural change.

⁸ The first government plan, the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme 2003-5, was followed by the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty 2005-10 and the Growth and Transformation Plan 2010-15.

Table 3: Parameters guiding rural community trajectories

Place		The state of the local economy			Political settlement		Wider context		
Terrain, settlement, climate	Remoteness	Agri-technologies	Farming system	Livelihood diversification	Community fault-lines	Govt – society relns	Relations with neighbours	Cultural imports	Strategic location

Place

‘Place’ encompasses two aspects. The first, *terrain, settlement, climate*, responds to the question ‘How (relatively) easy is it to grow crops, keep livestock and live here?’ The question for the second, *remoteness*, is ‘How easy is it to access people outside the community, markets, services, etc?’.

The state of the local economy

This has three aspects. The *farming system* question is ‘What crops and livestock are produced and how well do they work with the *place*?’ The question relating to *agro-technologies* is ‘What agricultural technologies are currently used and how well do they work with the *place*?’ The third question is about *livelihood diversification*: ‘What off-farm work opportunities are there and how do they fit with the *place*?’

Local political settlements

The first aspect is *community fault-lines*: ‘Considering identity group differences⁹, gender relations, adult-youth relations, and rich-poor relations how integrated is the community?’ The question related to *society-government relations* is ‘How strong is the political settlement between the community and the government and what is it based on?’

Wider context

Here we introduce three aspects of the wider contexts of the communities. Considering *relations with neighbours* the questions are ‘What is the state of relations with wider identity groups (friends and enemies) in the neighbourhood? How dangerous are potential or existing resource conflicts?’ The question about *cultural imports* is ‘What are the consequences of incoming religious and political ideologies and new ideas from diasporas, towns, and elsewhere?’ Finally in relation to *strategic location* we ask ‘What economic plans does the government have for the wider area?’

This new theory was developed towards the end of the Stage 2 analysis and has not yet been brought into dialogue with the existing data; we plan to do this for all twenty sites at the end of Stage 3.

PART 5: THE STAGE 3 RESEARCH PROCESS

The six Stage 3 research communities

Map 4 locates and provides brief descriptions of the Stage 3 research communities. Table 4 provides more information.

⁹ For example ethnic, clan, lineage, and/or religious differences

Map 4: The six Stage 3 communities

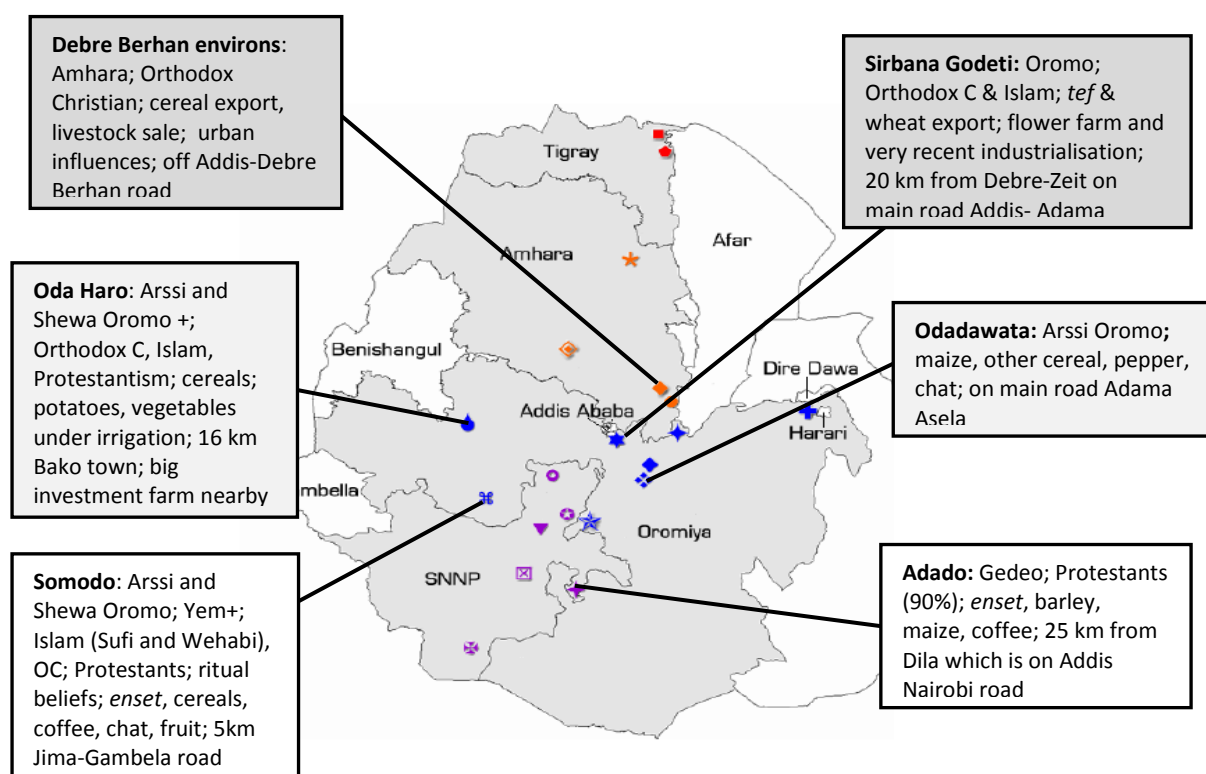


Table 4: Key features of the Stage 3 research sites in 2003

Site	Wereda (town)	Zone	Region	Ethnicities	Religions	Subsistence crops	Main cash sources
Sirbana Godeti	Ada'a (Bishoftu)	Misraq (East) Shewa	Oromia	Oromo	OC; Islam; traditional	<i>tef</i> , wheat, beans, maize, chickpeas, sorghum, barley	<i>tef</i> , wheat, cattle, meat, milk, sheep, trade
Debre Berhan environs	Basona Werana (Gudoberet?)	Semien (North) Shewa	Amhara	Amhara	OC	barley, peas, horsebeans, wheat, linseed	dungcakes, sheep, goats, cattle, milk, butter, crops (if harvest is good)
Somodo	Mana (Yebu)	Jimma	Oromia	Oromo (Arssi & Shewa); Yem; a few others	Islam (Sufi and Wehabi); OC; Protestantism; ritual beliefs	maize (50%), <i>tef</i> (35%), sorghum, barley, wheat, beans, peas and <i>enset</i> .	coffee, <i>chat</i> , fruit, grain
Odadawata	Tiyo (Asella)	Arsi	Oromia	Oromo (Arssi & Shewa); Amhara; a few Gurage, Silte	OC; Islam; Protestantism	<i>Weyna dega</i> area: wheat/maize/ sorghum; <i>Dega</i> area: barley/ peas/ beans.	potatoes and vegetables like onion, carrot, and cabbage under irrigation; barley;
Oda Haro	Bako Tibe (Bako)	Mirab (West) Shewa	Oromia	Oromo, very few non-Oromo	Islam; Protestant; OC; ritual beliefs	maize (principal crop), <i>tef</i> , sorghum and chickpea	grain, nug, pepper, and chat
Adado	Bule (Bule)	Gedeo	SNNP	Gedeo	Protestants (90%); Islam; OC; Gedeo beliefs	<i>enset</i> , barley, maize, beans, cabbage	coffee, fruit, <i>enset</i> , cattle, sheep, goats, trade, migrate for land, goldmining

Table 4 shows that four of the sites are in Oromia and one each in Amhara and Southern Regions. In 2003 five of the communities were grain-producing and the major cash crops in three were exportable surpluses of *tef*, wheat, barley and or maize; one also sold potatoes. The most important cash crop in two sites was coffee and in the sixth livestock and livestock products supplemented by sale of barley and wheat in a good year. Three communities had only one ethnic group and one of these only one religion which was Orthodox Christianity. The remaining five communities contained mixes of Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Protestants in various mixes. In three ritual beliefs were still said to be important.

The research team

The team consists of three lead researchers: Catherine Dom, team leader, policy lead, community research leader for two communities and mentor for another two; Alula Pankhurst, fieldwork lead and mentor for two communities; and Philippa Bevan, methodology lead with responsibility for comparative research across the WIDE3 communities and the final report. There are two other community lead researchers, Anthea Gordon, who will be mentored by Catherine, and Tom Lavers, mentored by Alula. Two Research Officers, one male and one female, will conduct the research in each of the two sites under fieldwork supervision by Alula and an assistant, and a database manager will supervise the writing up process.

Research timetable

Table 5 sets out the research timetable with more detail spelled out below.

Table 5: WIDE3 Stage 3 January – December 2013

Date	Activities/plans
January – mid-March 2013	Paper 1: Stage 3 Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
	Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities – An Update in 2013
	Production of community stories and Evidence Base matrices by the lead researchers using the WIDE 1995 (for three sites) and 2003 data (for six).
	Consultative workshops and meetings with stakeholders
	Final design of research instruments and training of the Research Officers
Mid-March – end May 2013	New fieldwork and preparation of database
June & July 2013	Data interpretation and writing of community reports by the community lead researchers to be completed by the end of July
August 2013	Comparative data interpretation and analysis by the comparative lead researcher and further gap identification
September 2013	Dissemination and feedback in Addis Ababa
October 2013	Final fieldwork to pursue gaps and interesting issues
October – December 2013	Continued data analysis and writing of final Stage 3 report

Inception phase

During this phase two inception papers will be written, one on macro level policies, programmes and models and the second on methodology (this paper). Consultation with selected donor groups will be followed by finalisation of the research Modules in consultation with the Research Officers during a consultation/training workshop.

Fieldwork plan and research instruments

The training, fieldwork, writing-up and de-briefing is being conducted in two Phases: Phase 1, the major fieldwork, from 18th March to the 20th April 2013 and Phase 2, the gap-filling and community-

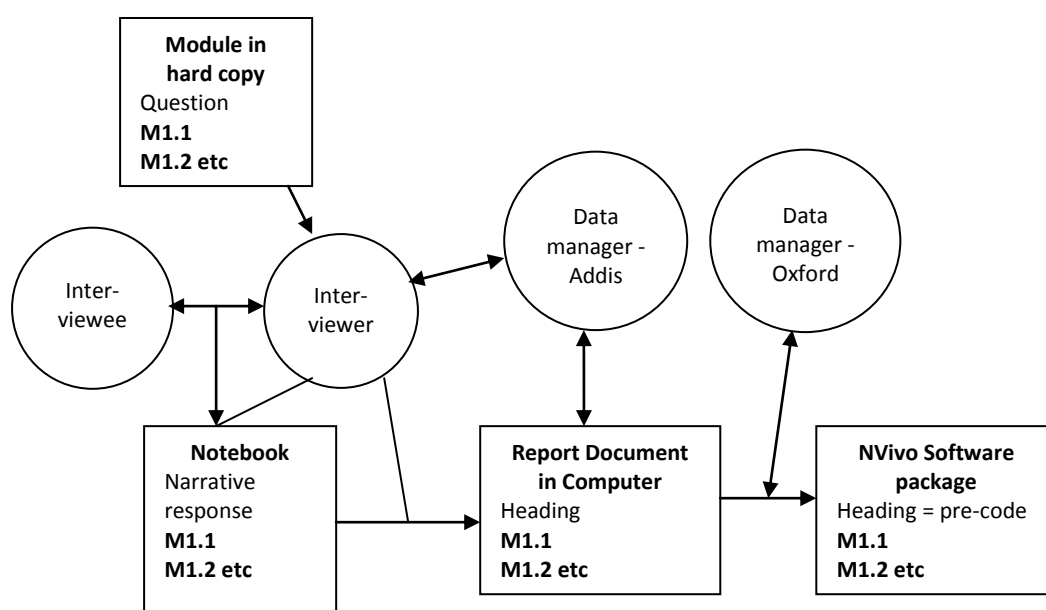
specific fieldwork, from the 23rd September for two weeks. The eight Modules taken to the field in Phase 1 are listed in Box 3 and provided in full in the Annex to this paper.

<i>Box 3: WIDE3 Stage 3 Phase 1 research Instruments</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wereda perspective • Community trajectory 2003-13 • Kebele perspective • Farming • Non-farming activities • Young people's perspective • Households & interventions • Key informants' experiences & perspectives 	

The data journey

Figure 9 shows the journey which the data, in the form of a narrative guided by the Module protocols and set down by the Research Officer, will make from the mouth of the interviewee to the database organised in the NVivo9 software package. The Research Officers will provide the data in a WORD database and the community and comparative research leads will enter it into NVIVO.

Figure 9: Data journey - from interviewee to NVivo software package



Interpretation and analysis process

Following the Phase 1 fieldwork a workshop to de-brief the returned fieldworkers will be conducted; they will be asked to respond to a range of questions and the responses will provide the lead community researchers with a first view of the two communities for which they will be writing Community Situation Reports. The responses will also be used by the comparative research lead to start the process of comparative analysis across the communities. Emerging findings about the different communities and what the comparison suggests will be written up in a Rapid Briefing Note which will be circulated to the WIDE3 worknet.

The Research Officers will then write up their field notes in Report Documents in Addis Ababa with support and supervision from a Data manager. Once these are completed the three community lead researchers will start work on draft Community Situation Reports for two sites each to a deadline of the end of July. In the process they will identify any gaps in the data and interesting issues which need to be followed up in Stage 2.

Comparative interpretation and analysis across the six sites will begin in August and further gaps and issues might be identified.

In September there will be some feedback and consultation with worknet members in workshops and by email and this will be followed by the design of the Stage 2 modules, a Research officer training workshop, and the Phase 2 fieldwork. During this fieldwork the community research leads will visit each of their communities.

On return from the field the Research Officers will complete the Phase 2 Report Documents and the community leads will use them to write the final drafts of the Community Situation Reports. The comparative lead will draft Evidence Bases, Annexes and the Summary Report with headline findings in consultation with the other two lead researchers.

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