



# WIDE Bridge Methodology Paper

The trajectory of Ethiopia  
WIDE - where has it come  
from and where might it  
be going?

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# WIDE Bridge Methodology Paper: The trajectory of Ethiopia WIDE - where has it come from and where might it be going?

Pip Bevan

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## 1. Introduction

The WIDE rural community research in twenty communities<sup>1</sup> (1994-2018) (see [Appendix 1](#)) can be characterised by three main features: 1) a long-term perspective, 2) a focus at the community level and 3) a rigorous qualitative data and case-based methodology. The overall conceptual framework is based on complex realism (section 3) and a case-based approach (section 4). Using it to make and interpret data we have been able to identify substantive and inter-dependent modernising drivers of change in the local societies, cultures, economies, and politics in each of the twenty exemplar communities, and develop ideas about where each of them might be heading in the next few years.

We have also been able to explore the contributions to modernisation between 2003 and 2018 of the interacting and evolving stream of government interventions in the infrastructure, livelihoods, environment, social protection, health, education, governance, security, justice and social equity sectors. In addition we have traced some of the consequences of interacting modernisation processes and government interventions for different kinds of community member distinguished by genderage, wealth, political position and other locally salient status markers.

During the three stages of WIDE3 and the WIDE Bridge project we produced a number of different kinds of important output:

1. Many empirical conclusions about the communities and their residents in the early 2010s and the trajectories they have been following since 1994 (see section 11 below);
2. Many empirical conclusions about the contributions and effectiveness of development interventions (see section 12), and policy discussion documents and powerpoint presentations (see [Appendix 2](#))
3. Some new conceptual directions and many new theoretical frameworks which can be used by other researchers (see section 5 , section 6, section 7 and section 8);
4. Descriptions of the structures of inequality in these rural communities and how they have been affected by modernisation;
5. The development of substantive theory in relation to rural community control parameters and future forces for change (section 10); and
6. Continuing improvements to research methods and fieldwork practice (section 9).

As suits the title of this project this paper is intended to provide a bridge between the methodology used in WIDE3 and that which will be used in WIDE4 which is planned to start in late 2019 if funding is forthcoming. It is informed by the WIDE Bridge experiment which was designed to introduce four researchers to the WIDE3 methodology in a process of 'learning by doing'. To date the research methods have evolved over four phases from 1994 (WIDE1) to 2018, notable changes being the involvement of female researchers from WIDE2 in 2003, a greater focus on the role of development interventions in WIDE3 (2010-13), and a narrower topic focus and the involvement of new researchers in 2018.

Before the WIDE Bridge the WIDE3 empirical research was designed and managed by a team consisting of myself (methodology lead), Alula Pankhurst (Ethiopia lead), and Catherine Dom (policy lead). We raised the funding, acting as independent consultants, and worked closely together over four years with research field officers many of whom worked in two or all three stages, and three social scientists who wrote six of the community reports under supervision. In dialogue with team members and sociologists in the UK I developed the coherent sociological methodology, designed the module architectures used to make the data through the three WIDE3 stages, and led the comparative data analysis for the three final reports which I mainly wrote.

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<sup>1</sup> All twenty communities included in the research from 2003; fifteen of them were researched in 1994/5.

I will be participating less in the design and implementation of the WIDE4 empirical research and it will involve a quite different and less hierarchical management regime, although its contours are still to be negotiated in detail. The involvement of a set of academics is a new feature which I welcome. Key figures will be the FSS lead researcher, the lead researchers at the four partner universities<sup>2</sup>, and the methodology lead in the WIDE team. They will be coming to the project from different disciplinary niches with related theoretical expectations and approaches to method and this will be one of the big challenges for the project.

To underline the academic and policy-related benefits of longitudinal qualitative, cross-sectoral and community-focused research, while exposing some of the potential pitfalls, in the rest of this paper I tell the story of the evolution of the Ethiopia WIDE methodology conceptualising it as a dynamic and open complex socio-material system (see section 2).

Sections 3 – 8 explain the methodology as it was at the end of WIDE3 in some detail. Section 3 describes how it is anchored in the philosophical foundations provided by the increasingly popular complex realism paradigm.

Section 4 sets out the main features of case-based research including its reliance on theoretical frameworks (section 5). The next three sections describe the frameworks developed during the research to help us to understand the communities (section 6), some selected topics (section 7), and development interventions (section 8). In WIDE4 if the project is to remain longitudinal I believe the core community framework has to be used, though there is scope for considerable changes to the empirical research methods and also for new researchers to improve on WIDE3 frameworks and develop new ones that fit with their knowledge and experience. Section 9 describes the WIDE3 research instruments, fieldwork and database, and how the data were interpreted and analysed.

Section 10 sets out the main WIDE3 research answers and the methodological approach to dissemination and praxis. In Section 11 I describe the main contributions to knowledge about rural communities in Ethiopia developed during WIDE1, WIDE2 and WIDE3 while Section 12 summarises some of our main contributions to knowledge about government development interventions between 2003 and 2013.

In 2015 while preparing for a potential WIDE4 the team secured funding for the WIDE3-4 Transition project to develop new topic-related discussion papers, launch an archive website, and engage with high level government officials (see Section 13). Then in 2017 with WIDE4 funding still not secured we proposed the WIDE3-4 Bridge project as another step on the way to WIDE4; Section 14 traces the research conclusions and implementation of the methodology during this project.

Section 15 brings together some important methodology lessons from WIDEs 1, 2 and 3 and the WIDE Bridge.

## **2. Ethiopia WIDE viewed as a dynamic and open complex socio-material system**

Ethiopia WIDE can be conceptualised as a dynamic, open, complex, socio-material system born in the early 1990s (WIDE1), revived in 2003 (WIDE2) and taken forward seriously as a policy-relevant project from 2009 (WIDE3 2009-2016)<sup>3</sup>. The first part in this section describes the history of the development of the methodology through ten separate projects, while the second part describes the key players, institutions and outputs involved in each stage, noting how they changed between 1993 and 2018 and how they are planned to change in the future. Later in Section 15 I summarise the key lessons learned as the project unfolded.

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<sup>2</sup> Ambo, Bahr Dar, Hawassa and Mekelle universities.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the WIDE story see the Ethiopia WIDE website [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net)

## The history of the evolution of the empirical methodology

[Appendix 3](#) provides a simple summary.

### *WIDE1 1994/5 led by Alula Pankhurst and Pip Bevan*

WIDE1 involved research in the 15 rural Peasant Associations (later *kebeles*) selected by economists at AAU and Oxford University launching the Ethiopian Household Survey<sup>4</sup> as exemplars of the main different types of rural economy in Ethiopia at the time. We used three data sources (see [Appendix 4](#)): (1) secondary sources, the views of local people elicited through rapid assessment techniques which involved villagers in all the sites drawing maps, ranking their fellow villagers in terms of wealth, collating seasonal calendars relating to health, agriculture, livestock, migration, climate, credit, labour, festivals, etc, and expressing their own views on child socialisation, education and health (men and women in separate groups), local economic history, and the roles of government and NGOs and local organizations (mixed groups). Finally, the profiles were researched in the sites by Ethiopian graduate students who used a protocol and anthropological qualitative techniques to investigate the range of selected topics, and represent local views of each of the communities.

The research made qualitative data on the local ecology and the social, economic, cultural and political village sub-systems. The protocols used to guide the fieldwork are summarised in Box 1.

#### **Box 1 WIDE1 Protocols 1994/5**

*Locating the the site in time and place:* geography and population, climate, production, social structure, history  
*Seasonal activities and events*  
*The farm economy:* crops, livestock, land, labour, interlinkages, technology, innovations, common property resource, environment  
*Off-farm activities:* within the community, migration  
*Reproductive activity:* fuel and lighting, water, sanitation, fertility, childbirth and childcare, socialisation, education, training, health  
*Consumption:* food and other day-to-day goods, saving and investment, housing, local services  
*Local institutions and organisations:* households, marriage, divorce, inheritance, lineages and clans, age-grading, life cycle changes and rites of passage, markets, credit and social security, community decision-making, redistributive mechanisms  
*Beliefs and values:* land, religion, explanations of misfortune and illness  
*The community:* social conflict, poverty and wealth, social mobility, status, social stratification  
*Relationships with other communities and the wider society:* clans and tribes, villages, towns and Regions, relationships with wider Ethiopia, effects of government policies, government activities in the community, NGO and community activities in the community, future

The fieldwork was used to write village studies to provide holistic descriptions of the ERHS communities to assist the economists to interpret their household survey data (Bevan and Pankhurst, 1996a). It was also used in a comparative analysis of similarities and differences across the communities in all areas (see [Appendix 5](#) for a summary of the conclusions), with the potential to inform British government aid policies, although there was no planned route through which to do that. The report contained no policy recommendations (Bevan and Pankhurst, 1996b).

### *WeD-Ethiopia WIDE2 2003 led by Alula Pankhurst and Pip Bevan*

This involved protocol-guided research in the fifteen WIDE1 communities plus 3 kebeles exemplifying new types of rural economy selected by ERHS economists and 2 agro-pastoralist

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<sup>4</sup> For more on the ERHS see <https://www.csa.e.ox.ac.uk/households/the-ethiopian-rural-household-survey> and <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/ethiopian-rural-household-surveys-erhs-1989-2009>

kebeles where anthropological research had been conducted in the 1990s, bringing the total to twenty. This fieldwork came very early in a four-country<sup>5</sup> study of ‘wellbeing in developing countries’ based at the University of Bath<sup>6</sup> and funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council, when we were in a position to choose what to do with some of our funds. We decided to re-visit and supplement the WIDE1 communities with one focus on social, economic, political and cultural changes since 1994/5, another on development interventions, and a third on an exploration of what ‘well-being’ and ‘illbeing’ might mean in the rural Ethiopian context. We recruited male and female researchers for each site who were in the field for a month; some modules were asked of both men and women to explore different gender perspectives, while some had questions aimed particularly at women or men. Box 2 summarises the protocols used.

### **Box 2 WIDE2 Protocols 2003**

*Introduction to people and society:* people, life histories, ‘what matters’ by locally-defined social position, exploring social networks, social organisations within and beyond the community

*Social structures and dynamics:* exploration of social networks, social institutions, social organisations and social structuration

*Site history:* social reproduction and change, economic reproduction and changes, cultural reproductions and change, political reproduction and change

*Policy regime interfaces:* local interventions according to (1) policy providers (2) potential recipients, zonal de-centralisation and related political re-structuring, resettlement, service co-operatives, Agricultural Development-Led Industrialisation (ADLI), land, food aid, education, health, drinking water, sanitation, interventions aimed at women, roads, micro-credit, security, policing and justice, formal and informal taxes including community labour, war and conscription, other government/donor/NGO activities, history of relief and development interventions

*Crises and local responses:* explorations of conceptions of drought by men and women, exploration of women’s conceptions of and responses to child malnutrition, illness and death, exploration of conceptions of and responses to HIV/AIDS, exploration of and responses to conflict

*Grounding WeD related concepts:* ‘wellbeing’, ‘illbeing’ and ‘development’, ‘harm’ and ‘suffering’, ‘needs’, ‘resources’, identifying WeD-defined resources which meet WeD-defined needs, ‘class’, ‘status’, ‘power’, ‘poverty’, ‘inequality’

*Changes in well-being and inequality:* changes in ways of thinking about ‘quality of life’, ‘well-being’ and ‘illbeing’, changes in experiences of the same, changes in criteria of class, status and power, changes in class, status and power

*Re-visiting people and society:* oral wisdom – sayings, jokes, stories, photographs, an emic description of the ways in which local people think about and experience wellbeing, illbeing and inequality

As time passed it became clear that the WeD teams in the four countries had different disciplinary mixes (economics, psychology, sociology, social anthropology) and left to themselves were pursuing different agendas (see Bevan, 2007) thus under-mining the comparative goals of the project. As a result the management team based at Bath University took control and instructed all teams to complete the same ‘Resources and Needs’ household survey, Income and Expenditure household diaries, and exploratory work on ‘well-being’ followed by the construction and application of a psychological instrument to measure it (the WeDQol). As a result we had little time to interpret and analyse the WIDE2 data and in the event during the project we made very little use of the survey and well-being data and none at all of the income and expenditure diaries. Subsequently we used some of the survey data to produce analyses of household structures and productive wealth and poverty in three papers commissioned by the World Bank (see below).

<sup>5</sup> Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru, Thailand.

<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.bath.ac.uk/soc-pol/welldev/research/research.htm>

We used the data from module on Crises and local responses to produce papers and related discussion briefs on drought and famine<sup>7</sup>, women's experiences of pregnancy, childbirth and infancy<sup>8</sup>, and HIV/AIDS<sup>9</sup>

*WeD-Ethiopia: DEEP 2004-5 led by Alula Pankhurst and Pip Bevan*

The Bath management team also instructed the country teams to undertake comparative qualitative research but despite many meetings in Bath it proved impossible to get agreement on a common approach (warning for WIDE4). We had been given funding for fieldwork in four rural and two urban communities and, given the time constraints on completing the fieldwork, recruited 6 male and 6 female researchers who we sent to the field for 3 weeks a month of DEEP<sup>10</sup> research over a period of 17 months. Each month we sent them with modules on different topics designed by ourselves as we waited for comparative instructions to arrive, which they never did. There is an outline of the DEEP qualitative database in [Appendix 6](#). And as with the WIDE2 data there was no budgeted time to interpret and analyse the DEEP data as we were forced to concentrate on the Resources and Needs Survey, the diaries and the WeDQoL.

**Box 3: Resources and Needs Survey and DEEP protocols 2004/5**

*Resources and needs household survey*

- The household as an organisation
- Global happiness
- Human resources
- Material resources
- Social resources
- Cultural resources

*DEEP protocols*

- Exploratory QoL
- Urban WIDE1
- Community diary
- Community institutions and organisations
- Collective action in community contexts
- Disputes and resolutions
- Inter-generational poverty dynamics
- Elites-destitutes
- Migration and linkages
- Household development cycle and events
- Household level poverty histories, dynamics and shocks
- Individual and household diary
- Adult lives
- Young lives
- Old lives
- Election notes

A number of the theoretical frameworks described below had their origins in learning during the DEEP research process.

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<sup>7</sup> Pankhurst and Bevan 2004

<sup>8</sup> Bevan 2004c

<sup>9</sup> Pankhurst 2004

<sup>10</sup> in-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty.

### *Between WeD-Ethiopia and WIDE3: 2007-9*

From the end of 2006 WeD-Ethiopia received no more financial support through an academic institution but sought funding for analysis of the WeD data on a consultancy basis. We obtained funding from the World Bank to produce papers which used qualitative and survey data on poverty, power and agency (Bevan, Pankhurst and Holland, 2005; Bevan and Pankhurst, 2007) and the causes of extreme poverty (Pankhurst and Bevan, 2007), from Irish Aid for a paper on migration (Feleke *et al*, 2006), and from the Inter-Africa Group on the causes of poverty and inequality (Pankhurst and Bevan, 2008).

### *WIDE3 2009-16 led by Alula Pankhurst, Pip Bevan and Catherine Dom*

WIDE3 included fieldwork in the twenty communities in three Stages between 2010 and 2013 and three projects to use WIDE3 data to produce papers and discussion briefs on key policy issues.

#### **WIDE3 Stage 1 2009-10**

In 2008 Catherine Dom joined us bringing a policy focus to the project and we designed a third visit to the WIDE sites to explore changes since 1994/5 and the impact of government and donor development interventions since 2003. With a written proposal covering the six communities we knew most about<sup>11</sup>, three economically self-sufficient and three vulnerable and aid-dependent, we sought funding from international donors in Addis Ababa, which we eventually obtained from the Joint Governance Assessment and Monitoring Trust Fund at the World Bank due to the interest taken in the project by the then head of the World Bank in Addis Ababa. The module design was underpinned by the basic sociological approach that informed WIDE1, WIDE2 and DEEP but we also started to deepen the theoretical approach using ideas from complexity theory and (transcendental<sup>12</sup>) realism (see [section 3](#)) and used lessons from WIDE2 to inform module design and database construction. The main lessons learned from all stages of the WIDE experience are summarised in [section 15](#).

#### **WIDE3 Stage 1-2 Transition 2011**

While seeking funding for Stage 2 to study the eight remaining drought-prone, vulnerable and aid-dependent communities we obtained interim funding from DFID to use the Stage 1 data to produce papers on differentiation and inequality (Pankhurst, 2011), youth transitions to adulthood (Bevan, 2011), and the government employees acting as 'go-betweeners' in rural communities (Dom, 2011).

#### **WIDE3 Stage 2 2011-12**

During Stage 1 we learned quite a lot about rural communities in 2010 and the research process which enabled us to design more focused protocols and make the fieldwork process, database construction and interpretation and analysis more efficient and effective.

#### **WIDE3 Stage 3 2013**

In Stage 3 we researched the remaining six communities which all had self-sufficient and flourishing economies. We also used learning from Stage 2 to make improvements to the whole research process.

### *WIDE3 Discussion Briefs Series I 2014*

This was the first attempt to use WIDE3 evidence to produce policy discussion briefs aimed at government on topics they had agreed were important. We invited social scientists unfamiliar with

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<sup>11</sup> Yetmen, Dinki, Korodegaga and Turude from DEEP, Geblen through fieldwork done by Catherine, and Imdibir/Girar through research by an economist.

<sup>12</sup> Meaning that not everything that is real is potentially visible to people

the methods to use the data to write briefs on agricultural growth, value chains, work creation for youth, equitable service delivery, models and realities of ‘transformation’ and gender relations (which was not published). The authors found it hard to handle the vast amount of new information and we decided that in future we would produce discussion briefs ourselves.

#### *WIDE3-4 Transition 2015-16 led by Catherine Dom and Alula Pankhurst*

The next series of nine discussion briefs was produced by six people: two each by Dom, Pankhurst and myself, one by a Research Officer with support from Dom, one by a consultant unfamiliar with the research, and one by Sarah Vaughan who had also prepared one of the Series I briefs. The briefs were based on ten longer papers which were later brought together in a book. This project also funded the production of the website [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net) and the editing and uploading of WIDE publications and most of the WIDE3 database. This project did not actually mark the transition to WIDE4 as the considerable funds required were not raised during this period.

#### *WIDE Bridge Phase 1 2018 led by Catherine Dom and Alula Pankhurst*

However, we did raise funds for another project towards WIDE4 which involved the employment of three Research Fellows and the addition of Sarah Vaughan to the research team. The experience of involving people unfamiliar with the WIDE3 methodology in the WIDE Bridge is described below in Section 14.

### **The evolving WIDE project complex system: players, institutions and outcomes**

The evolving WIDE social system started in 1993 with the establishment of the managing team (Alula and me), the design of WIDE1 and the obtaining of funding. There was a gap between 1996 and 2002 when the funding for the WeD project was obtained and some of this was used between 2003 and 2007 to produce the WIDE2 and DEEP databases and subsequent written outputs. Another period of activity began in 2009 and has continued with various further bursts of activity until now.

The main components of the system have been the social actors involved, the organisations providing institutional support, and the outputs. Over the 25 years between 1993 and the end of 2018 a range of different social actors and organisations have been involved in the processes of doing the research, enabling it to happen, and taking an interest in its findings. The outputs have included many reports, papers, powerpoints, presentations and an ongoing process of learning related to the methodology.

Alula and I have been involved as social actors since 1993. One of the WIDE Bridge Research Fellows, Mulugeta Gashaw did fieldwork in WIDE1 in Adele Keke, East Harerghe, in 1995 while other people have been involved for longer and shorter periods in different places in the trajectory. Those involved in the research process, have included lead and other researchers, the fieldworkers, community members, fieldwork administrators, members of funding organisations and organisations acting as institutional bases, government and development partner officials and academics interested in the empirical findings, and academics interested in the methodology.

Table 1 identifies the main components of the evolving WIDE project during each of its eleven stages between 1993 and 2019.

**Table 1: Main components of the methodology aspect of the evolving WIDE social system**

	Individual social actors	Organisations	Main outputs
Ethiopia Village Studies WIDE1 1993-6	Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan 15 male students 15 ERHS field managers Members of 15 communities	UK Overseas Development Administration (funding) CSAE Oxford (UK institutional base) AAU (Ethiopia institutional base)	15 Village studies Comparative community report for ODA Experience of designing and conducting a qualitative case-based community study Unhappy experience of trying to collaborate with economists following an incompatible research paradigm
Ethiopia WeD WIDE2 2003	Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan 20 male/20 female students Members of 20 communities Fieldwork managers	UK Economic & Social Research Council (funding) University of Bath (UK institutional base) University of Addis Ababa?	WIDE2 ACCESS database Papers on drought and famine, HIV/AIDS, maternal and infant health Further experience of designing and managing a community study Further unhappy experience of trying to collaborate with economists and psychologists following incompatible paradigms 2003 baseline for WIDE3
Ethiopia WeD DEEP 2004-5 in four of the WIDE communities and 2 urban communities	Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan 6 male/6 female graduates Members of 4 rural and 2 urban communities Fieldwork managers	UK Economic & Social Research Council (funding) University of Bath (UK institutional base)	4 World Bank papers on power structures and agency, power and poverty, extreme poverty, and migration Paper on migration for Irish Aid Community Further experience of designing and managing a community study Recognition that the community-focused methodology was not suitable for research in urban places where people did not interact with, or know anything about, most other people living or working in the place. Website see <a href="#">Appendix 7</a>
<b>WIDE3 REPRESENTED THE FIRST SHIFT IN DIRECTION WITH AN EXPLICIT POLICY FOCUS ADDED TO THE PREVIOUS ACADEMIC FOCUS</b>			
WIDE3 2009-13  Stage 1 early 2010 6 communities  Stage 2 end 2011 8 communities  Stage 3 2013 6 communities	Alula Pankhurst (Ethiopia lead) Pip Bevan (theory and methods) Catherine Dom (policy lead) 30 male/female students some involved in >1 stage Members of 20 communities Fieldwork managers and research administrators in Ethiopia and UK Mokoro Ltd World Bank Ken Ohashi, Robert Chase, Rupert Bladon, Berhanu Legesse	World Bank Joint Governance & Assessment Fund (funders) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base) Pankhurst Consult (Ethiopia institutional base)	3 macro policy papers 6 methodology papers 20 community reports 3 final comparative reports with annexes Many presentations with powerpoints to development partners; and later to invited government officials Academic papers Worknet sent outputs for interest and comment New theoretical thinking Improvements to the empirical methodology

	<b>Individual social actors</b>	<b>Organisations</b>	<b>Main outputs</b>
WIDE3 Stage 1-2 Transition 2011	Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan Catherine Dom Data analysis support Agazi Tiumelissan and Becky Carter Jillian Popkins (funder)	DFID (funder) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base)	Academic papers on differentiation and inequality, youth transitions to adulthood, kebele civil servants Stage 2 proposal
<b>WIDE3-4: 3 PROJECTS WITH A SECOND SHIFT IN DIRECTION - TO THE PRIORITISATION OF POLICY OUTPUTS OVER ACADEMIC ONES</b>			
WIDE Discussion Briefs Series I 2014	Brief authors: Girum Abebe (3) Beverley Jones Sarah Vaughan	World Bank Joint Governance & Assessment Fund (funders) Economic Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU), FDRE (Ethiopia institutional base)	5 discussion briefs on agricultural growth, value chains, youth work creation, equitable service delivery, models and realities of transformation High level government forum Recognition that it is difficult for social scientists unfamiliar with the method or the data to produce policy discussion briefs in a short time-frame
WIDE3-4 Transition including Series II Discussion Briefs 2016	Alula Pankhurst Catherine Dom Pip Bevan Lilli Loveday Tefera Goshu Sarah Vaughan	DFID, Irish Aid, SIDA (joint funders) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base) Pankhurst Development Research & Consulting PDRC (Ethiopia institutional base)	9 papers and related discussion briefs on urbanisation, inequalities, youth transitions to adulthood, education, maternal and infant well-being, female economic participation, migration for work, economic success, innovation & learning Ethiopia and international books of papers; Ethiopia books of briefs in English and Amharic High level government forum Ethiopia WIDE Website with database and publications
<b>WIDE BRIDGE: A THIRD SHIFT IN DIRECTION – INTRODUCING NEW RESEARCHERS FROM DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES TO THE METHODOLOGY AND REDUCING THE SCOPE OF THE COMMUNITY AND DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTION RESEARCH</b>			
WIDE Bridge Phase 1 including Series III Discussion Briefs 2018	Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Sarah Vaughan Pip Bevan Research fellows Mulugeta Gashaw Agata Frankowska Thomas Osmond (left after 3 months) 4 male and 4 female research officers Fieldwork management/ research administration PDRC Agazi Tiumelissan Kiros Berhanu Hilina Kebede Research writers Shiferaw Fujie Shalom Ali Tefera Goshu Regional university links Kelemwerk Tafere Alemu Asfaw Bayissa Abdissa Melisew Dejene	DFID, Irish Aid, SIDA (joint funders) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base) Pankhurst Development Research & Consulting PDRC (Ethiopia institutional base) Partners Mekelle University Bahr Dar University Ambo University Hawassa University	Macro Policy paper Methodology paper (this one) 3 completed community reports; one incomplete as of 26/2/19 7 discussion briefs on land, farming, non-farming, young people's economic opportunities, modernisation and inequalities, social protection, governance Government forum Experience of introducing new researchers to the methodology in a process of 'learning by doing' Experience of these new researchers introducing university researchers to the methodology Learning again that is difficult/ impossible to collaborate in rigorous empirical research with social scientists wedded to paradigms which are incompatible with the WIDE approach

	Individual social actors	Organisations	Main outputs
WIDE Bridge Phase 2 2019	Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Mulugeta Gashaw Sarah Vaughan Pip Bevan Agazi Tiemelissan Bizuayehu Ayele Hilina Kebede FSS co-ordinator Regional university links Kelemwerk Tafere Alemu Asfaw Bayissa Abdissa Tesfaye Selema	Irish Aid, SIDA (funders) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base) Pankhurst Development Research & Consulting PDRC (Ethiopia institutional base) Partners FSS Mekelle University Bahr Dar University Ambo University Hawassa University Radio and TV producers	Discussion briefs books in Amharic and English Radio and TV programmes in Amharic on WIDE findings Federal and Regional workshops on WIDE findings Methodology and qualitative analysis stocktake

<b>WIDE4: A BIG FOURTH SHIFT IN DIRECTION – NEW RESEARCHERS, NEW MODE OF ORGANISATION; ACADEMIC/POLICY BALANCE SHIFT?</b>			
WIDE4 ? in 8 communities?	WIDE advisory team Groups of researchers in 4 universities FSS lead researcher WIDE ROs as fieldwork advisers 8 male/8 female research officers	Funder(s) ????? Universities of Mekelle, Bahr Dar, Ambo and Hawassa Forum for Social Studies WIDE team Mokoro Ltd? Others? PDRC Regional governments Federal government	Database 8 community reports Policy-relevant papers and briefs Academic papers Federal and Regional government fora

Table 1 highlights three noticeable shifts in the WIDE trajectory. *First*, the introduction of an explicit policy focus at the start of WIDE3 in 2009. The team was employed as consultants rather than academics for the first time, and a new major research question focused on government development interventions. While the main outputs were academically rigorous they were intended for the funders and other development partners in the first instance, and engagement with government grew as time passed. Also, while academic papers using the data were produced for two International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies in 2012 and 2015 and methodology papers and chapters written for the UK academic scene, these were secondary to the policy outputs.

The *second* shift occurred after the end of WIDE3 with funding for three projects to use the data to produce policy-relevant discussion briefs for the government with development partners taking a back seat. Unlike the WIDE Series II discussion briefs those produced in Series I and III had no academically rigorous papers<sup>13</sup> setting out the analysis which led to the conclusions of the briefs. This was the result of time pressures but was not in concordance with a principle that had guided the WIDE3 research thus far, that the links between the database and broad empirical conclusions, particularly those that were political sensitive, should be traceable through an interim evidence base easily accessible to those who were not convinced by the conclusions.

<sup>13</sup> Except one I drafted on modernisation and inequalities which needs a little re-drafting before being put on the website.

The *third* shift occurred in the WIDE Bridge Phase 1 project with the introduction of four new researchers to the empirical methodology through a process of 'learning by doing', and a reduction in the scope of the research which focused only on aspects of political economy and three areas of development interventions.

The *fourth shift* is currently under way in WIDE Bridge Phase 2 as teams from four universities and the Forum for Social Studies work with a core WIDE team to disseminate WIDE Bridge findings to federal and regional policymakers and the general public and plan for WIDE4. The implications of these two latest shifts are discussed in more detail below in Section 14.

### **3. WIDE3 Methodology development to 2016: complex realism – ontological and epistemological assumptions**

#### **Complex realism**

Complex realism is ‘a way of understanding the world in ontological terms’ (Byrne, 2018:92). It combines ideas from the philosophy of critical realism and complexity theory. Critical realism is mainly concerned with ontology, with ‘what exists’ and has a relatively permissive stance towards epistemology, ‘how to know what exists’ (Sayer 2000:32) and see below. The defining feature of realism is the belief that there is a world existing independently of our knowledge of it. The philosophy of critical realism also distinguishes between the real, the actual and the empirical. The *real* includes both natural and social entities which have their own particular structures and powers or capacities to behave in their own distinctive ways and liabilities or susceptibilities to distinctive kinds of change. These powers and liabilities are often not activated; the *actual* refers to what happens when they are. The *empirical* is the domain of experience and while sometimes the actual and the real may be experienced many things happen which are not observed and some structures may not be observable in principle.

Complex realism 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.

Complex realism is not compatible with positivism, or with the strong social construction paradigm.

#### **How do you know what you think you know? - The Foundations of Knowledge Framework**

Empirical social researchers always make ontological assumptions about the objects of their research; these may be explicit or implicit. The sources of their assumptions come from what they have learned informally through the years and during and subsequent to their social science training. Some assumptions are very general, for example the world is round not flat, while others apply to specific objects. For example in the 1990s some development economists assumed that rural communities in developing countries could be understood as composed of peasant households who were equally poor. This ‘ontological understanding’ emerged from their methods rather than an explicit ontological framework.

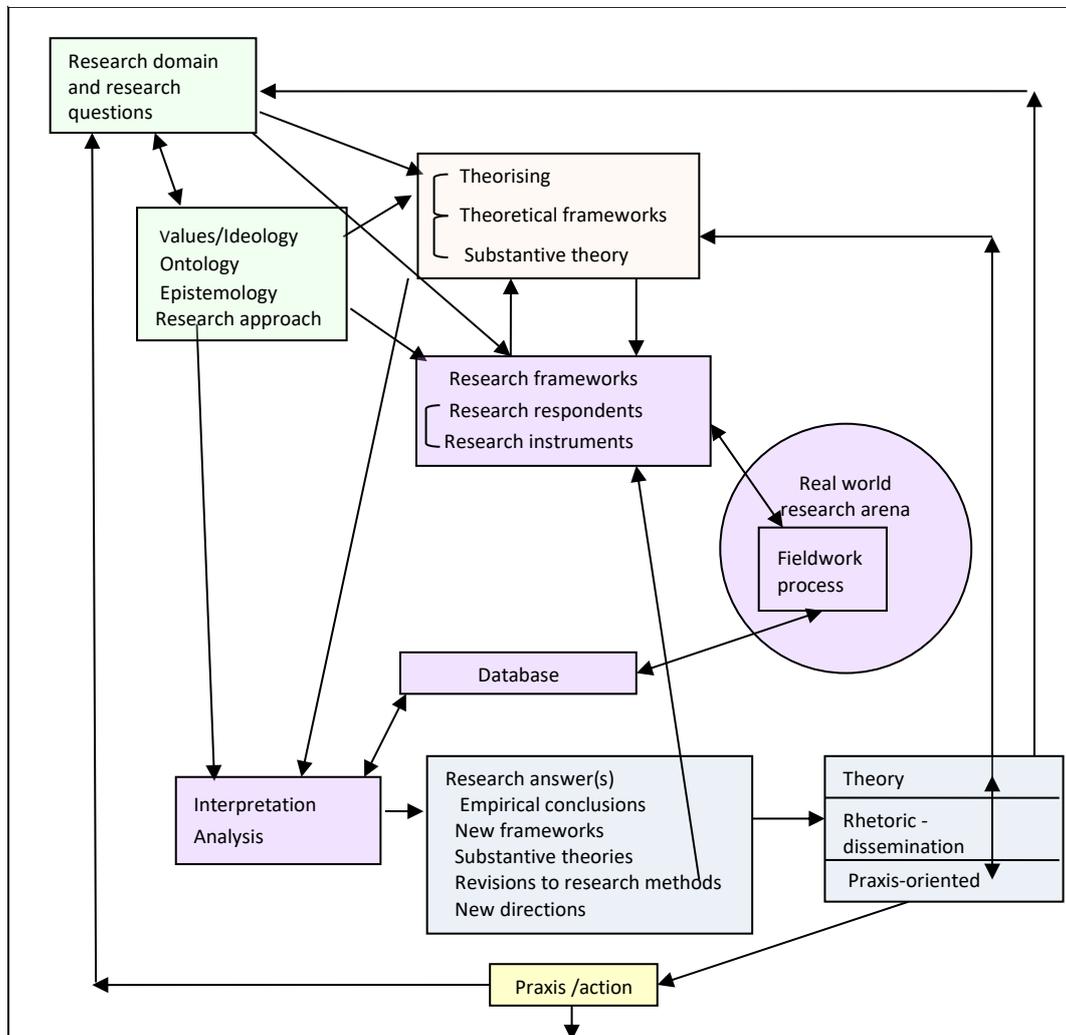
In my view sound empirical research frameworks require transparent philosophical and methodological foundations and those designing research projects should be in a position to explain and justify their choice of position in nine scientific areas.

1. Domain or focus of study: what exactly are you interested in?
2. Values/ideology: why are you interested?
3. Ontology: how do you understand the nature of reality?
4. Epistemology: how can you know about that reality?
5. Theory: how can you understand/explain your object of study?
6. Research strategies: how can you establish what is really happening?
7. Empirical conclusions: what (kinds of) conclusions do you want to draw from your research?
8. Rhetoric: how do you inform (which) others about your conclusions?

## 9. Praxis: what to do? who should do it?

The Foundations of Knowledge Framework (FoKF) set out in Figure 1 (Bevan, 2007 & 2009) shows the linkages between these nine elements.

Figure 1: The Foundations of Knowledge Framework



In what follows I explain how we used the framework to design the WIDE3 methodology. This section focuses on the research domain, ideological assumptions, ontology and epistemology. Section 4 provides more details of the case-based research approach. Sections 5, 6 and 7 describe the theoretical frameworks developed for thinking about the communities, development interventions, and selected topics respectively. Section 8 covers the WIDE3 research instruments, fieldwork, making of the database, and interpretation and analysis of the data.

### WIDE3 research domain and research question

Our research domain was modernisation and change in Ethiopia's rural communities since 1991 with a particular focus on the roles played by development interventions since 2003. The WIDE3 research questions were:

1. In each community what were the *key features of the development situation* at the time of fieldwork?
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 interactions among them since 2003?
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 between government and community 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?

### Values/ideology

Our ideological commitment was to empirical research that is (1) relevant for improving the life chances of the poorest and most vulnerable people (2) scientifically rigorous and important and (3) helps well-motivated practitioners at all levels to understand how their area of intervention really works, including potential unintended consequences of their actions, in order that they can act more efficiently and equitably.

### WIDE3 complexity ontology

Our complexity ontology<sup>14</sup> relies on a number of general ontological assumptions which inform the complex realism frame of reference:

- A reality exists outside human perception and this reality is driven by causation
- Causality – ‘mechanisms operate within specific configurations, local in time and place, and that these bring about certain phenomena’ (Törnberg 2018: 516)
- (Social) scientific descriptions of reality are both constructed by the practices of (social) science and informed by the reality;
- ‘(S)ocial phenomena are emergent from biological phenomena, which are in turn emergent from the chemical and physical strata’ (Sayer, 2000: 13);
- Social reality depends on human agency
- We operate through social structures and through action perpetuate and transform them
- Social reality is inherently dynamic and processual
- Relations rather than agents should be the central and defining units of analysis
- The social realm has multiple ontological levels each depending on the other
- It includes value and meaning
- The absence of an effect does not mean that its mechanisms are also absent
- Social reality is too complex to be completely understood
- Social structures and individuals each possess distinct properties and powers in their own right; in social life nothing happens without the activation of the causal powers of people
- Social systems move through time; they are complex, constructed by material, human and social

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<sup>14</sup> For more on this see Bevan 2010a and 2010b.

components in interaction and more than the sum of their parts;

- Social systems may be nested; e.g. people are complex embodied systems living in household systems located spatially in ecological systems while also participating in varying ways in local social, economic, cultural, and political structures; communities are also nested for example in larger cultural, regional and national systems
- Social systems can overlap and parts of larger social systems may operate within a community: for example coffee producers, employees and traders are part of a larger international coffee production system
- Social systems co-evolve with nested and overlapping open social systems which may have different time-frames
- Initial conditions matter and system trajectories are path dependent; they can change direction as a result of cumulative internal changes or changes imposed from outside
- Systems can change rapidly but systems with strong control parameters<sup>15</sup> and conservative feedback mechanisms are resistant to change.

In the WIDE3 project we made a set of ontological assumptions about rural communities derived from a number of sociological sources some of which are included in the academic bibliography in [Appendix 8](#). Rural communities were viewed as complex social and human systems which are open, as they depend on and interact with their environments, and dynamic, as they co-evolve with the open systems which constitute them and their contexts.

Complex rural 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 which, as our *core community framework* reflects, are both domains of power and fields of social action. System structures involve unequal role, relationship and resource structures and there is varying connectivity in different parts of the system. In some parts networks of relationship may be dense, in others there may be structural holes, and some people may be excluded from participation in many areas of the system.

We have not made general assumptions about rural households except that they have life-cycles, vary considerably in wealth, status and power, do not all conform to the local cultural ideal household structure, and are themselves domains of power and fields of action.

People have been viewed as 'socio-biological systems' following path-dependent life-cycle trajectories. They are born as gendered infants and socialised according to local cultures through twenty years or so before reaching adulthood. The combination of gender and age (genderage) contributes importantly to identity, social status and roles. People think and act both out of habit and reflectively, and have roles and relationships through which they interact with other people. They have lifestyles and aspirations which can change.

### **WIDE3 complexity epistemology**

Realists 'can happily accept that knowledge and other social phenomena are socially constructed' (Sayer, 2000: 102) but do not believe their constructs or interpretations actually constitute what is real, and are prepared to change them in the light of new evidence. They also distinguish between their own knowledge constructions and the social constructions made by the people they are studying. Social science requires both the interpretation of meaning ...and causal explanation. Sometimes people's reasons are causes of social continuity or change but there are also many other potential causal mechanisms.

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<sup>15</sup> in the case of rural communities these might, for example, be the weather, a well-entrenched culture, an irrigation system, and/or a hierarchical unequal power structure.

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.

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 (1) patterned similarities and differences among the complex systems we are studying and (2) common processes and mechanisms which play out differently in different contexts 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. 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.

We argued under the ontology heading that social scientific descriptions of reality are both constructed by the practices of social science and informed by the reality. This is particularly relevant when it comes to defining the boundaries of a complex system. 'it is often difficult to define the border of a complex system. Instead of being a characteristic of the system itself the scope of the system is usually determined by the purpose of the *description* of the system, and thus is often influenced by the position of the observer. This process is called *framing*. (Cilliers, 1998: 4)

Complex systems are more than the sum of their parts; in reality dissecting the system would destroy it and methodologies. To explore complex systems in any depth more than one description of it is necessary; different descriptions decompose the system in different ways. As shown later in the paper the adoption of multiple perspectives which focus on different levels of community structures and dynamics can generate a rich structured dataset for establishing how the system has worked as a whole.

Complex realist approaches should be question-driven and involve a mixture of scholarly theories, methods appropriate to the question and the research object, and what you know from your own academic and wider experience. Complex realists do not rely on a standard fixed method but choose methods guided by a nuanced understanding of reality and continuing re-engagement with the data that mixes levels of interpretation and analysis.

Complex systems are best studied as cases and this is the subject of the next section.

## 4. WIDE3 Methodology development to 2016: case-based methods

### Case-based social research approaches

In this section I only discuss aspects of case-based methods of relevance to the WIDE study.

#### *The logic of case-based methods*

Table 2 is a standard case-variable data matrix with the cases as rows and the variables as columns ([Appendix 9](#) provides a WIDE example). Variable-based methods treat cases as sites for observing and measuring variables which in many analyses are treated as real entities

*Table 2: A case-variable data matrix*

	Independent variables				Community wealth
	Remoteness	Weather	Terrain	Etc....	
Community 1	Very remote 1	Drought-prone 1	Flat 3		Poor
Community 2	Peri-urban 4	Good 3	Mixed 2		Mixed
Community 3	Quite remote 2	Unreliable 2	Mountainous 1		Middling
Community 4	Very remote 1	Drought-prone 1	Mountainous 1		Very poor
Community 5	Remotish 3	Unreliable 2	Flat 3		Poor
Community 6	Peri-urban	Good 4	Mixed 2		Rich
Community 7	Remotish 3	Good 3	Mixed 2		Rich
etc	etc	etc	etc		

In a standard causal variable-based analysis the search is on for universal generalisations. Based on survey data from ideally a random sample of cases one dependent variable (community wealth in the table) is chosen to be 'explained' while others are hypothesised as being potentially important independent variables. Descriptions are turned into numerical measures and a regression analysis should reveal that some variables are statistically 'significant', i.e. the relationship with the dependent variable was unlikely to have happened by chance, and provide a measure of the strength of the relationship. Maybe in this case remoteness, weather and terrain all prove to be statistically 'significant' with varying measures of relational significance. They would then be regarded as differentially important 'causes' of differences in community wealth. There would be no way to relate the findings to any qualitative data about the communities and related policy advice would apply to all rural communities (assuming the data came from a random sample).

Advocates of case-based methods reject the notion of 'disembodied variables' and would start from qualitative descriptions of each of the communities. The 'variables' would be re-defined as variates or parameters and the aim would be to identify communities which shared similar configurations of the parameters in a process of 'typing'. The qualitative data could be used to assist in this process. For example most communities that are drought-prone and very remote may also be very poor or poor and those that are peri-urban with very good weather might be very rich.

Related policy advice to reduce inequality in community wealth would recommend different policies for different kinds of community. But there may be some peri-urban communities with good weather that are poor for other reasons which would be revealed in a case-based statistical analysis. In such an analysis it would be possible to identify communities which don't fit the dominant pattern and look for other parameters which might make a difference and potentially might be introduced to the other communities. For example a very remote and drought-prone community may not be poor due to established high levels of migration for work.

Case-based methods allow for generalisation in relation to each identified type of case but it is vital that researchers pay careful attention to the limitation of their knowledge claims in time and

space<sup>16</sup>.

Variable- and case-based approaches to research are not complementary; as Byrne has argued '(c)ase-based methods represent a way of moving beyond a useless and destructive tradition in the social sciences that have set quantitative and qualitative models of exploration, interpretation and explanation against each other (Byrne, 2009:9). 'The turn to case methods is predicated on an explicit rejection of the utility of causal modelling based on variables' (Byrne, 2009: 4),and '..our conception of how case-based methods work explicitly rejects any fundamental distinction between the quantitative and the qualitative' (*ibid*).

### *What is this a case of? How is it to be defined?*

Cases are not obvious social entities but nor are they solely the product of the interpretations of the researcher. Researchers need to be explicit about how they have decided what should count as a case. Case-based methods users work with many different kinds of cases. Some are social entities like households, schools, organisations, communities, countries, etc. Some are processes, for example migration or urbanisation. Some are policies or programmes, for example development interventions.

### *Methods for studying cases*

Both qualitative and quantitative data should be seen as traces of the passage of a case through time. Data-making techniques in case studies include ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, document analysis, surveys, and photography. Secondary sources and data are also useful. Some studies focus on one case while others might compare two<sup>17</sup> or a few cases (small-N studies).

Interpretation, analysis and writing up of data from *one case* depends on the use of implicit or explicit theoretical frameworks producing thick descriptions. One technique to handle large amounts of fieldwork notes is coding which can now be done using qualitative software programmes.

Comparative method in its different forms is central to case-based understanding; it involves classification, typing and exploration of complex and multiple causality. 'There is always at least an implicit and usually explicit process of categorisation in which cases are grouped into categories and there is qualitative examination of historical trajectories in order to ascertain which trajectories produced which outcomes.' (Byrne, 2009: 5). In causal analysis there is recognition that different paths or combinations of aspects can lead to the same outcome (equi-finality) and similar interventions in different contexts can lead to different outcomes (multi-finality).

Comparative qualitative methods include systematically structured qualitative interpretation using computer-based methods and explanatory typologies in qualitative analysis (both important in WIDE), and choice of different types of cases for comparison (e.g. most different cases with a similar outcome; most similar cases with a different outcome). Comparative statistical methods available include classifications, the numerical taxonomy techniques of cluster analysis, correspondence analysis, Bayesian methods, configurational analysis on the basis of Boolean algebra including Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), fuzzy-set analysis, and neural network analysis.

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<sup>16</sup> That this has not been done carefully enough in recent WIDE writing is a concern of mine and one I think should be discussed up-front in WIDE4. In my view as an academic taking findings from four case studies in 2018 and turning them into generalisations in the present tense about all rural communities in a 2019 publication is putting policy-messaging above social science.

<sup>17</sup> See for example the 5 papers each comparing two of the WIDE3 communities presented at the 2012 ICES

## The WIDE3 research strategy

Our research strategy depends on *case-based methods* which fit well with the complexity paradigm since they do not depend on any assumption of linearity as most standard variable-based methods do. Also they can combine qualitative and case-based quantitative interpretation in an integrated fashion. Case-based quantitative analysis uses a conception of measurement that depends on *classification* which fits with the way in which people think. In everyday life we constantly use (stereo)typing to guide our responses to other people and their actions, events and so on. A case-based quantitative approach is contrasted with a traditional quantitative approach where variables (particular features of cases, for example education, income etc) are seen as causal agents while cases (people, households, firms, countries) are seen simply as sites for measuring variables. Analysis of quantitative data becomes a contest between disembodied variables to see which are 'significant'. Byrne argues that the term 'variable' is often used in a way that implies that measurements, such as education measured by years of schooling or income, are substances or forces with causal powers. But variables are not real; '(w)hat exists are complex systems.. which involve both the social and the natural, and which are subject to modification on the basis of human action, both individual and social (2002: 31). What we measure are quantitative traces and what we describe are qualitative traces of the systems which make up reality' (*ibid*: 32).

Byrne also argues 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:

1. *Exploring*: 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)
2. *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
3. *Interpreting*: measures and narratives in a search for meaning
4. *Ordering*: things sorted and positioned along the dimension of time and procedures for documenting changes and when they occurred.

We have also made use of some ideas on case-based analysis of qualitative data developed by a historian (Tilly, 1985). One case can be analysed in terms of (1) its location in a larger system or (2) its internal dynamics. Two or more cases can be compared in a search for (3) diversities and/or (4) regularities. We are using all four approaches:

1. *Structural location*: communities are spatially, economically, politically, culturally and historically located in wider complex systems. The relationships which each community has with these encompassing systems have a bearing on both the substance and the style of what happens.
2. *Internal dynamics*: since communities are historically located each is on a trajectory constructed by the path- dependent actions and social interactions of the actors involved. Community trajectories can change direction as a result of internally-initiated changes, linked internal and contextual changes, or big changes in context.
3. *Diversities and regularities*: related methods were described above.

## Potential WIDE cases

*Complex open and dynamic social systems as (nested cases) with spatial and temporal boundaries*

People are nested in households which are nested in communities. All three can be typed on the basis of one round of fieldwork but they all also have trajectories which can be cased and typed.

### *Control parameters*

These can be treated as cases and compared and typed across the communities. The abstract parameters are:

1. Place
2. People
3. Lives
4. Livelihoods
5. Social relations
6. Cultural ideas
7. Politics
8. External aspects of intersecting functional systems
9. Encompassing meso systems
10. Encompassing macro systems

Control parameters and/or their significance given the configuration of the other parameters can change as time passes.

### *Sub-systems or sectors as cases to be typed*

These contribute to control parameters but can be separately treated as cases and compared across the communities. They include for example farming, non-farming, credit, religion, and many others.

### *Complex social processes as cases to be typed*

For example female circumcision, schooling, disputes...

### *Modernisation features as cases to be typed*

For example irrigation, migration, urbanisation...

### *Process parameters*

Changes to control parameters are brought about process parameters or drivers of change which can also change as time passes. They include:

1. Climate change
2. Internal urbanisation, industrialisation, servicisation, consumerisation
3. Modern infrastructure construction
4. Modern health and education services
5. Modern domestic technologies
6. Gender equalisation measures
7. Agricultural modernisation
8. Youth, ethnic, religious dissent and conflict
9. Growth and spread of ICTs
10. Growing disaffection with kebele government
11. Changing markets for community exports and imports
12. External urbanisation, industrialisation, servicisation, consumerisation
13. Wider ethnic, clan, religious, political mobilisations
14. Political changes at the top
15. Globalisation

### *Development interventions in practice as cases to be typed*

For example internal road programmes, health extension programmes, local governance structures..

## Typing and comparing the WIDE communities

This is an example from early in WIDE3 Stage 1. WIDE1 and WIDE2 data had suggested five useful community typologies which could be nested in different ways for different analytical and policy purposes. *First* there were (increasing) Regional variations in policy and implementation. The twenty sites come from the four big *Regions*: two from Tigray, four from Amhara; eight from Oromia; and six from SNNP.

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

*Fourth*, in 2010 in terms of *urban proximity* and access to markets, services and information two sites were very remote, eight remote, six relatively integrated and four peri-urban. However many of the communities considered less remote overall had remote pockets.

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

Table 3 shows how the twenty communities varied on these six typologising categories on the basis of data from 2003 and 1995 where relevant.

**Table 3: Typing the Twenty Communities<sup>18</sup>**

Region	Livelihood System	PSNP	Urban linkages	Ethnicities	Religions
<b>Tigray</b>					
Geblen*	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan, Irob	Orthodox, Islam, Catholics
Harresaw	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Tigrayan	Orthodox (99%)
<b>Amhara</b>					
Yetmen*	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Amhara	Orthodox, a few practice animism
Dinki*	Vulnerable cereal		Remote	Argobba 60+% Amhara	Islam, OC
Shumsheha**	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox C 98%
Kormargefia***	Food cash crop exported		Peri-urban	Amhara	Orthodox
<b>Oromia</b>					
Korodegaga*	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Arssi Oromo (99%)	Islam
Turufe Kecheme*	Food cash crop exported		Peri-urban	Oromo; Tigrayans; Amhara; Wolayitta; Kembata	Islam; Orthodox; Protestantism; Catholicism
Adele Keke	International cash crop	Yes	Integrated	Oromo; a few Amhara	Muslim; Few OC
Gelcha	Pastoralist in transition	Yes	Very remote	Karrayu	Traditional Islam
Sirbana Godeti	Food cash crop		Integrated	Oromo	Orthodox Christian, Islam,

<sup>18</sup> Adapted from the WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report - Methodology Annex

Region	Livelihood System	PSNP	Urban linkages	Ethnicities	Religions
	exported				traditional
Somodo	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo (Arssi and Shewa); Yem; a few Kulo, Kembata, & Amhara	Sufi Islam ; Wehabi Islam ; Orthodox; Protestantism; Ritual beliefs
Oda Haro	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo	Islam; Protestant; ritual beliefs
Odadawata	Food cash crop exported		Integrated	Oromo (Arssi and Shewa); Amhara; a few Gurage & Silte	Orthodox; Islam; Protestantism
<b>SNNP</b>					
Imdibir*	Highly-populated enset		Peri-urban	Gurage	Orthodox; Catholics; a few Muslims+ Protestants; traditional
Aze Debo'a	Highly-populated enset	Yes	Remote	Kembata	Orthodox; Protestants; Catholics
Gara Godo	Highly-populated enset	Yes	Remote	Wolayitta	Orthodox; Protestants; Catholics
Do'omaa	Vulnerable cereal	Yes	Remote	Gamo 60% Wolayitta 40%	Protestants 70% Orthodox 20% Syncretic
Luqa	Pastoralist in transition	Yes	Very remote	Tsamako	Tsamako beliefs; Protestants
Adado	International cash crop		Remote	Gedeo	Protestants 90%; Islam, Orthodox, Gedeo beliefs

\* Stage 1 sites \*\* Stage 2 sites \*\*\* Stage 3 sites

The case-based methods used in the production, interpretation and comparative analysis of the large amounts of WIDE data require researchers always to work with theoretical frameworks which are the subject of the next four sections.

## 5. WIDE Methodology development to 2016: growing recognition of the importance of theoretical frameworks

The WIDE approach to theory makes use of the three different types identified by Mouzelis (1995). *Theorising* uses the theories of other scholars; 'building on the shoulders of giants'. The academic bibliography in [Appendix 8](#) lists the most important works of the social scientists, mostly sociologists, who since the early 1990s have provided the bedrock of ideas for the development of the WIDE methodology, which in 2019 is best described as a complex realist approach to empirical research in rural communities.

*Theoretical frameworks* are exploratory or analytic tools which clarify concepts and identify key processes linking them. The Foundations of Knowledge Framework used in Section 3 is a theoretical framework and others we have used are set out below. They were developed through theorising and in the dialogue between ideas and evidence and provide guides for the design of research instruments and the interpretation and analysis process.

*Substantive theories* are to do with causal understanding or explanation. In complex social systems causation is complex; what happens is usually the result of the interaction of multiple internal and contextual causal mechanisms. These potentially include the power and liabilities implicit in material, human, social and cultural structures, forces, processes, interactions, resources, and reasoning. Mechanisms work at different levels of the system from their outcomes.

### The importance of theoretical frameworks for doing empirical research and how to use them

Everyone who designs a qualitative or quantitative empirical study relies on theoretical frameworks, even if they are not fully explicit. Theoretical frameworks are developed from ideas identified in previous inquiry to provide a lens which acts as a starting point for interview or survey questions, observations and analysis. Conceptual frameworks come out of qualitative processes of theorising and require hard thinking. An exploratory conceptual framework provides the basis for empirical exploration and understanding; it organises the making of the data and at the end of the interpretation and analysis process may be revised and improved. If it is a good framework it may be used or improved by other researchers. Some frameworks, like the [core community framework](#) described below, also provide useful headings for empirical narratives. Analytic frameworks which postulate relationships among parameters are particularly important for comparative analyses of the data on selected topics.

### Relevant pre-WIDE3 frameworks

Two frameworks developed during the WeD project informed the WIDE3 research: the 'four perspectives on cases framework' and the 'structure-culture-agency framework' for understanding how social change happens.

#### *Four perspectives on cases*

Any social phenomenon can be studied synchronically (abstracting from time) and diachronically (taking account of time).

Two important synchronic approaches to social phenomena can be characterised as **anatomy** and **physiology**, both of which involve a type of qualitative analysis. An anatomy identifies the components of the phenomenon and the structural relationships between them. What are the components of the object and how are they connected to each other? It can be asked of material, human, social and cultural structures. The qualitative 'physiological' question is: what are the relationships, processes and activities which, others things being equal, are currently maintaining this open system?

The first diachronic approach relates to social **dynamics** or stability and change processes. Here the interest is in equilibria, shocks, rhythms, spirals, vicious and virtuous circles, ratchets, bifurcations, etc. What have been and are the causal mechanisms and processes guiding stability and/or change in this particular object through its 'lifetime'. The second approach involves **histories**: what actually happened in this specific instance as a result of context, path dependence, the actions and interactions of the units, and the mechanisms and processes at work and their consequences.

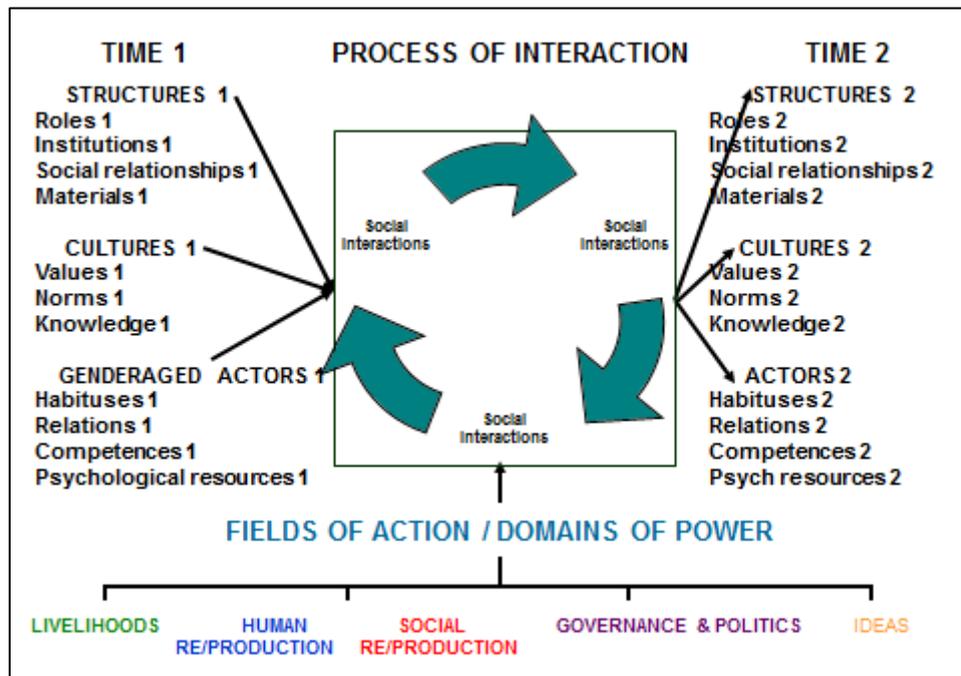
*Structure-culture-agency framework for localities*

The Structure-Culture-Agency interaction framework for localities was developed following completion of the WeD project making particular use of Harré's ideas about people (dates) and Margaret Archer's ideas about social structures (date) and culture structures (date).

'One has a social, a personal and a physical being. Each of our ways of being is implicated in, and partially defines, the others' (Harré, phys 3). People are socially and culturally constructed and through their interactions socially and culturally construct (reproduce and change) social structures.

Social structures are constituted by roles, institutions, social relationships and materials. Cultural structures are constituted by values, norms and knowledge. In the dynamic structure-culture-agency-perspective on social entities (Figure 2) at any point in time embodied social actors differentially involved in the structures with life histories which have generated particular habituses, relations, competences and psychological resources are involved in episodes of interaction which may reproduce or change the existing social structures, ideas and people.

**Figure 2: Dynamic Structure-Culture and Agency Framework for localities**



Community power structures are constituted by five inter-penetrating local domains of power in which members act and interact for different purposes. They are livelihoods, human re/production, social re/production, governance and politics, and ideas (values, norms, knowledge). These structured domains of power are also fields of action as people (for example) sell their crops, bring up their children, join or lead funeral societies, refuse to follow government rules, and/or pressure others to agree with their ideas or accept their knowledge.

## **The development of WIDE3 theoretical frameworks 2009-2016**

During WIDE3 and the WIDE3-4 Transition we developed a number of theoretical frameworks under the headings of (1) community frameworks; (2) topic frameworks; and (3) development interventions frameworks. These are described separately in the next three sections.

## 6. WIDE3 methodology development 2009 - 2016: community theoretical frameworks

### Community boundaries

One important question which has arisen concerns the delineation and selection of the WIDE 'communities'/complex systems. '(I)t is often difficult to define the border of a complex system. Instead of being a characteristic of the system itself the scope of the system is usually determined by the purpose of the *description* of the system, and thus is often influenced by the position of the observer (Cilliers, 1998: 4). The fifteen WIDE1 communities were selected by economists planning to undertake the 'Ethiopian Rural Household Survey'<sup>19</sup> in places exemplifying Ethiopia's main livelihood systems; the obvious unit was the Peasant Association which had clear boundaries and local government leaders to mobilise the community for the survey.

The WIDE1 research was designed to produce parallel qualitative research in the ERHS communities. Since 1994 some of the PAs/*kebeles* have become sub-kebeles while by 2012, as a result of urbanisation, two had lost some agricultural land to the local town and gained some rural land from reconfigured neighbouring kebeles. Longitudinal research always faces issues arising from the evolution of the research objects which can change out of all recognition and sometimes disappear. The ERHS was abandoned in 2009 after twenty years since the sample of houses recognisably similar to those in 1989 and 1994 was so reduced. The Bridge research suggests that some of the WIDE communities will not remain rural for long with the implication that the project would benefit from the addition of some new more remote communities

### WIDE3: Synchronic and diachronic approaches to the longitudinal data

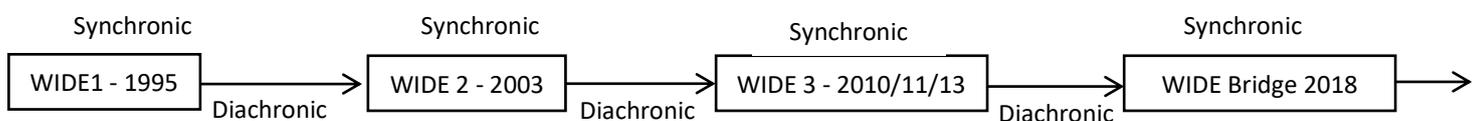
*Synchronic* community research produces data during one research episode which can be used in narratives of what was happening at the time of the research in each community and to do comparative analysis on different topics across the communities. *Diachronic* community research uses data made at more than time period to trace continuities and changes in the community structures, people and trajectories.

Complex systems evolve through time and their past is co-responsible for their current state. 'An analysis of a complex system that ignores the dimension of time is incomplete, or at most a synchronic snapshot of a diachronic process' (Cilliers, 1998: 40). A fundamental theoretical framework for understanding longitudinal complexity-oriented research processes distinguishes between *synchronic* and *diachronic* analysis. The longitudinal data on the twenty communities was interpreted and analysed from both *synchronic and diachronic standpoints*.

#### *The synchronic and diachronic interpretation and analysis framework*

As Figure 3 shows from a synchronic perspective each research visit to the WIDE communities produced 'snapshots' focusing on a short period of time, providing thick descriptions of each of the communities, and the chance to use comparative case-based analyses of the data.

Figure 3: Synchronic and diachronic interpretation and analysis



<sup>19</sup> For more information on the ERHS see <https://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/households/the-ethiopian-rural-household-survey> and <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/ethiopian-rural-household-surveys-erhs-1989-2009>

From a diachronic perspective the trajectory followed by each community was the result of (1) interactions among a stream of external happenings to which people organised in household and other sub-systems had constantly to respond and (2) creative activities generated within the community.

## **Synchronic conceptual frameworks**

### *Core community conceptual framework - seven perspectives on rural communities*

To gather information to aid understanding about how a complex system is working it is useful to view it from multiple perspectives (Cilliers, 2005: 257). To explore how the communities were working at the time of the WIDE3 fieldwork we adopted seven perspectives which guided the questions we asked. One of these looks at the community context while the others de-construct the community system in different ways. The perspectives are:

1. The community in its wider context
2. The evolving community eco-system - the socio-human-material place system
3. Social actors
4. Five inter-penetrating domains of power/fields of action
  - a. Livelihoods
  - b. Human re/pro/duction
  - c. Social re/pro/duction
  - d. Cultural ideas
  - e. Community management
5. Durable structures of inequality – class, status and power
6. Households in the community
7. Social interactions

#### **The community in its wider context**

Rural communities are linked to the outside world through infrastructure, exports and imports, and social networks which link people to other rural areas, towns and cities, and in some cases places outside Ethiopia's borders. They are nested in larger political structures, for example weredas, which in turn are nested in higher-level political structures. They are increasingly under pressure from external modernisation processes.

#### **The evolving community eco-system - the socio-human-material place system**

The community ecosystems are constituted by living organisms (plants, microbes and animals including human beings) and the structured non-living elements of the environment including rocks, minerals, soils, water, and air. The base of the community system is its unique piece of geographical territory. This territory contains a *material system* which has boundaries established as a result of politico-administrative decisions although these may have been affected by features of the landscape such as rivers, escarpments and gullies. Within the boundaries at any point in time the *place system* is constituted through:

- (1) interactions among local manifestations of larger material systems - altitude, climate, topography, geology, and ecology and
- (2) material legacies of previous human interactions with the territory including land and water use, environmental degradation or re-habilitation, settlement patterns, roads, buildings and technological infrastructure.

### Five evolving and inter-penetrating open functional sub-systems

These are the domains of livelihoods, human re/pro/duction, social re/pro/duction, community management, and ideas (see Table 4). These are simultaneously conceptualised as domains of power (which are socially and culturally constructed), institutional settings and fields of action for people playing different roles .

*Table 4: The five domains of power / fields of action / functional sub-systems*

<i>Livelihoods</i>	Smallholder agriculture and agricultural employment
	Non-farm business and non-farm employment
	Migration and remittances
<i>Human re/pro/duction</i>	'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
<i>Social re/pro/duction</i>	Social networks
	Social institutions: e.g. marriage, circumcision, inheritance, land/labour/oxen exchanges
	Social organisations (including households)
<i>Cultural ideas</i>	Local customary repertoires of knowledge, values, norms, beliefs,
	Local modern repertoires of knowledge, values, norms, beliefs
	In-coming ideologies, religions, cultures and other ideas
<i>Community management and politics</i>	Community-initiated structures for decision-making and implementation
	<i>Kebele</i> (community government) structures
	<i>Wereda</i> (district) structures

#### *The domain of power/field of action where livelihoods are constructed*

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

#### *The domain of power/field of action where human re/pro/duction takes place*

This includes all institutions and activities involved in the production, maintenance and 'reduction' of people. Again the household is the focal unit supported by neighbour and kin networks. Areas/activities involved in the production of people include fertility, birth, maternal and infant health, child-rearing and socialisation, government, NGO and private health and education services. The maintenance of people requires housing, household assets, water, sanitation, energy (firewood, dungcakes, kerosene, electricity), domestic work, food and other consumption, and appropriate caring by others. Most activities in this field are conducted by females. Human 'reduction' involves harm to people bringing ill-being.

#### *The domain of power/ field of action where social re/pro/duction takes place*

Social re/pro/duction involves social networks, social institutions, and social organisations which are all vulnerable to change. Networks are formed on the basis of neighbourhood, kin and affinal, and friendship relationships and often go beyond the community. In some cases clan or lineage membership brings obligations. Important social institutions order life-passages including birth, in some cases transitions to adulthood, marriage, divorce, widow(er)hood, death and inheritance. Other institutions set rules for different aspects of social life, for example resource sharing and exchanges such as work groups and share-cropping, and social exchanges such as attending funerals and visiting the sick. Social organisations include religious organisations and groups, workgroups and business organisations, community-initiated organisations providing social protection, credit and

insurance, government-sponsored organisations such as service co-operatives and women and youth organisations, and community-based organisations sponsored by NGOs for particular projects.

*The domain of power/field of action where ideas are disseminated and discussed*

In the *field of ideas* local people have access to five types of cultural repertoires or models: (1) conservative customary ideas; (2) local modern ideas in favour of various moves towards individualism and egalitarianism; (3) externally financed religious mobilisations; (4) government modernisation models via wereda and kebele officials and civil servants, the media and word of mouth; and (5) donor models via NGOs, the media and word of mouth. Some powerful people are highly active in promoting particular models. People may draw on different models for different purposes. Customarily cultural notions of superiority and inferiority may be attached to status differences related to ethnicity, religion, craftwork, migrant status, descendancy from 'slaves', and poverty.

*The domain of power/field of action where the politics of community management are conducted*

In this domain four types of structure are important:

- (1) community structures, e.g. for some decision-making and dispute resolution; for community political mobilisation
- (2) locally-specific wider lineage or clan structures, ethnic and/or religious structures, and political structures;
- (3) kebele structures including councils, committees and social courts, and
- (4) wereda structures.

More powerful people in this field include local elites as well as kebele officials, kebele managers, extension agents, and wereda officials and we are interested in the overlaps among, and networks between, people occupying local and government positions. Local elites include people who are rich, elders, educated, religious leaders, and leaders of informal and some government organisations. The election of kebele officials involves factional politics based on informal networks. Extension agents include agricultural Development Agents, Health Extension Workers, and teachers.

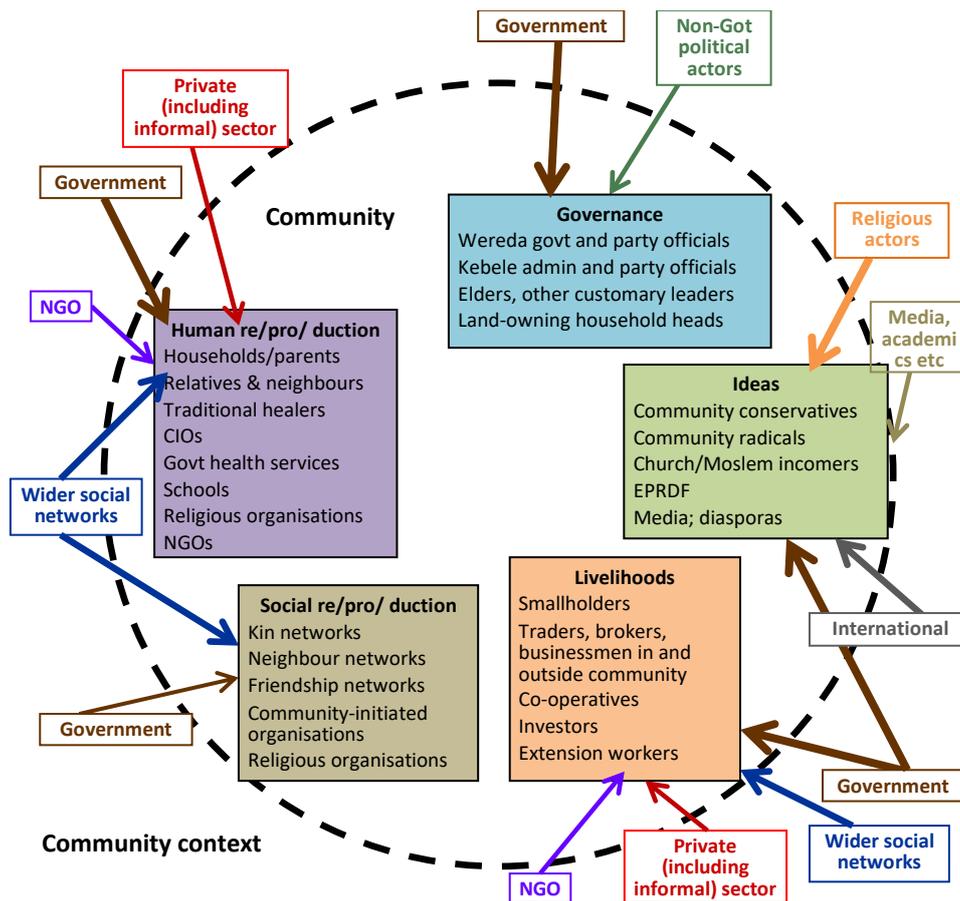
*Conceptualising the inter-penetration of the five domains*

Using each domain as a lens on to the community generates data on 'the economy', 'society', 'culture' and 'polity' and the human re/pro/duction domain which does not have an equivalent 'big concept' since for centuries it has mainly been the domain to which women have been confined. Figure 4 shows how some actors in each of the domain are inside the community while others are external.

From another perspective, the five domains are 'inter-penetrating'; all activities in the livelihoods, human re/pro/duction, and community management fields are socially constructed through organisations, institutions and networks (social structures) and involve cultural ideas.

Two mechanisms are involved. *First*, a *real action* never takes place in only one of the fields. For example, a man ploughing in a livelihood role is also playing a societal role as for example smallholder, share-cropper, ox-sharer. A woman feeding her newborn infant butter is using the local customary repertoire of ideas. *Second*, these sub-systems are energised through *social interactions* which always have implications for more than one sub-system. For example for a smallholder to produce and harvest crops labour must be organised for different tasks at different times of year through the societal system; the farmer might use household labour for some tasks, maybe a group labour-sharing arrangement with established norms for others, and someone in his/her network who is willing to do daily labour for yet others.

Figure 4: Five domains of power & internal and external role players



However social organisations, networks and institutions and the field of cultural ideas are also domains of power in their own right where more powerful people devote time to the business of organising or persuading bringing advantages and disadvantages to people occupying different positions within the fields.

### *Durable structures of inequality related to class, status and power*

The main topics of interest here are class, status and power structures and elite formation. How is the community structured in terms of class, wealth/poverty, and income? What forms do genderage<sup>20</sup> inequalities and relations take? What other community-specific status markers structure inequality? Who wields political power? Who are the community elites?

Class inequalities are rooted in the livelihoods domain, status inequalities in the social and cultural domains and power in the community management domain. The five *domains of power* are all hierarchically and unequally organised. In the economy there are rich, middle-wealth and poor smallholders, landless labourers, rich traders, petty traders, commuters, migrants etc and considerable differences in household wealth, incomes and lifestyles. Households into which children are born and raised are hierarchically organised in terms of genderage, and resources and opportunities are not equally distributed among family members. Society's structures include

<sup>20</sup> In variable-oriented research gender and age are seen as independent causal variables which have separate independent effects on whatever the outcome under consideration. When the focus is on cases gender and age taken together describe different kinds of people with different kinds of bodies, minds and aspirations: for example what old women, adolescent boys, and five-year old girls do and their relations with other kinds of people in many respects are different.

organisations with hierarchies which are also affected by differences in genderage. Cultural ideas about superiority and inferiority may be attached to ethnicity, clan or lineage membership, length of residence in the community, religion, craftwork, descendency from 'slaves', wealth/poverty, gender and age. Control and influence over many decisions affecting the community are in the hands of adult male landowners. Richer men are likely to be the active leaders in most or all of the five systems with some elite members having key roles in more than one of the sub-systems (

### Household structures

#### Sources of difference among households

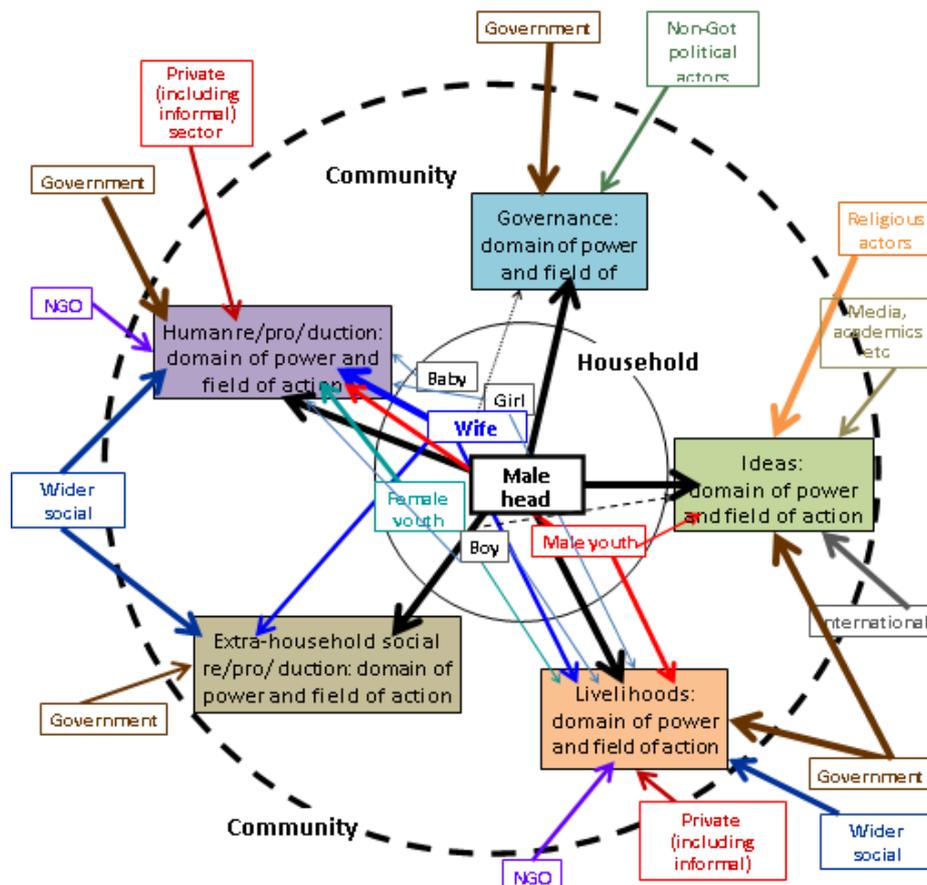
Apart from differences in household composition there will be differences in household wealth linked to differences in livelihood sources and differences associated with place of residence. The distance of a house from roads and urban centres is one source of difference. Another results from the growing number of households which own houses in both rural and urban areas and use them to straddle the local farming and non-farming economies.

Major drivers of change to household status include in the short-run illnesses and deaths of key workers and in the longer-run the entry of children into the labour market including migration and the ageing of the senior members.

#### Households as domains of power

Rural households can be conceptualised as domains of power with gender and age being potentially important role and status differentiators. In the past customary repertoires of beliefs, values and norms suggested what the rights and duties of different kinds of members should be.

Figure 5: Participation in the different fields of action by different kind of household member



These repertoires varied across different local cultures with a particular difference between Orthodox Christian and Muslim households. These differences are reflected in the differential participation of household members in the different fields of action as depicted in Figure 5.

The community economic and socio-cultural modernisation forces described in the next section have been putting pressure on the balance of power between genders and generations the consequences of which can be traced in the different cultural contexts.

### *Social actors - different kinds of open and dynamic people*

People are constituted by interacting physical, personal and social components. They are ‘spatially located and temporally enduring, tracing out continuous trajectories in the manifold of space-time’ (Harré Phys: 13), have weight, colour and texture and ‘causal powers through which changes in other material things can be brought about’ *ibid*. In WIDE3 rural people were conceptualised as genderaged embodied social actors with personalities, histories, roles, relationships, social statuses, memories and aspirations. They are historically-constructed and at any point in time have embodied physical and mental human resources and liabilities.

People are biologically, personally, socially, culturally and historically constructed. They are on life-cycle trajectories; at any point in time they have an age as well as a gender. The concept of ‘genderage’ corresponds with the way we see people in everyday life and reflects an aspect of our own personal identities; looking out we see, say, an old man or a young girl and looking in we know we are, say, a 45 year-old man.

Each social actor has a genderage, class/wealth position, ethnicity, religion, maybe other community-relevant social statuses, a personality, accumulated human resources and liabilities, and a personal history. 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? What are the consequences in terms of personal well- and ill- being?

Recognition of important social differences among community members has guided us to interview males and females of different genderages, wealth, health, and proximity to the kebele centre, farmers, urban residents, different kinds of traders, businessmen and others involved in construction, manufacturing and services, returned migrants, as well as wereda and kebele officials, key knowledgeable informants, kebele civil servants, religious leaders, customary leaders, and NGO workers.

### *Rural community control parameters*

At any point in time in each community a configuration of internal and contextual locally salient inter-acting control parameters guides its trajectory. A significant change in one parameter has potential consequences for others and may set off a chain of knock-on effects. During WIDE3 we identified ten control parameter areas which were important for guiding the trajectories of these rural communities (see Table 5). Empirical data can be used to identify the configuration of key parameters in each community at a point in time.

*Table 5: Control parameters guiding rural community trajectories*

Control parameter areas		Parameters identified as potentially important for the communities studied
Internal parameters	1. Place	Terrain, settlement, climate, eco-system, urban areas Remoteness - connections with wider world
	2. People	Current human resources/liabilities Roles and relationships Knowledge and aspirations
	3. Lives	Human re/pro/duction infrastructures and institutions

Control parameter areas		Parameters identified as potentially important for the communities studied
	4. Livelihoods	Farming system
		Livelihood diversification
		Economic institutions
	5. Social relations	Community fault-lines Organised collective agency
6. Cultural ideas	Customary cultural repertoire Modern cultural repertoires	
7. Politics	Political settlement Government-society relations Opposition party organisation	
Contextual parameters	8. External aspects of intersecting functional systems	Economic – e.g. international coffee prices
		Lives – e.g. contraceptive provision, food aid systems
		Social – e.g. diasporas
		Cultural imports –e.g. religious, political, modernisation ideologies
	Political – e.g. EPRDF party	
9. Encompassing meso systems	State of meso system: economy, society, culture, politics Government plans for the wider area	
10. Encompassing macro systems	State of country system: economy, society, culture, politics State of Horn of Africa systems State of global systems	

To explore the control parameters important in a community at a point in time the following questions can be put to the data

#### Place

1. How easy is it to grow crops, keep livestock and live here?
2. How easy is it for people living in different places in the community to access people outside the community, markets, services, etc?

#### People and agency

3. What are the particular competences and aspirations of the men, women, male and female youth and children in the community?

#### Economy

4. What crops are produced and livestock reared with what agro-technologies and how well do the choices work with the place?
5. What off-farm economic opportunities are available and where? How do these fit with people's competences and aspirations?
6. How efficient are the local mixed economy institutions in organising the provision of farm and other inputs, choice of products and techniques, and sale of outputs?

#### Society

7. Considering identity group differences<sup>21</sup>, gender relations, adult-youth relations, and rich-poor relations how socially integrated/disunited is the community?

#### Cultural ideas

8. What are the main features of customary, modern and other important cultural repertoires? What is the balance of community support for each and what are the social characteristics of the main opinion leaders?

#### Polity

9. How strong is the political settlement between the community and the government and on what is it based? How do different kinds of people channel political aspirations and interests?

<sup>21</sup> For example ethnic, clan, lineage, and/or religious differences

### Wider context

10. What is the current state of the local meso-economy?
11. What is the state of relations with wider identity groups (friends and enemies) in the neighbourhood?  
How dangerous are potential or existing resource or other conflicts?
12. What is the current state of the macro economy and polity and national social and cultural integration?  
What might happen in the medium-term future?

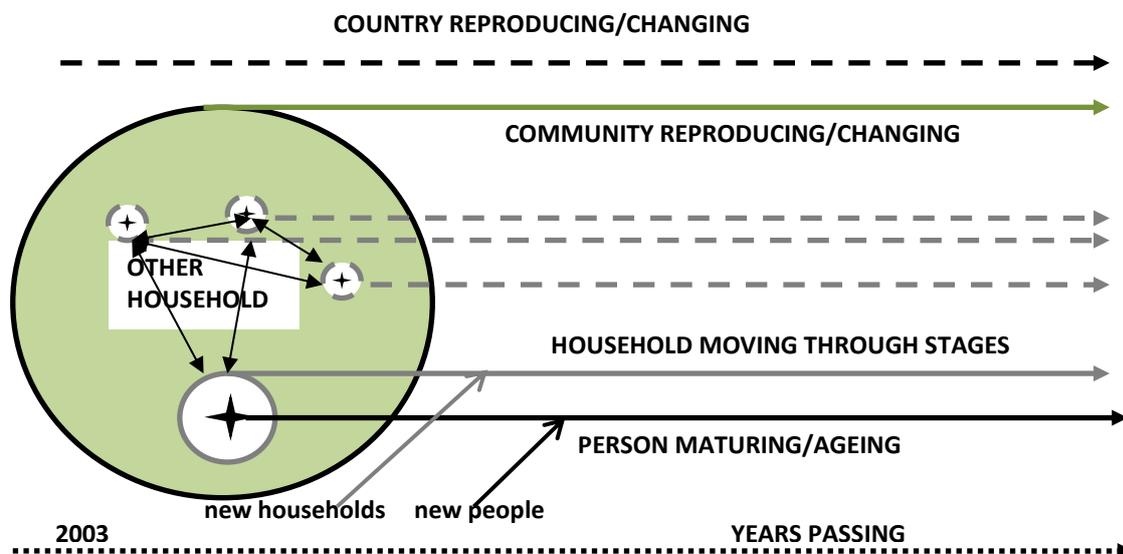
## Diachronic conceptual frameworks

### *The co-evolution of communities, country, households and people*

The communities were conceptualised as open and dynamic complex socio-material systems moving through time and co-evolving with three other types of system on path-dependent trajectories: (1) *encompassing systems*, for example the wereda, Region, Ethiopia (2) *nested systems*, the most important being households and people and (3) *intersecting systems*, for example value chains, clan organisations, party structures, Muslim *wahabi* networks, diasporas and development interventions. Given that the social world is constituted by many overlapping dynamic complex systems complexity researchers must choose the one they are going to take as their primary focus regarding others as context when useful. The chosen social system may be spatially bounded, as in the case of communities, or connect people in different places, as in the case of individual development interventions.

Figure 6 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 6: Co-evolution of communities, country, households and people



Since communities are historically located each is on a trajectory constructed by the path-dependent social actions and interactions of the actors involved. Community trajectories can change direction as a result of internally-initiated changes, linked internal and contextual changes, or big changes in context.

## Evolving communities

### Rural community process parameters

These bring changes to rural community control parameters. Depending on the configuration of the particular community's parameters the changes may be absorbed with no consequences for the community trajectory, or they may be so great that the community sets off on a new trajectory. Table 6 identifies potential process parameters which might act as drivers of change in rural communities.

Table 6: Process parameters with potential to change rural community trajectories

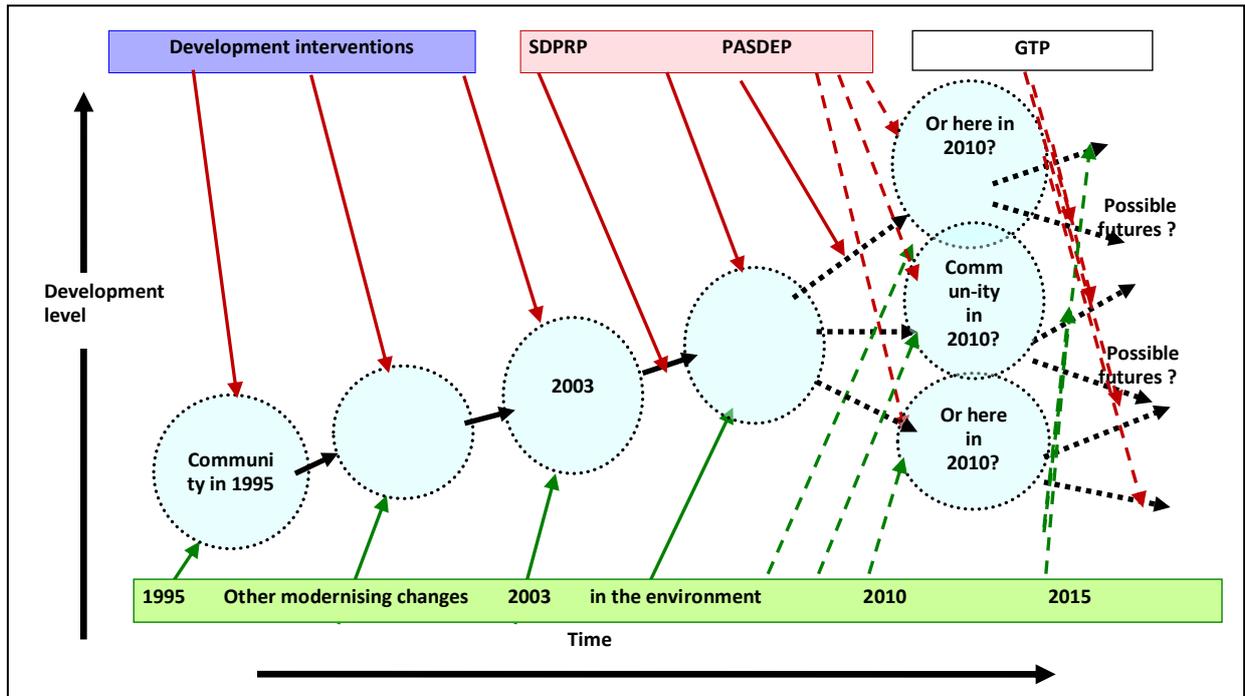
Parameter areas		Process parameters / potential drivers of change identified as potentially important for the communities studied - examples
Internal parameters	1. Place	Drought, government urbanisation and industrialisation plans Modern external roads, electricity, ICT infrastructure
	2. People	Health & education services, improved nutrition, women and youth policies, increasing urbanisation & urban links, radio, TV, internet
	3. Lives	Modern domestic technologies, gender equalisation, contraception, infant health services, KGs,
	4. Livelihoods	Agricultural modernisation; community investment in non-farm activities; urbanisation of rural land
		Internal 'industrialisation', servicisation, consumerisation, urbanisation, thickening rural-urban links Agricultural land renting and selling, inward private investment, local MSE increase, government co-operatives,
	5. Social relations	Youth disaffection, ethnic flare-ups, religious proselytising,
	6. Cultural ideas	Growth and spread of ICTs: mobile phones, internet, social media, global TV channels
7. Politics	Government attempts to impose unpopular policies or projects; community involved in wider political activities	
Contextual parameters	8. External aspects of intersecting functional systems	National and international markets for agricultural products and incoming consumer goods
		External industrialisation, urbanisation, migration opportunities
		Inward global investment
		Climate change
	9. Encompassing meso systems	Management of social media
9. Encompassing meso systems	Wider ethnic, clan, religious, political mobilisations	
10. Encompassing macro systems	Political changes at the top Government, donor, NGO interventions to change minds Global media	

### Community modernisation trajectories

The framework in Figure 7 shows how development interventions related to government strategy plans (the SDPRP, the PASDEP and the GTP<sup>22</sup>) and wider changes in context have interacted with ongoing community processes since 1995.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

Figure 7: Community modernisation trajectories



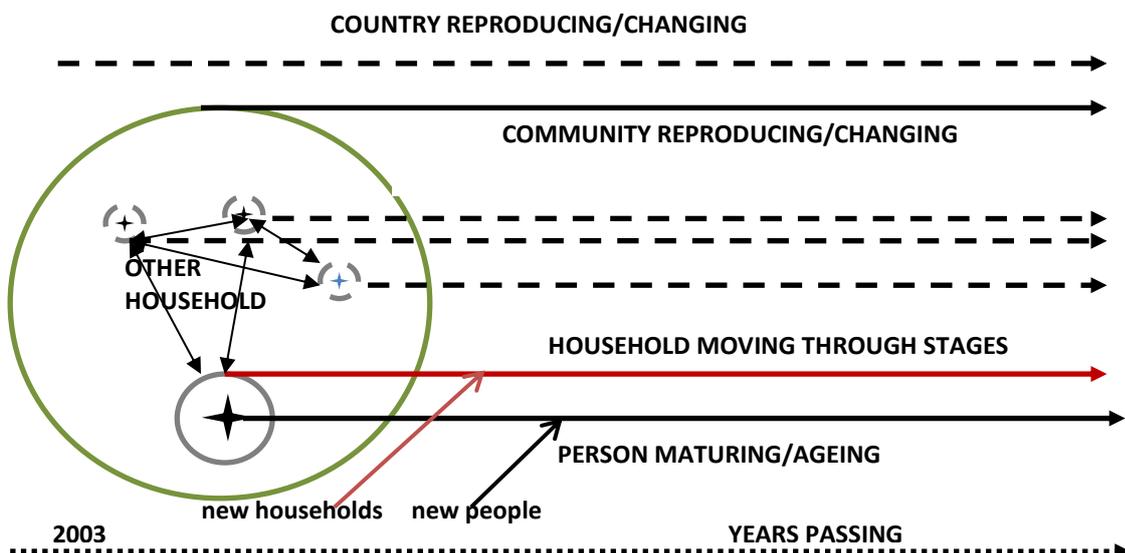
### *Evolving inequality structures*

While there were signs in the WIDE3 Stage 3 evidence base that modernisation processes were beginning to disrupt customary structures of inequality we did not develop a ‘modernisation and inequalities’ framework to organise the data until the WIDE Bridge project in 2018.

### *Evolving households*

The two most important nested dynamic open complex systems constitutive of the community are *household systems of different types* spatially located in different parts of the territory, which themselves are constituted by *human systems or people of different genderages playing different roles in the functional sub-systems*.

Figure 8: Co-evolution of households, household members, community and country



Households are important social organisations in the social re/pro/duction or society domain of power; people invest considerable time and energy in creating new households and managing social relationships within them as they pass through the household cycle and evolve. Figure 8 shows how households at different points in local development cycles are co-evolving with their members and their community and more widely the country.

For each community it was possible to identify a local customary ideal household lifecycle. This was defined as a progression from young couple, through young nuclear family, mature nuclear family, in some cultures polygynous families, emptying nest, old couple, male-headed 3-generations, and nuclear family with old parent. Various life-events can knock households off this ideal track; off-track households might be female-headed, child-headed, sibling households, men or women living alone, or some more unorthodox combinations of people.

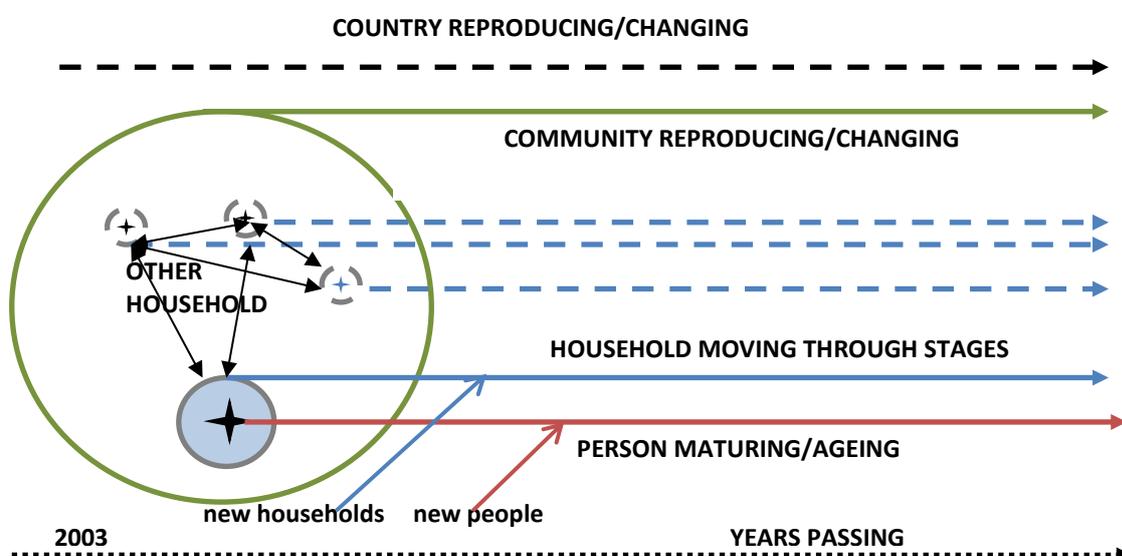
Households can be seen as involved in a 'struggle for existence' through which they occupy an economic niche for longer or shorter periods. Adults and children living in households with greater wealth, status and political connection are likely to do better in the competition for positional advantage and leverage; those that are poor do not have the resources to take advantage of opportunities or survive problems and crises.

### *Evolving people*

#### **The complexity of personhood**

Each person is a biologically-constituted social actor with a genderage, class/wealth position, ethnicity, religion, maybe other community-relevant social statuses, a personality, accumulated human resources and liabilities, and a personal history. Men and women, youth and children 'co-evolving' with other people, their households and their communities are affected by what happens to each. Individual consequences depend on community trajectory, household trajectory, social networks, genderage, class-wealth, status, political connection, education, health, personal characteristics and chance. The complex of choices different kinds of people make individually and collectively in response to what happens to them also has consequences for them as well as the future trajectory of each community and, taking all communities together, for the country.

*Figure 9: Co-evolution of people, households, community and country*

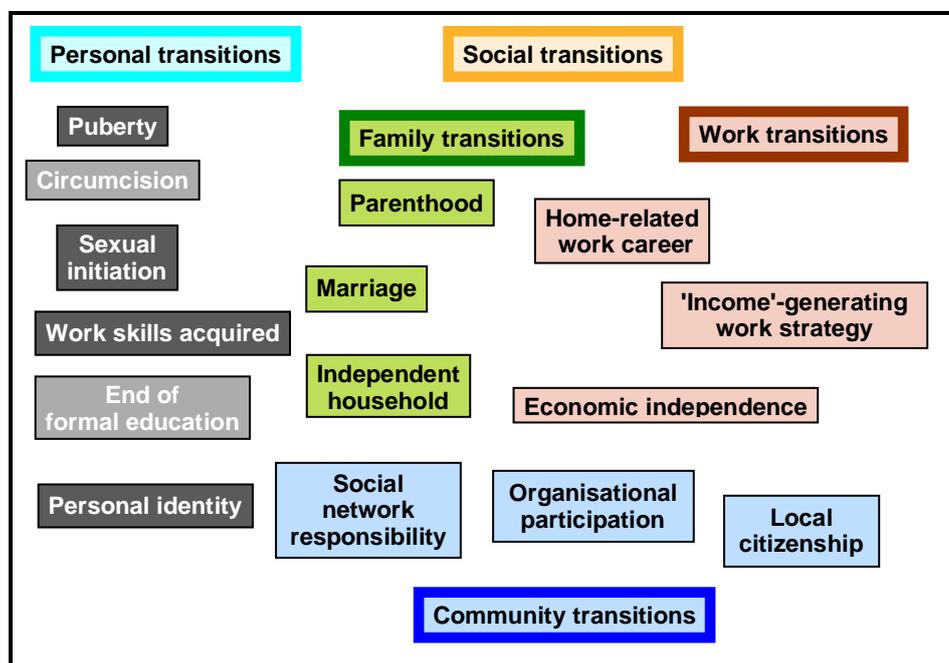


## Youth transitions to adulthood

### *Gendered youth passages to adulthood*

Passages to adulthood in rural Ethiopia involve between thirteen and fifteen personal and social transitions or boundary-crossings of varying types and durations (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Gendered youth passages to adulthood in rural Ethiopia: 13-15 boundary-crossings



There are six personal transitions though two of these are not universal. They are physical maturation, youth circumcision in some cultures, sexual initiation, acquiring of work skills, the end of formal education if any, and the development of a personal/social identity. Work-related transitions for both sexes include, though with different emphases, establishing home-related<sup>23</sup> work careers and 'income'<sup>24</sup>-generating work strategies and gaining economic independence. There are three family-related transitions: getting married, establishing an independent household, and having children. The final transition, which depends on the crossing of the other boundaries, is community recognition as a social adult. For those who stay in the community, or return to settle after migration, this involves participating in social network exchanges and community-initiated organisations and accepting the duties and rights attached to local religious and political 'citizenship'.

There are complex linkages between within-gender transitions. For example a young man cannot set up an independent household unless he has a house, a reliable income and is married. A young woman who gets the ordering of child and marriage the wrong way round will find it hard to get married at all. There are also cross-gender linkages. If large proportions of young men take a long time to be in positions to set up independent households young women will marry older men.

### *Youth responses to modernisation*

The responses of young men to rural modernisation varied. 'Youth' is a period which can last for more than a decade (say aged 15 to 25) and each young man's trajectory can change direction

<sup>23</sup> Includes what is usually known as 'domestic work' (washing, cooking, cleaning etc) and providing fuel and water, childcare, care of sick and old, hospitality, house-building and maintenance, making/mending furniture/utensils and anything else that is unpaid and related to home-making.

<sup>24</sup> Includes own production which is consumed.

during these years. The WIDE Bridge data suggests that in trying to draw conclusions about how young men in rural communities have responded to recent modernisations it is useful to think of three categories, remembering that real young men may move between them during their 'trajectories to adulthood'.

1. Getting on: young men with successful trajectories taking advantage of opportunities in education, agriculture, trade, business, employment, migration (DBIII:04 Young people's economic experiences); easier for rich young men.
2. Getting by: young men uncertain about their futures but keeping busy, making a living by combining economic activities linked to agriculture, trade, business, employment, migration and sometimes returning to education for a while.
3. Sitting idle for shorter or longer periods: young men unable to find work or unwilling to do what is available; tempted to join alcohol/cigarettes/gambling sub-cultures; getting into drink-fueled conflicts; tempted by criminal activity.

There are also three useful categories to help thinking about the responses of rural young women to modernisations.

1. Economically ambitious: young women taking advantage of opportunities in education, trade, business, employment, migration; sometimes co-operating with their husbands, sometimes postponing or even rejecting marriage; easier for rich young women.
2. Getting by: young women on uncertain education/livelihood/marriage trajectories waiting to see how things would pan out; finding a good way or choosing what seemed to be the least worst; likely to continue livelihood activities after marriage and may return to education; may divorce - especially likely for those marrying very young.
3. Off-track temporarily or permanently: pregnant but not married; if accepted by family could get back on track; those leaving to towns possibly falling into prostitution; some not-pregnant may also fall into it after migrating for domestic or other work; more likely if poor.

#### *The reproductive journeys of adolescent girls*

In this framework seven areas of risk to reproductive health and well-being for girls and young women in transition to adulthood were identified (Bevan 2016?):

1. female circumcision
2. forced abduction
3. rape
4. early marriage associated with sexual activity
5. pregnancy
6. child-bearing
7. early motherhood for which the girl is not ready physically and/or psychologically

The framework was used with the WIDE3 data for all twenty communities to draw some general policy-relevant conclusions and to identify different patterns of risk associated with differences in local cultures and religions.

#### *Social interactions*

This perspective allows an empirical focus on important relationships and episodes of interaction. Three examples of frameworks exploring social interactions from WIDE and DEEP are described here. This perspective has not been used much in the fieldwork since following relationships and tracing episodes of interaction is difficult and time-consuming. Given the potential involvement of MA students who are not part of the core community data team in WIDE4 there could be more fieldwork of this kind.

### **Conceptualising important relationships - the pregnancy-delivery-infancy cycle and the mother-baby couple**

This was developed during the preparation of discussion briefs and papers using all the WIDE3 data. The pregnancy-infancy cycle lasts roughly fifteen months and consists of three stages. For the mother nine months or so of pregnancy, then delivery, followed ideally by at least six months of exclusive breast-feeding. From the infant's perspective an embryo develops and matures in the womb; then an infant is born and requires the provision of food and care. The health and well-being of the mother-baby couple is inter-twined in complex ways, and is affected by the prior history of the mother and by what happens in the couple's environment.

### **Asking about important relationships - elite social networks**

In WIDE3 Stages 2 and 3 key informants were asked to identify different kinds of elite members and describe who was in their networks, while some of these were asked directly who was in their networks. This information could be used to trace overlaps and connections (or their absence) among those in elite economic, cultural, social and political positions.

### **Dispute cases**

During DEEP, where there was much more fieldwork time, the researchers identified disputes involving mediation and legal action and interviewed the parties to the dispute and members of the formal and informal justice systems (see [Appendix 10](#)). The approach aimed to understand disputes as dynamic processes from the perspective of both mediators and those involved in different kinds of disputes based on selected case studies. Six levels of dispute were proposed with 12 types: (1) intra-personal; (2) intra-household [6 types]; (3) inter-households; (4) inter-personal ; (5) inter-group within the community [2 types]; (6) inter-community.

## 7. WIDE3 Methodology development to 2016: topic-related theoretical frameworks

### Using topic-related frameworks

All social scientists who do empirical research on a selected topic use theoretical frameworks more or less explicitly to design their fieldwork or selection of secondary data and to analyse it which are based on prior theoretically-informed understandings of the topic in question. An ideal topic framework is simple and easy to understand.

To date the WIDE team has not explicitly used topic frameworks to design the research instruments but has made the data using *the core community framework* (which does contain some topics) and used focused analytic frameworks on topics not including in the core community framework to interpret and analyse the data once it has been made. One consequence of this approach has been the existence of data gaps when a framework raises a question which was not explicitly covered in the community framework. While it is not possible to make in-depth data on all topics of potential interest in the context of the usual 6-7 weeks of WIDE community fieldwork in future the data might be improved by a more deliberate use of explicit topic frameworks within the core community framework.

Topic frameworks were used more or less explicitly and rigorously in the nine Series II Discussion Briefs described below in Section 13 on the WIDE3-4 Transition project but when I tried to simply summarise the frameworks used in most of them I did not find it easy. Ideally WIDE researchers writing topic-focused papers and briefs would share their draft conceptual and analysis frameworks with colleagues and revise them after feedback before going ahead with their analysis and writing. The framework would be spelled out in the introduction to the paper and the key data matrices presented in an Appendix. This would encourage logical rigour, ensure that all relevant features of the topic are covered, and point people unconvinced by the paper's conclusions to the evidence base. It would also make the frameworks available for other researchers in Ethiopia and elsewhere to use. The problem for a policy-oriented project conducted as a time-pressured consultancy is that the framework analysis process is time-consuming and dependent on sociological skills.

[Appendix 11](#) provides a guide to developing and using rigorous topic-related frameworks to organise relevant data from a number of cases (e.g. communities, households, people) in Framework Data Matrices, providing the basis for a search for patterns and types involving commonalities and differences. The example describes the framework I used to produce my Series II discussion brief, and the two papers behind it, on the health and well-being of mothers and infants. The Appendix also contains a guide to developing and using topic-related frameworks for designing protocol research instruments using the example of drought.

## 8. WIDE3 Methodology development to 2016: development intervention frameworks

Development is a process which involves dramatic changes in the way all the people in a society live. Structural changes, which have social, economic, political and cultural dimensions, are matched by changes in the ways in which people make a living, reproduce themselves, organise, make and implement political decisions, and think. The histories of the countries which are considered developed today show us that there have been different routes to development dependent on how the particular country's historical trajectory interacted with the evolution of the global system. In all countries government interventions designed to support the modernisation of rural areas have been central and Ethiopia is no exception. In the WIDE Stage 3 research in six rural communities in 2013 we identified 103 development interventions (see [Appendix 12](#)).

### Community control parameters and development intervention

Government development interventions are designed to change community control parameters with the aim of triggering a development process within the community. Table 7 links the major interventions with the relevant community control parameters.

*Table 7: Community control parameters and selected development interventions*

Parameter areas	Control parameters	Main kebele-level development interventions
1. Place system	Terrain, settlement, climate	Watershed management, zero-grazing, tree-planting, land use Irrigation infrastructure, soil interventions
	Connections with wider world	Internal, feeder and external roads Electricity Mobile phones TV & radio infrastructure Small rural town interventions
2. People system	Human resources Aspirations Personal relations	Youth interventions Women interventions Interventions for poor & excluded Child-focused interventions (other than primary education)
3. Lives system	Human re/pro-duction infrastructures and institutions	Safe water Health extension Primary education Pre-school, secondary, post-secondary education; Functional adult literacy Child health, curative services
4. Livelihood system	Farming system	Access to farming land Crop extension Livestock extension & vets
	Livelihood diversification	Migration regulation Non-farm extension
	Economic institutions	Credit Taxes & contributions Co-operatives (PCs & SCs)
5. Societal system	Community fault-lines & organised collective agency	Govt engagement with elites, ROs and CIOs Physical security Political security Justice
6. Cultural ideas system	Customary cultural repertoire Modern cultural repertoire	Government 'awaring' and party propaganda Government regulation of other ideas Interventions to reduce 'Harmful Traditional Practices'
7. Political system	Political settlement Government-society relations Opposition party organisations	Kebele and party organisation Elections Accountability measures including reporting upwards Planning for the community
8. External	Economic – e.g. international coffee prices	<b>Main meso and macro development interventions</b> E.g. Government coffee policy

Parameter areas	Control parameters	Main kebele-level development interventions
systems overlapping with functional systems	Lives – e.g. contraceptive provision, food aid systems	E.g. Western food aid policies
	Social – e.g. diasporas	E.g. Government attitude to diasporas
	Cultural imports – e.g. religious, political, modernisation ideologies	E.g. Government control of media
	Political – e.g. EPRDF party	E.g. Change of Prime Minister
9. Encompassing meso systems	State of meso system: economy, society, culture, politics Government plans for the wider area	E.g. Regional and Zonal urbanisation plans
10. Encompassing macro system	State of country system: economy, society, culture, politics State of Horn of Africa systems State of global systems	E.g. States of emergency, climate change

## Development intervention design

This section presents a framework for identifying theories of change implicit in the design of development interventions and a framework to use to identify planned outcomes and implementation institutions in Federal-level policies and programmes.

### *Theories of change framework to analyse development interventions design*

Each development programme is designed to produce changes in people, institutions, and/or the material environment which will supposedly lead to the achievement of certain outcomes. Each programme contains more or less explicit theories of how the combination of the planned resources and activities will produce the desired changes and outcomes. Each programme strategy can be deconstructed in terms of a designed intervention configuration of (1) social construction, (2) mechanisms and (3) outcomes<sup>25</sup>. The same framework can be used to explore what actually happened when the intervention was implemented in the WIDE communities and the plan and the implementation in the different types of WIDE community can then be compared with a view to suggesting changes to future plans and implementation processes.

#### Social construction

The social construction of the development intervention can be considered under three headings:

##### *Social actors*

This involves the identification of the roles allocated to different social actors (implementers and beneficiaries) in the design of the intervention and assumptions about how they will behave and relate to each other.

##### *Institutional location*

This includes the planned intervention system, rules, and routines

##### *Resourcing*

These are the material infrastructures and inputs which should be used in the social construction of the intervention. What material and human resources are assumed to be available?

#### Mechanisms

Potential mechanisms include legislation, administrative *fiat*, incentives, pressure from others, targets, threats, fines, imprisonment, awaring, training, targeting 'models', learning by doing, learning by copying.

#### Outcomes

What are the planned consequences for people, institutions, community place?

<sup>25</sup> As described in Pawson and Tilley, 1997.

### *Federal policies framework*

Before doing fieldwork in a community it is important to establish what government interventions *ought* to be operating there, remembering there will be a lag between the announcement of a policy or programme and its implementation at rural levels. This requires analysis of government documents (see Dom 2009, 2011, 2013) allowing researchers to construct an 'ideal-type' picture of what should be happening on the ground.

Box 4 provides an example of planned outcomes and implementing institutions in relation to Government programmes to promote female participation and wellbeing in 2013 taken from the WIDE3 Stage 3 Final Report, which contains more intervention examples. This framework can be used in conjunction with the frameworks described below and fieldwork findings to explore which aspects of a programme are working and which not in different community contexts, and the reasons.

#### *Box 4 : Ideal-type programme to promote female participation and wellbeing in 2013: planned outcomes and implementing institutions*

##### **Land rights**

- Wives should be included in land certificates
- Widows should inherit the dead husband's land and be free to farm the land and re-marry
- Daughters have equal rights to inherit parental land with sons

##### **Economic empowerment**

- Creation of farming and business opportunities for women

##### **Gender relations**

- Women should have equal property rights in marriage
- Divorced women should share household assets
- Rape, abduction and domestic male violence are illegal

##### **Political empowerment**

- There should be affirmative action for wereda and kebele Cabinet appointments
- Half the members of the kebele Council should be women

##### **Young women and girls**

- Female circumcision outlawed as an HTP
- Early marriage – girls below the age of 18 should not marry
- Young women have the right to choose their marriage partners
- Affirmative action is necessary to increase the number of girls attending secondary and preparatory schools

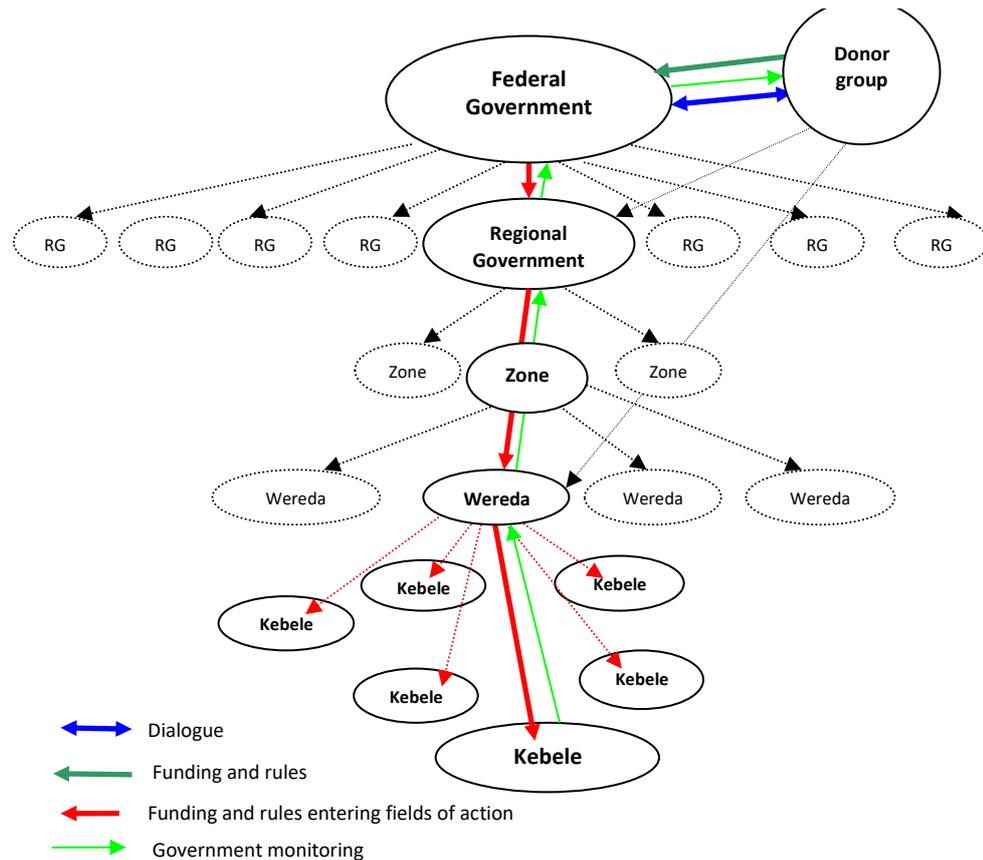
##### **Implementation institutions**

- Federal government
- Wereda
- DAs
- Kebele volunteers in kebele, sub-kebeles, DTs and 1-5s
- Community organisations

### **Development intervention implementation: the policy and programme journey**

Government interventions combine macro-level design and monitoring and evaluation with an implementation chain which fans out from the Federal Government, through Regional Governments, zones, wereda and kebeles (Figure 11). They intersect and co-evolve with government bureaucracies at different hierarchical levels, and in some cases with donor and NGO bureaucracies.

Figure 11: The policy journey



In considering *development intervention systems* we focused on the elements of each system which operated at community level. While each intervention system connects people across different government levels, at the community level the system inter-sects and co-evolves with the community system, its nested and intersecting functional sub-systems, households and people, and the other development intervention systems operating in the community. At the community level development interventions were conceptualised as dynamic open complex socio-material systems which the government tries to insert into fluid community systems (Pawson 2013) with the intention of changing key community control parameters and triggering a development process within the community. The interventions are intended to bring inter-related and path-dependent changes to people, institutions and the physical landscape.

### Development intervention implementation in rural communities

For a number of reasons development interventions are never implemented as planned. The reasons fall into four main categories. The *first* set of reasons relates to the appropriateness of the Federal policy or programme design to the local material and temporal contexts. The *second* involves cultural dis-connects between Government and community models and institutions. The *third* arises in the process of the social construction of the interventions through social inter-actions in what we called the development interface. The *fourth* is associated with the passage of time including (1) internal development intervention system dynamics as time passes and streams of interactions with (2) other interventions and (3) other relevant things going on with no intervention connections.

#### *Local material and temporal appropriateness of federal-level design*

Development interventions are attempts to change the way in which people behave and the physical and social landscapes within which they are working. Their success partly depends on how well they

connect with the place, people, and functional sub-systems in the particular community. In Stage 3 for selected interventions we explored the data to see how appropriate the design was for the different types of community. We focused on material (dis)connects and timing (dis)connects.

### Material (dis)connects

How well do place-related interventions chime with the local place? For example. does the fertiliser provides by government suit the soil type? Does the community have a watershed which would benefit from a watershed management intervention? etc

### Timing (dis)connects

How responsive is the programme design to relevant local structured time rhythms affecting different control parameters? A simple example was the frequent clash between nationally-designed school timetables and local daily and seasonal demands for household labour. Another was the that the timing of weeks of meetings about the Growth and Transformation Plan coincided with harvesting in some places.

### Cultural (dis)connects

There are often disconnects across the development interface between the target-based government development models for different sectors and local models and institutions related to the particular sector which are embedded in :

- specific histories (including previous experiences of development interventions),
- social ties
- local belief systems and
- capacities for joint action.

Figure 12 Cultural disconnects between top-down and local cultural repertoires

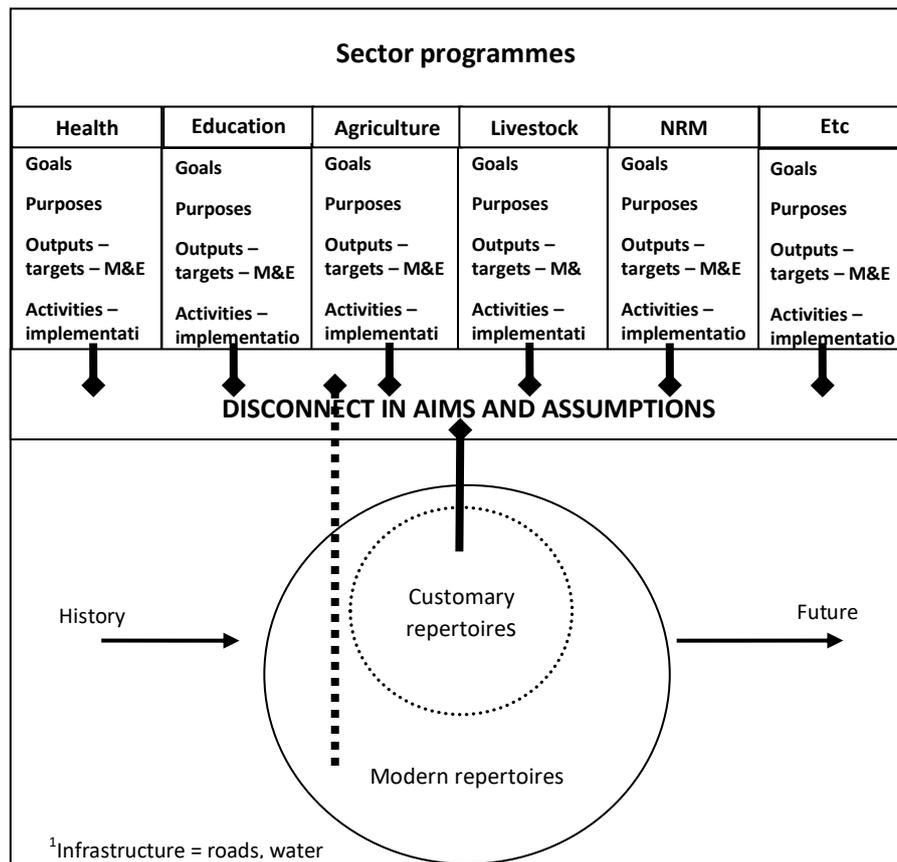


Figure 12 depicts potential cultural (dis)connects between the aims and assumptions implicit in the mental models (ideas) and institutional designs (norms and rules) associated with top-down sector policies and programmes and local beliefs, values, norms and ways of doing things which we are calling cultural repertoires. It is possible for researchers to use fieldwork data to construct local customary and modern cultural repertoires.

*The implementation of interventions: social interactions in the development interface space*

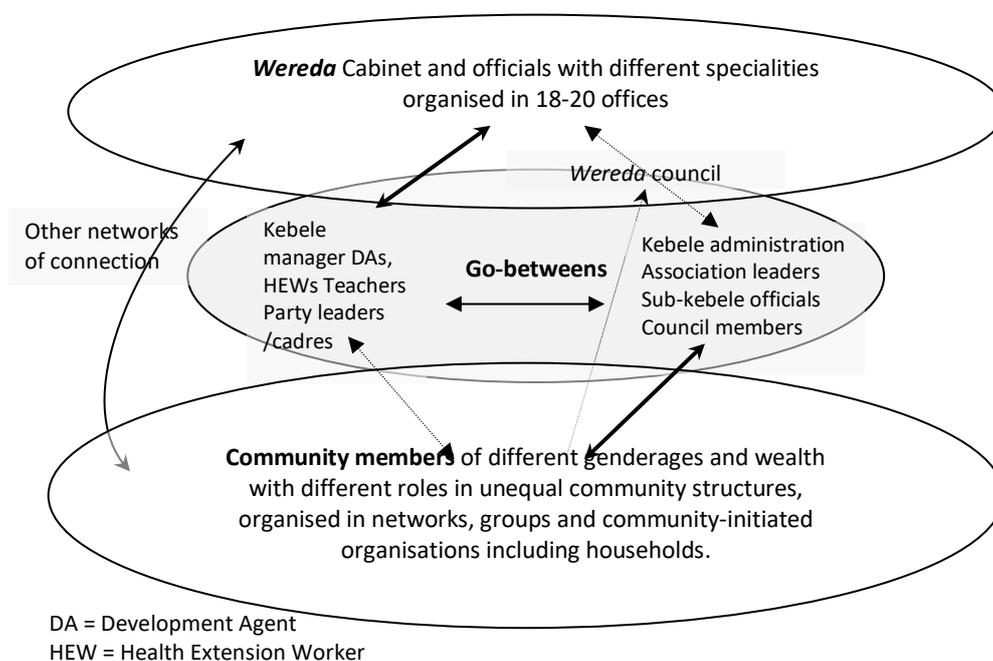
The cultural contradictions between top-down and community development models are not easily resolved and they cause difficulties for those whose official positions require them to bridge the cultural divides. There are four types of response that members of a community can make in the face of planned change from above: exit, voice, loyalty, foot-dragging.

Figure 13 shows the key development players in the *wereda*, *kebele*, and communities and identifies a set of ‘go-between’ government employees<sup>26</sup> 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)elected from within the community and embedded in community networks and structures whilst by their function they are also linked to higher government structures and increasingly to party structures. They are unpaid ‘go-between’ government volunteers.

This framework was developed during the Stage 1 analysis and used in Stage 2 to design new questions and inform data interpretation.

*Figure 13 Social interactions in the development interface*



<sup>26</sup> See Dom 2011 for a study of these employees using Stage 1 data.

## *Theories of change framework to analyse the implementation of an intervention*

### **Social construction**

#### *Players and activities*

Interventions in rural communities are socially constructed by the actions of, and interactions among, the local implementers some of whom are (1) government employees while others are (2) unpaid (s)elected 'kebele volunteers'; (3) the direct 'beneficiaries' and (4) other members of their households and in some cases (5) community contributors of resources and work and/or (6) others directly affected by the intervention while not benefiting.

Potential beneficiaries have lives outside intervention programmes and may also be expected to participate in a considerable number of different interventions; given that implementation requires the use of household resources and time they will often have to prioritise. Furthermore, participation in different interventions usually requires different combinations of resources, time and attitude on the part of implementers and other people in the beneficiary's network. For example to send a child to school regularly parents must believe education is a good idea, have enough resources and time to cover the direct and opportunity costs throughout the school year or be willing to suffer a loss of household work or income, and the child must want to go to school. A school must have been constructed in the past, teachers must attend, there must be government resources for equipment and books, etc.

People not included in the intervention whose interests will be affected also have a role to play. For example, the success of the recent campaign for an increase in safe infant deliveries will depend not only on providing enough maternity beds, staff and equipment in health centres and ambulances and changing the minds and behaviour of pregnant women, but also on changed minds and behaviour on the part of husbands, mothers-in-law and traditional birth attendants, as well as neighbours expected to carry the women to waiting ambulances, HEWs and kebele officials expected to devote time and energy to the campaign, wereda officials expected to allocate scarce funds to fuel and drivers, health centre officials expected to treat rural women in labour with kindness and respect, and in some places households expected to contribute grain for customary ceremonies after delivery.

The behaviour of relatives, people likely to be harmed by the interventions, and intervention contributors may be targeted using the social mechanisms described above. For example, husbands in one community were told in meetings about the importance of taking their wives to the health centre for deliveries. In one of the WIDE3 communities TBAs were banned from attending deliveries under threat of punishment, while in another they were rewarded every time they took a mother in labour to the Health Centre. In some communities those who did not participate in watershed work were threatened with fines.

In addition there are a number of interventions, such as watershed management or the building of a Farmers' Training centre or a school classroom, which have collective (though not universal) benefits but depend on individual contributions in cash, kind, and/or work.

#### *Institutional location which includes systems, rules, divisions of labour and routines*

These vary according to the particular intervention. For example primary education interventions involve school administrative systems, rules for parents, kebele Cabinet responsibilities, wereda responsibilities, reporting systems etc

#### *The infrastructure and resources for implementing the intervention*

A school requires land, a building, materials for the building, people to build the building, teachers, teaching materials, pupils, etc

## Mechanisms

Development interventions rely on one or a mix of social mechanisms for changing minds, bodies and behaviour of beneficiaries, implementers and others including legislation, administrative fiat, incentives, persuasion, coercion, learning by doing, copying, targets etc

People will react to the social mechanisms differently. Threats may frighten some people into new behaviour but antagonise others into overt or covert resistance or foot-dragging. Constant persuasion or ‘awaring’ may change some minds but not others. Incentives may be taken up by some people but not be large enough for others compared with anticipated costs and opportunity costs. People may conform to legal restrictions and decisions made by government fiat or they may find ways to avoid being affected by their implementation. Differences in reasoning as to how to respond may derive from differences in circumstance, priorities, past experiences and/or personality. As a result of these differences no intervention is going to work according to simple theories of change.

The successful implementation of all interventions depends on changed behaviour on the part of other people involved in the particular intervention sub-system including those charged with implementation. Social mechanisms for getting implementing officials to do what they are meant to include instructions, targets, reporting, *gimgema*, opportunities for training, promotion and demotion and the way these are used has consequences for the progress of the intervention.

## Outcomes

There may be changes to the place, to people and/or to aspects of the five fields of action: livelihoods, human re/pro/duction, social re/pro/duction, ideas, community management and possibly to important control parameters with potential knock-on effects for other parameters.

## Collective responses to the intervention

Potential beneficiaries are influenced by opinion leaders and reference groups in the community. At one extreme an intervention may evoke *co-operative* individual or collective responses among the majority of intended beneficiaries and others and at the other it may be met with overt or covert *resistance*. In some cases responses may be more *complex* with acceptance of some aspects of the intervention and not others, or due to a clash of interests acceptance by some and resistance by others.

These may be summarised as mostly co-operation, mostly overt or covert resistance, or complexity with a mix of co-operation and resistance from different groups in the community.

### *Framework for comparing intervention design and implementation*

This is summarised in Table 8.

**Table 8: Framework for comparing intervention design and implementation**

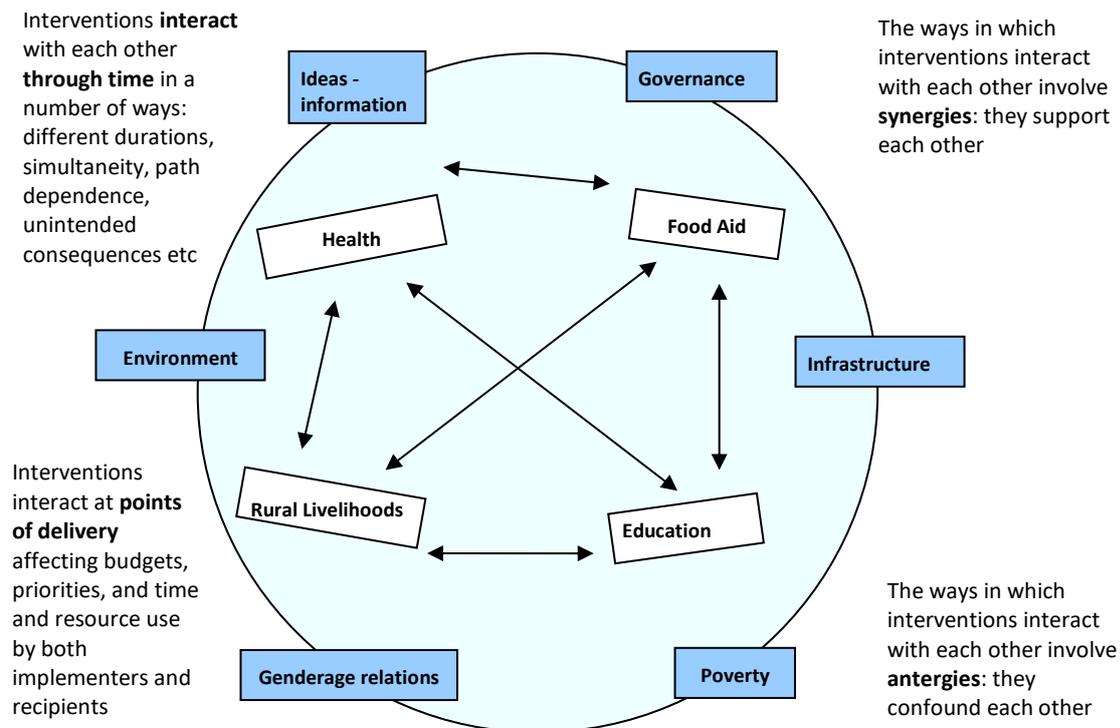
Development intervention processes		Theory of change in design	Implementation realities
Social construction	Roles of implementers, beneficiaries etc		
	Material infrastructure & inputs		
	Systems, rules and routines		
	Time-frame for activities, inputs, outcomes		
Social mechanisms for influencing the behaviour of beneficiaries and other community	Legislation and administrative <i>fiat</i>		
	Material & status incentives		
	Targets		
	Threats, fines &		

members	imprisonment		
	'Awaring' and training		
	Dialogue and participation		
	Targeting models, learning by doing & copying		
	Organising and mobilising pressure from others		
Social mechanisms for influencing the behaviour of intervention implementers	Instructions		
	Targets & reporting		
	<i>Gimgema</i>		
	Opportunities for training		
Outcomes	Promotion and demotion		
	Place outcomes		
	People outcomes		
Collective responses to the interventions	Functional sub-system outcomes		
	Co-operation	Co-operation	
	Resistance		
Complexity			

*The web of development interventions*

Those designing, implementing and evaluating sector programmes and projects are prone to see them as self-contained. Figure 14 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.

Figure 14: The web of development interventions



A new intervention in a particular sector enters, is affected by, and has consequences for a pre-existing web of ongoing development interventions. We found examples of *interactions at points of delivery* as often both implementers and recipients had to choose which intervention to prioritise

in terms of time-use and resources. There were *synergies* between interventions, for example agricultural packages and improved external roads increased agricultural sales. Examples of their opposite, *antergies*, included youth sand co-operatives with a poor internal road, and environmental protection and livestock development. There were also *interactions through time*; for example secondary and college education produced young people with aspirations which did not fit with youth intervention opportunities .

The web of interventions provides a context for the study of any individual intervention.

*Interventions in one sector have consequences for other sectors*

All the interventions entering a community as time passes evolve and interact in various ways with each other and with other forces for change. Table 9 how the building of a new school can have consequences for all five fields of action.

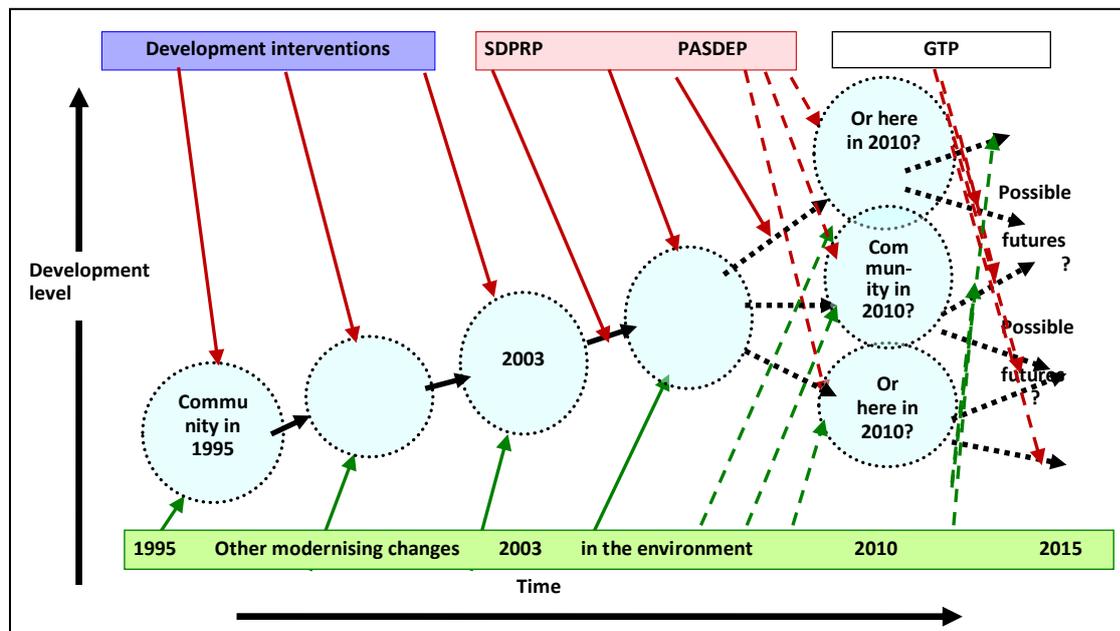
**Table 9: How an intervention in education can have consequences for all five fields of action**

Intervention	Community fields of action/domains of power				
Education	Livelihoods	Human re/pro/duction	Social re/pro/duction	Community management	Field of ideas
New school; more teachers	Agricultural labour shortages Unemployed school leavers	Big increase in enrolment; increased workload for women	Changes in gender relations;	Mobilisation of funds and labour for school-building Mobilisation of parents to enrol children	Increasing modern cultural repertoire; inter-generational arguments

The study of an individual intervention should include potential or actual unintended consequences in all community areas.

*Development interventions and community trajectories*

Figure 15: Development interventions and community trajectories



Taken together in the longer run development interventions which bring change to key internal or external community control parameters can change the development trajectory of a rural community (see Figure 15).

## 9. WIDE3 Methodology development to 2016 : research instruments, fieldwork and database, interpretation and analysis of the data

### Choice of communities

It became clear during our search for WIDE3 funding that in the first instance we could not raise enough funds to research more than six communities. For Stage1 we selected the six communities we knew most about through the DEEP research (Dinki, Yetmen, Korodegaga and Turufe), through Catherine Dom's research in Geblen, and through some recent fieldwork conducted in Imdibir (later Girar). By chance three of these communities were drought-prone and aid-dependent three were economically self-sufficient.

We divided the remaining communities into a Stage 2 of eight vulnerable and aid-dependent communities and a Stage 3 of six self-sufficient communities with the idea that some topics and questions would be different for the two types of community.

### The WIDE3 research strategy

As described earlier the research strategy involved selected case-based methods and the use of theoretical frameworks to develop the research design. The aim was to use the big research questions and the core community framework to inform an array of smaller questions for which frameworks could be developed and to use these to develop the research instruments.

#### *The research questions*

We started Stage 1 with a small set of research questions (Bevan 2009) which were revised as the research proceeded. These are the research questions from the Stage 2 inception methodology paper (Bevan 2012: 13):

1. In each community what were the *key features of the development situation* in 2010/11?
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 2012?
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?

These research questions were used to structure the main reports on the Stages for the donor funders ([www.ethiopiawide.net/publications](http://www.ethiopiawide.net/publications))

#### *The importance of the core community framework*

In the WIDE3 round of the longitudinal study the seven-perspective core community framework underpinned and integrated the community report structure, the design of the research instruments, the interpretation and analysis processes including the coding structure used in the

qualitative software for the community reports structure and the comparative community data matrices

The research design identified:

1. What to ask about
2. How to ask e.g. protocols to guide semi-structured interviews, observation, photographs, collection of documents
3. Who to ask

### *What to ask about*

We used the seven perspectives framework in a number of ways. For example, the ‘Modernisation variate master list’<sup>27</sup>, i.e. traces of modernisation processes (Table 10) was used to design questions and organise the Modernisation Evidence Bases matrices for 1995, 2003 and 2011. The *community features* list relates to the community as a whole in its context; the *livelihoods* list to the livelihoods domain of power; the *lives* list to the human re/pro/duction domain; and the *society and government* list to the social re/pro/duction, community management, and ideas domains.

*Table 10: Modernisation variate master list*

N.B There is no read-across the columns which are presented thus to save space.

<b>LIVELIHOODS</b>	<b>LIVES</b>	<b>SOCIETY &amp; GOVERNMENT</b>
Terrain	Population	Elders roles and activities
Ecology + environment	Household types and inequalities	Religious organisations and activities
Weather	Wealth differences	Other community-initiated organisations and activities
Land use	Social protection	Physical safety and security
Settlement pattern	Class relationships	Group disagreements and conflicts
Urbanisation + public buildings	Genderage differences: children	Justice
Electricity	Genderage differences: youth	Informal welfare regime
Communications	Genderage differences: adults	Governance structures: <i>kebele</i> and sub- <i>kebele</i>
Roads and transport	Genderage differences: elderly dependents	Community and <i>kebele</i> leadership
Credit and saving	Marriage, widowhood and divorce	Government-community relations
Shocks leading to food insecurity	Gender and inheritance	Community modern repertoire of ideas
Smallholder farming - crops	Gender relationships: nurturing, income-earning, power relations	Community conservative repertoire of ideas
Smallholder farming - livestock	Inter-generational relationships	Incoming religious ideas
Irrigation	Elite-mass differences	Incoming government ideas
Other farm technologies	Social exclusion	Incoming urban ideas
Inward investors involved in farming	Other status differences and relationships	Incoming global ideas
Co-operative farming	Social participation	Key clashes of ideas
Agriculture market linkages - upstream	Housing	
Agriculture market linkages - downstream	Household assets	
Prices and inflation	Other consumer goods	
Agricultural labour	Domestic technologies	
Labour-sharing/co-operation	Household work + workers	
Diversification - non-farm activities	Leisure activities	
Migration	Clothes	
	Food, diet, nutrition	
	Drinking water	
	Common illnesses and treatment-seeking	
	Producing children	
	Raising children: non-formal learning	
	Pre-school education	

<sup>27</sup> Most of these topics were covered in the 1995 Village Studies (WIDE1) and a large number of them in WIDE2 in 2003.

LIVELIHOODS	LIVES	SOCIETY & GOVERNMENT
	ABE	
	Primary education	
	Secondary education	
	Technical and vocational training	
	University access	

### *Designing the research instrument architecture*

The research instruments were semi-structured interviews guided by protocols setting out who should be interviewed and the questions and details that should be covered in a set of Modules. All questions were asked of people; but some questions were about themselves or other people, others were about households or other organisations, and yet others about the community as a whole. Responses at individual and household level also contributed to building up the community-level picture.

One aim is to ensure that all the important topics are covered and all the people with relevant knowledge and/or perspectives are interviewed. To assist in this process we used topic-module matrices; an example from Stage 2 Fieldwork 1 is provided in [Appendix 13](#).

A second aim is to provide the fieldworkers with modules that are as easy to use as possible in terms of finding respondents, developing a rapport with the people being interviewed, and making field notes. Designing the research instrument architecture is a complex process involving decisions about how to allocate questions across modules. There are different potential strategies all with their own problems:

1. A module in which all the questions are asked of the same person, which may be used with a number of different kinds of people e.g. rich, middle-wealth, poor farmers x gender
  - a. These questions may all be about the same topic e.g. farming
  - b. Or there may be a number of different topics for which we want answers from the selected types of people
2. A module which poses questions in a particular area which are best answered by different kinds of people e.g. questions to wereda officials covering different sectors; or questions about all aspects of the community history
3. A module in which some questions are asked in a small-group context and others followed up with individuals from the group

### *Module design*

Each module described the purpose of the questions and the details of the kinds of people to be interviewed. In Stage 1 fieldworkers recorded the names, sexes, ages and wealths of many of the respondents to provide a perspective on their responses but this took a lot of interviewer time, may have affected the interviewer-respondent relationship, and in the event we did not have time to use the data so the practice was abandoned.

The protocols provided broad questions to be asked with probes. There is another tension here between encouraging a conversation rather than a more survey-type approach while making sure the important issues are covered.

### *Selection of fieldworkers*

The design and use of protocols is also affected by the quality, experience and commitment of the field-workers which is not known in the case of a first timer. This will be relevant for WIDE4 if the plan to use Masters students goes ahead. Most of the WIDE3 fieldworkers had MAs plus field experience, some with the main researchers. [Appendix 14](#) lists the Research Officers by site in

WIDE3 (and the Bridge). Six of them had worked on WIDE2 and/or DEEP between 2003 and 2005. Three of these plus another two worked on all WIDE3 stages while two more did on two of them.

*Who to ask and what to ask them?*

Table 11 shows the modules used in WIDE3 Stage 3. [Appendix 15](#) lists all the modules used in the three WIDE3 stages and in the Bridge fieldwork.

*Table 11: The WIDE3 Stage 3 research modules*

<b>Phase 1</b>		
Module 1	Wereda perspective	Wereda administrator Head of the health office Head of the office responsible for credit and saving Head of the office responsible for drinking water Head of the women and child affairs office
Module 2	Community trajectory 2003-13	Knowledgeable people individually and/or in small informal groups
Module 3	Kebele perspective	Kebele chair Public Works organiser Cabinet information officer
Module 4	Farming	Successful Model Farmers
Module 5	Non-farming activities	Different kinds of trader People involved in manufacturing and service enterprises Key informant on employment
Module 6	Young people's perspective	Male and female rich, middle and poor 19 year-olds, 16 year-olds and 13 year-olds
Module 7	Households & interventions	Economically successful farmer and wife; successful business man and wife; middle wealth farmer and wife; poor farmer and wife; successful woman heading household; poor woman heading household
Module 8	Key informants' experiences & perspectives	Kebele manager DAs' group + vet HEWs' group Head teacher Youth leaders Development team leaders 1-5 leaders Woman leader Service Co-op leader Formal credit organiser Leading famer Woman Model farmer Leading trader of farm products Leading businessperson Best economist Urban linked opinion leader Irrigation expert Returned migrants Customary leaders Religious leaders NGO worker Research officer selected informants
Module 9	Fact sheet	Various respondents
Module 10	Fieldworker daily diary	Research officers
Module 11	Election notes	Research officers
<b>Phase 2</b>		
Modules 1-7	Important happenings since Fieldwork 1 in April	FW1 good informants; FW1 household respondents; youth political leader; 19 year-olds, 25 year-olds; kebele chair, kebele manager, party leader, traders; business(wo)man; DA; lead young farmer; model farmer; Sub-kebele, Development Team and 1-5 leaders
Module 8	Gaps from Fieldwork 1	Various respondents
Module 9	Fieldworker daily diary	Research officers
Module 10	Research officer topics	Research officers who wanted a topic
Module 11	Seasonality of activities	Various respondents

In WIDE3 Stage 3 in each site as usual male and female Research Officers conducted separate interviews. Women and girls were always interviewed by the women fieldworkers but, given that there were more questions for men due to their greater representation in official positions, the women also interviewed some men. Respondents included *wereda* officials, *kebele* officials, and others who were particularly knowledgeable about the community and its history. The same questions about interventions were put to rich, middle-wealth and poor men and women and there were in-depth interviews in each community with four male household heads and their wives from households of different wealths, plus rich and poor women heading households. There were also interviews with government employees working in the *kebele*, government volunteers from the community holding *kebele* Cabinet, Council, Committee and other official positions, leaders of community-initiated organisations, elders, religious leaders, clan leaders, model farmers, investors, traders, other business people, skilled workers, daily labourers, returned migrants, ex-soldiers, traditional health workers, youth, and various kinds of vulnerable and excluded people.

When not doing interviews the Research Officers observed and participated in community life to deepen their knowledge and understanding of the community. They were also provided with digital cameras to take a wide range of photos. Where possible they got maps and documents from *wereda* and *kebele* offices.

## **Fieldwork and the making of the database**

### *Two phases of fieldwork*

In Stages 1 and 2 the first phase focused on interviews with *wereda* and *kebele* officials and with key informants on recent community history and experiences of recent development interventions. In Stage 1 15 days was allowed for this, there was a gap of 21 days before the second fieldwork phase which lasted 20 days (total 35 days – 70 fieldwork days). In Stage 2 Phase 1 was 23 days, the gap 48 days, and second fieldwork 23 days (total 46 days – 92 fieldwork days). In Stage 3 we changed the pattern. Fieldwork 1 lasted 35 days and covered all the initial topics of interest and there was a gap of 5 months for preparation of the database and some interpretation and analysis. The second fieldwork followed up on new and interesting topics and changes since the first visit; it lasted 14 days (total 49 days – 98 fieldwork days).

### *Consulting, training and de-briefing the fieldworkers*

Draft modules were prepared and discussed and amended during Phase 1 and Phase 2 fieldworker training workshops which in Stages 2 and 3 lasted 3-5 days. We had not allowed enough time in Stage 1. There were also de-briefing workshops of around 3 days after each phase. The phase 1 de-briefings informed the design of the phase 2 modules.

### *Doing and managing the fieldwork*

Alula was in charge of fieldwork management with assistance from different people in the different stages. It became easier to keep in contact with and supervise the fieldworkers as mobile phones spread to rural areas. In Stage 2 we provided solar panels to research officers in remote sites with no electricity.

In Stage 1 there was a tension between trusting that all the fieldworkers knew what they were doing and were committed to completing all the fieldwork in some depth and worries that this was not necessarily the case. The 2010 elections took place during Stage 1 leading to some problems particularly in one site. We lost fieldworkers after one phase in two sites. We found seven good fieldworkers with their own interest in rural research who continued to future stages. The trust-distrust tension was reduced in relation to fieldworkers once they had had performed well but continued to a degree, especially with the employment of new fieldworkers we did not know well.

We tried to recruit people who spoke the language of the community they were working in and as a result in one case ended up employing two quite unsuitable people.

The trust-distrust tension was also an issue which affected the design of the Module structure during which we calculated the number of interviews for each that might be done per day.. Should we overdo the interviews to make sure that the fieldworkers stayed and worked hard for the whole period even if they did not complete everything, or should we reduce the number of interviews or modules with the risk that dis-engaged fieldworkers might complete them all but not in any depth and leave the field early.

### *Writing and managing the production of the Report Documents*

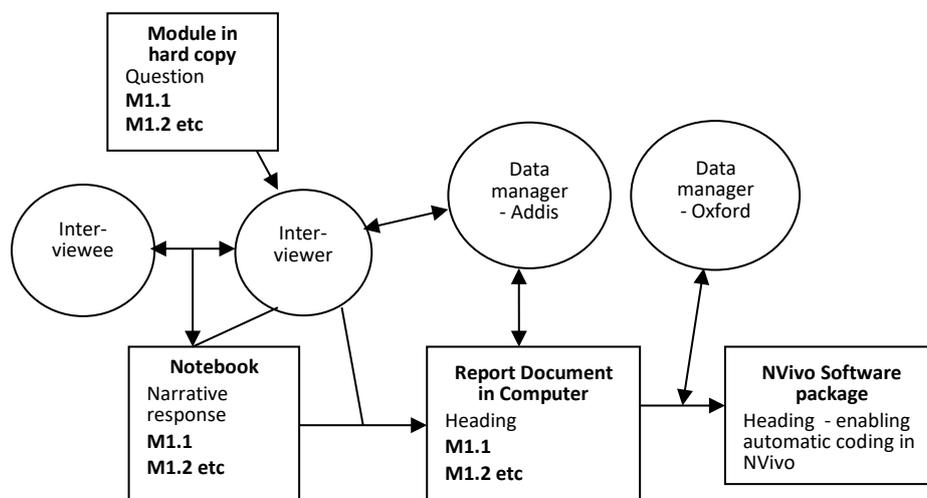
The Research Officers were given Report Documents which matched the modules to enter their field notes. [Appendix 16](#) provides an extract from a Stage 2 module together with the matching part of the report document. Each module question came with an M no. M1.1 was the first question of Module 1. Fieldworkers wrote the number and the responses in their notebooks. The same number appeared in the Report Document making it easy to slot the notes in the right place. The report documents contained headings and sub-headings which could be used in the NVivo software package to generate codes automatically.

Getting fieldworkers to complete the report documents in the planned time proved impossible in all WIDE3 stages. Quite a few took on other consultancies before they had completed all the documents while a few found typing into a computer difficult. We tried offering incentives. We employed supervisors but they lacked power. In Stage 3 we employed them for some months on a monthly basis. We held back some payment until all documents were in. But nothing we did proved effective for everyone. The fact that a few fieldworkers completed well ahead of others showed the time allowed in Stages 2 and 3 was not unrealistic.

### *Making the database*

Figure 16 shows the data journey during WIDE3 Stage 2 when some of the Report Document editing was done in Oxford.

*Figure 16: WIDE3 Stage 2 data journey - from interviewee to NVivo software package*



## Interpreting and analysing the data

### *Using NVivo*

The protocols produced narrative data. In Stages 2 and 3 all the report documents for each community were loaded into a community NVivo project into which a set of nodes following the structure of the core community framework had been loaded. Automatic coding using the headings was undertaken then each community report writer went through all the report documents coding to the nodes already loaded and adding new nodes if they spotted gaps.

When coding to the nodes was complete it was possible to bring up all the interviewee responses in relation to a particular node and its sub-nodes, for example 'community management' → 'accountability' and bringing the different perspectives together write the section on accountability in the community report. This required some interpretation and analysis rather than copying of the different responses directly into the report.

### *Writing the community reports*

The community report structure was developed using the 7-perspectives core community framework. [Appendix 17](#) contains the Stage 3 structure. [Appendix 18](#) lists the authors of the twenty community reports.

### *Community comparisons – community trajectories*

We used the 1995, 2003 and 2010-13 data to trace the trajectories of the communities using the control parameter framework. Our conclusions at the end of WIDE3 are described in the next section.

### *Community comparisons – identifying different types of communities*

We used the Community Reports and report documents to complete community data matrices for comparisons of many components of the communities which acted as evidence bases for the Stage Final Reports and in Stage 2 were summarised in Annexes attached to the final report. [Appendix 19](#) shows the work involved in getting from the fieldwork to the Stage 2 final report.

## 10. WIDE3 research answers, dissemination and praxis

There are five kinds of *research answer*: empirical conclusions (see Sections 11 and 12), new theoretical frameworks (described in Sections 6-8), substantive theories (see below), revisions to research methods and new questions, which were both incorporated into the research process during Stages 2 and 3 of WIDE3 and informed the WIDE Bridge research to a degree.

For *dissemination* these answers have to be presented in *rhetorical* styles appropriate to different kinds of audience; academics, government and donor development policy designers, implementers and evaluators, other practitioners, and hopefully in due course the communities under research, and the general public via various forms of media<sup>28</sup>.

The complexity social science framework is highly suitable for *praxis*-related research. Praxis involves putting ideas into practice which is most frequently done by governments, organisations and social movements. 'Complexity is essentially a frame of reference - a way of understanding what things are like, how they work, and how they might be made to work.' (Byrne, 2002: 8). Policymakers should establish what is possible (and not possible) in the future for different kinds of system/case which they plan to target with different kinds of interventions.

### New substantive theory

We had developed a new substantive theory on how significant rural community change happens by the end of WIDE3 Stage 3.

One implication of the overlap and inter-penetration of sub-systems and their particular control parameters is that a significant change in one of them has potential consequences for others and may set off a chain of knock-on effects which reverberate through the system in the form of second, third and subsequent order feedback effects. Negative feedback loops dampen the longer-run impact of the change while positive feedback loops increase it.

As time passes community systems evolve through myriad day-by-day actions and interactions in the five fields some confined within the community and some involving outsiders. Some of these are '*habitus*<sup>29</sup> actions' and some are 'agency actions'. In most places at most times most inter/actions are routine and reproduce the system but as time passes new and increasing agency actions, events and/or patterns of collective behaviour may trigger a change process reverberating through the community system's sub-systems. The impact of these reverberations on the overall control parameter pattern and trajectory of the community depends on the magnitude of the changes generated from within or outside and the operation of feedback loops among the sub-systems/control parameters.

One source of potential change lies in material system processes: volcanos and earthquakes, unusual weather, people and livestock epidemics, new roads, etc have secondary and subsequent knock-on effects on people and the operation of the functional social systems. Considering the people system population growth or decline over the years and changes in demographic structures, for example large youth and/or male migration, can also set of change processes in the social systems. Structures are also subject to transformation as a result of human agency, for example charismatic leadership and/or collective agency. Changes may also originate in any of the functional sub-systems.

During periods when complex social systems do not really change any changes in control parameters and/or context are dealt with through a complex set of feedback processes that lead to the system reproducing itself in much the same way. There are a number of ways in which change may be triggered. One is a huge and sudden event or intervention from outside such as an imperial conquest, the imposition of military socialism, the provision of large pieces of land to investors, a

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<sup>28</sup> Being done in 2019 as part of the Bridge Phase 2 project.

<sup>29</sup> Ingrained habits, skills and dispositions

pandemic or the discovery of oil. At the other extreme myriad cumulative small changes in one or more of the control parameters over a long period may, in complexity social science language, push the community further 'from equilibrium' until it reaches a 'tipping point' and is ready to be sent in a new direction by a relatively small new event or intervention. In between these two extremes meso changes to one or more control parameters may lead to relatively rapid moves towards disequilibrium and change, for example green revolution changes combined with irrigation potential and increasing market demand or rapid urban expansion eating away at the borders of an adjacent rural *kebele*.

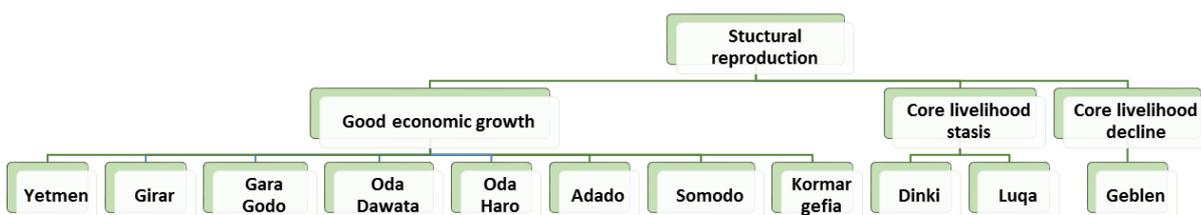
Thinking in this dynamic and non-linear way led us to re-consider the concept of 'outcomes' and draw a distinction between *real outcomes*, whose identification in a longer-term historical process requires some theoretical work and argumentation, and *measured outcomes* which emerge from fieldwork data made using questions about what is happening 'now' or was happening five years ago whose answers may or may not coincide with a real outcome. In our study of the trajectories of whole communities over twenty years or so we have been faced with a stream of large numbers of real outcomes of different kinds, for example a bad harvest, a new kebele cabinet, a decline in the birth rate. This stream of inter-acting outcomes serially affected the community places, people and the five different fields of action, in a process through which, as time passed, 'outcomes' became contributing 'causes' in processes leading to later outcomes.

Most of our data refer to 1995, 2003 and 2013 giving us snapshots of outcomes in the control parameter areas in these three years. We have used these snapshots together with the patchy reports we have of happenings in the years in between to create narratives of continuity and change between 1995 and 2013 and, identify important causes of significant changes.

There are four real and very significant potential outcomes of interest in 2013 relating to the trajectories of the communities since 1995. *First* the community may have undergone some changes during the period leading up to the outcomes but the overall pattern and trajectory remained roughly the same (Outcome 1); *second* the overall pattern may have changed in some way but the trajectory remained roughly the same (Outcome 2); *third* the overall pattern had changed so much that it was clear that the direction of the community was bound to change but not clear in what way (Outcome 3); *fourth*, there had been a transformation to a new state with a new overall pattern and trajectory (Outcome 4); *fifth* the system has ceased to exist in any recognisable form (Outcome 5). We used the control parameter framework to identify the larger consequences or outcomes for the WIDE3 community trajectories of the complex outcome-cause-outcome...etc streams they experienced between the early 1990s and 2013.

Using the evidence base we concluded that there was no evidence of structural change under way in eleven of the communities. Eight of these had improved economically, two seemed to be unchanged, and one was declining economically (see Figure 17)

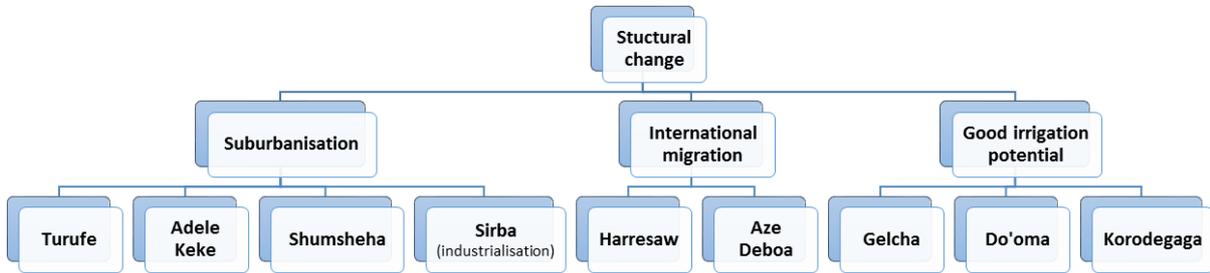
Figure 17: WIDE3 communities reproducing themselves structurally in 2013



Nine of the communities were potentially in the process of structural change at least in parts (see Figure 18). In three of these this was due to 'suburbanisation' as adjacent large towns expanded and incorporated agricultural land. In Sirba both urbanisation and industrialisation were involved. The

structure of two economies had been changed by substantive and growing international migration with knock-on effects for social and cultural life. Three drought-prone sites with irrigation potential were increasingly using it to grow vegetables to meet expanding urban demand and two of them were anticipating the construction of large schemes which would threaten smallholder farming on one site and the pastoralist way of life on another.

Figure 18: WIDE3 communities in the throes of or anticipating structural change in 2013



## **11. WIDE3 contributions to knowledge about Ethiopia's rural communities 2010-13**

WIDE3 introduced a long-term perspective on modernisation processes and the impact of development interventions in rural Ethiopia and a rigorous methodology to generate information and analysis useful for the strategic planning of future interventions in a context of rural livelihood diversity and rapid change. The body of rigorous empirical research in the twenty rural communities brought many new insights, proved of interest to both government and development partners in Ethiopia, and has been disseminated on the website and in books. In this section we describe some of the most useful and interesting findings

### **The community places**

The physical and natural features of a rural community determine the kinds of agricultural production that will be successful. Our data from the twenty differently-located communities confirm that combinations of geographical location, altitude, topography, terrain, geology, soil fertility, local climate, watersheds and the natural eco-system are relevant for farming and urban access.

For farming most important was the local climate with eleven of the communities vulnerable to drought and dependent on government social protection activities. Places with flat land, fertile soil and sufficient rain (five communities) could produce crops (grain and potatoes) for export. Places with irrigation potential could produce vegetables. Four places were suitable for coffee-growing although coffee diseases were an increasing problem possibly linked to climate change. Two places with sparse rain in the lowlands had a history of pastoralism, while two drought-prone places in the highlands of East Tigray were more suited to livestock than crops. One place had become a centre for cattle breeding.

In addition to local farming potential the livelihoods and lives of community residents were also influenced by the topography (flattish, hilly, mountainous or a mix), infrastructure (roads, electricity, etc), internal settlement patterns and urbanisation and the distance to towns of different sizes. The most important was community remoteness although some communities had remote mountainous areas.

Potential drivers of change in the communities included urbanisation, environmental intervention, external roads, internal roads, government land policies, climate change

### **Community connections with the outside world**

These had increased considerably since 2003 although there were variations among the communities. Importance differences stemmed from proximity to/remoteness from the capital, regional centres, other cities, and towns of different sizes, migration links within and beyond Ethiopia, electricity, mobile phone and satellite TV infrastructures and internet connections, and different degrees of cultural open-ness.

In most places urban-rural links were denser as a consequence of improved roads, the recent arrival of mobile phones, increased rural exports and imports from towns, richer households buying urban houses, in some places children at secondary school living in towns, and urban migration for work. Urban proximity varied with four communities bordering or very near a city; five bordering a larger town; five surrounding or bordering a municipality and six with no town border.

There had been growing legal international migration from fifteen of the communities mostly to the Gulf where many young women went to do domestic work although the legal migration channel for this was closed in 2013. Young men from one community migrated to South Africa where there was

a small diaspora. Young people from two sites were migrating for work in Sudan. A number of communities had a few migrants to the US and/or Europe.

There were a few TVs in the centres of communities where there was electricity (the majority) and a very few with satellite dishes.

Potential drivers of change included investment in external roads and electricity and ICT infrastructures, new urban and industrial employment opportunities, new or expanding international migration opportunities and links, and education.

### **The people in the communities**

Local populations had increased but in most places families were smaller than in the past, and contraception was easily available for married women. In most places people were richer on average than in 2003 and on average better educated and healthier. The fatalistic cultures of the 1990s were being challenged by cultures of aspiration. The lives of many women were easier than in 2003: there was better access to maternity services, improvements in domestic technologies, and more economic opportunities. 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.

There were many young people in the communities, most with some education, and aspirations 'for a better life' but insufficient local economic opportunities leading many to migrate for work. Interviews with teenagers showed that youth interests, relationships, aspirations, risks and worries were changing. For many of them transitions to adulthood (economic independence, marriage, independent household) were taking longer than in the past. A minority of young men had responded by turning to alcohol, drugs and/or theft while a minority of young women turned to sex work. Sex-related assaults on young women had decreased but risks still remained; there were differences among the communities.

Babies and children were better cared for with some going to kindergartens. Most children went to school if not full-time. There were big differences in the lifestyles of men, women, young people and children between rich, middle, poor and destitute and between those living more centrally and those in remote areas.

Religion was important in most people's lives and in some places religious identity was becoming more important; four communities were Orthodox Christian, three Muslim, four a mix of Protestant sects, one mainly traditional, and eight mixed. Eleven communities had populations that were exclusively or predominantly from a single ethnicity while nine had a mix.

Potential drivers of change to the social composition of the populations of the communities included changes to inequality structures, improvements in internal roads, incoming religions, ethnic mobilisation, structural economic change, and youth and adult male out-migration.

### **The households in the communities**

#### *Households on and off the local culturally-ideal track*

Household survey research undertaken in four WIDE sites during the WeD programme in the mid-2000s showed similarities in household structure patterns across the sites, and that, on average, only 62% of households were on the culturally-ideal track. This was defined as a progression from young couple, through young nuclear family, mature nuclear family, in some cultures polygynous families, emptying nest, old couple, male-headed 3-generations, and nuclear family with old parent (Pankhurst and Bevan 2007). The remaining 38% included female-headed households, sibling households, men and women living alone, and some more unorthodox combinations of people.

In the WIDE3 communities one change since the 2000s was the increasing number of young married couples living on parental household land. Polygyny had reduced in those communities where it had been culturally desirable. The proportion of female-headed households in the different communities varied considerably with the highest proportion at about 40% in Harresaw East Tigray in 2012.

### *Differences in livelihood sources*

In the farming communities different types of household relied on different mixes of income sources. There were four types of households with land:

1. Those involved in big farming and maybe big business;
2. Those who were mostly self-supporting on the farm but also relied on contributions by different household members from other activities
3. Those who did some farming but rely more heavily on other activities
4. Those renting or share-cropping their land out and working on other activities or dependent on social protection

There were also four types of landless households:

1. Those farming through renting/share-cropping plus other activities
2. Those only involved in non-farm businesses or employment
3. Those doing daily labour; wood/grass selling; petty trade
4. Destitute people relying on formal and/or informal social protection

### *Rural-urban straddling households*

Some rich households from most of the communities had invested in houses in nearby towns; in some cases these were rented out but in others they were occupied by family members involved in non-farm activities and/or education. This was a growing phenomenon.

### *Potential drivers of change*

These included increasing non-farm opportunities, formalisation of non-farm activities, loss of farmland to infrastructure or inward investors, and increasing migration for work.

## **Structures of inequality**

The WIDE3 data showed that inequalities *among rural communities* have complex causes many of them related to geographical position which has consequences for a number of important inequality parameters. Spatial inequality describes differential access to advantageous qualities, resources and/or services due to physical location. Some aspects of inequality *within rural communities* also have a spatial dimension depending on local topography and settlement patterns. Most economic, social cultural and political inequalities within rural communities depend on hierarchical community and household structures, roles and relations which tend to endure, although they can be disrupted in times of rapid change. Both within and beyond households people's access to advantages in rural Ethiopia are also affected by personal attributes most notably gender and age. These various structured dimensions of inequality taken together generate a complex set of possible positions of dis/advantage differentially occupied in different types of community.

Household inequalities related to class, status and power structures were linked with access to farming and urban land, capital, and labour; human capital including education, skills, personality; status hierarchies possibly related to ethnic/clan membership and/or religion; access to political advantage including official government position or family or friendship links to government officials.

DEEP evidence revealed that there was considerable economic inequality in rural communities that was not always recognised. In an ideal-typical rural community in 2004 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 2013 were signs that economic inequality among households was increasing mainly because the rich were getting richer as evidenced in lifestyles that were more urban than rural, though there was no evidence that the poor were poorer than they had been in 2003. There were more middle-wealth households and some poor households had improved. There were signs of class formation visible in the emergence of categories of 'kulak' farmers and landless labourers and of the consolidation of elites with economic, political and social networks and different opportunities and lifestyles.

A key driver of change was 'the Matthew principle'<sup>30</sup>: unlike poor households richer households were in a good position to take advantage of improved production and market opportunities while shocks to agricultural production, health and family had a greater impact on poorer households. Poor people had fewer resources and relied on share-cropping, wage labour, petty trade and domestic service in different combinations. They had less access to services and credit. Vulnerable people with physical or mental disabilities, or chronic illness, elderly people and orphans mainly relied on family or community support. Opportunities and constraints for young men and women were linked to social norms and wealth status. The pace of change in communities was producing stresses and strains which, combined with land shortages particularly affected relations between youth and older generations. There were inter-generational tensions over land and between youth and government. Positive improvements in gender relations related to land rights, decision-making and migration but there were still problems related to resource control and some community biases on women's roles.

## Community livelihoods

Economic growth in the WIDE3 communities had been driven by different mixes of:

- Improvements in agricultural productivity, increased demand for products, better access to markets, inflation, new aspirations
- Rising involvement in trade and other non-farm enterprises within and beyond the community
- Increasing investment in land and businesses in local towns
- Community employment (local enterprises, government, daily agricultural and non-farm labour)
- Opportunities for business, employment and daily labour through commuting
- Remittances and savings from some migrants

However there were differences among the communities with some forging ahead and others lagging behind.

Agriculture or pastoralism was the main economic sector in the communities. As described earlier different mixes of crops and livestock were found in the different types of community. Five were self-sufficient grain and/or potato exporters, one was a self-sufficient livestock exporter, two were self-sufficient due to a combination of *enset*, garden products and coffee and one in with *chat* and eucalyptus instead of coffee while two with the same mix were vulnerable partially aid-dependent. The two agro-pastoralist sites were vulnerable as were five vulnerable cereal producers and one drought-prone vulnerable community whose main outputs were livestock. In seventeen of the communities there had been growth related to the traditional products and in many production of new products for sale such as irrigated vegetables and eucalyptus.

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<sup>30</sup> Matthew 25:29: "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

Involvement in trade had increased in those communities where export production had increased and in many communities there was increasing demand for non-farm products and services and as described above migration for work from fifteen communities had increased.

Potential drivers of change included ongoing globalisation-linked modernisation processes related to agriculture, industrialisation, servicisation, consumerisation, rurbanisation, continued thickening of rural-urban links and migration and urban planning and inward-investment decisions at higher government levels.

## **Lives - producing and maintaining people**

### *The mother-infant couple*

Since 2003 there had been considerable improvements in the health and well-being of mothers and infants in the communities which could be related to a range of state-led modernisation practices. Even so in 2013 the mother-infant couple continued to face many risks, particularly those living in remote and/or drought-prone areas, poor women, women living in households with no adult male defender, and adolescents. Other risk factors included seasonality effects, amounts and quality of drinking water, and women's workloads. Risks related to events before pregnancy included female circumcision, rape, early marriage and abortions. Between 2010 and 2013 ante-natal care became increasingly available and many women participated although some were unable or unwilling to follow advice on good diets, avoiding hard work, taking rest and hygiene. Supply barriers to getting standard ANC tests included lack of instruments, distance to Health Centres and rude service. The big supply constraints on skilled delivery were distance to Health Centres along poor internal roads, inadequate staff and drugs, rare ambulance service, and costs of hospital service and transport. Barriers to demand included perceived lack of need, especially if ANC monitoring showed no problems, taboos about male staff, and the cultural unacceptability of being out in public six hours after birth.

### *Infant and child-rearing and socialisation*

Between 2010 and 2013 people became increasingly aware of the importance of improving infant and childcare and richer and educated families were making changes though poor children often had poor clothes, hygiene levels and nutrition. Health Extension Workers encouraged breast-feeding for the first six months of a baby's life and promoted improved family nutrition through training and meetings. In some drought-prone communities there were nutrition programmes to identify malnourished children and provision of special food such as PlumpyNut. Richer families were purchasing baby clothes and good clothes and shoes for older children. In some households fathers were involved in childcare and relations between parents and children less hierarchical than in the past. There was also much less physical punishment than in the past.

### *Health*

Health Posts and Health Extension Workers were relatively new in 2010 but were in place in all communities. TV and radio broadcast preventive health messages. Given time pressures HEWs had to prioritise from the sixteen packages: sanitation and contraception were priorities in 2010 and later nutrition and health centre delivery became important. In the six communities studied in 2013 many women interviewed were aware of the importance of hygiene and sanitation, vaccination, healthy nutrition, ante-natal care during pregnancy, delivery at health centres, and baby and childcare and used contraception. It was easier for richer families to practice these measures.

Estimates of contraception take up ranged from 40% in one site to 80% in another. In two sites it was said that household sizes were smaller than in the past, especially among newer households. Factors at play behind the increased acceptance of contraceptive use beyond government supply

and teachings included education, urban influences, increasing costs of raising children, later age of marriage, and less reliance on children for household work. The campaign for home delivery was launched in early 2013 but some months later due to practical and cultural barriers and preferences most births were still taking place at home. Young people were more open to smaller families and Health Centre deliveries.

Many Health Centres were new or upgraded and were gradually becoming better-staffed although there were still considerable shortages of staff, equipment and drugs.

### *Education*

There had been a big expansion in primary education by WIDE3 and secondary education was expanding. There was a little pre-school education in the form of Grade 0s in primary school and private kindergartens. There was increasing use of private education including private colleges by rich households. Children from poor families were less likely to attend primary school, start on time, have time and energy to study well and more likely to drop out early or often and even less likely to go to secondary school.

Girls' education was a high priority and increasing pressure on families to send their children to school at age 7. Even remote villages in 2010 had some children in higher education. Expectations related to the benefits of education were rising everywhere but there were some emerging concerns in well-served communities related to the rising number of unemployed Grade 10 completers and low education quality.

### *Water and wood*

There had been very significant improvements in access to safe water in a number of places through the construction of reservoirs, spring protection, and boreholes and wells. In these places women spent much less time than in the past fetching water and in some the job was done by boys sometimes using carts. However there were four communities with no or little access to clean water and five where access was very patchy. In some remote drought-prone sites women and girls still had to walk long distance to fetch water from rivers and within communities water development usually took place near the centres. Some households were two hours walk from the waterpoint. In some sites private water sources were on the increase while in some pollution was a problem and there were a number of outbreaks of Acute Watery Diarrhoea. In most communities there was much less use of fuelwood collected by wives and daughters from distant places.

### *Domestic work*

For many women in 2013 living in the richer communities time spent on domestic work had reduced since 2003 partly as a result of the introduction of more modern domestic technologies, partly due to changes in diet and in some cases partly to increasing involvement by men and boys in domestic work.

## **Social organisations, networks and institutions**

In addition to households important community social organisations included *iddir* and religious organisations everywhere and in some communities, clans or lineages, *equb*, *mehaber* and *senbete*, *gada*, and/or *meskel* groups. These organisations supported members in various ways: the basic task of *iddir* was to support families during deaths but some were involved in other activities such as insurance and credit-provision. Clans and lineages were much less important than in the past but in some places provided identities and in at least two played some political roles. The rotating savings and credit *equb* provided a secure way for people to save and borrow; the size of the pots varied with some very large ones operated by businessmen. In some *equb* in times of crisis members could have the pot early sometimes by buying it. *Mehaber* brought together small groups of people to

share food in their different homes once a month providing support especially in times of crisis. The *gada* system, a traditional Oromo democratic system, was found in three WIDE communities; its leaders (*Aba Gada*) were involved in reconciliation processes. The Gedeo community also had an *Aba Gada*. *Meskel* groups in a number of communities organised group savings to finance the group's *Meskel* celebrations held at the end of September.

There was evidence of the importance of informal social networks inside and beyond the communities involving kin, friends, farmers, businessmen, leaders of customary and religious organisations, and government officials.

In the past important social institutions set community norms of ideal behaviour in relation to marriage, divorce, and widowhood, kin relations and religion in all the communities. Some customary social institutions found in some communities included land/labour/oxen exchanges, share-rearing, and female circumcision (in 15 communities). Economic and cultural modernisation pressures and government policies had led to some changes in practices related to these areas to varying degrees in different places. For example in nine communities the government ban on female circumcision was locally enforced though with little success in at least one but the other six the ban was not accepted by local officials.

## **Government and politics**

The Government model of how basic services should be delivered had changed between 2003 and 2010 and continued to evolve between 2010 and 2013. There was a big expansion of government structures at wereda, community and gradually, micro level, and of their role in the delivery of basic services and an increasing overlap government of and party structures. The increasing number of government employees and volunteer officials active in all sites included wereda & kebele officials, various Cabinet committees, government employees at kebele level (teachers, Development Agents, Health Extension Workers, kebele managers), militia, model farmers and families, women and youth leaders, party leaders, health volunteers and later sub-kebele government structures in the form of Development Teams and separate 1-5s for men and women, and there were parallel party structures. They provided a channel for information to flow downwards and officials were meant to organise meetings and report upwards. They appeared to be more active in some communities or parts of communities than others.

Both paid and unpaid officials used a range of mechanisms to mobilise people including targets, 'awaring people' in long meetings, packages and quotas, models, rewards and in some cases coercion. Responses varied between and within communities taking different forms including co-operation, foot-dragging, refusal to engage, and/or resistance. In theory the responsibilities of unpaid kebele officials demanded a lot of time but in practice activities often did not match the responsibilities.

Community-initiated organisations and institutions made important contributions to general community management and the government increasingly wanted to work with them, though this was often resisted. Elders were active in conflict resolution often showing gender bias. Religious leaders tended to support elements of the government agenda which fitted with their religious agendas.

Beyond their funeral-related activities *iddirs* were influential in some communities, for example mobilising development funds, providing credit, providing safe water, and conflict resolutions. In one community they organised members to oppose unpopular Government plans. In a few sites clans or lineages mobilised members for a few purposes. The *gada* system had weakened in some respects but remained active in others.

The quality of government-community relations varied across the communities and continued to be influenced by village-specific historical experiences of government.

## Cultural repertoires of ideas

Local people in rural communities had access to two ideal-type local 'cultural repertoires' one customary and one 'modern'. Customary repertoires adapt but are slow to change and many of their values and ideas are opposed to aspects of local modernisation; they were mostly accepted by older and middle-aged people and disseminated by elders and in some places by religious leaders. For example Orthodox Christian priests in one site tended to oppose anything modern especially working on holy days while some old people and most middle-aged female respondent opposed the building of latrines and not getting married until 18 and continued to support uvula-cutting and pulling milk teeth. In another there was support for polygyny for older men, bride-wealth, widow inheritance and female circumcision.

Given Ethiopia's cultural heterogeneity rural customary repertoires are diverse; however these repertoires in all the communities contained traces of external values and beliefs which entered them to differing degrees during the Imperial era which ended in 1974, the military socialist regime of the *Derg* in power from 1974 to 1991, and the current EPRDF regime which came to power in 1991. During WIDE3 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.

Local customary cultural repertoires were under pressure from: urban influences; external religious preachers; returned international migrants; diaspora links; (satellite) TV; donors and NGOs' ideas; and government messaging. Local modern repertoires contained the most up-to-date mental models and institutions accepted by change-leaders in the communities. In one pastoralist site educated youth supported the expansion of irrigation and a move away from pastoralism; they were critical of the slow pace of change and against customary practices which affected young men. Key clashes identified in this community were between younger progressives and conservatives, secular and Islamic education, fundamentalist Islam and tolerant Islam, and patriarchal values and women's rights.

## Community trajectories

After WIDE3 had finished we speculated about where each of the twenty communities might be heading and our conclusions are reproduced below.

### *Communities in the throes of, or anticipating structural change – 9 communities*

#### **Four communities were likely to be affected by urban expansion**

Amhara

- Shumsheha: drought-affected *tef*, sorghum and maize – near Lalibela

Oromiya

- Turufe: exporter of potatoes and wheat - near Shashemene
- Adele Keke: exporter of *chat* – near Haramaya
- Sirba: exporter of *tef* and chickpeas – on the Bishoftu-Mojo corridor

#### **Three drought-prone aid-dependent communities had potentially very good irrigation potential**

Oromiya

- Gelcha: agro-pastoralist – near the Awash
- Korodegaga: drought-prone *tef* and maize – near the Awash

SNNP

- Do'oma: maize, *tef*, sweet potatoes – some irrigation - old structure

## Two communities likely to be changed through increasing international migration

Tigray

- Harresaw: migration to Saudi Arabia

SNNP

- Aze Debo: migration to South Africa

The WIDE Bridge evidence showed that in 2018 this prediction was not being fulfilled in either community. Migration to Saudi Arabia from Harresaw had decreased and the community was worse off than in 2012 due to frequent droughts, while the most important driver of change in Aze Debo was urbanisation.

## Communities with no significant structural changes – 11 communities

### Good economic growth but no significant structural changes in eight communities

Amhara

- Yetmen: exporter of *tef* to Addis Ababa
- Kormargefia: livestock export and breeding

Oromiya

- Oda Dawata: exporter of wheat and potatoes
- Oda Haro: exporter of maize and red peppers
- Somodo: exporter of coffee

SNNP

- Girar: exporter of *chat* and eucalyptus plus migration
- Gara Godo: exporter of coffee
- Adado exporter of coffee

### Neither good economic growth nor significant structural change in two remote communities

Amhara

- Dinki: drought-affected *tef*, sorghum and maize

SNNP

- Luqa – mostly pastoralist

### No significant structural change and economic decline

Tigray

- Geblen: highly drought-prone –livestock + usually failed barley, wheat, maize

## 12. Some WIDE3 insights into important interventions in the communities 2010 to 2013

### Introduction

This section presents a selection of extracts from the WIDE 3 final reports for Stages 1, 2 and 3 which provide some interesting insights which can be followed up further in the reports which are on the Ethiopia WIDE website [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net). Not all interventions are covered nor are all the relevant findings about particular interventions.

### The community places

Government programmes to develop modern infrastructures were very important for the development of the communities but they were highly dependent on community contributions in kind, cash and/or labour. The labour for most of the infrastructure and environment investments in the rural communities was provided by untrained community members through free community labour in all sites, Public Works in PSNP sites, and Food-for-Work as part of Emergency Food Aid programmes.

- Stage 2: There were mixed feelings about the PSNP Public Works: road maintenance and schools were particularly appreciated but there was less enthusiasm for environmental work.

#### Stage 1

- Most environmental interventions are meant to bring a public benefit but since they have to be located in a place they often provide private benefits or harms. The digging and lining of expensive water reservoirs in Girar was intended to benefit six Model Farmers, the primary school and a youth co-operative, while in Korodegaga some farmers refused to have terraces on their land. Theoretically every able-bodied person over the age of 18 was meant to participate in a number of days of free community labour, although in practice the level of activity seemed to vary across sites.
- Natural Resource Management interventions faced problems in all sites. Terracing in the two remote hilly sites (Geblen and Dinki) may have prevented some erosion but did not make a big difference. Terracing and tree-planting using Food-for-Work and community labour in Korodegaga were regularly destroyed by livestock.
- Tree-planting for the Millennium faced problems in the drought-prone sites due to lack of rain and, in Dinki, successful resistance in order to keep the grazing land.

### Community connections with the outside world

#### *External roads*

The national road programme had reduced the remoteness of many of the communities and supported the intensification of rural-urban links everywhere.

#### *Expanding towns*

Stage 3: There were policies for urban areas and policies for rural areas but many thriving farming communities close to urban areas were losing tranches of land to expanding towns which was associated in some places with illegal land sales. In areas where change was rapid re-structuring of weredas and kebeles could be a fairly continuous process continuous. Ordinary community members were often not informed or consulted about land allocation and investments decided at higher levels. Compensation for loss of land was often not well-handled.

## The people in the communities

- Stage 1: Improvements in curative and preventive health services and in access to education at all levels were a result of government programmes and funding supported by the donor-funded Protection of Basic Services programme
- Stage 2: In all communities provision of **health services, drinking water** and **education** had expanded considerably since 2003 bringing many benefits

### *Populations*

- Stage 2: Free contraception was playing some role in limiting births and increasing child age gaps particularly among young couples.

### *Nutrition*

#### Stage 2

- 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.
- There were some occasional programmes for malnourished children associated with donors and NGOs though not all mothers followed all the instructions.

### *Health services*

Stage 1: Members of richer households were more likely to use private clinics while poorer households could not always afford Health Centre and drugs charges. Many of the Health Extension Packages involve expenditures which were particularly problematic for poorer households; some also involved labour, presenting a problem for elderly and female-headed households with no physically active members.

### *Education*

- Stage 1: Most children in all sites were enrolled in primary school; most (though not all) of those not enrolled came from very poor households who could not afford materials or hired sons out as herders or daughters as domestic workers. Respondents commonly reported that children liked going to school.

### *Women's rights*

#### Stage 1

- While physical security for women and girls was better, and female circumcision, abduction, early marriage and widow inheritance had diminished, there was little women's political participation.
- Taken together interventions for women were leading to changes in the balance of resources and relationships in male-headed households and improving the rights and status of women heads of households. Young women could see new prospects.
- There had been a strong programme to improve women's rights with new regional land and family laws in all Regions and signs of implementation in all the weredas, including arrests and imprisonment for offenders. Despite resistance from some people considerable reductions in female circumcision, abduction, early marriage and widow inheritance were reported and supported by many of our respondents. The idea that young couples should choose their own marriage partners was being increasingly accepted.

## Stage 2

- 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.
- In all communities there were signs of improvement in women's rights. Rape, abduction, domestic violence had reduced though by no means been eliminated; poorer women and women heading households were more vulnerable. In most communities most girls were said to be choosing their own partners. In a number of communities elders involved in dispute resolution, including divorces, were said to be biased against women. Women had little political power.

## Stage 3

- In 2013 wereda structures had been trying to implement the Family Law since 2003 and mainstream women's issues since 2006. Women in all communities were aware of their land and family rights but there were problems in implementing those that ran counter to customary norms since elders, officials and court officers were overwhelmingly male.

## The households in the communities

### *Patriarchal structures*

For many years the Government has identified the 'household' as the main political unit with only the head who are mostly males regarded as 'citizens' to be involved in kebele business.

- Stage 2: 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.

## Structures of inequality

### *Policies affecting household economic inequalities*

#### Generally

Government programmes were not designed for poor people

- Stage 2: Poor households and people did not have the time and resources necessary to make use of development interventions; at the same time many of them contributed time, labour and resources for the implementation of some of these interventions.

#### Agricultural extension and model farmers

- Stage 2: The support to model farmers enabled some to become affluent

#### PSNP

## Stage 1

- PSNP is critical for poorer households in both Geblen and Korodegaga; the same is true of food aid/FFW in Dinki. In all three sites richer households also had access to these interventions.

## Stage 2

- PSNP and Emergency Food Aid had saved many people from starvation over the years; however three PSNP communities had not received enough aid in the 2008 and 2011 droughts resulting

in deaths including 30 in one in 2008.

- PSNP cash/food had enabled households to improve their livelihoods by preventing asset sale, releasing income that could be invested, providing collateral for loans and smoothing consumption.
- As a result of the cultural disconnect between national PSNP policy and local values and norms and ways of doing things local officials and recipients were creative in re-designing policy and practice on the ground.
- The threat of removal from the PSNP was used in some places to force people to co-operate on other interventions like taking fertiliser or digging latrines.

### Other pro-poor policies

There was a marked absence of government programmes for poor and vulnerable people

#### Stage 1

- There have been no other interventions which targeted the poorest and destitute
- Similarly there have been no interventions targeting elderly, mentally ill and disabled people, apart from elderly people included in PSNP Direct Support component in Geblen and Korodegaga.

### Community contributions

#### Stage 2

- Ordinary community members made two kinds of contribution without which interventions would 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 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.

### Livelihood interventions for women and youth

- Stage 1: The programme to improve the life chances of **young people** has been weak and not very effective.
- Stage 2: Few livelihood interventions focused on **women** and **youth** were sustained for any length of time.

## Community livelihoods

### *Farming*

This is an extract from the WIDE3 Stage 3 summary report to the World Bank (2014)

### *'Future government strategies for Stage 3 type communities*

- The past government strategy appears to have been based on the assumption that almost all rural economic production is agricultural and produced by smallholding peasant farmers. While this is a good description of many rural communities in 1995 and 2003 it does not apply to communities of the type studied in Stage 3 in 2013; they are well-integrated into markets, increasingly involved in non-farm activities including trade and business and have a reserve of educated labour with little to do if they stay in the community apart from those in communities in commutable distance of small factories.
- Smallholding farmers are currently expected not only to drive agricultural growth but also to contribute a considerable number of days to Public Works labour and participate in many hours of meetings and trainings. At the same time nearly all government's investment in rural economic development has gone to adult male farmers; most of it to the richer ones. This strategy has been successful in getting the communities to their positions in 2013 but this group may be now sufficiently well-established and aspiring that it does not need focused nudging any more. The time may now be ripe to shift some government investment to activities that respond to changes in the division of labour that have already taken place, for example small rural industrialisation and very small local town development.'

### **Agricultural extension**

The main focus of the agricultural extension programme was the provision of fertiliser and improved seeds for cereal production. This had led to increases in agricultural productivity in nearly all the agriculturalist sites. However there were some issues:

- Many farmers were producing other more profitable crops for which there was no support
  - Stage 1: richer farmers in three sites expressed the view that the extension services were not of much use to them, and that the improvements in their livelihoods came as a result of their own efforts often in other areas, rather than because of the services provided
  - Stage 2: the main focus was cereals and fertiliser; the shift to higher-level crops such as onions, peppers, spices, sesame, *chat*, coffee, and eucalyptus was mainly farmer-led.
  - Stage 3: Agricultural and livestock packages were remarkably similar in all communities; the priority given to improved seeds and standard issue fertiliser in livelihood communities where coffee and livestock led the livelihood system distracted DAs and farmers from focusing on more effective ways of increasing agricultural growth.
- They failed during droughts
  - Stage 1: 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 Geblen.
- In some places farmers used them anyway
  - Stage 1: Selected seeds and fertiliser improved main crop yields in Yetmen and Turufe. 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.
- The seeds and fertiliser did not suit the local soil
  - Stage 2: Not all locally available fertiliser and seeds were suitable for the soils and climates.
- Coercion
  - Stage 2: Farmers highly resented being 'coerced' by government to take fertiliser and/or risky seeds on credit which happened in four sites.
- Lack of credit
  - Stage 2: In other sites poorer farmers could not get credit for fertiliser or seeds.

S2 Only two wereda agricultural offices were actively promoting irrigation.

### **Credit for livestock**

Providing credit for livestock to farmers in drought-prone communities and insisting that debts be repaid even if the livestock died as a result of the drought caused huge problems for some communities.

- Stage 2: In severe droughts huge numbers of livestock died leaving many people with big debts; it took some years to re-build herds.

### **Missing interventions**

- No or half-hearted support for many locally-profitable crops and livestock
- In most places no funding or technical support for irrigation structures
  - Stage 2: Only two wereda agricultural offices were actively promoting irrigation.
- No or half-hearted support for irrigated production including tomatoes, onions and other vegetables
- Stage 2: Vet services were generally inadequate though much appreciated when available

### *Land leasing*

- Stage 2: Leasing and purchase of land 'by contract' had allowed successful farmers to increase their land size and poorer landed farmers lacking labour to get some income from their land while also working off-farm though in at least three sites officials tried to stop **land** share-cropping and/or renting

### *PSNP and EFA*

PSNP and EFA provided important income support

- Stage 1: In both PSNP sites the FFW was one constituent of the diversified livelihoods of the better-off households while it was vital to the livelihoods of poorer households who 'would otherwise be dead of hunger'. In Dinki the Emergency Food Aid Programme was especially important for those 'whose livelihood is daily labour'.

### *inward investment and industrialisation*

- In Stage 2 five of the sites had been affected in different ways by inward investment involving loss of community land, but also new employment opportunities.

### *Co-operatives*

- Stage 2: There were very few producer co-operatives and most were unsuccessful. The few service co-operatives were not well-managed.

### *Economic interventions for women and youth*

Interventions for women were rare and did not last long; in 2013 there was evidence of a government push to do something for youth and a very few successful co-operatives

- Stage 3: Officials made a few half-hearted attempts to involve women in economic empowerment activities but most did not take off and those that did not last very long
- Stage 3: 3 A few working youth co-operatives in two of the six communities

## Lives

### *Preventive health services*

#### Stage 1

- 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.
- HEWs have launched programmes to extend family planning, improve sanitation, and prevent malaria and the spread of HIV/AIDS. They are also providing mother and child health services. The HEW role is relatively new and they are hampered by lack of electricity and water in some Health Posts, lack of equipment and shortages of the simple drugs which would increase their attraction to their somewhat resistant clients.
- Regarding preventive care there were site differences regarding the interest in the measures promoted by the HEWs ranging from enthusiasm in Girar, through interest in Turufe and acceptance in Geben and Korodegaga to resistance in Yetmen and especially Dinki.

#### Stage 2

- Health extension workers had been effective in 'awaring' people about most of the sixteen packages and although implementation was selective and patchy there was a sense of change in all the agriculturalist communities.
- There were reports from a few communities of a reduction in malaria attributed by some to spraying, bednets, the removal of stagnant water and better access to pills; epidemics were more likely during droughts which were said to reduce resistance. Evidence relating to the preventive measures suggested implementation was not regular and thorough

### *Mother and infant services*

- Stage 2: Most deliveries were at home with the assistance of Traditional Birth Attendants, and in some places Health Extension Workers. Since the introduction of the policy that deliveries should take place at Health Posts with assistance from HEWs training and provisions for TBAs seemed to have reduced even though there were no deliveries at any of the community Health Posts. Acceptance of child immunisation had increased.
- Stage 3: There had been a recent shift in policy focus from clean deliveries in the Health Post to safe deliveries in the Health Centre and Health Extension Workers had started to spend much of their time working on maternal and childcare, though the policy had not been in place long enough to see visible results.

### *Curative health services*

- Stage 1: The most important difference in relation to the use of curative facilities was in the ability to afford health care and in particular to go further to obtain private health care, particularly in wealthier sites

### *Education*

#### Stage 1

Rapid growth of primary education provision, particularly in the remote sites, had led to big increases in enrolment and more children joining school at the 'right age'. In many sites there are more girls than boys attending. There had also been increases in secondary and post-secondary provision although the demand for TVET places for Grade 10 graduates greatly outstripped the supply.

## *Drinking water*

### Stage 1

- People in four sites were still reliant on rivers and streams for their (unsafe) water.

### Stage 2

- There were people in seven sites without all-year access to clean water and they were more at risk of infections from that than the threats the sanitation packages were designed to overcome. There were one or more outbreaks of cholera in a number of communities.
- The organisation of safe drinking water left much to be desired everywhere.

## **Government**

### *The campaign approach*

S3 There did not seem to be much wereda-level planning about appropriate intervention mixes for different kinds of community. Many interventions arrived as campaigns which had to be done 'now' causing officials to drop what they were doing before. There were complaints about plans announced in meetings but not implemented and projects started but not followed up. One of the reasons was that far too much was expected of wereda and kebele officials in terms of actions, meetings and reports. This was compounded by the need for party meetings separate from kebele meetings.

### *Changing kebele structures and activities*

The new kebele structures which were just in place in 2010 involved increasing numbers of people and targeted a lot of their time:

#### Stage 1:

- There had been a strengthening of kebele structures since 2003 with some re-structuring of the Cabinet to include extension workers and the school director and the appointment of a full-time kebele manager paid by the wereda. Sub-kebele structures expanded and deepened with the establishment of development teams (in some places 10 households) and party cells (in some places 5 households). Sub-kebele structures were used to allocate agricultural packages and food aid and to mobilise people to send their children to school and apply Health Extension packages.

#### Stage 2

- All communities had kebele cabinets and councils and were sub-divided into two or more 'zones' or sub-kebeles. Since the end of 2009 new three-tier kebele structures had been launched everywhere. Old sub-kebele structures had been disbanded and replaced with Development Teams/party cells organised into 1-5s but the sub-kebeles were often still in use for co-ordination and for the allocation of DAs. Those kebeles settled in numerous villages often organised Development Teams on a village basis.
- There were numerous kebele committees responsible for organising different activities. For livelihood development there were committees/organisations separately responsible for development, Natural Resource Management, land, and irrigation. There was some diversity across the communities in the way these activities were organised although kebele chairs played leading roles in most cases.
- Model farmers and development team leaders in a number of sites resented or refused to attend long trainings especially if they took place in peak farming seasons. Government and

party meetings also interfered with farming activities and it was hard for model farmers and leaders to achieve the dual goal of leadership and economic success.

- Across all the communities many people in voluntary government positions wanted to resign but, due to pressures from above and below, felt that they could not. Levels of absenteeism and lateness among voluntary government workers for cabinet, council and committee meetings were high.
- Leaders at the different levels reported a number of problems chief among them that the work, which one said 'was tiresome and time-consuming' interfered with farming activities and was not rewarded.

### Stage 3

- In 2013 official kebele structures in all sites involved a theoretical division of responsibilities among a legislature, executive, and judiciary and a chain of command which included a Cabinet, committees, Council, social court, and three sub-kebeles each with their own Development Teams containing a number of 1-5 groups. There were theoretically independent party structures integrated by individuals simultaneously holding positions in both structures. In all sites implementation was very different from what had been designed.

### *Civil servants*

#### Stage 3

- Job descriptions for DAs, HEWs, and voluntary kebele officials were impossible to implement in practice; this left a wide area of discretion in which at one extreme some people struggled to do their best for the community and at the other some people focused on personal interests.
- Salaries were considerably lower than the incomes of richer farmers and business people

### *Party*

#### Stage 1

- 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.
- Since 2003, and particularly after 2005, EPRDF party membership across the country has grown considerably and this is reflected in the sites. Kebele and party structures are becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish and it could be argued that state-building activities in the last few years have increasingly moved the system in the direction of a one-party State.

#### Stage 2

- In most sites there was pressure on people to join the ruling party or at least not promote opposition parties, though in one site in the 2010 election an opposition party (EDEPA) won in

two of the sub-kebele polling stations and the EPRDF majority in the other two was only 6 and 7. More pressure to join the party was put on successful and richer household heads.

- In all the communities the leaders at all three levels (kebele, sub-kebele, Development Team) were expected to be party members but the extent and kind of implementation of the governance structures varied across the communities. Government employees and voluntary workers were mainly held to account through *gimgema*.

#### Stage 3

- In all communities party cells were meant to meet every 15 days (Adado), monthly (Sirba), 'at least twice a year' (Kormargefia) to read and discuss the party newspaper though it was not established that this actually happened.
- Recruitment to party membership varied. In Adado there were 480 party members (42% of households) and in Kormargefia only influential young and richer hardworking exemplary farmers had been recruited for party membership (260 male household heads and 25 female heads – 29% of households). In Sirba 'everyone' was said to belong to the party.
- There were assertions from a few people that in order to get a government job it was necessary to be a party member; there were also assertions that it was important to have a relative in a powerful position in the wereda.

#### *Women and Youth Organisations*

- Stage 2: Leaders of Women's and Youth organisations faced problems getting help from kebele and wereda and participation from community members.
- Stage 3: No youth organisations were active in three of the six communities

#### *Targets and the reporting system encouraged mis-reporting*

- Stage 3: Kebele employees were given targets against which they report to the wereda; this provides an incentive to report what ought to have happened rather than what did.

#### *Means of mobilising people to co-operate*

- Stage 1: Mobilisation of the community to adopt government packages and follow new laws and directives involves action by a number of mobilisers including wereda and kebele officials, kebele managers, Extension Workers and teachers, Health Promoters, militias, development team leaders, Model Farmers and Households, Women and Youth Association leaders, and party cell leaders. Party members are expected to be in the vanguard in following development advice and adopting packages. The means of mobilisation include self-criticism/criticism, lectures in meetings, awards for models, and (often implicit) threats including of fines and imprisonment.
- Stage 2: The threat of loss of land was used to try to coerce farmers to conform with extension advice in one site and in another to join the ruling party.

#### *Corruption*

- Stage 2: There were allegations that some voluntary kebele officials favoured relatives, friends and/or members of their clan or lineage in all sites.
- Stage 3: Cabinet volunteers could use their control of resources such as land and access to justice to make some income; some may have felt it is not unfair since they did not understand why they should spend most of their working week on unpaid kebele duties.

#### *Security and justice*

##### Stage 1

- Security structures involve militias organised at sub-kebele level, elders sometimes organised in peace committees, and community police. The powers of social courts were recently reduced with the introduction of land management committees and the referral of husband-wife disputes to the wereda.

#### Stage2

- All communities were said to be safer as a result of the work of militias and community and wereda police.
- Five communities had security committees of varying sizes and two had peace committees; all had militias organised more or less along military lines. There were complaints from the militia that they had no incentives 'not even a cup of tea' for work that prevented them from doing personal work; some community members said they were biased when dealing with relatives.
- Social courts had lost power to elders and wereda courts in most sites. In one community the court had not operated for a long time and in another it appeared to be fizzling out but at the other extreme one court held trials twice a week. Time spent by elders in resolving disputes and judging cases was considerable.

### **13. The WIDE3-4 Transition project**

The aim of this was to disseminate the main policy-relevant findings from WIDE3 in a book of Discussion papers, to engage with government at a high level using Discussion Briefs summarising the papers, and to provide access to all the WIDE data and publications on a website ([www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net)).

The ten papers made use of data from all twenty communities using specially-designed but sometimes opaque topic frameworks to look for patterns and draw conclusions. The topics were:

1. Rurbanisation, urban expansion and thickening rural-urban links (2010-13)
2. Differentiation, inequalities and social inclusion and exclusion in rural communities
3. Youth transitions to adulthood and the role of interventions
4. Education in rural Ethiopia (2010-13): aspiration and uncertainty
5. Reproductive health and well-being: girls in transition to adulthood (2010-13)
6. Reproductive health and well-being: mothers and infants (2010-13)
7. Economic participation of women and girls in rural Ethiopia (2010-13)
8. Migrating for work from rural communities (2010-13)
9. Insights on economic success in rural communities (2010-13)
10. Innovation, “technology transfer”, and positive social change: models and realities of transformation

The papers on reproductive health and well-being were combined in one discussion brief.

The main conclusions have been included in Section 11 on WIDE3 contributions to knowledge about Ethiopia’s rural communities 2010-13 and Section 12 on development interventions.

## 14. WIDE Bridge project Phase 1<sup>31</sup> 2018: Research conclusions and methodology design and implementation

### Introduction

The concept note for the first phase of the Bridge project is included as [Appendix 20](#). The fieldwork in Harresaw, Yetmen, Sirba/Ude and Aze Debo was conducted in two phases in January/ February and February/March 2018 with a short gap between them. Map 1 shows the four selected communities and Table 12 compares them on some important features.

Map 1: WIDE Bridge communities

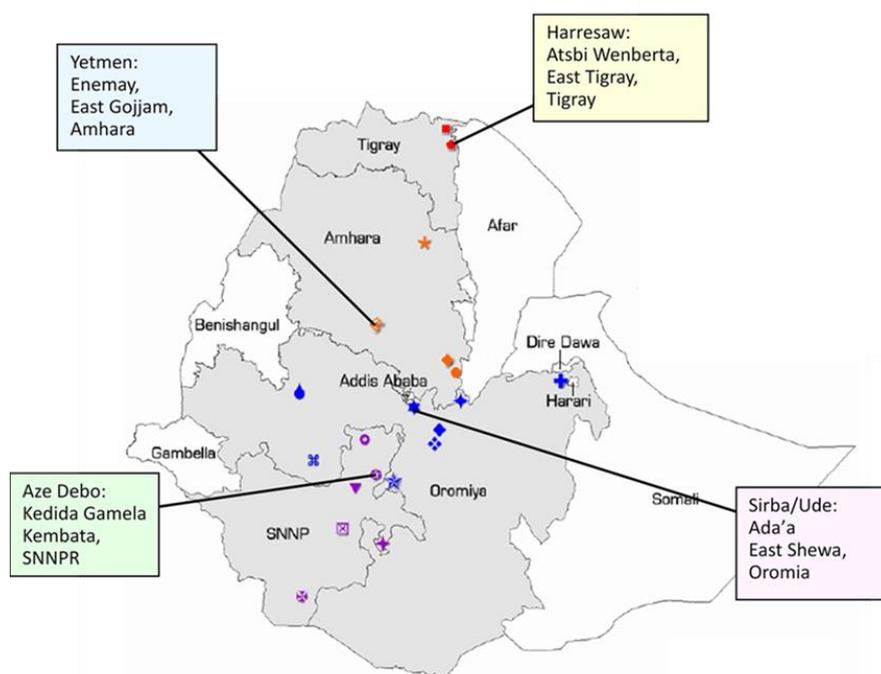


Table 12: The four Bridge communities organised by Wide3 Stage and highlighted by remoteness

REGION	PLACE	LOCATION	LIVELIHOOD	ETHNICITIES	RELIGIONS
<b>STAGE 1 early 2010: Three food-deficit, vulnerable and aid-dependent; three self-sufficient</b>					
Amhara	Yetmen	Remotish	Urban grain export; irrigation	Amhara	Orthodox Christians
<b>STAGE 2 late2011 Food-deficit, vulnerable and aid-dependent</b>					
Tigray	Harresaw	Quite remote	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + int migration + PSNP	Tigrayan	Orthodox Christians
SNNP	Aze Debo	Near zone town but remotish	Highly-populated enset + (int) migration + coffee + PSNP	Kembata	Protestants (11 sects) 99%
<b>STAGE 3 6 2013 Self-sufficient</b>					

<sup>31</sup> WIDE Bridge Phase 2 was concerned with dissemination and did not include anything new on methodology so it is not discussed here.

REGION	PLACE	LOCATION	LIVELIHOOD	ETHNICITIES	RELIGIONS
Oromia	Sirba	Peri-urban; Bishoftu- Mojo corridor	Urban grain export <i>tef</i> ; commuting	Oromo majority; Amhara; Tigraway; Kambata; Wolayita	Orthodox majority Protestant Muslim

The WIDE Bridge project had two purposes: (1) data and findings from a new WIDE research project in four communities, (2) first steps towards institutionalising WIDE in Ethiopia. The research project was an experiment designed to introduce four new researchers, one senior and three research fellows, to the WIDE3 methodology in a process of ‘learning by doing’ which, at the same time would make, interpret and analyse new WIDE data.

A further innovation was that the research questions did not replicate the holistic WIDE1-3 approach to communities, but focused on policy issues which it was thought government and partners were prioritising and whose dynamics at community levels were not well understood. They covered selected aspects of two of the five domains of power/fields of action. From the livelihoods field farming, non-farming, and social protection, and the community management field local government and local governance. And rather than covering all development interventions as in WIDE3 three areas were selected: land use and local urbanisation, the impact of drought 2015-17, and the economic experiences of young people. Finally, there was a focus on changing economic inequalities.

Table 13 describes the team members and organisations involved in the project and the outputs achieved, which were fewer than those promised.

<i>Table 13: Wide Bridge Phase 1 - introducing new researchers from different disciplines to the methodology</i> (row taken from Table 1)		
Team members	Organisations	Main outputs
Catherine Dom (team leader) Alula Pankhurst Sarah Vaughan Pip Bevan Research fellows Mulugeta Gashaw Agata Frankowska Thomas Osmond (left after 3 months) 4 male and 4 female research officers Management PDRC Agazi Tiemelissan Kiros Berhanu Hilina Kebede Research writers Shiferaw Fujie Shalom Ali Tefera Goshu Regional university links Kelemwerk Tafere Alemu Asfaw Bayissa Abdissa Tesfaye Selema	DFID, Irish Aid, SIDA (joint funders) Mokoro Ltd (UK institutional base) Pankhurst Development Research & Consulting PDRC (Ethiopia institutional base) Partners Ambo University Bahr Dar University Hawassa University Mekelle University	Macro Policy paper Methodology paper (this one) 3 completed community reports; one incomplete as of 2/8/2019 7 discussion briefs on land, farming, non-farming, young people’s economic opportunities, modernisation and inequalities, social protection, governance Government forum Experience of introducing new researchers to the methodology in a process of ‘learning by doing’ Experience of these new researchers introducing university researchers to the methodology Learning again that is difficult to collaborate in rigorous empirical research with social scientists wedded to paradigms which are incompatible with the WIDE approach

In what follows I first describe the project’s research conclusions and outputs and then the design and implementation of the methodology. The *first section* provides proof of the success of the project in generating important and interesting conclusions about the communities and the

development interventions, although the findings are more easily challengeable than in past WIDEs as there are no published evidence bases and four communities are not enough to support robust generalisations about rural communities. *The second section* on implementing the methodology describes how the over-ambitious project design resulted in a fieldwork design process that was very stressful, research instruments which were too long and of patchy quality, an interpretation and analysis process that was too short and superficial and disrupted by time spent on the institutionalisation stream of the project. Also, partly due to the production of academic papers for the 20<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, we failed to deliver five of the nine papers and two of the discussion briefs promised in our proposal, although the brief on drought was not written as it only proved to be an important problem in one site and the issue was covered in the community report.

## Research conclusions and outputs

The three sub-sections cover conclusions about the communities, recommendations for changes to development interventions in a number of areas, and a list of research outputs.

### *Headline conclusions about the communities in 2018*<sup>32</sup>

A period of rapid and sustained growth and modernisation since 2003 had brought profound changes to the four communities including improvements in livelihoods and lifestyles. The pace of change and consequences for local structures had varied across the communities. There were growing disparities between better and less well-connected communities and internally among different places in the communities. The changes had also led to increasing internal divisions and inequalities and to some extent disrupted relations between richer and poorer, and between the genders and generations.

Somewhat ***different configurations of globally-linked change processes*** were contributing to the modernisations of the four rural communities. The five most important processes were agricultural modernisation, urbanisation, non-farm sector expansion, migration, and the spread of information and communication technologies, while poor weather undermining grain and livestock production in one community, and coffee in another, were linked to climate change. As these processes were playing out they were bringing changes to patterns of wealth, gender and generational inequalities and challenges to rural governance systems.

In the four communities, to different extents, ***accelerating urbanisation*** had been contributing to the transformation of rural spaces, the re-structuring of rural economies, changes to people's ways of living and thinking, while undermining rural land tenure regimes and contributing to heightened inequalities.

In addition to changes in land use associated with local urbanisation ***rural land tenure regimes in the communities had been under pressure*** from the increasing role of market forces and the failure of government land use and management policies and processes to keep pace with what was happening on the ground.

***Agricultural modernisation*** had been driven by increasing urban demand for cereals, vegetables, meat, milk and eggs, in some cases access to export markets, and crop intensification involving increased use of fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides, irrigation and hybrid livestock breeds. This led to increased production and productivity in three communities but was not the case in the drought-hit and remoter community.

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<sup>32</sup> This section relies heavily on the introductory chapter to the Bridge collection of Series III discussion briefs by Dom and Pankhurst (2019) 'Rural Ethiopia in Transition' and the papers on globalisation presented by the Bridge team at the 20<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Ethiopian Studies held in Mekelle from 1-5 October 2018

**Climate change** was said to have been affecting two of the communities. In Aze Debo rising temperature and unreliable rain had encouraged coffee diseases and reduced productivity. In Harresaw intermittent droughts since 2012 were attributed to climate change.

Farming was not the only source of income for many rural households in the four communities. Both necessity (on the part of the poor) and opportunity (available to the wealthy) had led to **increasing diversification into the non-farm sector** particularly trade, hospitality and other services, construction, transport and petty manufacturing. For many households farming and non-farming livelihoods were complementary and mutually supportive.

WIDE3 evidence showed that by 2013 out-migration for work had become a major livelihood option in many more of the communities than in 1994, with mainly young people including a rising number of young women heading to a range of destinations including towns and cities, plantations and farms, factories, and other countries. Destination patterns had historical roots and varied across the communities. By 2018 there had been some **changes in migration patterns** in the Bridge communities: some new urban destinations; new industrial migration from Aze Debo; and reduced though still important irregular migration from Harresaw to Saudi. In-migration for work had become a feature in Sirba/Ude and Yetmen town. Though international migration involved real risks remittances and savings were contributing to the local economies of Aze Debo and Harresaw and to a lesser extent Sirba. Returning migrants and diaspora links also brought new ideas and lifestyles to the communities and some change to gender relations.

One of the biggest changes to the communities since 2013 was **the increasing rural penetration by new information and communication technologies**. From about 2015 smart phones were available providing access to music, radio programmes, social media and the internet while access to global television channels via satellites increased considerably between 2013 and 2018. This new connectivity potentially provided technical and market information for farmers, traders and businessmen, modern health and childcare information for families, access to educational resources for students, contact with relatives and friends in other places including abroad, access to different types of national and international TV programmes (on football, religion, soap operas, internal and international politics, etc). Before the government restricted internet access in 2017 social media, particularly Facebook, supported new connections outside the communities, some of them political.

The new communications media had a particular impact on young people, influencing their leisure behaviour notably in relation to music, film, clothing and hairstyles. Social media, particularly Facebook, had attracted young people, despite and even perhaps partly because of the restrictions imposed, and some, in the Oromia site, had become followers of a diaspora political activist (who subsequently returned to Ethiopia).

The richer and less remote communities and households were better placed to adapt to, and benefit from, changes associated with modernisations. The community resources gap between the richest community, Sirba/Ude, and the poorest, Harresaw, had widened between 2012/13 and 2018.

Within the communities modernisation processes were contributing to **increasing economic inequalities** with elites forming at the top of the rural social pyramid and landless people with no regular work sinking to the bottom. In addition to land and livestock, opportunities for enrichment were linked to access to irrigation, trading and business opportunities in the community and nearby towns, and remittances and saving from migration. While there was evidence of some upward and downward mobility within and across generations, on the whole economic inequalities tended to reproduce themselves since people in richer households were well-placed to take advantage of economic and educational opportunities while people in poorer households were held back by lack of capital, income and time. The economic differences were reflected in lifestyles: modern houses and furniture, consumer goods, satellite TVs, good diets, and private health and education services for the rich while the very poor struggled even to get adequate shelter and food.

While adult men still dominated economic, social, cultural and political life in the rural communities, the modernisation processes had opened up new economic spaces for women and young people contributing to ongoing ***changes in the patterns of gender and inter-generational inequalities and relationships***.

In the context of a macro picture of considerable ***youth un(der)employment*** in the Bridge communities there was evidence that large numbers of young men and women were becoming involved in a wide range of non-farm productive activities while many others were migrating for work. However, there was also evidence of local un(der)employment, particularly among young men, with some turning to alcohol and drug abuse, and a few to theft and other crimes. Some young women with no other options were moving to towns to make a living by providing sexual services. The alienation of youth unable to access land or to find jobs had contributed to political disaffection.

In all the communities urbanisation, economic growth and re-structuring, increasing commercialisation and monetisation, rising aspirations, and growing inequalities were undermining the state-led rural development model. These processes interacted with the ***government's drive towards formalisation***, and the four economies were rapidly evolving, with new mixes of formal and informal rules emerging, in relation to physical spaces, livelihoods and businesses. The government was also trying to formalise aspects of rural social protection with the introduction of Community-Based Health Insurance and piloting of Community Care Coalitions though neither seemed well-established in the Bridge communities in 2018.

Change processes were also putting ***pressure on the rural governance system***. In the twenty communities researched between 2010 and 2013 the emergence of government and party micro-structures aimed at mobilising communities for development was striking, and although many of their activities were challenged or avoided by people in all communities the importance of local government action was undeniable. By 2018 in these four communities<sup>33</sup> kebele and sub-kebele officials seemed less engaged and active and there were signs of increased disaffection and resistance the extent of which varied among the four sites.

### *Headline conclusions about development interventions in the communities in 2018*

Up to 2013 most development interventions which affected the WIDE communities involved actions and participation by kebele officials and community members. Between 2013 and 2018 all four communities had experienced planning decisions made at higher levels of government which had not involved consultation with kebele officials or community members.

Rural modernisation processes had reduced the efficiency of a range of government rules and interventions designed on the basis of assumptions about rural communities and their members which were appropriate in 2003 but in the four Bridge communities had become out-of-date by 2018.

The following conclusions about existing or missing interventions in the Bridge communities in 2018 are taken from the relevant Discussion Briefs listed in the [next section](#)

#### **Recommendations on urbanisation and rural land tenure regimes**

- Rural land or rights should no longer be discussed in isolation from urbanisation or investment
- Land use planning in rural areas needs to be improved; it should include water and irrigation potential
- There is a need for a more stable, gradual and planned solution to urban boundary shifts

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<sup>33</sup> It is important not to over-generalise from these four cases and necessary to compare them with how they were in 2010-13.

- Those still farming on land formally incorporated into an expanding town waiting to be developed need temporary rural land administration certificates to protect their rights and access to agricultural services while they are still farming.
- In the rapidly urbanising and industrialising community low formal compensation increased incentives to sell agricultural land likely to be taken by government, while the formal land administration rules were being undermined by illegal sales which were later being formalised through opaque processes.
- Improving the capacity and probity of land administrations is a very high priority and a strengthened judicial sector would also be key
- The social change involved when agricultural communities are incorporated into towns has been under-estimated: policy-makers at all levels should work on managing the transition with better consultation to understand and engage with drivers of resistance
- Policymakers should develop strategies to help farmers losing land to move into sustainable alternative livelihoods with training and other support.
- Rural and urban livelihoods policies should include a focus on landlessness

#### Recommendations related to agricultural modernisation

- Extension services should be adapted to include non-farm activities taking account of local contexts
- Provision of modern inputs in short supply should be increased
- Poor farmers are less able to afford the improved seeds, inorganic fertilisers, pesticides, herbicides, improved livestock breeds; new interventions related to credit, crop insurances and pro-poor allocation of public subsidies are proposed
- The agricultural extension service should deepen its investment in chicken and egg production including hybrid provision, shed construction, feed supply and disease management
- The extension service should provide support for vegetable production including focused seeds supply and technical advice; assistance in the construction of private hand-dug wells; developing communal ponds where feasible; introducing or re-vitalising modern irrigation techniques such as sprinkle and drip irrigation
- Improvements to community water management include watershed management, rules relating to water use, and managing upstream-downstream conflicts
- The integration of agricultural science and technology with customary ecological knowledge and practices would produce immediate economic benefits and longer-term ecological benefits
- Native seed varieties should be researched for benefits
- To reduce excessive dependence on chemical fertiliser the use of organic fertilisers should be encouraged

#### Climate change recommendations

- Given the regular failure of crops in drought-prone areas there is a need to develop locally-appropriate combined agricultural and non-farm extension programmes

#### Recommendations related to the non-farm sector

- Government policy and practice should be adapted to include an *extension programme for the rural non-farm sector*. Those acting in the non-farm sector are constrained by lack of access to finance, workspace and equipment; a rural non-farm extension service could provide financial, technical, managerial and workplace advice and assistance. Some bigger rural-based businesses could be scaled-up and expanded into formal medium- and large- scale service and manufacturing companies if helped with professional advice, training and orientation
- *Well-managed rural urbanisation* could encourage the rural rich to remain rather than migrating to towns, while their investment in farming and non-farming businesses would provide local jobs

- *Support to increase skilled manual labour forces*; richer households leading modern lives require skilled services in construction, wood and metal work and electricity and modern plumbing installation and repairs, and mechanics. The supply of these services could be improved through an integrated programme including better TVET opportunities, encouragement of apprenticeships, support for start-ups, and alternative electrification solutions
- *A more gradual approach to formalising the rural non-farm sector*. Moves to formalise the rural non-farm sector through time-taking licensing and taxation allegedly too high and sometimes random represented serious bottle-necks for start-ups, discouraging some from starting a business and leading to closure of fledgling businesses while some established businesses were over-taxed. Business people were dissatisfied with lack of the support they would expect through paying such high taxes which contrasted with the low-tax, high-service regime for agriculture.

#### Recommendations related to migration

- *Support for migrants at community level*. Improve migration processes and experiences and support returnees in investing in profitable businesses as part of a rural non-farm extension service; this may require a change in local official mind-sets related to migration.
- *At federal level* recognise the limits to what the government can do; develop local economic options; implement and improve the new migration framework using a pragmatic approach which takes account of existing migrants' profiles, destinations and constraints
- *Develop a policy framework around urban and industrial migration*
- *Develop expertise and knowledge about rural out-migration*; consider a virtual network – international migration policy think tank

#### Recommendations for reducing inequalities among and within communities

- *In 2018 Government development interventions had not responded to the ways in which rural modernisations were changing patterns of wealth, gender and generational inequality*
  - Long-standing rural development models, ideas and concepts no longer matched rural realities. For example the four rural sites could not be viewed as self-contained communities of farming households and thinking of rural residents as 'peasants' was inappropriate
  - Rapid but differential rural modernisations were increasing inequalities and competition among rural communities
  - *Within rural communities* modernising changes were increasing inequalities in wealth, income and life-styles
  - *Inequalities among and within rural communities* were contributing to alienation and demands for political change
- *There is a need for a new 'rural development paradigm', new measures of inequality among and within communities, and new action to counter new inequalities-* some suggestions:
  - *Introduce 'inequality mainstreaming'*. Set out the likely consequences of all proposed government policies, programmes and projects for wealth, gender and generational inequalities and potential harm to intra-community relations.
  - *Re-think the design of agricultural extension services to focus on middle-wealth and poor farmers and women*
  - *Review the national wage structure – particularly low industrial wages and kebele civil servant salaries*; consider a minimum wage to reduce industrial poverty
  - *Protect industrial workers from industrial hazards*; enforce existing occupational health and safety regulations and services and encourage trade union membership
  - *Reduce inequalities related to community and household remoteness*; invest in all-weather internal roads and non-grid electricity generation

- *Increase participation in politics by women and young people*: review kebele governance structures with a view to making them more attractive to women, poor men and young people
- *Recognise the need for more complex responses to young people's problems*

#### Recommendations about interventions for young people

- *Countering recent disillusion with education*. For example by strengthening counselling in schools, adapting the messages about what education can provide, and widening TVET options to accommodate young people exiting general education at different levels, especially the large number of rural young people who do not reach grade 10.
- *Balance support for groups and individuals and for agricultural and non-farm activities and review taxation strategies* as described under the non-farm section
- *Review the achievements and constraints of the 2-year old Youth Revolving Fund*
- *To enhance prospects of inter-generational mobility* provide additional support for poor young people in education and positively discriminate in favour of poorer young people when selecting for group- and individual- based support.
- *To reinforce the two-way dynamic between young women's economic participation and shifting gender norms* select more young women for group and individual support; explore the role of local norms in influencing young women's access to economic opportunities; adapt gender equity messages to take account of male attitudes and concerns; use the new communication media to increase the impact of female role models.

#### Recommendations related to rural governance

- Local governance reform is necessary
  - Policymakers should consider *substantive reforms in local government structures*, to streamline responsibilities, professionalise recruitment, and remunerate essential roles. The workloads and incentive structures of the kebele manager role should be revisited.
  - *High staff turnover and vacancy rates*, particularly in emerging municipalities may be undermining the management of complex processes of change, and need attention.
  - The *balance of paid and unpaid roles* at kebele level should be reviewed
  - The *system of models*, and the *motivation of HEWs and DAs* should be revisited; in particular, realistic guidance should be developed for frontline civil servants' travel out of the kebele centre to support activities across got and sub-kebele structures.
  - Creative ways of *reducing false and exaggerated reporting of target achievements* and data inflation need to be developed
  - *Replacements for lengthy meetings and mobilisation mechanisms* are necessary
  - There should be *more consultation* to reduce resistance to government initiatives
  - Policymakers might consider *reviewing practices of communication, reporting and accountability between the kebele and the wereda*, especially as the economy diversifies, and as systems and structures become more complex.
  - Government should revisit the problem of an *over-dominant executive*, and of the separation of powers at the micro level; and should explore means of strengthening judicial and representative functions at wereda and kebele levels.
  - Tackling the causes of community concern about *corruption* in land administration, in contracting for construction, and in distribution of resources, should be a high priority.

#### Research outputs

There have been three kinds of research output:

Community reports summarising the data using selected portions of the seven perspectives on rural communities framework :

- Harresaw *Catherine Dom* on the website
- Sirba/Ude *Mulugeta Gashaw and Shiferaw Fujie* on the website
- Aze Debo *Agata Frankowska* on the website
- Yetmen *Shalom Ali with inputs from Sarah Vaughan* forthcoming

Seven policy-relevant discussion briefs all on the website

- Land and urbanisation *Sarah Vaughan*
- Modernising smallholder farming: achievements, challenges and prospects *Mulugeta Gashaw*
- Non-farm enterprises and 'rural' livelihoods: survival and growth *Mulugeta Gashaw*
- Economic experiences of rural young people in 2018 *Catherine Dom with Alula Pankhurst*
- Rural modernisation and increasing economic inequalities *Philippa Bevan*
- Selected aspects of social protection in 2018 *Agata Frankowska*
- Local government and governance *Sarah Vaughan*

Twelve academic presentations on globalisation and rural Ethiopia presented at the 20<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in October 2018 eleven of which are in the process of being published as articles

*In a special edition of the International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*

- Global rural Ethiopia – Introduction: Alula Pankhurst and Catherine Dom
- Multiple rural involvements in globally-linked modernisation processes: a comparison of four rural communities in Ethiopia: *Philippa Bevan*
- The recent impact of globalisation on a rural community in Southern Region: Aze Debo, Kembatta Zone: *Shiferaw Fujie and Agata Frankowska*
- Globalisation, climate change and migration in Harresaw: a remote rural community in Eastern Tigray: *Catherine Dom*
- Some aspects of global influences, opportunities and challenges in Sirba: *Mulugeta Gashaw and Bayissa Abdissa*
- Contrasting livelihoods - changes and scope for diversification in Sirba and Harresaw: *Tefera Goshu*
- Globalisation and education – Ministry of Education intentions and ICT use in two rural communities in Ethiopia: *Agazi Tiemelissan*
- Globalisation and youth in four WIDE Ethiopia site - communication media, leisure and cultural practices: *Alula Pankhurst*

*In a proposed book on Ethiopian international migration to be published by Zed*

- Globalisation and international migration in two Ethiopian communities - Harresaw, Eastern Tigray; Aze Debo, Kembata: *Catherine Dom and Alemu Asfaw*
- International migration and the youth among a Kambata community - the views from below and their implications: *Mulugeta Gashaw*
- Impacts of international migration - the experience of Aze Debo and Harresaw: *Kiros Berhanu*

*Publication plans not known about*

- The recent impact of globalisation on a rural community in Amhara Region in Yetmen, Enemay wereda, East Gojjam: *Sarah Vaughan and Shalom Ali*
- Globalisation and women's health - evidence from Ethiopia WIDE: *Agata Frankowska*

## **The implementation of the methodology**

### *Project purpose*

The WIDE Bridge project had three main purposes: (1) data and findings from a new WIDE research

project in four communities (2) at the same time training of four new researchers in the WIDE methodology in a process of 'learning by doing' and (3) first steps towards institutionalising WIDE in Ethiopia. The goal of training four people who would take the methodology forward was only partly met as only one has been involved in WIDE Bridge Phase 2.

While the main initial institutionalisation focus was on government with some involvement by Regional universities the emphasis shifted early on. People (mostly men) from four Regional Universities learned about WIDE3 findings the WIDE methodology and some visited the Bridge communities while the fieldwork was in process.

For the first time in WIDE we failed to deliver the outputs promised to the donors although they did not seem to mind. In retrospect the three purposes was one too many in the time allowed. We could have done the research and made progress with institutionalisation with the old team plus one or two community report writers as in WIDE3. Or we might have taken more time to introduce the methodology to people interested to take it forward in the future while doing the research. We also made things harder for ourselves by deciding to write a large number of (interesting) papers using the data at ICES20 in October 2018.

### *Project design and funding*

The Bridge planned calendar is laid out in [Appendix 21](#). Table 14 shows the schedule for the inception and fieldwork phases.

*Table 14: WIDE Bridge inception and fieldwork*

	<b>Schedule</b>	<b>Issues</b>	
<i>November 2017</i>	2 Research Fellows agreed on 11 <sup>th</sup> ; another later	Couldn't sign contracts as DFID contract not signed	
		Did not know if project would go ahead; DFID agreement not signed until early March	
<i>December 2017</i>	Planned start date; Creative workshop on December 4 <sup>th</sup> and methodology discussion	Creative workshop and RF preparatory work postponed due to funding uncertainties	
<i>January 2018</i>	RFs appointed Jan 1 <sup>st</sup>	Inception phase should have been 1 month in December – and this was not long enough for a good inception. In fact it was less than 2 weeks	
	Senior Researchers' meeting 6/7		
	Creative Workshop 8/9; Methodology Training 10/11		
	Methodology Workshop including Regional University reps 12/13		
	FW1 Training workshop 15/16		Fieldwork phase should have been 3 months (which was too short anyway) but pressure to start fieldwork due to the belief that there would be elections in April
	Production of FW1 Modules/RDs 17-18		
	19/20 ROs travel to communities		
	22-28 FW1		
	29 Jan to		
<i>February 2018</i>	4 Feb Fieldworkers back		In fact it was only 2.5 months
	6-8 Debriefing workshop		
	9 Discussion of FW2 questions		
	10-12 Design of FW2 Module structure		
	13 Design of ICES questions		
	14-16 Design of FW2 modules		
	17-18 Report Documents		
	19-21 RO training		
	22 Final Modules and RDs		
	24-28 FW2		
<i>March 2018</i>	1-22 FW2	FW1 12 days FW2 24 days	
	26-28 De-briefing workshop		
	29-31 RD completion by ROs		

In retrospect it is clear that not enough time was allocated in the original plan to the methodology

training and that the gap between Fieldworks 1 and 2 was too short, although not much could have been done about this without increasing the length and costs of the project. These problems were compounded by the delay by DFID in confirming funding and signing a contract which caused us to postpone the start of the project for a month. The fieldwork could not be postponed since it had been decided that we should not conduct fieldwork during the expected April election (which did not happen) even though fieldwork took place during elections during DEEP and in WIDE3 Stage3.

I did not have much involvement in designing the overall project plan or seeking the funding though I commented on the Concept Note. In retrospect I should have argued against the selected topic approach and that we could not hope to train four neophytes in a complicated methodology, produce the proposed research outputs, and get seriously involved in an institutionalisation programme in a nine-month period. However, I was keen to retire from WIDE as quickly as possible while supporting its continuation and the Bridge offered an opportunity to do this in a way that I hoped would lead to the institutionalisation of the methodology in Ethiopia in some form or other.

Funding issues also hampered the recruitment of the three Research Fellows. The funding allocated was not high enough to pay attractive salaries, and the delay in confirmation of funding combined with the commitment to getting the fieldwork finished by the middle of March left insufficient time to advertise widely or to attract people who could not join at such short notice. Ideally we would have been able to choose from a field of recently graduated Ph.D or M.Phil students.

### *The research questions and choice of communities*

#### **Research questions**

These are taken from the Concept Note

*What has happened in the four communities since the WIDE3 fieldwork (2010-13) – generally and in relation to government interventions in the areas of:*

- The farming system
- The 'non-farming' sector
- Social protection
- Local government and governance

*How did developments in these policy areas interact with and materialise in the community contexts, since the WIDE3 fieldwork (2010-13):*

- Land use and local urbanisation 2010-17
- The impact of drought 2015-17
- Economic experiences of young people 2010-17

*How did actors with different positional (dis)advantages act, relate and fare as the local political economy and policy developments unfolded? What policy interventions contributed to changes in inequality?*

#### **Choice of communities**

In the light of these questions our first selection of four communities, one from each Region, was Harresaw (the richer of the two vulnerable East Tigray communities), Yetmen (to follow up interesting dynamics in 2010), Turufe (to explore suburbanisation) and Gara Godo (with an expanding internal municipality). Due to unrest in Oromiya we substituted Sirba, the nearest community to Addis Ababa, for Turufe. I am not sure why Gara Godo was replaced by Aze Debo.

#### *Methods*

Little use was made of the complex realism paradigm apart from reference to community

trajectories in ICES papers written by Catherine and me. The ICES papers on Harresaw and Aze Debo and the paper comparing globalisation in the four communities explored drivers of change to community control parameters.

Considering the use of case-based methods the community reports were similarly structured *narrative case studies* but there was little case-based *comparative analysis* using transparent theoretical frameworks in the Discussion Briefs or in most of those ICES papers which covered more than one community. In the Bridge plan Mulugeta and I were meant to be developing comparative data matrices for the topics to be covered by the papers which could be used by those writing the papers, but I did not have days left for this and Mulugeta's terms of reference changed as he moved to replace Thomas as the Sirba community lead. I did not see any comparative data matrices produced by other researchers as the theoretical frameworks and analytical methods used to produce the other discussion briefs are not set out transparently raising the possibility that data were cherry-picked to support previously-held positions – which is much easier to do than a rigorous transparent and inductive comparative analysis..

In the body of the Discussion Briefs it was possible to describe the similarities and differences among the communities in some detail given that there were only four of them. The Brief's topic was broken down into sub-topics and for each of these descriptions of what went on in some or all the four communities were provided. However, there was no causal analysis linking differences among the communities in relation to the topic to differences in relevant types of community, and little discussion of what the policy implications might be in terms of 'one size does not fit all'. The recommendations in the two-page summaries are over-whelmingly general and in some instances the conclusions were generalised beyond the four-community evidence base containing data made in 2018 at a particular time in the seasonal year. It is interesting to imagine what the briefs would have looked like if we had selected a different set of four of the twenty communities and a different time for the Bridge fieldwork.

### *Research instruments, fieldwork and database*

#### **Programming the fieldwork**

As explained above preparation for the fieldwork and the gap between the two phases was much too short, although not much could have been done about this without increasing the length and costs of the project.

#### **Research instrument training for those new to the methodology**

In January only three days and a weekend had been allocated for methodology training and the preparation and printing of FW1 modules and a day and a half of that time was unexpectedly (to me) allocated to a workshop for regional university representatives. Only two days were spent going through the Fieldwork 1 modules which I had had to prepare rapidly somewhat adapting the Fieldwork 1 modules in WIDE3.

There were only twenty days for (1) de-briefing Research officers about FW1, (2) using this to decide what the broad questions on the selected topics for Fieldwork 2 should be and producing frameworks for each topic, (3) designing the module structure, (4) allocating the drafting of the agreed modules and producing drafts, (5) printing draft modules for the FW2 Research Officer training, (6) consulting and training the ROs, (7) producing revised drafts of the Modules, (8) preparing parallel report Documents, and (9) printing the modules and RDs for the ROs.

#### **Research instrument design**

For Fieldwork 1, given the time pressures I adapted WIDE3 modules to fit the topics focused on in the Bridge. In Fieldwork 2 module design by an inexperienced, untrained and partly unwilling committee under huge time pressure led to (1) too many modules, (2) a few that were tedious, (3)

too many repeated questions, some of which were more like survey questions which most people could not answer and (4) quite a lot of extraneous data.

### Selection of the fieldworkers

The aim was to involve as many experienced fieldworkers as possible and we employed five. Of the other three one was excellent, one was good and one was good at talking but not at delivering the Report Documents.

### Making the database

As with WIDE3 this took longer than planned.

### *Interpretation, analysis and write-up*

I was not involved in the process; those who were should identify the lessons for future WIDE research.

### Coding

The initial coding system can be found in [Appendix 22](#) and the community report structure is laid out in [Appendix 23](#). There were probably too many codes; although there was no obligation on the coders to use them all and they could have coded to higher levels if that suited. Coding is tedious, requires concentration and commitment, and the belief that bringing all the responses on a particular item together provides the evidence base for conclusions about the community.

### The community reports

As Table 15 shows the length of the community reports varied.

*Table 15: WIDE Bridge Community Reports*

Community	Author	No of pages	No of words
Harresaw	Catherine Dom	296	193,559
Yetmen	Shalom Ali with inputs from Sarah Vaughan	not finished	?
Sirba	Mulugeta Gashaw, Shiferaw Fujie	219	142,619
Aze Debo	Agata Frankowska	168	102,560

### Comparative topic analysis

In the WIDE Bridge brainstorming powerpoint of June 2018 Catherine wrote. 'I think a lot of the challenge in structuring the database arises from not having figured out well how to transition from descriptive to analytical phases'. In WIDE3 what we did was to use the Community Reports, with reference back to the Report Documents if there were puzzles, to fill in comparative data matrices with the communities as rows and the processes of interest as columns. The heading for each column should come from a conceptual framework describing the important aspects of the topic. There are examples in all the papers I have written since 2010 and in one of the papers for a Bridge workshop in January 2018 I wrote this:

#### **Analysis**

- Report documents need coding using qualitative software and the Bridge variate list<sup>34</sup> in order to gather together all data on each community topic, policy topic, and additional topic
- Cross-community analysis matrices for all the topics must be constructed'

As part of the work plan Mulugeta and I were meant to develop draft comparative data matrices for the topics being focused on but that didn't happen as I had used nearly all my days, Mulugeta had to fill in for Thomas, and once the fieldwork was finished I was not included in any discussions about

<sup>34</sup> New variates can be added if discovered in the data

analysis; for example I did not see the powerpoint of June 18<sup>th</sup> 2018 until April 2019.

### *Dissemination*

During and after WIDE3 we promoted a careful use of rhetoric in discussion briefs and their verbal presentation, meaning no importing of prior expectations, no unwarranted generalisations, and no use of dramatic language. This convention was mostly followed in most of the Discussion Briefs and associated presentations. There was also some careless rhetoric in bits of the introduction to the discussion brief book. It is important to remember that the fieldwork was done in early 2018 at a time of national uncertainty and in only four communities

Some examples of careless rhetoric from two of the briefs:

- **In many areas**, formal processes of land administration are in a state of inertia, even limbo; meanwhile informal – illegal - processes of land accumulation and expropriation continue (based on evidence **from one community - Sirba**)
- There is a **strong** perception **in several sites** that the establishment of towns benefits “others” “from elsewhere” (two sites - **Sirba and Yetmen** – whose perception? evidence of ‘strong?’)
- **Many respondents** across the sites, but especially young men, are disaffected or frustrated (evidence base?)
- Access to justice is increasingly important to **members of communities**, which are also **increasingly preoccupied** (what does this mean?) by the problems or risks of corruption in local government.

A couple of examples from the overview chapter of *Rural Ethiopia in Transition* too much of which is written in the present tense, a rhetorical device which often generalises beyond the little bits of evidence available:

- Overuse of the idea that in general rural communities are ‘transitioning’ when there must be many remoter communities where stagnation or decline would be a better description.
- In the urbanised areas of rural kebeles, there has been a massive expansion of the service sector.
- As a result in practice daughters seldom seem (*present tense*) to press their claims, with land shortage reinforcing the customary logic. Women’s access to land on divorce or the death of their husband was similarly constrained by customary norms, and also by the need for male labour.

The rhetoric used in presentations to Government is also important and when using WIDE3 findings we took great care to avoid language we thought might annoy officials. The evidence that this was important could be seen in the high level officials reaction to a Series I brief because of the way it was presented. In the WIDE Bridge high level forum there two claims of ‘crises’ that went beyond the evidence.

## 15. Methodology-related lessons from WIDE1, WIDE2, DEEP, WIDE3 and the WIDE Bridge

[Appendix 25](#) lists the key methodology lessons from each of the WIDE stages

### Project purpose

The main lessons from all stages are:

- **WIDE1** Reliance on short-term projects funded by national or international institutions is risky since getting the funds often depends on who you know and writing proposals that fit with the current ‘flavour of the month’ topics. It is unlikely to lead to institutionalisation of a long-term project.
- **WIDE3\_1** Evidence-based policy-related conclusions which both government and development partners using different development models will accept require rigorous and transparent academic research.
- **WIDE3\_2** If possible build in time to document the lessons learned in all stages of a longitudinal project like WIDE and time to take them into account when designing a new stage
- **WIDE3\_4 Transition** Projects with clear and simple purposes are more likely to deliver what has been promised and easier to manage
- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** The work related to the purposes of the next WIDE venture needs to be more carefully planned with job descriptions which are clear on the time holders should spend in relation to each of them, and a timeline which is long and flexible enough to adapt to the realities on the ground

### Project design and funding

Table 16: Comparison of six WIDE stages in terms of budget, programme and outputs

Stage 1 Early 2010	Stage1- 2 Transition	Stage 2 Late 2011	Stage 3 2013	WIDE3-4 Transition	WIDE Bridge Early 2018
\$174,980	\$62,000	\$393,264	\$349,192	\$262,125	(\$505,185) research estimate \$398,000
\$201,507 value in 2018		\$428,540 value in 2018	\$377,000 value in 2018		\$398,000
6 sites		8 sites	6 sites		4 sites
\$33,584 per site		\$53,567 per site	\$62,833 per site		\$99,500 per site (but more other activities)
8 main modules		10 main modules	11 main modules		15 main modules
Average days/ module: 4.375		Average days per module: 4.6	Average days per module: 4.454		Average days per module: 2.4
FIELDWORK DAYS 35  FW1 = 15 days GAP c21 days FW2 20 days	3 very long papers Stage 2 proposal	FIELDWORK DAYS 46  FW1 23 days GAP 48 days FW2 23 days	FIELDWORK DAYS 49  FW1 35 days GAP 5 months FW2 14 days	10 long papers + briefs Website + database	FIELDWORK DAYS 36  FW1 = 12 days; GAP 20 days FW2 = 24 days

It proved impossible to match the funding to the work and promised outputs in the WIDE projects funded on a consultancy basis (WIDE3 and the WIDE Bridge) although the gap was worse in some stages than others. Table 16 contains some key figures on funds and fieldwork time for the four stages. [Appendix 24](#) has more information including a comparison of WIDE outputs and information about participation in ICES conferences.

Although the funding per site for the WIDE Bridge was more than for WIDE3 Stages 1 and 2 and three times that in Stage 1 this project was the worst performer in terms of fieldwork days per module, the quality of the modules and the delivery of promised outputs.

The design of the Bridge fieldwork programme was very similar to that for WIDE3 Stage 1 which had not worked well leading us to decide not to repeat it in the other two stages. Both Stages 2 and 3 had more fieldwork days and much larger gaps between the first and second fieldworks. In my view the Stage 3 programme worked best. Average days per module were roughly similar in all WIDE3 stages at between 4.4 and 4.6, while the Bridge average was only 2.4. The reasons for the poor design of the WIDE Bridge fieldwork programme have been described in Section 14 and the lessons for WIDE4 are spelled out below.

The main lessons from all stages are listed here:

- **WIDE1** While academics face institutional pressures that consultants they are more secure and can think in a more long-term way than consultants
- **WIDE2** Try to avoid getting involved in doing research which your heart is not in.
- **WIDE2** It is important to ensure that project funding covers all aspects of the research.
- **DEEP** Neo-classical economists should be kept well away from sociological surveys
- **DEEP** Having sufficient budget must be matched by sufficient time to (1) work on all the data made, (2) do the hard thinking necessary to produce insights and explanations, (3) write convincing papers, reports and briefs, and make presentations at workshops, seminars and conferences.
- **WIDE3\_1** Producing outputs that donors and government have requested engages them; though turnover is high requiring ongoing efforts.
- **WIDE3\_1** The sub-set of communities studied in one stage will produce a sub-set of conclusions; the choice of communities to include in a stage should be linked to important anticipated trends, events and policy impacts.
- **WIDE3\_1** Insufficient funding leading to insufficient time to conduct the research well is a problem we have faced continuously since moving to funding on a consultancy basis.
- **WIDE3\_1** Reliance on Ethiopia-based donor funding makes it difficult to plan the start date of a project.
- **WIDE3\_1\_2 Transition** Engage with new Development Partner appointees as soon as they arrive
- **WIDE3\_2** Producing outputs that donors and government have requested engages them increasing the likelihood they will fund more research ; though turnover in both arenas is high requiring ongoing efforts.
- **WIDE3\_2** The big Research Questions in a research project are important as information to those interested and to act as guides for the more detailed empirical research questions
- **WIDE3\_2** When selecting a sub-sample of communities to study time and thought should be put into imagining what kinds of evidence different mixes of communities would generate.
- **WIDE3\_2** A consultative workshop with available WIDE3 researchers to discuss the problems associated with writing Report Documents and suggested solutions might help
- **WIDE3\_2** Overtime in a WIDE-type project can probably only be avoided by accepting the interpretation and analysis will be relatively superficial
- **WIDE3\_4 Transition** When projects are not fully funded their success depends on a team committed to delivering (all the) high quality outputs and working overtime

- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** Under-funded and over-ambitious projects are likely to be stressful with bad consequences for team relations; when seeking donor funds there is a temptation to over-promise and reduce the funding requested which should be resisted.
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Short-term funding from mixes of donors is unlikely to lead to 'institutionalisation'. Avoid current DFID as a donor.

## Team work

The lessons from all the stages:

- **WIDE1** Appropriate divisions of labour and harmonious personal relations are important for efficient and enjoyable teamwork
- WIDE1 You can only do multi-disciplinary empirical research co-operatively with people from other disciplines if they are willing to engage seriously in academic dialogue
- **WIDE2** The larger and more diverse the team is the more difficult it is to work co-operatively
- WIDE2 In a project involving teams in different institutions, especially if they have different methodological expertises, considerable planning and dialogic work must be devoted to achieving a balance between incorporating enthusiastic local contributions and making comparable data.
- **WED** It is difficult to work on a joint project with teams in different institutional bases
- WED Considerable thought should be put into the design of the management structure across the institutions and the roles filled by people experienced in, and committed to, co-operative working
- WED It is difficult to work on a joint project if team members have different disciplinary mind-sets
- WED The FoKF could be used to construct a questionnaire to enable multi-paradigm team members to think about their own methodological assumptions, learn about those made by other team members, and discuss how to manage any differences.
- **DEEP** When there is sufficient funding allowing enough time, fieldwork and writing up programmes can keep to time
- **WIDE3\_1** Relaxed discussion and debate within WIDE teams is necessary to harmonise academic and policy goals
- **WIDE3\_2** Recruitment of suitable and dedicated team members is a high priority
- **WIDE3\_3** Recruitment of suitable and dedicated team members is a high priority
- **WIDE3\_4 Transition** There is no need for every member of a team to be interested in all the topics covered by WIDE but there should be a funded quality control system with sufficient time through which all outputs are reviewed before dissemination
- WIDE3\_4 Transition The team of PDRC and Mokoro should be used in future projects
- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** Recruiting suitable and committed people is very important and ideally would be managed by someone with relevant experience and contacts given sufficient time to do it
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 A future team should have empirically-minded sociologists at its core
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 If WIDE4 fieldwork is to proceed harmoniously there needs to be time for a process through which the research leads share and discuss their pre-existing disciplinary mindsets and negotiate an approach to data-making that all can accept and transparent options for interpretation and WIDE Bridge Phase 1 analysis
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Module design is difficult and should not be conducted in haste by a committee especially if some of them have no relevant experience
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Team-building is important and requires skill and time but it will not be effective if team members do not want to co-operate

## Methods

The lessons from all the stages:

- **WIDE 1** Qualitative research requires theoretical frameworks
- **WIDE 1** In community research there is scope for combining data made using different methods.
- **WIDE 1** Comparative community research should have two prongs: identification of common mechanisms with potentially different local consequences, and identification of important different types of community
- **WIDE2** Protocol-guided modules used in different places generate easily-comparable data.
- **DEEP** In retrospect, it would have been more useful if we could have linked the in-depth data about the households to a case-based statistical survey data analysis using a Resources and Needs Survey designed by a sociologist
- **DEEP** There is considerable scope for developing integrated qualitative-quantitative case-based interpretation and analysis of different types of households and communities.
- **WIDE3\_1** The core community framework was important for the longitudinal comparisons
- **WIDE3\_1** Time spent inductively developing frameworks from empirical data has both immediate and longer-term benefits
- **WIDE3\_1** Comparative analysis skills can be developed through workshops and mentoring
- **WIDE3\_2** Always search earlier outputs for new ideas and frameworks to inform new fieldwork
- **WIDE3\_2** Policymakers should be designing policies which suit the (varied) communities of the future; control parameter analysis can help identify possible futures for different types of rural communities
- **WIDE3\_2** When choosing a sub-set of the communities for a new project consider focusing on similar types
- **WIDE3\_3** The WIDE approach is too broad to evaluate interventions. Its great value is in discovering and disseminating processes not covered by standard in-depth evaluations and assessing the programme in the context of community changes and other interventions.
- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** The establishment of the WIDE reputation in 2010 and beyond depended on its rigorous methodology which was not in play during WIDE Bridge; unless some transparent rigour is introduced in the next phase I think there is a danger that the data will be used for policy-messaging and WIDE will become politicised.

## Research instruments, fieldwork and database

The list of lessons from all the stages:

- **WIDE1** Fieldworkers need time, training and the right kind of personality to establish widespread trust with different kinds of respondents
- **WIDE1** Time spent on recruiting, training and monitoring fieldworkers pays off
- **WIDE2** Community research of this nature should always employ both male and female fieldworkers
- **WIDE2** Much more time than we had should be spent on training and supervising inexperienced fieldworkers
- **WIDE2** It is important to put data into a safe archive
- **WIDE2** Think hard before accepting funding you have not asked for
- **WIDE2** Make sure there is enough funding for making the database
- **WIDE2** Projects of this kind should include a database software expert
- **DEEP** Don't try to work with variable-oriented econometricians or other statisticians
- **DEEP** Don't try to work with psychologists developing measures.
- **DEEP** Research projects should be designed and implemented in an integrated way, not made up on the hoof

- DEEP A lot of what we learned remained in our heads; we did not have time to evaluate and record the programme process and at that time we had no plans to repeat the methodological approach
- **WIDE3\_1** Consider piloting the Modules with a view to reducing interview time.
- WIDE3\_1 Designing the size of the module architecture is not simple
- WIDE3\_1 The performance of new ROs is unpredictable
- WIDE3\_1 Research Officers took other jobs in the time we had allocated for writing up the data; there is a need to find ways of stopping this
- **WIDE3\_2** Look for interesting ways to involve the ROs in the design and findings of the fieldwork including encouragement and field time for a project of interest to them and institutionalised support to help them work out a theoretical framework, interpret and analyse the data and produce and disseminate a written output
- **WIDE3\_3** In a new project think hard about the programming of the protocol-guided fieldwork and consider adding some rapid anthropology
- WIDE3\_3 When choosing a sub-set of the communities for a new project consider focusing on similar types
- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** Next time allow much more time for fieldwork planning and preparation; consider adding more phases involving complementary methods, e.g. rapid anthropology, photos, more detailed fieldwork diaries.
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 In a new project there should be ample time to re-vamp the module architecture using WIDE3 and Bridge learning and introducing new ideas which work
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Designing good inter-acting modules takes time
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 One person needs to be in charge of managing the module architecture
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 The people who design the draft modules should be experienced in semi-structured qualitative research
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 The first draft modules should be intensely examined in a workshop of experienced WIDE Research Officers
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Ideally the second draft modules should be piloted
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 It would be good to involve the excellent old hands in WIDE4; Regional University research officers should be carefully recruited and trained
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 Organise a Research Officers workshop to find out, among other feedback, why making the database always takes longer than planned regardless of the institutional arrangements to try to prevent this and what could be done to change this

## Interpretation and analysis

### *The list of lessons from all the stages*

- **WIDE1** Working face-to-face to produce the outputs was efficient
- **WIDE2** Comparative community research of this kind can show policymakers the ways in which 'one size does not fit all'
- **DEEP** Data can be used after a project is completed
- DEEP The value of adding the quantitative household findings was that as well as having qualitative descriptions of the different types of household we could also how many households fell into the different types
- DEEP It is worth making links with open-minded people in other disciplines with skills you don't have but would benefit from
- DEEP Try not to make data that no-one on the project has time to use
- **WIDE3\_1** If you promise more than can be delivered with the funding you request you must expect to work considerable unpaid overtime

- **WIDE3\_2** Coding in qualitative software can be used to bring together all the different pieces of data on one topic at the same time creating a record for others to use if they want to check the conclusions of a community report author or use other features of the software on the data
- WIDE3\_2 Recognise that good qualitative interpretation and analysis like good econometric analyses of quantitative survey data takes time
- WIDE3\_2 If researchers do not put the time in due to under-funding or lack of commitment the outputs will not be valid or reliable and their conclusions are likely to be influenced by their prior expectations rather than the data
- **WIDE3\_3** In designing a new stage consider whether, and if so how, the community reports can be made shorter and more concise; maybe decide on a word limit/target?
- **WIDE3 Series 1 DBs** We should encourage other social scientists to use the data to produce academic outputs and for teaching purposes
- **WIDE3\_4 Transition** Make sure there is sufficient budget and time for in-depth interpretation and analysis
- WIDE3\_4 Transition More systematic use of theoretical frameworks and comparative community data matrices would support the production of papers which are theoretically original while at the same time providing policymakers with evidence that one size does not fit all and suggestions of which policies would best fit the different types of community
- **WIDE Bridge Phase 1** Those involved in data interpretation and analysis should participate in regular joint workshops
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 There should be training for community report writers on how to use topic-coded data to identify and summarise important aspects of the topic in a valid concise but interesting way
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 There should be training for those writing comparative reports on particular topics in how to design a topic framework which can be used to construct comparative data matrices and in each report an Appendix of the matrices should be obligatory.
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 There should be no Discussion Briefs without back-up papers which include explanations of the theory and analytic techniques behind the conclusions
- WIDE Bridge Phase 1 All outputs for public dissemination should be quality checked before being branded as WIDE outputs

### *Writing the community reports*

As Table 17 shows these have grown longer and longer, falling between two stools and are closer to being a database than a distillation and interpretation of the key states, events, relationships and processes of the communities in a narrative that people would be interested to read.

- The coding in the qualitative software should be used to gather together all the responses related to the topic covered by the node; some time should then be spent constructing a concise story including interesting different perspectives. Case examples should be made as short as possible.
- Community report writers should have group training in data interpretation

*Table 17: Community report lengths WIDE3 and WIDE£ Bridge*

	<b>Community</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>No of pages</b>	<b>No of words</b>
Stage 1	Geblen	Catherine Dom	57	45,662
	Yetmen	Pip Bevan	55	36,696
	Dinki	Alula Pankhurst	53	35,046
	Korodegaga	Pip Bevan	54	35,883
	Turufe	Alula Pankhurst	53	36,682
	Imdibir/Girar	Catherine Dom	66	53,951
Stage 2	Harresaw	Catherine Dom	208	132,439
	Aze Debo	Catherine Dom	167	106,321

	Community	Author	No of pages	No of words
	Shumsheha	Becky Carter	200	129,837
	Adele Keke	Becky Carter	192	121,696
	Gara Godo	Pip Bevan	187	119,531
	Do'oma	Pip Bevan	174	116,409
	Gelcha	Alula Pankhurst	180	111,172
	Luqa	Alula Pankhurst	152	96,134
Stage 3	Kormargefia	Tom Lavers	139	76,320
	Sirba	Tom Lavers	135	77,848
	Oda Haro	Anthea Gordon	160	94,915
	Oda Dawata	Anthea Gordon	152	86,089
	Somodo	Catherine Dom	242	157,671
	Adado	Catherine Dom	217	137,774
WIDE Bridge	Harresaw	Catherine Dom	296	193,559
	Yetmen	Sarah Vaughan	0	0
	Sirba	Mulugeta Gashaw, Shiferaw Fujie	219	142,619
	Aze Debo	Agata Frankowska	168	102,560

## Dissemination

The lessons from all the stages:

- **WIDE1** Getting funding for dissemination is very important
- **WIDE2** Outputs available online are easily accessible to those willing to search and with the right technology but other means of dissemination are important
- **DEEP** Writing good academic papers using empirical research takes time; outputs expected from team researchers should not be limited
- DEEP Research teams should include staff with website skills
- DEEP Rich multi-level databases such as those made during WIDE and DEEP can be used in the interpretation and analysis of many topics and can generate theoretical insights after the empirical state of the world has moved on
- **WIDE3\_1** Institutionalising a case-based methodology would require a big enough interested group and investment in an interactive network and training programme
- WIDE3\_1 Consider seeking expert advice on who should be the targets of WIDE policy-related research messages and the best ways in which to convey them
- WIDE3\_1 Disseminating information to a worknet is relatively cheap in costs and time; the bigger the worknet the better and perhaps consider a blog on the website with funding for the author
- WIDE3\_1 Consider funding for an integrated dissemination strategy including some time from a website expert
- **WIDE3\_2** Rapid briefing notes circulated to donors, government and other worknet members provided up-to-date information on important current issues in the communities and kept people interested in the project
- WIDE3\_2 In comparative and longitudinal research it is vital to use a core common empirical methodology
- **WIDE3\_3** The greater the number of communities included in comparative analyses the more valid the policy-related conclusions
- **WIDE3 Series 1 DBs** It is best to keep WIDE-branded policy-related outputs using the data in-house
- **WIDE3\_4 Transition** If WIDE is to be institutionalised the dissemination programme should be selectively directed to lower levels of government and different kinds of academics
- WIDE3\_4 Transition All outputs should be made available on the website as soon as they are written

- WIDE3\_4 Transition Make sure sufficient funding for editing written outputs is included in the budget
- WIDE3\_4 Transition Make sure sufficient funding for the writing and populating of website pages is sufficient
- **WIDE Bridge** Make sure there is sufficient funding for dissemination

## Appendix 1: The twenty communities

[The twenty communities 2010-13](#)..... 109

[The twenty places 1855-1900](#)..... 121

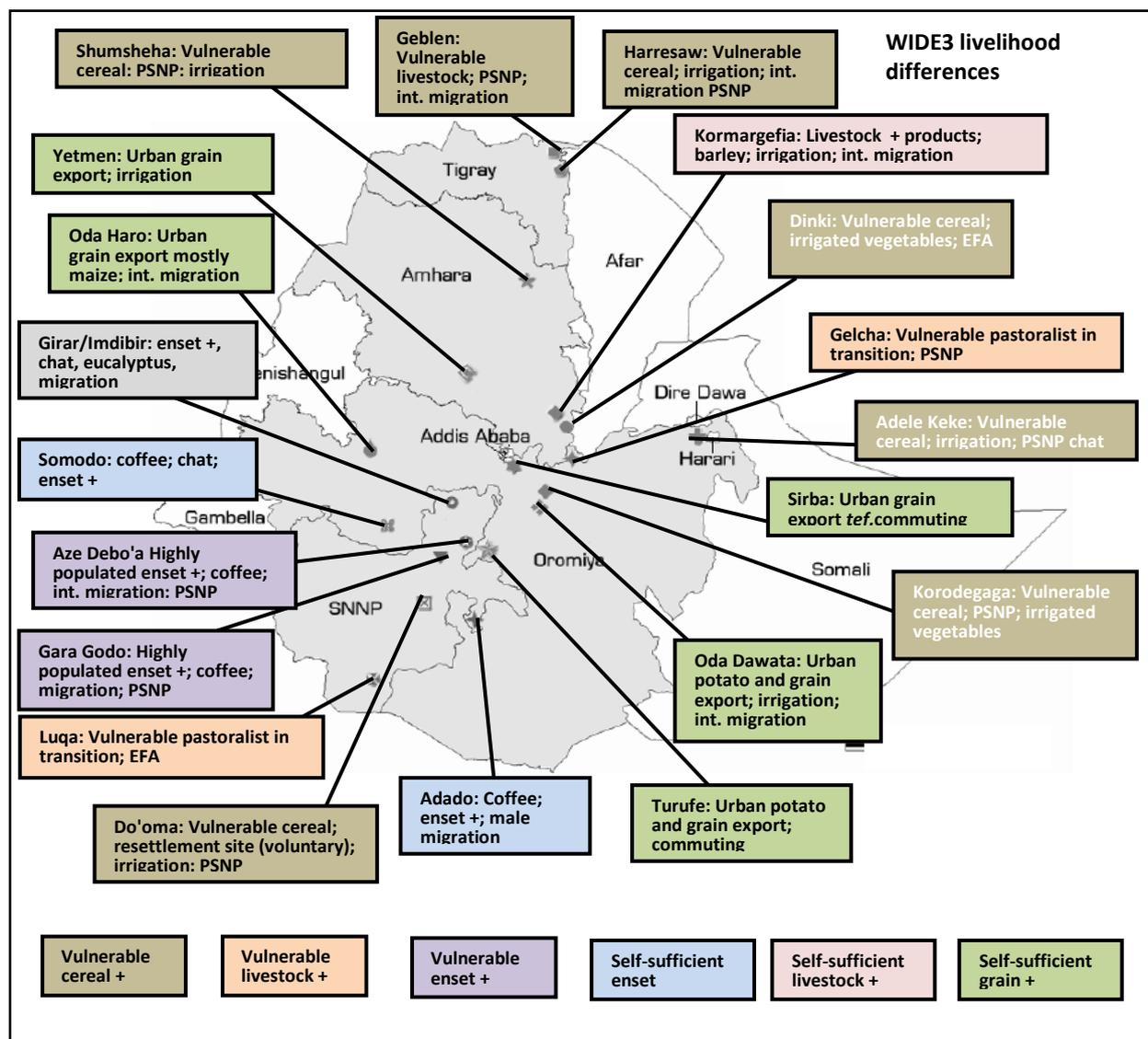
### Introduction

This appendix has two sections: the first briefly describes each of the twenty communities in 2010-13 and the second the places where the communities are now found as they were in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### The twenty communities 2010-13

Map 2 shows the main livelihood sources of the twenty WIDE communities in 2010-13. They fall under two main headings. Nine of them with conducive weather were self-sufficient exporters of agricultural products and in eleven inadequate and/or unreliable rain meant food-deficits and aid-dependency.

Map 2: WIDE 3 community livelihoods



**Table A 1: The twenty WIDE3 communities organised by Stages & highlighted by remoteness**

REGION	PLACE	LOCATION	LIVELIHOOD	ETHNICITIES	RELIGIONS
<b>STAGE 1 early 2010: Three food-deficit, vulnerable and aid-dependent; three self-sufficient</b>					
Tigray	Geblen	<b>Very remote; mountainous</b>	Vulnerable livestock; PSNP; int migration	Tigraway; Irob	Orthodox Christian Muslim A few Catholics
Oromia	Koro-degaga	<b>Remote</b>	Vulnerable cereal; PSNP; irrigated vegetables	Oromo	Muslim
Amhara	Dinki	<b>Very remote; mountainous</b>	Vulnerable cereal; irrigated vegetables; EFA	Argobba c64% Amhara c36%	Orthodox Christians - almost all the Amhara Muslims – c two-thirds all Argobba and a few Amhara
SNNP	Girar	<b>Remotish</b>	Highly-populated <i>enset, chat, eucalyptus</i> , migration	Gurage	Orthodox Christians Catholics Muslims Protestants
Amhara	Yetmen	<b>Remotish</b>	Urban grain export; irrigation	Amhara	Orthodox Christians
Oromia	Turufe	<b>Peri-urban; near Shashemene</b>	Urban potato and grain export; commuting	Oromo majority; some Amhara, Tigraway, Wolayta, Kambata	Muslim majority Orthodox Christian Protestant
<b>STAGE 2 late2011 Food-deficit, vulnerable and aid-dependent</b>					
SNNP	Luqa	<b>Very remote</b>	Pastoralist in transition + small irrigation + EFA	Tsemai Some Benna wives	Customary 85% Protestant 15-20% (2 sects) Orthodox Christian 1 HH
SNNP	Do'omaa	Nr wereda town but <b>very remote</b>	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + migration + PSNP	Gamo & Gofa 75% Wolayta 15% Amhara 3% From Jinka 7%	Protestants 90% (2 sects) Orthodox Christians 10%
Tigray	Harre-saw	<b>Quite remote</b>	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + int migration + PSNP	Tigrayan	Orthodox Christian
Oromia	Gelcha	Near town & main road but <b>remote</b>	Pastoralist in transition + small irrigation + PSNP	Karrayu 85% Somali 13% Ittu Oromo a few households	Muslim 95% (customary religious beliefs strong) Protestants a few youth Orthodox Christian 1 hh
SNNP	Gara Godo	<b>Remotish</b> but new municipality	Highly-populated <i>enset</i> + migration + coffee + PSNP	Wolayta	Protestants (5 sects) 66% Orthodox Christians 32% Catholics 2%
SNNP	Aze Debo	Near zone town but <b>remotish</b>	Highly-populated <i>enset</i> + (int) migration + coffee + PSNP	Kembata	Protestants (11 sects) 99%
Oromia	Adele Keke	<b>Remotish;</b> near Alemaya	Chat + vulnerable cereal – irrigation + PSNP	Oromo	Muslim
Amhara	Shum-sheha	<b>Remotish;</b> near Lalibela	Vulnerable cereal + some irrigation + migration + PSNP	Amhara	Orthodox Christian 97% Muslim 3%

REGION	PLACE	LOCATION	LIVELIHOOD	ETHNICITIES	RELIGIONS
<b>STAGE 3 6 2013 Self-sufficient</b>					
Oromia	Somodo	<b>Peri-urban, near Jimma</b>	Coffee; <i>chat</i> ; <i>enset</i> ++; int migration	Oromo majority; Yem	Muslim majority Protestant
SNNP	Adado	<b>Remote;</b> mountainous	Coffee; <i>enset</i> + gardens; male internal migration	Gedeo	Protestant
Oromia	Oda Haro	<b>Remotish</b>	Urban grain export mostly maize; peppers; irrigation; int migration	Oromo	Protestant
Oromia	Oda Dawata	<b>Remotish;</b> on road from Adama to Asela	Urban potato and grain export; irrigation; int migration	Oromo majority Amhara	Muslim majority Orthodox
Oromia	Sirba	<b>Peri-urban;</b> Bishoftu-Mojo corridor	Urban grain export <i>tef</i> ; commuting	Oromo majority; Amhara; Tigraway; Kambata; Wolayita	Orthodox majority Protestant Muslim
Amhara	Kormargefia	<b>Peri-urban,</b> near Debre Berhan	Livestock + products; barley; irrigation; int migration	Amhara 95% Oromo	Orthodox

### *Communities with conducive weather – self-sufficient*

#### **Agricultural exporters**

- Yetmen, East Gojjam 2010
- Kormargefia, North Shewa 2013
- Sirba, East Shewa 2013
- Turufe, West Arssi 2010
- Oda Dawata, Arssi 2013
- Oda Haro, West Shewa 2013

#### **Coffee exporters**

- Adado, Gedeo 2013
- Somodo, Jimma 2013

#### **Self-sufficient diversified economy**

- Girar, Gurage 2010

### *Aid-dependent communities*

#### **Over-populated communities – enset/root production, garden products, coffee/chat**

- Aze Debo, Kembata 2011
- Gara Godo, Wolayita 2011

#### **Drought-prone – subsistence grain and livestock**

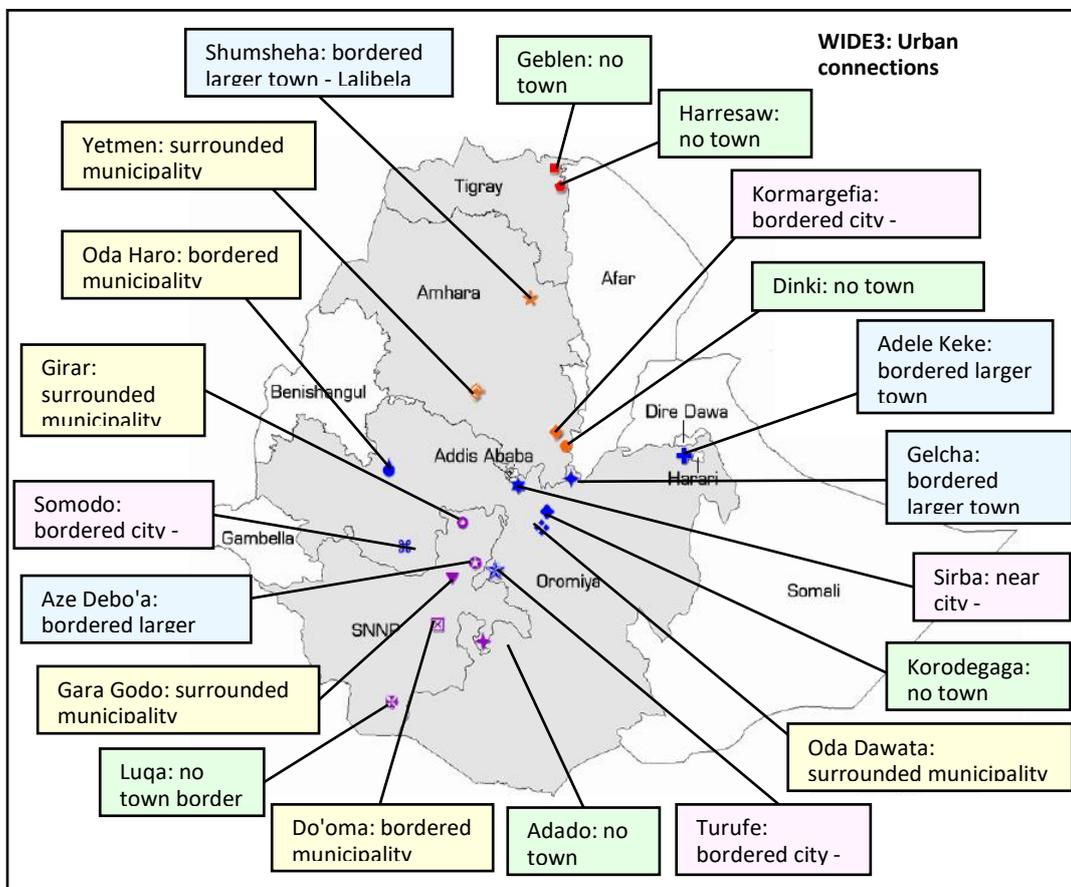
- Harresaw, East Tigray, 2011
- Geblen, East Tigray, 2010
- Korodegaga, Arssi 2010
- Shumsheha, North Wollo 2011

- Do'oma, Gama Gofa 2011
- Adele Keke, East Harerghe 2011 (also chat)
- Dinki, North Shewa 2010

**Agro-pastoralist economies**

- Gelcha, East Shewa 2011
- Luqa, South Omo 2011

Map 3: WIDE3 urban connections

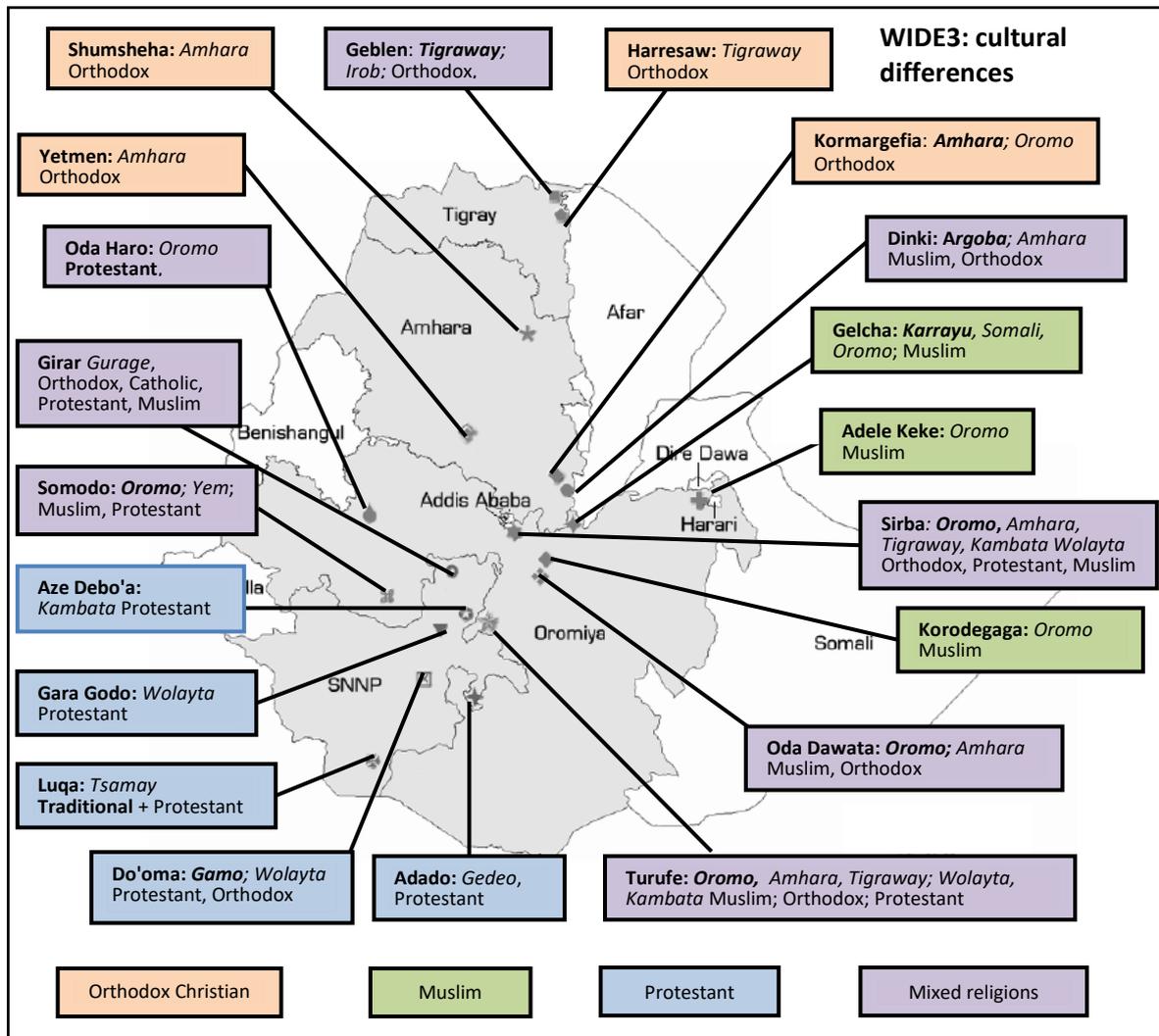


Map 3 shows the proximity of the communities to different kinds of towns. Four were near cities, four bordered a larger town, six surrounded or bordered a municipality, and six were not adjacent to a town.

Map 4 on the next page shows the ethnic and religious compositions of the twenty communities. Nine of them have one ethnic group and one religion. Others have various mixes of ethnicities and/or religions. The most mixed is Turufe, near Shashemene, with five ethnicities and three religions.

The locations, topographies, economies and social mixes of the twenty places as they were during WIDE3 (2010-13) are described in this section. The research was done in three Stages: fieldwork for Stage 1 was done in early 2010, for Stage 2 in late 2011, and for Stage 3 in March/April and November 2013. To save space the descriptions are not exhaustive: to avoid repetition some aspects are only for covered in one or two places, for example lists of non-farm activities. The headings include the time when fieldwork was done and the Livelihood Zone allocated to the place by the Food Economy Group in 2007.

Map 4: Map of ethnic and religious mixes in the twenty WIDE3 communities



## Tigray

### Geblen (East Tigray) early 2010, Eastern plateau – frequent rain failure – cactus eaten

Geblen was situated on the edge of the Rift Valley escarpment. A very small town called Mishig was emerging around the tabia administrative centre which had had electricity since 2008. The tabia centre was connected through a small all-weather road to a tar road joining the zonal capital Adigrat (35 kms) and Freweini, the centre of Saesia Tsaeda Emba wereda (39 kms).

Geblen was one of the few communities in Tigray inhabited by the Irob who were the majority in the two *kushets*<sup>35</sup> on the slopes going down from the top of the Rift Valley. Tigrayans were the majority in the two *kushets* on the flatter land at the top. Saho was the main language though many people spoke Tigrigna. Most Irobs were Orthodox Christians; there were a few Muslim and three Catholic households. Altogether about a third of households were Muslim. The harmonious relationships between groups in Geblen reflected a wider and historical pattern in the area around Adigrat.

<sup>35</sup> A *tabia* in Tigrigna is like a *kebele*; a *kushet* is a part of a *tabia*, like a *got* for a *kebele*.

Geblen was a food-deficit site which suffered from recurrent drought and had been included in PSNP/OFSP programmes since 2005. Less than 10% of *tabia* was farmland and livestock were important; main crops were barley and cactus and very small-scale seasonal irrigation was practised. There were few local work opportunities and people migrated for variably long periods of time within Ethiopia or increasingly (the males illegally) to the Gulf States. Over 40% of the households in the *tabia* were headed by women.

#### **Harresaw (East Tigray) late 2011, Atsbi Wemberta Highland – chronically food insecure**

Harresaw was also situated near the Rift Valley escarpment. The *tabia* comprised three *kushets*: two lying on the Eastern Tigray highland plateau and one remoter, overlooking Afar, full of ups and downs and facing acute water scarcity. All residents were Tigrayan Orthodox Christians. A very small town was emerging around the *tabia* administrative centre, with electricity and mobile network since 2008. The *tabia* centre was 20 min walk from the small all-weather gravel road linking Atsbi, the centre of the *wereda* (17 kms), to Dera (a small town adjacent to the *tabia*) and Afar, with nearly daily but costly public transport.

Harresaw suffered from recurrent drought and had been included in PSNP/FSP programmes since 2005. In 2011 all households were getting some of the PSNP and emergency food aid pooled resources. Almost 200 households used irrigated land and government was promoting hand-dug ponds and communal wells. However the amount of water available was highly dependent on the yearly quantity of rainfall. In the last severe drought (2008) 30 people died and mass livestock losses prompted a sharp increase in illegal migration to Saudi Arabia, seen as the only option for many households to repay their debt. This migration, continuing to rise, was becoming a strategy for households to pay debt, improve their standards of living, and invest, in mixes varying from one family to another, and had multiplier effects at community level.

#### **Amhara**

##### **Shumsheha (Lasta) late 2011, North East Woyna Dega Mixed Cereal**

Shumsheha lay on a hot low/middle altitude plain and rugged hills with little vegetation. It was 9 km from Lalibela on an unpaved road and 24 km on a new road. There was no public transport. Shumsheha *got* near Lalibela airport was a small town around the *kebele* buildings.

Subsistence crops were *tef*, maize, sorghum, safflower and beans but Shumsheha was in one of the most drought-prone areas of the country. Rains were said to have become more erratic although there had been no serious drought since 2005. In 2011 40% families benefited from PSNP and 27% of households used some irrigation. The airport took some of the *kebele's* most fertile land when it was modernised in 2004. But it provided jobs and customers for the shops, cafés and bars in Shumsheha *got*. Daily labour and agricultural migration were other options.

The population was mainly Amhara Orthodox Christian with about 80 Muslim families. Muslims, craft workers and slaves were wealthier than the *chewa/balabat* (high status, noble origin) people. There was a serious dispute in 2005 when the Christians stopped the Muslims from building a mosque on land given by the *kebele*.

##### **Yetmen (Gojjam) early 2010, South East Woyna Dega Tef**

Rural Yetmen was one of three *gots* in a *kebele* surrounding 'urban Yetmen', a small town with a separate *kebele* administration. Yetmen was along an all-weather road between Bichena, the *wereda* capital (17 kms and good transport), and Dejen (also 17 kms, good transport) and from there to Debre Markos and Addis Ababa.

The site exported most of the *tef* it grew to Addis Ababa. There had been recent agricultural diversification with increased daily labour opportunities involving irrigation used to grow vegetables,

two harvests (barley and chickpeas) from the same land using the Broad Bedmaker plough, and the introduction of breed cattle.

All the rural residents were Amhara and Orthodox Christians.

### **Kormargefia (North Shewa) 2013, North Shewa Highland Wheat and Tef production**

Kormargefia straddled the main Addis Ababa-Debre Berhan road and was located between Chacha (8 km) and Debre Berhan (10 km). It was situated at about 2,700 masl (dega) on a plain, much of it swampy, with a few hilly areas used for settlements. The area was affected by frost during meher rains. Belg rains were highly unreliable. In 2005 three sub-kebeles of Fagy kebele were transferred to the town administration and the land distributed to investors. The remaining kebele, renamed Kormargefia, had three sub-kebeles: Kormargefia, Milki and Aloberet. The Derg villagisation sites were more densely populated and the one near the main road was developing into a small town. There was no road to the kebele centre and the few internal roads were impassable in the rainy season.

Main contributions to the local economy came from smallholder mixed farming with a prominent role for livestock, and irrigation for 26% households, though migration and non-farm activities were also important. Surpluses of barley, broad beans and wheat were sold. There were more cattle than in 2003; 28% were hybrid. Kormargefia was the main source of breeding bulls in the area, as it had been since the Derg. Milk, butter, dung cakes and hides were sold. Sheep-rearing was practised by all households since the sudden price rise in 2008; around 30% were hybrid.

There were no traders as farmers sold their products directly. There was one grain mill, one shop, a few areki bars, other women making areki and selling it to retailers, part-time carpenters and builders, firewood and dung cake sale. Job opportunities included informal daily labour at the Debre Berhan Agricultural Research Centre, on construction projects, and for industries and factories in Debre Berhan and the area. Urban migration had increased greatly, as had migration to Arab countries by young women.

95% of the population was Amharic; the 5% Oromo were assimilated. All were Orthodox Christians and there was strong resistance to Protestantism.

### **Dinki (North Shewa) early 2010, Minjar tef and sorghum**

Dinki, along the river of the same name, was one of five *gots* in Hagere Selam kebele which was located on the lower edges of the escarpment down to the Afar Region, 8 kms walk from Aliyu Amba. It was one of a few lowland kebeles of Ankober wereda in Amhara, with a rugged and hilly topography and small scattered hamlets of a few households. In Chibite, the kebele administrative centre 1 to 2 hours walk from Dinki, a very small town was emerging, with a few modern houses built by people from the *gots* including Dinki, and a small market.

The community was remote, drought-prone and food-deficit; emergency food aid had been provided every year since 2005. There had been a recent expansion of the use of irrigation to grow vegetables and fruit which involved around a third of Dinki's households.

Two-thirds of the population of the kebele were Argobba Muslims and one third Amhara who were mostly Orthodox Christians. Relationships between Amhara and Argobba were fairly good, although some people said that the community cohesion was only superficial.

## *Oromiya*

### **Adele Keke (East Harerghe) end 2011, Chat and vegetables**

Adele Keke was a wide, hilly midland *kebele* with 25 villages near the salty Adele Lake along the main road to Dire Dawa and Harar. The kebele centre on the road was connected to Haramaya (closest), Adeway (major chat centre) and Kersa (*wereda* centre). There was continuous public transport in all

directions. With the chat boom every bit of arable land was cultivated, no communal grazing land was left and housing land along the main road had high value.

There were severe droughts in 2004 and 2010. A quarter of households were on the PSNP though this was decreasing with graduation. The big upward economic change was the booming chat production and trade, greatly facilitated by better access to markets and information and fast-expanding irrigation since the Chinese road works showed that groundwater was easily reached in parts of the *kebele*. There was also some irrigated vegetable production. There was little migration of any type

The population was almost entirely Oromo and Muslim with a few assimilated Amhara. The new Wahhabi followers' claim that Islam does not allow the chewing of chat (which is frequent) had recently been successfully disputed by a local religious leader.

The *wereda* had acted to lessen clans' influence which allegedly was leading to nepotism in the *kebele* administration. The latter was said to be weak since leaders were more interested in their thriving economic activities.

#### **Korodegaga (Arssi) 2010, Rift Valley maize and horse bean**

Korodegaga was a collection of nine villages scattered over a large area with two hours walk between some of them. Sefera village, the administrative centre and a legacy of the Derg villagisation with some new administrative and service buildings, was located along the Awash river. The nine villages were almost encircled by the Awash and another perennial river. Access to Dera, the wereda centre, was either through a dirt road (25 kms) which was not passable the whole year or, crossing the Awash river on a manually-hauled raft as there was no bridge, and walking to Sodere where there was an all-weather road and transport to Dera. So on the one hand Korodegaga was remote. On the other hand, once on the all-weather road people could easily reach Nazareth (30 kms), the second or third largest city in Ethiopia, and several small towns on the way.

Farmers were involved in rainfed maize and *tef* production but the site was drought-prone and food deficit and was an NGO-implemented PSNP/OFSP site from 2005. The potential for irrigation from the Awash had been increasingly exploited through an NGO scheme, a government scheme, private pumps, inward investors, including an Australian, and co-operatives. This had increased daily labour opportunities although some investors employed seasonal Amhara immigrants. Migration to Sudan and Saudi Arabia had started recently.

Almost all the residents were Arssi Oromo Muslims. There were thirteen clans (*gosa*): the Sebro was the largest in terms of population and dominant in terms of economic power and social and kin networks.

#### **Oda Dawata (Arssi) 2013, Arsi Bale wheat, barley and potato**

Oda Dawata surrounded Gonde town and was 15 km from Asela, the zonal and wereda capital, on the main road between Asela and Adama. Generally the area was self-sufficient. About 60% of the terrain was flat or sloping. The three zones had different terrains and climates: Mecro-Begejo was mainly flat, lower (2,200m) and hotter; Akiya and Chebote included steep and cooler land rising to 3,000m.

The local economy had gradually improved thanks to potato growing and good prices, better productivity of grain and irrigated crops, increasing non-farm business and labour, and migration to the Middle East; with many households engaged in several activities. Potatoes, wheat, peas and beans were leading cash crops. Richer wheat farmers hired tractors and combine harvesters. All rain-fed outputs were sold through a network of traders based in Gonde but in 2013 the wereda had given instruction that the Service Co-operative should buy all outputs, with a 1 million birr loan from the Union, to prevent farmers from being cheated by traders'. Most farmers used zero-grazing, had many crossbred cows and produced surplus milk sold to a dairy cooperative.

Other activities included: increasing, better paid daily labour, grain/vegetable trade, local drink-making, a grain mill, some skilled work, firewood, charcoal, grass and hay sale, petty services, transport services including one car, donkeys, and horse-carts, formal jobs (100 local and 90 elsewhere), daily labour in Kulumsa Agricultural Research Centre, on a local stone extraction scheme run by an outside investor and in local factories as well as permanent jobs at the Gonde flour factory. Male migration, urban and long term agricultural in Ethiopia and illegal to the Middle East and Sudan, was increasing. Female migration to the Middle East was huge and rising with 80- 100 going each year. Remittances were changing lives for those successful and their families.

The population was 80% Oromo, 19% Amhara and 1% from other groups; 70% Muslim (Arssi Oromo), 29% Orthodox (Amhara and Shewa Oromo) and 1% Protestant. Christian Amhara in Mecro-Begejo were considered to be generally better-off. Arssi Oromo referred to the Shewa Oromo as 'Amhara' since they were Orthodox Christians. The Arssi Oromo dominated politically and clanship affected politics. There were tensions between Oromo and Amhara and among Muslims following the introduction of *Wahabism*; and returning migrants were said to want to make people as conservative as in Arab countries. Protestants from Gonde town were actively trying to convert people and their numbers were rising rapidly. TV, radio and links with big cities and organisations like the flour factory made people very willing to adopt modern ideas and practices.

#### **Turufe (West Arssi) 2010, Arsi Bale wheat, barley and potato**

Turufe was one of three villages and the administrative centre of a larger kebele in Shashemene wereda in Oromia, not far from the border with the Southern region. The village was surrounded by two rivers and located on fairly flat terrain. It was adjacent to the town of Kuyera (3 kms), to which it lost some land in 2009, and not far from Shashemene (14 kms). Most people lived in the central densely populated area which was a legacy of the Derg villagisation.

Turufe was a food secure, surplus-producing area, traditionally exporting potatoes and maize to Addis Ababa. Farmers grew a variety of other crops, all based on rainfed agriculture, and reared livestock. Community members, especially the landless young, commuted for daily labour to Shashemene and Kuyera towns; some women had migrated to work on the Ziway flower farms. There were also opportunities in trade, informal business, brokering, and local transport activities.

The population was ethnically mixed with a majority of Oromo and significant minorities of migrants from both northern and southern Ethiopia established in Turufe for many years as well as recent migrant labourers. A majority were Muslims; the remainder Orthodox Christian or members of growing Protestant sect minorities.

#### **Sirba (East Shewa) 2013, Becho-Adea tef and chickpea**

Sirba was located on both sides of the long-existent Addis-Adama-Shashemene main road, at about 20 km from, and mid-way between, Mojo and Debre Zeit the wereda centre. By 2013 Sirba had become a sub-kebele of Ude kebele; Ude village had become part of a separate municipality.

Most land was on a wide plain and fertile, though part of it was vulnerable to flooding during the rains. Prices of *tef*, chickpeas, lentils, wheat and peas had risen and many farmers had increased production using fertiliser and improved seeds. With the growing importance of *tef* as a cash crop for the national market, demand for rented land had increased including from outsiders. People had fewer cattle and shoats focusing on quality and feeding them at home. Improved breed cows introduced in 2008 were increasingly used for milk production and some bought improved feed. Other activities included grain mills, carpentry, stone cooperatives with a total of 200 members, construction, metal work, tyre repair shops, various petty services, and transport services including two people who owned middle-sized buses.

Almost 90% of households were Oromo Orthodox Christians; the remainder were a mix of ethnicities. New ideas and innovations came from urban linkages and women returning from working in Arab States bringing business ideas, international clothes and a different attitude to life.

Industrialisation and urbanisation along the road was poised to continue apace with increasing impact on Sirba. Recent nearby investments included Al Ahmoudi taking over the nearby hotel, 3 flower farms, a gas station, blocket factory and weedkiller factories. One investor completed building of a large poultry farm in October 2013. The Addis Ababa-Adama 6-lane expressway due to be completed in April 2014 borders Sirba; the new railway to Djibouti due to be completed by 2016 will cross Sirba. A Master Plan for Denkaka, one of the emerging towns in the wereda, is being developed. It will affect some areas of Sirba and residents have been told not to build new houses as they may be demolished if they don't fit with the plan.

#### **Oda Haro (West Shewa) 2013, Gibe maize and peppers**

Oda Haro, in Bako wereda, West Shewa zone, Oromia, was 17 km from the wereda centre Bako and 108 km from Ambo. It was adjacent to Tibe which by 2013 was a small market town. Most of the land was flat and suitable for farming though there was some land in the mountainous and remote *dega* zone. The Addis-Nekemte asphalt road, recently upgraded, gave easy access to near and far towns.

Maize, sorghum, *tef*, niger seed and red peppers were grown in weyna dega areas; barley, wheat, maize, *tef*, beans and chickpeas in the *dega* zone; and sugarcane, various fruits and vegetable and maize on irrigated land. Major improvements in household wealth were attributed mainly to trading, irrigation farming and international migration; remittances from young women in Arab countries were estimated to represent 5% of the community's income.

60% were Protestants, 32% Orthodox Christians and 7% Muslim (Sufi and *Wahabi*). The richest people were Muslims engaged in both farming and trading. In the past few years Protestantism had risen and many Sufi converted to *Wahabism*. People celebrated together but there were tensions between religious groups, especially between their leaders. The wereda and kebele, but not local people, considered *Wahabism* as extremist and this was discussed at monthly inter-kebele meetings. Wereda officials suspected that some *Wahabists* from Addis Ababa with links to 'terrorists' were hiding in Oda Haro.

#### **Somodo (Jimma) 2013, Jimma-Illubabor coffee, cereals, chat**

Somodo was 20 km from Yebu, the wereda centre and, while the centre of the kebele is 17 km from the centre of Jimma by road, part of the community bordered Jimma town. Some Somodo land which was still being farmed had been taken by the Jimma municipality. Settlement along the all-weather main road had been increasing.

Coffee and maize were the traditional crops and *chat* and eucalyptus production was increasing due to high demand. The fall in the price of coffee by half from 2010 to 2012 had caused problems. Many young people migrated: males to towns and illegally to Sudan and females mostly legally to the Gulf.

In 2013 81% of the population were Oromo Muslim, 18% Yem, mostly Orthodox Christians or Protestants, and 1% Dawro. Muslims who occupied all top leadership positions were accused of 'hidden negligence' and there were conflicts and tension between Sufi and *Wahabi* Muslims and between the government and *Wahabi* followers.

### *Southern Region*

#### **Girar (Gurage) 2010, Gurage-Silte Midland enset and chat**

In 1995 parts of Girar were in a kebele near to Imdibir town named Imdibir Haya Gasha. This kebele was split, with a part joining the town and the rest joining a rural community to become Girar which comprised sixteen villages surrounding the still-expanding Imdibir town. The villages adjacent to

Imdibir were as urbanised as the town itself. Girar and Imdibir were bisected by a gravel road with regular public transport, going to the zonal capital Wolkite (30 kms) and from there Addis Ababa in one direction, and Hoseana in the other.

Rural livelihoods were organised around *enset* cultivation and cattle rearing, and urban migration for all sorts of activities - from shoe shining to very big businesses. Migration by young women to Arab countries was increasing. Chat and eucalyptus wood had emerged as high demand/value products and some farmers growing these were quite wealthy. There were non-farm daily labour opportunities in Imdibir.

People were almost 100% Gurage. The Orthodox Christian and Catholic religions were predominant, though there were also Muslims and a growing number of Protestants.

#### **Adado (Gedeo) 2013, Gedeo coffee**

Adado was 10 km from the wereda centre Bule and 25 km from the zonal capital Dilla. It was located in a mountainous area at 7-8,000 feet. Good rainfall, fairly continuous from February to September, and a cool environment make it suitable for *enset* and specialty coffee and 95% of the land was planted with these. *Enset* was not included in the extension package, but affected by disease with no solution except re-planting with new seedlings. Since 2011 the coffee price on the international market had been falling. The local economy had grown due to better coffee prices 2005-2011, and diversified, with rich farmers engaging in trade, services and livestock activities, and poorer families in non-farm activities to supplement their small agricultural incomes. Men migrated to Bale for agricultural work and land and to Shakiso, mainly to work in the goldmines.

There was a small urban centre. A dry-weather road connected Adado to the Dilla-Bule gravel road; the community had to do public works every year to maintain it and complained that although the area was producing exported niche coffee, the government did not help. There was no public transport; access by cars and motorcycles was sometimes impossible in the rainy season. In most places there were no internal roads.

The population was 100% Gedeo, 95% Protestant divided among four sects, and 5% Muslim, though Islam preceded Christianity in the area. With occasional tensions, religious groups intermixed in iddir and equb. The Aba Gada, who was much appreciated by government as many social problems were solved through the system, died in 2012 but would be replaced.

#### **Aze Debo'a (Kembata) end 2012, Kedida-Badewacho coffee**

The *kebele*, flattish with a part climbing to higher grounds, was among the most densely populated in the zone. The *kebele* centre with public buildings and a few modern houses lay alongside the main road 4 kms from Durame, *wereda* and zonal capital (at 4 kms). Links with Durame were dense. There was public and private transport.

Land was acutely scarce; hundreds of mainly young households were landless. Livelihoods relied mainly on *enset*-based mixed farming and small-scale livestock rearing with trade and outmigration. One-third of the population was on the PSNP. In the 2008 drought all crops failed and 30 people died as the *wereda* allegedly delayed reporting the emergency. Coffee and eucalyptus production had increased in response to high demand and good market prices. Larger-scale coffee trade was a source of wealth. There was reduced male seasonal agricultural migration, new and growing female migration to cities, flower farms etc., fast rising mainly illegal migration to South Africa for males and recently to Gulf countries for females. Successful migration to South Africa made a few individuals very wealthy by local standards. They had invested in trade and businesses based in Durame or the wider area.

Aze Debo'a residents were almost all Kembata and Protestant; there were five sects

### **Gara Godo (Wolayita) end 2012, Wolayitta maize and root crop**

Gara Godo was a mostly flat densely-settled highland kebele with a recently established municipality at its centre. It was 12 kms from Areka the wereda town on a recently-upgraded allweather road; there were buses three times a week. It was 28 kms on an asphalted road from Areka to Wolayita Sodo the zone capital. All residents were Wolayitan; 60% were Protestants in five sects, 36% Orthodox Christian and 4% Catholic. There were more than 25 clans divided into 130 lineages.

Houses about the farms which ideally had a home garden for coffee, root crops, vegetables and spices, family grazing land with eucalyptus, and a main field for maize, *boloke*, and *tef*. Drought caused deaths of people and livestock in 2008 and 2011; emergency food aid and the veterinary service were inadequate. There were regular water shortages in dry seasons and while many households lacked food in the hungry season only 11% were PSNP beneficiaries.

Government contributions to growth included road access, electricity, mobile phones, improved seeds and fertiliser for selected crops, credit, and PSNP. The community had accumulated 700,000 *birr* of debt over the previous two years. Service, youth and a women's co-operative had not performed well. Young people successfully establishing small businesses were doing it independently.

### **Do'oma (Gamo lowland - settled 1970s/80s) end 2012, Chamo-Abaya irrigated banana**

Do'oma was a lowland mostly flat kebele with 450 households in two villages originally settled in the mid-1980s. Do'oma village lay between Wacha the wereda town and Womalo village; Wacha was in process of being connected to Morka (12 kms) by an allweather road and two bridges allowing external access during the rains to Wolayita Sodo (95 kms) and Arba Minch, the zone capital, (223 kms). Over 70% of residents were Gamo or Gofa; the rest were Wolayitta (15%), Amhara (22 immigrants since 2005) and Maale. 85% were Protestants; the remainder Orthodox Christian.

Rains were sparse and erratic; the community would not have survived without river-fed irrigation. Even so there were drought-related deaths in 2008 and 2011 since emergency food aid was inadequate. One-third of households had received PSNP aid and had access to loans since 2005.

### ***Lowland (agro) pastoralist societies***

#### **Gelcha (Karrayu, Oromiya) end 2012**

Gelcha was bordered by the Metahara sugar factory, the Awash national park, the Addis-Dire Dawa main road and the expanding salty Lake Beseka. All had taken land and reduced mobility negatively affecting the pastoralist livelihood of the 75% of population who were Karrayu. The Lake was also flooding buildings, cutting off paths and roads, affecting water and causing malaria. 80 Somali and 50 Harar Oromo families (Ittu from the wider Harerghe area and 'Kottu'<sup>36</sup> from around Harar) constituted the remaining 25% of the population which was almost entirely Muslim. Since 2003 some Somali and 'Kottu' people had followed the example of investors who came during the Derg to start irrigation farming by diverting the drainage from the sugar plantation which was used for animal drinking water.

The Karrayu relied mainly on pastoralism although cultivation had become an increasingly important income source due to the encroachment of large-scale farming and the Awash National Park. Long ago the distance they used to migrate seasonally with their camels was less than 50kms, but as their land was taken the distance grew to 250 kms along the Mojo-Ziway-Arsi-Negelle-Shashemene route. By 2012 the distance travelled had decreased; people had less stock after the 2010 drought and tended to stay in Fental wereda and use sugar cane residues for fodder.

In Gelcha the number engaging in unreliable rainfed agriculture was small and even in a good year households only covered three months or so of their grain needs. The PSNP which was reaching

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<sup>36</sup> Although the term was used locally elsewhere it was sometimes regarded as derogatory.

about 40% of households in 2011 provided an important injection of cash and grain into the community. This had been important for many but fuelled tensions vis-à-vis the *kebele* leadership accused of nepotism and between ethnic groups in the community, unresolved by the end of the fieldwork. Some men had moved to other *kebeles* with irrigation potential and sharecropped or rented land, especially if they had relatives in those places. A few young men moved to Metahara for wage labour.

Urban connections had been important for trade, transport, access to water, health and secondary education. Many of the younger generation spent time in towns. The older generation were concerned about the negative influence of towns on the behaviour of youth: watching too much TV, chewing *chat*, drinking alcohol and getting involved in theft. Some youth had been influenced by Protestantism. A woman said she was impressed by the beauty of young women who were attending school and keeping personal hygiene and dressing styles, even if they couldn't get jobs.

### **Luqa (Tsemay, SNNP) end 2012**

The Cushitic-speaking agro-pastoralist Luqa *kebele* was bisected by the recently asphalted Jinka-Arba Minch main road. The administrative centre was located along that road at 21 km from the *wereda* capital Key Afer and developing into a roadside settlement with a few shops and modern houses, and one café. Most of the 566 families lived in the flat, lowland part. Residents were 80% Tsemay and 20% Bena.

Rainfed production of maize, sorghum, and millet was slowly expanding but droughts were frequent and emergency food aid had been provided regularly; it was shared following the community's norms. A few households had obtained irrigable land along the Woito River, outside the *kebele*, but their rights were not legalised and it was unclear whether this could further expand. A few families grew cash crops alongside subsistence crops, including sesame privately introduced recently and vegetables and fruits on irrigated land, and did quite well. The bulk of the community depended heavily on livestock and livestock product sales to buy food; honey was also sold.

The first Protestant was converted in 2000 and by 2012 about 20% of the community was Protestant including many of the young generation. The Tsemay were considered one of the most non-contentious groups in the area.

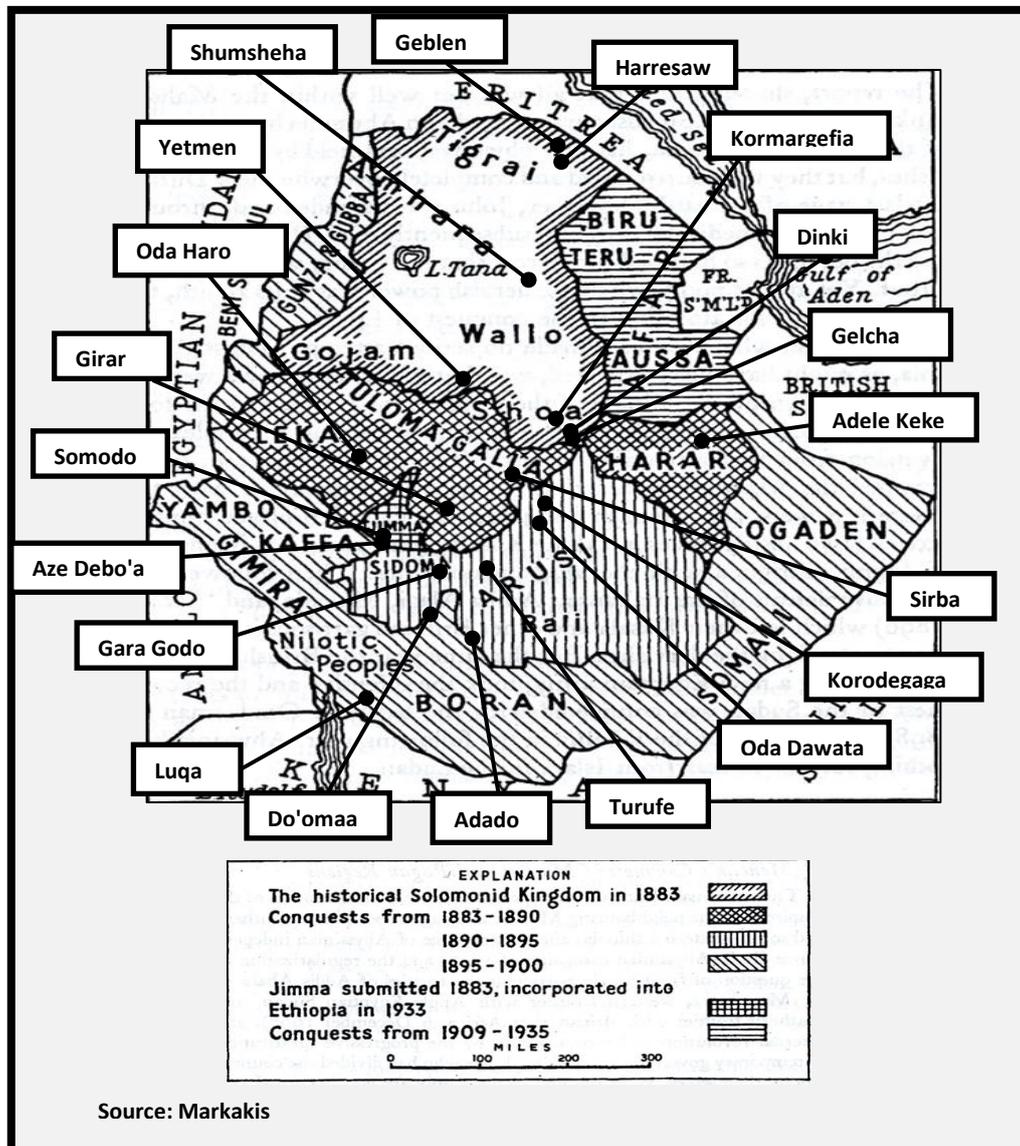
There were a few adolescents at school in the *wereda* town Key Afer who stayed in a hostel. There was seasonal migration of youth with cattle during the dry season towards the Woito river and the Mago Park area. A few enterprising households had irrigation plots at the Woito, and a few women migrated to work in that area.

Modern repertoires were associated with abandoning pastoralism and moving to farming and to a certain extent trade. The modern repertoire also involved embracing education and the interventions in health care. They were closely associated with conversion to Protestantism especially joining the Kale Hiwot church. For instance one woman said that it was the Protestants who used latrines. The Protestants were also against drinking alcohol and objected to some customs, notably *mingi*, boys' initiation rites and the reburial of bodies.

### **The twenty places 1855-1900**

Between 1855 and the enthronement of Menelik of Shewa as emperor in 1889 external threats to territory, and internal Abyssinian struggles over who should rule, occupied much of the attention of Tewodros of Begemdir, emperor 1855-68, Tekle Georgis of Lasta 1868-71, and Yohannes of Tigray, 1871-89. After Yohannes' death the centre of power shifted from the north to Shewa whose population was a mix of Amhara and Oromo. Menelik was king of Shewa 1865-1889 and during this period his forces increasingly penetrated the southern highland periphery, raiding, seeking tribute and giving land to settlers as suited time and place.

Emperor Menelik's forces continued the conquest of the south after 1889 and repulsed the Italian invasion of Tigray in 1896. By 1900 Menelik had established control over much of modern-day Ethiopia.



### Abyssinia 1855-1900

Under the Abyssinian state there was *gult* land, Church land, and State land. *Gult* land was allocated to lords who administered the people occupying it as holders of *rist*, collected tribute and labour service from them, adjudicated cases, and used able-bodied men as soldiers in times of war. *Rist*-holders had land use rights for which they paid (1) *giber* (land tax), usually one fifth of their produce, which was shared between the *gult*-holder and the central state, and *asrat* (tithe) through which one-tenth of all crops grown had to be paid to the state (Ambaye, 2015: 41. Government land was distributed to soldiers, priests, local administrators, judges and state servants as remuneration for their services throughout the country.

The lowest level of the administrative hierarchy was the *ch'eqa sum* who with his administrative assistant the *amba ras* formed the link between the state and the local community. There was usually one in each estate of *gult* or *malkagna* land. Their main task was the collection of taxes but

they also acted as judge and organiser of communal tasks. They held office for only one year and the election was often limited to the holders of specific lands. They were exempted tax for two years and enjoyed feasts provided by peasants at the great festivals; it was also possible to profit from bribes. They were also given *gult* or *malkagna* land and constituted an administrative class living off the labour of others. (Ege: 160).

There was also an ideological connection. In Amhara mythology the emperor, the nobility and the Orthodox Church played critical roles in preserving civil order, the fertility of the land and spiritual wellbeing (Keller, 1991: 50).

The main Abyssinian regions were Begemdir, Lasta and Wag (Shumsheha), Gojjam (Yetmen), Shewa (Kormargefia and Dinki) and Tigray (Geblen and Harresaw). They had more or less stable local elites.

### **Stories from the WIDE places in core Abyssinia**

*Shumsheha* is about 9 kms from Lalibela in Lasta which was the seat of the Zague dynasty that ruled Ethiopia from the 11th to the 13th century. On the death of Emperor Theodros in 1868, *Wagshum* (local chief) Gobeze proclaimed himself Emperor Tekle Giorgis, though his rivals did not acknowledge him and his army was beaten in 1871 by Bezbiz Kassa of Tigray who proclaimed himself Emperor Yohannes in early 1872.

In the remote past it is said that the entire Peasant Association was owned by three brothers Timar, Tidrak and Negesta, who came from Tigray. Until the 1975 revolution and the nationalisation of land the inhabitants of Shumsheha used to trace their genealogy to either one of these men to claim a plot of land (WIDE1).

*Kormargefia* is about 10 kms from Debre Berhan, which was founded in 1456; the town is situated at the junction of number of relatively easily travelled routes. A palace was built there by the king of Shewa in the later eighteenth century and succeeding kings used it as a hunting lodge. In the 1880s it was an important market for mules and horses.

*Yetmen* is in Gojjam which in the 1880s had long been a vassal kingdom within the Ethiopian Empire. In 1881 Yohannes appointed *Ras* Tekle Haymanot as king of Gojjam and of Kaffa Province so long as he was able to conquer it. Menelik was also interested in Kaffa and his forces defeated Tekle's at the Battle of Embabo in 1882. In 1888 suspecting collusion against him between Tekle and Menelik Yohannes laid waste to much of Gojjam. Tekle was a hero at the battle of Adwa but on his death in 1901 Menelik divided Gojjam into three parts and appointed his own governors.

### **Stories from the WIDE places in peripheral Abyssinia – the eastern escarpment**

Tigray has suffered considerably from wars, drought and famine. There were six famines in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1867 a British expedition against Theodros passed through Adigrat en route to Magdala; there was an Egyptian invasion in the mid-1880s; in 1889 Dervishes from the Sudan invaded; in 1895 the Italians invaded. The fighting of the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a devastating impact on the area. The Italian invasion took place when the country had not fully recovered from the 1887-92 Great Ethiopian Famine. Besides the destruction caused by invading forces the large Ethiopian army (107,600 men) depended entirely for its food on the local people. 'More Tigrayans died defending their homes against Menelik's army than did Italians in the battle (Peberdy 1985: 15)

*Geblen* is in North-east Tigray about 20 kms from Adigrat. Eastern Tigray experienced a long series of population movements and displacements over centuries leading to a mixed population of Saho, Afar and Tigrigna speaking communities. Irobland sheltered political and religious dissenters throughout history.

'Ethnic relations in Northeastern Tigray were full of paradoxes rather than mere conflict. .... Cross-ethnic marriages acted as a catalyst for the diffusion of ideas, technics, goods, customs, and values, which modified the prevalent cultural milieu of both interacting communities. It also served as a stratagem of access to some grazing or farmlands at the edges of the plateau or in the escarpment. The net result was

the evolution of mixed Christian-Muslim communities in such areas as 'Ayga, 'Endäh, Gäblän, Marwa, and Säwnä where highland Christian culture and lowland Muslim culture meet face to face.' (Tsegay Berhe, 2006: 379)

In January 1896 before the battle of Adwa Italian forces gathered at Edaga Hamus.

*Harresaw* is further south in East Tigray about 17 kms north-east of Atsbi. The Atsbi area is rich in pre-Aksumite artifacts and the inscriptions of a pre-Aksumite kingdom called D'mt that existed during the 10<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries have been found in the region(wikipedia). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was an agro-pastoralist livelihood system; cattle and goats and collecting honey were the major sources of food. Small plots of land were cultivated by hoeing and grain was bought in the market.

*Dinki* in North Shewa is about 25 kms from Ankober, an Oromo settlement which was captured by the ruler of Shewa and became the capital of the kingdom in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It remained the capital for most of the time until 1878 when Menelik moved it to Entoto. It was an important centre for caravan communication as far as the sea. The central market of Shewa was in Aliyu Amba (8kms from Dinki) and the great slave market was nearby. In the early and middle 1800s it was the most important commercial centre in central Europe. A caravan route ran from Saqqa across the Gibe into the Tulama land and on to Aliyu Amba where it joined another major caravan route which went through the semi-desert of Awash to Harar and beyond. (OTAKO5). The administrative unit of Dinki is located in a wider area also called Dinki.

'Historically Denki has been part of a regional economy based on income from trade, weaving, and agriculture. From at least the late nineteenth century, Denki and the neighbouring lowlands were controlled by local *melkenya* (landlords) who collected customs and tribute in agricultural products and passed a portion on to the highland Shewan governor at Ankober. The population of the area consisted primarily of Muslim weavers, part-time agriculturalists..' (Johnson and Anderson: 1988 294). In the 1880s the area was part of the agro-pastoralist Argobba rural homelands many of whose inhabitants were involved in the trade which flourished in the important marketplace of Aliyu Amba which had a governor and customs officer appointed from Ankober. 'All main routes in Shewa led to Aliyu Amba, the great central market where goods from the interior were exchanged against foreign imports, and where some goods fed into the local trading system' (Ege: 50).

### *The highland periphery 1855-1900*

By the end of 1882 Menelik had conquered the Tulama, Metta, Limu, Gomma, Gera, Jimma and Leqa Nekemte. There was a long and bloody campaign against the Arssi between 1881 and 1886; in one battle 12,000 Arssi warriors were reportedly killed (Buli, n.d.: 46).

#### **Stories from the WIDE places in the Oromo highland periphery 1855-1900**

Traditionally the Oromo were pastoralists practising limited primitive barley agriculture. There were few differences in wealth and *gada* limited power-holding. There are two major moieties: the Borana and Barentu. The major sub-clans included in this paper are the Mecha (Oda Haro) Tulama (Sirba), the Arssi (Korodegaga, Turufe and Oda Dawata), the Karrayu (Gelcha), and the Afran Qallo (Adele Keke). The story of clans in Jimma (Somodo) is more complex. By 1900 the northern Oromo of Tulama and Mecha had mostly converted to Orthodox Christianity and more integrated into Amhara culture than other Oromo groups. The Karrayu were pastoralists and the Arssi had a semi-nomadic lifestyle and followed the traditional Oromo religion whose god is Waaq. The Afran Qallo of East Harerghe were influenced by their Harari and Somali neighbours and early converts to Islam.

*Adele Keke*: There was a long history of fighting between the pastoralist Afran Qallo Oromo and the Harari farmers but gradually the Oromo became settled agriculturalists and stock breeders. By the beginning of the 19th century the relationship was one of mutual economic interdependence. The Oromo of Adele Keke adopted chat production from Harari farmers. At the end of the 19th century the area was incorporated into the empire disrupting the political organisation based on the age grade system. (WIDE1)

*Oda Dawata*: First Arssi Oromo came and settled in the higher and cooler Akiya and Chebote. After several years of a bloody campaign, Menelik conquered the rich and fertile Arssi land in 1886. The area came under Amhara administration. (WIDE1)

*Turufe*: Between the 16th and 19th centuries the Oromo migrated over most of Ethiopia conquering various groups already living in the areas. The pastoralist Arssi suffered from the protracted struggle between the Christian kingdom and the Oromo which climaxed in the conquest of the Emperor Menelik at the end of the 19th century. There is a history of fighting within the Arssi group and with other Oromo groups such as the Jille, Borana, and Karrayu (see Gelcha), particularly over competition for grazing lands. (WIDE1)

*Sirba* in East Shewa was incorporated in Menelik's Shewa kingdom in the 1880s (WIDE1)

*Oda Haro* (West Shewa, Mecha Oromo) was incorporated in the Ethiopian empire during the expansion of Menelik's Shewa kingdom in the 1880s. During fieldwork in 2003 respondents remembered the 'war their fathers fought with Emperor Menelik in his attempt to incorporate many independent societies into his empire' (WIDE2)

*Somodo* is situated on the periphery of Jimma town. A number of Oromo sub-clans settled in the Jimma area during the Oromo migrations and different ones were predominant at different times. The Oromo in the Gibe regions established five kingdoms in the area and in 1830 the Abba Jifar kingdom became the most powerful. Kings and nobles had estates worked by thousands of peasants and a large force of bonded labourers. After 1850 a large number of Muslim traders moved to Jiren (later part of Jimma) which became the leading Muslim capital and the major centre of Islamic learning in southwestern Ethiopia. The king submitted to Menelik in the 1880s and thereafter paid tribute.

### **Stories from the WIDE places in the southern highland periphery 1855-1900**

The expansion of Menelik's empire into the southern highland periphery was mostly in the 1890s. Eastern Gurage was conquered in the 1880s without much resistance but there was heavy fighting on the western side (Girar). He began the occupation of Kembata in 1890

*Girar, Sebat-Bet Gurage*: Gurageland was incorporated into the empire by Menelik II in the 1880s. Until then the Gurage had an acephalous political structure. Gurage tribal groups were distinct geographical and political entities with their own political forms. While language and religion varied among the tribes all Gurage used the same artifacts, technology, mode of production, house design, patterns of settlement and economic and social organisation. Political power, authority and wealth were vested in the lineage structure. Lineage-related villages were dispersed through a number of lineage-related districts which together comprised the entire clan territory. Patrilineages were responsible for political and legal matters among kin members within its demarcated territory. The Sebat-Bet Gurage were traditionally administered by a council of elders known as Ye Joka. Outcast groups included woodworkers, potters, smiths and tanners. (WIDE1)

*Adado* is in Gedeo which was occupied in 1895. At the time the economy was *enset*-based and there was a communal form of social organisation based on a *gada* system and territorially based clans. Land was owned collectively and was allocated by councils of elders who held assemblies in each village, mediated disputes, declared war on enemies and, when necessary initiated wider tribal inter-groups co-operation. In addition, there was a spiritual leader (*Aba Gada*) and his assistant who held office for eight years and were primarily responsible for performing ritual activities. (WIDE1)

*Aze Debo'a*: In the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a move to centralised rule under a royal family in Kembata; the last king introduced a constitution. However, many of the clans maintained their own identities, languages and traditional beliefs. The Kembata were defeated in 1892 and 'the Amhara superstructure was imposed over the tribal organisation'. (WIDE1)

*Gara Godo*: Before 1894 the Wolayitta had a centralised political system headed by the king. The society was stratified: the royal clan, free landlords, free peasants or commoners, slaves, potters, blacksmiths, tanners. Wolayitta society was composed of over 130 clans and two major tribes which played an essential role in the social, economic and political life of the people. The kings of Wolayitta pursued an expansionist policy involving expulsion of Sidama, Arssi Oromo, Hadiya and Kembata all of whom became 'traditional enemies'.

The incorporation of the Wolayitta kingdom into the empires in 1894 followed a bloody war in which Menelik himself participated to reverse the defeats of several earlier expeditions. He was helped by forces from the 'traditional enemies'. The consequences of the defeat were 'devastating in all aspects: socially, economically and politically'. Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the area soon after the conquest and Protestantism in the early 1920s. (WIDE1)

### *The lowland periphery 1855-1900*

#### **Story from the WIDE places in the Oromo lowland periphery 1855-1900**

*Oromia*: In 1887 he subdued pastoralist Metta, Oborra and Itu Oromo at the Battle of Chalanqo and on his way back subdued the Karrayu. In 1897 he conquered Boran pastoralists.

*Korodegaga* on the banks of the Awash in the Arssi lowlands was a pastoralist place before the northerners started settling on the best Arssi land forcing displaced people to move and settle on poorer land.

*Gelcha*: Oral tradition has it that the Karrayu settled around Fental mountain more than 200 years ago residing around Lake Besake, the Sabober plains and the Metahara area (Gebre, 2001). They were conquered by Menelik's army in 1887 and from then on had to pay hundreds of heads of cattle and some ivory as tribute.

#### **Story from the WIDE places in the southern lowland periphery 1855-1900**

As elsewhere in Ethiopia the 1890s was a disastrous period for the southern lowlands which suffered drought, epidemics of rinderpest, sleeping sickness and smallpox and raids related to the southwards expansion of Menelik's empire. In 1897 he sent a force of 30,000 men to occupy the southern reaches of his empire and raised the flag at the mouth of the River Omo. (Brunet-Jailly, : 603).

*Do'oma* was not settled for some time before the late 1970s, although it apparently had been in earlier times and there were strong links between the Gamo highlands and lowlands. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Gamo highlands were politically autonomous and divided into 40 small discrete political units under traditional rulers whose role was balanced by that of elders' councils. Wealth defined and generated political leadership. Occupational status defined local hierarchies which were headed by 'pure' Gamos who were farmers. Next came caste groups like the potters who also farmed; then the blacksmiths, followed by the tanners who were the most despised of all. In the later 19<sup>th</sup> century the Gamo felt the pressure of the expansion of the Shewan kingdom.

*Luqa*: There is not much information about the particular impact of the imperial expansion on the Tsemay, a small tribe among many in South Omo.

## Appendix 2: WIDE3 and Bridge policy outputs

### WIDE policy papers

Dom C, 2009 'Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities 2003-9'  
WIDE3 Stage 1 Inception Paper

Dom C and R Carter 2011 'Update to 2011 of "Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities 2003-9" WIDE3 Stage 2 Inception Paper

Dom C 2013 'Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities: An Update in 2013'

Dom C with S Vaughan 2018 'Policy review – First Quarter 2018'

### Policy-relevant discussion briefs

Series II and III on [www.ethiopiawide.net/publications](http://www.ethiopiawide.net/publications)

#### *Series I*

- Unlocking Agricultural Growth
- Farming and Value Chains
- Work Creation for Rural Youth
- Equitable Service Delivery
- Models & Realities of Transformation.

#### *Series II*

- Urbanisation
- Inequalities
- Youth transitions to adulthood
- Girls in transition to adulthood: reproductive health and well-being
- Education
- Maternal and infant health and well-being
- Economic participation of women and girls
- Migrating for work from rural communities
- Insights on economic success in rural communities
- Innovation models and realities

Published as an Ethiopian and international book of papers and English and Amharic versions of the discussion briefs

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2017 *Change and Transformation in Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected aspects and implications for policy* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2017 *Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected discussion briefs on change and transformation* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2018 *Amharic Translation of Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected discussion briefs on change and transformation* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A, P Bevan, C Dom, A Tiemelissan, S Vaughan (eds) 2018 *Changing Rural Ethiopia: community transformations* Los Angeles: Tsehai Publishers

#### *Series III 2018*

- Land and urbanisation
- Modernising smallholder farming: achievements, challenges and prospects
- Non-farm enterprises and 'rural' livelihoods: survival and growth
- Economic experiences of rural young people in 2018
- Rural modernisation and increasing economic inequalities
- Selected aspects of social protection in 2018
- Local government and governance

Published as discussion brief booklets in English and Amharic 2019.

Pankhurst A and C Dom (eds) 2019 *Rural Ethiopia in Transition* Addis Ababa: PDRC

## **Powerpoint presentations**

*For donors*

### **Stage 1**

- 2009 Governance
- June 2010 Irish Aid on PBS, PSNP, HIV/AIDS, governance, civil society, gender and environment with particular reference to the sites in Tigray and SNNP
- June 2010 Presentation to Education and Health Donor Groups
- June 2010 Presentation to Dutch Aid on governance, approaches to famine, Food aid/Food for Work and household asset-building, OFSP and similar packages, health services, education
- June 2010 Presentation to the PBS group on education, health, agriculture, livestock, natural resource management, the experiences of kebele civil servants, and accountability
- June 2010 Presentation to the PSNP DWG on approaches to famine, Food aid/Food for Work in three sites, OFSP and equivalent in three sites, governance and food aid, Food aid/ Food for Work and genderage, responses to DWG questions provided before the Stage 1 field work
- June 2010 Presentation to RED-FS, Governance TWG, and EU on WIDE3 purpose, methodology and emerging broad conclusions, governance, agriculture and rural development, PSNP and OFSP in two sites

### **Stage 2**

- June 2012 Presentation to the Agriculture, Food Security, and Sustainable Land and Water Management group on smallholder agriculture and commercialization, and food in/security and household inequalities
- June 2012 Presentation for DFID on fertility and family planning, maternal mortality, girls' education and its effects, women's empowerment and harmful traditional practices
- June 2012 Presentation at the Netherlands Embassy on the policy journey, governance, local livelihood growth processes, health with a gender perspective, education with a gender perspective
- **Stage 1 and 2**
- March 2011 Presentation to JGAM plus others on WIDE3 Long-term perspectives on development impacts in rural Ethiopia: selected Stage 1 findings including trajectories, intentions for Stage 2
- June 2012 Presentation for donors on forces for change 2003-11, comparison of trajectories of 2 agro-pastoralist sites, and two mostly dissimilar communities, comparisons across 14 communities on roads and bridges, irrigation, loss of community land, international migration urbanisation and livelihood diversification, anticipated forces for change 2012-15 (end of GTP1) 14 community livelihood trajectories
- June 2012 Presentation for PSNP group on 11 WIDE3 drought prone communities, weather shocks 2005-2010/12, PSNP in 7 communities, OFSP/HABP and other credit programmes, consequences for households and the community, community trajectories

### **Stage 3**

- October 2013 Presentation for DFID on emerging mixed economies in Ethiopia's rural communities including interactions between 'public' and 'private' sectors in agriculture, non-farm sectors, credit, services and social protection and what they mean for women, girls and young men

- October 2013 Presentation for RED-FS on rural livelihoods in 2013 – rapid and accelerating changes in Stage 3 communities, common economic features, crop production, livestock and savings and credit, linkages between agriculture and non-farm enterprise, the involvement of women, girls and young men in off-household work.

#### Stages 1, 2 and 3 together

- May 2013 Presentation for DFID on Stage 2 findings – infrastructure, livelihoods, people’s lives, governance, 14 community trajectories, preliminary stage 3 findings – economic inequality, migration, teenagers, 20-site comparison of urbanisation processes
- December 2014 Presentation for DAG 20 villages, 20 years – researching rural Ethiopia
- January 2015 Presentation to the UN Policy Dialogue: 20 villages, 20 years – researching rural Ethiopia, selected issues trends in local rural economies, leaving no-one behind, local decision-making, a future for WIDE
- December 2015 Presentation for DFI on selected findings and policy implications: significant findings, selected topics - economic modernisation and inequalities, youth and women, education and migration
- May 2016 Presentation to DAG Ethiopia WIDE – where to from now? Overarching messages – differences in opportunities among communities depending on outward linkages – urbanisation, industrialisation, opportunities and threats, increasing differentiation with rising inequalities within communities, one size does not fit all, greater attention to irrigation, livestock, access to capital, insurances, trade, life/business skills, blue-collar jobs promotion, development potential of migration, gender in all aspects

#### WIDE Bridge

- November 2018 Presentation to Development Partners: Introducing Ethiopia WIDE and WIDE Bridge – seeking feedback on the key findings from the forthcoming Series III Discussion briefs on land management and urbanisation, farming systems, non-farming systems, youth economic experiences, modernisation and inequalities, social protection and local governance
- November 2018 Presentation at a DHMS meeting, EUD-Ethiopia on Changing rural Ethiopia: policy issues in 2018: land, urbanisation and expropriation, farming and non-farming, youth economic experiences, increasing inequality, declining governance

#### WIDE4 related powerpoints

- November 2018 Presentation at a WIDE Bridge meeting with development partners on Ethiopia WIDE next steps: Bridge outputs to be finalised, WIDE4 concept prepared, long-term vision of insitutionalisation, WIDE4 as a first step towards long term, WIDE4 outline plan
- November 2018 Presentation at a DHMS meeting, EUD-Ethiopia on Changing rural Ethiopia: WIDE – where are we at , where to: WIDE4 proposal very briefly summarised

#### *For government*

##### Stage 1

- December 2011 Presentation for a workshop with government officials on WIDE, long-term change and positive impacts of interventions, differential impacts in different kinds of communities, community trajectories, interactions among policies and interventions, examples of impact ‘enhancers’ and ‘dampers, community-level change agents, differential impacts for different people, youth on the path to adulthood, current and planned work

##### Stage 2

- June 2012 Presentation for a workshop with government officials on WIDE Stage 2, the policy journey, governance, livelihoods 2005-12, education with a gender perspective, health with a gender perspective, the next steps

### Stages 1, 2 and 3 together

- April 2013 Presentation for a workshop with government officials on selected policy findings on Stage 2 communities (key similarities, policy (dis)connects, 14 community trajectories (Stages 1 & 2), preliminary findings on Stage 3 communities on economic inequality, migration, teenagers
- December 2015 Presentation to government on selected findings and policy implications: overall trends to 2010/13, examples of differences, examples of state-led transformative development, key insights on economic modernisation, inequalities, youth transitions to adulthood, women's new economic activities and the health and well-being of the mother/baby couple
- February 2016 Presentation at |Ministry of Agriculture Conference – Local evidence of change in rural Ethiopia: implications for rural job creation: economic modernisation, urbanisation processes, differentiation – individuals and social relations, community responses to landlessness and joblessness
- June 2016 Presentation to the Agricultural Transformation Agency on significant changes between 1995 and 2010/13 and over-arching messages from the research, focus on strategic crops, tailoring agricultural extension, irrigation, access to credit, closing the 'women's gap', responding to more diversified rural local economies

### WIDE Bridge

October 2018 Presentations at the WIDE Bridge High Level Discussion Forum:

- Introduction to WIDE Bridge,
- Land urbanisation,
- Modernising smallholder farming,
- Non-farm enterprises and 'rural' livelihoods
- Economic experiences of rural young people in 2018
- Rural modernisation and increasing economic inequalities
- Selected aspects of social protection in 2018
- Local government and governance

### Reports to donors

<http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/final-reports/>

Bevan P, C Dom and A Pankhurst

WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report with Annexes 2011

WIDE3 Stage 2 Final Report with Annexes 2013

WIDE3 Stage 3 Final Report with Annexes 2014

Bevan P and A Pankhurst 1996b *A Social Analysis of Fifteen Rural Economies in Ethiopia* A Report for the Overseas Development Administration, UK <http://ethiopiawide.net/wp-content/uploads/WIDE1-Report-to-ODA.pdf>

### Appendix 3 WIDE trajectory – past and hoped for

Phase	Period	No of sites	Funding	Nature	Objectives	Major outputs
WIDE 1	1994-6	15	UK ODA	Academic research	Comparative sociological study of rural communities in Ethiopia Contextualise and interpret ERHS panel household survey data	15 Village Studies Comparative analysis 15 community baseline for WIDE3
WIDE 2 & DEEP	2003-5	20	UK ESRC	Academic research	'Wellbeing in Developing Countries' - Exploration of important features of rural communities relevant for the quality of life of different kinds of people in them	Website Papers and discussion briefs on hunger and famine, maternal and infant health, HIV/AIDS, agricultural development, poverty, power, shocks and inequalities, competing models of wellbeing, migration; 2 international conference papers, 20-community baseline for WIDE3
WIDE 3						
Stage 1	2009/10	20	DFID-E, Dutch & Canada (WB-managed TF)	Academically rigorous policy-relevant research	Explore modernisation trajectories of WIDE communities since 1995 and contribution of Government policies and programmes especially since 2003	Macro Policy and methodology papers; 20 community reports; 3 synthesis reports and summaries with evidence bases; 5 policy-relevant discussions briefs; 18 <sup>th</sup> ICES 5 presentations/papers; 2 book chapters; international conference paper
Stage 2	2011/12					
Stage 3	2013/14					
Transition	2010/11	No FW	DFID-E			
Transition	2015/17	No FW			Further use WIDE data, prepare for next phase	Website, database, 9 discussion briefs, WIDE book, 19 <sup>th</sup> ICES 3 presentations/papers
Bridging	2017/18	4	DFID, IA, SIDA in Ethiopia	Towards...	Explore change/continuities since WIDE3 in 4 communities Experiment with ways towards institutionalising WIDE	3 Community reports; 7 discussion briefs; 1 Inequality comparison + related discussion brief; Macro Policy and methodology papers 20 <sup>th</sup> ICES presentations (13) plus forthcoming papers for most Federal and Regional workshops; Radio and TV programmes
WIDE4	2019/20	8	???	Academically rigorous, policy relevant, institutionalised Ethiopian research	Explore change and continuity over various periods, with a view to feed into GTPIII preparation	To be determined

## **Appendix 4: WIDE1 Research instruments**

### *1. Background Papers*

Anthropological background papers were written for each site by a graduate anthropologist from the Department of Sociology at Addis Ababa University using mainly secondary sources. These papers were used, together with information from the Rapid Assessment exercise to write a village profile for each site. In most cases the anthropologists took each profile back to the appropriate village to read to a range of inhabitants for correction and supplementation; in a few villages they asked the supplementaries without having the profiles.

### *2. Rapid Assessment Techniques*

1. Photographs: Site managers were given a disposable camera and a list of subjects for photographing (eg crops, water sources, school, health clinic, a rich man's house; a poor man's house; men working; women working; children; anything else of interest)
2. Three groups (men, women and children) were asked to draw a map of the site; a composite was constructed
3. A group of men and 1 of women were asked to make a map showing links with other communities; a composite was constructed; they were asked to describe water sources , distances from the centre of the village and show on a calendar when they were low.
4. Health: people were asked to list all common diseases, rank them, show when they occur on a seasonal calendar, explain the causes, how they can be prevented and local treatment; and show the relative use of each kind of treatment on a piechart. All of this was asked of a group of men, a group of women, and a group of women answering about children's diseases.
5. Local economic history: a group of old people were asked to identify important dates in the life of the community and then, starting from the earliest date remembered to record changes in crops grown, land size (average and biggest), tree cover, and soil fertility. They were asked to rank the 6 most important innovations and explain who introduced them, whether they were successful and how many and who copied and why, and why others didn't copy.
6. A group of men and a group of women were asked to complete seasonal calendars on crop activities, off-farm activities, migration, credit needs, livestock sales and diseases, rain, water and fuel availability, festivals, labour, and children's labour.
7. Questions were asked of a group of men and a group of women about socialising children, desirable and undesirable traits in men and women, practical intelligence and skills.
8. A group was asked to list activities in the area of government, NGOs and local organizations and to rank them in terms of usefulness to the community.
9. Three respondents did a wealth-ranking of the households included in the survey. They were asked to describe the characteristics of the groups they identified and a number of questions about upward and downward mobility.

### *3. Village Profiles*

A list of questions was given to the anthropologists to guide their fieldwork when they returned to the villages, under the following headings:

#### **Locating the Site in Time and Place**

Geographical location and population

Climate

Production

Social structure

History

### Seasonality

### The Farm Economy

Crops

Livestock

Land

Labour

Interlinkages

Technology

Innovations

Common property resources

Environment

Saving and Investment

### Off-farm Activities

Within the community

Occupational structure

Migration

### Reproductive Activity

House management

Fuel and lighting

Water

Sanitation

Fertility

Childbirth and childcare

Socialization

Education

Training

Health

### Consumption

Food and other day-to-day goods

Housing

Household assets

Local services

### Local Institutions and Organizations

Households

Marriage

Divorce

Inheritance

Kinship

Lineages and clans

Age-grading, life-cycle changes and rites of passage

Friendship contracts

Markets

Credit and social security

Community decision-making

Local organizations

## Beliefs and Values

Land  
Religion  
Explanations of misfortune and illness  
Community values  
Political beliefs and attitudes

## The Community

Community organization  
Social conflict  
Poverty and wealth  
Social mobility  
Status  
Social stratification  
Dissent

## Relationships with Other Communities and the Wider Society

Villages and regions  
Relations with wider Ethiopia  
Effects of government policies  
Government activities in the community  
NGO activities in the community  
Future

### *4. Community questionnaires*

These were designed by the economists and administered by the managers of the household survey. They contained questions on ethnicity, land, agriculture etc (many of which were also asked by the anthropologists providing a base for checking), the environment and natural resource base, relationships between households in the sample, wage labour, technology, health services, formal education, weather and events, a map of the households in the survey, a price questionnaire, and credit.

### *5. Enumerator questionnaires*

These were sociological questionnaires administered at the end of the research exercise, when the enumerators had been applying the household questionnaires in the villages over a period of 9 months. They included questions about how each bit of the household questionnaires "worked" and particular problems encountered with particular questions, as well as questions on current events and attitudes at the site.

### *6. Household questionnaires (3 rounds administered to cover a year's economic activity).*

Within each Peasant Association a random sample of about 100 households was selected giving a total sample of 1453. Three rounds of household questionnaire were administered, in a number of visits within each round, to cover a year's activity. Site managers and enumerators spent almost 6 months gathering data in each site.

Round 1: household roster; education; changes in household composition; asset ownership; credit; non-food expenditures; non-agricultural activities; vulnerability; land and its use; inputs; crop output and sales (meher and belg); recall on previous harvest; land rented to other households; livestock ownership; recall on livestock ownership; livestock expenditure and income; health status; illness and visits for treatment; breastfeeding; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; energy; water and household consumables; female business activities.

Round 2: changes in household composition since last interview; education - parents and spouses; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure; off-farm income; business activities and remittances; non-farm business history; migration history and remittances; crop output and sales; labour input and other input expenditures; livestock changes since the last visit; livestock expenditure and income; innovation - crop adoption; improved livestock, use of modern inputs; networks; health status; illness and treatment in last 4 weeks; health history - 5 years; anthropometrics; consumption habits; food expenditure and consumption; household consumables; female business activities..

Round 3: changes in household composition; household assets; credit; non-food expenditure; off-farm income; business activities and remittances; vulnerability during the last 10 years; present wealth and background; children's activities; attitudes towards health and education; land and its use; crop output and sales; labour inputs and other input expenditures; livestock changes since last visit; livestock expenditure and income; events during the last kiremt season; health status; illness and treatment; anthropometrics; hygienic practices; household consumables; consumption habits; food expenditure; female activities; marriage and fertility history; attitudes towards contraception and children; mobility and status; women's questionnaire (for wives)

## Appendix 5: WIDE1 community comparisons 1994/5

### The village economies: agricultural production and off-farm income

This section is about those elements of the economy that are considered particularly important by economists and economic policymakers. The relevant questions raised in the village studies covered common property resources, and environmental problems, land use and access, agricultural production, livestock, off-farm economic activities including migration, labour and time use, inter-linkages [exchanges of land for labour and capital (particular oxen), exchanges of labour for capital (oxen and inputs), and various forms of sharing and exchange (labour and oxen)], and technology and innovation. It is easy to forget in household survey analysis, where the focus is on "variables", that in any community these features are all linked at the level of institutions, relationships, and individual decision-making. This perspective provides a context for the analysis and interpretation of household level data.

#### *Common property resources*

##### Issues

The main question is how these are managed and to what extent (and how) they are being preserved for future generations.

##### Conclusions

- Grazing lands are usually small, declining and in some cases are overgrazed. In some villages they are "semi-regulated" by the *kebele* or traditional rules apply.
- Given the scarcity of land communities often have to choose between using it for grazing, afforestation programmes, or allocating to the landless.
- There are complaints in a number of sites of lack of access to *clean* water.
- When more complex technology breaks down - such as an electric mill or a generator to pump water for irrigation - there is often no access to skilled personnel to repair it and no-one responsible for maintenance.

#### *The environment*

##### Issues

Environmental sustainability: deforestation and tree planting; soil erosion and bunding; removal of protective vegetation; destructive land use practices; over-grazing.

##### Conclusions

- Ten sites report that soil fertility is declining. In the *enset* areas people use manure and mulching as well as fertiliser if they can afford it.
- Tree cover has declined in many areas over the long-term but in some sites there is regular planting of eucalyptus. There can be a conflict between using dung for fuel (and for sale in Debre Berhan (Kormargefia)) rather than fertiliser. Using dung is a substitute for wood.
- Most sites report soil erosion and most have made attempts to control it some successful and others not.

#### *Land use and access*

##### Issues

The 1975 land reform nationalised land and it was redistributed relatively equally in all the PAs (eventually, although it took a long time to be implemented in some). When Producer Co-operatives were formed (mostly after 1983) they were often given the best land and not everyone joined; when they were disbanded the land was often shared just among PC members. After the Land Reform in some PAs as time passed there was some redistribution of land to take account of lifecycle changes

and provide land for new households. Since 1991 redistribution has not been required but land sales and renting are not allowed. The major questions concern (1) how people are in practice getting access to land these days; (2) whether local methods of allocation are efficient; and (3) is uncertainty about land preventing farmers from investing in it? Responsibility for resolving land administration issues has been handed to the regional governments though the government is reluctant to see a return to private ownership. What land policy should the central and regional governments adopt?

### Conclusions

- In all sites except Do'oma people suggested that shortage of land (average size usually less than 2 hectares) is about to become a considerable problem because of population growth (an average of 6 children per woman in all sites)
- In all sites informal institutions for the reallocation of land use have developed including sharecropping, "unacknowledged backdoor leasing", renting, selling in some sites, paying with labour on other land, redistribution of communal land and in one case land taken from the old. In all sites land can now be inherited.
- Widows in some sites have access to land and daughters with no brothers can inherit land in some sites.
- In some sites it is important to have access to particular pieces of land (eg those near the river or under irrigation)
- The principles by which land should be allocated are as much a political as an economic issue. People at the sites hold a range of views which partly depend on how much land they currently hold but are also influenced by their historical experiences. In the absence of markets in credit and labour economists seem to agree that share-cropping can be efficient. The question of investment must wait on analysis of the survey data.

### Agricultural production

#### Issues

The main issue is how farmers can be helped to produce more of the crops they are currently growing or more productive crops using the resources they currently have.

#### Conclusions

- The example of Adele Keke shows how the introduction of a cash crop with a growing demand (*chat*) can alter the living standards of a village. However, the farmers are vulnerable to anything affecting the market for or production of *chat*. They could become more wealthy if they invested in irrigation.
- All sites report attacks by a range of pests and crop diseases: harvests could be improved and made more reliable if cheap ways of controlling the pests and diseases are made available on a regular basis.
- Five sites report problems with frost
- Many sites reported that the rising price of fertiliser was resulting in reduced use
- Willingness to experiment with new crops was found in a number of sites
- In all sites women are involved in agricultural activities. In some their participation is increasing
- Some sites have had no or few good harvests in the last 10 years

### Livestock

#### Issues

Livestock provide a number of uses and products including ploughing, transporting, food, wool, skins, saving/investment, and status. They depend on the availability of grazing and /or fodder and labour. They are vulnerable to disease and drought and after heavy losses it takes some time to build a herd back up. Ethiopia is supposed to have the largest number of cattle in Africa but makes very little income out of them.

## Conclusions

- Almost all sites report reduction in average livestock holdings over the past generation and even the last decade
- The seasonal dimensions of livestock holding and complementarity and conflicts with other activities need exploration
- Improved availability of vaccination and veterinary services would reduce livestock deaths
- The relative efficiency of using dung as a fuel rather than fertiliser should be explored
- In a number of sites during droughts people have had to sell (at very low prices) or eat bulls and oxen (some of them donated) leaving them with no draught animals for the next harvest.

### *Off-farm economic activities*

#### Issues

The wealthiest and least vulnerable communities in our sample are those which have diversified, although it is not clear which comes first. With rising population rates and developing land shortage people will have increasingly to look for off-farm income opportunities.

#### Conclusions

- In food surplus areas the division of labour is growing more complex. There are traders, skilled artisans, professionals (teachers and health workers), wage labourers, service providers
- In the food-deficit *enset* areas and Adele Keke there is reliance either on cash crops (coffee, *chat*, potatoes) or migration for trade, business or wage labour
- In all these sites women are getting increasingly active in off-farm activities. In addition to traditional activities such as spinning and basketmaking they are involved in making and selling local drinks and food, in selling eggs, milk, butter, etc, and in trade.
- It is included elsewhere in the report that there are people making money out of money-lending
- Artisanal activities such as weaving, tanning, pottery and blacksmithing have traditionally been looked down on and in most sites still are. In 2 sites it has been suggested that it is now "all right" for women to make and sell pots.
- In some vulnerable sites there tends to be less off-farm activity and there tends to be reliance on 1 particular activity such as selling dungcakes or wood. In other vulnerable sites rather than seeing an increasing division of labour there is diversification on the part of individuals as a coping strategy

### *Labour and time use*

#### Issues

There are a range of institutions and organisations involved in the allocation and coordination of labour including the household, kin and friendship networks and institutions, the Peasant Association, wage labour, inter-linkages, working groups, and food for work. Seasonality of demand for and supply of labour is an important issue.

#### Conclusions

- Heads of household are responsible for assigning tasks. These are usually male. Tasks are usually assigned on the basis of sex and age
- In most sites there are a number of different forms of work groups. In all cases there is one arrangement whereby people are invited to work and provided with food and drink (often called *debo*). This is often said to be reciprocal, in that if someone has responded to your invitation you should respond to theirs, but it is not binding. The second arrangement, often called *wonfel*, is much more specific and is contractually binding. In some sites it is said that working in groups is declining, but even so quite a lot of work is still done in groups
- There is wage labour in some communities and not in others. It is more common in those near larger towns. In some sites people are unwilling to work as wage labourers in their own communities as it

is looked down on.

- Gathering wood and fetching water in nearly all sites is almost exclusively done by women and girls, although in some cases boys are involved and in 1 site wood collection is the responsibility of men. Women and girls spend more time working than men and boys.
- In Orthodox Christian areas people will not work on 5 or so days of the month (in addition to Sundays and sometimes Saturdays) for religious reasons. Ability to work may also be affected by religious fasting rules followed both by Orthodox Christians and Moslems.
- In sites where the men migrate for long periods their wives take responsibility for farm management
- In most sites from the age of about 5 children start to be useful in terms of providing labour. By the time they are 8 they are involved in helping mothers (girls and boys with water) or fathers (boys). Girls after about 12 and boys after about 14 or 15 are usually doing all the activities their respective parents do.
- As discussed below people will help people by providing labour services in times of need (old age, after a crisis such as a house burning down, illness, etc)

### *Inter-linkages*

#### Issues

Most of these economies do not use cash much and there are institutionalised exchanges and sharing involving land, labour, livestock and inputs.

#### Conclusions

- Interlinkages are most frequently found in grain-producing areas where the ox-plough is used.
- Some sharecropping arrangements existed in the time of Haile Selassie: there are local names associated with particular rules for inputs and sharing the output. In Ethiopia people share-cropping land *in* are usually the rich ones: they are rich as they have oxen. Sharecropping has become more frequent due to shortages of land and plough oxen.
- In one site oxen are lent for a period in exchange for a plot of land
- There are also less formal arrangements where the partners reach agreement among themselves about who does what and gets what. The exact terms depend on the relationship.
- Labour is sometimes exchanged for oxen: the person usually works some days in the oxen owner's fields and then some in his own
- Labour is exchanged for crops
- People with 1 ox will join with another person with 1 ox and they will plough alternately
- In most places people involved in interlinkages are tied by kinship, neighbourhood, and networks of relation and intimacy. In some people prefer not to exchange with kin and friends for fear of disputes. If the social distance is large a contract may be signed in the presence of witnesses.
- In sites where cattle are kept more for dairy products and meat there are arrangements whereby people buy stock and entrust them to others to fatten, and arrangements whereby a richer person lends a cow to a poorer one who looks after it and uses the products and may keep a calf if the animal produces.

### *Technology and innovations*

#### Issues

Increased productivity will depend on changes in technology and the adoption of innovations

#### Conclusions

- In most sites technology has changed very little in living memory. The dominant tools are oxplough, sickles, hand shovels and hoes
- Over the years people have stopped growing some crops and introduced others which seemed more useful under the circumstances. The communities seem to be open to innovations which work.

- In many sites a (not negligible) proportion of harvest is lost while it is being transported to the homestead or in storage. One reason for this is that the sacks they use sometimes have holes in them.
- While donkeys are quite common for transport it is rare to find carts, either those pulled by livestock or people.
- Tractors are available for hire in 3 sites and 1 definitely has access to other farm machinery
- A number of the richer sites are adjacent to all-weather roads with access to towns in passenger vehicles. The poorer sites are further from towns and are not connected by all-weather roads. Walking is the most frequent form of travel.
- More sophisticated technology has not proved sustainable in poorer sites due to lack of ability to maintain and the lack of organisational structures that can ensure, for example, that the electricity bill for the electric mill is paid.

### **The village economies: reproduction**

Conventional economics has largely ignored the unpaid economic activities (which are chiefly undertaken by women) through which people (the labour force) are produced, socialised and maintained. When the focus is on the household seen as a unit, it is the production activities that seem to be glamorous and interesting. This bias is particularly acute in Ethiopia where women are traditionally inferior and there does not seem to be a very active women's movement. Neither the economics department nor the anthropology section of the sociology department has a woman academic. All the site managers of the household survey were men and all the graduate anthropologists who did the fieldwork were men. At each site there was usually 1 woman enumerator whose job chiefly was to interview the woman-headed households (who are in the samples in all the sites). Despite these difficulties we tried to pursue questions relating to the tasks, strategies, use of time, relationships, relevant institutions and problems of women whether they were wives, or women heading households themselves. In our future analytical work we hope to develop a model of the household as an organisation, with an internal division of labour, a development cycle which may get interrupted, changing membership, with conflicts of interest as well as shared ones. In this model reproductive activities would be regarded as important as productive ones and future research at household level would explore both.

#### *Household management*

##### **Issues**

Who makes decisions and how? Should woman-headed households be regarded as a homogenous group? What is involved in doing the housework? It should be remembered that the summary from the village studies is based on reports made by young men most of whom who ignored a number of the questions they were asked to put. A notable features was that there were hardly any reports about childcare or childrearing, or caring for the sick and old.

##### **Conclusions**

- In most sites women are not regarded as equal partners in household decision-making and management although this seems more likely in the vulnerable sites
- Women do all the tasks usually considered as housework and in addition are responsible for fetching water and usually wood. They do tasks like chopping wood if the men are not at home. Men help a little: in one site the man washes his own clothes and in some men will do domestic tasks when a wife is in childbirth or confinement if there are no daughters or other women to help
- Women work much longer hours than men although in 1 site women say men are getting more helpful

## *Domestic technology and innovation*

### Issues

If women are to be more involved in agricultural and off-farm activities, which seems to be the trend, they may be greatly helped by some rather simple time-saving technological advances such as electric mills, improved stoves which use less fuel (and pollute the house less), and piped water.

### Conclusions

- Some women have access to mills but many have to grind the grain themselves. Grinding barley is particularly time-consuming
- In a few sites women have started to use improved stoves
- When the community groups were asked about useful innovations only one aimed at women was mentioned.

## *Marriage and divorce*

### Issues

Costs of marriage (bridewealth, dowry and ceremonial expenses); rights of women after marriage; frequency of divorce and rights of women after divorce; polygyny. It is probable that what people reported as happening was the ideal rather than actual: for example in many sites oxen are so few that most marriages must take place without any being given to the groom.

### Summary

There is some polygyny in several sites. In some cases it was reported that it was on the decrease due to the influence of Christianity and economic impoverishment. We need to distinguish three basic marriage transactions: bridewealth, dowry (gifts by the bride's family directly to her), and indirect dowry (gifts by the parents of the groom directly to him). Although in some cases we have all three (Do'oma). Sometimes there are gifts in both directions. Small gifts of clothing and honey are given to the bride's parents and these are complemented by gifts to the groom's parents of clothing and livestock. Gifts for the bride are usually only for first marriages and a premium is placed on the bride's virginity. Arranged marriages prevail but this is changing. In terms of age of marriage we see a discrepancy with women invariably marrying younger, perhaps more so in the north.

In the south divorce is rare and marriages stable and divorce is condemned. However Adado is the exception; although undesirable it is easily accepted. In the north there it seems to be more frequent though Yetmen and Debre Berhan (Kormargefia) report that it is rare. It is suggested that divorce has increased in Sirba. In the event of divorce women seem to have little share of the property except what they brought in the form of endowments. Where women do take property, although there is sometimes an ideal of equal division, usually they take movable property especially livestock and grain and not land and often this is only so long as the fault is seen as the husband's. In some sites a woman can be divorced for infertility or, in 1 site, having only girls. However, women's rights seem to have improved in some cases, in part through external intervention. Even where women's rights are defended by the village (baitos) men retain the house and women only get some money in compensation (Harresaw). In Sirba a women used only to get a cow; now the property (except land) is divided.

### Conclusions

- Women's rights in and after marriage are less than in some other parts of Africa
- There are changes taking place in some sites: marriage are less costly; partners able to choose in some places; less polygyny; more divorce

## *Fertility*

### **Issues**

Frequent births lead to population increase. Despite the pressure on land people seem reluctant to control fertility. "Children are wealth". They are needed for farm and household labour. Close births affect farming activity and the wellbeing of mothers.

### **Conclusions**

- All sites have high fertility rates and high fertility is regarded by most as desirable
- In most sites it is claimed that family planning advice is available but it is rarely used
- There are a few men who claim that they would like their wives to use contraception and a few women who are doing it without their husband's permission
- In most sites infertility is seen as caused by the woman. There is variation in the way infertile women are treated

## *Childbirth and childcare*

### **Issues**

Women's health can be damaged if they undertake heavy work during later pregnancy and soon after childbirth. Their babies' health will partly depend on their mother's diet before and after giving birth as well as the food fed to babies. We know very little about how babies and young children are cared for and fed. Is there a gender bias?

### **Conclusions**

- In some places women work very close to the birth and start again very soon after. Moslem women seem less fortunate in this regard than others, as do the poor in many sites.
- In a number of sites husbands are expected to provide special food and/or relatives, neighbours and friends provide gifts of special food
- In sites where it is mentioned there is a preference for boy babies

## *Health*

### **Issues**

What are the chief disease problems in the villages? How do people try to prevent and cure them? What kinds of health treatment do they have access to?

### **Conclusions**

- There are a number of diseases frequently found including malaria, TB, hepatitis, respiratory infections, amoebic dysentery, measles, typhoid fever, elephantiasis and gonorrhoea/VD. Children's diseases frequently mentioned include diarrhoea, vomiting, measles, and malaria
- It seems likely, particularly in the poor vulnerable sites, that most treatment is self-medication or traditional
- Typical visits to health clinics seem to cost between 3 and 10 *birr* (including drugs)
- The number of AIDS cases reported to Debre Berhan (Kormargefia) hospital in 1986EC was 60 male and 40 female

## *Socialisation and informal education*

### **Issues**

Very little attention has been paid by economists to the development of "human capital" outside the formal classroom situation (measured in terms of "years of schooling"). Most of what children in rural areas learn and the ways they learn to think and react are taught by parents, relatives, and neighbours. Far more research should be done in this area.

## Conclusions

- Children are brought up strictly to respect and obey adults
- Local skills are learned by apprenticeship to parents, neighbours etc
- Local conceptions of intelligence often include having a good memory, good oratory, being good at solving disputes
- One view of modern education is that it disturbs identity and the traditional way of life. Young people stop respecting their elders so much
- Another view is that it helps men and women to farm and manage their homes better and to earn off-farm income
- Undesirable qualities in women tend to include flirting with men, fornication and adultery, not obeying husbands, quarrelling with neighbours and not keeping the house properly
- Undesirable qualities in men include drinking, stealing, lying, quarrelling, laziness, lack of respect for elders, not learning from mistakes, and (in 1 place) adultery.

### *Formal education*

#### Issues

Education can be viewed from a number of perspectives. Why do some communities have schools and not others? Does it follow the development of infrastructure? Education may be seen as a passport to better job by local people/outsideers. To what extent is it? Economists have recently started investigating whether formal education leads to greater productivity among farmers. Do local people believe this is the case? Education may have a value for civic proficiency. Does the education provided (in terms of curriculum, organisation, and values) relate to rural realities?

#### Conclusions

- Children in all sites have access to primary schools but it is not clear how many attend and if they do so regularly.
- Only 5 of the sites have children going to secondary schools
- Constraints on education include distance, poor school facilities, costs, children needed for seasonal labour, and declining opportunities for school leavers

### **Change, survival and development**

#### *The importance of time and space*

When variables are measured and static models are used, as is often the case in the analysis of economic household surveys, two very important variables tend to be ignored or stylised, namely time and space. This section of the report uses the qualitative data from the community research to raise some of the issues which may then be ignored.

With respect to time it is important always to be aware of the seasonality of agricultural activities: this affects demand for labour at different times of year which in turn affects possibilities of off-farm activity including migration and education. Other aspects of rural life affected by seasonality include livestock sales, consumption (type and amount of food), credit needs, fuel and water availability, and diseases in both humans and animals, which in turn affects productive activity. To cope with seasonal changes and consumption changes during the year, assets are accumulated later to be sold, credit is given and taken and later repaid, and more food is eaten at some times of year than others. (It should be said that the household survey was designed to take account of these problems and a main focus of analytic attention will be household dynamics.) The community research suggests two features of particular importance: (1) the importance of exploring the dynamic interactions between productive activity, reproductive activity, labour availability, consumption, asset accumulation, and credit, and the consequences for the welfare of different households, and (2) the importance of looking at the diversity of seasonal effects to be found in the different villages as well as searching for generalities.

A slightly longer-term view focuses on what might be called "annuality". If a community has a bad year the repercussions will be felt for some years after. Loss of livestock means there will be fewer oxen for ploughing. Reduced consumption will affect health and labour productivity. Inability to repay loans taken for fertiliser because the crop has failed or is small may mean no more loans, which means unfertilised land, which means reduced crop. Similarly a good year allows people to recoup and save for the future. Some of the sites in our sample have not had many good years recently, while others appear to have done well.

An even longer-term view explores long-term changes in the local and surrounding economies, societies and polities. Of particular interest here are (1) changes within the villages, such as population growth, new crops and farming techniques, and changes in networks, forms of organisation and relationships, (2) new relationships with the outside world on the one hand, and the effects of government policies and international factors on the other.

Spatial effects of importance for these local economies include location in relation to roads, markets and towns and those factors which help to determine whether the village is food surplus, self-sufficient, or food-deficit (climate, terrain, soil fertility, etc). Also relevant are government policies which have had the effect of imposing spatial constraints (regionalisation) and related questions of redistribution between rich and poor areas.

This section begins by looking at aspects of household well-being: consumption; assets wealth and poverty; savings, credit and investment, and seasonality. Following a discussion of inheritance in the communities the next sections explore lifecycle changes and social mobility. The focus then moves from household to community with an examination of: long-term changes to the community; community vulnerability and coping strategies; relationships with other communities; the effects of some government policies on the communities; and some views from the community of government and NGO activities. Finally we look at some of the local organisations which are involved in the management of these communities, which must be understood by bodies contemplating intervention from outside.

## *Seasonality*

### **Issues**

Rural life based on agriculture is governed by the seasons. The weather dictates the time for planting, the time for harvesting etc. It also governs the incidence of diseases, the amount and kind of work (agricultural and domestic), migration, what and how much is eaten at different times, the need for credit, the timing of marriages and other festivals, and the sale of livestock. Farm and household management decisions throughout the year are governed by an awareness of seasonal constraints and opportunities. Survey researchers and policymakers who are unaware of the importance of this dimension of life are likely to come up with unrepresentative results and inadequate policies.

### **Conclusions**

- Apart from Do'oma and Gara Godo, all the sites have their main rain between June and September
- Only 4 sites have usually reliable *belg* rains; in 6 sites it usually fails; in 3 sites it is not mentioned as important
- In the highland sites it gets colder between October and December; some sites suffer from frost at this time
- Hungry seasons do not happen at the same time in the year in the sites

## *Consumption*

### **Issues**

Intra-household allocation of food; seasonality - hungry season; fasting; festivals; differences between households; famine foods; famines, aid.

## Conclusions

- In most sites all members of the family seem to eat the same kind of food: parents (and sometime grownup children) share a plate while small children eat separately. Some special food is reserved for parents or children get the leftovers. In some sites milk products are given to children first
- In most sites there are some foods which are available all year and others which are seasonal
- The times of hungry seasons as reported varies between sites: June-August; August and September; July-November; September; January-May; April-August; July-September; March-July; February - May
- Eight of the sites have suffered severe famine within the last ten years, in most cases involving deaths: some of these have access to wild foods and some do not
- In all sites consumption varies between richer and poorer households

## *Assets, wealth and poverty*

### Issues

What assets do people invest in? What other functions do they fulfil? What assets are held by the wealthy (defined locally) and what by the poor?

### Conclusions

- In all sites livestock are a very important asset
- The household assets accumulated by the wealthy are similar across the villages and include radios and tape recorders, modern furniture, larger and more food stores, in some areas a gun, and a range of cooking implements and utensils.
- In poor households assets tend to include traditional beds, wooden plates, pottery vessels, mud seats
- In some sites it is claimed that everyone is poor but two of the vulnerable sites clearly have wealthy households

## *Savings, credit and investment*

### Issues

Definition of assets: land, livestock, wives, children, farm implements, off-farm capital, houses, household assets, personal assets, cash, *equbs*, banks, social networks, group membership. The importance of social and cultural investment. Time and effort can also be invested. The investment of time may be more important than the investment of cash. An individual or household may acquire surplus cash or surplus in kind by saving or borrowing. There are a range of ways in which the individual or household may choose to invest a surplus or loan. These can be considered under the headings of productive investment (in agriculture or business), investment in trade, investment in "human capital", investment in social capital, investment in cultural capital, and investment in political capital.

### Conclusions

- Most people lead a subsistence life and substantial investments are not affordable
- People save (mostly cash under the bed) more in some sites than others
- The major investment people make is in livestock (both cash and time)
- People also invest in crop production, trade and small business activities
- In most places there are richer neighbours who will lend for interest; this often is a seasonal activity for consumption - borrowing occurs just before harvesting begins and repayments are made as soon as the harvest is gathered. Moneylenders also lend for productive activities.
- In times of disaster (such as a house burning down) everyone (including people not in the PA) rallies round to help
- All sites have burial associations (*idir*)
- Many sites have *mehber* which are associations which combine religious, social and supportive

functions

- People borrow from and save through *equbs* in most sites. They are more frequent and involve larger sums where there are people generating off-farm incomes (since usually cash is required, although there are butter *equbs* for women in the south)
- Close kin and neighbours have easy access to the labour and property of one another
- There are kin/clan obligations to help relatives (eg with oxen, seeds, money etc). The recipients may repay if all goes well. There are also kin and clan obligations to contribute to bridewealth, blood compensation for murder, fines and debt and to attend and contribute to the cost of marriages and funerals
- There are fictive relationships created to help spread risk including friendship contracts and godparenthood
- People make relatively large investments of cash, kind and time in social capital (reciprocal exchange, redistribution, and status) and cultural capital (making ritual commitments of time, effort, cash and kind)
- In many (but not all) sites large feasts are held on regular occasions by the relatively wealthy which have the effect of redistributing resources
- In one site poor members of the community have access to free schooling and health care
- A number of sites have received credit through government or NGO schemes

### *Inheritance*

#### Issues

Inheritance is important for efficiency and welfare. The division of estates among offspring may affect both. Inheritance biased against women limits their choices.

#### Conclusions

- Amharas and Tigreans: an individual can inherit both father and mother's property; house and livestock are inherited by sons and daughters equally or according to the father's will
- For all other people the rule of inheritance is patrilineal
- In these cases when the father dies usually the eldest son takes responsibility for the family; he usually inherits his father's house
- Usually when widows remarry they lose any rights in the previous husband's property
- Land is usually divided more or less equally between sons (daughters can inherit if they have no brothers)
- Livestock may be left to daughters as well as sons
- Sons are usually given their share of the inheritance when they marry

### *Lifecycle changes and social mobility*

#### Issues

Development cycles: individuals have life cycles and households have lifecycles. Ideally domestic cycles for women and men would be examined separately. Social mobility may be inter or intra generational. People may move in and out of wealth/poverty during their lives. Is this frequent? What are the factors determining movement?

#### Conclusions

- By virtue of inheritance the children of the wealthy tend to be wealthy and the children of the poor tend to be poor
- However in most sites it is claimed that downward mobility from the wealthiest category is not unusual and upward mobility out of poverty is possible
- The main reasons for becoming poorer are having little land, marrying more than one wife, having many children (with attendant marriage expenses), illness or death in the family, old age, death of livestock, crop failure, laziness, drink.

- In most areas it is claimed that the son of a poor person can become rich through hard work, usually earning off-farm income, though maybe sharecropping in other people's land (assuming someone who is poor has access to little land). It helps to have good social relations
- Office-holding in the bureaucracy and moneylending are cited as other sources of wealth
- In a number of sites it is claimed that the wealthy are no longer as rich as they used to be; everyone is poor now
- Many people move in and out of poverty during their lifetimes

### *Long-term changes to the communities*

#### Issues

People in the communities have had to adapt to long-term changes which have disrupted their lives. These have resulted from natural, economic, social, cultural and political changes within the villages, and from the impact of outside events, both natural and economic, political, cultural and social.

#### Conclusions

- The 1975 Land Proclamation brought advantages to farmers in most areas
- In most cases villagisation and Producers' Cooperatives were imposed against the will of many in the community; in some cases violence was used.
- In some places most farmers became members of the Producer Co-operative; in others only a proportion did. PC farmers were given the best land and inputs. In some this land was distributed among PC members when the PC was dissolved.
- In most sites that were villagised some or all people have returned to their old homesteads. The advantages of villagisation included easier access to services such as schools, clinics etc. Disadvantages suggested were that crops were stolen or eaten by birds/animals as they were too far away to guard and epidemics of disease broke out among humans and livestock. Some complained the land they were given for homesteads was not enough.
- The Derg regime brought a number of valued innovations to most of the sites including the Literacy Campaign, Service Cooperatives, and agricultural extension.
- Nearly all sites have suffered from famine at some point during the last 15 years
- In some sites it is claimed that attitudes are beginning to change. There is a growth in individualism and a welcoming of the idea that all people are equal and have human rights
- In a number of sites it is claimed that the standard of living is now lower than it was
- The histories of the 2 sites in Tigray are different since they were in the thick of the civil war for more than 16 years

### *Vulnerability and coping strategies: the communities*

#### Issues

Economists tend to look at economic topics separately: eg assets, investment, land, labour, livestock etc. From the peasants point of view these are all things they have to make day-to-day inter-linked decisions about in an environment of uncertainty. It is useful to look at the ways in which individuals, households and communities try to survive and prosper in the particular conditions in which they find themselves. These strategies include social networking, organisation, collective action (at factional or community level), and cultural and political activities as well as economic ones, though the focus here is on economic coping strategies.

The context for looking at the vulnerability is one of rapid population growth and increasing land shortage. In 1975 many of the households in the survey had access to about 10 hectares of land. Twenty years on the average is below 2 and the survey shows that on average women have been having approximately 6 children each. The next twenty years must see considerable changes in economic activity and its location

## Conclusions

The different communities have adopted different strategies to fit their different circumstances. Diversification seems to be the most successful but seems to depend on being near a town. Many of these communities are vulnerable and look to NGOs or government to provide food security.

### *Relationships and interactions beyond the community*

#### Issues

Segmentation of the economy; exchanges with other communities; rural violence: local and regional conflicts: migration; disruption of production activities.

#### Conclusions

- Not all these Peasant Associations are "communities": many contain a number of villages which have relationships with other communities beyond the PA and may not interact so much with each other
- Networks of relationship beyond the village are based on religious groupings, trade, affinity, kinship and friendship
- People in sites near towns are involved in much "importing" and "exporting" of goods
- In most sites the people have "traditional enemies" - often their neighbours. Some old conflicts are being revived as a result of the regionalisation programme.
- In a number of sites men migrate to towns, State farms, or richer agricultural areas to work as wage labourers

### *The effects of some government policies*

#### Issues

The fieldworkers were asked to explore the effects of economic policies on the community. They also made some observations about the effects of other policies.

#### Conclusions

- In most sites it was hard to detect the effects of policies such as devaluation. In the more remote there seemed to be little impact. The ending of marketing boards and fixed prices for the buying of goods was universally welcomed. In most sites rising prices were reported for crops, inputs and consumer goods. This was not welcome in crop deficit areas
- In a number of sites it was claimed that the poor were worse off as a result of the economic policies
- Some sites reported a lack of stability and peace due either to political activity or banditry or other lawlessness. Policing of theft seems to be minimal.
- Unemployment has risen in some areas
- In many sites ethnic awareness has risen. This is seen as having good and bad sides. The flourishing of local languages and culture is welcomed but there is a fear of the conflicts that might be generated alongside this.
- In a number of sites where migration for work has been a traditional coping strategy it was reported that people had to return from some areas due to ethnic conflicts
- There seem to be variations in the way in which people are taxed. In most sites the standard rate of 20 *birr* applies regardless of wealth. In a few sites PA leaders are responsible for assigning farmers to different wealth categories for differential taxation. There are reports that past PA leaders sometimes used this power of decision to favour friends and punish rivals.
- There are some worries about the government's policy with regard to land. Particularly those with more land fear another redistribution.
- Farmers who grow coffee have benefitted from the increase in prices

## *Government and NGO activities in the community: past and future*

### Issues

Community groups were asked in what ways they had benefitted from government and NGO activities in the community in the past and what they would like to happen in the future.

### Conclusions

- In some sites the activities of agricultural extensions officers and veterinary services have been particularly appreciated
- In most sites the provision of schools and then health services are high priorities
- In a number of sites there was concern that aid did not reach the poor
- Off-farm income activities and credit were requested in a number of sites
- In 3 sites instability and banditry (including cattle theft) were mentioned as problems needing solution
- In vulnerable sites food for work was generally appreciated more than food aid
- In sites reliant on migration there was a request for freedom of movement throughout Ethiopia

## *Local organisations*

### Issues

Economic and social change in the rural areas requires local organisation and management and successful intervention in these communities requires an understanding of how they are managed and run. Recently donors have started to talk about using indigenous organisations for development. It is important to understand that indigenous organisations that work very well at what they do, because they have been created to meet a need and in an appropriate way, can be spoiled by insensitive interventions.

### Conclusions

- In all sites decision-making is shared between PA officials and the elders. In some sites elders seem to be more powerful but not in others. Women seem to play very little decision-making role, except in Tigray
- Most sites have burial associations (*idir*) and rotating savings groups (*equbs*). Some have *mehbers* (religious social groups). Men and women are involved in these, usually separately but not always
- Clans and lineages are important corporate groups in some sites
- Local churches are important organisations
- In a few sites feuding and conflict seems to be part of life

## Appendix 6: WeD Ethiopia Database

### CLICK ON THE FILE YOU WANT

- There are four rural sites: Yetmen and Dinki in Amhara Region and Turufe Kecheme and Korodegaga in Oromia Region.
- There are two urban sites: Kebele 10/11 in Kolfe, Addis Ababa, and Kebele 8/9 (Arada) in Shashemene.
- Protocol data are organised in the tables under three headings: community level; household level and individual level. The same protocols, sometimes sensitised for gender and urban/rural differences, were administered in each site by a male and female researcher, indicated by the M/F categories.
- There are three Access/SPSS databases: the Resources and Needs Survey (RANS); the Pilot Ethiopia WeD-QoL; and the Household Diary Year of Income and Expenditure. These are available separately.

Note: There are some gaps in the database indicated by the red font. In some cases male and female research has been combined in the male research reports. Early in the fieldwork we did not employ equal numbers of male and female researchers and the latter were not able to complete all protocols. One gap is due to illness.

### Community Level

Research Instruments	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
Village Studies WIDE1	<a href="#">Yetmen WIDE1</a>	<a href="#">Dinki WIDE1</a>	<a href="#">Turufe WIDE1</a>	<a href="#">Koro WIDE1</a>		
WIDE2	Yetmen WIDE2	Dinki WIDE2	Turufe WIDE2	Koro WIDE2		
DEEP ComProfs1 <a href="#">UrbanWIDE1</a>	Yet Com Prof1	Din Com Prof1	Tur Com Prof1	Kor Com Prof1	Kol Com Prof1	Sha Com Prof1
DEEP Community Profiles 2	Yet Com Prof2	Din Com Prof2	Tur Com Prof2	Kor Com Prof2	Kol Com Prof2	Sha Com Prof2
<a href="#">Community Organisations: M</a>	<a href="#">M Yet Orgns</a>	<a href="#">M Din Orgns</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Orgns</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Orgns</a>	<a href="#">M Kol Orgns</a>	<a href="#">Sha M Orgns</a>
Community Organisations: F	<a href="#">F Yet Orgns</a>	<a href="#">F Din Orgns</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Orgns</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Orgns</a>	<a href="#">F Kol Orgns</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Orgns</a>
<a href="#">Community Events:M</a>	<a href="#">MYetEvents</a>	<a href="#">MDinEvents1</a>	<a href="#">MTurEvents1</a>	<a href="#">MKorEvents1</a>	<a href="#">MKolEvents1</a>	<a href="#">MShaEvents1</a>
Community Events PovDyngs:F	<a href="#">FYetEvents</a>	<a href="#">FDinEvents</a>	<a href="#">FTurEvents</a>	<a href="#">FKorEvents</a>	<a href="#">FKolEvents</a>	<a href="#">FShaEvents</a>
<a href="#">Collective Action: M</a>	<a href="#">M Yet CollAct</a>	<a href="#">M Din CollAct</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CollAct</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CollAct</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CollAct</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CollAct</a>
Collective Action: F	<a href="#">F Yet CollAct</a>	<a href="#">F Din CollAct</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CollAct</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CollAct</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CollAct</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CollAct</a>
<a href="#">Elites /Destitutes: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet Elites</a>	<a href="#">M Din Elites</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Elites</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Elites</a>	<a href="#">M Kol Elites</a>	<a href="#">M Sha Elites</a>
Elites/Destitutes: Female	<a href="#">F Yet Elites</a>	<a href="#">F Din Elites</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Elites</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Elites</a>	<a href="#">F Kol Elites</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Elites</a>
<a href="#">Young Lives1: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet YLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Din YLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Tur YLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Kor YLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Kol YLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Sha YLives1</a>
Young Lives1: Female	<a href="#">F Yet YLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Din YLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Tur YLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Kor YLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Kol YLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Sha YLives1</a>
Young Lives FGD: Male	<a href="#">MYetYLivesFGD</a>	<a href="#">M Din YLives1</a>	<a href="#">MTurYLivesFGD</a>	<a href="#">M Kor YLives1</a>	<a href="#">MKolYLivesFGD</a>	<a href="#">MShaYLivesFGD</a>
Young Lives FGD: Female	<a href="#">FYetYLivesFGD</a>	FDinYLivesFGD	FTurYLivesFGD	FKorYLivesFGD	<a href="#">FKolYLivesFGD</a>	<a href="#">FShaYLivesFGD</a>
<a href="#">Old Lives1: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet OLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Din OLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Tur OLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Kor OLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Kol OLives1</a>	<a href="#">M Sha OLives1</a>
Old Lives1: Female	<a href="#">F Yet OLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Din OLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Tur OLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Kor OLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Kol OLives1</a>	<a href="#">F Sha OLives1</a>
<a href="#">Disputes: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet Disps</a>	<a href="#">M Din Disps</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Disps</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Disps</a>	<a href="#">M Kol Disps</a>	<a href="#">M Sha Disps</a>
Disputes: Female	<a href="#">F Yet Disps</a>	<a href="#">F Din Disps</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Disps</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Disps</a>	<a href="#">F Kol Disps</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Disps</a>
<a href="#">Migration &amp; Linkages: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Kol Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Sha Migr'n</a>
Migration: Female	<a href="#">F Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Kol Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Migr'n</a>
<a href="#">Comm HH Development Cycle: M</a>	<a href="#">M Yet HDCs</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDCs</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDCs</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDCs</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDCs</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDCs</a>
Comm HH Development Cycle: F	<a href="#">F Yet HDCs</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDCs</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDCs</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDCs</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDCs</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDCs</a>
<a href="#">Exploratory QoL: FGDsM and</a>	<a href="#">Yet QoLFGD</a>	<a href="#">Din QoLFGD</a>	<a href="#">Tur QoLFGD</a>	<a href="#">Kor QoLFGD</a>	<a href="#">Kol QoLFGD</a>	<a href="#">Sha QoLFGD</a>

Research Instruments	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
F						
Exploratory QoL: SSIs M and F	<a href="#">Yet QoLSSI</a>	<a href="#">Din QoLSSI</a>	<a href="#">Tur QoLSSI</a>	<a href="#">Kor QoLSSI</a>	<a href="#">Kol QoLSSI</a>	<a href="#">Sha QoLSSI</a>
Exploratory QoL: PGIs M and F	<a href="#">Yet QoLPGI</a>	<a href="#">Din QoLPGI</a>	<a href="#">Tur QoLPGI</a>	<a href="#">Kor QoLPGI</a>	<a href="#">Kol QoLPGI</a>	<a href="#">Sha QoLPGI</a>
QoL Workshop Outputs	Yet QoL-WShop	Din QoL-WShop	Tur QoL-WShop	Kor QoL-WShop	Kol QoL-WShop	Sha QoL-WShop
WeD-QoL Pilots (all sites in 1 file)	<a href="#">PANAS &amp; SWLS</a>	<a href="#">Goals</a>	<a href="#">Resources</a>	<a href="#">Values</a>		

## Community Diaries by month

Research Instrument	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
<a href="#">Comm Diary Pilot: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiaryP</a>
Comm Diary Pilot: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiaryP</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiaryP</a>
<a href="#">Community Diary 1: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary1</a>
Community Diary 1: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary1</a> <sup>37</sup>
Community Diary 2: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary2</a>
Community Diary 2: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary2</a>
Community Diary 3: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary3</a>
Community Diary 3: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary3</a>
Community Diary 4: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary4</a>
Community Diary 4: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary4</a>
Community Diary 5: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary5</a>
Community Diary 5 Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary5</a> <sup>38</sup>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary5</a>
Community Diary 6: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary6</a>
Community Diary 6 Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary6</a>
Community Diary 7: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary7</a>
Community Diary 7: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary7</a>
Community Diary 8: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary8</a> <sup>39</sup>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary8</a>
Community Diary 8: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary8</a> <sup>40</sup>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary8</a>
Community Diary 9: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary9</a>
Community Diary 9: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary9</a>
Community Diary 10: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary10</a>
Community Diary 10: Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary10</a>
Community Diary 11: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary11</a>
Community Diary 11 Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary11</a>
Community Diary 12: Male	<a href="#">M Yet CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Din CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Tur CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Kor CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Kol CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Sha CDiary12</a>
Community Diary 12 Female	<a href="#">F Yet CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Din CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Tur CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Kor CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Kol CDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Sha CDiary12</a>
<b>Combined Diary: whole year</b>	<a href="#">Yet ComDiary</a>	<a href="#">Din ComDiary</a>	<a href="#">TurComDiary</a>	<a href="#">KorComDiaryAll</a>	<a href="#">Kol ComDiary</a>	<a href="#">Sha ComDiary</a>

<sup>37</sup> Community Diary 1 done jointly with Male Researcher

<sup>38</sup> Tigist's mother ill?

<sup>39</sup> Election Notes only – no Community Diary 8 Phase 6.2

<sup>40</sup> Aster having a baby

## Household Level

	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
HH Pov Dyns 1 Histories: M	<a href="#">M Yet PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">M Din PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">M Tur PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">M Kor PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">M Kol PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">M Sha PovDHis</a>
HH Pov Dyns 1 Histories: F	<a href="#">F Yet PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">F Din PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">F Tur PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">F Kor PovDHis</a> <sup>41</sup>	<a href="#">F Kol PovDHis</a>	<a href="#">F Sha PovDHis</a>
HH Pov Dyns1 Shocks: M	<a href="#">M Yet PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">M Din PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">M Tur PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">M Kor PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">M Kol PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">M Sha PDSHocks</a> <sup>42</sup>
HH Pov Dyns1 Shocks: F	<a href="#">F Yet PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">F Din PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">F Tur PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">F Kor PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">F Kol PDSHocks</a>	<a href="#">F Sha PDSHocks</a>
Migration: Male	<a href="#">M Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Migr'n</a>	NA	NA
Migration: Female	<a href="#">F Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Migr'n</a>	NA	NA

## Resources and Needs Survey Access and SPSS Databases

### [Rural Questionnaire](#)

### [Urban Questionnaire](#)

A Resources and Needs Questionnaire administered in June/July 2004 to 250 households in each site, apart from Dinki where all households (169) responded.

The survey included information relating to:

Research Instrument	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
<a href="#">Household Diary pilot: M</a>	<a href="#">M Yet HDiaryPil</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary Pil</a>
Household Diary pilot: M	<a href="#">F Yet HDiaryPil</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary Pil</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary Pil</a>
<a href="#">Household Diary 1: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary1</a>
Household Diary 1: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary1</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary1</a>
Household Diary 2: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary2</a>
Household Diary 2: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary2</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary2</a>
Household Diary 3: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary3</a>
Household Diary 3: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary3</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary3</a>
Household Diary 4: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary4</a>
Household Diary 4: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary4</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary4</a>
Household Diary 5: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary5</a>
Household Diary 5: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary5</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary5</a>
Household Diary 6: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary6</a>
Household Diary 6: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary6</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary6</a>
Household Diary 7: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary7</a>
Household Diary 7: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary7</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary7</a>
Household Diary 8: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary8</a>
Household Diary 8 Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary8</a> <sup>43</sup>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary8</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary8</a>
Household Diary9: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary9</a>
Household Diary 9 Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary9</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary9</a>
Household Diary 10: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary10</a>
Household Diary 10: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary10</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary10</a>
Household Diary 11: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary11</a>
Household Diary 11: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary11</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary11</a>

<sup>41</sup> Only 3 households – should be 20

<sup>42</sup> No timelines etc

<sup>43</sup> Should there be more?

Household Diary 12: Male	<a href="#">M Yet HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Din HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HDiary12</a>
Household Diary 12 Female	<a href="#">F Yet HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Din HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Kol HDiary12</a>	<a href="#">F Sha HDiary12</a>
4 mths HH Diary 1: Male	<a href="#">M Yet 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">M Din 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">M Tur 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">M Kor 4mth HD1</a>	<a href="#">M Kol 4mth HD1</a>	<a href="#">M Sha 4mth HD1</a>
4 mths HH Diary 1: Female	<a href="#">FYet 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">F Din 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">F Tur 4mthHD1</a>	<a href="#">F Kor 4mth HD1</a>	<a href="#">F Kol 4mth HD1</a>	<a href="#">F Sha 4mth HD1</a>
4 mths HH Diary 2: Male	<a href="#">M Yet 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">M Din 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">M Tur 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">M Kor 4mth HD2</a>	<a href="#">M Kol 4mth HD2</a>	<a href="#">M Sha 4mth HD2</a>
4 mths HH Diary 2: Female	<a href="#">FYet 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">F Din 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">F Tur 4mthHD2</a>	<a href="#">F Kor 4mth HD2</a>	<a href="#">F Kol 4mth HD2</a>	<a href="#">F Sha 4mth HD2</a>
4 mths HH Diary 3: Male	<a href="#">M Yet 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">M Din 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">M Tur 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">M Kor 4mth HD3</a>	<a href="#">M Kol 4mth HD3</a>	<a href="#">M Sha 4mth HD3</a>
4 mths HH Diary 3: Female	<a href="#">FYet 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">F Din 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">F Tur 4mthHD3</a>	<a href="#">F Kor 4mth HD3</a>	<a href="#">F Kol 4mth</a>	<a href="#">F Sha 4mth</a>
12 mths HH Diary: Male	<a href="#">M Yet 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">M Din 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">M Tur 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">M Kor 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">M Kol 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">M Sha 12mthHD</a>
12 mths HH Diary: Female	<a href="#">F Yet 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">F Din 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">F Tur 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">F Kor 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">F Kol 12mthHD</a>	<a href="#">F Sha 12mthHD</a>
<a href="#">Household Profiles: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet HProfile</a>	<a href="#">M Din HProfile</a>	<a href="#">M Tur HProfile</a>	<a href="#">M Kor HProfile</a>	<a href="#">M Kol HProfile</a>	<a href="#">M Sha HProfile</a>
Household Profiles: Female	<a href="#">F Yet HProfile</a>	<a href="#">F Din HProfile</a>	<a href="#">F Tur HProfile</a>	<a href="#">F Kor HProfile<sup>47</sup></a>	<a href="#">F Kol HProfile</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Hprofile</a>
I & E Management: Male	<a href="#">M Yet I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">M Din I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">M Tur I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">M Kor I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">M Kol I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">M Sha I&amp;E mmt</a>
I & E Management: Female	<a href="#">F Yet I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">F Din I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">F Tur I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">F Kor I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">F Kol I&amp;E mmt</a>	<a href="#">F Sha I&amp;E mmt</a>

- household human resources, material resources, social / political resources, and cultural resources.
- the extent to which, for each member of the household, some human needs are met – both objective and subjective measures.

## Ethiopian Rural Household Panel Survey

## SPSS Databases

### Questionnaire

Pre ERHS IFPRI Round in Dinki and Korodegaga  
Rounds 1, 2 and 3 in 1994/5\*  
Round 4 in 1997\*  
Round 5 in 2000 financed by USAID  
Round 6 in 2004\*

\*These databases are available from IFPRI

## Household Diary Year of Income and Expenditure

## Access and SPSS Databases

In each site, for a period of a year, oral diaries were constructed monthly for 11/12 households and each of their members. The diary included information on

### Household Level (continued)

#### Individual Level

	Yetmen	Dinki	Turufe K	Korodegaga	Addis Kolfe	Shashemene
<a href="#">Adult Lives</a> : Male	<a href="#">M Yet ALives</a>	<a href="#">M Din ALives</a>	<a href="#">M Tur ALives</a>	<a href="#">M Kor ALives</a>	<a href="#">M Kol ALives</a>	<a href="#">M Sha ALives</a>
Adult Lives: Female	<a href="#">F Yet ALives</a>	<a href="#">F Din ALives</a>	<a href="#">F Tur ALives</a>	<a href="#">F Kor ALives</a>	<a href="#">F Kol ALives</a>	<a href="#">F Sha ALives</a>
<a href="#">Old Lives2</a> : Male	<a href="#">M Yet OLives</a>	<a href="#">M Din OLives</a>	<a href="#">M Tur OLives</a>	<a href="#">M Kor OLives</a>	<a href="#">M Kol OLives</a>	<a href="#">M Sha OLives</a>
Old Lives2: Female	<a href="#">F Yet OLives</a>	<a href="#">F Din OLives</a>	<a href="#">F Tur OLives</a>	<a href="#">F Kor OLives</a>	<a href="#">F Kol OLives</a>	<a href="#">F Sha OLives</a>
<a href="#">Young Lives2</a> : Male	<a href="#">M Yet YLives</a>	<a href="#">M Din YLives</a>	<a href="#">M Tur YLives</a>	<a href="#">M Kor YLives</a>	<a href="#">M Kol YLives</a>	<a href="#">M Sha YLives</a>
Young Lives2: Female	<a href="#">F Yet YLives</a>	<a href="#">F Din YLives</a>	<a href="#">F Tur YLives</a>	<a href="#">F Kor YLives</a>	<a href="#">F Kol YLives</a>	<a href="#">F Sha YLives</a>

<sup>44</sup> 4-month questions included in each HH Diary 12

<sup>45</sup> 4-month questions included in each HH Diary 12

<sup>46</sup> 12 month questions included in 4mth HH Diary 3

<sup>47</sup> Male HH Profile presented for both of them

<a href="#">Migration: Male</a>	<a href="#">M Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Kor Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Kol Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">M Sha Migr'n</a>
Migration: Female	<a href="#">F Yet Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Din Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Tur Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Kor Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Kol Migr'n</a>	<a href="#">F Sha Migr'n</a>
<a href="#">Inter-Gen Pov Dyns M</a>	<a href="#">M Yet I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">M Din I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">M Tur I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">M Kor I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">M Kol I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">M Sha I-GPD</a>
Inter-Gen Pov Dyns F	<a href="#">F Yet I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">F Din I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">F Tur I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">F Kor I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">F Kol I-GPD</a>	<a href="#">F Sha I-GPD</a>

**Ethiopia Pilot WeD-QoL**

**Quality of Life Instrument**

31 males and 31 females in each site.

PANAS  
Goals  
Satisfaction with Goal Attainment  
Resources  
Values  
SWLS



**WeD Ethiopia**

Home | Research | [WIDE1&2](#) | [WIDE3](#) | [DEEP](#) | [Academic papers/books](#) | [Policy papers](#) | [Briefings](#) | [People](#) | [News](#) | [Links](#)

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### WELLBEING AND DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA

Updated 11 November 2010

Current project: [WIDE3](#) - Long-term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia

#### Purpose

This longitudinal empirical research programme has picked up traces of the development trajectories of different types of Ethiopian community at different points in time since 1994. Linked data made at community, household and individual levels has been designed to answer both descriptive and causal questions. What are the key structural and cultural dimensions of the community at this point of time? How have they changed since 1994 if at all? What has happened over the years? When and where? And who was and was not involved? How and why did it happen as it did? What were the consequences and for whom? What might happen next?

The regular iteration between ideas and the field during the research programme has been used, on the one hand, to draw empirical, historically-aware conclusions about aspects of some of the most common types of Ethiopian community to inform policy, and on the other to develop theories, conceptual frameworks, and methods of wider relevance. The linkages between these research tools are underpinned by philosophical, scientific and social ontologies derived from complexity social science.

#### Institutional history

This research programme began in 1994 with research leading to the production of a set of fifteen community-level studies ([WIDE1](#)) of the sites selected for the Ethiopian Rural Household panel Survey (ERHS) in 1994. This involved collaboration between the University of Addis Ababa and the Centre for the Study of African Economies at Oxford University. Since 1994 a further six rounds of the ERHS have been conducted by the University of Addis Ababa supported by the International Food Policy Research Institute ([IFPRI](#)), [CSAE](#) and USAID. Two of those rounds included an additional three rural sites. [WIDE2](#) took place in 2003 in the [WIDE1](#) sites plus the three new ERHS communities and two pastoralist communities, as part of the ESRC Wellbeing in Developing Countries ([WeD](#)) Research Programme based at the University of Bath between 2002 and 2007. Four of the [WIDE](#) sites were selected for in-depth study over a period of sixteen months in 2004/5 using a household/individual survey and a set of protocols focused at community, household and person levels. Parallel research was conducted in two new urban sites; the six-site research became known as [DEEP](#).

Since the end of 2006 WeD Ethiopia has not received financial support through an academic institution but has sought funding for analysis of existing data and new fieldwork on a consultancy basis. Research papers using the data have been written for the World Bank (3), Irish Aid, the Inter-Africa Group, and a joint donor fund in Ethiopia.

#### The Ethiopia Longitudinal Community Database

The ELCD can be used alongside the ERHS. It contains longitudinal community-level data on eighteen rural communities (1995–15 sites, 2003–20 and 2010–6) and data made during in-depth fieldwork in four of the rural communities and two urban sites in 2004/5. The Resources and Needs Survey covered a random sample of households from each site and the protocol research includes community, household and individual diaries over a year, and questions about community organisations, collective action, elites, destitute people, views of different kinds of people on quality of life, life histories, norms relating to child-rearing and relations with the elderly, experiences of children, youth and elders of different wealth statuses, conflicts and conflict resolution, migration, household wealth dynamics and shocks, and inter-generational relations.

## Appendix 8: Academic bibliography

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## **WIDE-related methodology publications**

### *Book chapters and papers*

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### *WIDE methodology reports*

Bevan P, 2016 'WIDE Methodology in 2016' <http://ethiopiawide.net/wp-content/uploads/Transition-Methodology.pdf>

## **Academic and policy papers which used WIDE design or data**

### *WIDE1*

Bevan P and A Pankhurst 1996b *A Social Analysis of Fifteen Rural Economies in Ethiopia* A Report for the Overseas Development Administration, UK <http://ethiopiawide.net/wp-content/uploads/WIDE1-Report-to-ODA.pdf>

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## WIDE3 Stage 1

### Final report

- Bevan P, A Pankhurst and C Dom 2010 WIDE3 Stage 1 Final Report
- Annex 1 Methodology
  - Annex 2 Community Situations + Evidence Base
  - Annex 3 Modernisation Processes + Evidence Base
  - Annex 4 Development Interventions + Evidence Base
  - Annex 5 Households and People + Evidence Base

### International academic Conference

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### Papers for development partner

<http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/summary-reports/>

- Bevan, P. with R. Carter and A. Tiumelissan 2011 *Youth on the Path to Adulthood in Changing Rural Ethiopia* WIDE3 Stage1-2 Transition Project.
- Dom, C. with R. Carter and A. Tiumelissan 2011 *The Role of the 'Government Go-Betweens' in Changing Rural Ethiopia* WIDE3 Stage1-2 Transition Project.
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## WIDE3 Stage 2

### Final report

- Bevan 2013 WIDE3 Stage 2 Final Report
- Annex 1 Community Situations (Bevan P and C Dom) + Evidence Base
  - Annex 2 Community Modernisations (Bevan P and C Dom) + Evidence Base
  - Annex 3 Community-policy disconnects (Dom C and P Bevan) + Evidence Base
  - Annex 4: Some Experiences of Intervention Implementation by People in Different Roles
  - Annex 5: Community trajectories (ICES papers - see below) + Evidence Base
  - Annex 6 Methodology

### Papers presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies

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Tefera Goshu and Aster Shibeshi 2012 'Social change: impact of development interventions in the Gelcha community of the Karrayu pastoralists of the Upper Awash Valley of Ethiopia' Paper presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> *International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Dire Dawa.

#### Book chapter

Bevan, P., R. Carter, and C. Dom 2013 'A Tale of Two Productive Safety Net Programme Sites' in (ed) A. Pankhurst, D. Rahmato, and G-J Van Uffelen, *Food Security, Safety Nets and Social Protection: the Ethiopian Experience*, Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies.

#### Wide 3 Stage 3

Bevan P with C Dom and A Pankhurst 2014 WIDE3 Stage 3 Summary Report  
Annex 1 Social Complexity Methodology (P Bevan)  
Annex 2 Community stories summarised (P Bevan)

#### WIDE3 all three stages

Discussion briefs and related papers and books (all on [www.ethiopiawide.net/publications](http://www.ethiopiawide.net/publications))

#### Series 1

EDRI (Girum Abebe) 2014 'Unlocking Agricultural Growth'

EDRI (Girum Abebe) 2014 'Farming and Value Chains'

EDRI (Girum Abebe) 2014 'Work Creation for Rural Youth'

Jones, B 2014 'Equitable Service Delivery'

Vaughan S 2014 'Models & Realities of Transformation'

#### Series II

Published as an Ethiopian and international book of papers and English and Amharic versions of the discussion briefs :

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2017 *Change and Transformation in Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected aspects and implications for policy* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2017 *Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected discussion briefs on change and transformation* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A (ed) 2018 *Amharic Translation of Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: selected discussion briefs on change and transformation* Addis Ababa: PDRC

Pankhurst, A, P Bevan, C Dom, A Tiemelissan, S Vaughan (eds) 2018 *Changing Rural Ethiopia: community transformations* Los Angeles: Tsehai Publishers

#### Book chapters:

Pankhurst A, C Dom and P Bevan 2016 Twenty rural communities in Ethiopia and how they changed: Introducing the WIDE research and the selected policy-relevant topics,

Bevan P 2016 Rurbanisation, urban expansion, and thickening rural-urban links (2010-13)

Pankhurst A 2016 Differentiation, inequalities and social inclusion in rural communities

Pankhurst A 2016 Youth transitions to adulthood and the role of interventions

Dom C 2016 Education in rural Ethiopia (2010-13): aspirations and uncertainties

Bevan P 2016 Reproductive health and well-being: girls in transition to adulthood (2010-13)

Reproductive health and well-being: mothers and infants (2010-13), *Philippa Bevan*

Economic participation of women and girls in rural Ethiopia (2010-13), *Lilli Loveday*  
Loveday L 2016 Migrating for work from rural communities (2010-13)  
Tefera G and C Dom 2016 Insights on economic success in rural communities (2010-13)  
Vaughan S 2016 Innovation, “technology transfer,” and positive social change: models and realities of transformation  
Dom C and A Pankhurst 2016 Conclusions: Strengthening the effectiveness of development interventions in changing rural communities

#### **Papers presented at the 18<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies**

Dom C 2015 ‘Labour outmigration in rural Ethiopia 1995-2010/13’  
Bevan P 2015 ‘Evolving relations between the State and rural societies in Ethiopia 1855 to 2013: similarities and differences in twenty exemplar places’  
Pankhurst A 2015 ‘Women’s transitions to adulthood: change and continuity in female circumcision’

#### *WIDE Bridge*

##### **Series III Discussion Briefs**

Dom C and A Pankhurst (eds) 2019 *Rural Ethiopia in Transitions: selected discussion briefs 2018*:  
Dom C and A Pankhurst 2018 ‘Introducing WIDE’  
Dom C and A Pankhurst 2018 ‘Rural Ethiopia in transition – overview’  
Vaughan S 2018 Land and urbanisation,  
Mulugeta G 2018 ‘Modernising smallholder farming: Achievements, challenges and prospects’  
Mulugeta G 2018 ‘Nonfarm enterprises and ‘rural’ livelihoods: survival and growth’  
Dom C with A Pankhurst 2018 ‘Economic experiences of rural young people in 2018’  
Bevan P 2018 ‘Rural modernisation and increasing economic inequalities’  
Frankowska A 2018 ‘Selected aspects of social protection in 2018’  
Vaughan S 2018 Local government and governance

##### **20<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies October 2018**

Powerpoints <http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/ices20-globalisation-rural-ethiopia/> –

##### *Most to be published as articles*

Bevan, P 2018 ‘Multiple rural involvements in globally-linked modernisation processes: a comparison of four rural communities in Ethiopia’  
Shiferaw F, Bevan P and Frankowska A 2018 ‘The recent impact of globalisation on a rural community in Southern Region, Aze Debo, Kambata Zone’  
Dom, C 2018 ‘Globalisation, climate change and migration in Harresaw: a remote rural community in Eastern Tigray’ ICES20  
Mulugeta G and Bayisa A 2018 ‘Some aspects of global influences, opportunities and challenges in Sirba’ ICES20  
Vaughan S and Shalom A 2018 ‘The recent impact of globalisation on a rural community in Amhara Region: Yetmen, Enemay wereda, East Gojjam’  
Mulugeta G 2018 ‘International migration and the youth among the Kambata community: the views from below and their implications’  
Kiros B 2018 ‘Impacts of international migration: the experience of Aze Debo and Harresaw’  
Dom C 2018 ‘Globalisation and international migration in two Ethiopian communities: Harresaw East Tigray and Aze Debo Kambata’  
Frankowska A 2018 ‘Globalisation and women’s health: evidence from Ethiopia WIDE’

Pankurst A 2018 'Globalisation and youth in four WIDE Ethiopia sites: communication media, leisure and cultural practices'  
Tefera G 2018 'Contrasting livelihoods: changes and scope for diversification in Sirba and Harresaw'  
Agazi T 2018 'Globalisation and education: Ministry of Education intentions and ICT use in two rural communities in Ethiopia'

**WIDE data**

WIDE 3 database on [www.ethiopiawide.net/database](http://www.ethiopiawide.net/database)

Bevan P, 2009a 'Comparative Societal and Policy Baseline for Twenty Exemplar Rural Communities, 1995 and 2003' WIDE3 Stage 1 Inception Paper

Bevan P and A Pankhurst (eds) 1996a *Fifteen Village Studies*

<http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/village-studies-15/>

## Appendix 9: Example of a comparative community livelihood data matrix using WIDE 1 data

Site	agriculture	wealth	terrain	soil	subsistence crops	main cash sources	technology	infra-structure
1 Adele Keke, Oromia	cereals, <i>chat</i> potatoes	rich	flat/hills <i>woyena dega</i>		maize, sorghum, wheat, barley, millet, lentils, fieldpeas	<i>chat</i> , potatoes, cattle, sheep, goats	oxplough; irrigation	PA linked to Dire Dawa, Alemaya (7km) and Harar by main road
2 Sirbana Godeti, Oromia	cereals ( <i>tef</i> ) pulses vegetables	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef</i> , wheat, beans, maize, chickpeas, sorghum, barley	<i>tef</i> , wheat, cattle, meat, milk, sheep, trade	oxplough; tractors; solar pump	PA next to main road to Debre Zeit (1 hour walk)
3 Yetmen, Amhara	cereals, especially <i>tef</i> and wheat	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef</i> , wheat, maize, lentils, chickpeas	<i>tef</i> , wheat, cattle, milk, skins, sheep, wool, bees, trade, some migration	oxplough	PA linked to Bichena (15kms) and Dejen (17kms) by all-weather road
4 Turufe Kecheme, Oromia	cereals, diversified	rich	flat <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>tef</i> , <i>dagusa</i> , millet, barley, maize, wheat, horsebeans, potato, <i>enset</i> vegetables	potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, <i>tef</i> , cattle, milk, butter, goats, sheep, eggs trade, baskets	oxplough	PA linked to Shashemene by 10 kms allweather road and 2-4 kms dryweather road
5 Debre Birhan, Amhara	cereal producing	usually self-supporting	flat	<i>lem/lem taf</i>	barley, peas, horsebeans, wheat, linseed	dungcakes, sheep, goats, cattle, milk, butter, crops (if harvest is good)	oxplough	4 PAS in the vicinity of Debre Birhan
6 Adado, SNNP	coffee <i>enset</i>	mixed	mountainous <i>woyena dega</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>enset</i> , barley, maize, beans, cabbage	coffee, fruit, <i>enset</i> , cattle, sheep, goats, trade, migrate for land, goldmining	hoe a few oxplough	The nearest big town is Dila (23km) on dryweather road. Nearest town 5 km.
7 Aze Debo'a, SNNP	cereals and permanent crops, very mixed	mixed; migration dependent	flat and hilly, <i>woyena dega</i>		<i>enset</i> , wheat, beans, barley, <i>tef</i> , sorghum, peas, potatoes <i>gommen guderie</i>	cattle, butter, cheese, eggs, sheep, goats, <i>gesho</i> , eucalyptus, <i>chat kocho</i> , coffee, trade, migration	hoe oxplough	An allweather road links Aze Debo'a to Durame (4 kms) and Hosaina.
8 Imdibir, SNNP	<i>enset</i>	migration dependent			<i>enset</i> , maize, potato <i>gommen</i>	cattle, sheep, bananas, oranges, coffee, eucalyptus trade, spinning, pottery	hoe rare ploughing	The PA is on the all-weather road between Hosaina and Wolkite
9 Harresaw, Tigray	cereals	vulnerable to famine	flat / slopes <i>woyena dega</i>		barley, wheat, lentils, <i>genfo tuffula</i> , beans, peas, cabbage	cattle, milk, sheep, goats, salt trade, migration to Eritrea and Saudi Arabia	oxplough	There is a dry-weather road to Atsbi (1and 1/2 hours on foot)
10 Korodegaga Oromia	cereals, bordering nomadic	vulnerable to famine	flat <i>kolla</i>	erosion	maize, <i>tef</i> , barley, wheat, haricot beans millet, beans, peas, vetch	selling firewood, cattle, goats, sheep	oxplough irrigation in the past	PA linked to Dheera by dirt road and Awash Malkaasa by a raft over the Awash river.
11 Shumsheha,	cereals	vulnerable to	flat		<i>tef</i> , chick-peas, lentils sorghum, barley, peas, linseed	spinning, basket work, selling <i>tella</i> and <i>araki</i> , selling firewood, migration for	oxplough	The PA is on the dry-weather road from Lalibela to Woldia, near

Site	agriculture	wealth	terrain	soil	subsistence crops	main cash sources	technology	infra-structure
Amhara		famine	<i>kolla</i>			agricultural wagemlabour		airport and new allweather road
12 Geblen, Tigray	cereals	vulnerable to famine	on escarpment <i>dega</i>	<i>taf</i>	barley, maize, <i>tef</i> , cactus (wild food), wheat (aid or bought)	goats, cattle, sheep (few) casual labour in town, migration to Tigray Eritrea	oxplough water/soil conservation techniques	3 hours walk from Adigrat
13 Dinki, Ankober	cereals, bordering nomadic	vulnerable to famine	hilly gorges <i>kolla</i>	erosion	<i>tef</i> , sorghum, maize, banana, sugarcane	cattle, sheep, goats, animal products, spinning, yarnmaking, weaving	oxplough irrigation	<i>wereda</i> capital is 24 km from village
14 Do'oma, SNNP	cereals resettlement village	vulnerable to famine	flat <i>kolla</i>	<i>lem</i>	maize, sweet potato, <i>tef goderie</i> , banana	cotton, weaving, spinning, trading, cattle, milk, butter	irrigation oxplough	nearest town of Wacha is 20 minutes' walk
15 Gara Godo, SNNP	<i>enset</i> and cereals	vulnerable to famine	flat <i>woyena dega</i>		maize, sweet potato, <i>tef</i> cassava, <i>enset</i> , potato, yam, soybeans, oranges vegetables, bananas	trading, food for work, migration to Awash to harvest cotton, butter coffee, cattle, goats sheep	oxplough, axe, spade	densely populated area

## **Appendix 10: DEEP Protocol Disputes and Resolutions**

### **Rationale: WeD framework and understanding Ethiopian communities**

Disputes can be a window onto the often invisible relational dynamics in the communities we are studying. We can understand differences between social categories and groups through their interactions which are revealed in discourses about conflicts and in the processes and outcomes of their resolutions.

Disputes are a means of exploring the crucial yet elusive concept of power through its actualisation in conflicts involving individuals, households, and groups in the social contexts we are studying.

Disputes also involve and affect resources. The different kinds of resources (material, human, social, cultural), at the disposal of individuals, households and groups are deployed in dispute processes. Often the outcomes of disputes affect the unequal distribution of resources.

Disputes are related to poverty and wealth in that the abilities to mobilise resources, time, networks and thereby affect dispute outcomes tend to be in favour of the rich, the well connected, the more influential members of the community. Poverty is not just about lack of assets, but also lack of an ability to influence favourable terms in social, economic, political and cultural relations.

Disputes reflect, reveal and often highlight inequalities: whether we are talking of gender, generation, kinship, wealth, class, caste, religion, ethnicity etc, disputes bring out the fault lines in our communities and can help to understand the struggles for reproducing, questioning and possibly altering inequalities.

Disputes affect quality of life. Whether at the level of the household or the community the extent of conflict affects people's perceptions of how they feel, their attitudes towards life, their life satisfaction, their motivation and abilities to plan, invest, and change their lives. At one extreme conditions of heightened conflict may force or lead individuals to leave the household or community, at the other extreme conditions of harmony and cooperation can provide the pre-conditions and opportunities for moving out of poverty.

Disputes and their resolutions enable us to explore changing relations over time, particularly during the fieldwork period. We can see the processes of how conflicts arise, develop, lead to a crisis and are resolved either with a reconciliation and a reestablishment of the status quo or by altering the relations between peoples and groups in ways that achieve a compromise or favour one side over the other.

Disputes also enable us to understand the most important indigenous institutions, those involved in customary dispute resolution. We can understand their norms, rules and procedures, and thereby local representations of power relations. The contrasts and relations between customary dispute resolution and formal and government established institutions involved in the resolution of conflicts allow us to understand different and possibly contradictory conceptions and relations of power between communities and government.

Disputes enable us to observe contradictions between the level of ideology (norms, values, beliefs), and the level of practice (behaviour). Divergences between the two levels are crucial for understanding how communities and sub-groups define themselves, and trends of social change, (in terms of gender, generation, wealth, class, caste, religion and ethnicity).

### **Approach**

The approach seeks to understand disputes as dynamic processes from the perspective of both mediators and those involved in different kinds of disputes based on selected case studies.

The module involves two protocols, the first with formal and informal members of dispute resolution institutions and the second describing selected disputes from the perspective of protagonists and mediators.

### **Protocol 1: Dispute resolution institutions, processes and outcomes**

**Aim:** This Protocol seeks to understand dispute institutions, processes and outcomes through in-depth interviews with one member of the formal justice system and one member of an informal dispute resolution institution. The selected informants will be asked about to give both a general description of dispute resolution (norms, procedures, processes, outcomes) and specific cases that have occurred and been resolved in the community.

### **Protocol 2: Dispute levels, types and case studies**

**Aim:** This protocol seeks to list, describe disputes by level and type and follow up selected disputes that have involved mediation from the points of view of the protagonists and those involved in mediation and reconciliation. A classification of disputes into levels from the individual to the community with 6 levels and 12 types is proposed as a framework. For each level general types of disputes are suggested, and possible typical exemplars are specified. Three illustrative case studies will then be selected for in-depth study.

#### **Steps in the research**

- List all disputes you have come across in the community from diaries and other work
- Classify these disputes by type, and select one from each type and briefly describe.
- Identify and interview 1 member from informal dispute resolution institutions
- Identify and interview 1 member from the formal institution (Kebele)
- Interview 2 diary respondents (one male, one female) about an internal conflict
- Select three “mature” disputes from different levels for follow up
- For each selected dispute interview 2 respondents involved from opposite sides
- For each case interview 1 person who has been a mediator or 1 neutral person.

#### **Criteria for selecting informants and cases**

- Formal dispute settlement member should be from the Kebele social court = 1
- Informal dispute resolution informant an elder often involved in mediation = 1
- Internal intrapersonal dispute should be a diary respondent you are close to and who is willing to talk about dilemmas = 1 interview
- The 3 cases for follow up should have involved mediation. = 9 interviews
- The 3 cases should also be “mature”, either recently resolved or about to be. (not disputes that have just started or that were resolved a long time ago).
- The three disputes should ideally be from different levels (e.g. 1 from level 2, 1 from levels 3 or 4 and 1 from level 5 or 6) and address issues that are salient locally.
- If you can witness a dispute reconciliation meeting that would be excellent.

**Total number of interviews: 14 interviews between 2 researchers over 6 days.**

#### *Outputs*

- 1) Listing of disputes by type (comment on levels, types and add any additional ones).
- 2) Short description of 1 dispute per type (as far as possible).
- 3) Interview reports on 14 interviews (2 diary respondents on internal conflicts, 2 overall mediators (one formal one informal), 6 disputants (2 for each of the 3 selected cases) + 3 mediators or neutral persons (1 for each of the 3 selected cases))

- 4) Summary report on Protocol 1: Dispute resolution institutions, processes, outcomes.
- 5) Presentation of 3 dispute cases from Protocol 2.
- 6) If possible description of a dispute resolution meeting you witnessed.
- 7) List of respondents, by status: sex, age, wealth status, role in dispute or resolution

### *Levels, types and exemplars*

6 levels are proposed with 12 types and exemplars for each type.

#### **Level 1: intra-personal**

*Dispute type 1: internal conflict over decisions*

Exemplar: Self-questioning over controversial decision

#### **Level 2: Intra household**

*Dispute type 2: gender case*

exemplar: husband - wife

*Dispute type 3: intra-generational*

Exemplar: between siblings: brother – brother, sister – sister, Brother- sister

*Dispute type 4: inter-generational*

Exemplars: Father - son  
Mother - daughter.

*Dispute type 5: Generation and gender*

Exemplars: Father - daughter  
Mother - son

*Dispute type 6: Generation and affinity (marriage)*

Exemplars: Mother or Father in law – Daughter in law  
Father or Mother in Law - Son in Law

*Dispute type 7: With non-relatives*

Exemplars: Household head – labourer, wife -labourer  
Wife - servant, Husband - servant  
Others?

#### **Level 3: Inter-household**

*Dispute type 8: Between different households (exemplars by type of dispute)*

Exemplars: Between households over land  
Between households over adultery  
Between households over cattle entering crops  
Others?

#### **Level 4: Inter-personal**

*Dispute type 9: Between individuals (exemplars by common type of dispute)*

Exemplars: Theft  
Physical fights (.e.g. in bars at markets)  
Murder  
Adultery  
Rape  
Others?

### Level 5: Inter-group within the community

*Dispute type 10: between individuals and groups*

Exemplars: Between groups of age-mates (gangs)  
Abduction (group of men and families of the man and woman)  
Others?

*Dispute type 11: between sub-groups within community*

Exemplars: between religious groups  
between ethnic groups  
between sub-localities (e.g. gots, upstream and downstream)

### Level 6: Inter-community

*Dispute type 12: between the community and other communities or the administration*

Exemplars: Between the community and neighbouring communities  
Between the community and other ethnic or religious communities  
Between the community and the wereda/region administration

## Protocol 1: Dispute resolution institutions, processes and outcomes

*Checklist for interview with formal dispute resolution institution member (Kebele court)*

1. What different kinds of disputes exist in the Kebele?
2. What kinds of disputes are more frequent?
3. What kinds of disputes are less frequent?
4. How are disputes resolved in the Kebele?
5. Who is involved in dispute resolution?
6. What is the role of the Kebele?
7. Who within the Kebele administration is involved?
8. How many people take part?
9. What is the role of elders in dispute resolution?
10. What is the role of religious leaders?
11. What kinds of disputes are resolved at neighbourhood level?
12. What kinds of disputes come to the Kebele?
13. Does the Kebele send cases back to elders? If so what kind?
14. Does the Kebele cooperate with customary institutions?
15. Does the customary institution cooperate with the Kebele?
16. How have relations between the local administration and customary institutions changed over time (imperial/Derg/ EPRDF)?.
17. What are people in conflict about in the area?
18. Has this varied over the three regimes?
19. What kinds of people are in conflict?
20. Who brings cases to the kebele?
21. What are the processes and stages involved in dispute resolution?
22. How long does it usually take to resolve disputes?
23. How are decisions on disputes made?
24. What are the sanctions that can be imposed?
25. Are there cases where an apology is sufficient? If yes explain
26. Are there cases of compensation? If yes explain how it is decided
27. How are women represented in dispute resolution?
28. How are minorities groups represented in dispute resolution?
29. Are there aspects of customary dispute resolution which are unfair?

30. How often does the Kebele consider dispute cases?
31. What kinds of cases were considered in the past month?
32. What were the frequent kinds of cases in the past year?
33. What are the procedures the kebele uses to resolve disputes?
34. What are the rules used to decide on cases?
35. Are procedures written down and records kept?
36. Have there been cases of fines imposed? If so for what?
37. Have there been cases of imprisonment? If so for what?
38. How are decisions enforced?
39. Please describe a few recent cases of disputes considered by the Kebele since Meskerem.
40. In each case who was involved, when did it start, what were the issues, what were the stages, who mediated, what was the outcome, what decision was made by whom, and how was it enforced?

*Checklist for interview with informal dispute resolution institution member (elder)*

1. What different kinds of disputes exist in the Kebele?
2. What kinds of disputes are more frequent?
3. What kinds of disputes are less frequent?
4. How are disputes resolved in the area?
5. Who is involved in dispute resolution?
6. What is the role of the elders?
7. How many elders are involved and how are they selected?
8. What are elders involved in dispute resolution called?
9. What is the role of religious leaders?
10. What kinds of disputes are resolved at neighbourhood level?
11. What kinds of disputes are taken to the Kebele?
12. What are the processes and stages in dispute resolution?
13. How long does it usually take to resolve disputes?
14. Does the Kebele administration send cases back to elders? If so what kind?
15. Does the customary institution cooperate with the Kebele?
16. How have relations with the Kebele administration changed over time (imperial/Derg/EPRDF).
17. What are people in conflict about locally?
18. Has this changed over the three regimes?
19. What kinds of people are in conflict?
20. Who brings cases to the elders?
21. How are decisions on disputes made?
22. What are the sanctions that can be imposed?
23. Are there cases where an apology is sufficient? If yes explain
24. Are there cases of compensation? If yes explain how it is decided
25. what is the role of blessing and cursing?
26. Are there group sessions such as afersata, awchachign etc. Describe.
27. How and by whom are women represented in dispute resolution?
28. How are minorities groups represented in dispute resolution?
29. Are there aspects of customary dispute resolution which are unfair?
30. How often do elders consider dispute cases? Where?
31. What kinds of cases were considered by you in the past month?
32. What were the frequent kinds of cases in the past year?
33. What are the procedures do you use to resolve disputes?
34. What are the rules used to decide on cases?

35. Are procedures written down and records kept?
36. Have there been cases of fines imposed? If so for what?
37. How are decisions enforced?
38. Please describe a few recent cases of disputes you considered since Meskerem.  
In each case who was involved, when did it start, what were the issues, what were the stages, who mediated, what was the outcome, what decision was made by whom, and how was it enforced?

## **Protocol 2: Dispute levels, types and case studies**

*Listing of disputes you have come across through diaries etc.*

- List all disputes you have come across
- Who was involved, what was it about, how was it resolved.
- Classify them by levels and types

*Description of selected disputes by level and type*

Where possible briefly describe one dispute from each of the 12 types. Ideally these should be disputes that have been recently resolved.

- What level and type is the dispute?
- Who is involved in the dispute? (Who are the protagonists)
- When did it start?
- What were the issues at stake?
- Who was involved in mediation?
- When and how and by who was it resolved?

*Three case studies of selected disputes*

### **Interview checklist for the two litigants on either side**

- When did the dispute start?
- How did it start?
- Who provoked the dispute?
- What were the reasons in the beginning?
- What was the first event in the dispute?
- Who became involved subsequently?
- How did the dispute develop, continue?
- Who was involved in mediation?
- Who called mediators?
- Was the case taken to elders? Which ones? How many? On which side?
- Was it taken to religious leaders? If yes which ones?
- Was it taken to the Kebele? If so when?
- What happened at the dispute resolution sessions?
- How many sessions were there and over what time period?
- What was the initial decision of the resolution process?
- Did this decision involve sanctions?
- Was the decision respected by both parties?
- If not how did the dispute continue?
- What events happened after the initial session?
- How was the dispute eventually resolved?
- Are you satisfied with the outcome?

### Questions to a mediator or neutral person in each of the 3 cases

- When did the dispute start?
- How did it start?
- Who provoked the dispute?
- What was the reasons in the beginning?
- What was the first event in the dispute?
- How did the dispute escalate?
- Who was involved in mediation?
- Who called mediators? Elders, religious leaders?
- Which ones? How many? On which side?
- Was it taken to the Kebele? If so when?
- What happened at the dispute resolution sessions?
- How did the elders proceed in the investigation?
- How many sessions were there and over what time period?
- What was the initial decision of the resolution process?
- How was the decision reached?
- Did this decision involve sanctions?
- Were there blessings and cursing involved?
- Was the decision respected by both parties?
- If not how did the dispute continue?
- What events happened after the initial session?
- When was the dispute finally resolved?
- How was the dispute resolved?
- Were the parties to the dispute satisfied with the outcome?
- Are you satisfied with the outcome?

## Appendix 11: Guide to developing and using topic-related frameworks to analyse or produce WIDE data

This appendix outlines a procedure for developing and using topic-related frameworks on already existing data and provides an example on maternal and infant health and well-being.

### A protocol to aid the ordering of data for the evidence base

It has not been clear how everyone is approaching the task of data interpretation and analysis and a lot of the work done is not retained for others to use. I am in favour of using a protocol through which all workings are recordable and recoverable by others. The next section contains an example of use of a protocol which was produced during the writing of the Series II policy discussion brief and related book chapter on maternal health and well-being.

#### *Step 1: Design a conceptual framework related to the main broad question*

Think imaginatively, creatively and thoroughly. The conceptual framework should identify important broad abstract areas for deconstruction into subsets of empirical variates. In the Appendix example five areas for follow-up were identified/

#### *Step 2: Make a conceptual matrix for each of the areas identified in the framework*

Identify the important constituents of each of the areas.

#### *Step 3: Data analysis 1 - use the conceptual matrix to design the data description matrices for the selected areas.*

Topics in the columns and communities in the rows

#### *Step 4: Data analysis 2 – populate the data description matrices using all the available data*

Search the interview data and the community reports – summarise what you find as briefly as possible

#### *Step 5: Data analysis 3 - immerse yourself in the data and familiarise yourself with each community narrative*

Look across the matrix rows and write short thick descriptions for each of the areas identified for each of the communities

#### *Step 6: Data analysis 4 – identify key points in the data description matrices and look for patterns of similarity and difference among the communities*

Look down the matrix columns for commonalities across all **the communities**, for types in relation to each topic column.

Do the same for all **the people** for whom the topic is important –e.g. richer and poorer.

#### *Step 7: Data analysis 5 – in a further search for patterns select key issues to create and explore 20-community truth tables*

- For each key issue categorise each community as e.g. high, medium, low
- Construct truth tables – communities in a column and key issues as rows
- Keep re-organising the data rows so that communities with similar patterns are adjacent
- Add possible explanatory variates such as remoteness, customary cultural repertoires, wealth, regional government... to see if they might relate to different types of community

## Example - maternal and infant health and well-being

This protocol emerged during the writing of the discussion brief and book chapter and was not used thoroughly from the beginning. An important problem in writing the brief was that not much data had been made specifically made with this topic in mind. The

### *Step 1: Design the abstract conceptual framework*

Think imaginatively and creatively about all aspects of the topic

*Questions: how did women and infants experience the process of pregnancy, delivery and early infancy? What did other people do to help them? What relevant government interventions were in place?*

#### Common features

1. Pregnancy, birth, and infancy – a time-bound process – idea of the *pregnancy-infancy cycle*
  - 9 months **pregnancy**
  - **Delivery**
  - **6 months infancy** = 15 months = 450 days.During this period the health and well-being of mother and infant are highly interdependent – idea of the *mother-baby couple*.
2. **Pre-pregnancy** - events and experiences before pregnancy can affect the quality of the pregnancy-infancy cycle
3. Events and experiences during the pregnancy-infancy cycle can have **longer-run consequences** for the health and well-being of
  - Mother
  - Child

#### Variable features

4. Community context – remoteness, wealth, drought, seasonality effects, drinking water, cultural repertoires, government health services
5. Intra-community differences among women – remoteness, wealth, women's work

### *Step 2: Make a conceptual matrix for each of the five areas identified in the conceptual framework*

Identify the important constituents of each of the areas identified in the conceptual framework

1. **Pre-pregnancy** – what events and experiences might be important?
  - infertility
  - contraception
  - circumcision
  - age of marriage
  - rape
  - forced abduction
2. **Pregnancy**- what events and experiences might be important? –  
*Mother*
  - pregnancy outside marriage
  - abortion
  - miscarriage
  - physical and mental aspects of being pregnant
  - diet
  - work and rest
  - illnesses e.g. malaria, German measles

- stress
- ante-natal care

*Infant*

- miscarriage, abortion, death in womb
- developmental problems
- malnutrition
- maternal stress
- ante-natal care

3. **Delivery** - what events and experiences might be important?

*Relevant to mother and infant*

- prematurity
- birth complications
- birth damage
- death – relevant to both mother and infant
- cleanliness of environment – place of delivery
- skill of helpers

4. **First 6 months of infancy** - what events and experiences might be important?

*Mother*

- Diet and breast-feeding
- PNC
- work and rest

*Infant*

- Breast-feeding/diet
- PNC
- maternal caring
- hygiene, clothes etc.
- illness and healthcare

5. Possible **longer-run consequences**

*Mother*

- fistula
- prolapse
- infertility.

*Infant*

- physical problems
- brain damage

*Step 3: Data analysis 1 - use the conceptual matrix to design the [data description matrices](#)*

- Topics-columns
- Communities - rows

*Step 4: Data analysis 2: populate the data description matrices using the available data*

- Record notes on everything you can find on the topic for each community in the community reports/interview data

*N.B. Since we were using secondary data that was not designed to cover this issue thoroughly there were considerable gaps in the data.*

*The conceptual framework and related data analysis matrices described here provide the basis for designing Data Protocols for a comprehensive focused study in the future.*

*Step 5: Data analysis 3 - data immersion and familiarisation with each [community narrative](#)*

- Use the data description matrices to develop a narrative or ‘thick description’ about women and infants experiences in each of the communities in each of the five stages – pre-pregnancy, pregnancy, delivery, early infancy, longer-term consequences
- Develop a single narrative combining the five narratives

*Step 6: Data analysis 4 –use the data description matrices to create [data pattern matrices](#)*

- Down the topic columns
  - **commonalities across all communities** – create **commonality matrices** to underpin general conclusions
  - **differences and similarities among the communities** - generate ‘types’ related to the topic – make a separate matrix for each type - look for other similarities among the communities in each type which might help explain those similarities
  - **commonalities across all women who become mothers**
  - **differences and similarities among women who become mothers** – generate types related to the topic

*Step 6: Data analysis 5- select key issues to create and explore 20-community [truth tables](#)*

- For each key issue categorise each community as e.g. high, medium, low
- Construct truth tables – communities in a column and key issues as rows
- Keep re-organising the data rows so that communities with similar patterns are adjacent
- Add possible explanatory variates such as remoteness, customary cultural repertoires, wealth, regional government... to see if they might relate to different types of community

*Step 7: Identify policy issues for discussion with government and development partners*

- Use the commonality data pattern matrices to identify conclusions related to the five areas which apply to all communities
- For each area compare these with relevant (1) government macro policies and (2) their implementation at kebele level
- Identify missing policies, and gaps between policies and implementation
- Use the differences data pattern matrices to identify differences among communities requiring adapted (1) policies or (2) implementation of general policies – suggest what these communities are examples of

*Conceptual matrix*

Abstract general conceptual framework		Differences in community context with potential impacts							Intra-community differences among women			
Maternal and infant health and well-being: main concepts		Issues & risks	Remote-ness	Wealth	Weather	Season-ality	Drinking water	Cultural repertoires & gender relations	Implementation of government policies	Remoteness	Wealth	Marital status
Pre-pregnancy	Woman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Infertility</li> <li>• Contraception</li> <li>• Circumcision</li> <li>• Age of marriage</li> <li>• Rape</li> <li>• Forced abduction</li> </ul>										
Pregnancy	Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unmarried pregnancy</li> <li>• Abortion</li> <li>• Miscarriage</li> <li>• Physical problems</li> <li>• Diet</li> <li>• Work &amp; rest</li> <li>• Illnesses</li> <li>• Stress</li> <li>• Mental problems</li> <li>• ANC</li> </ul>										
Pregnancy	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Miscarriage</li> <li>• Abortion</li> <li>• Death in womb</li> <li>• Developmental problems</li> <li>• Malnutrition</li> <li>• Prematurity</li> <li>• Stress</li> </ul>										

Abstract general conceptual framework		Differences in community context with potential impacts							Intra-community differences among women			
Maternal and infant health and well-being: main concepts		Issues & risks	Remote-ness	Wealth	Weather	Season-ality	Drinking water	Cultural repertoires & gender relations	Implementation of government policies	Remoteness	Wealth	Marital status
Delivery	Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unclean environment</li> <li>• Unskilled helpers</li> <li>• Birth complications</li> <li>• Birth damage</li> <li>• Death</li> </ul>										
Delivery	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unclean environment</li> <li>• Unskilled helpers</li> <li>• Birth complications</li> <li>• Birth damage</li> <li>• Death</li> </ul>										
Early infancy	Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diet &amp; breast-feeding</li> <li>• PNC</li> <li>• Work &amp; rest</li> </ul>										
Early infancy	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Breast-milk/diet</li> <li>• PNC</li> <li>• Maternal caring</li> <li>• Hygiene &amp; clothes</li> <li>• Illnesses &amp; health care</li> </ul>										
Longer-term consequences	Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fistula</li> <li>• Prolapse</li> </ul>										
Longer-term consequences	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor physical devt</li> <li>• Brain damage</li> </ul>										

## Data description matrices

### Pre-pregnancy data matrix

Community	Infertility	Contraception	Circumcision	Age of marriage	Rape	Abduction
Geblen						
Harresaw						
etc						

### Pregnancy – data matrix

Community	Unmarried pregnancy	Abortion	Miscarriage	Physical problems	Diet	Work & rest	Illnesses	Stress	Mental problems	ANC
Geblen mother										
Geblen infant										
Harresaw mother										
Harresaw infant										
etc										

### Delivery – data matrix

Community	Environment	Helpers	Complications	Damage	Death
Geblen mother					
Geblen infant					
Harresaw mother					
Harresaw infant					
etc					

### Early infancy matrix

Community	Diet & breast-feeding	PNC	Work & rest; maternal care	Hygiene & baby clothes	Illnesses & healthcare
Geblen mother					
Geblen infant					
Harresaw mother					
Harresaw infant					
etc					

### Longer-term health consequences

Community	Fistula	Prolapse	Infertility	Poor physical development	Brain damage
Geblen mother					
Geblen infant					
Harresaw mother					

Community	Fistula	Prolapse	Infertility	Poor physical development	Brain damage
Harresaw infant					
etc					

### *Community narrative outline*

#### **Geblen**

##### *Community context*

- Remote
- Poor
- Drought-prone
- Seasonality
- Drinking water
- Cultural repertoires & gender relations
- Region
- Implementation of government policies

##### *Pre-pregnancy*

- Infertility
- Contraception
- Circumcision
- Age of marriage
- Rape
- Forced abduction

##### *Pregnancy*

- Pregnancy outside marriage
- Abortion and miscarriage
- Being pregnant
- Diet
- Work and rest
- Illnesses
- Stress
- ANC

##### *Delivery*

- Prematurity
- Birth complications
- Birth damage
- Death of mother
- Death of infant
- Cleanliness of environment
- Skill of helpers

##### *Early infancy*

- Maternal diets, breast-feeding and infant supplementary food
- PNC
- Maternal work, rest and care for infant
- Infant hygiene, clothing etc
- Infant illnesses and healthcare

### Longer-term consequences

- Fistula
- Prolapse
- Infertility
- Poor infant physical development
- Brain damage

### Harresaw

And the other communities

### Data pattern matrices

Example Contraception

Community	Low use	Medium use	High use
Community 1 low use	<i>Summarised key points from the data description matrix</i>		
Community 2 low use etc			
Community 1 medium use		<i>Summarised key points from the data description matrix</i>	
Community 2 medium use etc			
Community 1 high use			<i>Summarised key points from the data description matrix</i>
Community 2 high use etc			

Look for other similarities in the communities in the different categories e.g. religion, region...

### Truth tables

Example pre-pregnancy issues

Community	Infertility	Contraception	Circumcision	Age of marriage	Rape	Abduction
Geblen	NA	Low	None	Higher	High	None
Harresaw						
etc						

Once complete re-organise in a search for patterns

Do the same for the other four stages : pregnancy, delivery, early infancy, longer term consequences

Look across the stages in case of cross-stage patterns

### A protocol to aid the design of a module for new fieldwork: example - experiences of drought 2015-16

This could have been used in the two drought-prone Bridge communities. There were data about drought in these communities from 1995, 2003 and 2010-13.

### Learning from WIDE1-3 data

Question: What did we learn about drought experiences from WIDE2 and WIDE3?

Some quick answers off the top of my head:

- Livestock deaths and sales - debt
- Migration
- Extension programme not effective in 2003 due to droughts

- Drought leads to insufficient income from agricultural production – decline in productivity
- Food aid saved lives; some misuse – directed to kebele official relatives, merchants bought it from recipients at a cheap price and sold it at an expensive price to urban residents
- Pastoralists had to move long distances to get pasture and water for cattle
- Cattle died due to lack of fodder and water
- During drought women in Koro collected and sold firewood
- Women, men and children affected differently by food shortages
- Breast milk can dry up
- Children dropping out of school to go to work as day labourers in nearby town; or because parents unable to cover costs
- Recurrent drought makes people poorer and poorer
- Mutual support among clan members in times of crisis including drought
- Equb not functional
- Crops not drought resistant
- Irrigation lacking
- NGO aid
- Afforestation programme failed
- People given oxen due to drought had to sell them to buy food
- Do'oma – government resettled drought-affected people
- Tax beyond capacity due to drought
- Food shortage made young men too weak for abduction

WIDE2 data 2003 used in a comparative paper

- Did market-integrated sites suffer less?
- Did sites with *enset* production suffer less?
- Did pastoralist sites suffer more?
- Were coping strategies different in food deficit sites from food surplus sites?
- Many respondents reluctant to simply attribute deaths to 'famine'

### *Designing a new research project*

#### **Step 1: Design the abstract conceptual framework**

Think creatively about all aspects of the topic

*Question: what is it about the 2015-16 drought that it would be useful for government and development partners to know*

Common questions – again off the top of my head

1. What happened –belgs, mehers 2015 2016
2. How it affected production of staples, other rainfed crops, irrigated crops, fodder, water for animals, drinking water
3. Consequences for food consumption and nutrition (especially pregnant women & lactating mothers, infants and children, adolescents)
4. Consequences for agricultural investment, debt, non-farm activity
5. Household coping strategies – rich, middle, poor farmers; rich, middle, poor landless
6. Consequences for community cohesion
7. Government aid – PSNP, EFA, other

Variable features

8. Kind of drought
9. Community context

## 10. Intra-community differences

*Step 2: Make a conceptual matrix for each issue identified in the conceptual framework*

There could be ten issues..

Continue with Steps 3 – 7 as described in the mother-infant example.

Give the fieldworkers all the data for the community they are going to study.

Use the data description matrix column headings to design the light protocol to guide their anthropological research with them as a team.

## Appendix 12: A list of development interventions potentially entering rural communities in 2013

Table 18: 103 development interventions potentially entering rural communities in 2013

<b>Interventions related to the community place</b>	
Land use and infrastructure	1. Community land planning: villagisation, smallholder farming, communal grazing/forest, kebele centre/town, markets, investors
	2. Investment in public buildings
	3. Investment in internal roads: new roads; bridges, maintenance
	4. Investment in external roads: new roads, bridges, maintenance
	5. Feeder roads: new roads, bridges, maintenance
	6. Electricity: from the grid to the community, within the community
	7. Phones: masts and maintenance, network capacity
	8. TV/radio: masts, programmes and restrictions ; <i>regulation</i>
	9. Investment in irrigation: infrastructure, wells, pumps, drip irrigation, etc
Environment	10. Watershed management including erosion and flood prevention, water for people & livestock, irrigation
	11. Interventions aimed at the local ecology: tree-planting, animal protection
	12. Interventions specifically related to climate change
	13. Soil interventions: fertilisers, lime, compost, crop rotation, mixed crops
<b>Interventions to change people's opportunities and wellbeing</b>	
Interventions to improve young people's lives	14. Youth co-operatives, extension advice, inputs, targeted credit, training (mostly aimed at young men)
	15. HIV/AIDS clubs; youth clubs,
Interventions to improve young men's lives	16. Boys school clubs
	17. Male sports opportunities
Interventions to improve young women's lives	18. Banning of female circumcision: awareness-raising, legislation, implementation
	19. Adolescent reproductive health
	20. Girls clubs at school
	21. Positive discrimination education and govt jobs;
	22. Female sports opportunities
Interventions to improve adult women's lives	23. Interventions related to marriage age, choice etc
	24. Women's livelihood interventions: women's co-operatives, extension advice, inputs, targeted credit, training
	25. Women's empowerment: Women's property rights: widows, divorcées, daughters
	26. Women's security: rape, abduction, domestic male violence – legislation and implementation
<b>Livelihood interventions</b>	
Land	27. Smallholder land access regulation: registration, leasing, share-cropping rules, inheritance, compensation
	28. Investor access to land: Regional, zonal, wereda, kebele procedures and implementation
	29. Urban land access: rules and implementation
Farming	30. Irrigation-related interventions
	31. Other farm technology interventions
	32. Crop extension advice and resource provision: use of inputs, farming technologies & techniques etc
	33. Livestock extension & vet services: fattening, dairy cows, cross-breeds, vet, chickens, bees, etc
	34. Grazing land management and fodder interventions
	35. Inputs regulation & Service Co-operatives: fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides, SC regulation
	36. Output sales regulation & Service/coffee co-operatives
	37. Interventions to promote labour co-operation: 1-5s
	38. Interventions affecting agricultural employment
	39. Producer co-operatives: potentially - mobilisation, registration, land access, credit access, training
Non-farm interventions	40. Non-farm packages
Migration	41. Migration policies: advice on migration; measures to control illegal migration; management of legal migration
Credit	42. Credit and saving: Regional MFIs, RUSACCOs, other - rules
Taxes	43. Land taxes: setting of differential rates; tax collection
	44. Licences & income tax: registration; individual decisions about annual tax; tax collection
	45. Market taxes: rates; collection
<b>Interventions to change the human re/pro/duction system</b>	

Social protection and inclusion	46. Social protection interventions: food aid; oil & sugar subsidies; targeted orphans, very poor, disabled, etc
	47. Interventions to help landless, very poor, orphans, disabled people, old people etc
	48. Interventions to help un(der)employed people
	49. Social exclusion interventions: craftworkers, 'slaves'
Education	50. Pre-school interventions: kindergartens, Grade 0s
	51. Primary school interventions: buildings, teachers, equipment, attendance, accountability, community contributions, exams, 1-5s
	52. Secondary school interventions: buildings, teachers, equipment, accountability, community contributions, exams, 1-5s
	53. TVET and private colleges: buildings, teachers, courses, government financial support for students, regulation of private colleges, Certificate of Competence exams
	54. Universities: buildings, teachers, courses, government financial support for students, regulation of private universities, certificate of competence
55. Functional adult literacy interventions	
Domestic work interventions	56. Interventions to improve domestic technologies: grain mills, improved stoves, access to fuel
Leisure	57. Leisure-related interventions: reducing saints' days; watershed management programme completion parties
Population control	58. Family planning: pills, injections, implants, condoms
Mother, infant and child health	59. Pregnancy, birth, infant care: ante- and post-natal care; clean and safe deliveries; other mother and child services
	60. Child nutrition: malnutrition interventions; breast-feeding to 6 months; general nutritional education;
	61. Children's health: vaccinations,
Nutrition	62. General nutrition: food aid/subsidies: subsidised sugar and oil; teaching
Safe water	63. Safe water: protected springs, wells, reservoirs, pipes, taps – construction and maintenance
Preventive health services	64. Health Post and extension orgn: building, equipment, staff and their skills, packages, drugs,
	65. Hygiene and environmental sanitation: latrine, hand-washing, cleanliness, solid and liquid waste packages
	66. Disease prevention & control: malaria, TB, HIV/AIDS etc
Curative health services	67. Interventions regulating private and traditional practitioners
	68. Health centres and hospitals including reproductive health services
	<b>Interventions relating to politics</b>
Governance structures	69. Kebele cabinet: Criteria for kebele chair and voluntary cabinet, selection, instructions, reporting, <i>gimgema</i> , buildings, resources
	70. Party organisation: core leadership, cells, party membership, selection of officials, instructions, reporting, <i>gimgema</i> , party newspaper
	71. Kebele committees: which committees, selection of chairs and members, follow-up
	72. Kebele council: selection of candidates for election, elections, accountability?
	73. Model farmers: selection, duties, privileges
	74. Other models: selection, duties, privileges
	75. Sub-kebele organisation: sub-kebele structures, selection of officials, instructions, <i>gimgema</i>
	76. Household head Development Teams: Selection of DT areas and officials, instructions, <i>gimgema</i>
	77. Women's Development Teams: Selection of officials, instructions, <i>gimgema</i>
	78. HH head 1-5s: mapping of members; instructions to 1-5 head, reporting, <i>gimgema</i>
	79. Women's 1-5s: mapping of members; instructions to 1-5 head, reporting, <i>gimgema</i>
80. Women's organisations: Association, League and Federation organisation; choice of leaders; instructions; monitoring; duties and privileges	
81. Youth organisations: Association, League and Federation organisation; choice of leaders; instructions; monitoring; duties and privileges	
Community contributions	82. Contributions in cash & kind: regular cash contributions to the kebele; one-off cash and in-kind contributions for kebele, wereda, regional, federal expenditures
	83. Work contributions: Public Works, work for kebele officials busy in meetings
Accountability	84. Elections: organising elections; mobilising community members to register and vote; warning off Opposition parties
	85. Accountability: targets, reporting, <i>gimgema</i>
Community planning	86. Planning for the community: wereda-kebele interactions; wereda-community interactions; kebele-community interactions
Army recruitment	87. Conscription: mobilisation of army recruits; organisation of support for families
	<b>Interventions to change aspects of society</b>
Security and justice	88. Policing - militia, community & wereda police – staffing and implementation
	89. Security – peace and security committee, controlling dissent; party cells & 1-5s
	90. Justice - social court: building, staff, stationery etc; use of elders, <i>iddir</i> – see below

	91. Wereda court: building, staff etc
Elite creation	92. Elite creation interventions: selection of kebele officials, champion and model farmers, customary leaders to work with govt
Involvement of community-initiated organisations in government work	93. Involvement of elders in interventions by government
	94. Involvement of iddir in interventions by government
	95. Involvement of religious leaders in interventions by government
Policies related to religion	96. Involvement of other leaders in interventions by government
	97. Policies related to religion: preaching religious tolerance; managing religious conflicts; controlling religious extremism
NGO management	98. NGO involvement: activities; consequences of controlling international funding; managing NGO involvement
<b>Interventions to change people's ideas directly</b>	
Government and party awaring activities	99. Government awaring activities: trainings; kebele and sub-kebele meetings; messages sent to 1-5s via DTs; annual plan meetings assessing last year and planning next one; use of <i>iddir</i> and religious meetings; via schools
	100. Party propaganda & meetings: cell meetings; party newspaper
Government management & regulation of other information sources	101. Government activities to reduce incoming dissenting voices
	102. Government radio & TV; regulation of other broadcasters
Interventions to reduce HTPs	103. Interventions to reduce HTPs

### Appendix 13: Topic-Module matrix used in WIDE3 Stage 2 Fieldwork 1

	<b>Module 1 Wereda officials</b>	<b>Module 2 History</b>	<b>Module 3 Kebele officials</b>	<b>Module 4: Community members</b>
Key social actors in the community		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Local elites</li> <li>Local connections with the wereda</li> <li>Government employees resident in the community</li> </ul>		
Social equity & interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Insurance</li> <li>Promoting equity for women</li> <li>Youth policies and programmes</li> <li>Getting government services to poor people</li> <li>Interventions to help vulnerable people</li> <li>Other</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wealth and poverty</li> <li>Status differentiation</li> <li>Genderage inequities</li> <li>Social exclusion</li> <li>Adverse incorporation</li> <li>Vulnerable adults and children</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Insurance</li> <li>Promoting equity for women</li> <li>Youth policies and programmes</li> <li>Getting government services to poor people</li> <li>Interventions to help vulnerable people</li> <li>Other</li> </ul>	
Community in broader context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kebele-wereda-Zone relations – vertical and horizontal</li> <li>Relations with adjacent communities / ethnic groups</li> <li>Urban proximity</li> <li>Relative community wealth</li> </ul>			
Households		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Numbers and types of household</li> <li>Numbers and types of people</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Are people restructuring households to qualify for PSNP / HABP?</li> <li>How</li> </ul>
Community public goods & interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roads and bridges</li> <li>Land use</li> <li>Public buildings</li> <li>Modern infrastructure</li> <li>Environment</li> <li>Taxes and contributions</li> <li>Other public goods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Terrain</li> <li>Climate and weather</li> <li>Spatial patterns</li> <li>Technology</li> <li>Livelihood systems</li> <li>Crises since 2005</li> <li>Inflation</li> <li>Other</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roads and bridges</li> <li>Land use</li> <li>Public buildings</li> <li>Modern infrastructure</li> <li>Environment</li> <li>Taxes and contributions</li> <li>Other public goods</li> </ul>	
Livelihood interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Land-related</li> <li>Moving people</li> <li>Water for farming</li> <li>Farming interventions</li> <li>Non-farm interventions</li> <li>Micro-credit and savings</li> <li>PSNP Food/Cash FW</li> <li>Co-operatives</li> <li>Anti-HTP interventions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Theft</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Land-related</li> <li>Moving people</li> <li>Water for farming</li> <li>Farming interventions</li> <li>Non-farm interventions</li> <li>Micro-credit and savings</li> <li>PSNP Food/Cash FW</li> <li>Co-operatives</li> <li>Anti-HTP interventions</li> </ul>	

	<b>Module 1 Wereda officials</b>	<b>Module 2 History</b>	<b>Module 3 Kebele officials</b>	<b>Module 4: Community members</b>
Human re/pro/duction interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food aid</li> <li>• Nutrition</li> <li>• Safe water</li> <li>• Preventive health generally</li> <li>• Hygiene &amp; environmental sanitation</li> <li>• Disease prevention and control</li> <li>• Curative health services</li> <li>• Reproductive health services</li> <li>• Mother and child services</li> <li>• Child policies</li> <li>• Pre-school education</li> <li>• Primary education</li> <li>• Secondary education</li> <li>• Post-secondary education</li> <li>• Other training</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in child-rearing practices</li> <li>• Traditional medicine</li> <li>• Attitudes to education</li> <li>• Cooking fuel</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food aid</li> <li>• Nutrition</li> <li>• Safe water</li> <li>• Preventive health generally</li> <li>• Hygiene &amp; environmental sanitation</li> <li>• Disease prevention and control</li> <li>• Curative health services</li> <li>• Reproductive health services</li> <li>• Mother and child services</li> <li>• Child policies</li> <li>• Pre-school education</li> <li>• Primary education</li> <li>• Secondary education</li> <li>• Post-secondary education</li> <li>• Other training</li> </ul>	
Social re/pro/duction & interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marriage related interventions</li> <li>• Using community-initiated organisations</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social institutions</li> <li>• Social networks</li> <li>• Social organisations</li> <li>• Social cohesion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marriage related interventions</li> <li>• Using community-initiated organisations</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>	
Community management interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kebele Council</li> <li>• Kebele Cabinet</li> <li>• Kebele manager</li> <li>• Sub-kebele structures</li> <li>• Other government-instigated organisations</li> <li>• Relationships among structures/organisations</li> <li>• Planning and consultation</li> <li>• Rights and duties of community members</li> <li>• Accountability</li> <li>• Security and policing</li> <li>• Justice</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural dis/connects and social interactions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kebele Council</li> <li>• Kebele Cabinet</li> <li>• Kebele manager</li> <li>• Sub-kebele structures</li> <li>• Other government-instigated organisations</li> <li>• Relationships among structures/organisations</li> <li>• Planning and consultation</li> <li>• Rights and duties of community members</li> <li>• Accountability</li> <li>• Security and policing</li> <li>• Justice</li> <li>• Other</li> </ul>	
Ideas & interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presentation of government models of development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modern repertoires</li> <li>• Customary repertoires</li> <li>• Government models</li> <li>• NGO models</li> <li>• New ideas from religious missionaries</li> <li>• Ideas from returning migrants</li> <li>• Ideas from diaspora connections</li> <li>• Ideas from the media</li> </ul>	<p>Presentation of government models of development</p>	

### Appendix 14: WIDE3 Research Officer experience

WIDE2/DEEP	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	WIDE Bridge	WIDE4
	<b>Geblen</b>	<b>Harresaw</b>	<b>Kormargefia</b>	<b>Harresaw</b>	
<b>Kiros Berhanu</b>	<b>Eyerusalem Yihdego</b>	<b>Kiros Berhanu</b>	<b>Meseret Negash</b>	Gezach Woldu	
	Melete Gebre Giorgis	<b>Solomon G/Selassie</b>	<b>Damtew Yirgu</b>	<b>Solomon G/Selassie</b>	
	Alula Ayele				
<b>Yohannes Gezahegn</b>	Yohannes Gezahegn				
	<b>Yetmen</b>	<b>Shumsheha</b>	<b>Sirba</b>	<b>Yetmen</b>	
	<b>Kiros Berhanu</b>	<b>Eyerusalem Yihdego</b>	<b>Asmeret Gebre Hiwet</b>	<b>Aster Shibeshi,</b>	
<b>Damtew Yirgu</b>	<b>Damtew Yirgu</b>	<b>Damtew Yirgu</b>	<b>Shiferaw Fujie</b>	<b>Damtew Yirgu</b>	
	<b>Dinki</b>	<b>Gelcha</b>	<b>Oda Dawata</b>	<b>Sirba</b>	
<b>Aster Shibeshi</b>	Ayda Yimer	<b>Aster Shibeshi</b>	<b>Aster Shibeshi</b>	<b>Bizuayehu Ayele</b>	
<b>Agazi Tiemelissan</b>	<b>Agazi Tiemelissan</b>	<b>Tefera Goshu</b>	Derartu Abera	Bayisa Amdissa	
			Tolosa Mamuye		
	<b>Korodegaga</b>	<b>Adele Keke</b>	<b>Oda Haro</b>	<b>Aze Debo</b>	
	<b>Aster Shibeshi</b>	<b>Bizuayehu Ayele</b>	<b>Eyerusalem Yihdego</b>	Alemgena Gebre Yohannes	
<b>Workneh Abebe</b>	Yared Tefera	Tesso Berisso	<b>Workneh Abebe</b>	<b>Shiferaw Fujie</b>	
	<b>Turufe</b>	<b>Aze Debo</b>	<b>Somodo</b>		
	<b>Bizuayehu Ayele</b>	Dename Eyoel	<b>Bizuaheyu Ayele</b>		
	<b>Demissie Gudisa</b>	Mulugeta Eyoel	Alima Jibril		
			<b>Tefera Goshu</b>		
	<b>Girar</b>	<b>Gara Godo</b>	<b>Adado</b>		
	Maji Hailemariam	<b>Asnakech Gebrekidan</b>	<b>Kiros Berhanu</b>		
	<b>Shiferaw Fujie</b>	<b>Samuel Urkato</b>	<b>Samuel Urkato</b>		
<b>Dagne Shibru</b>	Theodros Wolde Giorgis	<b>Do'omaa</b>	<b>Dagne Shibru</b>		
		<b>Meseret Negash</b>			
		<b>Shiferaw Fujie</b>			
		<b>Luqa</b>			
<b>Asmeret Gebre Hiwet</b>		<b>Asmeret Gebre Hiwet</b>			
<b>Demissie Gudisa</b>		<b>Demissie Gudisa</b>			
<b>For possible WIDE4 advice</b>					
	<i>Aster Shibeshi</i>	Korodegaga	Gelcha	Oda Dawata	
	<i>Bizuayehu Ayele</i>	Turufe	Adele Keke	Somodo	
	<i>Damtew Yirgu</i>	Shumsheha	Kormargefia	Yetmen	
	<i>Shiferaw Fujie</i>	Girar	Do'oma	Sirba	
	<i>Tefera Goshu</i>	Gelcha	Somodo		
	<i>Kiros Berhanu</i>	Adado			
	<i>Asmeret Gebre Hiwet</i>	Luqa			
	<i>Workneh Abebe</i>	Oda Haro			
	<i>Asnakech Gebrekidan?</i>	Gara Godo			
	<i>Agazi Tiemelissan</i>	Dinki			
	<i>Yohannes Gezahegn</i>	Geblen			
	<i>Alima Jibril</i>	Somodo			
	<i>Gezach Woldu</i>	(Harresaw)			
	<i>Bayisa Amdissa</i>	(Sirba)			

## Appendix 15: Modules in WIDE3 and WIDE Bridge

FW1; FW2

Stage 1 Modules 8-10	Stage 2 Modules 10	Stage 3 Modules 11	WIDE Bridge 15
FIELDWORK DAYS 35 FW1 = 15 days <i>GAP 21 days or so</i> FW2 20 days	FIELDWORK DAYS 46 FW1 23 days <i>GAP 48 days</i> FW2 23 days	FIELDWORK DAYS 49 FW1 35 days <i>GAP 5 months</i> FW2 14 days	FIELDWORK DAYS 36 FW1 = 12 days; <i>GAP 20 days</i> FW2 = 24 days
Wereda officials Round 1	Wereda officials: the wereda; the kebele; DIs affecting the wereda; kebele devt potential	Wereda officials	Wereda officials: about the wereda and the kebele
Wereda officials Round 2			Wereda officials 2 – focus on the selected topics
Kebele officials	Kebele officials: changes in kebele structures and activities; leaders experiences of DIs	Kebele officials	Kebele/Municipality officials
			K/M officials 2 – focus on the selected topics
Community & history/trajectory	Community & history/trajectory since 2003: all domains of community life including external relations	Community & history/trajectory	Community & history/trajectory – knowledgeable informants
Interventions: male and female household heads and wives	Experiences of recent interventions: 40 interventions; 6 community respondents for each	Fact sheet	The community economy – numerous interviews with specified people
Households	Households	Households	Farmers – questions on the selected topics
Interventions: dependent adults and youth	Marginalised people		Non-farmers – questions on the selected topics
			Urban residents – questions on the selected topics
	Youth stories: male and female	Youth	Youth
Community organisations and their leaders	Community organisations and their leaders: community-initiated; govt-initiated; NGO-initiated	Notable people	Influential people – community management
Development actors	Community member vignettes: movers and shakers	Farming	Farming
Gender & HIV/AIDS	PSNP + OFSP/HABP: deeper exploration	Non-farming	Non-farming
		Important happenings since FW1	Inequality – v rich and v poor & formal social protection
Site specific	Site specific identified during FW1	Seasonality of activities	PSNP beneficiaries AD & Harresaw
Research officer topics	Research officer topics	Daily diary	
Election notes		Election notes	
		Happenings since Fieldwork 1	

## Appendix 16: Example of part of a module and the corresponding report document from Stage 2

### Module 5: Community organisations, networks and activists

#### Purpose of the research

To explore the organisations and networks in the community and the roles and goals of the movers and shakers

#### Respondents

We are asking about a lot of roles in the community but some people may fill more than one. You should check with everyone you interview whether they are qualified to ask other questions. This is the list of people to interview:

*Head of the Seedlings Nursery*  
*Chair of the Land Conservation Administration (or equivalent)*  
*Chair of the Natural Resource Management Committee (or equivalent)*  
*Development Agent NRM*  
*Chair of the Development Committee*  
*Public Works organiser*  
*Tax/contributions collector – who is it?*  
*Development Agent Crops*  
*Development Agent Livestock*  
*Veterinarian*  
*Irrigation organisation leader*  
*Savings and Credit organisation leader*  
*Service Co-operative leader*  
*Successful Youth Co-operative leader*  
*Failed Youth Co-operative leader*  
*Successful Women's Co-operative leader – female interview*  
*Failed Women's Co-operative leader – female interview*  
*NGO with livelihood intervention - intervention leader*  
*Kebele Food Aid Organisation/committee leader*  
*Kebele Health Committee leader*  
*Health Extension Worker 1 - female interviewer*  
*Health Extension Worker 2 - female interviewer*  
*Health Promoter/volunteer – female interviewer*  
*Health Army member – female interviewer*  
*Health Centre head– only if it is in the community*  
*Drinking water Committee/Organisation leader*  
*Kebele Education Committee leader*  
*Kindergarten head*  
*Head teacher*  
*Male primary school teacher – male interview*  
*Female primary school teacher – female interview*  
*Parent-Teacher Association leader*  
*NGO with health and/or education interventions – leader of intervention*  
*Elders' committee leader – male interviewer*  
*Religious leader 1 – male interviewer*  
*Religious leader 2 – male interviewer*  
*Clan/lineage leader – male interviewer*  
*Other community-specific customary organisation leader 1*  
*Other community-specific customary organisation leader 2*  
*The largest Iddir leader*

*Meskel feast organisation leader*  
*The largest Equb leader*  
*The largest mehaber leader*  
*Other community-initiated membership organisation leader 1*  
*Other community-initiated membership organisation leader 2*  
*NGO-initiated community-based organisation leader*  
*The kebele chair*  
*The kebele vice-chair*  
*Women and Child Affairs representative – female interviewer*  
*Kebele manager*  
*Chair, local political party*  
*Kebele Council Chair*  
*Sub-kebele organisation: Gari (or equivalent) leader*  
*Sub-kebele organisation: Development Team leader*  
*Leader of a 1-5 group*  
*Leading male wereda councillor*  
*Woman wereda councillor – female interviewer*  
*Women's League/Association/Federation leader – female interviewer*  
*Youth League/Association/federation leader*  
*The security committee leader*  
*The militia organiser – male interviewer*  
*Community policeman – male interviewer*  
*Social court leader*  
*Peace committee leader*  
*Public Relations/Information Officer*  
*Propaganda Officer*  
*Anti-HTP Committee leader*  
*NGO with social equity intervention - leader of intervention*

**Allocation of questions between the two research officers**

You should divide the interviews between you – I have made some suggestions above for an initial division

8 male; 10 female; 50 unallocated. Each should do 34. If you want to do differently carry on.

Mark up your respective Module documents with who is doing what and make sure there are no gaps and no duplications. If there are any roles which do not exist in your community you should record this in your notes and report the fact in the Report Document. You should each complete a separate Report Document which we will merge for the database.

**Head of the Seedlings Nursery**

**About the nursery**

**M5.1** *How does the nursery work?*

**Probes – tick after use**

What seedlings?	How many a year	Who uses them?	Cost?	Success in seedlings growing up – where can they be seen?	Failure to grow up? why?	Number of employment opportunities	How could it be improved?
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**About the work of the head of the nursery**

**M5.2** What does your work in the nursery involve?

Probes – tick after use

What do you do?	Hours per week	Seasonal	Rewards – salary? – other benefits?	Problems related to doing job?	How could the job be improved?
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**About the head of the nursery's experiences and aspirations**

**M5.3** How did you come to be head of the nursery? Do you want to continue?

Probes – tick after use

Age and sex	When appointed?	Why did you get the job?	Education & Education & training	Other roles in the community?	Does anyone else in your family have roles in the community? Who? and what roles?	What are your general aspirations for the future?
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**About the head of the nursery's network**

**M5.4** If you need something, want advice or have a problem with your running of the nursery who do you go to?

Probes – tick after use

In the wereda - who	Kebele officials – who	Other community leaders - who	Describe a recent problem	How was it resolved – if it was – who helped
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**Report Document 5: Community organisations, networks and activists**

Please complete your sections and indicate those allocated to your RO partner – e.g. Demissie's part.

If the question does not apply to your community please insert NA.

Every heading should have something written underneath it..

**Name of the community:**

**Name of the researcher:**

**Community public goods (added note – heading used in NVivo for automatic coding)**

**Nursery (sub-heading)**

*Head of the nursery (sub-sub-heading)*

**About the Nursery (sub-sub-sub heading)**

## **M5.1**

**About the work of the head of the Nursery**

## **M5.2**

**About the head of the Nursery's experiences and aspirations**

## **M5.3**

**About the head of the Nursery's network**

## **M5.4**

etc

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## Appendix 18: Authors of the WIDE3 and WIDE Bridge community reports

### *Stage 1*

- Dinki Alula Pankhurst
- Geblen Catherine Dom
- Girar Catherine Dom
- Korodegaga Pip Bevan
- Turufe Alula Pankhurst
- Yetmen Pip Bevan

### *Stage 2*

- Adele Keke Rebecca Carter
- Aze Debo Catherine Dom
- Do'oma Pip Bevan
- Gara Godo Pip Bevan
- Gelcha Alula Pankhurst
- Harresaw Catherine Dom
- Luqa Alula Pankhurst
- Shumsheha Rebecca Carter

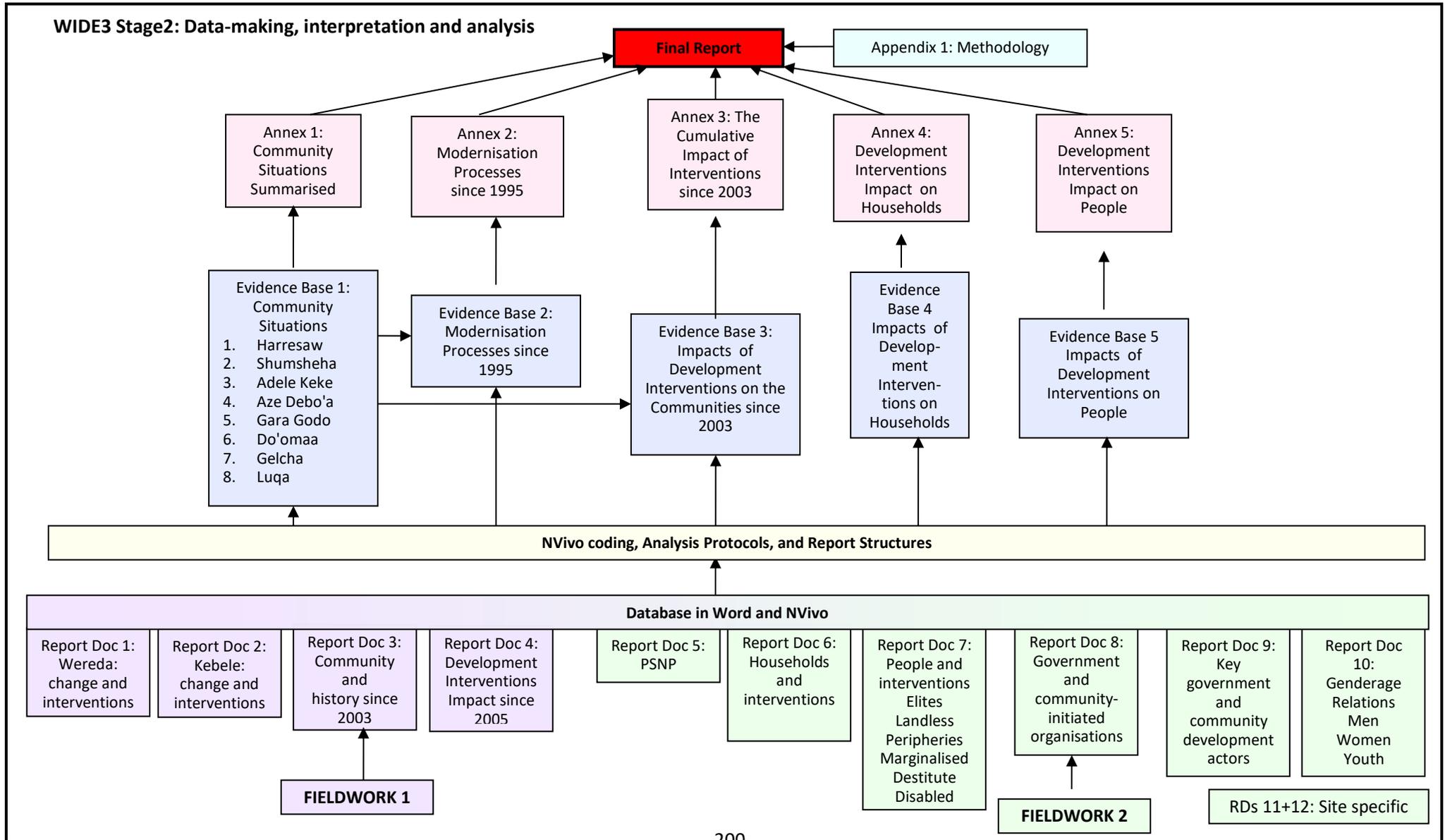
### *Stage 3*

- Adado Catherine Dom
- Kormargefia Tom Lavers with Alula Pankhurst
- Oda Dawata Anthea Gordon with Catherine Dom
- Oda Haro Anthea Gordon with Catherine Dom
- Sirba Tom Lavers with Alula Pankhurst
- Somodo Catherine Dom

### *WIDE Bridge*

- Aze Debo Agata Frankowska
- Harresaw Catherine Dom
- Ude/Sirba Mulugeta Gashaw, Shiferaw Fujie
- Yetmen Shalom Ali, Sarah Vaughan

## Appendix 19: Data-making, interpretation, analysis and writing figure



## Appendix 20: WIDE Bridge initial code system

Free nodes		Memo
<b>Community features in context</b>		<b>Memo text</b>
<b>Free nodes</b>		
<b>Terrain &amp; ecology</b>		<b>Memo text</b>
	Altitude and terrain	Memo text
	Soil	Memo text
	Erosion	Memo text
	Rivers & springs	Memo text
	Underground water	
	Floods	Memo text
	Watershed management	
	Irrigation	
	Water harvesting	
	Water quality control	
	Forests and wooded areas	
	Grazing land	
	Waste disposal	
	Environmental sanitation	
<b>Weather and climate</b>		<b>Memo text</b>
<b>Community land use</b>		
	Land use - map	
	Spatial patterns	
	Settlement pattern	
	Urbanisation	
<b>Infrastructure</b>		
	Public buildings	
	Internal roads, paths, bridges & transport	
	Electricity	
	Mobile phones	
	External roads, bridges & transport	
<b>Community economy</b>		
	Independence of economy	
	Balance of livelihood activities	
	Main livelihood portfolios	
	Mixed economy	
	Crops, livestock and livestock products sold	
	Farm inputs and consumption goods bought	
	Exports	
	Imports	
	Savings, credit & debt	
	Inward investment	
	Inflation	
<b>Social structure</b>		
	Community-initiated organisations	
	Households	
	Incoming organisations	
	Class, wealth & poverty	
	Overall community wealth	
	Spatial poverty	
	Household wealth inequalities and relations	
	Adult-youth economic inequalities/relationships	
	Social identity and status differences	
	Ethnicity	
	Clan/lineage/family	

			Religions	
			Native/immigrant	
			Status associated with wealth/poverty	
			Non-conformity & status	
			Vulnerable people	
			Gender relations	
			Sexual violence	
			Marriage, divorce, widowhood	
			Male-female economic inequalities	
			Inter-generational relations	
			Adult perceptions of inter-generational perceptions	
			Young people's perceptions of inter-generational relations	
			<b>Political structures</b>	
			Government structures & networks	
			Local structures & networks	
			<b>Cultural ideas and practices</b>	
			Conservative repertoires	
			Modern repertoires	
			Cultural imports	
			<b>External links and relationships</b>	
			Rural-rural links	
			Rural/agricultural migration linkages	
			Other rural-rural relationships with other kebeles	
			Impact of neighbouring irrigation	
			Rural-urban links	
			Rural-urban relationships	
			Urban migration linkages	
			Urban market linkages	
			Urban travelling linkages - paths, roads& transport	
			Industrial migration linkages	
			Trade & business networks	
			International migration linkages	
			Other international linkages	
			<b>Local government &amp; community management</b>	
			<b>Free nodes</b>	
			<b>Government management structures</b>	
			Wereda	
			Wereda structures	
			Civil service	
			Wereda interventions	
			Wereda progress	
			Kebele/Municipality	
			Kebele/Municipality structures	
			Cabinet	
			Municipality executive structure	
			Municipality structures	
			Government employees	
			Kebele civil servants	
			Kebele/municipality manager	
			Development Agents	
			Vet	
			Health Extension Workers	
			Head teacher	
			Teachers	
			Community policeman	
			Social worker	
			Others	

			Government volunteers	
			Unpaid volunteers	
			Unpaid Cabinet	
			Kebele chair	
			Kebele vice-chair	
			Kebele women and child affairs	
			Development Teams & 1-5s	
			Militia	
			Social Court	
			Women's organisation leaders	
			Youth organisation leaders	
			Political organisation	
			Basic organisation	
			Membership	
			<b>Government financing</b>	
			Taxation & contributions	
			Land taxes	
			Sales taxes	
			Business taxes	
			Licence fees	
			Income taxes	
			Other taxes	
			Regular contributions	
			Membership fees	
			Community contributions to government projects	
			Community contributions of voluntary labour	
			Debt & insurance	
			Wereda budget	
			Kebele budget	
			<b>Government interventions in the kebele</b>	
			Change to municipality status (Yetmen)	
			Perspectives on progress	
			Municipality progress	
			Kebele progress	
			Public services	
			Inside the kebele	
			Inside the kebele by municipality residents	
			Outside the kebele	
			Sectoral interventions	
			Sectoral interventions in the community	
			Wereda perspective	
			Reported use	
			Management of the place	
			Environment	
			Infrastructure	
			Land interventions	
			Supporting people	
			Women	
			Young people	
			Poor people	
			Vulnerable people	
			Human re/pro/duction services	
			Nutrition	
			Drinking water	
			Health services generally	
			Preventive health services	
			Reproductive health services	

					Mother & infant services	
					Curative health services	
					Use of non-government health services	
					CBHI	
					Education	
					Livelihood services	
					Societal interventions	
					Physical security	
					Law and justice	
					Wereda courts	
					Social courts	
					Elders	
					Use of government services	
					Cases (24) not finished	
					Men	
					Middle-wealth farmer 2	
					Middle-wealth farmer 1	
					Rich farmer	
					Rich farmer with house in town	
					Women	
					<b>Community management structures</b>	
					Community members' perspectives	
					Elders	
					Religious organisations	
					Clan organisations	
					Iddir	
					Locally-specific customary organisations	
					Customary networks	
					Historically influential/wealthy families	
					Equub	
					Mehaber	
					New community-initiated organisation & networks	
					NGOs	
					<b>Wereda-kebele-community interactions</b>	
					Government planning & consultation	
					Wereda plan	
					Kebele plan	
					Messaging and mobilising the community	
					Models	
					Involving community-initiated organisations	
					Wereda view of the kebele	
					Wereda supervision of the kebele	
					Targets & data	
					Accountability activities	
					Petitions & complaints	
					Resistance	
					Justice	
					Interactions among courts & elders	
					Rights & duties of community members	
					Wereda official	
					Kebele official	
					Different community members	
					Perspectives on the community's key problems	
					Perspectives on nepotism & corruption	
					Cases	
					<b>Farming</b>	
					<b>Free nodes</b>	

			<b>Smallholder farming</b>	
			Land for smallholder crops and grazing	
			Wives' farming activities	
			Farm labour	
			Family labour	
			Agricultural workers	
			Cases (3)	
			Agricultural employee	
			Daily labourer - local	
			Daily labourer - in-migrant	
			Daily labour	
			In-migrant labour	
			Customary work exchanges	
			Agricultural modernisation	
			New farming initiatives	
			New crops & technologies	
			New livestock & technologies	
			Modernisation changes taken together	
			Crop-livestock & products mixes	
			Crops	
			Crop mix in the community	
			Rainfed crops	
			Rainfed crops grown last year	
			Inputs	
			Most important crop	
			Second most important crop	
			Third most important crop	
			Irrigated crops	
			Irrigation infrastructure	
			Irrigation management	
			Irrigation crops grown last year	
			Government crop-related interventions	
			Crop sale strategies	
			Livestock	
			Livestock mix	
			Numbers of livestock	
			Relative importance of livestock	
			Relative importance of livestock products	
			Cattle	
			Cattle types	
			Fattening	
			Dairy cows	
			Land - grazing and fodder	
			Tasks & labour	
			Risks	
			Production and inputs	
			Outputs	
			Markets	
			Government interventions cattle	
			Sheep	
			Sheep types	
			Land - grazing and fodder	
			Production & inputs	
			Tasks & labour	
			Risks	
			Outputs	
			Markets	

				Government interventions sheep	
				Goats	
				Goat types	
				Land - grazing and fodder	
				Production & inputs	
				Tasks & labour	
				Risks	
				Outputs	
				Markets	
				Government interventions goats	
				Chickens & eggs	
				Chicken types	
				Land used	
				Production & inputs	
				Tasks & labour	
				Risks	
				Outputs	
				Markets	
				Government interventions chickens and eggs	
				Bees-honey	
				Bees	
				Land used	
				Honey production & inputs	
				Tasks & labour	
				Risks	
				Outputs	
				Markets	
				Government interventions bees & honey	
				Livestock and products sale strategies	
				Diversification	
				Generally	
				Rich farming households	
				Middle-wealth farming households	
				Poor farming households	
				Credit and other sources of resources	
				<b>Co-operative farming</b>	
				Crops' co-operatives - rainfed and irrigated	
				Farmers' co-operatives	
				Women's co-operatives	
				Youth co-operatives	
				Livestock co-operatives	
				Farmers' co-operatives	
				Women's co-operatives	
				Youth co-operatives	
				<b>Other group farming</b>	
				Crops - rainfed & irrigated	
				Livestock	
				<b>Investor farming</b>	
				Crops - rainfed & livestock	
				Livestock	
				Government farming interventions - agents and beneficiaries	
				Wereda interventions & beneficiaries	
				Crops	
				Livestock	
				NRM	
				Agricultural Research Institutes & beneficiaries	
				Crops	

			Livestock	
			NRM	
			Extension services & beneficiaries	
			Crops	
			Livestock	
			NRM	
			Farmers' Training Centres & beneficiaries	
			Crops	
			Livestock	
			NRM	
			<b>Cases</b>	
			<b>Non-farming</b>	
			<b>Free nodes</b>	
			<b>Non-farm work opportunities</b>	
			<b>Crop &amp; livestock trading</b>	
			Cases	
			Trading generally	
			Big traders	
			Middle-level traders	
			Small traders	
			Producer-sellers	
			Crop trading	
			Livestock trading	
			Livestock product trading	
			<b>Production</b>	
			Innovations	
			All productive businesses	
			Skilled self-employment	
			Food processing	
			Hospitality	
			Construction	
			Non-farm producer co-operatives	
			Other non-farm producer groups	
			<b>Services</b>	
			All services	
			Markets	
			Shops	
			Personal services	
			Health services	
			Leisure services	
			Petty services	
			Transport	
			Transport providers	
			Transport users	
			Service non-farm co-operatives	
			Other service non-farm groups	
			<b>Theft &amp; burglary</b>	
			<b>Government involvement in non-farm self-employment</b>	
			Support- land, training, credit	
			Entrepreneurs	
			Women	
			Young people	
			Others	
			Business licences & taxation	
			<b>Non-farm employment</b>	
			Formal government/NGO employment	
			Employed by the kebele	

		Private employment	
		Continuous employment in enterprises	
		Manual work daily labour	
		Domestic worker	
		Government involvement in non-farm employment	
		<b>Migration</b>	
		Migration changes	
		Migration importance	
		Out-migrants	
		In-migrants	
		Commuting	
		Migration for work	
		Young people & migration	
		Rural migration	
		Male rural migration	
		Female rural migration	
		Urban migration	
		Male urban migration	
		Female urban migration	
		Industrial migration	
		Male industrial migration	
		Female industrial migration	
		International migration	
		Male international migration	
		Female international migration	
		Remittances & savings	
		Perceptions of the impact of migration on the community	
		Government involvement in migration for work	
		Female migration for marriage	
		Child migration	
		In-migrants	
		<b>Adoption of new technology</b>	
		Domestic technology	
		Other modern non-farm technology	
		<b>Cases</b>	
		<b>Economic &amp; political inequality</b>	
		<b>Free nodes</b>	
		<b>Economic inequality</b>	
		Very rich	
		Characteristics of the very rich	
		Lifestyles of the very rich	
		Networks of the very rich	
		Perceptions of the very rich	
		Perceptions of change since WIDE3	
		Rich	
		Characteristics of the rich	
		Lifestyles of the rich	
		Networks of the rich	
		Middle-wealth	
		Characteristics of the middle-wealthy	
		Lifestyles of the middle-wealthy	
		Networks of the middle-wealthy	
		Poor	
		Characteristics of the poor	
		Lifestyles of the poor	
		Networks of the poor	
		Very poor	

			Characteristics of the very poor	
			Lifestyles of the very poor	
			Networks of very poor households	
			Perceptions of the very poor	
			Perceptions of changes to the very poor since WIDE3	
			<b>Destitute</b>	
			Characteristics of the destitute	
			Lifestyles of the destitute	
			Networks of the destitute	
			Perceptions of the destitute	
			Relations between very rich and very poor	
			<b>Political inequality</b>	
			<b>Elites</b>	
			Community-defined elites	
			People pre-identified as elites	
			Elders	
			Clan leaders	
			Other community-specific community leaders	
			Religious leaders	
			Wealthy farmers	
			Wealthy business people	
			Women's leaders	
			Political activists	
			Kebele chair	
			Kebele vice-chair	
			Leaders of community organisations	
			Person from an historically influential/wealthy family	
			Leader of an elders' committee or equivalent	
			Religious leader	
			Leader of a clan/lineage or similar	
			Leader of a locally-specific customary organisation	
			Leader of the largest iddir	
			Leader of the largest equb	
			Leader of the largest mehaber or equivalent	
			Other community-initiated membership organisation/network	
			Investors	
			Elite networks	
			Perceptions of who is influential	
			<b>Middle-level people with potential influence</b>	
			Irrigation organiser leader	
			Service Co-operative leader	
			Leader of most successful non-farming Producer Co-operative	
			Leader of most successful farming Producer Co-operative	
			Youth Co-operative leader	
			NGO intervention leader	
			NGO-initiated Community-Based-Organisation	
			Development Team leader	
			The militia organiser	
			Community policeman	
			Social court leader	
			Leader of the Land Administration Committee	
			<b>Access to important people</b>	
			Contacted wereda official	
			Contacted kebele official	
			Contacted important person in the community	
			Contacted important person outside the community	
			Contacted someone else	

			Did not contact anyone	
			Inclusion in government public services & interventions	
			Farmers' perceptions	
			Urban residents' perceptions	
			Very rich people's perceptions	
			Very poor people's perceptions	
			Destitute' perceptions	
			Public services	
			Pre-requisites	
			Cases	
			Interventions	
			Farming interventions	
			Pre-requisites	
			Evidence of access	
			Non-farming interventions	
			Pre-requisites	
			Evidence of access	
			Pro-poor interventions	
			Community members' perceptions of inclusion	
			<b>Cases</b>	
			<b>Social protection</b>	
			<b>Free nodes</b>	
			<b>Social security</b>	
			External social security interventions	
			Community-Based Health Insurance	
			Other insurance	
			Informal social security	
			Informal social security changes since WIDE3	
			Kin	
			Neighbours	
			Friends	
			Rich patrons	
			Iddir	
			Religious organisations	
			Other community-initiated organisations	
			<b>Community welfare - redistribution to poor and vulnerable people</b>	
			Informal welfare - poor people	
			Poor people in the community	
			Informal welfa+B576re changes since WIDE3	
			Support from family	
			Support from neighbours	
			Support from community organisations	
			Support from religious organisations	
			Charity	
			Government assistance for poor people	
			Cases of Government assistance for poor people	
			Perceptions of Government assistance for poor people	
			Exemptions for poor people	
			CBHI exemptions	
			Community Care Coalition	
			PSNP	
			EFA/Food Aid	
			NGO assistance for poor people	
			Cases of NGO assistance for poor people	
			Perceptions of NGO assistance for poor people	
			Informal welfare - vulnerable people	
			Vulnerable people in the community	

			Informal welfare for vulnerable people changes	
			Government assistance for vulnerable people	
			Wereda interventions	
			Kebele interventions	
			Community perception	
			NGO assistance for vulnerable people	
			Cases of NGO assistance	
			Perceptions of NGO assistance	
			<b>Cases</b>	
			<b>Land use and urbanisation</b>	
			<b>Free nodes</b>	
			<b>Wereda</b>	
			Wereda boundaries	
			Investors in the wereda	
			Urbanisation in the wereda	
			Landlessness in the wereda	
			Homelessness in the wereda	
			<b>Kebele</b>	
			Kebele boundaries	
			Municipality boundaries	
			Kebele land use	
			Smallholder land	
			Irrigated land	
			Co-operative land	
			Farmers' Training Centre land	
			Kebele centre land	
			Land for building	
			Community forest land	
			Government land	
			Kebele land	
			Grazing land	
			Other communal land	
			Land for investors	
			Land for graves	
			Others	
			Urbanisation	
			Rurbanisation inside the kebele	
			Urban creep from outside	
			Industrial creep in the community	
			Municipalisation	
			Rural-urban linkages outside the kebele	
			Urban-rural linkages within the kebele	
			Land planning in the kebele	
			Rural/integrated land use plan	
			Town plan	
			Landholdings, landlessness, & homelessness	
			Patterns of landlessness	
			Wereda	
			Kebele	
			Homelessness in the kebele	
			Land allocation	
			Land re-allocated	
			Redistribution to smallholders of smallholder land	
			Smallholder land re-allocated for other purposes	
			Communal land re-allocated	
			Rural land re-allocated for infrastructure or building	
			Urban land re-allocated	

			Most important actors in land allocation processes	
			Rural land allocation	
			Urban land allocation	
			Rural land transactions	
			Rural transactions	
			Access to rural land	
			Wereda (or higher) leases	
			Kebele/municipality land	
			Renting	
			Sharecropping	
			Inheriting	
			Urban land transactions	
			Access to urban land	
			Auctions	
			Other urban land acquisitions	
			Urban land leasing	
			Sales	
			Renting	
			Investors given land	
			Rural land	
			Urban land	
			Farmers with land in the kebele and houses in town	
			Co-operatives given land	
			Rural land	
			Urban land	
			Other land seekers and gainers	
			Rural land	
			Urban land	
			Inheritors of rural land	
			Recipients of kebele land	
			Land lost & compensation	
			Rural land users & compensation	
			Urban land losers & compensation	
			Land administration	
			Land administration structures	
			Land Administration Committee	
			Land Justice Committee	
			Procedures for making decisions	
			Decisions about municipalisation	
			Women's rights to land	
			Land disputes	
			Procedures for dealing with land disputes	
			Land disputes	
			Land dispute cases (2)	
			Land measurement, certification & documentation	
			Land measurement	
			Land registration & updating of the register	
			Land certificates	
			Land used as collateral	
			Land rentals & leasing	
			Formal transactions	
			Informal transactions	
			Common land	
			<b>Cases</b>	
			<b>Young people's economic and other experiences</b>	
			<b>Free nodes</b>	
			<b>Young people's perspectives</b>	

		Young people's stories	
		Opportunities & problems facing young people	
		In 2018	
		Young men	
		Young women	
		Changes in last 10 years	
		For late teenage boys	
		For late teenage girls	
		Perspectives on young people's economic experiences	
		Access to land	
		Work, domestic work & education	
		Migrating	
		Establishing an independent livelihood	
		Perceptions of the economy	
		Inter-generational relations	
		Perspectives on other youth transition experiences	
		Women's issues	
		Marriage	
		Setting up an independent household	
		Life in the community	
		Leisure	
		Religion	
		Government & development	
		Politics	
		Ideas coming into the community	
		<b>Adult perspectives on young people</b>	
		Farmers	
		Urban residents	
		<b>Youth policies &amp; programmes</b>	
		Wereda interventions	
		Youth unemployment data	
		Wereda youth support structures	
		Interventions	
		Beneficiaries	
		Kebele interventions	
		Kebele youth unemployment data	
		Kebele youth support structures	
		Interventions	
		Beneficiaries	
		Perceptions of youth interventions	
		Young people's perspectives	
		Beneficiaries	
		Independently economically successful	
		Struggling non-beneficiary	
		Other community members' perspectives	
		<b>Cases (18)</b>	
		Male cases	
		Rich young man 17-19	
		Middle-wealth young man 17-19	
		Poor young man 17-19	
		Rich young man 20-25	
		Middle-wealth young man 20-25	
		Poor young man 20-25	
		Rich young man 25-30	
		Middle-wealth young man 25-30	
		Poor young man 25-30	
		Female cases	

			Rich young woman 17-19	
			Middle-wealth young woman 17-19	
			Poor young woman 17-19	
			Rich young woman 20-25	
			Middle-wealth young woman 20-25	
			Poor young woman 20-25	
			Rich young woman 25-30	
			Middle-wealth young woman 25-30	
			Poor young woman 25-30	
<b>Drought</b>				
<b>Free nodes</b>				
<b>Effects of the recent drought</b>				
			On the community	
			On livelihoods	
			On households	
<b>Harresaw only</b>				
During the drought				
			Perceptions of the drought	
			Water management	
			Prices	
			Nutrition & health	
			Economic coping strategies	
			Impact on non-farm activities	
			Business activities	
			Employment	
			Daily labour	
			Wages	
			Traders	
			Migration	
After the drought				
			Changes in farming	
			Changes in portfolios of non-farm activities	

## Appendix 21: WIDE Bridge Community Report Structure

1. Community features in context .....	5
Terrain & ecology .....	5
Altitude and terrain .....	5
Soil .....	5
Erosion .....	5
Rivers and springs .....	5
Underground water .....	5
Floods .....	5
Watershed management .....	5
Irrigation .....	5
Water harvesting .....	5
Water quality control .....	5
Forests and wooded areas .....	5
Grazing land .....	5
Waste disposal .....	5
Environmental sanitation .....	5
Weather and climate .....	5
Community land use .....	5
Land use .....	5
Spatial patterns .....	5
Settlement pattern .....	5
Urbanisation .....	5
Infrastructure .....	5
Public buildings .....	5
Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport .....	5
Mobile phones .....	5
Electricity .....	5
External roads, bridges & transport .....	5
Community economy .....	5
Independence of the economy .....	5
Balance of livelihood activities .....	5
Main livelihood portfolios .....	5
Mixed economy .....	5
Exports .....	5
Imports .....	5
Savings, credit and debt .....	5
Inward investment .....	5
Inflation .....	5
External links and relationships .....	5
Rural-rural links .....	5
Rural-urban links .....	5
Industrial migration linkages .....	6
Trade and business networks .....	6
International migration linkages .....	6
Other international linkages .....	6
2. Selected community topics .....	6
Local government and community management .....	6
Government management structures .....	6
Government financing .....	6
Government interventions in the kebele .....	6
Community management structures .....	6
Wereda-kebele- community interactions .....	6
Farming .....	7
Smallholder farming .....	7
Co-operative farming .....	7
Other group farming .....	7
Investor farming .....	7
Government farming interventions – agents and beneficiaries .....	7
Non-farming .....	7
Non-farm work opportunities .....	7
Crop and livestock trading .....	7
Productive businesses .....	7
Other services .....	8
Theft and burglary .....	8
Government involvement in non-farm self-employment .....	8

Non-farm employment .....	8
Migration.....	8
Adoption of new technology.....	8
Economic and political inequality .....	8
Economic inequality .....	8
Political inequality .....	9
Social protection.....	9
Social security– informal mutual support and insurance.....	9
Community welfare – re-distribution to poor and vulnerable .....	9
<b>3. Selected policy topics.....</b>	<b>9</b>
Land use and urbanisation.....	9
Wereda .....	9
Kebele .....	9
Young people’s economic and other experiences .....	9
Young people’s perspectives.....	9
Adult perspectives on young people .....	10
Youth policies and programmes.....	10
Drought.....	10
Effects of the recent drought.....	10
Harresaw only .....	10

## Appendix 22: WIDE teams and outputs since 2009

Table 19: WIDE3 and Bridge teams

	<b>Stage 1</b> Nov 2009-Aug 2010	<b>Stage1-2 Transition</b> Jan?-Sept 2011	<b>Stage 2</b> Aug 2011-June 2012	<b>Stage 3</b> January-Dec 2013	<b>DB Series 1</b> 2014	<b>ICES19</b> 2015	<b>WIDE3-4 Transition</b> 2015-16	<b>WIDE Bridge Phase 1</b> 2018	<b>ICES20 2018</b>
Budget	\$174,980	\$62,000	\$393,264	\$349,192 (2018 value \$377,000)	Not our budget	No budget	\$262,125	\$505,185	Budget for flights and per diems
Core team	Pip Bevan Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst	Pip Bevan Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Becky Carter Agazi Tiemelissan	Pip Bevan Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Becky Carter Agazi T Pankhurst Cons.	Pip Bevan Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Anthea Gordon Tom Lavers Betty Tekola Agazi T Yisak? P(DR)C?	EPAU Bev Jones Sarah Vaughan		Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan Sarah Vaughan Agazi T	Catherine Dom Alula Pankhurst Pip Bevan Sarah Vaughan Agazi Tiemelissan Agata Frankowska Mulugeta Gashaw Thomas Osmond Shiferaw Fujie Shalom Ali PDRC	
Research outputs	6 community reports Final report Report summary Annexes Evidence Bases	3 key topic papers	8 community reports Final report Report summary Annexes Evidence Bases 6 ICES18 papers	6 community reports Final report Report summary 2 Annexes 2 Evidence Bases	5 discussion briefs		9 discussion papers 9 discussion briefs	Policy update paper Methodology paper 4 community reports 7 discussion briefs	12 ICES20 papers
Dissemin- ation	Powerpoints for donors Govt workshop Dec2011 Stage1	Youth transitions Go-betweenes Inequalities 3-topic Summary	Powerpoints for donors Govt seminar June 2012		HLF 2014		Website HLF 2016 DP meetings Books of papers Addis & US Book of briefs in English & Amharic	Community reports + briefs+ on website HLF 2018; DP, fed & regional workshops Media programmes Book of briefs in English & Amharic University workshop	

Table 20: Programme plans for the three WIDE3 stages

<b>Date</b>	<b>Stage 1 – 10 months</b>
November-December 2009	Consultative workshops and meetings with donors
	Paper 1: Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
	Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities between 2003 and 09
	Comparative Societal and Policy Baselines for Twenty Exemplar Rural Communities 2003 and 1995 (15 sites)
	Holistic Baseline and Trajectories for Six Exemplar Rural Communities 1991-2003
	Design of research instruments
January-February 2010	FW1 15 days – gap 21 days FW2 20 days
March-May 2010	Data interpretation and analysis and writing-up
June 2010	Dissemination workshop
August 2010	Final Report
<b>Date</b>	<b>Stage 2 – 17 months</b>
August – September 2011	Paper 1: Stage 2 Methodological Framework and Fieldwork Plan
	Paper 2: Macro Level Policies, Programmes and Models Entering Rural Communities between 2009 and 2011
	Consultative workshops and meetings with donors
	Final design of research instruments
September 2011 – February 2012	New fieldwork and preparation of database Phase 1 23 FW days Sep-Oct Phase 2 23 days December
February-May 2012	Data interpretation and analysis and writing-up
May-June 2012	Dissemination in Addis Ababa
December 2012	Final report
<b>Date</b>	<b>Stage 3 – 12 months</b>
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 18 March – 20 April 35 days De-briefing
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 14 days
October – December 2013	Continued data analysis and writing of final Stage 3 report

## Appendix 23: Key methodology lessons from each of the WIDE stages

### WIDE1 1993/5: protocol-guided research in 15 communities

#### Project purpose

- The aim was to produce holistic sociology studies of the communities where economists were conducting the longitudinal Ethiopian Rural Household Survey since not much was known about what had happened in such rural communities since the fall of the Derg in 1991. We proposed that the studies would help the economists to contextualise their econometric analyses, which they did. The link with the ERHS was important for getting funding.
  - *Reliance on short-term projects funded by national or international institutions is risky since getting the funds often depends on who you know and writing proposals that fit with the current 'flavour of the month' topics. It is unlikely to lead to institutionalisation of a long-term project.*

#### Project design and funding

- Funding for the fieldwork and village study production is not remembered as a problem; Alula and I were employed as academics on salaries (I was a full-time researcher) so there was no direct funding of our time by the project. Short-term team members in Oxford were paid for their time by the University
  - *While academics face institutional pressures that consultants they are more secure and can think in a more long-term way than consultants*

#### Project management

- This was a new venture for both of us; we learned-by-doing how to design and manage a case-based qualitative study using protocols and anthropology students/graduates and although we did not have time to keep a record the experience informed our future research approaches to WIDE and other topics.
  - *Build in team time for regular joint and recorded reflection on methodology as the project progresses to consolidate learning.*

#### Team work

- We worked well as a team of two. I raised the funding and initiated the sociological design of the methods but, unlike Alula knew very little about Ethiopia; he provided anthropological insights and organised and managed the fieldwork using students on the anthropology MA which he had been instrumental in starting. Despite not knowing each other at the beginning we worked together well.
  - *Appropriate divisions of labour and harmonious personal relations are important for efficient and enjoyable teamwork.*
- We tried to engage with the ERHS economists but failed; although later they put our Village Studies online to accompany the quantitative data to inform the interpretations of the econometricians working on the data
  - *You can only do multi-disciplinary empirical research co-operatively with people from other disciplines if they are willing to engage seriously in academic dialogue*

#### Methods

- Producing individual community narratives linked to comparative community analysis required the development of a conceptual framework.
  - *Qualitative research requires theoretical frameworks*
- There were three inputs to the village studies: (1) the research officers used relevant secondary sources to contextualise the communities; (2) the ERHS field managers conducted some rapid rural appraisal modules which we supplied; (3) the anthropology-trained research officers went to the communities with the headings of the village profiles and some prior knowledge.

- *In community research there is scope for combining data made using different methods.*
- Comparing communities on different topics led to some interesting general conclusions and a number of particular conclusions about different types of community.
  - *Comparative community research should have two prongs: identification of common mechanisms with potentially different local consequences, and identification of important different types of community.*

#### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- Community respondents were quite open and forthcoming on many issues.
  - *Fieldworkers need time, training and the right kind of personality to establish widespread trust with different kinds of respondents.*
- The quantity and quality of the fieldwork and the written profiles from the different field officers ranged from excellent to poor.
  - *Time spent on recruiting, training and monitoring fieldworkers pays off.*

#### Interpretation and analysis

- A team of people were employed in Oxford to combine the different inputs and edit the fifteen studies rapidly
  - *Working face-to-face to produce the outputs was efficient*

#### Dissemination: targets, rhetoric and modes

- The comparative analysis paper was sent to the Overseas Development Administration as an 'output' of the project though there was no feedback. In 1996 there were no websites; now the village profiles and comparative paper are on [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net)
- The village profiles were distributed free to university libraries, departments and interested people in Ethiopia
  - *Getting funding for dissemination is very important*

#### WIDE2 2003: protocol-guided research in 20 communities

##### Project purpose

- To re-visit WIDE1 communities to trace continuity and change and provide a context for the more detailed DEEP study of social and individual well-being and ill-being in four rural and two urban communities (see below).

##### Project design and funding

- We decided to focus our modules on people, social structures, histories, development interventions, crises related to drought, childbirth, HIV/AIDS and conflict with two modules on how the WeD concepts associated with 'well-being' and 'ill-being' related to relevant local understandings and recent changes in such understandings. We were not convinced of the value of the focus on 'well-being' but constrained by the commitment to it by the Bath team.
  - *Try to avoid getting involved in doing research which your heart is not in.*
- The WED project provided adequate funding and time for the WIDE2 fieldwork but later there was little to no funding for data entry, interpretation, analysis and writing up of the data.
  - *It is important to ensure that project funding covers all aspects of the research.*

##### Project management

- It was possible to manage 40 fieldworkers in the field at the same time given Alula's management skills, academic position and ability to recruit students or very recent graduates in the social anthropology department and his control of the funds and budget management.
  - *Managing fieldworkers in an academic context may be easier than employing them on a consultancy basis.*

## Teamwork

- As with WIDE1 I raised the funding and did the initial design of the research instruments while Alula used his university position to help recruit the fieldworkers; as with WIDE1 the collaboration worked well.
  - *The larger and more diverse the team is the more difficult it is to work co-operatively.*
- At the start of the project the WeD team leaders at Bath sent the four country co-ordinators to discuss the fieldwork with their country counterparts which was when Alula and I decided the best first step would be to revisit the WIDE1 communities. Researchers in the other countries decided on quite different first steps related to their interests and methodological approaches.
  - *In a project involving teams in different institutions, especially if they have different methodological expertises, considerable planning and dialogic work must be devoted to achieving a balance between incorporating enthusiastic local contributions and making comparable data.*

## Methods

- This was our first use of Modules which proved fruitful.
  - *Protocol-guided modules used in different places generate easily-comparable data.*

## Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- The fieldworkers were given printed semi-structured modules with headings, guidance notes and questions with space for qualitative answers to be completed by hand.
- Having two fieldworkers of different sexes working together in each community improved the data and introduced female perspectives hitherto hidden
  - *Community research of this nature should always employ both male and female fieldworkers*
- There were not many young women with any postgraduate training and to recruit twenty we had to involve social science undergraduates; most of them delivered some useful notes in the end and some of them continued to work with WIDE.
  - *Much more time than we had should be spent on training and supervising inexperienced fieldworkers.*
- The data came in the form of protocols completed by hand some of which got lost at the University of Bath.
  - *It is important to put data into a safe archive.*
- Using ACCESS to create a spreadsheet database was a serious error; we did not have enough knowledge about database software (which was not well developed) or time to learn about it and grasped the offer of some WeD funding for someone (with no prior knowledge of ACCESS) to construct the database.
  - *Think hard before accepting funding you have not asked for.*
- The data had to be typed into the ACCESS database for which we did not have enough funding; a Ph D student who wanted to use the data entered much of it without payment and a researcher interested in the data on wellbeing and illbeing used that data separately.
  - *Make sure there is enough funding for making the database*
- We had no experience of or training in using an ACCESS database
  - *Projects of this kind should include a database software expert*

## Interpretation and analysis

- During the little time available we did comparative analysis on three crisis topics: hunger, poverty and famine; pregnancy, childbirth and infancy; and HIV/AIDS. This aroused our interest in identifying different types of community which would benefit from different crisis interventions.
  - *Comparative community research of this kind can show policymakers the ways in which 'one size does not fit all'*

### Dissemination: targets, rhetoric and modes

- We wrote three crisis papers with related 4-page discussion briefs which were policy-relevant and the related briefs were designed to be short and useful for policymakers. Printed versions of both were available in Addis Ababa and put on our WeD Ethiopia website which had links with the WeD Bath website, although not many people in Ethiopia had access to the internet at that time.
  - *Outputs available online are easily accessible to those willing to search and with the right technology but other means of dissemination are important*
- In 2009 I used data from and 1995 to construct a twenty-community baseline for the WIDE3 project.
  - *Data can be used in longitudinal narratives and analyses many years after they has been made.*

### DEEP/WeD: 2003-5 protocol-guided in-depth research in 4 rural and 2 urban communities

#### Project purpose

- To generate qualitative data in four rural and two urban communities on a range of topics (which we chose) relevant to social and individual well-being and ill-being.

#### Project design and funding

- The DEEP project involved fieldwork by male and female researchers in four of the WIDE communities (Korodegaga, Dinki, Yetmen, and Turufe) and two urban sites over a period of seventeen months. Our researchers piloted a psychology-based quality of life measure known as the WeD-Qol which went no further. A representative sociological household survey (Resources and Needs Survey) was also conducted. This was put into the hands of an economist who had been involved in the ERHS which reduced its value as a sociological instrument.
  - *Neo-classical economists should be kept well away from sociological surveys*
- We had sufficient budget from the WeD project for the survey, WeD-Qol and qualitative research which Alula managed. We did not have enough time to interpret and analyse all the data made.
  - *Having sufficient budget must be matched by sufficient time to (1) work on all the data made, (2) do the hard thinking necessary to produce insights and explanations, (3) write convincing papers, reports and briefs, and make presentations at workshops, seminars and conferences.*

#### Project management

- During the data-making period we were mostly left to manage the project as it suited us though had to report regularly to Bath; but as time passed the Bath team had to down instructions, for example began to emerge.
  - *Make sure that fieldwork for all the data required for the comparative work are prioritised by teams in different institutions.*

#### Team work

##### WeD project based at Bath University

- It was very difficult to work on a joint project with teams in different institutional bases and no active co-ordinating leadership.
  - *It is difficult to work on a joint project with teams in different institutional bases*
  - *Considerable thought should be put into the design of the management structure across the institutions and the roles filled by people experienced in, and committed to, co-operative working*
- It was very difficult to work on a joint project with team members with different disciplinary or research paradigm mindsets and no inclination to think outside their boxes, and no multi-disciplinary leadership.
  - *It is difficult to work on a joint project if team members have different disciplinary mind-sets*

- An attempt by me to launch a debate among WeD researchers in Bath (Bevan 2009) using the Foundations of Knowledge Framework was not successful, though other researchers have found the chapter useful.
  - *The FoKF could be used to construct a questionnaire to enable multi-paradigm team members to think about their own methodological assumptions, learn about those made by other team members, and discuss how to manage any differences.*

#### Ethiopia team

- Managed by Alula six Ethiopian social scientists and one British one were involved in the DEEP research design, management and writing up and, over the 17 month fieldwork period, 10 male and 13 female research officers. We also did some qualitative work related to the WeD-Qol. I visited every two months for training and debriefing and experienced the teams as working well. The writing-up process was managed effectively by the coordinator.
  - *When there is sufficient funding allowing enough time, fieldwork and writing up programmes can keep to time*

#### Methods

- We found it was possible and useful to use household survey data (a recent round of the ERHS) to select households for qualitative research.
  - *But, in retrospect, it would have been more useful if we could have linked the in-depth data about the households to a case-based statistical survey data analysis using a Resources and Needs Survey designed by a sociologist*
- More generally we should have used case-based statistics to analyse the RANS data; but they had not been well-developed then, we knew nothing about them and anyway did not have time.
  - *There is considerable scope for developing integrated qualitative-quantitative case-based interpretation and analysis of different types of households and communities.*

#### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- We had some input to the Resources and Needs Survey but as it was managed by an Oxford-trained Ethiopian econometrician much of it looked like the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey and we were not happy with many of the questions.
  - *Don't try to work with variable-oriented econometricians.*
- We did not make any use of the WeD-Qol data since its purpose was to construct an instrument to measure 'well-being' across different cultures and we were not sure of its validity or value.
  - *Don't try to work with psychologists developing measures.*
- The DEEP protocol-guided research contained five modules focused on selected individuals, three on selected households and ten on aspects of the community, while every month male and female community and household diaries were completed. Considerable work went into constructing a database which we had no time to use.
  - *Research projects should be designed and implemented in an integrated way, not made up on the hoof.*

#### Interpretation and analysis

- We used the DEEP data to produce updated Village Studies (CPIIs) using the WIDE1 headings for Dinki, Korodegaga, Yetmen and Turufe and new ones for Kolfe (Addis Ababa) and Arada (Shashemene).
  - *These will shortly be added to the WIDE database; data can be used after a project is completed*
- We inserted some RANS tables into the updated Village Studies (CPIIs) though there was not time to finish this work.
  - *The value of adding the quantitative household findings was that as well as having qualitative descriptions of*

*the different types of household we could also how many households fell into the different types*

- Later and beyond the confines of the project a helpful economist helped us to construct useful measures of household assets and consumption wealth/poverty and we used them to inform the papers on poverty and power for the World Bank already referred to.
  - *It is worth making links with open-minded people in other disciplines with skills you don't have but would benefit from.*
- We did not have time to do comparative analyses of the DEEP data.
  - *Try not to make data that no-one on the project has time to use.*
- We learned a lot about the communities and the different kinds of people living in them and how to design protocols, train and de-brief field officers, and assemble a WORD database.
  - *This learning remained in our heads; we did not have time to evaluate and record the programme process and at that time we had no plans to repeat the methodological approach*

#### **Dissemination: targets, rhetoric and modes**

- This was an academic project and the main targets should have been academics; but within the confines of the WeD project there was no time to produce rigorous and interesting academic papers
  - *Writing good academic papers using empirical research takes time; outputs expected from team researchers should not be limited*
- The DEEP protocols and the updated village studies were put on the WeD-Ethiopia website along with other information about DEEP and WIDE2; the website managed by us was online for four years or so
  - *Research teams should include staff with website skills*
- Later the project methodology was used as an example of a case-based approach in a chapter in the Sage Handbook of Case-Based Methods (Bevan 2009) and the data were used in four policy-relevant but quite academic papers for donors and one commissioned academic paper on the causes of poverty and inequality.
  - *Rich multi-level databases such as those made during WIDE and DEEP can be used in the interpretation and analysis of many topics and can generate theoretical insights after the empirical state of the world has moved on*

#### **WIDE3 Stage 1**

##### **Project purpose**

- To make new data in six communities to get a holistic sociological understanding of rural communities in 2010, trace changes between 1995 (WIDE1) and 2010, and explore the long-term impact of development interventions since 2001 (WIDE2). For the first time we had both academic and policy-related objectives.
  - *Evidence-based policy-related conclusions which both government and development partners using different development models will accept require rigorous and transparent academic research.*

##### **Project design and funding**

- The World Bank and the Trust Fund donors appreciated the many workshops and outputs from Stage 1 and agreed to fund Stage 2.
  - *Producing outputs that donors and government have requested engages them; though turnover is high requiring ongoing efforts.*
- On the basis of the level of funding it seemed likely that we could get we decided to research the six communities we knew best, which by chance turned out to include three food-deficit and aid-dependent communities and three self-sufficient communities.
  - *The sub-set of communities studied in one stage will produce a sub-set of conclusions; the choice of*

*communities to include in a stage should be linked to important anticipated trends, events and policy impacts.*

- In our proposal we restricted our request to an amount we thought we could get which did not allow enough time or funds. There was not enough fieldwork time and to produce the promised outputs we had to work many unpaid days.
  - *Insufficient funding leading to insufficient time to conduct the research well is a problem we have faced continuously since moving to funding on a consultancy basis.*
- It took over a year to secure donor funding for the proposal we had written and when we did it happened by chance, depending on personal interactions between Alula and the new head of the World Bank and a WB joint trust fund much of which had not been spent.
  - *Reliance on Ethiopia-based donor funding makes it difficult to plan the start date of a project.*

### **Project management**

- Mokoro Ltd, the UK-based not-for-profit development consultancy firm where Catherine Dom was a member, signed the contract with the World Bank and managed all administrative aspects of the project except for the fieldwork which was managed by Alula.
  - *This arrangement worked well; providing support but leaving substantive issues to us.*
- Alula was no longer a university employee and was working as a freelance consultant with no official status which was uncomfortable. Newai, the head of EDRI, was supportive of the research and signed the official letters for the fieldworkers.
  - *Make sure all the right permissions are in place before going to the field*

### **Team work**

- Alula and I were joined by Catherine Dom, a policy consultant with an interest in academic research who brought a new perspective and skills to the project as well as considerable knowledge of some policy sectors in Ethiopia and history of providing advice to governments and donors. We worked well together but had to negotiate the tension between producing academically-rigorous reports and disseminating policy-relevant outputs to Addis-based donors.
  - *Discussion and debate within WIDE teams is necessary to harmonise academic and policy goals*

### **Methods**

- This was the start of the development and use of the core community framework which built on the theoretical and empirical work of WIDE1, WIDE2 and DEEP; the framework informed the design of the modules and was used to structure the community situation reports.
  - *This framework was important for the longitudinal comparisons*
- Early exploration of the data led to the inductive development of new theoretical frameworks which neatly summarised important social processes. These frameworks informed the data interpretation and analysis process and proved useful for designing the next WIDE3 Stages.
  - *Time spent inductively developing frameworks from empirical data has both immediate and longer-term benefits*
- The comparative community analysis started with the production of *community data matrices* for topics and development interventions identified as important, many of which are available in appendices to the Final Report to the donors. Sharply summarising the data from all the community reports in the cells of the matrices involved hard thinking as did the search for patterns and community types.
  - *These are skills which can be encouraged through workshops and mentoring*

### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- There was a 2-day budget item for piloting which we did not do later.
  - *Consider piloting the Modules with a view to reducing interview time.*
- In constructing the module architecture we had to guesstimate the time each would take the Research Officers to complete. We anticipated two extreme possibilities depending on different RO approaches: (1) extremely thorough ROs would not be able to complete all the modules if there were too many; (2) less committed ROs would produce less data and take time off if there were too few. Also fieldwork conditions would vary across the communities.
  - *Designing the size of the module architecture is not simple*
  - *The performance of new ROs is unpredictable*
- There were problems getting the completed Report Documents from the Research Officers with deadlines not met and some long delays.
  - *Research Officers took other jobs in the time we had allocated for writing up the data; there is a need to find ways of stopping this*

### Interpretation and analysis

- There was not enough funding for this and the three of us had to spend considerable overtime producing the community reports and the final report for the donors
  - *If you promise more than can be delivered with the funding you request you must expect to work considerable unpaid overtime*

### Dissemination: targets, rhetoric and modes

- *Academic audiences:* Despite disseminating the complexity-related and case-based methodological approach to various academic audiences in the UK I did not find anyone using a similar approach: complex realist events focused on using data with little apparent interest in making it; development specialists were wedded to the methods they were used to using; and researchers using cases in different fields did not seem to communicate to .
  - *Institutionalising a case-based methodology would require a big enough interested group and investment in an interactive network and training programme*
- *Policy and development practitioner audiences:* it is not clear whether the many tailored presentations we delivered to donors made any difference to their policies and practices and this would be difficult to establish; it is also not clear that if there were any changes in donor policies whether they would have led to real changes in government policies and practices on the ground.
  - *Consider seeking expert advice on who should be the targets of WIDE policy-related research messages and the best ways in which to convey them*
- *Mixed audience:* we established a virtual worknet open to interested academics, policy-makers and development practitioners. Many people have continued to be members of the worknet since 2010 while some have come and gone; again it is impossible to get evidence of any real consequences of this dissemination
  - *Disseminating information to a worknet is relatively cheap in costs and time; the bigger the worknet the better and perhaps consider a blog on the website with funding for the author*
- Some Stage 1 information was put on the *WeD-Ethiopia website* though we have not been monitoring views and downloads
  - *Consider funding for an integrated dissemination strategy including some time from a website expert*

### WIDE3 Stage 1-2 transition

- This funding also arose from personal contacts, this time with a new member of the DFID team who, as she was

new and arrived at the start of the rains, had time to read the Stage 1 community reports; the project also funded the Stage 2 proposal.

- *Engage with new Development Partner appointees as soon as they arrive.*
- There was also funding to use frameworks to explore the data related to three topics in a depth we had not been able to achieve within Stage 1; even so we worked considerably more than the paid-for days.
  - *Since rigorous academic analysis and writing is time-consuming and consultancy daily rates are high one should expect to work more than the official days – but not too many.*
- It was useful to have someone very competent in a management and writing support role
  - *Employ an experienced project manager.*

### WIDE3 Stage 2 late 2011 – 8 communities

#### Project purpose

- To make new WIDE data in eight vulnerable communities and apply lessons learned during Stage 1
  - *If possible build in time to document the lessons learned in all stages of a longitudinal project like WIDE and time to take them into account when designing a new stage*

#### Project design and funding

- *Lessons from Stage 1:* Stage 1 had not allowed enough time in the field or for writing up mainly due to under-funding; this was rectified to some degree in the Stage 2 proposal
- The World Bank and the Trust Fund donors appreciated the many workshops and outputs from Stage 1 and agreed to fund Stage 2.
  - *Producing outputs that donors and government have requested engages them increasing the likelihood they will fund more research ; though turnover in both arenas is high requiring ongoing efforts.*
- *Lessons from Stage 1:* the need for more and improved big Research Questions
  - *The big Research Questions in a research project are important as information to those interested and to act as guides for the more detailed empirical research questions*
- Faced with the choice of which communities to study in Stages 2 and 3 we opted to separate the eight vulnerable food-deficit communities and the six richer and self-sufficient communities so we could design some questions to fit the different types of community. We then decided to do the vulnerable communities in Stage 2 leaving the richer communities to Stage 3 when there would be more evidence of implementation of the GTP1 plans.
  - *When selecting a sub-sample of communities to study time and thought should be put into imagining what kinds of evidence different mixes of communities would generate.*
- We requested and obtained more generous funding than in Stage 1 which allowed us to extend the time in the field and for the preparation of the Report Documents and to pay the ROs more generously but this did not fully solve the problem of getting the Report Documents completed to time. Also there still was not enough to interpret and analyse the data rigorously and complete the promised outputs without considerable overtime.
  - *A consultative workshop with available WIDE3 researchers to discuss the problems associated with writing Report Documents and suggested solutions might help*
  - *Overtime in a WIDE-type project can probably only be avoided by accepting the interpretation and analysis will be relatively superficial*

#### Project management

- The arrangement with Mokoro Ltd continued to work well; in particular it allowed for some consultancy payments to be made outside Ethiopia

- *Continue putting the work of external WIDE team members through Mokoro if possible*
- Since Stage 1 Alula had set up Pankhurst Consult which became the management institution for the fieldwork project
  - *Since 2010 it has been important to conform to government rules relating to employment and research*

### Team work

- Alula, Catherine and I continued to co-operate well and we were joined by Becky Carter, a young Mokoro consultant who made considerable contributions to the management of the project and also wrote two community reports. She was very professional and competent and I was hoping we would be able to fill the Bridge Research Fellow positions with people with similar skills and dedication.
  - *Recruitment of suitable and dedicated team members is a high priority*

### Methods

- *Lessons from Stage 1:* We learned the importance of developing conceptual and analytic frameworks to organise thinking and data
- *Lessons from Stage 1-2 Transition:* Transition analysis informed new modules on Youth and Marginalised people and new questions for the Go-Betweens
  - *Always search earlier outputs for new ideas and frameworks to inform new fieldwork*
- *Lessons from Stage 1:* identification of ten possible internal community control parameters differently configured in different kinds of community
  - *Policymakers should be designing policies which suit the (varied) communities of the future; control parameter analysis can help identify possible futures for different types of rural communities*
- Since all communities were vulnerable and food-aid dependent to different degrees we designed a new module on social protections and put relevant questions into other modules.
  - *When choosing a sub-set of the communities for a new project consider focusing on similar types*

### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- *Lessons from Stage 1:* The module structure worked well but learning led to some changes to topics, people interviewed, the way the questions were posed and the responses recorded in Stage 2
- *Lessons from Stage 1:* More generous budget in Stage 2 allowed increased time with ROs on training and debriefing which increased their motivation and readiness to take initiatives
  - *Look for interesting ways to involve the ROs in the design and findings of the fieldwork including encouragement and field time for a project of interest to them and institutionalised support to help them work out a theoretical framework, interpret and analyse the data and produce and disseminate a written output*
- With the aim of getting the Report Documents completed in timely fashion by the Research Officers we (1) employed them full-time for a number of months and (2) employed a supervisor in Addis Ababa and an editor from Mokoro Ltd in Oxford. However, there were still considerable delays as some of the employed ROs took on other work and the supervision and editing did not seem to make much difference

### Interpretation and analysis

- *Lessons from Stage 1:* the experiment to use NVivo with the data from two Stage 1 sites showed that it saved time and increased rigour leading to the decision that all would use it in Stage 2.
  - *Coding in qualitative software can be used to bring together all the different pieces of data on one topic at the same time creating a record for others to use if they want to check the conclusions of a community report author or use other features of the software on the data*

- Coding of thematic information to nodes by reading through all the report documents was time-consuming but this is standard for good qualitative research; the interpretation and analysis in the Community Reports was more thorough and interesting than in Stage 1.
- The comparative analysis for the Final report was documented in Annexes and it was possible to trace the evidence adduced back to the Report Documents to check if the final interpretation was valid
  - *Recognise that good qualitative interpretation and analysis like good econometric analyses of quantitative survey data takes time*
  - *If researchers do not put the time in due to under-funding or lack of commitment the outputs will not be valid or reliable and their conclusions are likely to be influenced by their prior expectations rather than the data*

### Dissemination

- *Lessons from Stage 1:* Successes in bridging the development research-policy advice disconnect included the worknet with members from both arenas; the Briefing Notes; and the first government workshop at EDRI December 2011.
  - *Rapid briefing notes circulated to donors, government and other worknet members provided up-to-date information on important current issues in the communities and kept people interested in the project*
- The Stage 2 data were combined with the data from Stages 1 and 3 for the analyses underpinning the ten papers produced in the WIDE3-4 Transition project
  - *In comparative and longitudinal research it is vital to use a core common empirical methodology*

### WIDE3 Stage 3

#### Project purpose

- To make new WIDE data in six economically self-sufficient communities and apply lessons learned during Stage 2

#### Project management

- Mokoro Ltd and Pankhurst Consult worked together well to provide administrative support in all important areas
  - *Small independent non-profit businesses are more flexible and timely than university and donor bureaucracies*

#### Team work

- Alula, Catherine and I continued to co-operate well and we were joined by Anthea Gordon, a young Mokoro consultant who contributed to the management of the project and wrote two community reports, and Tom Lavers, who had worked for us during DEEP, who wrote two community reports. Both were recent graduates from the Bath University M.Sc. in Development Studies and produced good community reports/
  - *Recruitment of suitable and dedicated team members is a high priority*

#### Methods

- Iterations between ideas and the Stage 3 data led to new frameworks producing new kinds of empirical conclusions with implications for policy
  - *The WIDE approach is too broad to evaluate interventions. Its great value is in discovering and disseminating processes not covered by standard in-depth evaluations and assessing the programme in the context of community changes and other interventions.*

#### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- Our increased understanding of how rural communities work as a result of Stage 2 allowed us to approach Stage 3 in a different way: nearly all fieldwork being conducted in a longer phase 1 following which community reports

were drafted. Phase 2 was short and used for gap-filling, pursuing interesting site-specific issues and interesting events since Phase 1.

- This programming with a long gap between Phases 1 and 2 during which the Community Reports were drafted worked better than the programming in Stages 1 and 2 where the gap between fieldworks was short and the Community Report writing started after fFW2 was completed.
  - *In a new project think hard about the programming of the protocol-guided fieldwork and consider adding some rapid anthropology*
- As we knew more about the kinds of questions we should be asking we used more focused and less exploratory instruments.
- Since all communities were self-sufficient in different ways and had growing economies we introduced new modules on farming and non-farming and put relevant livelihood questions into other modules.
  - *When choosing a sub-set of the communities for a new project consider focusing on similar types*
- The delivery of the Report Documents for FW1 took around a month longer than planned

#### Interpretation and analysis

- Three researchers each wrote two community reports using NVivo. The word length of the reports varied considerably: 76,320 and 77,848; 86,089 and 94,915; 137,774 and 157,671.
  - *In designing a new stage consider whether, and if so how, the community reports can be made shorter and more concise; maybe decide on a word limit/target?*

#### Dissemination

- Much of the policy-related dissemination at the end of the project used data from all three Stages and as a result was more valid and interesting
  - *The greater the number of communities included in comparative analyses the more valid the conclusions*

### WIDE3 Series I discussion briefs

#### Interpretation and analysis

- Given the huge volume of data, interpretation and analysis by external researchers requires considerable time and relevant expertise
  - *We should encourage other social scientists to use the data to produce academic outputs and for teaching purposes*

#### Dissemination

- The rhetoric of one of the briefs was so unsuitable for high level government officials that it was not disseminated. The rhetoric of another which was presented at the High Level Forum generated hostility in the audience which meant they missed the substantive messages.
  - *It is best to keep WIDE-branded policy-related outputs using the data in-house*

### WIDE3-4 Transition

#### Project purpose

- The purposes were simple: to produce nine discussion briefs on selected topics based on analytic papers and to develop a website including publications and database pages.
  - *Projects with clear and simple purposes are more likely to deliver what has been promised and easier to manage*

### Project design and funding

- The funding for producing the papers and briefs was adequate although there was a need for some overtime to complete both the papers and the briefs
- The funding of the creation of the website and database editing was not fully funded; neither was editing work put into the production of the four books which were produced
  - *When projects are not fully funded their success depends on a team committed to delivering (all the) high quality outputs and working overtime*

### Project management

- We did not have an official team-leader, tasks were allocated according to our skills, and decisions made through meetings and virtual exchanges.
- Pankhurst Consult had become a plc. Pankhurst Development Research and Consulting Plc was responsible for co-ordination inside Ethiopia and producing the four books which came out of the project. Mokoro Ltd was involved as before
  - *Editing and managing the production of books is very time-consuming and depends on a skilled and committed team*

### Team work

- The six authors worked independently on their topics but there was not enough time, and in some cases interest, for each to comment on all the papers of the others which was not a problem
  - *There is no need for every member of a team to be interested in all the topics covered by WIDE but there should be a funded quality control system with sufficient time through which all outputs are reviewed before dissemination*
- PDRC and Mokoro co-operated well as before
  - *The team of PDRC and Mokoro should be used in future projects*

### Interpretation and analysis

- The budget was sufficient to fund in-depth work on the WIDE3 data and supported the writing of ten long papers and introductory and concluding chapters for a book. The long papers supported the conclusions in nine Discussion Briefs
  - *Make sure there is sufficient budget and time for in-depth interpretation and analysis*
- The ten papers all produced interesting empirical conclusions; some also contained interesting theoretical insights. Some used the data mainly to produce empirical generalisations as a basis for policy advice or provided lists of community examples to support their conclusions. Most did not make use of comparative community data tables to support conclusions about similarities and differences.
  - *More systematic use of theoretical frameworks and comparative community data matrices would support the production of papers which are theoretically original while at the same time providing policymakers with evidence that one size does not fit all and suggestions of which policies would best fit the different types of community*

### Dissemination

- There should have been more sector-focused dissemination to the different Ministries and less desire to get the attention of top government officials
  - *If WIDE is to be institutionalised the dissemination programme should be selectively directed to lower levels of government and different kinds of academics*
- We should have put the papers on the website as soon as they were completed.

- *All outputs should be made available on the website as soon as they are written*
- Books published in Ethiopia and internationally involved considerable editing work not all of which was appropriately funded.
  - *Make sure sufficient funding for editing written outputs is included in the budget*
- Funding for writing the website and populating the publications and database pages did not cover all the work put in
  - *Make sure sufficient funding for the writing and populating of website pages is sufficient*

## WIDE3 Bridge Phase 1

### Project purpose

- There were three purposes: a new round of research; involvement of new researchers in producing the research; and first steps in institutionalising WIDE in universities and government organisations in Ethiopia. Though the time and funding budgeted were inadequate all were achieved to some extent though at the cost of the quality of the research and high levels of stress.
  - *The work related to the purposes of the next WIDE venture needs to be more carefully planned with job descriptions which are clear on the time holders should spend in relation to each of them, and a timeline which is long and flexible enough to adapt to the realities on the ground*

### Project design and funding

- This was a very ambitious but not well-thought-through design; too many activities in too short a time with insufficient funding
  - *Under-funded and over-ambitious projects are likely to be stressful with bad consequences for team relations; when seeking donor funds there is a temptation to over-promise and reduce the funding requested which should be resisted.*
- Getting the funding together from three donors took longer than expected; for unknown reasons DFID did not sign the contract until three months into the project; among other things this affected the recruitment of the Research Fellows.
  - *Short-term funding from mixes of donors is unlikely to lead to 'institutionalisation'. Avoid current DFID as a donor.*

### Project management

- Given the uncertainty about funding and related delayed start, the extreme time pressure, and the addition of a new team member, the management of the inception and fieldwork phases was not well co-ordinated.
  - *The more members a senior team has the longer meetings and virtual communications tend to be; make the team as small as possible*
- More time should have been available for the management and mentoring of the three Research Fellows by the senior team
  - *When new people join a WIDE project there needs to be a generous amount of time for the inception phase*
- There was competition for the time of team members among the research programme, the WIDE institutionalisation plan, dissemination to policy-makers and the writing of ICES papers; in the event the balance of outputs worked out quite well.
  - *In WIDE4 there will be the same tensions between academic and policy goals and activities.*
- The arrangement with Mokoro Ltd continued to work well and PDRC Plc managed the logistics related to the Regional University and ICES29 participation excellently
  - *Mokoro Ltd and PDRC Plc work well together and provide a bureaucracy-light management service which it*

would be good to use in WIDE4

### Team work

- It would have been good to have had a pool of Research Fellow applicants who were younger, trained in modern qualitative methods as in Stages 2 and 3 of WIDE3, and who had not joined the team to pursue personal interests rather than the interests of the project. The recruitment process was rushed and I was not qualified to do it.
  - *Recruiting suitable and committed people is very important and ideally would be managed by someone with relevant experience and contacts given sufficient time to do it*
- Two team members objected to the methodology while we were trying to implement it
  - *A future team should have empirically-minded sociologists at its core*
  - *If WIDE4 fieldwork is to proceed harmoniously there needs to be time for a process through which the research leads share and discuss their pre-existing disciplinary mindsets and negotiate an approach to data-making that all can accept and transparent options for interpretation and analysis*
- The work in designing the protocols was shared out which did not work out well for reasons explained earlier
  - *Module design is difficult and should not be conducted in haste by a committee especially if some of them have no relevant experience*
- In the extremely stressful conditions of the inception and fieldwork phases the seven members of the research team did not work well together. In my view the team was dysfunctional for four main reasons: over-whelming time pressure; two of the four new research team members did not engage with the WIDE Bridge purpose or the methods; not everyone was a good team player; and there was a 'personality clash' between me and Sarah.
  - *Team-building is important and requires skill and time but it will not be effective if team members do not want to co-operate.*

### Methods

- Little use was made of the WIDE complex realism paradigm or case-based methods; but it was not clear what research paradigms or comparative methods other members of the team were following
  - *The establishment of the WIDE reputation in 2010 and beyond depended on its rigorous methodology which was not in play during WIDE Bridge; unless some transparent rigour is introduced in the next phase I think there is a danger that the data will be used for policy-messaging and WIDE will become politicised.*

### Research instruments, fieldwork and database

- Time for preparation for the fieldwork and the gap between the two phases was much too short
  - *Next time allow much more time for fieldwork planning and preparation*
- As described elsewhere due to time pressure and a design team in which many lacked the requisite skills there were too many modules and the quality of the content left much to be desired
- Fieldwork 1: Given the time pressures I adapted WIDE3 modules to fit the topics focused on in the Bridge
  - *In a new project there should be ample time to re-vamp the module architecture using WIDE3 and Bridge learning and introducing new ideas which work*
- Fieldwork 2: Module design by an inexperienced, untrained and partly unwilling committee under huge time pressure led to too many modules, a few that were tedious, and too many repeated questions, some of which were more like survey questions which most people could not answer.
  - *Designing good inter-acting modules takes time*
  - *One person needs to be in charge of managing the module architecture*
  - *The people who design the draft modules should be experienced in semi-structured qualitative research*
  - *The first draft modules should be intensely examined in a workshop of experienced WIDE Research Officers*

- *Ideally the second draft modules should be piloted*
- Five of the research officers were old hands and three were new: one new one performed better than quite a few of those with experience while one was a problem.
  - *It would be good to involve the excellent old hands in WIDE4; Regional University research officers should be carefully recruited and trained*
- As with Wide3 making the database took longer than planned
  - *Organise a Research Officers workshop to find out, among other feedback, why making the database always takes longer than planned regardless of the institutional arrangements to try to prevent this and what could be done to change this*

### Interpretation and analysis

- The WIDE coding structure and the community report structure both depend on the core community framework and the codes are viewed as an aid to organising the data so that all the responses related to an item are brought together. Comments in the June 2018 Bridge team 'Brainstorming' powerpoint suggest some misunderstanding of the purpose of coding.
  - *Those involved in data interpretation and analysis should participate in regular joint workshops*
- In my view the Bridge community reports are too long with not enough interpretation and summarising of the data; at the beginning of WIDE3 they were seen as narratives which would be of interest to a range of readers; now there seems to be a view that they, rather than the Report Documents are the database
  - *There should be training for community report writers on how to use topic-coded data to identify and summarise important aspects of the topic in a valid concise but interesting way*
- Most Discussion Briefs and ICES papers based on community comparisons did not explain the theoretical framework used or how the data had been analysed undermining the validity of the conclusions.
  - *There should be training for those writing comparative reports on particular topics in how to design a topic framework which can be used to construct comparative data matrices and in each report an Appendix of the matrices should be obligatory.*
  - *There should be no Discussion Briefs without back-up papers which include explanations of the theory and analytic techniques behind the conclusions*

### Dissemination

- A careful use of rhetoric in discussion briefs is important; it should be academic and unexciting
  - *All outputs for public dissemination should be quality checked before being branded as WIDE outputs*