

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: WIDE3 STAGE 1**

**STAGE 1 SIX MIXED COMMUNITIES:
SHORT SUMMARY**

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Mokoro


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Summary of main conclusions¹

In this research we used longitudinal data to explore the long term trajectories of six communities representing different types of rural community between 1995 and 2010, with a particular focus on changes since 2003².

We found that accelerating modernisation processes brought significant changes to the communities between 1995 and 2010. And since 2003 all six sites, in their different ways, have experienced economic improvements, lifestyle changes, improved service provision, increased access to justice, and declining gender inequalities. Government interventions, some aid-supported, were key to progress in education and health service provision and women's rights and opportunities. Infrastructure interventions, including new and improved roads, electricity, and the establishment of small kebele 'town' centres, contributed to lifestyle changes and improved access to schools and health services. These infrastructure changes also contributed positively to local economies in all the sites, although the contribution of direct economic interventions involving extension services, improved seeds and fertiliser, and in some places small scale irrigation, varied significantly among the communities.

Thus as the report shows in more detail, much positive change has been achieved in all the communities since the early 1990s notably in terms of infrastructure and access to services. However, as is to be expected during times of rapid change from a low base, there were some issues of concern. Three are highlighted here, the first two of which have been picked up to an extent in (an early version of) the Growth and Transformation Plan.

First, government services and policies were not reaching everybody, notably many very poor and destitute people. Particularly vulnerable to exclusion were (1) those without family and kin networks in the community, (2) those unable to work due to chronic illness and disability, (3) those living a long way from the kebele centre and (4) dependent adults and children living in other people's households.

Second, a notable category with needs not being met were the youth. Young people in all sites were at risk of landlessness and un(der)employment, although the severity of the problem varied among the sites. Reactions to these problems by young men included seasonal and longer-term migration to rural areas and towns as well as mainly illegal migration to the Gulf and Sudan, migration in search of education including attendance at Islamist madrasas in Bale, delayed marriage, and an increase in what the government has described as 'social evils', such as theft, addictions and violent behaviour. Some young women also responded by migrating, mostly legally to the Gulf, and illegally to Sudan. Others faced risks of marriage to older men, pregnancy outside marriage, and falling into prostitution.

Third, there are some problems with the working conditions of the main agents of change in the communities: the agricultural and health extension workers, teachers and *kebele* managers. The research showed that these 'go-betweens' often perceived themselves to be 'between two fires': on the one side from the wereda in the form of unrealistic targets and failures in equipment and input supply, and on the other from communities with ideas of their own. This tension contributed to episodes of personal stress, inefficiency and inaccurate reporting. In addition many married 'go-betweens' were separated from their spouses and in some cases their children, and holidays and days off were rare with many working a seven-day week.

¹ This summary also serves as a conclusion for the report.

² 1995 and 2003 were not chosen for particular reasons; by chance they were the dates when earlier rounds of research were conducted in the communities. However 1995 was the year when the federal system was introduced and 2003, following a very bad drought, saw increases in government activity with donor support which accelerated through the following seven years.

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1. Why 'long-term perspectives on development impacts'?

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

Most country-specific assessments of development interventions depend on two approaches. The first is monitoring and evaluation of individual sector development programmes and projects in relation to goals set at the outset. The second involves measuring differences in administrative and survey-generated statistics between different years used as indicators of general economic development and sector progress. The first of these approaches can provide a view of the immediate³ impacts of a particular intervention at a particular time and the second some simple conclusions about average long-term progress. However, unlike the long-term approach described here, neither of them provides sufficient information and analysis that is useful for the strategic planning of future context-responsive interventions.

We have been able to explore how, in different places, different kinds of planned intervention have interacted with wider modernisation processes, such as the spread of modern communications, the thickening of markets, and the building of the state. Our data have also been used to identify gaps and problems with current interventions, synergies when interventions in different sectors support each other, 'antergies' when one intervention confounds another, and short and longer-term⁴ unanticipated consequences of interventions considered individually and as sets. Also, our tracking of the trajectories of the communities into the future is related to an agenda for policy design which takes account of potential change or stasis at community levels. Policymakers may want to intervene to prevent, encourage or compensate for the anticipated changes. Where stasis is predicted the use of the framework can support identification of the factors involved in preventing good change.

2. Why a focus on communities?

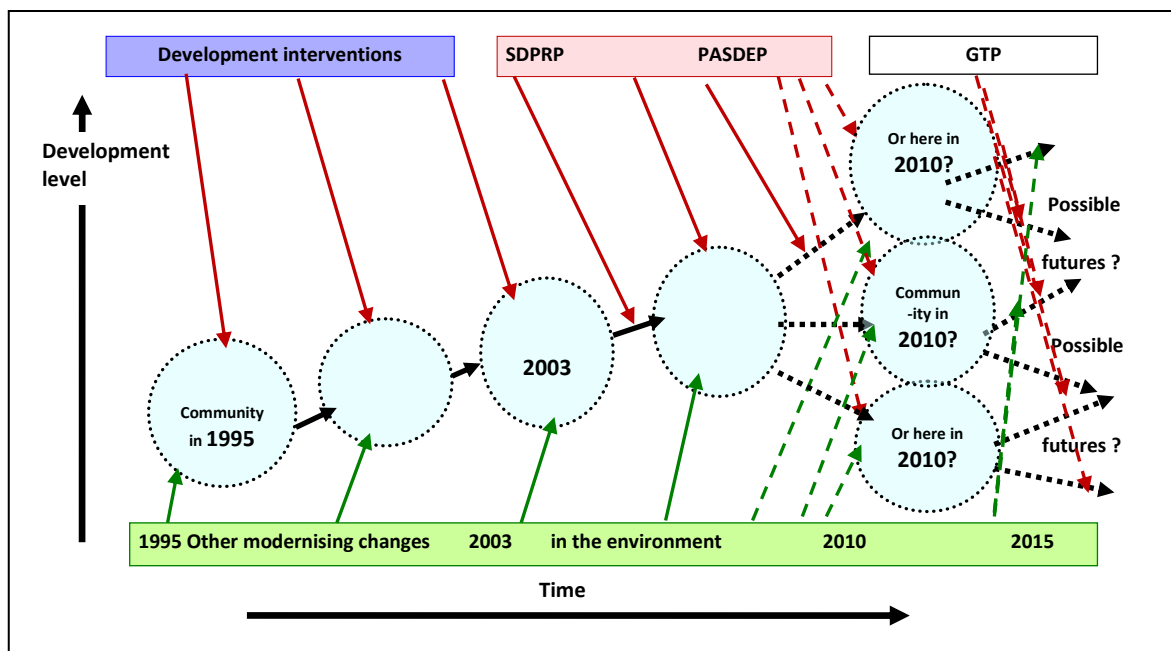
We have adopted a focus on communities for five main reasons. *First* in the absence of dramatic changes in the wider context, this is the level at which development does, or does not, happen in poor rural societies. *Second* the policy interface between government and society in rural Ethiopia is found at community level; policies, programmes and projects will only produce development if they lead to changes in local ideas, practices, community institutions and structures. *Third* communities work as complex open social systems constituted by inter-acting economic, political, social, cultural and human sub-systems. A significant change in any of these sub-systems will cause adaptive change in the others resulting either in positive feedback effects which reinforce the original change or

³Though not the longer-term impacts.

⁴See Hirschman 1967 for examples of longer-term unintended impacts of a number of development projects in Latin America (*Development Projects Observed*, Washington DC The Brookings Institution).

negative feedback effects which dampen the momentum of the original change. Such negative feedback mechanisms are key factors in 'poverty traps'. *Fourth* communities are on individual trajectories and the aim of development interventions is to re-direct them on to developmental paths (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Community trajectories 1995 – 2010 and beyond



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

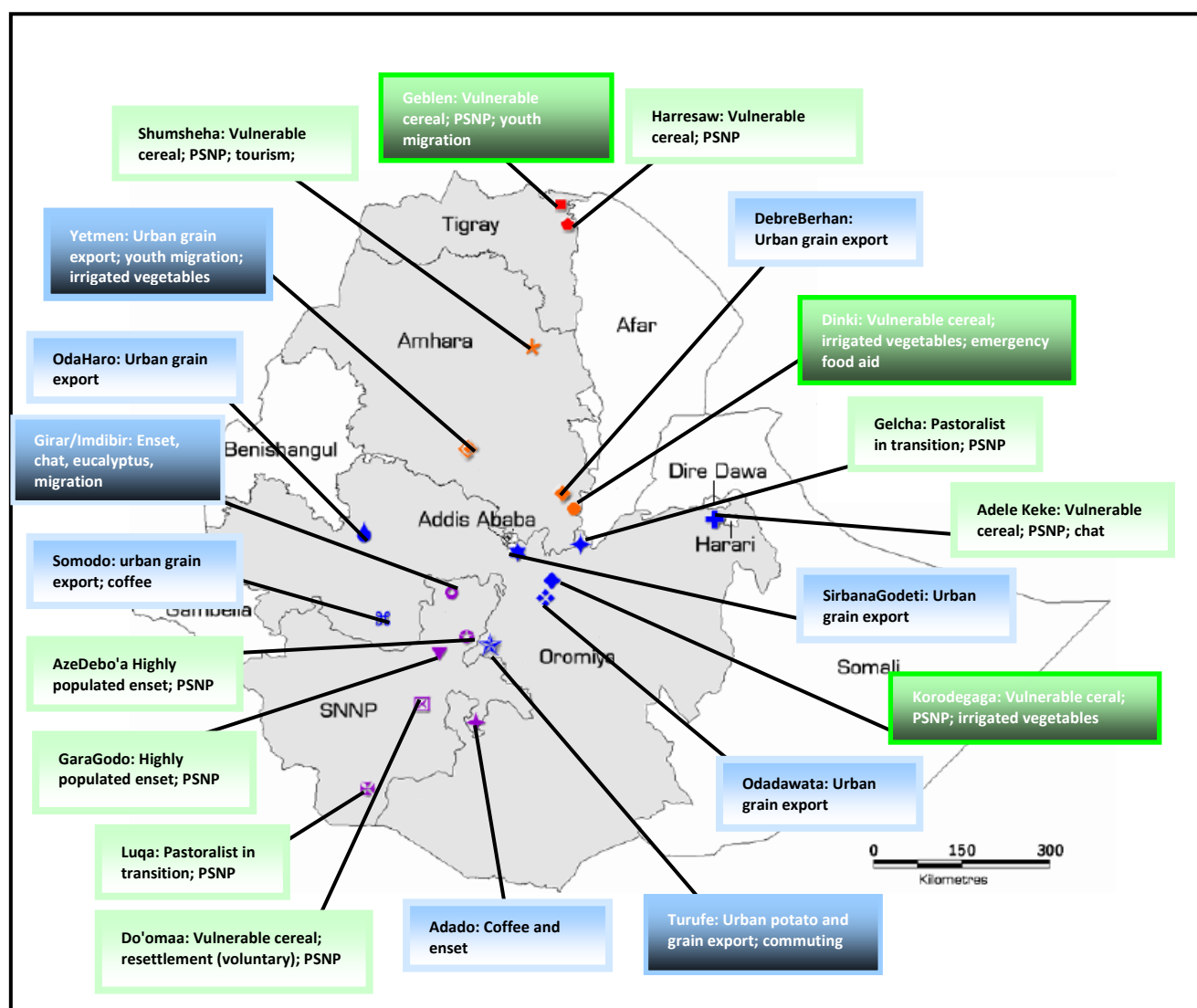
Finally Ethiopia's rural livelihood systems are quite diverse, even within weredas, posing deep problems for the macro-design and implementation of economic policies and programmes appropriate to particular local conditions, especially since there is currently little accessible information about how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

3. The Ethiopian Longitudinal Community Study: 18 ERHS communities plus 2 pastoralist sites

In 1994 economists at the Universities of Addis Ababa and Oxford selected fifteen exemplar rural communities in which to conduct the first of seven panel rounds of a household survey which

became internationally known as the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey. In 1995 Alula Pankhurst, a social anthropologist at the University of Addis Ababa, and Philippa Bevan, a sociologist at the University of Oxford collaborated with Ethiopian fieldworkers to conduct the first round of comparative, protocol-guided qualitative studies in these fifteen communities, which has become known as WIDE1. The ERHS managers added three sites to the survey in 1999 and in 2003 Pankhurst and Bevan and Ethiopian fieldworkers conducted another round of qualitative study in the eighteen sites and added two new pastoralist sites which had been studied by Ethiopian social anthropologists for their doctorates through the Wellbeing in Developing Countries project at the University of Bath with researchers at the Department of Sociology and Social Administration of Addis Ababa University. The research in these twenty sites (see Map 1) became known as WIDE2. In-depth fieldwork was later conducted in four of these sites over a period of sixteen months in 2004/5, including a Resource and Needs survey carried out by the Economics Department of Addis Ababa University.

Map 1: The Twenty WIDE sites



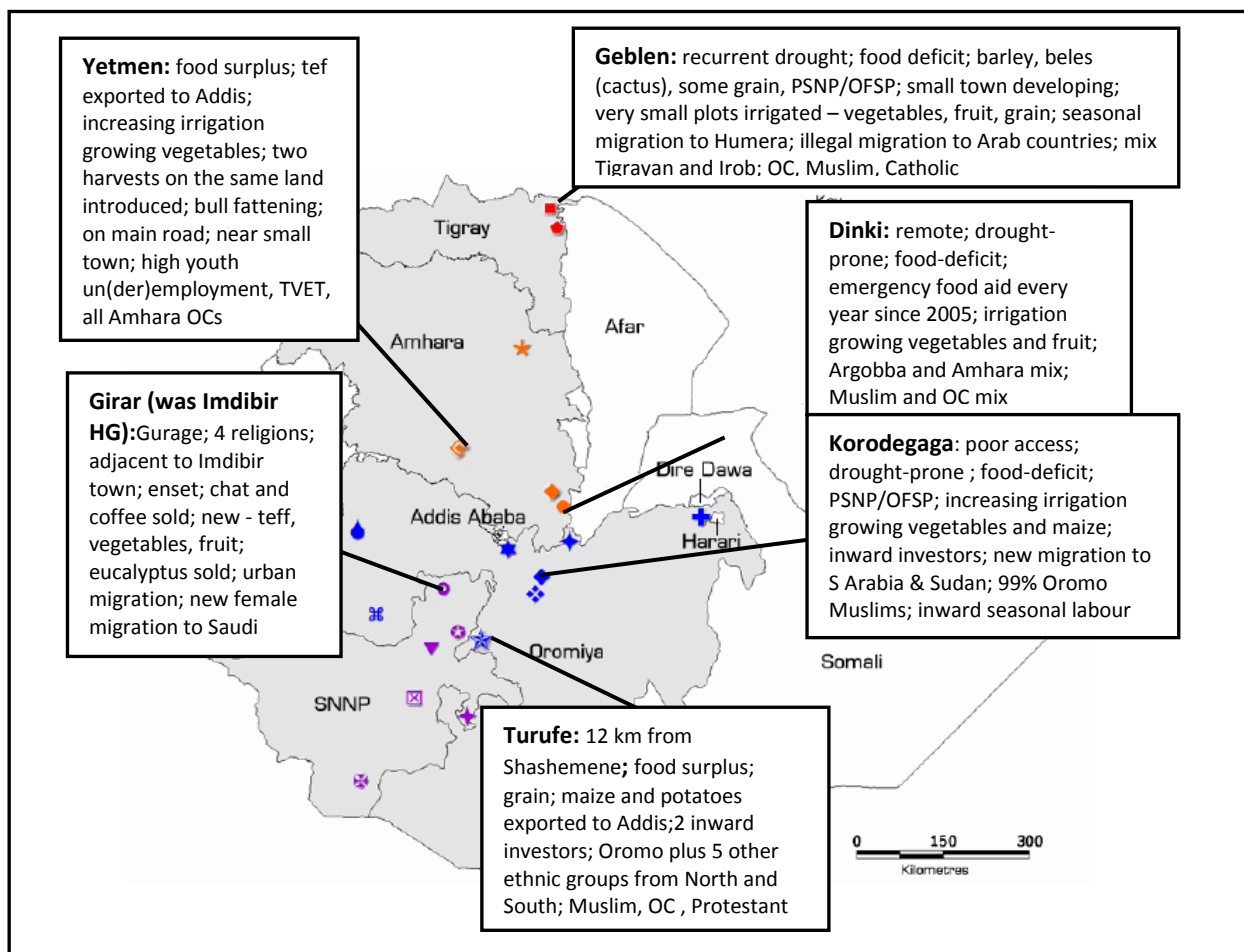
In 2008 Pankhurst and Bevan, joined by Catherine Dom, designed the outline of a third qualitative round with a focus on the long-term impacts of development interventions on these communities, and started to approach Ethiopia-based donors for funding. In 2009 the Joint-Governance Assessment and Measurement fund (J-GAM) agreed to fund WIDE3 Stage1 allowing us to conduct

fieldwork using protocols organised in twelve modules in six of the twenty sites and undertake longitudinal analyses of the six community trajectories using data from 1995, 2003 and 2010. We are planning two more stages for WIDE3, funding willing: Stage 2 in 2011 will cover eight PSNP sites (two PSNP sites having already been included in the Stage 1 research); Stage 3 in 2012 will cover six sites with agricultural potential.

4. Stage 1: the six exemplar research communities studied in 2010

Map 2 summarises some of the main attributes of the Stage 1 communities in 2010. For Stage 1 we chose the six communities about which we knew the most through various pieces of in-depth research. It transpired that three of these communities are more remote, drought-prone and have been food aid dependent while the other three have self-supporting or independent economies and are more integrated in the wider economy and society. This distinction has proved to be important in a number of ways and has provided the rationale for the selection of communities to be included in the next two stages of the research programme (see below). Stage 2 will cover communities dependent on food aid and Stage 3 independent communities with agricultural potential.

Map 2: The Six Stage 1 Sites in 2010



Brief profiles of the six Stage One communities as in 2010 are found in Annex 1.

5. The main policy-relevant findings from the Stage 1 study

In this section, following a description of the research questions which guided the study, we present some empirical conclusions relating to: the modernisation of the communities since 1995; the contribution of development interventions to modernisation processes; and community trajectories and potential futures. Then we describe three analytic frameworks we developed for future use based on findings that were common to all the communities. First, we found cultural disconnects or contradictions between the models of development used by government, community members and donors. Second, the differences between government and community models caused particular problems for the 'go-betweens' acting as intermediaries between wereda and community during the implementation process. Third, interventions played out in the context of other interventions affecting each other through different mechanisms described in the framework. Finally we briefly describe inequalities in access to government services.

The research questions

The design of the fieldwork modules and protocols was informed by five research questions:

1. In each community what were the key features of the development situation in early 2010?
2. In what ways have the development situations of the communities changed since the mid-1990s? What modernisation processes were involved in the (potentially different) trajectories we are identifying?
3. What differences were made to the trajectories and the communities by development interventions and the connections between them between 2003 and 2010?
4. In what ways have recent social interactions, relationships and processes across the community-level development interface affected the implementation and achievements of the various government and donor programmes?
5. What have been the impacts of modernisation as a whole, and recent development interventions in particular, on the lives of the different kinds of people who live in the communities?

Modernisation of the six communities since 1995

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

There have been big lifestyle changes since 1995 especially for richer households. These have only taken place recently in the remoter sites. There is improved access to curative health services though it is still very difficult for very poor households and those in remoter kebele areas. In sites where they are available there seems to be a preference for private and/or mission facilities. New preventive and Mother and Child health services have been launched in all communities including family planning, various sanitation packages, malaria prevention, and vaccination though there are problems related to shortages and some community resistance. People in four sites are still reliant

on rivers and streams for their (unsafe) water. There have been big changes in primary enrolment, especially in the remoter sites and for girls. A few rich households are using private education at all levels. Secondary and post-secondary enrolment has increased, notably in the vulnerable PSNP-dependent Tigray site. Inequality has increased because the rich have become relatively richer. Very poor and vulnerable people do not receive the support they need. While physical security for women and girls is better, and female circumcision, abduction, early marriage and widow inheritance have diminished, there is little women's political participation. There are increased inter-generational tensions related to youth landlessness with minorities involved in theft, addictions and individual and occasionally group violence.

Informal social protection systems are still strong and there have not been big changes in community-initiated organisations. There has been an expansion in the range of cultural repertoires (sets of ideas) available to the community though local customary repertoires have remained strong with aspects hidden, particularly some of those characterised as Harmful Traditional Practices. Compared with 1995 there is much greater penetration of the communities by the state involving a sub-kebele level array of overlapping government and party structures and associated with this a wider range of institutions and people that government can use to mobilise people to respond to development policies and packages. There is also much greater interaction between community-initiated organisations and customary institutions and government systems. There are signs of class formation as land has remained in the same hands, rich farmers have grown richer, partly as a result of the Model Farmer focus on the more successful, and numbers of landless people involved in daily labour have increased considerably.

The contribution of development interventions to modernisation processes

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

Government-led agricultural extension interventions had little impact on growth in the Gurage site which came mainly from flourishing eucalyptus and chat markets and increased chances of upward mobility for urban migrants. Eucalyptus sale was assisted by the development of internal roads, through community labour. The mobile network allowed access to information on prices. Selected seeds and fertiliser improved main crop yields in the two other independent economies. Inflated food prices accelerated the rise in marketing that was already taking place. It is not clear how important a role Development Agents played in this process. Agricultural packages of selected seeds and fertiliser for rainfed land in the three drought-prone sites did not meet with general success due to lack of rain and the same was true of the Other Food Security Programme (OFSP) beehive and livestock packages in the Tigray site. Irrigation in two drought-prone sites and one independent economy expanded during the period, partly through the provision of credit for pumps, and became more productive with the introduction of improved seeds and sowing in lines. Donor-funded PSNP transfers in two of the drought-prone sites were shared among community members. This, together with the inadequacy of 'household asset building' initiatives supposed to complement the PSNP, and asset sales related partly to the desire to be included in PSNP2 from 2010 and partly to the 2009 drought prevented any 'graduation' from taking place in either site. However, over the five years the programmes allowed some richer households to build assets or reduce asset-sale and were vital for the survival of poor and vulnerable people.

Land interventions followed a number of different logics. The end of land re-distribution, certification, and the legalisation of extended periods for renting and leasing (with kebele or wereda agreement) has encouraged the emergence of a class of richer landed peasants. 'Leasing' of communal land to youth co-operatives in Oromia and SNNP sites is a result of the implementation of policy associated with the 'developmental state'. Leasing of land to inward investors in Oromia sites (one from Australia) suggests receptivity to the idea of (international) agricultural capitalism. Implementation of equal rights for women of inheritance of parental land and on divorce launched a process of increasing land fragmentation. Neither non-farm extension packages nor the establishment of small producer co-operatives contributed much wealth to any of these economies. Access to credit for women and a very few young men contributed to increased but small-scale production. In the two PSNP sites some households had debt problems as a result of borrowing for agricultural investments which failed due to drought.

Improvements in curative and preventive health services and access to education at all levels were a result of government programmes and funding supported by the donor-funded Protection of Basic Services programme which also financed some agriculture-related activities in the wereda budgets (notable the Development Agents' salaries). In all sites there were gaps in service provision infrastructure, furniture, equipment, and school materials, and intermittent provision of such things as selected seeds, vaccinations, contraceptives, basic medicines and drugs. Uninsured health shocks were a serious issue especially for more vulnerable households, with un-addressed implications for government-led livelihood-strengthening policies. Extension workers and teachers with targets from the wereda on the one hand, and community resistance to some interventions on the other, were often over-worked and stressed. The government can take full credit for the changes to women's lives described earlier. Interventions to assist landless and un(der)employed youth had not made much impact by early 2010. Poor and vulnerable people, particularly those with few family and community network connections often had difficulty accessing services and economic opportunities. Elderly, mentally or chronically ill, or disabled people depended for care on family and tended to be isolated at home. There were some distressing cases of mentally ill people chained up in their homes as a last resort.

Faced with communities which resisted some of their interventions the government implemented a 'developmental state' approach. Rural communities were mobilised through micro structures and intensive efforts to 'raise awareness', particularly through meetings, with the aim of converting farmers and their wives into willing users of government packages and advice. As with other kinds of intervention in which they saw little benefit many people in five of the communities seem to have responded to this governance project by ignoring, avoiding, subverting and occasionally resisting certain aspects of it whenever they could. Despite some subdued reservations community members of the sixth site (in Tigray) seem more supportive of the government approach having experienced elements of it for over twenty years.

Community trajectories and potential futures

Each rural community system in Ethiopia is on a trajectory dependent on its historical path and current context. A key parameter in determining its path is the community-based livelihood system. In considering the trajectories of the six Stage1 communities since the mid-1990s we first distinguished between those which showed signs of structural change and those reproducing the same structures. We then categorised the communities according to whether the livelihoods on the whole showed improvement, stasis or decline. Matrix 1 shows where each of the six communities lies on these two dimensions. Speculating on the evidence for each community we suggest that all of the communities continued on much the same course between 1995 and 2003 and beyond to 2008 or so, with minor and cumulative changes which pushed them further from equilibrium but no important changes to the control parameters determining the direction of the community. However, by 2010 internal and external changes in three of the communities had pushed them to states of

disequilibrium or 'chaos' (in the language of complexity social science) such that they are very unlikely to remain on their historic trajectories.

Matrix 1: Possible Stage 1 community trajectories around 2010

Community-based livelihoods	Structural Change	Structural Reproduction
Notable improvement in community-based livelihoods	<i>Turufe</i> – will become a Shashemene suburb fairly soon <i>Korodegaga</i> – (PSNP site) likely to institutionalise a community-wide mixed irrigation system which will reduce dependence on drought-prone rainfed agriculture	<i>Yetmen</i> – economic growth as a result of higher prices for grain sold and use of selected seeds and fertiliser; some irrigated vegetable growing <i>Girar</i> – economic growth as a result of investments in chat and eucalyptus and improved opportunities for Gurage urban migrants
Relative stasis in community-based livelihoods		<i>Dinki</i> – (emergency food aid site) small improvement for some as a result of an increase in use of irrigated land (still a minority)
Decline in community-based livelihoods	<i>Geblen</i> – (PSNP site), regular droughts, over 40% female-headed households; recent rapid youth exit	

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

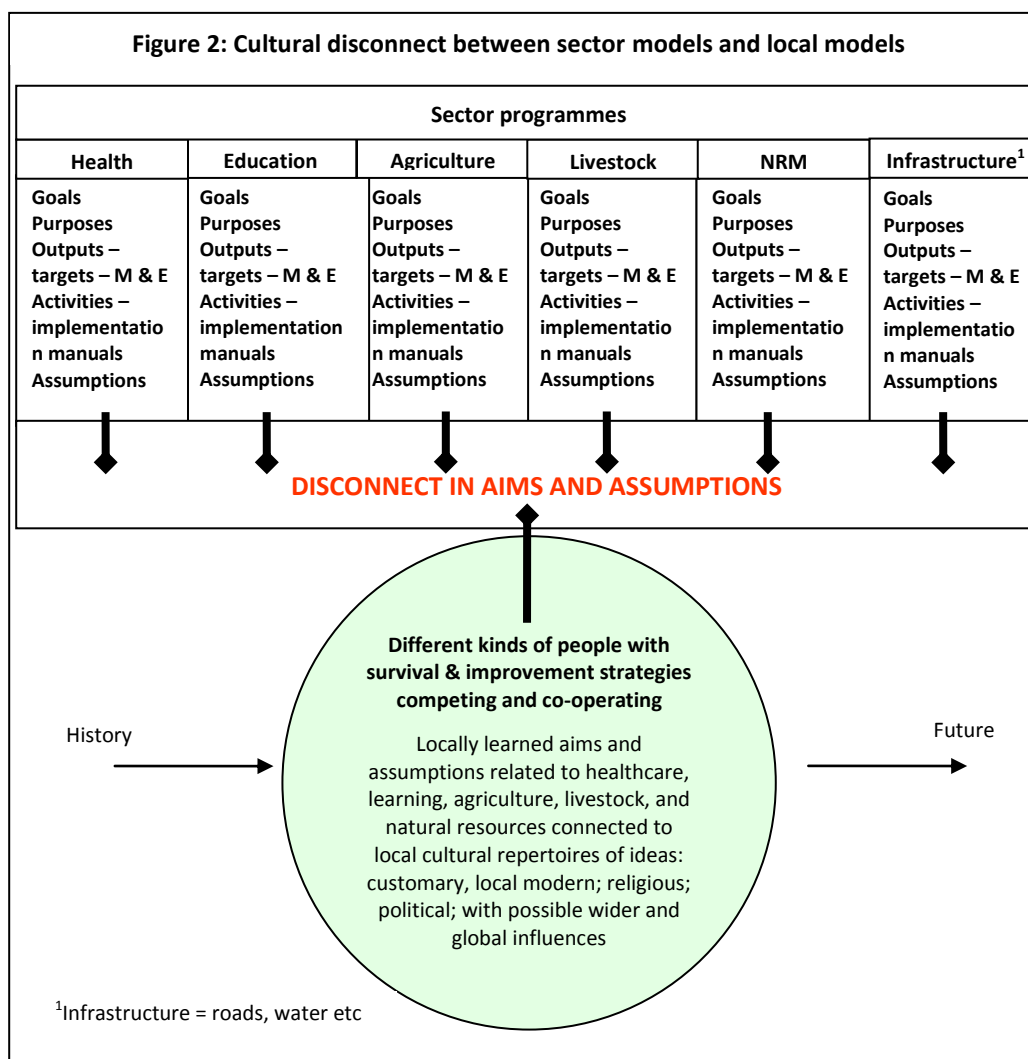
The communities following a course which was in place in 1995 include Yetmen, a tef and wheat exporting community in Gojjam which has grown richer but otherwise not changed much; Girar, a peri-urban Gurage community of whom the same can be said; and Dinki, a drought-prone community near Afar which is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

Cultural disconnects among government, donor and local models of development

We found evidence across the communities that three ideal type cultural models of 'development' influence community-level social inter-actions around development interventions: (1) the government model (revolutionary democracy/developmental state), (2) the donor model (a mix of economic neo-liberalism, western-style democracy and human rights, in proportions varying among donors) and (3) the community local model (with variations among communities and different degrees of contestation within communities). These models contain some in-commensurate aims and assumptions; in sociological language there are cultural contradictions which may be papered over for periods of time but usually cause problems at the social interaction level at some point.

Figure 2 shows the contrast between the cultural assumptions underpinning wereda-level sector programmes and those which are made by people living in rural communities. Both government and donors work with sector models and formal divisions of labour which are reflected in wereda structures, with many offices and sector programmes. Both government and donors use goals and performance objectives (translated into targets), provide project implementation manuals to guide wereda officials, and have regular formal reporting procedures. Performance in relation to government targets may be used to select people for further training and promotion. This culture

differs from local community ways of doing things. Community members also have different aims, assumptions and ways of doing things particularly related to each sector: healthcare, children's learning, agricultural and livestock practices, use of natural resources, and infrastructure.



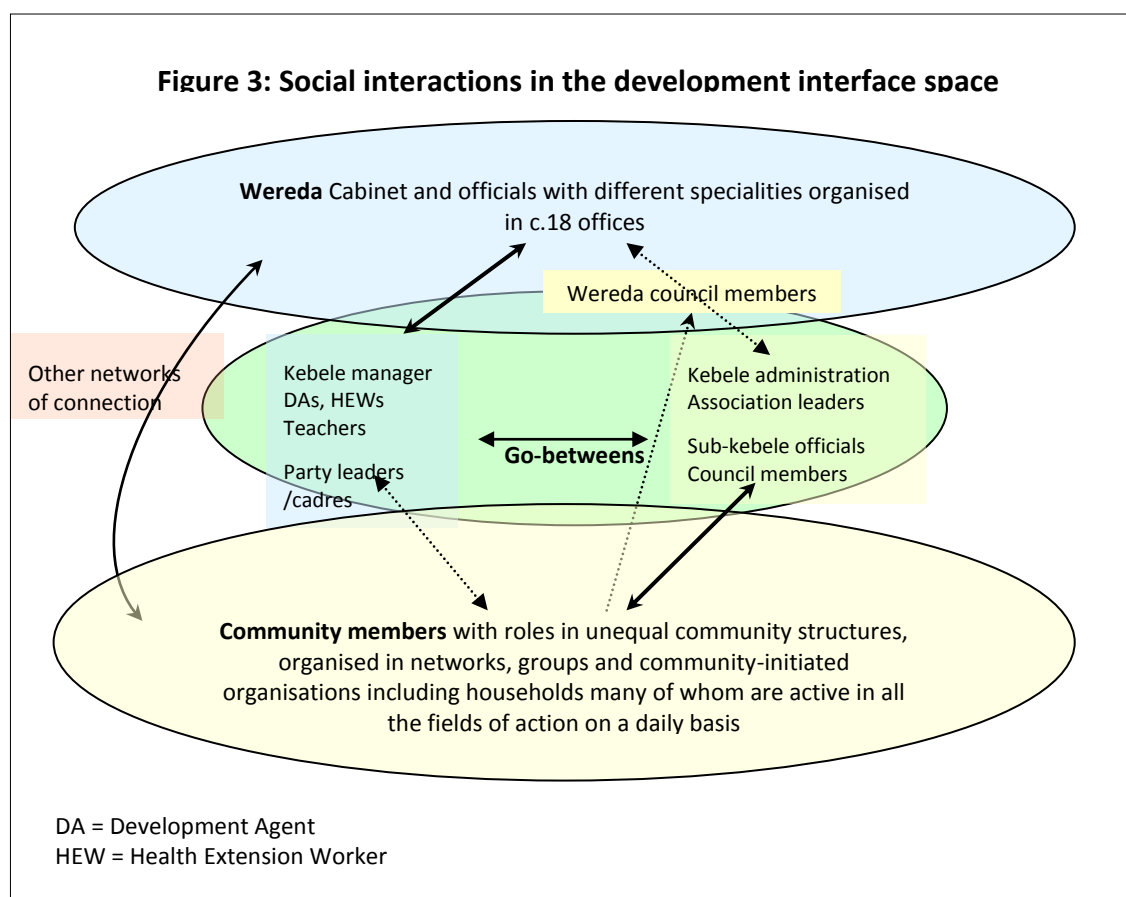
Community translations of formal programme objectives and rules: social interactions in the development interface space

The cultural contradictions between top-down and community development models are not easily resolved and in all six sites they have caused difficulties for those in positions where they have to try to bridge the cultural divide. Figure 3 depicts the key development players in the wereda, kebele, and communities and identifies a set of ‘go-between’s who work in the development interface⁵ space and interact with wereda officials and community members. Kebele managers, Development Agents (Agriculture, Livestock and Natural Resources), Health Extension Workers and teachers mostly come from outside the community; they are employed by the wereda and given performance objectives (targets) which, if not met, may have repercussions for their careers. A second set of ‘go-between’s’ – kebele and sub-kebele officials and kebele Council members - are (s)lected from within the community and embedded in community networks and structures whilst by their function, also

⁵ A concept which has been used and argued about by sociologists (e.g. Long N 2001 *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives* London: Routledge) and social anthropologists (e.g. Mosse D 2005 *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice* London: Pluto Press).

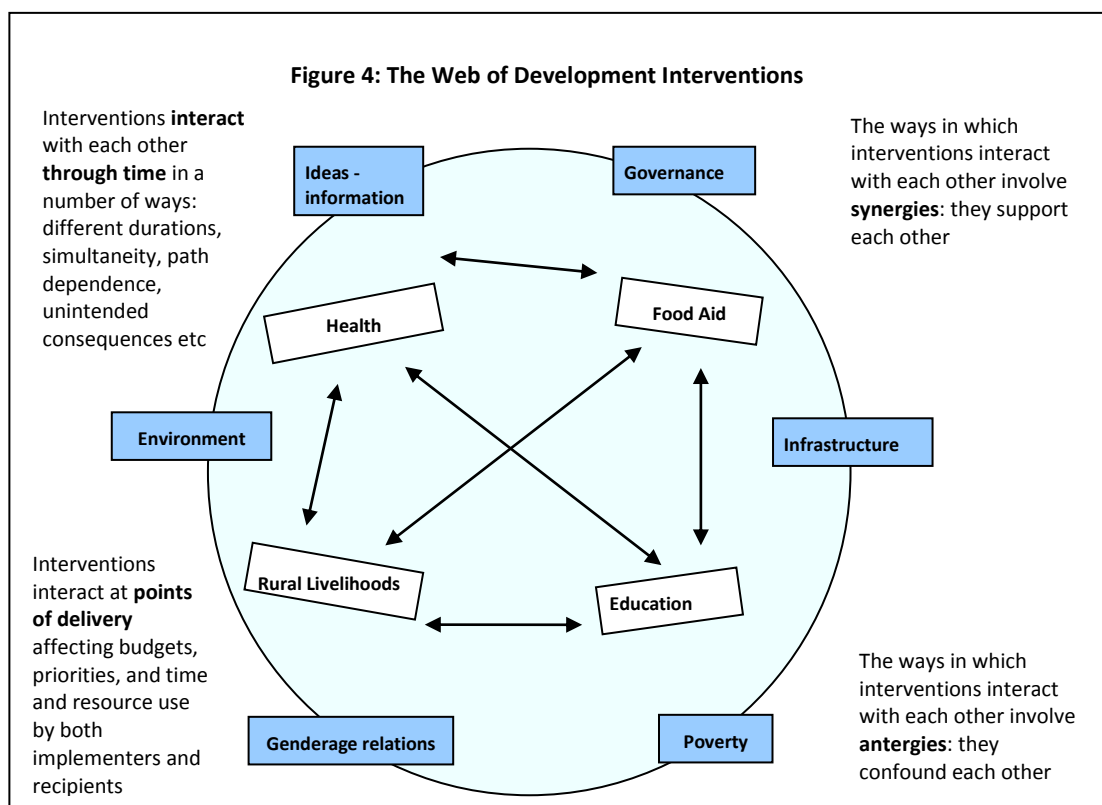
linked to higher government structures and, for many in the sites, to party structures.

There are some problems with the working conditions of the main top-down agents of change in the communities: the agricultural and health extension workers, teachers and *kebele* managers. The research showed that these 'go-between' often perceived themselves to be 'between two fires': on the one side from the wereda in the form of unrealistic targets and failures in equipment and input supply, and on the other from communities with ideas of their own. This tension contributed to episodes of personal stress, inefficiency and inaccurate reporting. In addition many married 'go-between' were separated from their spouses and in some cases their children, and holidays and days off were rare with many working a seven-day week.



Policy, programme and project interactions: the web of development interventions

Those designing, implementing and evaluating sector programmes and projects are prone to see them as self-contained. Figure 4 presents a framework based on the empirically-supported 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. And as interventions proceed they have consequences beyond those intended by the intervention designers and implementers which may take some time to make themselves felt.



Inequalities in service provision, access, use and outcomes

While there were community-specific differences in terms of detail we drew four general conclusions about inequality in all six sites which we hypothesise are universally applicable to Ethiopia's rural communities.

- **Wealth inequality** exists; even in the poorer communities there are considerable differences between richer households and very poor households in housing conditions, lifestyles including diet, productive assets, and use of health and education services. Children of the poorest families or servants are less likely to be enrolled in primary school and more likely to dropout and poor families find it hard to meet the costs of education outside the site. Poor people are less likely to use modern health services due to the cost and are finding it more difficult to get exemptions. Richer households have better housing and more modern lifestyles and are able to use private health and education services which are reported to be of better quality. Inequality in the communities has grown since 1995 as, although the poor do not seem to have become poorer, the rich have grown relatively richer.
- **Government services and other interventions** were not reaching everybody, notably many very poor and destitute people. Particularly vulnerable to exclusion were (1) those without family and kin networks in the community, (2) those unable to work due to chronic illness and disability, (3) those living a long way from the kebele centre and (4) dependent adults and children living in other people's households.
- **Women's** land, inheritance and divorce rights are established and beginning to take effect although inequalities persist. Access to credit and increased daily labour opportunities have increased women's economic participation. Moves against Harmful Traditional Practices affecting women have reduced female circumcision, early marriage, abduction, and widow inheritance though there is still some resistance. In all communities there is a woman wereda Councillor.

- **'Youth'** have emerged as a distinct social group in the community. Constraints on access to land for the younger generation have led to inter-generational and sibling tensions. Young people in all sites were at risk of landlessness and un(der)employment, although the severity of the problem varied among the sites. Reactions to these problems by young men included seasonal and longer-term migration to rural areas and towns as well as mainly illegal migration to the Gulf and Sudan, migration in search of education including attendance at Islamist madrasas in Bale, delayed marriage, and an increase in what the government has described as 'social evils', such as theft, addictions and violent behaviour. Some young women also responded by migrating, mostly legally to the Gulf, and illegally to Sudan. Others faced risks of marriage to older men, pregnancy outside marriage, and falling into prostitution.

6. Qualitative data-making and analytic interpretation: the scientific status of the findings

It might be argued that our conclusions are 'anecdotal' because (1) the data lying behind them only refer to six sites which are not representative of Ethiopia's rural communities, and (2) the data have been 'collected' through procedures which have not 'controlled for' interviewer bias.

With regard to the first point we fully accept that these communities are not 'representative'. They were originally chosen by economists at the Universities of Addis Ababa and Oxford in 1994 as 'exemplars' of six communities representing different types. We have applied some well-accepted case-based methods to the data from the six sites. Through a process of case analysis and comparison we have provided narratives for each community, looked for commonalities and differences across the sites in relation to modernisation processes and the impact of interventions on the communities and people within them, and located each of them in the wider Ethiopian context through a process of 'typologising'. As a result we believe we have developed a set of strong hypotheses, some about all rural communities and others pertaining to particular types of community which can be tested and developed through the Stage 2 and 3 research and by using existing secondary sources.

With regard to the second point we would argue that empirical data are not 'given' or 'collected'; whether they are based on surveys, interviews, or participant observation they are made and recorded by people involved in a process of interaction with other people. Furthermore, all data analysis relies on processes of interpretation, including the most technical of econometrics.

During the process of making our data the fieldworkers had to translate questions and prompts in English into the appropriate local language, informants had to interpret and answer the questions in the light of their particular experiences, the fieldworkers had to engage in dialogues with the informants to follow-up on potentially interesting topics, translate the answers into notes and the notes into written narratives. Finally, we, the report writers, had to make some sense of a vast set of narratives coming from the perspectives of a range of different people involved in the development of the community including wereda officials, kebele officials, elders, militia, and women's association leaders, ruling party members, opposition supporters, farmers and their wives, women heading households, rich, middle wealth, poor and very poor people, health centre employees, extension workers and teachers, old people, young men and women, and children.

Given this complexity how have we worked to maximise the validity of our conclusions? First we set in place a data interpretation/analysis process where we built descriptive evidence bases combining answers from all the fieldwork modules. These were revised after the fieldworkers commented on them and were used in a first stage of interpretation and abstraction to construct a second layer of evidence as annexes to the main report. Drafts written by each of the report writers were read by the others and improved on the basis of comments from the other team members. The annexes have been used to draw the empirical and theoretical conclusions presented in the main report –

which this report summarises. Any reader who doubts a fact or conclusion can consult the relevant annex and associated evidence base.

7. The WIDE3 transition project – bridging Stage 1 and Stage 2

In this transition stage, funded by the UK Department for International Development, in the early months of 2011 we are in the process of writing three policy papers based on the Stage One data, focusing on two key issues raised above: (1) the cultural disconnect in development models and consequences for social interactions across the development interface and (2) inequalities in service provision and access. The first paper will focus on the "go-betweens"; the roles, expectations, and effectiveness of the Development Agents, health extension workers, teachers, and kebele managers in mediating the interface between community and the higher level agents implementing the government/donor-initiated development interventions. The second paper will describe the differential effects of modernisation and development interventions on different kinds of people and households within the communities, with a focus on vulnerability, and inclusion and exclusion. The third paper is about male and female youth with a focus notably on the extent to which the development interventions in place in 2010 met their needs. We will also prepare a proposal for Stage Two of the research in consultation with government and donors.

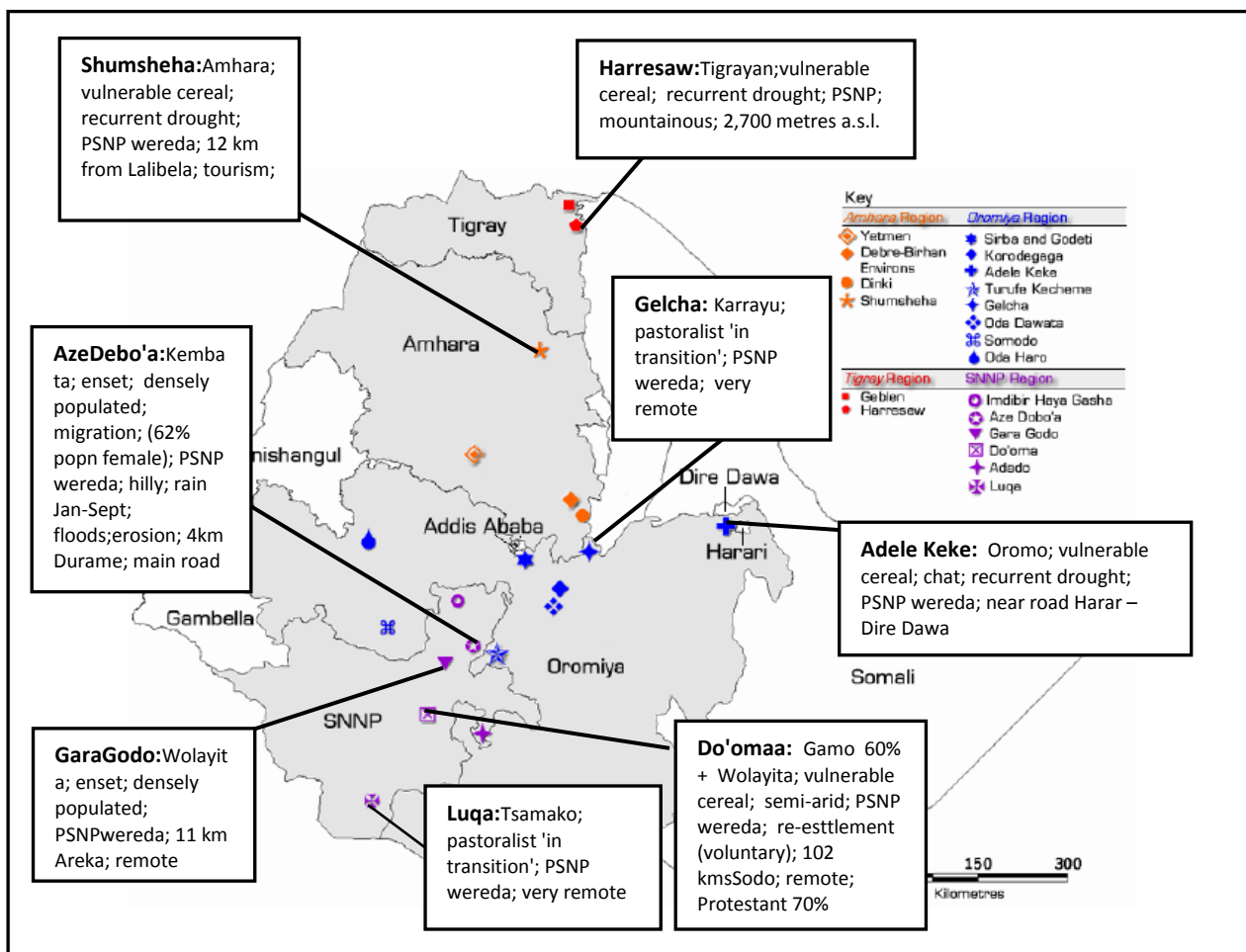
8. Plans for research in the remaining exemplar communities

We designed the WIDE3 research project in three stages. This report concludes Stage 1 which researched six of the twenty villages.

In Stage 2 to be conducted in the eight remaining PSNP sites (see Map 3 below) we will use improved versions of most of the Stage 1 protocols to enable rigorous comparisons across the fourteen sites plus a module of protocols specifically designed to explore the ramifications of PSNP processes in different contexts. These include a site near a big tourist attraction (Shumsheha near Lalibela); one in a cereal-growing but drought-vulnerable site in Tigray one in a chat-exporting site (Adele Keke); two in highly-populated enset livelihood systems (AzeDebo'a and GaraGodo); one in a (voluntary) re-settlement site (Do'oma) and two in pastoralist sites (Gelcha on the border of Oromia and Afar and Luqa in South Omo).

Stage 3 will be conducted in the remaining six WIDE sites which produce cash crops and are classified as communities with agricultural potential (see Map 4 below).

Map 3: The Eight Stage 2PSNP Sites*



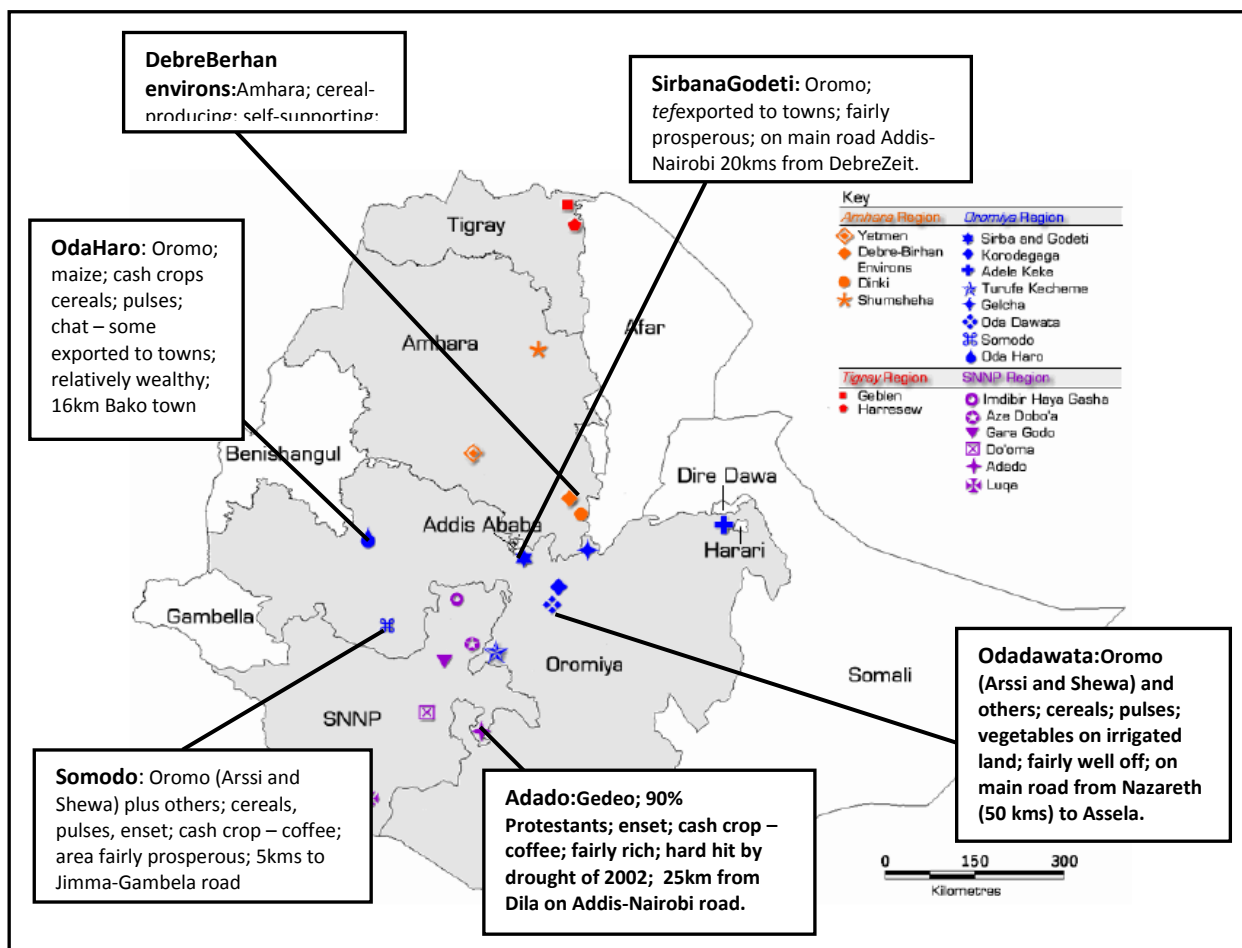
* Except for the designation as 'PSNP weredas' the descriptions of the non-pastoralist sites are from WIDE1 (1995) and of Gelcha and Luqa from WIDE2 (2003).

Once we have completed all three stages we will also be able to make a range of comparisons which will assist in the process of typing and the development of a typological theory. For example:

- Harresaw in Tigray looks very similar to Geblen. Is the same youth exit process in place? If not why not?
- Shumsheha in Amhara can be compared with Turufe and Girar(peri-urban); Yetmen (Amhara); Geblen, Dinki and Korodegaga (vulnerable cereal, food aid).
- Debre Berhan rural kebele is similar to Yetmen in livelihood system but under threat of suburbanisation like Turufe.
- Sirbana Godeti compares with Yetmen in livelihood system and location on a major road
- Somodo shares some features with Girar (SNNP, cash crop) and Turufe and Odadawata (a number of different ethnicities and religions).
- Oda Hara can be compared with Yetmen and Somodo.
- Adele Keke grows chat (Girar, Somodo) but is also PSNP vulnerable cereal site (Geblen, Harresaw, Shumsheha, Do'omaa, Korodegaga).

- Gelcha and Luqa, the pastoralist sites, can be compared with each other, but also with sites which were settled by pastoralists in the past (Do'omaa, Korodegaga, Turufe, maybe others in Oromia).
- AzeDebo'a and GaraGodo, food-deficit enset sites, can be compared with each other, and also with Girar and Adado which are both enset sites.
- Adado, also exports coffee and can be compared with Somodo (coffee), Girar (chat) and Adele Keke (chat).

Map 4: The Six Stage 3 Agricultural-potential Communities



Annex 1: Profiles of the Stage One communities (2010)

Geblen (Geblen Tabia (kebele), Saesia Tsaeda Emba Wereda, Tigray Region)

Geblen tabia comprises four kushets⁶: two of them lie on the Eastern Tigray highland plateau, the other two spread out on the steep slopes from the plateau to the Afar Region, are not easily accessible. A very small town called Mishig is emerging around the tabia administrative centre which has electricity since 2008. The tabia centre is 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). In Geblen there are Erob and Tigrayans, though several people said that they could not clearly identify to which group they belong. There are two main religious groups, Orthodox Christians and Muslims, as well as a few Catholics. Geblen is a food-deficit site which suffers from recurrent drought and has been included in PSNP/OFSP programmes since 2005. Less than 10% of tabia is farmland, and landlessness affects a growing number of young households; main crops are barley and cactus and very small-scale seasonal irrigation is practised. The wereda OFSP packages are focused on goats, sheep and beehives but these have been badly affected by drought and disease leading many into debt. People engage in daily labour and a few have taken OFSP non-farm package options and are running small shops, teashops and bars in Mishig. Otherwise there are few local work opportunities and people migrate for variably long periods of time finding jobs on construction projects or quarry work in the Region, going to Humera for the sesame harvest, finding work as housemaids, waitresses or commercial sex workers, or increasingly (the males mainly illegally) to the Gulf States with stories of hardship and failures but also successes – with a few people sending remittances. There is a Health Post and one full-cycle and two satellite primary schools in the tabia as well as a health centre and new secondary school in the neighbouring tabia at about 45 min walk from Mishig. Women's rights are said to be well-established; over 40% of the households in the tabia are headed by women.

Yetmen (Felege Selam Kebele, Enemay Wereda, Amhara Region)

Rural Yetmen is one of three gots in a kebele surrounding 'urban Yetmen', a small town with a separate kebele administration, founded around a Swedish-funded school established in the 1960s. All the rural residents are Amhara and Orthodox Christians. Yetmen is along an all-weather road going in one direction to Bichena, the wereda capital (17 kms and good transport), and in the other to Dejen, another town (same distance, transport) and from there to DebreMarkos and Addis Ababa. There is good mobile network coverage everywhere. The site exports most of the tef it grows to Addis Ababa. There has 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. Land shortage and population pressure has led to high youth un(der)employment. There is a Health Centre and private clinic in urban Yetmen and a Health Post in the kebele centre in a neighbouring got. Yetmen town has had a full cycle primary school since the mid-1990s; a secondary school should be built shortly – initial plans for its location on communal land provoked strong resistance. There have been changes in women's land rights and some cases of implementation.

Dinki (Hagere Selam Kebele, Ankober Wereda, Amhara Region)

Dinki, along the river of the same name, is one of five gots in Hagere Selam kebele. In Chibite, the kebele administrative centre 1 to 2 hours walk from Dinki, a very small town is emerging, with a few 'modern houses' built also by people from other gots including Dinki, and a small market. The kebele is located on the lower edges of the escarpment down to the Afar Region, which it borders; it is one

⁶ A tabia is the Tigray equivalent of a kebele; a kushet is a sub unit of a tabia, like a got for a kebele.

of a few lowland kebeles of Ankober wereda in Amhara, with a rugged and hilly topography and small scattered hamlets of a few households. Two-thirds of the population of the kebele are Argobba Muslims and one third Amhara who are mostly Orthodox Christians. The community is remote, drought-prone and food-deficit; emergency food aid has been provided every year since 2005. There have been a recent expansion of the use of irrigation to grow vegetables and fruit which now involves around a third of Dinki's households. Land shortage and population pressure has led to a very large number of (mainly young) landless households. There is a Health Post with nurse at the kebele centre and a Health Centre in the nearest town (10 kms) which has recently been re-equipped. There is a full cycle primary school in the kebele centre and a satellite school in Dinki and a secondary school recently opened in the nearest town. There have been changes in women's land rights and some cases of implementation. Relationships between Amhara and Argobba are fairly good, although some people say that the community cohesion is only superficial.

Korodegega (Korodegaga Kebele, Dodota Wereda, Oromia Region)

Korodegaga is a collection of nine villages scattered over a large area (2 hours walk between some of them) and forming one kebele in Dodota wereda in Oromia. Sefera village, the administrative centre (and a legacy of the Derg villagisation) with some new administrative and service buildings, is located along the Awash river. The nine villages are almost encircled by the Awash and the Qelete, another perennial river. Access to Dera, the wereda centre, is either through a dirt road (25 kms) which is not passable the whole year or, crossing the Awash river on a manually-hauled raft as there is no bridge, and walking to Sodere where there is an all weather road and transport to Dera. So on the one hand Korodegaga is remote. On the other hand, once on the all weather road people can easily reach Nazreth (30 kms), the second or third largest city in Ethiopia, and several small towns on the way. Moreover, most people have access to a mobile phone (in addition to a public V-Sat phone in the kebele though only receiving calls). Almost all the residents are Arssi Oromo Muslims. Farmers are involved in rainfed maize and tef production but the site is drought-prone and food deficit and was a PSNP/OFSP site (NGO-implemented) from 2005. The potential for irrigation from the Awash has been increasingly exploited through an NGO scheme, a government scheme, private pumps, inward investors, including an Australian, and co-operatives. This has increased daily labour opportunities. There has been some distribution of communal land to landless youth (a large group) in recent years. New migration to Sudan and Saudi Arabia started recently. There was a report of a few young men migrating to Bale to attend madrasas where Islamist ideas were being taught; one was highly critical of the teaching and returned. There has been a Health Post since 2009 and there are a health centre and private clinic (preferred) in the nearest town (about 8 kms from Sefera). Grade 5 was recently added to the school. There has been progress on a number of women's rights issues.

Turufe⁷ (Turufe Wetera Kechema Kebele, Shashemene Wereda, Oromia Region)

Turufe is 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 is surrounded by two rivers and located on fairly flat terrain. It is 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 live in the central densely populated area of the village (legacy of the Derg villagisation) with piped water at several communal water points and electricity since 2008, obtained with help of an investor who installed an electric mill. The mobile phone network covers the area. The village is linked to Kuyera by a dirt road reaching the main road along which Kuyera and Shashemene are located. The proximity of Kuyera and of the booming town of Shashemene (radically transformed and attracting investors since it became zonal capital in 2006) goes a long way to explain what life looks like in Turufe – notably comparatively better infrastructure and access to a range of services (government and also

⁷ In 1995 the community was known as Turufe Kecheme/a; since it became part of a larger kebele it is commonly called Turufe.

big private sector expansion in Shashemene and missions in Kuyera – education and health), market opportunities for agricultural and other products and wage labour opportunities. The population is mixed, ethnically 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, and religiously with a majority of Muslims, and Orthodox Christian and (growing) Protestant minorities. Different groups in the community therefore have different social and family norms. Turufe is a food secure, surplus producing area, traditionally exporting potatoes and maize to Addis Ababa. Farmers also grow a variety of other crops, all based on rainfed agriculture, and rear livestock. Community members, especially the landless young, commute for daily labour to Shashemene and Kuyera towns; some women have migrated to work on the Ziway flower farms. There are also opportunities in trade, informal business, brokering, and local transport activities. There is good access to public and private health and education facilities. Women's rights have been formally established and implementation is increasing.

Girar⁸ (Girar na Yeferema Zigba Kebele, Cheha Wereda, Gurage Zone, SNNP Region)

In 1995 parts of Girar were in a kebele near to Imdibir town named Imdibir Haya Gasha. This kebele was split, with part joining the town and part joining with a rural community to become Girar which comprises sixteen villages surrounding Imdibir town. The villages of Girar adjacent to Imdibir are as urbanised as the town itself. Girar and Imdibir are bisected by a (gravel) all weather road between Wolkite and Hosaena. Regular public transport goes to the zonal capital Wolkite (30 kms) and from there to Addis Ababa in one direction, and Jimma in the other. The mobile phone network covers the whole area of Girar. Rural livelihoods are organised around enset cultivation and cattle rearing, and urban migration to engage in all sorts of activities - from shoe shining to very big businesses, or joining older migrants to further develop their activity. Migration by young women to Arab countries is on the increase. Population density is high and landholdings are very small and there is a growing number of youth and young households who do not have their own farmland. Farmers grow an increasing number of complementary crops for cash, and household consumption especially for richer households, some of these promoted by the wereda and DAs (grains and vegetables and fruits), others in response to market demand (e.g. coffee). Chat and eucalyptus wood have emerged as high demand/value products and some farmers growing these are quite wealthy. People in Girar have access to non-farm daily labour opportunities in Imdibir town. The community is almost 100% Gurage, with strong customary institutions and structures that are still very important in people's everyday lives and with which the government is increasingly trying to work. The Orthodox Christian and Catholic religions are predominant, though there are also Muslims and a growing number of Protestants. In the kebele there is a Health Post, though it lacks basic amenities, and a full-cycle primary school. There is a Health Centre and a secondary school in Imdibir town and a Catholic mission hospital within 12 kms. There is an emerging big change in women's lives, which the new regional family and land laws underpin and with actual cases of women claiming and obtaining new land rights and rights to divorce, evidence of successes in banning girl circumcision, progress in girls' education and associated reduction in the trend of young girls being sent to work as easily abused housemaids for relatives in towns, and progress in women's economic empowerment.

Annex 2: More on the Research Approach

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This research uses a complexity social science approach in which development interventions and rural communities are conceived as co-evolving open and dynamic complex social systems. Development interventions are designed to induce changes which, it is assumed, will sooner or later result in a change in the trajectory of the country or community being targeted.

⁸ The full name of this kebele is GirarnaYeferemaZigba.

We used two main frameworks to help us to design the fieldwork plan and research instruments: one showing linkages between aid-funded macro programmes and rural communities and the second setting out a series of perspectives from which to observe the communities under study.

The first framework considers how interventions planned at the Federal level, some with donor support, descend to the community level. Linked to regionalisation in 1994/5 and accentuated with wereda-level decentralisation in 2002/3, as part of 'building consensus' there has been dialogue between Federal and Regional governments. There is also meant to be dialogue between weredas and kebeles to enable the latter to make suggestions relating to interventions, though we found limited references to this during the fieldwork.

The second framework consists of *seven perspectives on community systems*. More than one description of a complex system is possible and different descriptions decompose the system in different ways. This 'multiple perspectives' framework involves two holistic perspectives and five different de-compositions of the community systems.

Two holistic views of the community system

Perspective 1: the community as a system adapting to its environment, seeks to understand how the community works as a whole, how it relates to its material and social contexts, and how the community and context have co-evolved.

Perspective 2: the community in the broader Ethiopian context focuses on the relationship between the community and encompassing systems, mainly wereda, zone, Region, country, and globe. To identify communities with similar relationships to the wider context, we developed a set of typologies described in more detail below.

Five de-compositions of the community system

Perspective 3: community macro organisation delineates community structures of inequality along class, status and political power lines. Class differences lead to inequalities in wealth and income sets of households and people who can be classified as very rich, rich, of middle wealth, poor, very poor and destitute. There is a set of inequalities related to status differences which include gender and age differences as well as community-specific status differences which might be relate to ethnic group, religion, clan, lineage, or length of residence in the community. A third set of inequalities relates to decision-making processes for the whole community, some of which involve government, and in community organisations such as *iddirs*, clans, and households.

Perspective 4: the household as a sub-system to which (almost) everybody in rural communities belongs. Using this perspective we seek to understand the different kinds of household structure, other differences among households, local ideal household trajectories and what happens to households which never get on to these trajectories or 'fall off' them as a result of social shocks.

Perspective 5: intermediate social organisation identifies five institutional settings (fields of action) in which community members are active and which are frequently foci for sectoral development interventions. These fields are unequally structured and are simultaneously domains of power where different kinds of people have different roles and different decision-making power. This framework underpins much of our data-gathering and analysis and is discussed in more detail below.

Perspective 6: social interactions within and across the five fields of action. Using this perspective we seek to understand how the community system is reproduced and changed through the day-to-day actions and interactions of its members and incomers. The actions of more powerful people usually have more impact, although everyone has the power to resist individually and collectively.

Perspective 7: social actors. With this we view individuals in terms of their genderage, class/wealth position, ethnicity, religion, other community-relevant social statuses, a personality, accumulated human resources and liabilities, and a personal history with associated memories related to wider community and country histories.

Intermediate social organisation

Perspective 5 has been particularly important in the research. The five fields of actions, which are simultaneously domains of power, relate to sectoral development interventions. This is not a linear relationship and as the fields of action/domains of power are closely interlinked, this has implications for the way interventions interact with all instead of one specific field/domain.

1. *The livelihood field* includes smallholder agriculture/livestock 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.
2. The *human/re/pro/duction* field includes all institutions and activities involved in the production and maintenance of people, including fertility, birth, maternal and infant health, child-rearing, health and education. The maintenance of people requires housing, household assets, water, sanitation, energy, domestic work, food and other consumption, and appropriate caring by others. This field includes important areas of government interventions notably health and education.
3. The *social re/pro/duction* field consists of social networks, social institutions, and social organisations. Networks are formed on the basis of neighbourhood, kin and friendship, and sometimes clan or lineage membership. Social institutions order life-passages and set rules for different aspects of social life. Social organisations include (1) religious organisations and groups, (2) workgroups and business organisations, (3) community-initiated organisations providing social protection, credit and insurance, (4) government-sponsored organisations such as service co-operatives and women and youth organisations, and (5) community-based organisations sponsored by NGOs for particular projects. Networks and organisations are created, maintained, and diminished or destroyed through social interactions and their failure.
4. The *community management* field includes four types of structure: (1) community structures, e.g. for some decision-making and dispute resolution; (2) locally-specific wider lineage or clan structures, ethnic and/or religious structures, and political structures; (3) kebele structures including cabinets, councils, committees and social courts, and (4) wereda structures. More powerful people include local elites (rich, elders, educated, religious leaders, and leaders of informal and some government organisations), intermediaries who act as go-betweens including kebele officials, kebele managers, extension agents (Development Agents, Health Extension Workers and Health Promoters, teachers and community police) and wereda officials.
5. The *field of ideas* provides local people access to *seven types* of cultural repertoires or models: (1) conservative customary ideas; (2) local modern ideas involving new life-styles and in favour of various moves towards individualism and egalitarianism; (3) repertoires of ethnic belonging; (4) externally financed religious mobilisations; (5) government modernisation models related to revolutionary democracy/the developmental state via wereda and kebele officials, party members, the media and word of mouth; (6) donor models via NGOs, the media and word of mouth; and (7) selected global repertoires.

We used this *intermediate structures framework* to order our 2003 baseline data and to contribute to a calendar of macro level policies and programmes which entered rural communities in the period 2003-09, as set out in the inception phase of Stage 1. There are also 'cross-cutting' interventions designed to reduce inequality (Perspective 3) and develop community 'public goods' (Perspective 1).

The Research Process

WIDE3 Stage 1 began in November 2009 with analysis of the 1994 and 2003 baseline data, development of the methodological approach, a fieldwork plan and a review of the macro-level policies, programmes and models, which entered rural communities between 2003 and 2010.

The fieldwork involved thirteen modules whose design was based on the *multiple perspectives framework* described above. The modules were designed using a semi-structured, or protocol, approach. Fieldworkers in each site used the same protocols in each module to guide their interviews. Each module contained instructions about the numbers and kinds of people to be interviewed. The modules were:

1. Module 1: Wereda Perspective on the Kebele 2003-10
2. Module 2: Kebele Perspective on Development Interventions and the Wereda
3. Module 3: Community Trajectory 2003-10
4. Module 4: Community Experiences of Government Development Interventions – Men & Women
5. Module 5: Wereda Perspective on Kebele Development (revisit at the end of the fieldwork)
6. Modules 6a and 6b: The impact of interventions on different kinds of household
7. Module 7: The impact of interventions on dependent adults and young people
8. Module 8: Organisations involved in, or affected by, development interventions
9. Module 9: Key development actors
10. Module 10: Two common issues: (i) gender relations in practice and (ii) HIV/AIDS and interventions
11. Module 11: Site specific follow-up
12. Module 12: Research Officer Modules
13. Module 13: Regional Module – piloted in Amhara Region in April 2009

The fieldwork was carried out by a team of researchers trained in social sciences, several of whom had masters in anthropology or social work, and most of whom were familiar with the approach, having worked on similar research previously. One male and one female researcher went together to each of the six sites. The fieldwork was conducted between January and March 2010 in two phases (15 and 20 days) with a gap between for a debriefing workshop and feedback to inform the design of the Phase 2 Modules. The researchers produced reports which formed the basis of the analysis, participated in a final debriefing workshop and provided comments on subsequent outputs.

Throughout the research the team was in regular contact, through meetings and emails, with a group of interested stakeholders known as the Worknet. The group consists mainly of people who work in donor organisations in Ethiopia and academics. We arranged meetings during the inception phase to seek feedback on the research topics, and later to provide briefings on the progress made during the fieldwork and initial analysis. A priority in Stage Two will be to deepen and widen engagement with stakeholder groups, notably with government⁹.

The team produced this summary report and a number of other outputs, including six papers presented at the 8th International Conference of the Ethiopian Economics Association in June 2010.

⁹ Initial contacts were made with the government through the Ethiopian Development Research Institute, which was made aware of the research (through a concept note shared at Stage One inception) and expressed support for its implementation.