

CRANFIELD UNIVERSITY AT SILSOE

James Webster

Culture's Influence

**Towards Understanding Stakeholder Interactions in Rural
Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion Projects**

Institute of Water and Environment

PhD Thesis

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Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion Projects**

Supervisor:
Professor Richard Carter

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Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Variations frequently occur between the intended and actual outcomes of rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion projects, even projects that exhibit best practice. As a result, the intended impact of poverty reduction through sustained health improvements is diminished. This thesis establishes that inadequate consideration of culture in interactions between and within project stakeholders is a major reason for these unintended project outcomes.

Aspects of individual and group behaviour that are influenced by culture are examined, and an initial conceptual framework of established cultural dimensions developed. This framework is then applied to a broad variety of stakeholder groups: seven end user groups and two implementing agencies in Ethiopia and Uganda; national Governments and international donor organisations.

As a result, two new cultural dimensions are proposed. Firstly, concern for public self-image, defined as ‘the degree to which an individual expresses interest in how others perceive him/herself, and the manner in which the individual seeks to influence that perception’. Secondly, spirituality, defined as ‘the nature and degree of people’s beliefs and practices concerning the existence, nature, and worship of, and connectedness to God, a god, gods, or a greater spiritual whole, and involvement of the divine or greater spirit in the universe and human life’. Aspects of these dimensions that need to be measured are identified.

Hierarchies of cultural dimensions are identified where a certain combination of individual or group orientations causes the suppression or even reversal of behaviour in a dimension. Modifications to established cultural dimensions are recommended, especially long-term orientation which the author proposes renaming to ‘resistance to change’.

A multidisciplinary approach that reflects the complexities of group behaviour and converges research findings is recommended, including utilising software that simulates complex systems.

Recommendations are made for development practitioners, especially to enhance participation, promote femininity and achieve lasting change through training.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Genet Tesfaye, with whom I had the privilege to work alongside in the Ethiopian church programme. She was a dear sister in Christ, was loved by many and after a long struggle with cancer, finally went home in May 2006.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development (UK Government Department)
CARE	United States based international NGO
EED	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (Church Development Service – a donor association of the Protestant Churches in Germany)
Ethiopian Church programme	The Ethiopian Kale Heywet Church’s Integrated Water and Sanitation Programme
EU	The European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
HIPC	Heavily indebted poor countries
NGO	Non-Government organisation
INGO	Indigenous non-Government organisation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LC	Local council – the Governmental administrative units in Uganda, ranging from LCI (village) to LCV (district).
RWSHP	Rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation - international NGO
Swiss Return	Swiss based international NGO
Tearfund	United Kingdom based international NGO
Ugandan Church programme	The Church of Uganda’s Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation
ZOA	ZOA refugee care - Netherlands based international NGO

GLOSSARY

Arsi	A main Bane rite of passage, performed by males only, of leaping over the backs of at least seven cattle
Buda	A group of people believed by <i>non-buda</i> (i.e. other Amhara) to have the evil-eye
Edir	A traditional community social organization common throughout Ethiopia
Kalicha	A local (Amhara) doctor often practising traditional medicine
Kebele	The smallest Governmental administration unit in Ethiopia, consisting of 1,500 – 3,000 people. A Kebele has a chairman, Vice Chairman, secretary, Office runner and is a Branch of the Ministry of Economy, Development and Employment
LC	Local Council – the Governmental administrative units in Uganda, ranging from LCI (village) to LCV (district).
Maeshi	The spirits of dead ancestors believed by the Bane and other Southern Ethiopian tribes to be responsible for making a person sick
Temel	A spa or spring of mineral water believed by some Amhara to have therapeutic properties
Wereda	A Governmental administration unit in Ethiopia consists of 15-30 Kebeles
Yilunta	“What they say about me” (Amharic)
Zar	People, often matriarchs, who are possessed and forever afflicted by spirits, but have managed to learn to control them (Amhara tribe)

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Why would a man continue to send his children to collect water from a spring 500 metres down a steep mountainside, an arduous two hour round-trip trek, when he had just heavily invested time, money and material resources in a concrete jar to collect rainwater from his roof? Whilst the rest of the community were successfully using their jars to meet their family's water needs, Byaruhanga's jar lay on its side. Along with two pieces of guttering, it remained unused. When asked why, he simply said, "*I have children to collect water*"

Similarly, why would a family continue to collect and consume contaminated stream water, when one of many improved sources that they and the community had constructed was only a further 50 metres away? With the rest of the community using such improved sources and enjoying good health from them, this family subsequently lost three of its members to typhoid.

Lastly, why would the foreign guest of honour refuse to participate in a banquet prepared for him? It was the culmination of the inauguration of a gravity fed water scheme he had primarily funded. The ceremony leading up to it had finished one hour later than planned due to the exuberance of the users. As a result, the donor's subsequent schedule would run late, so he paced up and down outside the banquet, and reiterated "*They have to be taught to be on time.*"

These examples were personally experienced by the author in South West Uganda during the mid-1990s. They occurred in projects implemented by an indigenous non-Government organisation (INGO) through its rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion (RWSHP) programme that was managed by the author. This programme¹ has

¹ The Church of Uganda's Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme

consistently been recognised as exhibiting best practice² in the sector which has resulted in considerable ‘success’ in terms of the programme goal of “poverty reduction through sustained health improvements”. Recent independent external evaluations continue to state the unusual strength of the programme³, with over 90% of all structures built since 1985 still fully functional⁴.

The simplified dynamic of such programmes is common to any type of community-based rural development programme, and is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

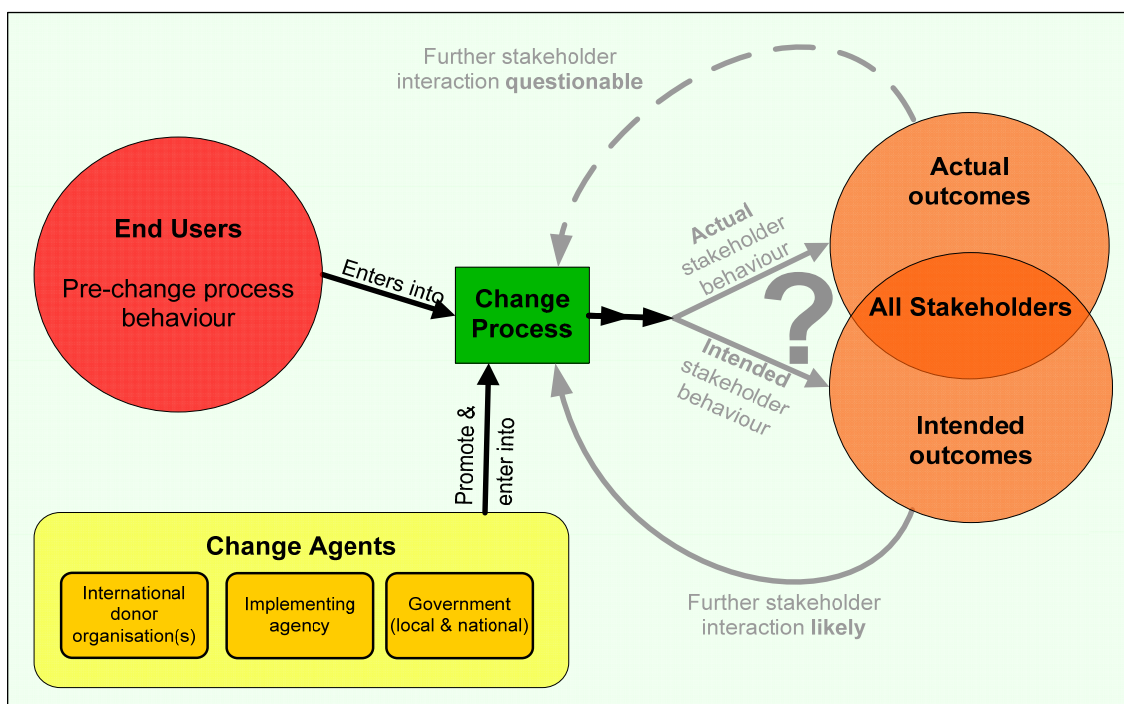


Figure 1.1: Typical stakeholder interaction in a community-based rural development programme showing variance in the intended and actual outcomes

² Defined as “approaches and actions that optimally achieve a goal” (after UNDP, 2004a), and examined in 1.2.

³ The two most recent independent external evaluations have stated that the Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme: “remains an excellent programme. It sets an example to the rest of Uganda, in its willingness to experiment, innovate and learn; in the integrity and openness of its methods; and in the quality of work done” (Danert et al., 2004); and that it “is one of the few Ugandan, and indeed East African, programmes with international standards” (Morgan et al., 2001).

⁴ Between 1985 and April 2006, 6,471 structures had been built: 4,593 household rainwater jars; 754 gravity fed water system tap-stands; 496 household rainwater tanks; 476 protected springs; 143 communal rainwater tanks; 6 shallow wells; and 3 deep boreholes (Targett, 2006).

End users⁵ engage with various change agents and enter into a change process with specific intended final outcomes that are seemingly agreed by all stakeholders⁶.

These final outcomes are commonly made explicit in a logical framework⁷. For a RWSHP programme they typically include, amongst others:

- intended changes in the hygiene behaviour of the end users;
- a commitment from the implementing agency to build the capacity of the end users; and
- a commitment from the donor(s) to fund the process in a timely manner.

However, in the process of achieving the outcomes, variations occur between intended and actual stakeholder behaviour, which in turn affect interim and final project outcomes. As a result, and as Figure 1.1 depicts, further stakeholder interaction is questionable, and if it has not already done so, the project fails to one degree or other.

In the wider, more general context of development⁸ the stakeholders shown in Figure 1.1 may vary. Change agents may exclude one or more shown, or include others, among them foreign Governments, the private sector, donor supporters or international financial institutions such as the World Bank or IMF. In the same way, the end users may be as in the instances cited at the outset - a local community - or instead a women's group, local entrepreneurs, local or national Government, or a similar primary 'beneficiary' group.

Nevertheless, the dynamic is essentially the same: on the surface at least, change agents agree with end users to enter into a certain change process with mutually agreed

⁵ 'End users' are defined as "those that uptake programme interventions". The term is preferred to other commonly used phrases such as beneficiary, local or target communities, as it embraces a sense of process and avoids notions of patronage, passivity and homogeneity.

⁶ Stakeholders are defined as "those with a direct involvement in or influence on the project cycle".

⁷ A logical framework, or logframe, is defined as "a planning matrix which summarises the linkages between the goals, purpose, outcomes and activities of a proposed intervention" (Pasteur et al., 2001).

⁸ Definitions of development have evolved over time and continue to vary. Throughout this thesis the working definition used is "the growth of economic and social capacities".

outcomes. Yet the problem remains: even in projects that exhibit best practice, variations occur between intended and actual project outcomes.

To appreciate this problem more fully, it is necessary to establish what current best practice is, then examine the significance, parameters and nature of the problem of unintended project outcomes.

1.2 BEST PRACTICE

Best practice has evolved, and continues to evolve, in the context of development theory and practice, whose trends are summarised in Table 1.1⁹.

Table 1.1: The trends of development theories and practices (adapted from Pronk, 2001, Rihani, 2002 and Pieterse, 2001).

Period Start	Development theories	Development meanings and practices
1850	Colonial economics	Resource management, trusteeship
1870	Latecomers	Industrialisation, catching-up
1900	Development economics	Industrialisation, economic growth (and social evolution)
1960s	Modernisation theory	State-led growth, political and social modernisation, industrialisation, foreign aid
Late 1960s	Dependency theory	Self-reliance and auto-centric, national accumulation
Late 1960s	Alternative development	Human flourishing & society-led: feminist, basic-needs, anti-capitalism, environmentalist, appropriate technology
1980s	Neoliberalism	Market-led economic growth – structural reform, deregulation, liberalisation, privatisation
1980s	Human development	Capacitation / human resource development; enlargement of people's choices
1980s	Sustainable development	Limited growth, environmental protection
1990s	Post-development	People centred, participatory, sustainable; anti-authoritarian engineering
2000s	Poverty reduction	Enhanced, sustainable livelihoods, holism
2000s	Complex systems theory	Localised solutions, self-help, appropriate technologies and institutional reforms

Development perspectives and best practice have shifted from an emphasis on hardware (infrastructure, capital inputs and technology) towards equal attention being paid to software (institutions, processes and management, education and knowledge). A mix of results- and process-oriented approaches has resulted. Results-oriented approaches tend

⁹ The evolution of development theory and practice, and best practice in the RWSHP sector, are more fully detailed in Annex I.

to include, for example, clearly established implementation, monitoring and follow-up plans as well as budgets (e.g. SIDA, 1998 and Zwikael et al., 2005). Process oriented approaches often promote, for example, empowerment and capacity building, equal worth of stakeholders, partnership and honesty (e.g. Turner, 2004 and Davis and Wall, 1992).

The key cross cutting components of current best practice in the RWSHP sector, many of which are common throughout development, are:

1.2.1 Gender mainstreaming

The burden of water collection in practically all developing countries falls on women and children. Furthermore, the economic value of ‘domestic’ water use is often unappreciated (SIDA, 2005a). Equitable sharing of the burdens, benefits and responsibilities of water hauling is therefore a vital component of best practice (Smout et al., 2001 and Francis et al., 2000).

However, there are reports that many years of positive discrimination towards women through, for example, training in income generation, has resulted in men, especially youths, being neglected (Bagamuhunda, 2005). Best practice therefore broadens the scope of gender relations to ensure equity amongst all sections of society.

1.2.2 Hygiene promotion

To sustain improvements in hygiene practices beyond the life of a RWSHP projects, best practice involves: intensive training tailored to specific target audiences¹⁰; social marketing of improved hygiene that matches available resources with social needs; and reinforcement of messages by group decisions and peer pressure (e.g. Cairncross and Shordt, 2004 and Berry et al., 1983). As a result, high levels of behaviour change may be achieved across a broad range of hygiene practices.

¹⁰ For example, children’s health clubs or door-to-door visiting in the evenings for agricultural workers.

1.2.3 Participation

A cornerstone of best practice, effective participation requires: end user investment in capital costs; local ownership and control of projects (including monitoring and evaluation); implementing agency responsiveness to end user feedback; and stakeholders learning together to synthesise new knowledge (e.g. Narayan, 1995, Chambers et al., 2001 and Wilson, 2006).

1.2.4 Sustainability and on-going support

On-going support is seen by many authors as an integral component of another fundamental of best practice, sustainability (e.g. Carter et al., 1999b and Webster et al., 1999). Generators of sustainability include: demand-responsive approaches by the change agents; the use of established community based organisations and leaders; building capacity of and adequately resourcing end users and support organisations; and the presence of a backstopping agency (e.g. Nedjoh et al., 2003, Reicher and Haslam, 2004 and Shrestha, 2003).

1.2.5 Monitoring and evaluation

Current best practice advocates self-assessment by end users against their own goals for software standards and hardware maintenance. These goals are set from qualitative and quantitative data primarily gathered by the end users themselves (Karanja and Shordt, 2004 and Venter-Hildebrand, 2003).

1.2.6 Information dissemination

Relatively recent best practice within the RWSHP sector involves knowledge management and communities of practice, for example, resource centres¹¹, or exchange visits to projects by end users and implementing agencies (Odhiambo and Pels, 2004 and Anumba and Khan, 2003).

¹¹ DFID funded Resource Centres provide free advice or access to information and promote, for example, “environmental health and well being in developing and transitional countries” (DFID, 2006).

Against these components of best practice, the programme in which the examples from 1.1 occurred has “*consistently performed well*” (Carter and Rwamwnaja, 2006). Yet the problem of unintended project outcomes remains.

This thesis proposes that the main reason for these unintended outcomes is inadequate consideration of culture in the interactions between stakeholders of RWSHP projects.

The research arena of this thesis consists of 7 specific project locations in Ethiopia and Uganda and various stakeholders associated with these locations (see 2.3.2, page 34 for details). Two of the locations in Ethiopia are focussed on as case studies: one as a further example of best practice (Box 1.1) and one as an example where best practice has not been demonstrated (Box 1.2).

- Dait Erdew, a 48 year old mother and a user of the spring that supplies Tenta town 7 kms away expressed powerless in the face of the proposed project, and enmity and feelings of distrust toward the Government: “*If I was educated I would never have let them take our water. I would have resisted, known how to argue against them, but because we are poor and uneducated, we can't ... Even today it doesn't make us happy*”.
- After project construction, acute water shortages in Tenta town were traced to the head of the Municipality and Chairman of the water and sanitation (WATSAN) committee giving building contractors preferential usage. He was subsequently imprisoned for corruption.

Box 1.1: Selected unintended project outcomes from the Tenta gravity scheme case study, Amhara region, Ethiopia (see page 100 for full details)

- Boreholes were drilled in Asbe Teferi in the late 1980s by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in conjunction with the Government. Minimal software training to the end users and Government was provided (e.g. operation, management and maintenance). ‘Important people’ were chosen as WATSAN members: they often lived far from the boreholes and were unable/unwilling to monitor borehole usage. The Government did not have the capacity to provide any on-going support. Therefore there was total failure of the boreholes after 3 years. As a result, end users collect water from a town 2-4 kms distant. Nuria Ali, a 40 year old mother: “*When I go there, we have so many quarrels with the community in the town*”.

Box 1.2: Summary of the Asbe Teferi boreholes case study, Oromia region, Ethiopia (see page 127 for full details).

1.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Poverty reduction is a common goal of RWSHP projects (see 1.1). The scale of global poverty is widely publicised: nearly half the world — 2.7 billion people — live on less than two dollars a day (Prahalad and Hart, 2002, Amis, 2004 and Shah, 2005); and between 420 million (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2005) and 800 million (Hulme, 2006) are chronically poor¹².

In developing countries generally¹³, less than half the population have sustainable access to improved sanitation. For the least developed¹⁴, only slightly over half the population have sustainable access to improved water sources, with an average life expectancy of 48 years (UNICEF, 2005). There are thus an estimated 2.6 billion people in the world without adequate sanitation and 1.1 billion without an adequate water supply.

It is against this background that RWSHP programmes primarily act. Low health status is a common attribute of the chronically poor, (Hulme et al., 2001, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2005 and World Bank, 2005b) and lack of access to improved water specifically identified as a key contributor to chronic poverty (Oduro and Aryee, 2003).

The Copenhagen Consensus (2004) ranked water supply and sanitation projects among the top ten most cost-effective ways to advance global welfare, and prioritised them second for international action (2006). Poverty reduction is achieved in RWSHP projects in a variety of inter-related ways:

- **Time savings.** Reduced round-trip times to collection points have direct economic and health benefits, both short- and long-term. Collection times may

¹² Chronic poverty is defined as those earning less than \$1/day for more than 5 years (McKay and Baulch, 2004, Hulme and Shepherd, 2003).

¹³ Defined as non-OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), Central and Eastern European countries, comprising 126 of 177 countries, total population 5,022 million.

¹⁴ Countries with a Human Development Index (HDI) of less than 0.500, comprising 32 of 177 ranked countries, total population 700 million. The HDI is “a summary composite index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living” (UNDP, 2006)

be reduced from a typical 2 hours or more to 15 minutes (KHC, 2000), with the saved time frequently used by women to increase agricultural production, thus improving family health, income and food security. Amongst children, increased school attendance reaps longer-term socio-economic benefits.

- **Health improvements.** Improved hygiene practices, sanitation facilities and water quality have been shown to reduce water- and excreta-related diseases¹⁵ by an average of 88%(KHC, 2000). Reduced child mortality and improved maternal health are other common benefits. Furthermore, reduced round-trip times result in lower levels of miscarriages, back problems and hernias. The resultant economic benefits may be direct (reduced medical fees) or indirect (increased productivity as above).
- **Productive use of excess water.** Overflows from storage tanks and rainwater harvesting facilities are often used for small-scale household irrigation, thus increasing agricultural production.

Yet despite these benefits and enormous investments in the water and sanitation sector - over US\$13 billion in 2004/5¹⁶ - the situation is deteriorating.

- A recent review of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)¹⁷ has revealed that *“the target of halving the number of people without sustainable access to improved water sources will be missed by about 210 million people ... Another 2 billion people will also lack access to an improved sanitation source in 2015”* (UNDP, 2005a).

This pattern is reflected in other areas of development:

¹⁵ For example, parasitic worms, diarrhoea, and skin and eye diseases

¹⁶ \$7 billion bilateral aid; \$4.2 billion from the Banks; \$1.4 billion multilateral aid; \$280 million UN bodies; and \$200 million international NGOs (sources: various UN and donor reports, including WHO (2005))

¹⁷ The Millennium Declaration was adopted by 189 nations-and signed by 147 heads of state and Government-during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. The MDGs, eight ambitious goals for development to be achieved by 2015, are drawn directly from the actions and targets contained in the Millennium Declaration.

- 50 countries (total population nearly 900 million) are going backwards on at least one MDG. Another 65 countries (total population 1.2 billion) are forecast to fail to meet at least one MDG until after 2040, missing the target by an entire generation (UNDP, 2004b and UN, 2005b).
- In the 1980s, 3 of 113 countries with available data saw their Human Development Index¹⁸ (HDI) decline. Since 1990, 20 countries have suffered a reversal in their HDI (UNDP, 2004b).

Whether the MDGs were realistic in the first place is not the issue here. What is clear is that current practices in development generally and the RWSHP sector specifically are not delivering as anticipated. Practices are increasingly losing ground in the fight against poverty: actual outcomes are varying significantly from those intended. It is therefore all the more important not only to scale-up efforts, but also to ensure that what is currently considered best practice in the RWSHP and other development sectors is indeed best, in order to further reduce poverty.

1.4 THE PARAMETERS OF THE PROBLEM

There are three main perspectives on whether current best practice is actually best, perspectives that may be summed up as ones of total knowledge, no knowledge or partial knowledge. Respectively, these reflect, in part at least, the three theories of positivism, post-modernism and complexity (Table 1.2).

The **total knowledge perspective** reflects the view, held by, amongst others, the former British Secretary for International Development: “*We know what to do. We just need to get on and do it*” (Short, 2004). In other words, there is nothing more that needs to be learned about best practice in project implementation: the solution is simply more of the same. This perspective suggests that current levels of ‘failure’ are due to lack of application of current best practice. It is a perspective essentially based on a positivist, deterministic approach which essentially states that every event, including human

¹⁸ The HDI is “a summary composite index that measures a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development: longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living” (UNDP, 2006) (Footnote 14)

action, has a knowable cause (that is capable of logical or mathematical proof or scientific verification), and that therefore total mastery over nature is possible.

Table 1.2: Three perspectives on best practice

Perspective on best practice	Action Advocated	Theoretical Borrowings
Total knowledge: 'we know what to do'	More of the same best practice	Positivism and determinism
No knowledge: 'we don't know what to do'	Radical re-think of (best) practice: paradigm shift	Postmodernism
Partial knowledge: 'we're learning what to do'	Improve current (best) practice	Complexity

The **no knowledge perspective** suggests that current best practice is fundamentally flawed and a radical re-think is required to substantially reduce or even eradicate the current levels of 'failure'. Suggested flaws are that the real agendas of some stakeholder groups or individuals may be largely undisclosed or undiscovered, so that either the wrong issues are being addressed, or the right issues are, but fundamentally in the wrong way. For example, this perspective suggests that the goals and desired outcomes of RWSHP projects may be seemingly shared by all stakeholders, but with unequal priority because of significant differences in what is practically understood by terms such as health, sustainability, a successful project, and impact. This perspective reflects to a degree postmodernism, which rejects the modernism in development of the 1960s that advocated state-led growth, political and social modernisation, industrialisation and foreign aid (see Table 1.1 and Annex I). However, whereas postmodernism advocates social inaction, the 'no knowledge' perspective considered here urges a radical paradigm shift, therefore only partially embracing postmodernism.

The **partial knowledge perspective** suggests there is a boundary between the responsibilities of change agents and those of the end users, and similarly between the 'communal stakeholder' effort and the behaviour of individuals. Within the boundary it is the responsibility of change agents and the 'communal stakeholder' effort to influence a percentage of individuals and achieve results that are usually made explicit in a project logframe. For example, a recently funded programme in Ethiopia had the following indicator of achievement for its goal of sustainable health improvements: *"Increase of safe hand washing practice amongst 65% of beneficiary adults and 85% of beneficiary*

school children by end of 2005” (EKHCWSP, 2002). Beyond the boundary of responsibility, stakeholder groups agree there is no guarantee that individual behaviour can be influenced.

However, this perspective of partial knowledge argues that the boundary of responsibility can be extended to militate against some or all of the unintended outcomes cited in 1.1, thus giving a more acceptable level of ‘success’, at least for now. In other words, current best practice is just that – current – and can be improved upon. This partial knowledge perspective therefore has much in common with complexity theory which accepts that human beings can take positive action to improve their condition, but concedes that there are strict limits to predictability and action (Byrne, 1998, Rihani and Geyer, 2001 and Rihani, 2005).

There is however a divergence of views between the partial knowledge perspective and complexity theory if the former believes that all outcomes can ultimately be militated against: such a perspective borrows more from the positivist approach.

Although the three perspectives presented do not strictly align with the three theories introduced, it is useful to summarise the relationship between the different theories. Byrne (1998) sees “*the linear and reductionist* (i.e. positivist, deterministic approach) *as a thesis, postmodernism as an antithesis and complexity as a synthesis*” (this author’s emphasis).

Regardless of this analysis, it is necessary to determine if current best practice is incapable of improvement (total knowledge perspective), is in need of total revision (no knowledge perspective) or needs improvement (partial knowledge perspective).

From the brief overview in 1.2 of best practice, two points are clear. Firstly that best practice is evolutionary in nature. Secondly that best practice currently recognises the need to focus more on human factors.

The first point is backed up by Rihani (2002), who identifies effective development as a cyclical activity that proceeds with three indivisible components: survival, adaptation and learning. This rejects the idea that best practice is incapable of improvement.

The second point is supported by Carter et al (1999b) who comment on water and sanitation programmes in developing countries that have not “*continued to work over time*”. They state: “*The causes of breakdown or non-sustainability are numerous: communities or households may never have been convinced of the desirability of new water sources, or particularly new excreta disposal facilities, in the first place...*” (ibid). This recognises serious deficiencies in (cross-) cultural interactions.

This author therefore suggests, in light of the above and the examples cited in 1.1 and Box 1.1, that current best practice is in need of either improvements or fundamental revision, with a focus on (cross-) cultural interactions.

However, it is necessary to determine more precisely where the problem lies and what needs improving or revising.

1.5 THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The examples given in 1.1 and Box 1.1 are of unpredicted (not necessarily unpredictable) behaviour where the unexpected occurs and reduces project impact even when current best practice is applied.

It is inevitable that lack of best practice will result in more frequent and more pronounced ‘failures’ in terms of unintended and detrimental project outcomes, including stakeholder behaviour. These may be rapid and cause total project failure. For example, poor construction standards in South West Uganda in the 1990s led to a 60% failure rate of boreholes within 6 months of drilling due to inadequate drilling depths, which were due in turn to the drilling contractor being paid once water was reached (Bagamuhunda, 1997).

Similarly, in the example of Asbe Teferi in Harerge, Eastern Ethiopia (Box 1.2), in all boreholes failed within 3 years due to an absence of training and capacity building of the end users and local Government (Medihin, 2003). Anom and Odukuye (2003) report that approximately 50% of handpumps in rural Nigeria are dysfunctional.

Such consequences of poor practice are to be expected. However, the problem still remains that **even when all the key ingredients and best practice that are currently**

understood to be essential for success in RWSHP projects are present, a certain degree of the unintended or unanticipated occurs with varying impact on project success.

Common examples additional to those described in 1.1 include:

- Curative rather than preventive hardware maintenance by end users, despite adequate training and capacity building by an implementing agency. Community based organisations (CBOs) established by implementing agencies to manage and maintain projects, in part through the collection of revenue, often only attempt to become functional when hardware fails. This is often too late, as for example, by the time a handpump breaks the CBO members may have forgotten their training (maintenance and book-keeping for example), and some members may have left the community or died. As a result the community is reluctant to entrust their money to the CBO, and may even be unable to raise a sum in one go that would have been achievable in instalments. The lengthy down-time of the pump becomes increasingly accepted as the norm.
- Differing perspectives on legitimate use of project resources, especially vehicles. Although outright embezzlement of project funds is relatively easy to identify if adequate accounting procedures are in place, ‘greyer’ areas include, for example, the use of vehicles.
- Donors defaulting on a funding commitment or failure to transfer funds in a timely manner due to undeclared organisational constraints.

Any stakeholder in RWSHP projects could add to this list.

There are also what appear to be more physical issues that need to be addressed. For example, the shape of the relationship between potential health benefits and increased consumption was an issue raised by researchers in East Africa more than 30 years ago, and continues to be unresolved. *“Where water users presently only consume about 3 or 4 litres per head per day (where water sources are very distant and round-trips up to 6 hours can be involved) ... is it better for the programme to spread itself thinly, and increase consumption to, say, 8 litres, or to concentrate its activities and achieve the target of 20 litres for fewer people?”* (Carter et al., 1996). However, these issues of

water usage, coverage and contamination are largely dependent upon on hygiene practices and therefore have their roots in human behaviour.

In keeping with this, there is increasing recognition that the problems within the RWSHP sector and the solutions for it revolve around relationships or interactions within and between stakeholders.

- Four of the five Bonn Keys of 2001 involve stakeholder relationships: “*decentralisation ... new partnerships ... cooperative arrangements ... stronger, better performing governance arrangements*” (Catley-Carlson, 2001).
- The Commission for Africa similarly lists tackling exclusion and vulnerability (along with expansion of water supply and sanitation, and elimination of preventable diseases) amongst the five actions necessary to provide “strong and sustained progress in human development ... (that) will happen only if women and men are at the centre of the action” (Commission for Africa, 2005).
- Of the ten major constraints to water and sanitation development listed by the World Health Organisation and UNICEF (WHO and UNICEF, 2000), six involved stakeholder (inter-) relations: lack of sector co-ordination; insufficient community involvement; insufficient information and communication; and three others that revolved around human resources and (political) commitment.
- FAO’s Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis (SEAGA) approach to development focuses on “*gender roles, relationships, and responsibilities in socioeconomic systems at all levels, from macro to field*” (FAO, 2001).
- Two software programmes specifically designed as decision-making tools for the RWSHP sector, SANEX and WAWTTAR, require inputs that recognise the heterogeneity of communities, gender issues, and differing hygiene practices in addition to technical aspects (McGahey, 1998 and Parkinson, 2004).

A fundamental determining force at the core of all human interactions is culture, defined throughout this thesis as “*the values, beliefs and knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behaviour*” (see 3.1).

The importance of considering the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction is stressed by Jackson (2002), and UNESCO “*defend the case of indivisibility of culture and*

development” (UNESCO, 2005). They urge that “*the relationship between culture and development should be clarified and deepened, in practical and constructive ways ... taking culture’s impact on all areas of life into account*” (UNESCO, 1995) They ask the question “*What are the cultural and socio-cultural factors that affect development?*” and call for “*an international consensus on good practice concerning culture and development*” (ibid).

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTION AND PROPOSITION

This thesis therefore proposes that the main reason for variations between intended and actual project outcomes in RWSHP projects is inadequate consideration of cultural and cross-cultural dimensions in these interactions.

The research question is:

What is the influence of culture on interactions within and between stakeholders and subsequent project outcomes in RWSHP projects in low-income countries?

This thesis is an exploration of a proposition that seeks to describe and understand stakeholder interaction. This is in stark contrast to a reductionist approach that tests a hypothesis through experimentation. This distinction is considered further under ‘Methodology’ (Chapter 2) and ‘Approaches to description and understanding’ (3.4.1).

1.7 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.7.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to improve understanding of the influence of culture on stakeholder interactions in rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion (RWSHP) projects.

1.7.2 Objectives

There is extensive documentation that identifies (cross-) cultural dimensions that are relevant to human interaction at the national, organisational group and individual level.

Many of these dimensions are useful for describing and understanding interactions within and between stakeholders of RWSHP projects (and development generally). Thus **the first objective is to identify relevant (cross-) cultural dimensions and develop an initial conceptual framework of dimensions.**

This thesis is connected to two indigenous RWSHP programmes that the author managed for 11 years, one in Uganda and one in Ethiopia. The stakeholders of seven specific projects were the focus of analysis for this research¹⁹. Consequently **the second objective is to use the initial conceptual framework to describe and understand interactions within and between the stakeholders.**

From this description and understanding, **the third objective is to develop insights and identify new (cross-) cultural dimensions.**

The origins of this research are in field experiences. There is therefore a pragmatic emphasis throughout the thesis. As a result, **the fourth objective is to determine the degree and extent of the influence of dimensions, especially cross-culturally, and determine ways of militating against or promoting them to enhance beneficial impact.**

Two further objectives were originally envisaged.

Firstly, it was recognised that the role culture plays in stakeholder interactions is historically rooted in the context of development. Therefore, *an understanding of (cross-) cultural considerations in stakeholder interactions in development* was planned as an objective. An overview of literature on the evolution of stakeholder interactions in development theory, development practice, and specific best practice in the RWSHP sector was conducted. However, whilst still relevant, this overview is considered to be of secondary relevance by this author, so is presented in summarised form only in Annex I.

¹⁹ Four main stakeholder groups were associated with the projects: end users (including local Government where relevant); implementing agencies (i.e. the two indigenous RWSHP programmes); foreign donors; and Government (local, regional and national Government of the end users' country, and national Governments of the foreign donors' countries).

Secondly, it was planned to *develop a conceptual model for the presentation of findings*. It became apparent once insights were developed from the findings (objective three) that this was no longer relevant and that the findings were best presented by description (objective two).

The aims and objectives are summarised as follows:

Aim

Improve understanding of the influence of culture on stakeholder interactions in rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion (RWSHP) projects

Objectives

1. Identify relevant (cross-) cultural dimensions and develop an initial conceptual framework of dimensions.
2. Use the framework to describe and understand interactions within and between the stakeholders.
3. Develop insights and identify new (cross-) cultural dimensions.
4. Determine the degree and extent of the influence of dimensions, especially cross-culturally, and determine ways of militating against or promoting them to enhance beneficial impact.

There are three main areas of ‘newness’ of the research.

- Proposing two new dimensions of culture that are relevant to relationships within and between stakeholders of RWSHP projects and general (cross-) cultural interactions. The two new dimensions are: concern for public self-image; and spirituality.
- Applying new and established dimensions to a wider range of stakeholders. Much has been written about cross-cultural interfaces between organisations of the developed and developing world i.e. two cultures (e.g. Hofstede, 1976, 1980a, 1988 and 1999 and Kanungo and Jaeger, 1990). Others consider only community culture but not in relation to organisational culture. This thesis considers ‘developing world’ stakeholders of Government, end users (local communities), implementing agencies, and to a lesser extent, the private sector.

It considers ‘developed world’ stakeholders of donors, supporters and Government, and examines the interactions within and between all.

- Making recommendations that will improve academic understanding and pragmatic consideration of dimensions of culture.

1.8 THESIS STRUCTURE

The thesis structure predominantly follows the objectives.

Chapter 2 details the methodology

Chapter 3 defines the core concept of this thesis, culture, and identifies important considerations that need to be borne in mind when using the term. Through an overview of individual and group behaviour, it then develops an initial conceptual framework of cultural dimensions that are necessary to describe and understand interactions within and between stakeholders.

Chapter 4 describes and provides understanding of the interactions within and between the multiple stakeholders of the seven specific projects located in Ethiopia and Uganda.

Chapter 5 develops insights with implications for academic understanding and development practice, including the degree and extent of the influence of (cross-) cultural dimensions. It also identifies new (cross-) cultural dimensions.

Chapter 6 makes recommendations for further research and development practitioners, including ways of militating against/promoting the influence of (cross-) cultural dimensions.

The style of this thesis largely follows that of a traditional research report: problem, proposition and research questions, method, literature review, description and understanding, discussion, and conclusion (Chenail, 1992). This is followed in a cyclical rather than linear manner, with frequent reiteration in order to fully develop the insights, conclusions and recommendations.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 EVOLUTION OF THESIS AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

From the author's field experiences - the examples given in 1.1 and other similar instances - the initial aim of this thesis in September 1999 was to 'establish the links between the design and health impact of rural water supply projects in south-west Uganda and Ethiopia'.

The physical components that contributed to community health prior to project intervention (i.e. pre-change process, Figure 1.1) were mapped through induction from experiences of the author and colleagues in the sector. Subsequently the cultural influences on those components were mapped. These maps are presented in Annex II.

The aim evolved in December 2001 to identify the cultural factors that influenced project outcomes. The proposed methodology was a multivariate regression analysis of questionnaire data, supplemented by open unstructured interviews. The data would be subsequently modelled to generate different stakeholders' hierarchy of influential cultural factors. These would then be compared for (potential) clashes, with the intention of arriving at a methodology for achieving the maximum beneficial impact through optimal project design.

The methodology was tested through asking informant groups and individuals in two communities near Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to list and rank their responses to various questions. Structured questionnaires were used by trained data gatherers to elicit the interviewees' self-declared hierarchy of cultural factors that influenced project outcomes. Questions included were: 'Why was this project a success/failure? How could the community (and implementing agency) have improved the project?'

Whilst this did elicit a rough sense of cultural priorities, largely in line with expectations, three points became apparent. Firstly, too many data were being generated with too many variables. Secondly, it was difficult to ensure quality assurance with the trained data gatherers. Thirdly, it was clear that the author needed to be the 'data

gatherer' to directly engage with informants and capitalise on the richness of available data.

This confirmed that more in-depth qualitative interviewing was necessary and that the author personally needed to conduct primarily one-to-one semi-structured interviews. This approach allowed general inferences that emanated from the field data to redefine the research objectives. This evolution of methodology is discussed further in 2.3.3.

Interviews were therefore conducted in 6 communities in Ethiopia and 2 in Uganda where RWSHP projects had occurred, in addition to interviews with representatives of other stakeholder groups and key informants.

Table 2.1: Summary of the evolution of thesis aims, objectives and methodology

Date	Aim	Objectives	Methodology
September 1999 – November 2001 27 months	Establish the links between the design and health impact of rural water supply projects.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify the physical components that contributed to health in a community prior to project intervention. 2. Subsequently identify the cultural influences on those components. 	Initial <i>mapping through induction</i> from experiences of the author and colleagues in the sector. Subsequent <i>development of structured questionnaires</i> . Preliminary <i>literature review</i> .
December 2001 – January 2002 2 months	Identify the cultural factors that influence project outcomes.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Elicit from interviewees a hierarchy of cultural factors that influence project outcomes. 2. Model the data to produce a methodology to achieve maximum beneficial impact through optimal project design. 	<i>Testing of structured questionnaires</i> by trained data gatherers in 2 rural Ethiopian communities. <i>Multivariate regression analysis</i> of data was planned with supplementary <i>open unstructured interviews</i> to allow <i>conceptual modelling</i> .
February 2002 - June 2003 17 months	Improve understanding of the influence of culture on stakeholder interactions in rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion projects (1.7.1)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify relevant (cross-) cultural dimensions. 2. <i>Understand (cross-) cultural considerations in stakeholder interactions in development</i> 3. Describe and understand interactions within and between the stakeholders. 4. Develop insights and identify new (cross-) cultural dimensions. 5. Determine the degree and extent of the influence of dimensions, especially cross-culturally, and determine ways of militating against or promoting them to enhance beneficial impact. 6. <i>Develop a conceptual model for the presentation of findings</i> (1.7.2). 	<i>Semi-structured interviewing</i> with 8 rural communities in Ethiopia and Uganda (one set of interviews subsequently not used). <i>Semi-structured interviewing</i> with representatives of related stakeholder groups and key informants. <i>Review of literature</i> unavailable outside of Ethiopia and Uganda (limited availability or unpublished).
July 2003 - August 2006 38 months	As above	As above, except objectives 2 and 6 were dropped.	Main <i>literature review, data analysis</i> (by way of description and understanding). Thesis <i>write-up</i> .

An on-going preliminary literature review and reflection on interview content and structure led to iterative focussing and refinement of the interviews. Consequently, the first interviews (in February 2002) in one Ethiopian community were discarded (see 2.3.3). Thus data from a total of 7 communities is considered in this thesis, in addition to data from other stakeholder groups and key informants. Full details of interviewees are given in 2.3.2 and Annex III.

Further literature review yielded cultural dimensions for description and understanding of the field data. This understanding and the data themselves generated further dimensions that enabled a critique of the literature-based ones.

This reflective process enabled an in depth, self-critical examination of the findings and application of the literature to a wide range of stakeholders. Therefore this thesis relates field data to current (cross-) cultural dimensions that are relevant to RWSHP projects, and provides additional dimensions for further consideration.

A summary of the evolution of the aims, objectives and methodology is presented in Table 2.1.

2.2 THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF METHODOLOGY

2.2.1 Social research

Whilst this research has leanings towards an ethnographic survey – a description of people and culture with their customs, habits, and mutual differences - it seeks to build bridges between several disciplines: engineering, health and hygiene promotion, sociology, psychology and anthropology. With this in view, and the author's engineering background, at this stage the briefest of overviews of the dimensions of social research methodology is presented from Figure 2.1 - Figure 2.4. These summarise general research purpose, use, dimensions of time, and data collection techniques. In each figure, the general summary of each dimension is followed by an assessment of the relevance of this research to the particular dimension. The categories are those proposed by Neuman (1997): whilst providing a useful 'map' of social research, they

compartmentalise dimensions and therefore potentially inhibit the style of research used in this thesis: a cyclical, iterative style that is multidisciplinary and multidimensional.

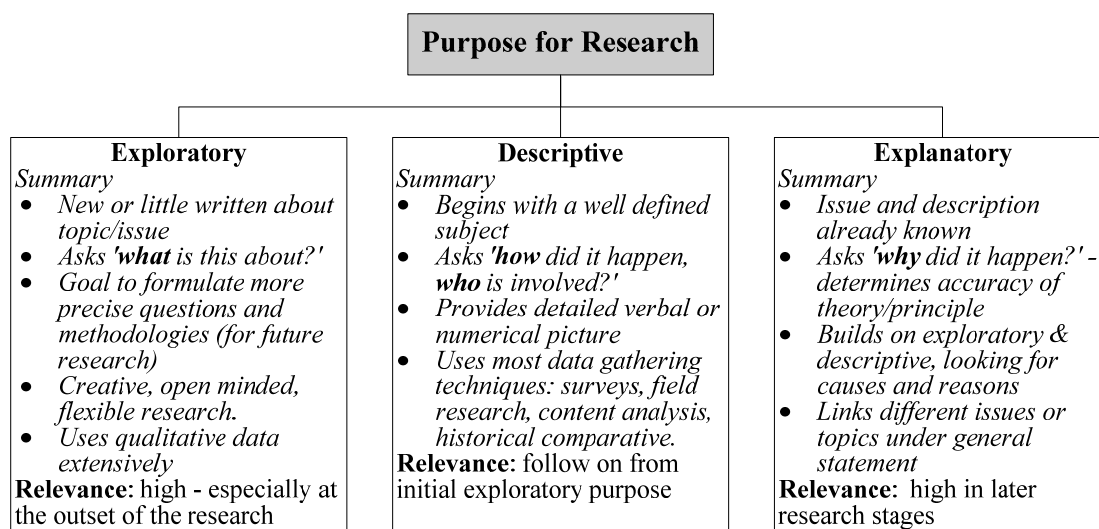


Figure 2.1: Summary of purpose of research and the relevance to this thesis (after Neuman, 1997).

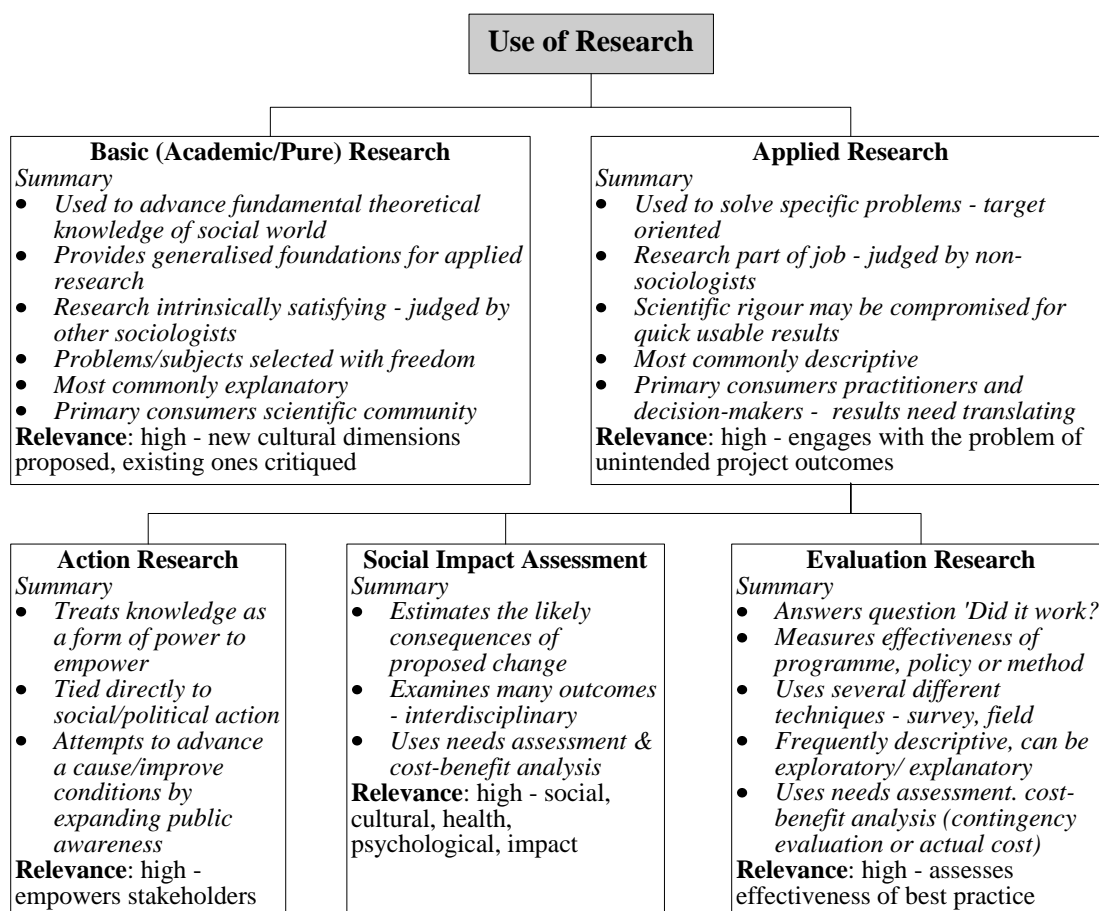


Figure 2.2: Summary of use of research and the relevance to this thesis (after Neuman, 1997).

For example, in terms of the purpose of this research (Figure 2.1), it initially began in an exploratory manner, asking ‘what does the existence of variation between intended and actual project outcomes tell us?’ It then became descriptive, defining the research arena through both structured questionnaires and discussion.

The research then became a mixture of both exploratory and explanatory, continuing to ask ‘what is the existence of variations about?’ as well as ‘why did they happen?’ Thus this author uses Neuman’s categories of social research as useful descriptors rather than as non-compatible groupings.

The use of this research is both basic and applied research, as described in Figure 2.2. The recommendations (Chapter 6) are fairly evenly split between those with implications for academic understanding and those with implications for development practice.

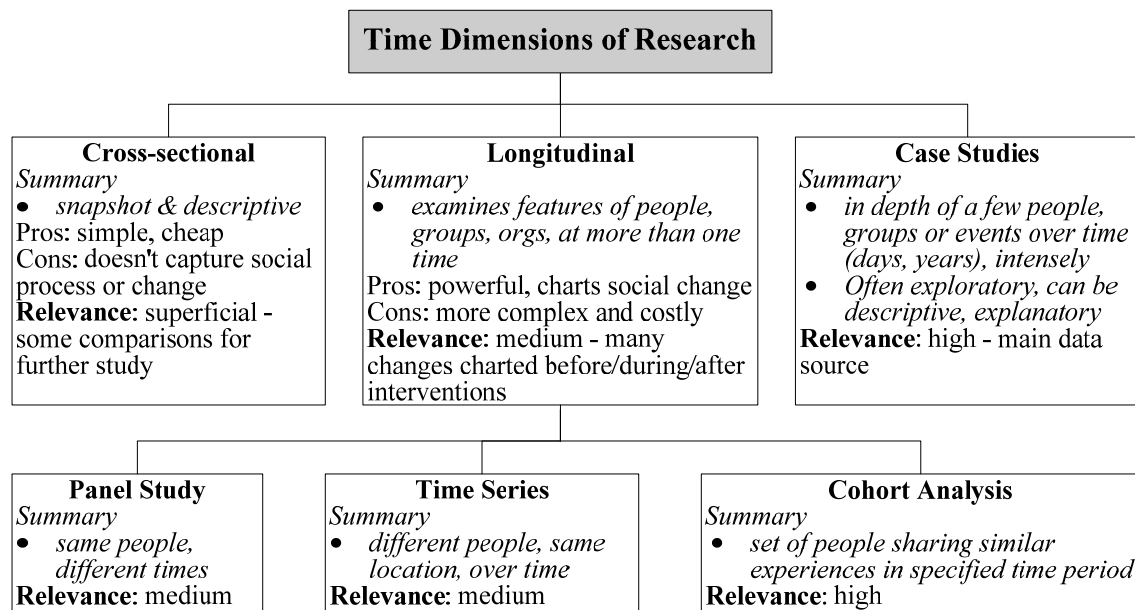


Figure 2.3: Summary of time dimensions of research and the relevance to this thesis (after Neuman, 1997).

With regards the dimension of time (Figure 2.3), this thesis is again a mixture, embracing both longitudinal and case studies, examining in depth particular social and cultural features of RWSHP projects, in addition to the change in those features over time. It also involves all aspects of longitudinal research, though is primarily a cohort analysis of shared experiences of a change process through specific RWSHP projects.

The data collection techniques (Figure 2.4) were outlined in 2.1 and are detailed further in the following sections. They evolved from quantitative surveys to qualitative field research. There are also elements of comparative historical research with regards health, hygiene behaviour and social changes associated with the RWSHP projects.

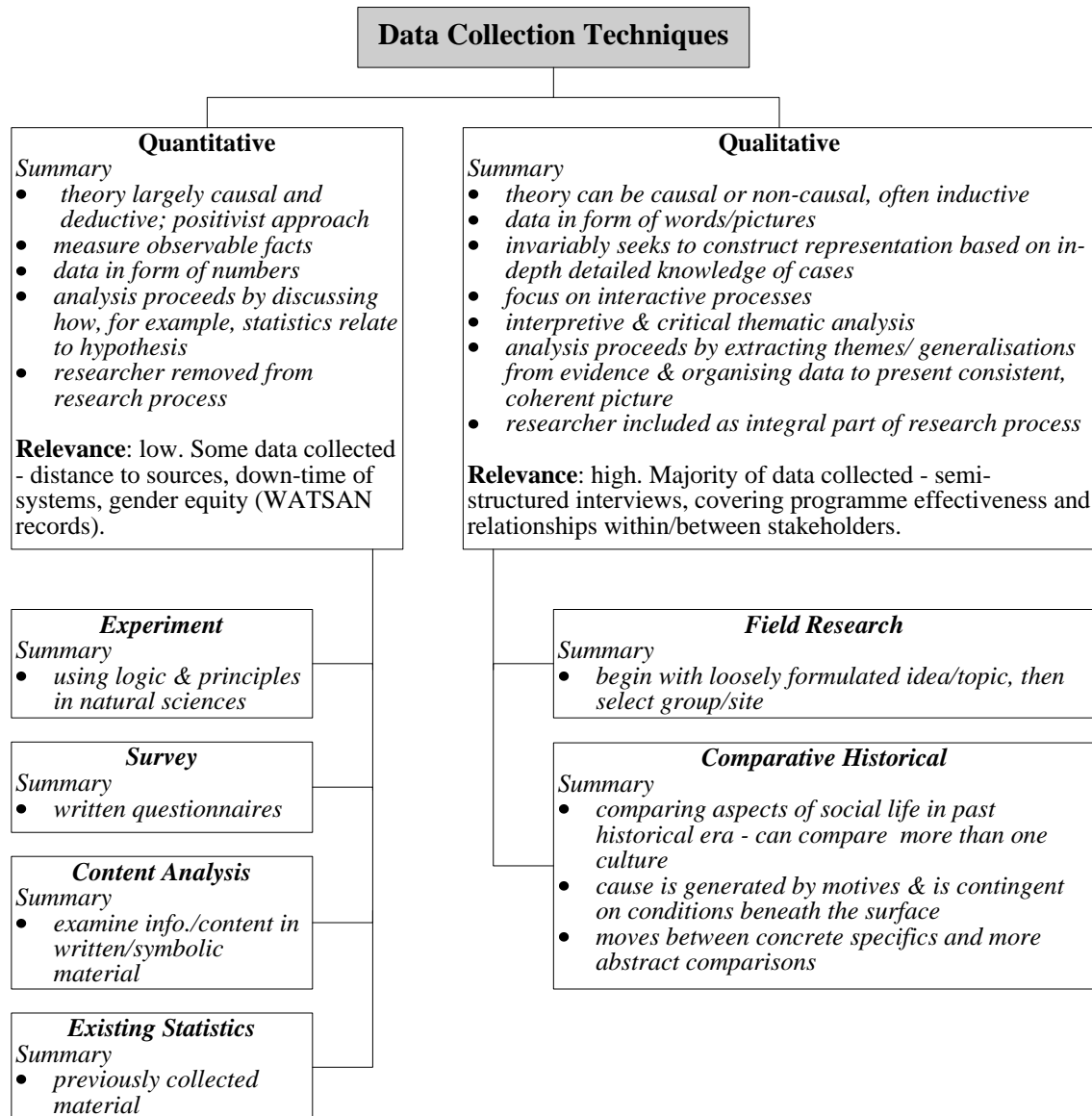


Figure 2.4: Summary of data collection techniques and relevance to this thesis (after Neuman, 1997).

Prior to this research, the author had considerable involvement with some of the project sites and interviewees that form the focus of this research. Of the seven RWSHP project sites used as case studies (detailed in 2.3.2 and 2.3.3), the author had prior contact with four, to varying degrees, in his role as manager of the implementing agency. In addition, eleven of the fifteen key informants were personally known to the author before this

research. Due to this previous involvement in the research arena, it is necessary to further discuss aspects of qualitative research in order to establish the validity of this research. Other areas of validity are discussed in subsequent sections.

2.2.2 Qualitative and quantitative research

As summarised in Figure 2.4, qualitative and quantitative approaches are tailored to different types of theory and data (Gladwin and Peterson, 2002). Each provides the necessary methodology to ensure academic rigour and validity in the data collection process.

A qualitative approach allows for a process oriented analysis of human interaction and makes it possible to understand how human behaviour can change due to different factors (Poluka et al., 1990).

“Qualitative methods elicit extended descriptions from subjects and then elucidate the quality of psychological phenomena through a contextual, hermeneutical analysis ... Qualitative methodology eschews superficial, artificial, fragmented, simplistic tests and responses. It abandons the fetish of converting psychological phenomena to numbers and analyzing these according to mechanical statistical tests” (Ratner and Hui, 2003).

This need for a holistic analysis is summed up no better than by Glenn (1981) who states that the usage of the sentence ‘It is nice weather we’re having’ is rarely used to convey information about the weather, but more to make conversation, or as an ice-breaker. Its meaning *“cannot be derived from the general system of the language by breaking it into its lexical, syntactical, and conceptual elements, obtaining the meaning of each of them and re-synthesising the whole. The understanding of the sentence can be obtained only by becoming familiar with the entirety of the cultural situations within which it may be used ... (and it) may have different implications of used by a man trying to strike up a conversation with a young women and if used by a minister to one of his parishioners”* (Glenn, 1981).

Callahan and Elliott (1996) assert that narrative is the primary form by which experience is made meaningful and is a particularly rich approach that is well suited to the study of everyday understandings and real world behaviour.

Therefore, as the focus of this thesis is (cross-) cultural interactions, a qualitative approach is clearly most appropriate.

An aspect of qualitative research that is agreed by all anthropologists as essential is ethnography. Whilst the degree of participation by the observer in ethnography is debated amongst social scientists, the majority agree that participation is implicit in the term ethnography.

Monaghan and Just (2000) state that ethnography is *“based on the apparently simple idea that in order to understand what people are up to, it's best to observe them by interacting with them intimately and over an extended period ... Our bias - that is our social and historical situation – is what gives us a point of view, and hence constitutes a resource that we should openly draw upon in our interpretations ... the ‘outsider perspective’ is one of the main strengths of the ethnographic method”*.

Fantini supports the need for an outside perspective, and stresses the importance of ‘intercultural competence’ to transcend the limitations of one’s singular world view: *“‘If you want to know about water, don’t ask a goldfish,’ is a saying frequently heard among interculturalists. Those who have never experienced another culture or laboured to communicate through a second language are, like the goldfish, often unaware of the milieu in which they have always existed”* (Fantini, 1995).

However, neither Monaghan and Just or Fantini acknowledge the influence that participation of an ‘outsider’ has on ‘the observed’, regardless of the outsider’s intercultural competence. The assertion that participatory practitioners are *“anonymous and faceless people ... no more than a funnel for ... ‘the people’ (who) are meant to analyse their own situation”* (Harrison, 2002) is flatly rejected by this author.

This author asserts that even if a neutral role were possible it would not be desirable as it does not give the researcher sufficient empathy to elicit personal stories or in-depth description. In qualitative interviewing – seen by Chenail (1992) as synonymous with ethnography - there is a need to understand culture, how it affects what is said and how the interview is heard and understood. Interviewers are not neutral actors but participants in an interviewing relationship – their emotions and cultural understandings

have an impact on the interview. It is therefore necessary to deal with emotion so it does not damage the research. Rather than neutrality, a balance between empathy and the ability to see the negative is called for, enabling the interviewer to ask multiple sides of a story and empathise with conflicting points of view, even if those are not shared by the interviewer. One person's experiences are not intrinsically truer than another's. Several different versions of the same event may all be right reflecting different perspectives or observations²⁰. "*The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to hear and understand what the interviewees think and give them a public voice*" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

This interaction with 'social knowledge' is an interpretive approach which recognises that meaning emerges through this interaction and is not standardised across individuals or locations.

In stark contrast to Monaghan and Just's assertion that "*the 'outsider perspective' is one of the main strengths of the ethnographic method*" (2000), many feminists claim that successful interviewing requires a considerable shared culture. They state that the interview should resemble normal conversation and the interviewer should not be neutral but if not a friend at least a partner or collaborator. They go on to assert that it is only fair and practical to ask someone to tell you what you are able and willing to share with them, and therefore only female can interview female. Whilst this author agrees with the need for normal conversation, he disagrees with the feminists on the other points, and claims that it is possible to cross social boundaries without necessarily having to share cultural background or certain attributes such as gender. Rubin and Rubin (1995) support this author's perspective: "*A middle path involves understanding that you do have a personal relationship with the interviewee but that relationship may not be a deep or lasting friendship*".

Monaghan and Just (2000) suggest that if one is able to build up trusting relationships with people, there will be an increased likelihood that they will confide and explain

²⁰ Many of the results of this research exemplify this. For example, there is consistent difference of opinion between 'low' level staff of stakeholder organisations (i.e. donors and implementing agencies) and 'high' level staff with regards the degree of egalitarianism in the relationships between the two.

events and motivations beyond their superficial appearance, enabling one to discover what situations are ‘really about’ and to evaluate the content of the answers received.

Whilst this author generally agrees with Monaghan and Just, during the course of this research socially marginalised groups and individuals were often very open despite a lack of prior relationship with the author. This emphasizes the observation made by Chenail that “*the margins of a project often provide some of the most interesting and informative patterns for investigators*” (Chenail, 1992).

It is therefore recognized that outsider status is both a strength and weakness (Moilanen, 2000 and Monaghan and Just, 2000). Consequently, this research deliberately involved the author both as an outsider and an insider. The interviews with individuals previously unknown to the author are at one end of the spectrum. Interviews with individuals who had become personal friends through the course of several years living in their communities, interacting with them through project implementation, or working with them in the same organisation constitute the other end of the spectrum. The majority of interviews fall between these two extremes. However, regardless of the prior relationship, all interviews adopted an approach that sought to build trust and openness through empathy, whilst maintaining the aforementioned ability to see the negative as and when was necessary.

This research therefore borrows from two main areas:

- feminist research, emphasising subjective, empathetic, process oriented, inclusive approaches, and having flexibility to choose research techniques across boundaries between academic fields; and
- postmodernism, which states that knowledge takes numerous forms and is unique to particular people, therefore a certain methodological self-consciousness is necessary which recognises that language is an inadequate vehicle for expressing any sort of “reality”.

Three other important aspects of qualitative research briefly need to be discussed.

2.2.3 Principles of qualitative research

Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest three essential principles of qualitative research design: it must be flexible, iterative and continuous. These principles have been adopted in this research.

- **Flexibility.** This allows the researcher to be responsive to the new avenues of inquiry the investigation opens. Qualitative research is based on a firm methodology, but the methods and techniques can vary and are selected on the basis of their value for providing information in the specific context of the investigation - it allows the researcher to shift direction and follow leads (Neuman, 1997). Such flexibility has been demonstrated in 2.1, and continued throughout the research, as will be seen.
- **Iterative design.** Qualitative research is non-linear, *“more of a spiral, moving slowly upward but not directly. With each cycle or repetition, a researcher collects new data and gains new insights”* (Neuman, 1997). The data collection phase for this research was considered complete when each additional interview brought no significantly new concepts – when a point of theoretical saturation had been reached (Bryman, 2004).

Grounded theory (see next section, 2.2.4) is not generated a priori and then subsequently tested: the generation and development of concepts, categories and propositions is an iterative process *“inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents ... data collection, analysis, and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other”* (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). The iterative nature of this thesis has been mentioned in 2.1 and 2.2.1.

- **Continuous design.** Flexibility and continuous design work closely together. Ideas emerged in the first stages of data collection of this research that led to the use of other techniques. Similarly, interviews with unexpected groups of people or individuals about issues that were not originally known, but which were relevant to the overall purpose of the research occurred in several of the case studies. This occurred particularly with regards previously unknown incidences of corruption and specific hygiene practices.

2.2.4 Grounded theory

The information from qualitative interviews forms explanations and theories that are grounded in the details, evidence and examples of the interviews. This grounded theory is based on exchanges in which the interviewees can talk back, clarify and explain their points (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Pandit (1996) and Corbin and Strauss (1990) identify three basic elements of grounded theory: concepts, categories and propositions.

- **Concepts** emerge from making comparisons to highlight similarities and differences. They are the basic units of analysis since it is from conceptualisation of data, not the actual data per se, that theory is developed.
- **Categories** are generated through the same analytic process but are higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent. They form the cornerstones of developing theory and provide the means by which the theory can be integrated
- **Propositions** indicate generalised relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories. The term ‘propositions’ is considered more appropriate for this thesis than ‘hypotheses’ as the former involve *conceptual* relationships whereas the latter require *measured* relationships (see 1.6).

2.2.5 The distinction between cultural and topical interviews

Cultural interviews focus on the norms, values, understandings, and taken-for-granted rules of behaviour of a group or society. Topical interviews are more narrowly focussed on a particular event or process, and are concerned with what happened and why. *“Rather than being a photographer, the topical researcher is more like a skilled painter ... the narrative is the truth as heard and interpreted by the researcher. It is an artist’s rendition”* (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

Cultural and topical interviews can be mixed because they share the same underlying assumptions that guide all qualitative interviewing. This research used both approaches, investigating culture in the specific arena of RWSHPs.

2.2.6 Summary

The methodology adopted and the research arena for this study therefore bridge the gap observed by Chambers (1983): “A practitioner has a responsibility for results; an academic for understanding ... The traditions of research and scholarship have absurdly neglected and undervalued the particular (and) the non-statistical”.

2.3 PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF METHODOLOGY

2.3.1 Author's experience and qualifications

Since graduating in 1986²¹, the author has spent over 13 years living in East Africa, managing and building the capacity of local partners to manage all aspects of RWSHP programmes. Since returning to the UK in 2003, the author has provided technical advice and consultancy inputs to build the capacity of donors, implementing agencies, local Government and local communities, predominantly in East Africa but also in Asia and West Africa.

For approximately 8 years the author lived in rural communities in East Africa²², managing regional aspects of Ugandan and Ethiopian church programmes²³. During this time, these programmes implemented RWSHP projects in the rural communities the author was living in, as well as in other communities. The author was seconded to the church programmes from the UK donor organisation Tearfund. Thus during this time the author was a member of three stakeholder groups: end users, implementing agencies

²¹ M.Sc. in Agricultural Engineering (Soil and Water Engineering option), Cranfield University, following a B.Sc. (Hons) in Environmental Science (Human Environment option), University of Plymouth.

²² 6 years in Kabale, SW Uganda (1992-98); 1 year in Durame, SW Ethiopia (1988-89); 6 months in Dilla, SE Ethiopia (1988); 3 months in Entonol, near Naivasha, W Kenya (1986).

²³ The Church of Uganda's Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme, and the Ethiopian Kale Heywet Church's Integrated Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Programme, hereafter referred to as the Ugandan and Ethiopian church programmes respectively. The same high standards stated in independent external evaluations for the Ugandan church programme also apply to the Ethiopian church programme, e.g. “KHC should also be commended, i.e. applauded or praised, for the work it has carried out in the Ethiopian water sector ... the users and local Government officials report a very high degree of satisfaction with the improvement of water availability and quality ... Relations with donors and Government are good” (Schotanus et al., 2002).

and a donor organisation. Subsequently the author spent 5 years based in Addis Ababa (1998-2003) managing the national Ethiopian church programme, again seconded from Tearfund.

Whilst living in rural communities, the majority of day to day interactions were with end users, local Government and implementing agencies; whilst living in the Ethiopian capital, most daily interactions were with regional and national Government, foreign donors and implementing agencies. Since 2003, the author's advice and consultancy inputs have been through engagement with all stakeholder groups considered in this thesis. Throughout this time the author was continually engaged with the issues and stakeholder groups of this research. It was through such immersion that the problem statement and research question of this thesis emerged.

The author's engagement with end user interviewees and specific project sites of this thesis (prior to interviews) is detailed in Table 2.2. Other details of interviewees and project sites are given in 2.3.2. It should be noted that for 4 of the projects (Weynamba and Bore in Ethiopia and Kacerere and Nyakagyera in Uganda), the author managed the implementing agency *during* construction. For 2 projects (Tenta and Bistiima in Ethiopia) management was *after* construction.

Therefore in addition to the details of Table 2.2 there were varying degrees of indirect influence through project design on end users, e.g. the content of the hygiene promotion training and access to water (i.e. the distance to tapstands). It needs to be recognised that the end users were also fully involved in these and other aspects of design.

Table 2.2: The author's engagement with end users prior to interviewing

Project information			Author's engagement with end users (<i>prior to semi-structured interviews</i>)
Country	People group	Location	
Ethiopia	Amhara	Tenta	None.
		Weynamba	Low. 2 site visits (1 week total) during construction.
		Bistiima	None.
	Bane	Bore	Low. 1 site visit prior to construction, 1 during (1 week total).
	Oromo	Asbe Teferi	None. Project implemented by FAO.
Uganda	Bakiga	Kacerere	High. Site visits 1-2 times per week during construction (18 months). Subsequent bi-annual follow-up visits.
Nyakagyera			

The author's relationship with other stakeholder group interviewees was similarly varied. Of the 34 interviewees from implementing agencies, key informants, Governments and donors (detailed in Table 2.4 and Table 2.5), 6 were previously unknown to the author (3 key informants, 2 Government and 1 donor personnel). The remaining 28 were known for 2-11 years.

The more theoretical issues of potential bias through the author's varying involvement with interviewees and project sites have been discussed in 2.2. Pragmatic issues of potential bias are discussed under 2.3.4.

2.3.2 The research arena

The research arena consists of 7 specific project locations in Ethiopia and Uganda (Figure 2.5) and various stakeholders associated with these locations (Table 2.3, Table 2.4 and Table 2.5).

Project location variables are summarised in Table 2.3. The rationale behind the choice of location was as follows:

- **Countries.** The two countries chosen, Ethiopia and Uganda, have both been lived and worked in by the author for over 6 years each. Of the total 7 project locations chosen, 5 were chosen in Ethiopia due to the greater tribal, religious, and ethnic diversity available that the author had personal involvement with and access to, compared to the relative homogeneity of the Ugandan options.
- **Tribal and religious.** The 7 locations represent four people groups (Amhara, Oromo and Bane in Ethiopia, and Bakiga in Uganda) and five religions (Muslim, Orthodox, Protestant, Catholic and Traditional).
- **Wealth.** Whilst all locations are generally poor²⁴, considerable variations exist within and between locations. Locations were therefore chosen based on prior knowledge to represent this. The assessment of wealth is detailed in the following section.

²⁴ Ethiopia ranks 170 and Uganda 144 out of 177 in the UNDP HDI tables, with indices of 0.367 and 0.508 respectively (UNDP, 2005a).

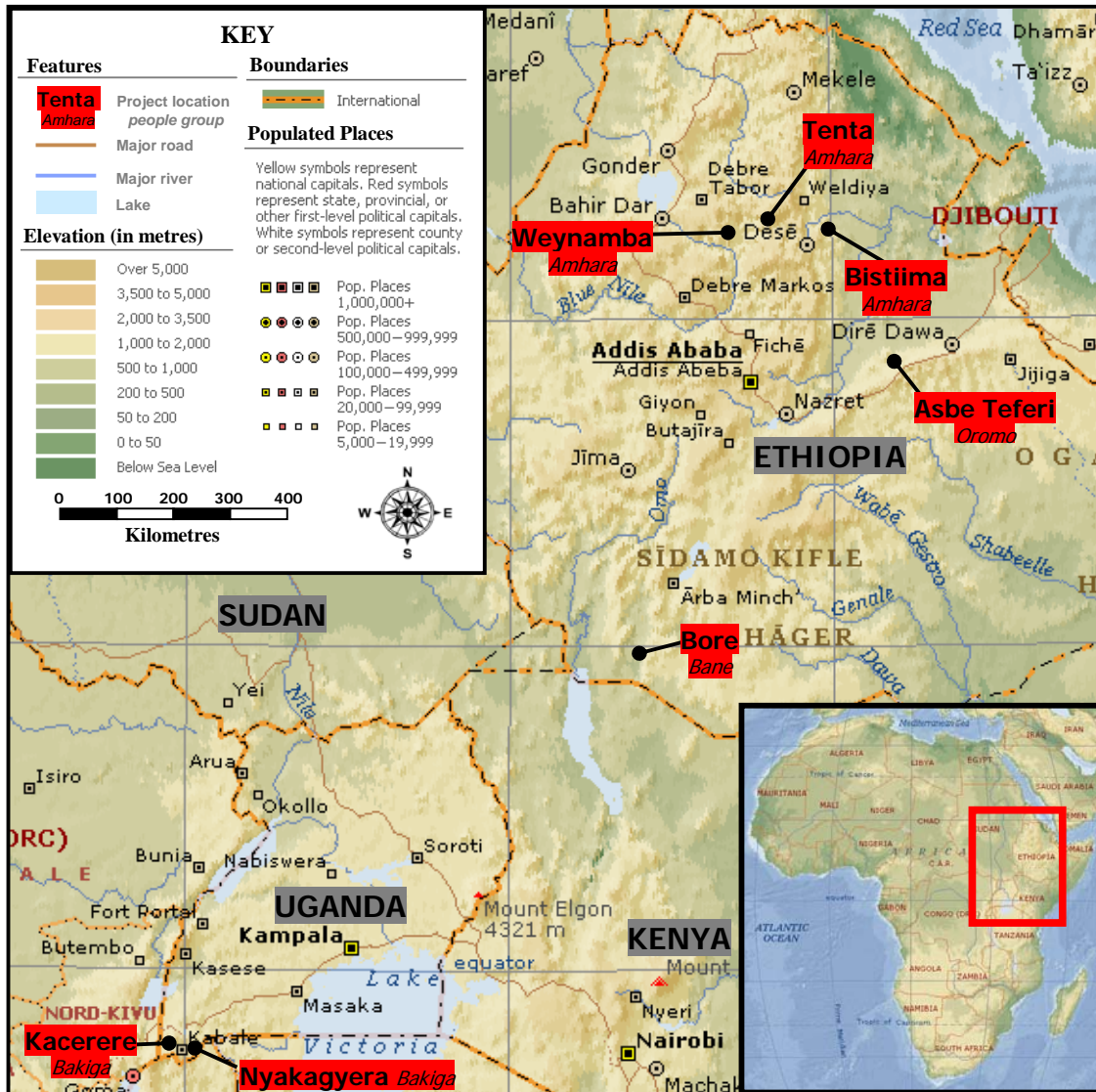


Figure 2.5: The research arena project locations and people groups (Source: Microsoft Encarta Premium Suite, 2005)

- **Age of project.** Projects with a variety of ages from new to 15 years old (average 5.5 years) were chosen to compare age with sustainability of project hardware and software.
- **Functionality of project hardware and software.** With the emphasis of this thesis on unintended project outcomes in spite of the adoption of best practice, all but one location was known to be functioning (though to varying degrees) prior to selection.

Table 2.3: Summary of demographic and contextual data of project locations and end user interviewees

	Project Locations and End Users							Totals
Country	Ethiopia					Uganda		2 countries
Region	South Wollo			South Omo	Harerge	Kigezi		4 regions
People Group	Amhara			Bane	Oromo	Bakiga		4 people groups
Location	Tenta	Weynamba	Bistiima	Bore (nr. AlDuba)	Asbe Teferi	Kacerere	Nyakagyera	7 project sites
Project summary	Gravity scheme: 10 tapstands; source 7kms distant.	Gravity scheme: 6 comm, 7 inst. tapstands; source 3 kms distant.	Gravity scheme: 8 comm, 5 inst. tapstands; source 3 kms distant.	Handpump. Alternative source 0.1-2 kms - dry river bed; 3-5 kms. spring.	3 handpumps. Alternative source 0.5 kms -river; 2-4 kms spring.	Gravity scheme: 37 comm, 5 inst. tapstands; source 1 km distant.	Gravity scheme: 16 community, 3 institutional tapstands; source 1 km distant.	2 project types
Population served	4,500	1,293	3,500	1,000	900	2,796	1,920	15,909 (2,272 av.)
Description	Small town: concentrated (1,600 houses in 2.5 km ² (1,800 popln./km ²))	V. small town: concentrated (400 houses in 1 km ² (1,293 popln./km ²))	Small town: concentrated (980 houses in 2 km ² (1,750 popln./km ²))	Village: highly dispersed (200 houses in 9 km ² (111 popln./km ²))	Village: low concentration (150 houses in 3 km ² (300 popln./km ²))	L. village: medium concentration (466 houses in 6 km ² (467 popln./km ²))	Village: medium concentration (320 houses in 4 km ² (480 popln./km ²))	
Project age in years (complete date)	4 (March 1998)	2 (Jan 2000)	8 (March 1994)	0.5 (June 2002)	15 (1988)	8 (March 1994)	4 (March 1998)	6 years av.
Alternative source	3 kms	1 km	0.5 kms	See Project sum.	See Project sum.	1 km	0.5 kms	1 km av.
No. interviewees	12	10	7	14	4	10	9	66 interviewees
WATSAN member	4	4	2		1	3	3	17 WATSAN
Local Government		1		2		1	1	5 Local Govt.
Age range	18-70	15-69	15-90	20-60	26-50	23-70	27-60	15-90 (42 yrs av.)
Gender	8F / 4M	6F / 4M	5F / 2M	7F / 7M	3F / 1M	7F / 4M	5F / 4M	40 F (61%)/ 26M
Religion	Orthodox 100%	Muslim 50%; Orthodox 50%	Muslim 57%; Orthodox 43%	Traditional 93%; Protestant 7%	Muslim 100%	Protestant 60%; Catholic 40%	Protestant 78%; Catholic 22%	O 30%; P 21%; T 20%; M 20%; C 9%
Education	Uneducated - 12th Grade	Uneducated - 12th Grade	Uneducated - 12th Grade	Uneducated	Uneducated - 12th Grade	Uneducated - 12th Grade	Uneducated - 12th Grade	
Relative poverty (1-5) 1=poorest	3	2	2	1	2	4	5	
Implementing agency	Kale Heywet Church (Integrated Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Programme)				FAO/ Government	Kigezi Diocese (Water and Sanitation Programme)		4 total
Donor	Tearfund	EU/EED/Tearfund			FAO	Swiss Return	EU/EED/Tearfund	5 total

Table 2.4: Summary of demographic data of implementing agency (IA) interviewees

	Implementing Agency (IA)									Totals	
Country	Ethiopia					Uganda				2 countries	
Organisation	SIM	Kale Heywet Church				Kigezi Diocese				4 regions	
Position in organisation	Community Educators	Field Staff	Community Educators	Senior Programme Staff	Senior Managers	Field Staff	Community Educators	Senior Programme Staff	Senior Managers		
Interfaces	End user/IA/local Gov			End user/IA/donor/Gov	IA/ donor/nat. Gov.	End user/IA/ local Gov		End user/IA/ Gov/ donor	IA/ donor/nat. Gov	All stakeholder interfaces	
People Group	Bane	Amhara/Tigray	Amhara	Tigray/Kembatta/Amhara/Oromo	Kembatta	Bakiga				6 people groups	
No. Interviewees	2	3	1	5	2	2	1	2	1	19 interviewees	
Gender	2M	3M	1F	2F / 3M	2M	2M	1F	2M	1M	4F (21%) / 14M	
Religion	Protestant	Prot. /Orth.	Protestant								P 95% / O 5%
Age range	25-65										
Education	6th Grade to Masters Degree										

Table 2.5: Summary of demographic data of key informant, Government and donor interviewees

	Key Informants			Government		Donor			Totals	
Country	Ethiopia			Ethiopia	Uganda	Uganda	Ethiopia	UK		3 countries
Organisation	SIM	ZOA	EED	Government	Government	SNV	WaterAid	Tearfund		8 organisation
Position in Organisation	Field Staff (missionaries)	Senior Managers	Field Staff (missionary)	Regional Heads	Senior Water Engineer	Country Director	Country Director	Project Officer	CEO, Policy Maker	
Interfaces	End user / implementing agency / Govt./ donor						Implementing agency / national Govt./ donor			All stakeholder interfaces
People Group	N. American	Dutch/Ethiopian	German	Ethiopian	Ugandan	Dutch	Ethiopian	English		7 people groups
No. Interviewees	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	15 interviewees
Gender	2F / 2M	2M	1M	2M	1M	1M	1M	1M	1F/1M	3F (20%) / 12M
Religion	Protestant			Orthodox	Protestant	Agnostic	Orthodox	Protestant		Prot. 73% Orth. 20%
Age range	32 – 70									
Education	Degree +									

- **Implementing agency and donor.** Locations were chosen to represent 4 implementing agencies (two of which the author had managed) and 5 international donor organisations.

The criteria for choosing interviewees representative of the various stakeholder groups associated with these 7 project locations varied according to stakeholder group.

- **End user interviewees** (Table 2.3). One-third of end users (22 of 66) were interviewed due to their involvement in the implementation and management of the project: as water and sanitation committee members, maintenance personnel or local Government personnel.

The remaining two-thirds of end users were randomly selected, predominantly by transect walks across each project site. Six of the project sites had multiple water collection points; the remaining one had a single point. The transect paths were determined by choosing at least one water point in the centre of a community (likely to be used by any business end users present who rented property). At least one other water point was chosen on the periphery of the project site where permanent residents were more likely to dwell. Walking from the water point in a randomly selected direction (chosen by spinning a bottle or pen), 3 houses were chosen: the one nearest the water point, then ones 200m and 500m distant. This process was continued until a representative cross-section of age, gender, education, marital and socio-economic status was arrived at and a point of theoretical saturation reached (2.2.3).

In one project location, Bore (the Bane people group), the population is highly dispersed. End user interviewees were therefore selected by extensive walking and driving around the community.

- **Other interviewees** (Table 2.4 and Table 2.5). A total of 34 implementing agency, donor and Government personnel and key informants were chosen for their associations with the 7 project locations or their considerable experience in the RWSHP sector. Individuals are categorised by their main relevance to this research (i.e. 'Position in organisation' and 'Stakeholder interfaces' in Table 2.4 and Table 2.5). The specific reasons for selecting each

key informant are shown in Table 2.6. Considerable and extensive additional field experience is brought to the research through their interviews.

All interviewees were offered anonymity: all agreed to complete openness of information given. Therefore, supplementary to the information from Table 2.3 to Table 2.6, further interviewee details are given in Annex III and at the beginning of individual interview transcripts (attached on CD).

Table 2.6: Details and reasons for selection of key informants

Name (interviewee number)	Profession	Ethnic group	Reason for selection as key informant
Donna Cawson (045)	Linguist (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 6 months; total 15 years work experience in Ethiopia
Malcolm Hunter (046)	Agriculturalist (SIM missionary)	British	Worked amongst tribes of Southern Ethiopia (e.g. Bane) for over 40 years
Fred Van Gorkhum (047)	Veterinary doctor (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 11 years; established SIM Alduba (Bane) station.
Ralph Wiegand (048)	Agro-forester (EED missionary)	German	Worked in Ethiopia for 8 years amongst Amhara and Southern tribes.
Sharon Smith (049)	Health officer (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 16 years; total 28 years healthcare experience in Ethiopia
Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen (051)	Community development (ZOA)	Dutch	5 years as Ethiopia Country Director of ZOA (Dutch Govt. funded refugee assistance, including RWSHP); total 12 years broad refugee experience.
Dereje Jemberu (052)	Finance & administration (ZOA)	Ethiopian (Amhara)	23 years project co-ordinator for Mekane Yesus (similar Ethiopian church programme to Kale Heywet). Current board member. 2 years with ZOA

Levinson and Ember (1996) state that the comparison of societies is essential to understand culture and conduct cross-cultural research. Winthrop (1991) views this comparative method as a search for comparable cultural patterns in multiple societies, particularly the comparison of cultural traits taken out of cultural context.

This thesis is therefore clearly comparative, encompassing a broad range of stakeholders with differing cultural backgrounds, and using cultural traits to compare them (see 3.6). However, it is also incisive, focussing on interactions within individual stakeholder groups.

2.3.3 Interview methodology

The details of the interviews are given in Annex III²⁵. Of the 100 interviewees, 99 were individuals, the other a group. The following are important aspects of the interviews.

- **Openness and confidentiality**

Prior to each interview, the author took time to create as open an atmosphere as possible. If unknown to the interviewee (as with the majority of end users) introductions were made, and a family picture was always shown: this proved time and again to be a powerful ice-breaker. Before every interview, the author emphasised the purpose of the research (to improve projects and interactions between stakeholders) and that the interviewee's views were highly valued, including any ideas on how to make such improvements. In this vein, the interviewees were encouraged to be as open as possible.

As stated, permission was requested before each interview to openly use any information that was recorded during the interview. Without exception, permission was granted. All interviews were tape recorded to allow conversation to flow. A small unobtrusive microphone was placed between the interviewer and interviewee. Occasionally the recorder was turned off during the interview to discuss how to express a sensitive issue in a way the interviewee was comfortable with. It was also stated that the author would provide feed-back after completion of the thesis with the research outcomes and any subsequent publications.

- **Interview location**

The end user interviews were primarily and preferably in the individual's home at the request of the interviewee: the emphasis was on the interviewee being as relaxed and open as possible. In most cases translators were used (discussed in 2.3.4).

²⁵ 117 sets of data are listed: eleven interviews were rejected; three were follow-on interviews with individuals already interviewed but on a substantially different topic; and three are minutes of water and sanitation committee meetings. Thus 106 sets of data are used in this thesis: 103 interviews (with 100 interviewees) and 3 minutes of meetings.

- **Dealing with interference**

When female end users were interviewed, occasionally men were present who would interrupt and attempt to take over the interview, or their presence would make the intended interviewee reluctant to share openly. In such instances, the author would either briefly ‘interview’ the man/men first (invariably discarding the data later) or promise to interview them afterwards. Alternatively an assistant would simply engage with the man/men, and steer them away from the immediate interview environment.

- **Interview timing**

The timing of end user interviews varied for each community and individual to ensure availability and openness. The time of day was critical to ensure women in particular were present. Harvest and planting/ploughing seasons were avoided, as well as market days. Early evening was often best for women, although amongst the Bane, early to mid-morning was best as later on in the day people would be collecting cattle or in a rush to get water.

- **Interviewee reflection**

Related to the issue of timing, two interviews with individuals from the church programmes required re-recording due to operator error of the tape recorder. The time between recordings was four hours in one case, and two days in the other. Despite asking the same questions and discussing the same issues, slightly different perspectives were held by the interviewee. These were not significant, although they indicate how perspectives may change over time, and that the set of data in this thesis and any similar research is unique.

- **Evolution of questions**

Initially, the opening question to end users either asked what changes there had been in community recently or requested factual background information such as education, marital status, and age. After approximately 20 interviews (the first five of which were discarded), the opening question became: “I am not from here – please tell me about life

here”. For other stakeholders, a similar opening question was asked: “What is it like to work in (this organisation)? How would you describe it to a friend?”

This change to an initial unstructured approach gave control to the interviewee, and acknowledged the richness in their opinions. The author had immediately placed himself in a position of informed ignorance, establishing himself as the learner. The interviewee was therefore immediately put at ease, expressing what they wanted the author to hear. Thus the interviewee was empowered with the knowledge that their subjective perspective was important.

Subsequently, the interview became more directed in a semi-structured manner, though with full openness to pursue and probe the lines of conversation and thought of the interviewee.

The interview schedules for each stakeholder group are given in Annex IV. Broadly, the same categories of questions were asked for each stakeholder group: the general process of change in the community or organisation; the specific change process of the project; and behaviour change in relation to health and water²⁶.

One further change to the standard questions was the addition of two final questions: “If you had free water in your house, would you use any more and what would you use it for?” and at the end, “Is there anything else you’d like to say?” This final question, though important, yielded no additionally useful data.

Occasionally specific questions needed to be varied according to local sensitivities. In one location, Tenta, the author was advised by the translator to use the word ‘differences’ rather than ‘conflict’ due to high levels of conflict loosely connected to the project (the WATSAN chairman was imprisoned for embezzlement).

²⁶ The interviews covered several categories of cultural material detailed by Yale University’s Human Relations Area Files (HRAF): total culture (180); interpersonal relations (570); health and welfare (740); sickness (750); religious beliefs (770); religious practices (780); gender roles and issues (890) (Murdock, 2004). HRAF is a research agency “*in the field of cultural anthropology (whose mission) is to encourage and facilitate worldwide comparative studies of human behaviour, society, and culture*” (HRAF, 2006).

- **Evolution of interview style**

The evolution from group questionnaires to individual semi-structured interviews has been partly mentioned in 2.1. In the initial testing of questionnaires, it was found that group interviews yielded different results to individual interviews. The thoughts and wishes of individuals were often suppressed in a group, especially when dominant individuals were present (regardless of whether groups were organised according to age and gender). The author recognises the significance and importance of this dynamic of power plays within groups: many of the insights and conclusions of this thesis are concerned with such dynamics. However, in order to understand group dynamics better, it was necessary to address the fact that individuals were often unwilling to speak the truth as they saw it in a group for fear of reprisals, conflict or loss of face. Hence the focus on semi-structured interviews of individuals in order to construct understanding of group behaviour from its component parts.

- **Evolution of empathy**

In the early stages of the end user interviews, the author was joined by Dr. Peter Robbins, a member of the author's thesis committee and an experienced sociologist. Dr. Robbins expressed considerable empathy during one interview he conducted: "sorry you felt excluded", for example. Prior to this, the author had deliberately not expressed such compassion, assuming it would unduly influence the interview. However, with further discussion and reflection, the author became more open in engaging and empathising with interviewees. The resulting data were richer for this.

The level of engagement was not always easy to determine. In one particularly impoverished setting²⁷, the elderly mother of the interviewee asked, with tears running down her cheeks but with great dignity "Why are we so poor?" Then, as now, the author was unable to answer.

²⁷ Interview with Gashaw Merash in Tenta, Ethiopia (interview code 017 Tenta 05).

- **Development of socio-economic indicators for end users**

For comparison of end users, social and economic indicators were assessed through two main methodologies. Firstly, there was direct observation of the presence or state of a variety of indicators: jewellery (e.g. a watch); clothing; shoes; and teeth. As most interviews were conducted in end users homes, other indicators were: roofing (thatched or tin); flooring (concrete or mud and any carpets or rugs); posters; chairs; and radios. In two locations, the author noticed that every household had a cat, thus added a 'cat index', based on the health and general state of the ubiquitous family cat. Secondly, interviewees were asked to self-declare their economic status through direct questioning: "are you one of the richest in the community, one of the poorest or somewhere in-between?" The observations and answers were subsequently cross-checked with the translator's observation or knowledge to provide triangulation. The level of education was elicited through direct questioning.

There was little consistency in available indicators from one community to another. For example, amongst the Bane, everyone wears animal skins and lives in grass-roofed, mud walled houses. Nevertheless, relative poverty between end user groups could be somewhat crudely assessed, and is presented in Table 2.3. Of more use was knowledge of an individual's level of poverty combined with education and gender. This is shown in the results to have significant influence on the interactions primarily within the stakeholder group, but also between groups. In particular, poor, uneducated women would frequently express a lack of voice on community matters, thus would not attend meetings, including hygiene promotion training.

2.3.4 Translators

Translators were used extensively in the end user interviews to ensure accuracy and validity of data. Amongst the Bane, two translators were necessary: one for English to Amharic, the other for Amharic to Bane. The credentials of the five translators used are detailed in Table 2.7.

Sufficient time was spent with each translator to ensure validity of translation. Two issues needed stressing. Firstly, that the author wanted translation rather than

interpretation, although frequently the two could not be separated (see 2.4.1). Secondly, that there were no right or wrong answers: all responses or non-responses were equally valid and important (e.g. ‘don’t ask me, ask the men’).

Table 2.7: Details of translators

Name	Qualifications	Translation provided
Haile Yesus Bekele (M)	12 th Grade education; 6 yrs as language helper, SIM language school, Addis Ababa; 2 years tutoring Maths and English pupils (10-14 year olds). Native tongue Amharic, fluent English.	Amharic – English (amongst Amhara and Bane)
Yetesha Yemedie (F)	12 th Grade education; 6 yrs as language helper, SIM language school. Native tongue Amharic, fluent English.	Amharic – English (amongst Amhara)
Tsegaye Medihin (M)	12 th Grade + Advanced Diploma. Native tongue Amharic, fluent English.	Amharic – English (amongst Oromo)
Gezahgn Dejachew (M)	M.Sc. education. Native tongue Amharic, fluent English.	Amharic – English (amongst Bane)
Getu Garisho (M)	9 th Grade. One year in translation Amharic – Bane. Native tongue Bane, fluent Amharic.	Bane – Amharic (amongst Bane)
William Kebemera (M)	12 th Grade + Diploma. Native tongue Rukiga, fluent English.	Rukiga – English (amongst Bakiga)

Translation amongst the Bakiga (language Rukiga) was relatively easy as the sentence structure is similar to English so translation can be simultaneous with speaking. Interviews therefore flowed easily and were short: this enabled the interest of the interviewee to be easily sustained.

In contrast, two interpreters were necessary for the Bane. In addition, the translator had to wait until the question / response was complete in order to start translation as the verbs come at the end of sentences in Amharic. There were some advantages of the subsequent pauses: the author had more time to think and reflect on what was being said and formulate probes or follow up questions.

2.3.5 Triangulation and validation

Throughout this thesis the author ensured the research was flexible, iterative and continuous (2.2.3).

Issues concerning validity of the selection of project sites, stakeholder groups and individual interviewees have been addressed in 2.3.2.

Triangulation of data was achieved through two main means. Firstly, sufficient data collection until a point of theoretical saturation was reached. Secondly, issues and points of views raised in the interviews were discussed in subsequent interviews with additional members of the same stakeholder group, as well as a broad range of other stakeholders, especially key informants. (Non end-users represent 12 people groups). The involvement of other organisations, projects and individuals beyond the bounds of the immediate research arena militated against the danger of self-assessment by the author.

In the results section, there is an emphasis on letting the data speak for themselves. This combined with the triangulation detailed above leads the author to conclude that any potential bias he may have had on the interpretation of data has been militated against.

It is equally considered that any potential influence of the author on the actual data gathering was also militated against by two main means.

Firstly, in the context of the data gathering, the author was viewed by most interviewees as a male foreign representative of a church based implementing agency. Amongst the end users, the author was known to be associated with the church programmes that had implemented the projects (or in the case of Asbe Teferi amongst the Oromo, were about to repair). The results show a high regard for the programmes amongst end users, and a good relationship between the two. As a result, and due to the creation of an open, sharing atmosphere (2.3.3), any considerations of age, gender and ethnicity, for example by young female water gatherers, were superseded by trusting, good relationships built up between community members and the implementing agency/ author. The data show no evidence of skews due to the influence of the author's background. Using a translator assisted at times: amongst most end user groups it would be unacceptable for a single male to enter a house if only female occupants were present. For two males or a male and a female, this was not an issue.

It was constantly reaffirmed to the interviewees that there were no right or wrong answers. This was found to overcome any potential embarrassment amongst end users, for example, at not being able to remember any messages from hygiene promotion.

Interviews with individuals from other stakeholder groups were in all but two cases without a translator. The author was either sufficiently well known by the interviewee or shared enough common ground with them that responses were unaffected by the author's background.

Secondly, four different interviewers were used. Whilst the author was present in every interview, two were conducted by Professor Richard Carter (main thesis supervisor), two by Dr. Peter Robbins (member of the thesis committee) and one by a combination of Professor Carter, Gezahgn Dejachew (head of the Ethiopian church programme drilling section) and the author. The interviewees were given a free reign, and subsequent interviews adjusted to accommodate lessons learned (see 2.3.3, Evolution of empathy).

Therefore there is no evidence that the author had any bias on the gathering of data. The subsequent translation and interpretation of data is detailed in 2.4.1.

2.4 DESCRIPTION AND UNDERSTANDING OF DATA

2.4.1 Translation and transcripts

Transcripts were always made from the original taped conversation between the interviewee and translator or interviewer. Thus where translators were used, they listened back to the conversation in the vernacular of the interviewee, and hand-wrote the transcript.

Again, emphasis was placed on translation rather than interpretation. It was, however, recognised by the author that this thesis is not a linguistic analysis of different ways people express themselves in the minutiae. Translation therefore aimed for clear rather than verbatim transcripts.

Nevertheless, to ensure validity of data, the author often sought clarity over the translator's wording. For example, the author's question "Are you married" was translated "Did you marry?" potentially suggesting marriage was a one-off act rather than an on-going relationship. The translator clarified that in this instance, no such inference could be made: the questions were interchangeable in meaning.

The hand-written transcripts were subsequently typed. Where the interview was in English throughout, the author used voice recognition software (IBM ViaVoice) to 'type' the interview. In total, over 350,000 words of data were transcribed from approximately 120 hours of taped interviews. This produced the 106 sets of data considered in this thesis: 103 interviews (with 100 interviewees) and 3 minutes of water and sanitation committee meetings.

Grammatical corrections were occasionally made to transcripts by the author for further clarity without changing the meaning.

2.4.2 Coding

Coding the data involved grouping interviewee's responses into categories of similar ideas, concepts and themes that emerged from the interviews. This stage is an essential part of the analytical process in qualitative research. *"It frees the researcher from the entanglement in the details of the raw data and encourages higher level thinking about them"* (Neuman, 1997).

The transcripts were coded using Atlas software (version 4.2, build 058) in order to draw out key themes. Unlike other similar software, notably QSR Nvivo, Atlas does not force the user to create tree structures, allowing freer categorisation. Coding is guided by the research question: in this case understanding the influence of culture on interactions within and between stakeholders. Consequently, coding was oriented towards relationships and culture.

Open coding was initially conducted: this generated many codes from the data. Similar codes were subsequently merged, although the total number of individual codes deliberately remained high to maintain a wide choice of codes for the data. The final list of codes is shown in Annex V.

Atlas and other similar software allow codes to be linked, families formed and networks generated. The author did not pursue this methodology, as the emphasis in this thesis is on description and understanding rather than analysis: it was feared that the depth of the data would be 'organised out' by such categorisation. Instead, all data were coded into 'quotations' according to Atlas terminology, an example of which is given in Figure 2.6.

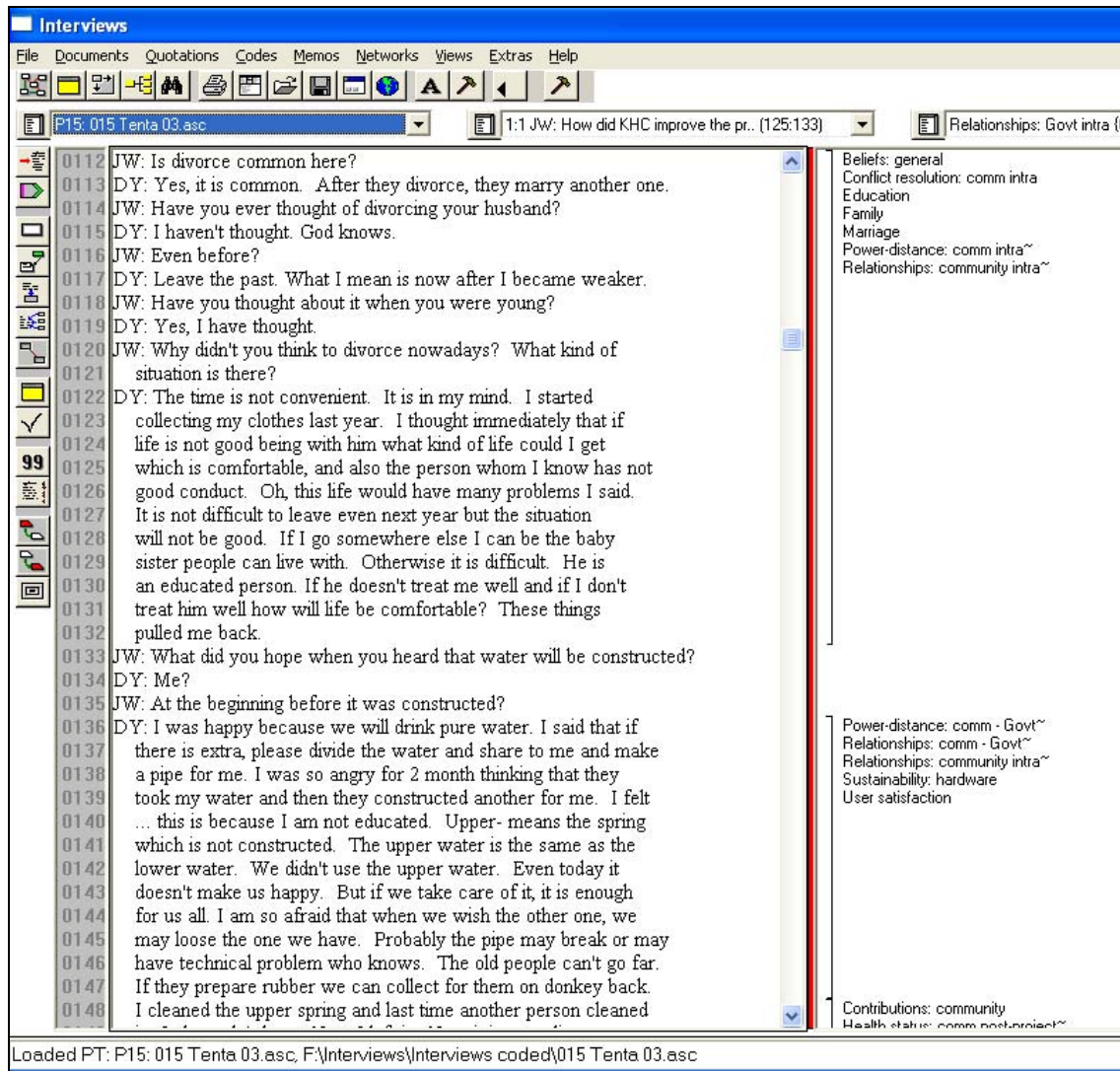


Figure 2.6: An example of interview coding in Atlas

All quotations associated with each specific stakeholder relationship (e.g. donor - implementing agency, or community intra (internal)) were printed out and examined. Thus the structure of Chapter 4 emerged, reflecting dimensions of culture according to interactions within and between stakeholders. It should be noted that quotations frequently had several different codes attributed to them. In this way, consideration of the data from the perspective of many different stakeholder groups and interactions occurred.

2.4.3 Description and understanding

From the categorisation of data according to stakeholder interaction, description followed. Literature reviews were carried out periodically during the preceding four years of (part-time) research, prior to and during data collection. However, the majority of literature review occurred after data collection, in the phase of description and understanding of the data (see Table 2.1). This enabled greater richness of data to be drawn out.

As propositions emerged, the author was constantly searching for data that disproved the theory. For example, the data were carefully examined for places where it contradicted the two new proposed dimensions of culture of concern for public self image and spirituality.

Grounded theory emphasises the importance of theoretical saturation, where no further data collection or review would further illuminate the concepts or linkages (Bryman, 2004): this point had been reached through the methodology adopted in this research. The three basic elements of grounded theory - concepts, categories and propositions (2.2.4) - are at the heart of this thesis. Furthermore, the four aspects of grounded theory methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) are reflected in the collection, description and understanding of the data:

- the research is grounded in the data associated with the RWSHPs;
- the data collection, description and understanding have progressed simultaneously;
- the data have been *coded* to aid the development of concepts and their linkages;
- *memos* have been written throughout the research to record the author's reflections, observations and field notes, and ideas emanating from literature and other individuals.

3 TOWARD AN INITIAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

This chapter provides the background necessary to develop an initial conceptual framework of cultural dimensions. This framework enables the description and understanding of interactions within and between stakeholders of RWSHP projects (in Chapter 4. This chapter therefore:

- defines culture (3.1);
- highlights some important considerations to be aware of when dealing with culture (3.2);
- examines individual human behaviour and the aspects of that behaviour influenced by culture (3.3);
- critiques the methodologies used to identify dimensions of culture relevant to group interactions (3.4); and
- identifies established (cross-) cultural dimensions and develops an initial conceptual framework to describe and understand interactions within and between stakeholders (3.5).

3.1 DEFINING CULTURE

A classic formulation of culture was proposed by the 19th-century English anthropologist, Edward Tylor. He saw culture as a shared system of knowledge and beliefs, acquired by learning, communicated through words, actions and artefacts, and transmitted from generation to generation (Sutton, 2006). Thus Tylor defined culture as a “*complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*” (Tylor, 2000).

Many current definitions reflect Tylor’s inclusiveness:

- “everything human, everything which is produced by humans and which cannot be understood by itself ... the totality of human products that produce humans” (Vandenberghe, 2003);
- “the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group ... it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (UNESCO, 2003)²⁸;
- “all learned and shared beliefs, ideas and behaviour” (van Wolferen, 1990);
- “how people interpret the world around them by developing shared understandings” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995);
- and from an organisational management perspective, “a set of ideas shared by members of a group” (Kanungo and Jaeger, 1990).

Others take more restricted views of culture. The American archaeologist and anthropologist Julian Steward proposed a materially oriented explanation of cultural evolution - multi-linear evolution - where social groups move along their own evolutionary paths according to each group’s core features and the environment. Steward’s theory of cultural ecology sees this evolution of a society resulting from the dynamic relationship between the environment and a culture’s ‘core’, i.e. features that are vital for subsistence and basic economy such as political systems, subsistence practices, and technology (Steward, 1959).

Steward’s replacement at the University of Michigan, Leslie White, had a similarly materialistic approach to Steward, but one of ‘uni-linear’ cultural and social evolution. According to White, culture - the sum total of all human cultural activity - is evolving and is composed of three levels: technological, social organizational, and ideological. Although all levels interact, White suggests that each rests on the previous one with the technological level ultimately being the determining one (White, 1959). Influenced by Marx’s economic theory and Darwin’s evolutionary theory, White saw that “*man as an*

²⁸ This definition is in line with the conclusions of the World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico City - UNESCO, 1982), the World Commission on Culture and Development (Centre for Creative Communities, 1995) and of the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm - UNESCO, 1998).

animal species, and consequently culture as a whole, is dependent upon the material, mechanical means of adjustment to the natural environment” (Smith, 2006). White saw that the primary function of culture was to “*harness and control energy*” and its ability to do so determined cultures’ level of advancement (Wikipedia, 2006b). With regards the origins of culture, White saw man’s uniqueness as his ability to symbol: to “*freely and arbitrarily ... originate, determine, and bestow meaning upon things and events in the external world ... to comprehend such meanings*” (White, 1972). Such symboling results in “*the origins and development of culture*” (ibid), with White seeing culture as “*a form of organisation of energy*” (White, 2000).

The recently deceased American anthropologist Clifford Geertz is more restrictive, defining culture as “*a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life*” (Geertz, 1973). Geertz frequently used ‘thick descriptions’ of human behaviour that explain both the behaviour and its context. This enables a behaviour to become meaningful to an outsider (see also 3.5.6, Preferred Style of Communication). Thick description is exemplified by Geertz’s oft-cited essay, “*Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight*” which portrays culture as public and consisting of rituals and symbols (Geertz, 2000).

These concepts and definitions of culture include notions of people’s values, beliefs and knowledge, linking them to interpretation of their surroundings, and their social behaviour. ‘Culturalists’ believe that culture is primary in guiding all patterns of behaviour. ‘Structuralists’ believe that social structure (e.g. kinship) determines patterns of social interaction and thought (Borgatta and Montgomery, 2000). This author believes this distinction is artificial, and is symptomatic of what many other authors view as a linear, mechanistic Western²⁹ worldview. Such a worldview is concerned with

²⁹ Classification of countries in this thesis is pragmatic and reflects common usage of terms, with no value-judgements attached. Therefore ‘West’ and ‘Western’ refer to the industrialised nations of Europe and North America. ‘Developed countries’ include these and countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the CIS (Commonwealth and Independent States) and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) that have high income and human development indices, as defined by the United Nations (UNDP, 2005a). These are synonymous with terms such as ‘the North’ and ‘the First World’. The term ‘Developing countries’ refers to countries with low income and human development indices, and is synonymous with terms such as ‘the South’ and ‘the Third World’

order, predictability, and cause and effect, and sees the relationship between the parts of any natural system as constant (e.g. Marshall, 2005, Rihani and Geyer, 2001 and Rist, 2002)³⁰. In contrast, complexity theory views processes as cyclical, open-ended, and evolving, without beginning, end or shortcuts (e.g. Harvey, 2002 and Rihani, 2002). This author adopts this evolutionary and open-ended cyclical perspective, and suggests a reciprocal relationship between culture and social interaction and thought. The author asserts that social structure is itself determined by culture; therefore culture both determines and is influenced by, if not determined by social interaction and thought.

Consequently, and based on how the concept of culture is used in practice, this author proposes a definition of culture that concentrates on social interaction in order to provide a focus for this thesis. Therefore, the working definition of culture used by this author throughout this thesis is:

‘the values, beliefs and knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behaviour.’

3.2 CONSIDERING CULTURE

With reference to Figure 1.1 (section 1.1), culture is therefore all pervasive, affecting either directly or indirectly all that exists in the dynamic of RWSHP projects. It is both an element within the dynamic, and the medium of the dynamic; a medium that continuously exerts influence, and is in turn influenced in a symbiotic relationship. Thus we can never fully extricate ourselves from culture, some implications of which are explored in 3.3 and 3.4 below.

It is also important to note the following when considering culture:

- *“No culture is a hermetically sealed entity. All cultures are influenced by and in turn influence other cultures. Nor is any culture changeless, invariant or static. All cultures are in a state of constant flux, driven by both internal and external forces”* (UNESCO, 1995). The state of flux varies between cultures.

³⁰ Annex I explores the evolution of development

- Local culture is “*not an uncontaminated space, but a field criss-crossed by traces of migrants, travellers, traders, missionaries, colonisers (and) anthropologists*” (Pieterse, 2001).
- “*The world can be thought of as having become a patchwork quilt of loosely interconnected, coevolving social and ecological systems*” (Shepherd, 1998).
- There are dark sides to attributing cultural identities at either national or local levels: nationalism, manifest in its extreme form as ethnic cleansing, and ethnocentrism with its fundamentalist view of ethnicity (Pieterse, 2001). The notion of national culture is often used to excuse all manner of behaviour: “... *when culture is used to explain Japan, statements such as ‘we do this because it is our culture’ (i.e. ‘we do this because we do this’) are not perceived as tautology but are believed to give a valid reason for accepting all manner of practices whose political nature have been lost sight of. Culture thus becomes an excuse for systematic exploitation, for legal abuses, for racketeering and for other forms of uncontrolled exercise of power. In the international realm, culture is made an excuse for not living up to agreements and responsibilities, and for not taking action in the face of pressure from trading partners*” (van Wolferen, 1990).

One final word of caution: there is a strong tendency to direct the focus of cultural consideration towards ‘others’. This needs to be recognised and resisted. “*The reasonable man adapts himself to the world: the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man*” (Shaw, 1903).

3.3 INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

3.3.1 Individuals, personality and culture

A major debate amongst psychologists concerns the causal relationship between personality and culture. This topic has received very little study (Berry et al., 2002) and the eminent psychologist Bruner assessed the field as a “*magnificent failure*” (Triandis and Suh, 2002).

Individual personality traits - deep psychological structures or basic tendencies - are widely accepted as having a degree of biological basis (e.g. Hofstede, 1994b and Triandis and Suh, 2002).

McCrae (2004) claims that culture does not affect personality but that biologically or ecologically based personality traits, can, in the aggregate, affect culture through behaviour. McCrae speculates that personality traits might, over long periods of time, leave their mark on culture, although he is careful to point out that individual traits are weak predictors of specific behaviours, especially at the cultural level. (ibid).

Hofstede (1994b) claims that human nature is inherited with ones genes and interplays with culture to produce personality (Figure 3.1). Hofstede states that “*human nature is what all human beings ... have in common*” and that it represents the “*‘operating system’ which determines one’s physical and basic psychological functioning*” such as the ability to feel fear, anger and love and the facility to observe and talk about the environment (ibid). Culture (“*the collective programming of the mind that is derived from the social environment, not genes*”) interplays with human nature to modify “*what one does with these feelings, how one expresses fear, joy (and) observations*”. This interplay produces personality: “*a unique set of mental programmes*”, some of which is therefore learned, some inherited (ibid).

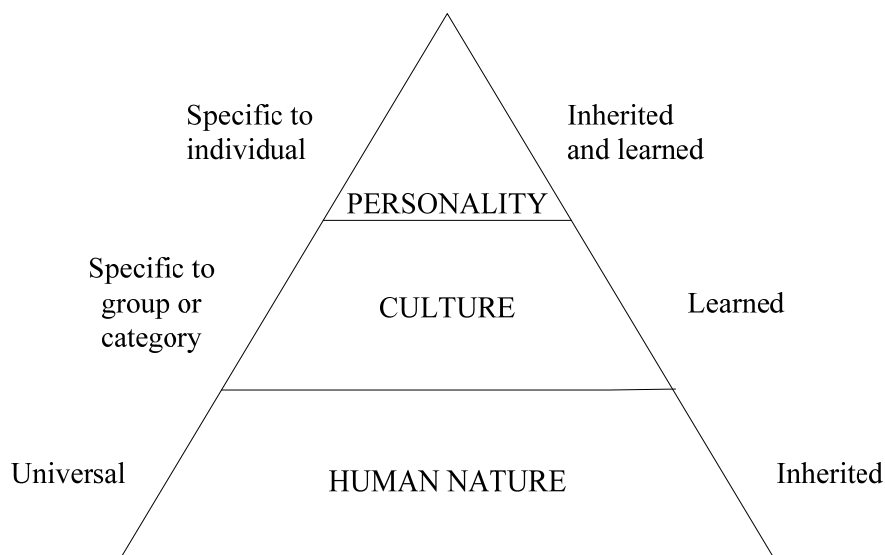


Figure 3.1: The relationship between culture and personality (Hofstede, 1994b).

Ratner (2000) and Ratner and Hui (2003) warn that when biology is seen as setting basic characteristics of psychology which culture simply moderates, the fundamental, systematic role of culture is denied.

Others take a more reciprocal view of the interplay between culture, personality (which may comprise behaviour) and the ecosystem (e.g. Kapoor et al., 2003). Berry et al. (2002) define culture *“both as adaptive to, and as changing the ecosystem; behaviour (is) portrayed as both being influenced by, and influencing, culture; and the ecosystem (is) seen as both affecting, and being affected by, individual behaviour”*.

In summary, there is widespread consensus that personality traits and culture influence and generate individual behaviour (e.g. Pieterse, 2001), but there is disagreement about the causal relationship (if any) between individual personality traits and culture. This author takes the reciprocal view stated above, and agrees with Ratner and Hui (2003), that culture *and* biology are fundamental determinants of individual psychology and human behaviour.

A closer examination of individual behaviour is necessary to determine further the influence of culture on the individual.

3.3.2 Theories of Reasoned Action and Planned Behaviour

The Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) and the subsequent Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) are widely acknowledged as amongst the most reliable theoretical approaches for understanding the relationship between attitudes and behaviour in the decision making process (e.g. Cook et al., 2005, DFID, 2002, van Uffelen, 2006b and Huczynski and Buchanan, 1997).

TRA *“is based on the assumption that human beings usually behave in a sensible manner; that they take account of available information and implicitly or explicitly consider the implications of their actions ...the theory postulates that a person’s intention to perform (or not perform) a behaviour is the immediate determinant of that action. Barring unforeseen events, people are expected to act in accordance with their intentions”* (Ajzen, 1988).

This contrasts with behaviourist theories that stress instinct, for example. Towards the extreme are Freudian assertions that much day to day behaviour is accounted for by our unconscious – the cellar of the conscious house. The unconscious is seen both as a storehouse of impressions, experiences, and memories that go back to even the womb, and a powerhouse of primitive impulses, predominantly sex, power and aggression. These are in opposition to each other, are seen to be pushing from below, and are consciously filtered and/or repressed as unacceptable. However, this author notes that where there is conscious filtering or repression, this fits the TRA.

Haan and Zoomers (2005) claim that much of what people do cannot be classified as strategic. Devereux (2001), questions whether behaviour is strategic when it includes examples such as cutting food consumption to one meal a day; a routine practice amongst already-malnourished Africans during the annual soudure. This author claims that such behaviour is still intentional, albeit undesirable, and is therefore both conscious and cognitive: it also fits the TRA.

TRA is primarily concerned with identification of factors that underlie the formation and change of behavioural intent which are outlined in Figure 3.2. In TRA, intention depends on two independent factors: the individual's attitude and their subjective norm. TPB adds a third determinant of intention: perception of behavioural control (PBC).

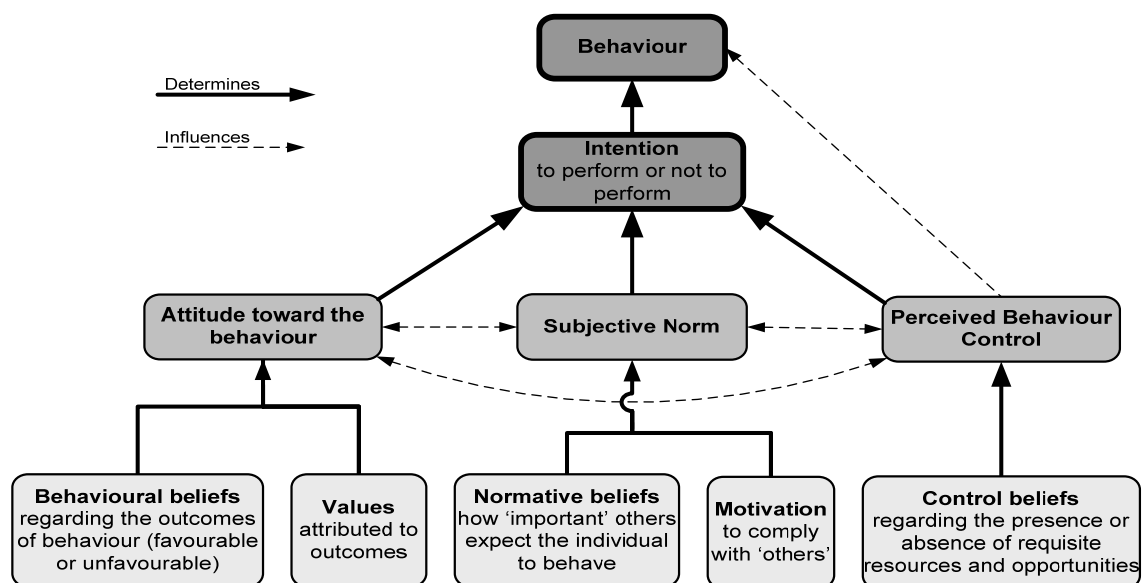


Figure 3.2: The theory of planned behaviour (TPB) (after Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980 and Ajzen, 1991).

The bottom row of Figure 3.2 highlights how both TRA and TRB are fundamentally determined by culture - the values, beliefs and knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behaviour. This author therefore rejects the claim by Krausz (2004) that chance is a fundamental influence in the choice of behaviour or action.

- **Attitudes** depend on *behavioural beliefs*³¹ which are concerned with the outcomes or cost of performing a specific behaviour and the values attributed to these outcomes or costs - favourable or unfavourable. The notion of behavioural beliefs explains why even within a culture, people vary in terms of their individual versus collective orientations. (Kapoor et al., 2003).
- A person's **subjective norm** is a function both of their *normative beliefs*³² - concern with whether individuals or groups approve or disapprove of the proposed behaviour, or how they feel these 'important others' would expect them to behave - and their *motivation* to comply with these 'others' (Ajzen, 1988).
- **Perception of behavioural control (PBC)** is determined by *control beliefs* – beliefs regarding the presence or absence of resources or opportunities. PBC refers to people's perception of the ease or difficulty of performing the behaviour of interest. It relies on the presence or absence of requisite resources or opportunities and is based on past experience and second-hand information (such as friends and training). The addition of PBC recognises the limitation of TRA to deal with behaviour over which people have incomplete volitional control (Ajzen, 1991).

The model of TPB, though widely accepted, is used inconsistently by Ajzen: whilst he clearly states that intention is determined by a combination of attitude, subjective norm and PBC, he also states that performance or achievement of a behaviour depends jointly on intentions (motivation) and ability (perceived behavioural control), and that if the

³¹ Behavioural beliefs are closely linked to subjective probability - the individual's expectation that a behaviour will result in a particular outcome (Huczynski and Buchanan, 1997).

³² Normative beliefs are closely linked to self-construals: what people "*believe about the relationship between the self and others, and, especially, the degree to which they see themselves as separate from others and as connected with others*" Markus and Kitayama (1991) (also Maehr, 1977).

intention is constant, a greater PBC results in greater effort expended to bring about the behaviour, or greater perseverance to achieve tasks (Ajzen, 1991). Logically, if all other components of intention are constant, if PCB varies, so will intention. However, this must not overshadow the importance of the model.

An important aspect of PBC is that it varies across situations and action (ibid). For example, if two individuals have equally strong intentions to act in a certain manner, the one who is more confident he/she can master the activity/circumstances that inhibit change is more likely to persevere. Therefore, in the RWSHP context, let us consider two individuals who have received hygiene promotion training and equally want to improve their health status. They visit a friend's household and are offered a drink containing contaminated water. A perceived cultural norm that one must not offend may dictate that one of the guests accepts the drink. However, depending on the accuracy of the perception, which requires realistic information about the behaviour, Ajzen (1991) notes that PBC can be a substitute for a measure of actual control: the second guest may feel able to refuse the drink outright and not offend, or refuse in an acceptable and non-offensive manner through a careful explanation of the reasoning behind their behaviour.

Therefore if there is total control over one's behaviour, intentions alone should be sufficient to predict behaviour, as with TRA. As volitional control over the behaviour declines, the influence of PBC increases, which may include not only social pressures but personal feelings of moral responsibility or obligation to perform or not perform a specific behaviour. Ajzen argues that past behaviour it is not usually a causal factor of habit in its own right but rather a reflection of all factors such as beliefs, attitudes, subjective norms and intentions that determine the behaviour of interest (Ajzen, 1991).

In conclusion, culture clearly fundamentally determines individual behaviour according to the widely accepted TRA and TPB models.

3.3.3 Behaviour change: schema theory

A core goal of RWSHP programmes is behaviour change amongst end users, particularly in hygiene practices. Schemata are sets of beliefs and understandings that

enable appropriate behaviour and role play by an individual in any given situation (Wade, 2001). Therefore some study of schema theory is necessary.

Schemata mediate between stimuli received by the sense organs and behavioural responses (Casson, 1983): as a given situation is encountered or talked about more, so the schemata become more organised, abstract, and compact. As a result, communication becomes easier and these schemata come to characterize the behaviour of members of the culture (Nishida, 1999). Strauss (1992) states that culturally formed cognitive schemata not only determine our interpretation of the world, but become “goal-embedded schema” that direct our actions and provide a motivational force.

Nishida (1999) classifies schemata that generate social interactions into eight inter-related types:

1. Fact-and-concept schemata: pieces of general information about facts and concepts.
2. Person schemata: knowledge about different types of people, which includes their personality traits.
3. Self schemata: people's knowledge about themselves (i.e., how they see themselves and how others see them).
4. Role schemata: knowledge about social roles which denote sets of behaviours that are expected of people in particular social positions.
5. Context schemata: information about the situation and predictions about the appropriate procedure schemata (6) and strategy schemata (7) to activate.
6. Procedure schemata: knowledge about the appropriate sequence of events in common situations, including specific steps to take and behavioural rules for the events.
7. Strategy schemata: knowledge about problem-solving strategies.
8. Emotion schemata: information about affect (feelings associated with an action) and evaluation stored in long-term memory that is accessed when other schemata are activated. These schemata are constructed in social interactions throughout one's life.

Nishida (1999) states that the inter-relationship of these schemata is such that a change in any one schema causes changes in all the other schemata and finally in the total system, i.e. in behaviour.

Once a schema is developed, information that is unambiguous and relatively unimportant to the person tends to be processed through the schema in a top-down or schema-driven process. This process is effortless and sometimes unconscious. However, when the data are less clear and of considerable importance to the person, their schemata are not applied, and behaviour becomes a bottom-up or data driven process - people are influenced by the nature of the information itself. This process requires attention and effort (Fiske and Neuberg, 1990 and Nishida, 1999). Permanent behaviour change requires recognition of the inadequacy of the existing schemata or exposure to something that challenges them.

For example, in hygiene promotion, the importance of using water from an improved source may be a message that has been heard by an individual many times before. However, if the improved source is further than the traditional source, the extra time and effort may not be deemed worth the benefits, so schema-driven tradition prevails. If the individual is shown the traditional water source through either a microscope or powerful magnifying glass (Dotse and Laryea, 2004) this new datum may be seen as considerably important and the existing schemata (traditions) abandoned as their adequacy has been challenged and found lacking. The result is bottom-up or data driven behaviour.

Hofstede (1994a) claims that an individual's values, which form an integral part of schema theory, cannot be changed in adult life, as they are acquired as children. Change therefore occurs through activation of latent values which individuals were forbidden to show earlier, such as a desire for creativity. This author rejects such a claim in favour of experience in accordance with the schema- versus data-driven dynamic outlined above.

Ajzen (1991) reports that a persuasive message that attacks beliefs about an object is typically found to produce changes in attitudes towards that object; in a similar vein, Vygotsky (1962) promotes the use of conflict of schemata to develop cognitive capabilities.

It is possible to allow a schema which does not fit the existing concept to be accepted as an alternative that runs in parallel with the original concept, thus avoiding the requirement for restructuring schema (Wade, 2001). Such duality results in conflicting behaviour that at times is hypocritical and to be avoided at all costs. In RWSHP programmes duality may be seen where, for example, foreign donors and (I)NGOs stress monitoring and evaluation of end users, but rarely undertake self-evaluation let alone allow reciprocation.

In the context of RWSHP projects where one of the desired and specified outcomes is permanent change in hygiene behaviour of end users, accretion (gradual and permanent modification) or restructuring (abrupt and massive change) of schemata is necessary to avoid duality. Accretion may occur through elicitation whereby an individual's prior knowledge and understanding is brought into the open so that it can be assessed and evaluated, and any misconceptions directly addressed. House-to-house hygiene promotion uses this technique. Accretion occurs when an individual has to modify given information to achieve an acceptable outcome, thus making it 'real' and acquiring ownership (e.g. Bhawuk and Brislin, 1992).

Restructuring is likely to occur when the conflict of two opposing world-views brought into contact with one another has to be resolved to solve a problem. This situation may be achieved as part of a structured delivery (e.g. formal health training) through the deliberate introduction of conflicting schemata (Wade, 2001), as in the example above of using microscopes.

Accretion and restructuring will provide schema driven behaviour that is essential for sustainability.

3.4 GROUP BEHAVIOUR

3.4.1 Approaches to description and understanding

Glenn (1981) suggests three approaches to the analysis of similarities and differences between human groupings.

The **functionalist approach** contends that all cultures must meet a number of universal social needs from, for example, child-rearing to religion. The different ways in which these needs are met become values which are then analysed in this approach.

The **values approach** analyses the value orientations which govern how people view various aspects of the human experience. Hofstede (1994b and 2001) asserts that values are at the core of culture and views them as broad tendencies to prefer certain states and affairs. Each has a plus and minus pole: good-evil; moral-immoral; normal-abnormal.

The third approach recognised by Glenn is the **cognitive approach** which is based on the assertion that different cultures structure knowledge differently. These structures (or schemata) are used to perceive and interpret all situations or experiences, and determine many aspects of behaviour and communication. *“The perception or interpretation ... is therefore a joint function of the situation and the individuals’ related knowledge”* (Glenn, 1981).

With culture defined as *“the values, beliefs and knowledge people use to generate and interpret social behaviour”*, culture is clearly a fundamental component of and influence on all three approaches.

Geert Hofstede is widely recognised as the founder and leading authority in the field of measuring and defining cultural values associated with national cultures. Van Oudenhoven (2001) states that his findings have most relevance for cross-national organisational functioning.

In his seminal work *“Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work Related Values”* (Hofstede, 1980a) based on research with IBM, and through considerable other writings (e.g. Hofstede, 1976, 1981, 1994b, 1996 and 2001), Hofstede claims that the “soft”, intangible factor of culture can be measured and made visible. This therefore moves from the study of what anthropologists term *explicit* culture - what people talk about and can be specific about such as law – into the study of *implicit* culture – aspects that cannot be readily talked about, are taken for granted or exist on the fringes of awareness (Hall, 1973).

Hofstede measures culture through the use of a semi-standard approach of open-ended interviews with key informants followed by a sample questionnaire survey (Hofstede, 1989). It is more quantitative than qualitative and provides “*a skeleton ... a worldwide structure in cultural differences*” for the 74 countries studied (Hofstede, 1999 and 2006a). Hofstede proposes five dimensions of culture:

- **Power distance** focuses on the degree of equality, or inequality, between people in the country's society.
- **Individualism** focuses on the degree the society reinforces individual or collective achievement and interpersonal relationships.
- **Masculinity** focuses on the degree the society reinforces, or does not reinforce, the traditional masculine work role model of male achievement, control, and power.
- **Uncertainty avoidance** focuses on the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society, i.e. unstructured situations.
- **Long-term orientation** focuses on the degree the society embraces, or does not embrace, long-term devotion to traditional, forward thinking values (Hofstede, 2006a).

The predominantly quantitative measurement Hofstede uses allows countries or regions to be scored for each dimension, as in Figure 3.3.

These and other dimensions of culture are discussed further in 3.5, but Hofstede stresses that his dimensions are tools for analysis or constructs, as opposed to concrete entities. Their purpose is “*to add some structure to a mass of cultural information that otherwise is too complex to grasp*” (Hofstede, 1993).

Hofstede's dimensions are widely accepted amongst academics and businesses in particular as useful tools for analysis of differences in the culture of groups, individuals within groups, and national cultures. Triandis (2001) reports that approximately 100 publications per year use one dimension – individualism-collectivism – to discuss such group and individual cultural differences.

Despite its widespread use, there are many critics of Hofstede's approach.

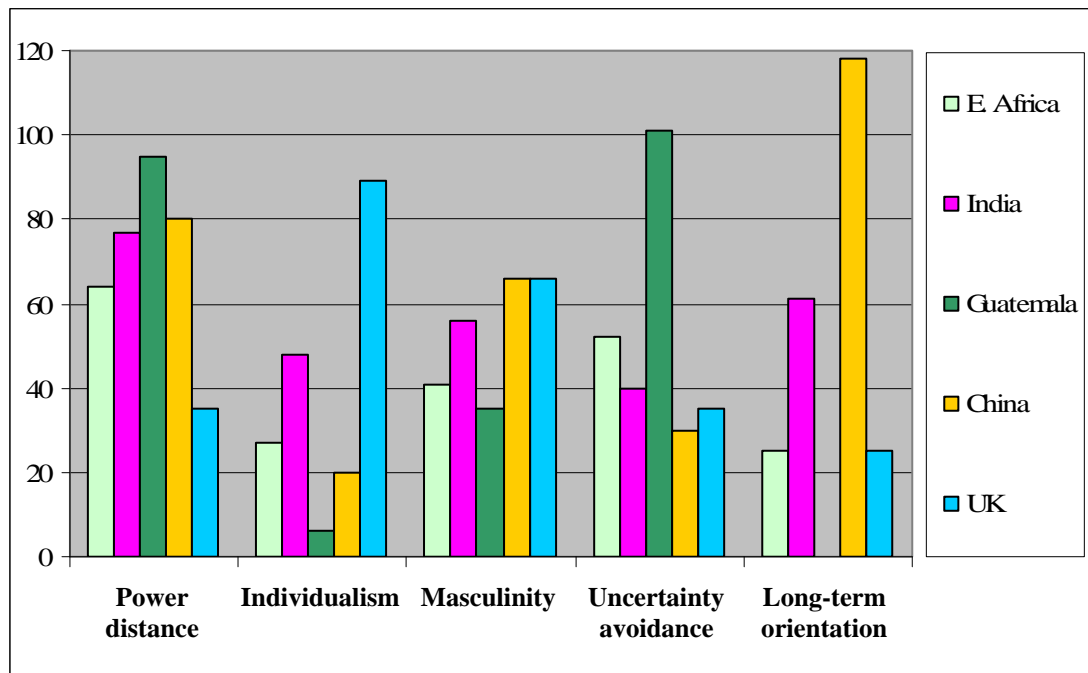


Figure 3.3: Scores for Hofstede's five dimensions for select countries / regions (**E. Africa** = Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia) (Hofstede, 2006a).

Triandis himself criticises Hofstede and others who focus on values, which are only one aspect of culture, and stress that all people groups contain elements of both polarities of a given value (Triandis, 1993).

More fundamental criticisms concern Hofstede's methodology.

McSweeney (2002) and Baskerville-Morley (2005) assert that not only are nations not the best units for studying culture, but that surveys are not a suitable way of measuring cultural differences. Hofstede agrees that surveys should not be the only way of measurement but states that nations "*are usually the only kind of units available for comparison*" (Hofstede, 2002).

This second point is echoed by Triandis (1999) who states that Hofstede's dimensions are universal constructs that will take a myriad of culture-specific manifestations across cultures (see also Greenholtz, 2005 and Hammer et al., 2003). The example of comparing apples and oranges is used: universal dimensions such as weight and price give no description; only specific dimensions such as taste give crucial information.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1997) similarly assert that as social science methodology is not culture free, “*there is no neutral point ‘above’ culture from which to view the universe*”. They also take issue with Hofstede’s methodology of attributing scores to countries for each dimension, stating that culture is not best expressed in mathematical language (ibid).

Ratner and Hui (2003) warn of the trend of cross-cultural research becoming essentially experimental and reductionist. This, they claim, occurs due to the denial of the fundamental, systematic role of culture in psychology whereby psychological phenomena are regarded as transparent in simple, overt forms of behaviour. They call for the development of “*new methodological and theoretical principles ... to explore the cultural organisation of psychological phenomena*” (Ratner and Hui, 2003).

Lowe (2002) similarly argues that Hofstede’s approach is simplistic and fails to question the relationship between different levels of culture. Lowe espouses the development of the more complex theoretical cultural conceptualization that promotes a multidisciplinary synthesis based on a systems approach that “*adopts the position of the mutual influence of culture, structure and agency. The system’s parts are all manifestations of a whole, which both determines them and is determined by them*” (Lowe, 2002). The ‘logic’, form or patterns of relationships between the system’s parts are not, according to Lowe, recognisable through reductionist analysis of the substance of its parts but “*through realisation of the emergent properties of connectedness that make the whole’s context greater than the sum of its parts*” (ibid).

Hofstede himself supports a multidisciplinary approach that would also include organisational as well as national cultures (Hofstede, 1980b and 1994a, see also Aguinaldo, 2004 and Mohan and Wilson, 2005). Triandis and Suh (2002) suggest that the required reliability and validity can be achieved through converging findings using different approaches (see also van Bouwel and Weber, 2002 and Triandis, 1977). “*We need to broaden our methods, use more complex methods, and confirm our hypotheses by showing convergence of findings in surveys, experiments, content analyses of materials, systematic observations and examination of ethnographic materials*” (Triandis, 1999).

This may, however, lead to more complex mathematical interpretations of culture, a universal interpretation that Triandis rejects as inappropriate. At present, due to the inherent complexity of an approach that is able to measure culture based on convergences of multidisciplinary findings, or on (complex) systems theory, there are no accepted methodologies available. Therefore it is important to recognise Williamson's observation: "*To reject totally Hofstede's or similar functionalist models of national culture, before more satisfactory models have been developed, would be to throw away valuable insight*" (Williamson, 2002).

In essence, this thesis therefore adopts a multidisciplinary approach that acknowledges similarities between (cross-) cultural interactions and complex systems. The most important similarities are the presence of:

- large numbers of mutually interacting dynamical parts where 'the system' is more than the sum of its parts;
- non-linear relationships, where a small disturbance (or perturbation) may cause a large effect, a proportional effect, or no effect;
- relationships that contain feedback loops, where both negative (damping) and positive (amplifying) feedback are often found;
- a memory, where prior states may have an influence on present states (Wikipedia, 2006a).

The multidisciplinary approach used in this thesis synthesises a variety of approaches and uses dimensions of culture to *describe* and *understand* stakeholder interactions, rather than *analyse* them in a reductionist manner.

3.5 DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

This section provides an overview of established dimensions of culture, identifies overlaps between dimensions, and develops an initial conceptual framework for the subsequent description and understanding of the data in Chapter 4. This section begins with Hofstede's five dimensions of culture, although Baskerville-Morley (2005) asserts that four or five dimensions are not enough. Hofstede himself potentially agrees and

states that “*if adding another dimension helps explain and predict phenomena, then it is useful*” (Hofstede, 1993).

3.5.1 Power Distance

Power distance focuses on the degree of equality, or inequality, between people in a country’s society. It includes the degree of freedom in decision-making a superior leaves to his or her subordinate (van Oudenhoven, 2001). “*A High Power Distance ranking indicates that inequalities of power and wealth have been allowed to grow within the society. These societies are more likely to follow a caste system that does not allow significant upward mobility of its citizens. A Low Power Distance ranking indicates the society de-emphasizes the differences between citizen's power and wealth. In these societies equality and opportunity for everyone is stressed*” (Hofstede, 2006a). This dimension equates with the **vertical** dimension where **hierarchical** cultures accept as given that people are different, thus those at top naturally have more privileges and power (Triandis, 1999), and expectations of deference and compliance dominate the interaction (Levine, 2000). This is in contrast to **egalitarian** patterning where small amounts of deference “*are balanced by antiauthoritarian orientations*” (ibid).

Hofstede (1994b) reports that most donors of development score considerably lower on power distance than receivers, and try to promote equality and democratic processes at the receiving end.

3.5.2 Individualism

Individualism focuses on the degree a society reinforces individual or collective achievement and interpersonal relationships. “*People in individualistic cultures often give priority to their personal goals, even when they conflict with the goals of important in-groups, such as the work group*” (van Oudenhoven, 2001) Such individuals tend to form a larger number of looser relationships whereas people in societies with a low individualism ranking are more collectivist in nature with close ties between individuals and emphasis on in-group harmony (Leung and Bond, 1984 and Smith et al., 1998). “*These cultures reinforce extended families and collectives where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group*” (Hofstede, 2006a).

Individualism-collectivism is called the “*deep structure of culture*” by Greenfield (2000), determining the fundamental issue of the relationship between person and group. As a result, many important and established cultural dimensions either associate with or are subsumed into this dimension:

- **Horizontal distance** is concerned with “*the degree of affective closeness and common identification felt among different actors*” (Levine, 2000). Where this is high, there is *solidaristic* association, where “*one enter(s) into the situation of those with whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture*” (Freire, 1996). Where horizontal distance is low, individualistic association occurs where “*individuals relate to one another mainly on a utilitarian and competitive basis*” (Levine, 2000).
- **Active-passive.** Collectivists tend to see the environment as fixed, comprising stable norms, obligations and duties, and themselves as flexible, ready to ‘fit in’, and are thus *active*. Individualists are *passive*, tending to view themselves as fixed (stable attitudes, personalities and rights) and the environment as flexible (e.g. they change jobs if they do not like it) (Triandis, 2000, Yamada and Singelis, 1999, Somech, 2000, Markus and Kitayama, 1991, Quinn and Rohrbaugh, 1983 and Triandis and Suh, 2002). Sawadogo (1995) reports the opposite in preferred learning styles where collectivists value passivity: extensive observation, reflection, and imitation - thus deductive thought processes. Passivity is a sign that one is wise and has self-control. Individualists promote active participation, questioning, abstraction, and sequential argument and view passivity as a lack of energy, direction and leadership. Further implications of this are discussed under 3.5.6, Preferred Style of Communication.
- **Self-monitoring** - sensitivity towards appropriate expression of self-presentation. “*High self-monitors (are) like chameleons, capable of changing or adapting their current behaviour to the perceived standards of the other person. Low self-monitors exhibit behaviour in situations that reflect their own standards*” (Trubisky et al., 1991).
- **Emotional expression or suppression.** Individualists are often high in uninhibited emotional expression regardless of consequences; collectivists tend

to control such emotions because the free expression of negative emotions can disrupt relationships (Triandis and Suh, 2002). Aune and Waters (1994) report that with regards the circumstances of *deception* (as distinct from the likelihood to deceive), collectivists are more likely to attempt to deceive another when the deception was related to group or family concerns, or for authority-based concerns, whereas individualists are more likely to lie to protect their privacy or to protect the feelings of the target person.

- **Subjective well-being.** People in individualistic cultures are reported to have more positive self-esteem (Heine et al., 1999) and be more optimistic (Lee and Seligman, 1997) than those in collectivist cultures. In contrast, Arrindell et al. (1997) report that feminine-rich countries (see 3.5.3 below) show the highest levels of subjective well being.
- **Social behaviour.** People in collectivist cultures belong to groups as a matter of *right* (by birth or marriage), as opposed to those in individualist cultures who often have to *earn* group membership, individualists are more likely to develop excellent skills for entering new groups (Triandis and Suh, 2002 and Gerganov et al., 1996).
- **Humanistic-instrumental.** Research on organisational rather than national cultures has resulted in many overlapping dimensions of culture. The humanistic-instrumental dimension emanates from and perceives the direction and nature of the value that is placed on people in organisations (Jackson, 1999 and Jackson, 2002). It includes notions of *humane treatment-performance orientation* (Shore and Cross, 2005) and corresponds with: *task versus people orientation*; the *process-oriented versus results-oriented* and *job-oriented versus employee-oriented* dimensions (Hofstede, 1994b); *means versus end* (Quinn and Rohrbaugh, 1983); and the *instrumental-expressive* dimension (Triandis, 2000). Generally individualists are more instrumental, emphasising, for example, getting the job done, whereas collectivists are more humanistic and expressive, emphasising enjoyment of social relationships.
- **Abstract-associative.** Originally proposed by Glenn (1981), the abstract-associative dimension focuses on the degree of rationality and the degree of cause-effect that are applied to knowledge. It therefore emanates from the

cognitive approach (which is concerned with how different cultures structure knowledge). This is in contrast to the other dimensions considered thus far which emanate from the values approach (which is concerned with value orientations which govern how people view various aspects of the human experience) (see 3.4.1).

Associative knowledge is acquired through a predominantly spontaneous experience within an environment, and fits closely with the feelings of individuals and the shared pre-occupations of small or relatively small groups. Abstraction processes thought into precise meanings and results in “*specifically stated systems of knowledge of large groups – potentially of all mankind*” (ibid). Glenn suggests association is the primary mechanism of knowledge acquisition and abstraction the primary process of knowledge organisation, and as such are complementary: “*All cultures need and possess both types of elements*” (ibid).

Kedia and Bhagat (1988) suggest that “*in associative cultures, people utilise associations among events that may not have much logical basis, whereas in abstractive cultures, cause-effect relationships or rational Judeo-Christian types of thinking are dominant*”. This author suggests caution is necessary with such a distinction, as differing world views have differing cause-effect constructs. For example, when someone contracts malaria in South-West Uganda it is perfectly logical to first ask ‘who sent the mosquito?’ on the basis of a world-view in which the spirit world influences everyday events.

A disposition towards acquiring knowledge through association may fundamentally hinder development: Carter (2001) states that “*there are still extensive areas of groundwater knowledge which are missing – perhaps suggesting a knowledge crisis rather than an impending water crisis*”, although this is compounded by “*numerous institutional issues*”.

Other established cultural dimensions that associate closely with the abstract-associative dimension, and therefore to a degree with individualism are:

- **Diffuse-specific.** “*Diffuse cultures respond to the environment in a holistic manner (e.g. I do not like your report means I do not like you)*” whereas specific cultures will discriminate different aspects of the same stimulus (Triandis, 2000).

- **Universalism-particularism.** Universalism is abstractive and sees the world through conceptualisations. *“It knows ‘dog’ but not Fido or Mandy. In opposition, particularism does not know man or woman but Dick and Jane. It is usually associative, reflecting personal lives and personal feelings”* (Glenn, 1981). Triandis (2000) suggests that *“in universalist cultures people try to treat others on the basis of universal criteria (e.g. all competent persons regardless of who they are in sex, age, race, etc. are acceptable employees); in particularist cultures people treat others on the basis of who the other person is”*. Furthermore, Triandis reports that individualists are generally universalists and collectivists are generally particularists (ibid).
- **Abstract-Concrete and Sequential-Random.** These two dimensions of preferred learning styles suggested by Gregorc (2006) essentially superimpose a time dimension on Glenn’s abstract-associative dimension. The four possible combinations have important implications for RWSHP projects where training forms a fundamental component. The traditional Western teaching style is abstract sequential, working with ideas and images, building knowledge in a structured manner. By contrast a teenager helping an adult to repair cars would be learning in a concrete random pattern (Wade, 2001). However, Barmeyer (2004) reports that despite the recognised importance of cross-cultural training, exploration of different learning styles in this context has only just begun.

3.5.3 Masculinity

Masculinity focuses on the degree the society reinforces, or does not reinforce, the traditional masculine work role model of male achievement, performance, assertiveness, control, and power. It measures *“the extent to which highly assertive values predominate (e.g., acquiring money and goods at the expense of others) versus showing sensitivity and concern for others’ welfare”* (van Oudenhoven, 2001). In cultures with a high masculinity ranking, males dominate a significant portion of the society and power structure, as opposed to low masculinity ranking cultures where females are treated equally to males in all aspects of the society (Hofstede, 2006a) and there is a more ‘tender’ society in which people focus on relationships, modesty, and quality of life (Hofstede, 1999). Hofstede (1994b) reports strong correlation between femininity and

the percentage of GNP which Governments of rich countries allocate to development cooperation.

3.5.4 Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance focuses on the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society, i.e. “*the strictness of rules used to deal with uncertain and ambiguous situations*” (van Oudenhoven, 2001). High uncertainty avoidance implies a need for structure and absolute truths, a feeling that “*what is different is dangerous*” (Hofstede, 1999). High uncertainty avoidance societies institute laws, rules, regulations, and controls to reduce the amount of uncertainty and exhibit mutual distrust between citizens and authorities. Low uncertainty avoidance societies more readily accept change, take more and greater risks, and exhibit a greater degree of mutual trust between citizens and authorities (Hofstede, 2006a). At the organisational level it is likely that *flexibility versus control* (Quinn and Rohrbaugh, 1983) will correlate with this dimension. Watson and Kumar (1992) report that the more culturally diverse a group is the more conservative their decisions with regards risk-taking.

3.5.5 Long-Term Orientation

Long-term orientation is a relatively recent dimension of Hofstede’s that “*focuses on the degree the society embraces, or does not embrace, long-term devotion to traditional, forward thinking values*” (Hofstede, 2006a)³³. High long-term orientation indicates value for long-term commitments, respect for tradition, and a concern for virtue - for proper ways of living (Hofstede, 1994a). It is thought to support a strong work ethic where long-term rewards are expected as a result of hard work. In a culture of low long-term orientation change can occur more rapidly as long-term traditions and commitments do not become impediments to change (Hofstede, 2006a). High long-term orientation often occurs in Eastern countries where the search for truth is irrelevant, because there is no need for a single and absolute truth (see 3.5.7) (Hofstede and Bond, 1988, 1994a and Silverthorne, 2001).

³³ This author challenges both the name and definition of this dimension and suggests new ones in 5.1.3.

Concepts of time in cross-cultural communication are widely recognised as important (e.g. Dahl, 1995, Hall, 1976, Jaeger, 1990 and Trompenaars, 1993). However, classification according to time orientation is inherently problematic.

Jaeger (1990) suggests that societies are orientated in their decision-making to *past* customs and traditions, *present* circumstances or *future* implications.

Hall (1976) suggests a linear-cyclical dimension - *monochromic-polychromic* - is preferable to one with a linear perspective. Monochromic cultures (e.g. Europe and North America) emphasise task completion, scheduling and inter-relating time frames where time is thought of as *"a road or ribbon stretching into the future, along which one progresses"* (Hall, 1973). In polychromic cultures (e.g. Latin America, Africa and the East), personal interaction is not seen as sequential, many things may happen at one time. *"Time is like a museum with endless corridors and alcoves. You, the viewer, are walking through the museum in the dark, holding a light to each scene as you pass it. God is the curator of the museum, and only He knows all that is in it. One lifetime represents one alcove"* (ibid).

As Dahl (1995) points out, *"one can find elements of linear, cyclical and event related time metaphors in every culture, although one concept usually predominates."* Therefore this author suggests that appropriate time orientations are attributed on a case-specific basis to avoid erroneous generalisations.

- **Broadening versus narrowing.** This dimension reflects resistance to change and refers to whether the attitude of the culture or sub-culture towards the frame of reference is expansionist and inclusivist or restrictive. Narrowing cultures cling to sets of narrow and simplistic beliefs, accepting knowledge only from those of a common origin or from a *"supposedly unchangeable body of 'truth'"* (Glenn, 1981). There are many similarities between broadening-narrowing and *local versus cosmopolitan*, the contrast between an *internal* and an *external* frame of reference (Jorgensen, 1990). The associated *professional-parochial* dimension reported by Hofstede (1994b) states that in professional cultures, the usually highly educated members identify primarily with their profession; in

parochial cultures, the members derive their identity from the organisation for which they work.

3.5.6 Preferred Style of Communication

Triandis and Suh (2002) suggest that an individual's preferred style of communication is determined by a combination of the power distance and individualism-collectivist dimensions, and is therefore subsumed by these dimensions. However, Kreps and Kunimoto (1994) underline the complexity of competent and sensitive cross-cultural communication by listing 92 recommendations for participants in the modern day health care system.

Whilst this author largely agrees with Triandis and Suh, given that communication is the essence of stakeholder interactions, at this stage it is important for clarity to consider communication as a whole, rather than subsuming it under multiple dimensions.

Hall (1976) suggests that to understand communication one must look at the meaning, context, and the code (the words themselves) all together. *High-context* messages hide the meaning within the context of the communication and the relationship between the individuals (e.g. Evans, 2005, Hall, 2001, Hall and Noguchi, 1993 and Hammer et al., 1978). For example, 'It's nice weather we're having' is rarely used to convey information about the weather, but more to make conversation, or as an ice-breaker. *Low-context* messages have meaning invested in the words themselves, in the "*explicit code*". "*The level of context determines everything about the nature of the communication and is the foundation on which all subsequent behaviour rests*" (Hall, 1976)

In high-context cultures, the primary form of communication is *nonverbal* messages, including gaze and eye contact; body motion and gesture; interpersonal distance and touch; and facial expression. Rudden and Fransden (1978) suggest nonverbal communications are interpreted by an individual's "*possibly unique set of dimensions or common denominators, rather than with a universal set*". Hawana and Smith (1979) suggest that social and educational levels of similarity may transcend cultural differences with regards communication. In the context of RWSHP programmes, this

may hold true for some internal stakeholder communication, but for inter-stakeholder communication, the diversity of social and educational backgrounds present precludes this scenario.

In nonverbal communication, individuals seek social information about the background or context of the other in order to maintain harmony (Kapoor et al., 2003). LaFrance and Mayo (1977) suggest that such communication performs three major functions: to send emotional states; convey interpersonal attitudes (particularly intimacy and status); and manage conversations. *“Intercultural misunderstandings are rarely a simple matter of not knowing what to do; more often, mistakes result from errors of timing and placement and misinterpretations of role contexts”* (ibid).

Members of low-context cultures tend to value information (verbal or written) that indicates others’ attitudes, values, emotions, and past behaviours (Hall, 1976).

Kapoor et al. (2003) report that when individuals’ true feelings are involved, individuals who use low-context communication generally communicate in ways that are consistent with their feelings. High-context people, on the other hand, tend to communicate in ways that camouflage and conceal their true intentions.

Hall (1976) argues that no culture is exclusively at one end of the context scale, and it is now conventional wisdom that most cultures contain elements of both high- and low-context communication, either depending on the context within a culture, or even within the same contextual situation (Kapoor et al., 2003). Miyahara et al. (1998) support this and report variation amongst collectivists at the national level. Japanese perceive directness and frankness as important components of communication competence. Koreans believe their level of communication competence is enhanced in three ways: by avoiding imposition on the hearer; by using communication tactics that prevent them from being disliked; and by not resorting to messages that are as clear and direct as the Japanese.

The implications of preferred style of communication for cross-cultural training have been partially discussed under the individualism-collectivism dimension and active-passive. Sawadogo (1995) reports an implication concerning the promotion of feedback

by individualists during training. For a trainer with presumed knowledge to solicit suggestions from recipients of the trainer's knowledge is "*an improbable and unusual situation*" compounded by the tendency of people in high-context societies to "*refrain from critiquing each other openly because of their unwillingness to separate the actor from the actions*" (*ibid*).

In inter-cultural communication, it is critical to understand the positioning of others and oneself within perceived power structures that include inter-related rights, duties and obligations as determined by local conventions of social practice (Cook et al., 2004, Cook et al., 2005 and Corson, 1995). In order to achieve this, the importance of feedback and sharing is emphasised in Figure 3.4, FAO's SEAGA analysis (FAO, 2001) whereby each of the 4 panes represents different types of the knowledge about oneself including feelings behaviours, and reactions. This author suggests the figure could equally be applied to groups. The more people are willing to be open and make the arena bigger the easier communication becomes and creativity is unleashed (*ibid*).

However, this author suggests that this simplistic model does not take account of the unwillingness of those in high-context societies to critique each other.

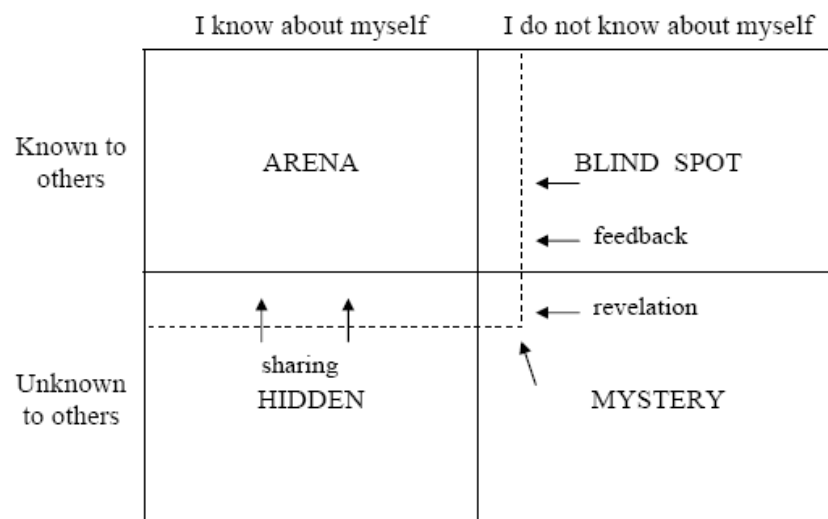


Figure 3.4: The Johari Window (FAO, 2001)

A Western "*predisposition toward the use of electronic communication systems and away from human, face-to-face communication systems*" (Borden and Tanner, 1983)

makes feedback and sharing more difficult, or in the case of nonverbal communication, non-existent.

- *Exogenous-indigenous* communication channels (Mundy and Compton, 1995) are an important sub-dimensions of communication. Exogenous channels are institutionally organised communication, such as mass media (television, radio, newspapers and magazines) and bureaucratically organised networks (schools and firms). Indigenous systems are under local control often have a lack of bureaucratic organisation (except for churches and mosques), and offer opportunities for participation by locals – they include folk media, indigenous organisations, deliberate instruction and direct observation. Indigenous systems have high credibility, being familiar and locally controlled, but their survival is threatened by exogenous systems (Tims and Miller, 1986).

3.5.7 Degree of Religious Belief

There is an increasing call to recognise spirituality or religiosity to the same degree as other widely accepted personality factors, although psychometric scales for the measurement of belief are not well developed (e.g. Bhawuk, 2003, Maiello, 2005 and Hill et al., 2000).

Maiello (2005) reports that a Degrees of Belief in God (DBG) scale that measures various levels of intensity of belief reveals a central and possibly universal core of beliefs that cross religions and cultural backgrounds. However, Eastern religions such as Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Shintoism, are not currently represented in the scale. Characteristics of this DBG scale are attributes of God, who is considered as almighty, and as offering salvation, redemption, security, justice and the meaning of life. Maiello (2005) further reports a correlation between DBG and gender - females usually are associated with higher levels of belief – as well as psychological, social and clinical variables such as resilience, depression, life satisfaction, drug abuse and delinquency.

Saroglou et al. (2004) report that amongst western monotheistic religious traditions, religiosity corresponds positively with conservation values (tradition and conformity)

and negatively with hedonistic and openness to change values (hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction) (see also Hendriks et al., 1999, Hogan et al., 1994, Kraaykamp and Eijck, 2005 and Pratt, 2000). They also recognise the lack of similar studies for religion in Eastern societies, the need better to understand the direction of causality between religion and values and whether personality plays a moderating or mediating role.

Mendonca and Kanungo (1998) report three inhibitors to development that may be related to DBG: the *absence of a work ethic* (i.e. the Protestant work ethic); *fatalism* that induces in individuals an external locus of control; and general *religiosity* that causes individuals to disregard their betterment in this life, in addition to fostering further fatalism. This author points out the obvious contradiction where religiosity generates a work ethic, and suggests that it could equally be argued that religiosity can foster a sense of destiny (as opposed to fatalism): for example, a ‘health and wealth’ or ‘prosperity’ gospel may be believed that promotes development.

Hofstede and Bond (1988) suggest that within Western thinking are three religions very much concerned with truth - Judaeoan, Christian, or Muslim – that have traditionally been split between fundamentalist, intolerant currents that believe they have the one Truth and all others are wrong; and liberal, tolerant currents that put a concern with humanity, also present in all three religions, above doctrine. These two trends in thinking correspond to the uncertainty-avoidance dimension. Eastern religions, represented by Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Shintoism, do not assume that any one human being can have the Truth. Human truth is seen as partial, so that one truth does not exclude its opposite. This is why people in the East can easily adhere to more than one religion or philosophical school at the same time.

3.5.8 Discarded dimension: Complexity-simplicity

Triandis (2000) suggests that some cultures (e.g. hunters and gatherers) are relatively simple, and others (e.g. information societies) are relatively complex: the !Kung bushmen of the Kalahari are offered by Triandis as an example of a simple culture. This author suggests the complexity-simplicity dimension is itself too simplistic and generalistic, and only applies to select aspects of a culture: the !Kung bushmen, for

example, communicate via a highly complex clicking language that few outsiders can master, and as with most collectivist cultures, have highly elaborate social systems.

3.6 AN INITIAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The vast array of cultural dimensions that are relevant to cross-cultural interaction can be simplified through recognition of the following:

- Areas of overlap between dimensions;
- Dimensions that can be subsumed into broader categories;
- Cross-cutting dimensions that influence the manifestation of several other dimensions.
- Identification of the level to which the dimension is relevant: national, organisational, group or individual.

Therefore, to describe and understand interactions within and between stakeholders of RWSHP projects, the author adopts a multidisciplinary approach that synthesises a variety of approaches (3.4.1), and proposes an initial conceptual framework presented in Table 3.1.

It is important to note:

- The dimensions shaded grey are called ‘primary dimensions’. This does not necessarily imply hierarchy: rather it indicates how the ‘cultural cake’ has been cut to provide a manageable number of primary dimensions of culture. When discussing the data in the following chapter, preference will be given to using primary dimensions where appropriate.
- Dimensions that are un-shaded are allocated to the primary dimension they associate most strongly with: associations with other dimensions are possible (as are associations between primary dimensions).
- The dimension ‘Preferred style of communication’ (high-low context messages and exogenous-indigenous communication) is determined by a combination of power distance and individualism-collectivism, and is hence unallocated.

Table 3.1: Initial conceptual framework of cultural dimensions for the description and understanding of interactions within and between stakeholders of RWSHP projects (primary dimensions shaded grey).

Dimension	Description	
Power distance	The degree of equality, or inequality, between people in a country's society	
	High power distance: inequalities of power and wealth have been allowed to grow within the society	Low power distance: the society de-emphasizes the differences between citizen's power and wealth
Vertical distance	<i>Hierarchical</i> cultures accept as given that people are different.	<i>Egalitarian</i> cultures balance small amounts of deference with antiauthoritarianism.
Individualism	The degree a society reinforces individual or collective achievement and interpersonal relationships	
	Individualists: priority often given to their personal goals, even when they conflict with the goals of important in-groups	Collectivists: emphasis on in-group harmony with close ties between individuals
Horizontal distance	Relate to one another mainly on a <i>utilitarian</i> and <i>competitive</i> basis	Feel a high degree of <i>solidarity</i> , <i>affective closeness</i> and <i>common identification</i> among different actors
Active-passive	Are <i>passive</i> , tending to view <i>themselves as fixed</i> and the <i>environment as flexible</i> .	Are <i>active</i> , tending to see the <i>environment as fixed</i> and <i>themselves as flexible</i> .
Self-monitoring	Are <i>low self-monitors</i> exhibit behaviour that reflects their <i>own standards</i>	Are <i>high self-monitors change or adapt</i> their behaviour to the perceived standards of the other person.
Emotional expression	Are <i>uninhibited</i> in their emotional expression.	<i>Control</i> emotions
Subjective well-being	Have more <i>positive self-esteem</i> and <i>optimism</i>	Have less <i>positive self-esteem</i> and <i>optimism</i>
Social behaviour	Have to <i>earn group</i> membership	Belong to groups as a matter of <i>right</i>
Humanistic-instrumental	Exhibit: <i>instrumentalism</i> and <i>job, task, results</i> and <i>performance orientation</i>	Exhibit: <i>expressive, humane treatment and means, process, and people orientation</i>
Abstract-associative	<i>Abstraction</i> : applies rationality and cause-effect; processes thought into precise meanings; results in specific knowledge of large groups; primary process of knowledge <i>organisation</i> .	<i>Association</i> : knowledge is acquired through spontaneous experiences within an environment; fits closely with the feelings of individuals and small groups; primary mechanism of knowledge <i>acquisition</i> .
Diffuse-specific	<i>Specific</i> cultures will discriminate different aspects of the same stimulus.	<i>Diffuse</i> cultures respond to the environment in a holistic manner.
Universalism-particularism	<i>Universalism</i> : sees the world through conceptualisations; people try to treat others on the basis of universal criteria.	<i>Particularism</i> : reflects personal lives and personal feelings; people treat others on the basis of who the other person is.
Abstract-Concrete and Sequential-Random	<i>Abstract sequential</i> : traditional Western teaching style, working with ideas and images, building knowledge in a structured manner.	<i>Concrete-random</i> : e.g. a teenager helping an adult to repair cars.
Preferred style of communication: determined by a combination of power distance and individualism-collectivism.		
High-low context messages	<i>High-context</i> : hides the meaning within the context and relationship between individuals; true intentions concealed; open critique of others refrained from; <i>nonverbal</i> messages preferred, seeking harmony.	<i>Low-context</i> : meaning is invested in words, the explicit code; verbal or written information is valued that indicates others' attitudes, values, emotions, and past behaviours; feelings are consistently conveyed.
Exogenous-indigenous communication	<i>Indigenous</i> systems: under local control; often low bureaucracy; participatory; high credibility.	<i>Exogenous</i> channels: institutionally organised mass media; bureaucratically organised networks.

Table 3.1 continued

Dimension	Description	
	The degree the society reinforces, or does not reinforce, the traditional masculine work role model of male achievement, performance, assertiveness, control, and power	
Masculinity	High masculinity: highly assertive values predominate (e.g., acquiring money and goods at the expense of others)	High femininity: sensitivity showing and concern for others' welfare; females are treated equally to males in all aspects of the society
	The level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society	
Uncertainty Avoidance	High uncertainty avoidance: a need for structure and absolute truths; high presence of laws, rules, regulations, and controls; mutual distrust between citizens and authorities.	Low uncertainty avoidance: more readily accept change; take more and greater risks; greater degree of mutual trust between citizens and authorities
Flexibility versus control	High <i>control</i>	High <i>flexibility</i>
	The degree the society embraces, or does not embrace, long-term devotion to traditional, forward thinking values	
Long-term orientation	High long-term orientation: value for long-term commitments, respect for tradition, and a concern for virtue - for proper ways of living	Low long-term orientation: change can occur more rapidly as long-term traditions and commitments do not become impediments to change
Past-present-future orientation	<i>Past</i> customs and traditions guide change.	<i>Future</i> implications drive forward planning processes; <i>present</i> circumstances cause people to live for the moment with short-term orientation
Monochromic-polychromic	<i>Polychromic cultures:</i> do not see personal interaction as sequential; many things may happen at one time.	<i>Monochromic cultures:</i> emphasise task completion, scheduling and inter-relating time frames.
Broadening versus narrowing	<i>Narrowing:</i> restrictive; high resistance to change; clings to sets of narrow beliefs; accepts knowledge only from those of a common origin or an 'unchangeable body of truth'. Also associates with high uncertainty avoidance.	Broadening: low resistance to change; expansionist and inclusivist. Also associates with low uncertainty avoidance.
Local versus cosmopolitan	<i>Internal</i> frame of reference.	<i>External</i> frame of reference.
Professional-parochial	<i>Parochialism:</i> derives identity from the work organisation.	<i>Professionals:</i> usually highly educated; identify primarily with their profession.
Degree of religious belief	Religions associated with Western thinking - Judaism, Christianity and Islam – are very much concerned with truth, and are often split along lines of fundamentalism and liberalism. Eastern religions – e.g. Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Shintoism – view human truth as partial; one truth does not exclude its opposite.	
Degrees of Belief in God (DBG) (amongst Christians, Jews and Muslims)	High DBG correlates positively with conservatism, resilience and life satisfaction. God is considered almighty, offering salvation, redemption, security, justice and the meaning of life. Fatalism, destiny and tolerance may or may not correlate positively.	Low DBG correlates positively with self-direction (openness to change), hedonism, stimulation, depression, drug abuse and delinquency. Fatalism, destiny and tolerance may or may not correlate positively.

- ‘Degree of religious belief’ similarly associates with more than one dimension (long-term orientation and individualism, and possibly others). Research related to this dimension has only studied Judaism, Christianity and Islam, no Eastern or traditional religions. Therefore, the dimension ‘Degree of religious belief’ is initially treated as a primary dimension of culture.

To summarise, initially, the following dimensions of culture are primarily used to describe and understand stakeholder interactions: power distance; individualism; masculinity; uncertainty avoidance; long-term orientation; and degree of religious belief.

However, it must be stressed that openness is maintained throughout this research to:

- recognise and state the relevance of other established dimensions of culture;
- identify where dimensions require modification in their definitions or descriptions; and
- detect the emergence of (potentially) new dimensions.

4 RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter uses the initial conceptual framework of cultural dimensions developed in Chapter 3 to describe and understand interactions within and between the multiple stakeholders of the seven specific projects located in Ethiopia and Uganda.

The results are organised according to stakeholder groups in the following order: end users; implementing agencies; donors; then Government. Under each stakeholder group, firstly internal group interactions are considered, then interactions with other stakeholders according to the same order above.

There are four end user people groups represented in the seven project locations that comprise the research arena: the Amhara, Oromo and Bane within Ethiopia and the Bakiga of Uganda (see 2.3 for further details of the project arena and project sites). Each group and to a lesser extent country, has its own world view, defined by Levine as “*the sum total of a people’s orientations toward the objects they confront in life*” (Levine, 1960). The world views or cultural profiles of each people group are preceded by a brief cultural profile of the two countries.

Due to the large volume of interviewee quotations, for concision and clarity, these quotations are single spaced in non-italicised font. They are thus readily distinguished from linking text and comments, and from citations of published and referenced works which are italicised.

Interviewees are initially cited by their full name; thereafter initials are used. JW refers to the author. It should be emphasised that full permission has been granted for all quotations of interviewees. At the end of each citation, two numbers follow in parenthesis, for example (051:718), where the first number represents the interview/interviewee’s number (see Annex III) and the second number the starting line of the quotation (according to the coding software, Atlas - see 2.4.2, Coding). Further details of interviews and interviewees is provided in Annex III, and at the beginning of each interview transcript (provided on the attached CD).

A critical component of the research is the use of key informants: Table 2.6 is copied below from section 2.3.2 for ease of reference.

Table 2.6: Details and reasons for selection of key informants

Name (interviewee number)	Profession	Ethnic group	Reason for selection as key informant
Donna Cawson (045)	Linguist (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 6 months; total 15 years work experience in Ethiopia
Malcolm Hunter (046)	Agriculturalist (SIM missionary)	British	Worked amongst tribes of Southern Ethiopia (e.g. Bane) for over 40 years
Fred Van Gorkhum (047)	Veterinary doctor (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 11 years; established SIM Alduba (Bane) station.
Ralph Wiegand (048)	Agro-forester (EED missionary)	German	Worked in Ethiopia for 8 years amongst Amhara and Southern tribes.
Sharon Smith (049)	Health officer (SIM missionary)	N. American	Worked amongst Bane for 16 years; total 28 years healthcare experience in Ethiopia
Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen (051)	Community development (ZOA)	Dutch	5 years as Ethiopia Country Director of ZOA (Dutch Govt. funded refugee assistance, including RWSHP); total 12 years broad refugee experience.
Dereje Jemberu (052)	Finance & administration (ZOA)	Ethiopian (Amhara)	23 years project co-ordinator for Mekane Yesus (similar Ethiopian church programme to Kale Heywet). Current board member. 2 years with ZOA

It is impossible and undesirable to entirely separate out presentation of data from discussion of issues arising from the data. Whilst the bulk of discussion is in Chapter 5 some essential discussion and reference to published literature occurs in this chapter.

It should be emphasised that whilst a thorough literature review has been conducted, and the data validated through reaching a point of theoretical saturation (see Chapter 2), the opinions expressed often refer to large people groups: for example, there are approximately 18 million individuals in each of the Amhara and Oromo people groups. Therefore the results presented in this thesis may not be generic to the whole people group to which they are ascribed: further research is clearly needed to broaden the grounding of the results.

4.2 ETHIOPIA

4.2.1 Ethiopian internal relationships

Whilst Ethiopia consists of over 78 people groups (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001), certain cultural commonalities at the national level are reported.

- **Power-distance and uncertainty-avoidance**

Ethiopian interviewees made the following observations:

Gezahgn Dejachew, the drilling co-ordinator for the Kale Heywet Church Integrated Water and Sanitation Programme (hereafter referred to as the Ethiopian church programme): “If you want to understand us Ethiopians, you have to understand this. A man was given a free wish ... wealth, wisdom, whatever he chose. The only condition was that his neighbour would receive a double measure of whatever he chose. So he chose to have one of his arms chopped off. If you can understand that, you can understand us.

Somalis say when Ethiopians go into a restaurant, they go in one door and come out the same door. Somalis go in one door, come out a window. Next time in through the back door, out through a different window. The tale of a scorpion wanting to cross a river on a frog’s back illustrates this ... the frog refused to give the scorpion a ride for fear of being stung. The scorpion convinced the frog, saying “Why would I sting you? I cannot swim – we would both drown.” Halfway across the river the frog felt a sharp sting and as they both drowned, he asked “Why?” “What else could I do, I am a scorpion” came the reply” (117:7).

Habtamu Gessesse, WaterAid Ethiopia’s Executive Director, formerly with the Ethiopian Government Ministry of Agriculture: “Ethiopian culture ... is a bit different from others, we are a bit closed, we do not mix very much, we are not very open ... That is our major problem” (050:470).

Gezahgn Dejachew: “Ethiopians abroad have their cliques, and are very resistant to newcomer Ethiopians; they even don’t want to socialise with them at all” (117:24).

Tsegaye Medihin, the Ethiopian church programme Surface Water Team Leader: “The boss or the management body will order you and you have to do whatever they say. Most Ethiopian people have accepted this” (011:295).

Such traits are echoed by expatriate interviewees:

Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen, Ethiopia Country Director for the Dutch NGO, ZOA: “There seems to be a general atmosphere of mistrust ... with Ethiopia having gone through this Red Terror time, where life is not secure ... the system that is imposed on us by the

Ethiopian Government with very strict requirements on purchasing for example, that is killing off a lot of creative energy ... the system itself asks for things to be very structured ... people act in senior level management always having these rules and regulations in their minds so it cannot be used against them” (051:718).

The suggestion is that lack of trust results in high levels of bureaucracy and uncertainty avoidance in Ethiopia. This was personally witnessed by the author during a power cut in December 1998 when an Ethiopian customs clerk using a mains powered calculator to calculate storage charges was offered a battery powered one by a (frustrated) customer. The clerk rejected the offer saying ‘How do I know it’s not faulty?’

High power distance is observed by Hayla to result in dilution of truth: *“In Ethiopia the bare facts about persons and especially about important persons do not get told. The Ethiopian approach has been to sugar coat the real facts with some kind of ornamentation”* (Hayla, 1968).

Related to the above, Ralph Wiegand, an Agricultural Extension Coordinator for the Kale Heywet Church Zonal Office in Arba Minch asks “Why do 75 per cent of Ethiopians have stomach problems? ... I think maybe one third or more (are due to) unresolved problems. Not being able to bring these things out, to speak out. This is because of fear of each other ... if you say something you might be seen as the rebel ... fear of what other people will say” (048:1043).

- **Social status and power**

The importance of social status in vertical, high power distance societies is highly evident in Ethiopia generally, as recognised by Ralph Wiegand:

“Sometimes an increment of salary is just a sign of appreciation: that somebody feels he is worth a lot. It is not that he is desperate to have that money ... stronger than this ... is that now the office or the organisation has given me *value*. I am somebody. Now maybe the differentiation between materialistic and capitalistic might be useful ... if somebody loses 1000 Birr or 2000 Birr, they may not be concerned about the 2000 Birr which would cause us real pain. But if it is broken, they need another television so they get another television ... showing that you are part of a certain society ... in the countryside there is a *caste system*. You have these three groups: the potter; the tanners; and the blacksmiths. These three professions are despised, and they are certainly the lower class ... when it goes beyond that down country, you have different castes: you have some who are farmers, some who are something like judges then some who are a bit higher. Especially when it comes to marrying, people will be very much aware of these things ... ‘Where is he from? What social strata?’” (048:1060, author’s emphases).

Such caste systems are evident amongst many Ethiopian tribes (e.g. Guraghe, 1960). Status is seen by Ralph Wiegand to be closely linked to the life cycle of an individual:

“There is a generational agreement, that you pass on what you have been passed on ... in the Western world parents often want or give children something better than they have had themselves ... Now in Ethiopia, children are considered as less, so there is an agreement so that if it comes to slaughtering something on their annual holidays, that the father will eat first, and the child last. So there is an agreement that once you are an adult, you will have something better. So everyone is waiting to be an adult, in order to get the better” (048:1447).

This relatively low status of children is echoed by Ryback et al. who report that whilst Ethiopian children receive more bodily contact with adults (compared to children from China, Thailand, Israel, India and the US), this does not equate to feeling loved: they also receive the highest use of physical punishment (with parents believing its effectiveness in behavioural control) and are encouraged to show aggression when fighting other children more than any other country in the study (Ryback et al., 1980).

This is echoed by Dereje Jemberu, the Head of Finance and Administration for ZOA, Ethiopia and former Project Coordinator for one of the largest Ethiopian Protestant churches, Mekane Yesus: “If an elder person says something then whether that is something right or wrong, you take it for granted. You have to listen and follow that man ... we are not used to bringing an issue and discussing it ... a child shouldn't say anything against whatever the father says ... they shouldn't have to question. If they question, then they take it as an insult” (052:492).

“Authority seems to develop out of ubiquitous generational differences, in which the younger are socialised by the older members of the community ... the evidence indicates that as one person progresses through the life cycle emotional commitment to authority focuses on ... relationships appropriate to changes in status” (Hamer, 1972).

Korten (1972) and Harrison (2002) see that complete deference and acquiescence to superiors, where negotiations between those of unequal rank is unthinkable, and the acquiring of ‘office’ is a reward rather than a personal responsibility, explains the psychological problems of modernisation in Ethiopia.

This is evident in a national attitudinal trait perceived by Ralph Wiegand:

“further education is a very, very sensitive thing - it is the apple of the eye for any Ethiopian ... if you are considered faithful and good, you will be given a chance for further education ... in a society that is not mobile or fast developing, the actual chance

to get out of the dust, get out of the mud, get on that ladder of growth, is little ... people are very careful - even though they want to climb, to continue. Why? Because of the salary. You are not paid according to what you can do, but according to what your papers say ... Performance does not play such a role here as it does for ourselves, or at least not in organisations” (048:678).

The issues emanating from such attitudes and practices are examined in more detail in subsequent sections.

- **The State**

An overview of Ethiopia’s turbulent political history is necessary as this has already been cited as a fundamental influence on present-day culture.

Centuries of Ethiopian Imperialist rule by the dominant Amhara tribe came to an end in 1974 when Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed by the Derg (officers of the Provisional Military Administrative council). *“Subsequent Derg actions provoked revolts that within two decades caused an epidemic of ethnic and regional hostilities, three secessionist movements and one successful secession, as well as its downfall”* (Levine, 2000).

Henze (1997) states that the political damage emanating from the *“period of authoritarian communist rule”* has resulted in *“a society that finds it difficult to practise politics in an open system. Too many Ethiopians continue to think of political activity in antagonistic, oppositional terms, i.e. as a process of rebelling”*. The author would support this view: amongst Protestant churches, engagement in politics is frequently regarded as a sin.

The Marxist-Leninist regime of the Derg intended to destroy the old social order and although it introduced some change in the organization of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC) and clergy, the beliefs of ordinary Christians remained largely unaffected (USLC, 1991).

Van Uffelen (2006a) reports that the current Government, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), *“is attempting to design a post-imperial state that replaces historical ethnic domination (notably by the Amhara) with ethnic self reliance and interethnic equality”*. However, Turton (1997) argues that this process of

‘ethnic federalism’ - creation of ethnic federal units without genuine power sharing - is known to be risk prone. Turton claims it was introduced by the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLA), who form the core of the EPRDF³⁴, “*to maintain the continuity of the Ethiopian borders ... while introducing a degree of regional and local autonomy and preserving the hegemony of the TPLA*” (Turton, 1997).

The British Government (DFID, 2003b) recognises that a culture of centralised, unrepresentative Government is deeply rooted in Ethiopian history, often accompanied by systematic abuse of human rights at all levels of Government and society. However, corruption in Ethiopia is generally considered to be lower than in other countries: Ethiopia comes 59 out of 102 countries surveyed as part of the 2002 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (DFID, 2003b). Andargatchew reports that in spite of this, crime has increased since the 1974 revolution in all areas of life, and by a factor of six for crimes involving breach of trust or the misappropriation of property: “*Embezzlement seems to have become the order of the day*” (Andargatchew, 1988).

○ *The State, Donors, NGOs and Development*

Dessaiegn suggests that the famines in the 1980s that precipitated the influx of NGOs and donors also exposed fundamental flaws in state policy that has left a residue of resentment in Government circles - a reminder of Governmental inadequacy and failure to meet the needs of the population. “*It is as if Ethiopians, or rather the urban elite, never forgave these organisations for forcing their way into the country at a time when both state and society were overwhelmed by tragedy*” (Dessaiegn, 2000).

Harrison (2002) states that the relationship has remained uncomfortable between Government and both donors and international NGOs, even after the fall of the Derg.

This tension is exacerbated through the difference between the working environment of Government and NGO, as explained by Habtamu Gessesse:

³⁴ The ruling (as of August 2006) EPRDF resembles a coalition of ethnically-based armed groups formed by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) during the war with the Derg.

“... the incentive (of working with an NGO) is much better than for the Government. When you are working with Government you will be exploited, your mind is most of the time sloped: you cannot exercise your own thoughts, so (NGOs) will give you much better scope for serving people ... When you're working with Government there is a lot of bureaucracy. If you want to go to the field for example, in order to get a car or transport service, you have to pass through so many bureaucratic levels. It just doesn't allow you to be quick and efficient, so that bureaucracy is top-heavy, the financial management is also top-heavy, and if you want implement certain things, you cannot implement them on time” (050:88).

Such bureaucracy has, in part, been responsible for an emphasis in the RWSHP sector on provision of hardware i.e. physical components, by the Government, as Habtamu Gessesse continues to explain:

“In Government where we are providing rural water supplies for the people, there's no talk about sanitation and hygiene. It was simply about providing people with water and that is the end ... working with Government, you implement certain projects, there was no proper follow-up, there is no feedback, and there's no community empowerment, and the approach is mainly bureaucratic: you just design and come on people. So that has not been successful. So from this perspective, what we're doing now (in WaterAid) is much more sustainable compared to what we have been doing in the past when I was working with the Government” (050:719).

This emphasis on hardware and coverage was evident in an interview with Getachew Korrisaa, the Oromia Regional Government's Zonal Water Bureau Head for West Harerge:

“Even this year we have dug 20 boreholes - we have never seen this before, so through UNICEF and different organisations, we still have plans to drill seven or eight more with the funds from one NGO. So I hope this also increases our coverage” (100:109).

In such an environment, innovative ideas are often quashed, as Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen (ZOA Country Director) explains:

“this Government is seen as a strong Government, so to say, so we have to be careful, but what annoys me at times is that when you have a brilliant new project idea and people say that ‘yes it would be very nice’, but if you drop it on the table, people always say ‘yes, but’, and it is always the negative things that, on the table, kills off your new approach and your new idea” (051:718).

Emerging themes of an unwillingness to take risks or initiatives, and an inordinate concern for what others will think recur frequently in the data, and are explored more fully in 4.3.1.

However, Harrison (2002) suggests that Government bureaucracy has some unappreciated and often misinterpreted positive benefits for development with regards participation: *“Penalties for failure to participate in development activities include fines and even the threat of the loss of land ... while apparently being in opposition to the voluntary participation ethos promoted by international donors, this Government-induced ‘participation’ nevertheless has certain characteristics in common with it. The ideal of working for the betterment of ‘the community’ ... takes precedence over individual needs.”*

- **Summary**

General Ethiopian character is therefore described as high power distance (hierarchical vertical orientation). The strong individualism produced from distrust and fear has significant implications in cross-cultural settings, as discussed later. High masculinity, uncertainty avoidance (high narrowing traits, even xenophobia) and long-term orientation are also evident.

Although much disputed, Ethiopia’s approximate religious make-up reveals a strong degree of religious belief: 49% Ethiopian Orthodox, 31% Muslim, 16% Protestant and 3% traditional/ethnic, with only 1% non-religious (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001).

The Ethiopian State is commonly perceived to exhibit high power distance (high control and hierarchy). This is attributed by, amongst others, Levine (1965 and 2000) and Korten (1972), to the psychological characteristics of the dominant Abyssinian (Amharan/ Tigrayan) people group that forms a main part of the research arena. Attempts to replace the Amharan domination with ‘ethnic federalism’ is equally viewed as high power distance domination by the ruling Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (van Uffelen, 2006a and Turton, 1997). The State mirrors the cultural profile of general Ethiopian character described above, though exhibits even more extreme narrowing.

4.3 AMHARA

4.3.1 Amhara internal relationships

- **Background**

The Amhara are located primarily in the central highland plateau of Ethiopia and comprise 28% of Ethiopia's population - 17.7 of 62.5 million. Although only the second largest ethnic group of Ethiopia, politically and culturally they are dominant (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001 and Malone and Lagace, 2005). The origin of the name Amhara is disputed: whilst *am* is agreed to mean *people*, *hara* may mean either *mountain* or *freedom*.

They are primarily subsistence farmers, dependent on cattle and more importantly cereal crops, especially *teff* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*). On the one hand the Amhara trade with lowland tribal groups (Ali, 1988) and on the other compete with them for access to land (Omer, 1997). The relative value of land is such that to avoid the threat of confiscation of farm plots due to a credit default, valuable assets such as oxen may be sold (Abate, 1997).

- **Social status and power**

A main curse in the culture of both the Amhara and Oromo is: "*Let Him make you inferior to others*" (Yimam, 1998). This suggests importance is attached to vertical relations and belief in God, as voiced by Yimer Mekonnen, a Muslim and the WATSAN chairman for the Bistiima gravity scheme: "Faith is very big thing. A name is important - I will get it from God" (022:165).

The Amhara have various cross-cutting layers of social stratification that define an individual's status: land tenure; feudal relations between nobles and peasants; secular versus Orthodox Church affiliation; ethnic division of skilled labour; and, to a lesser extent, age and gender (Malone and Lagace, 2005).

Messing (1957) suggests that the social universe is divided into two by the Amhara: "*master and servant; the possessor and the possessed. This dichotomy dominates ethnic*

relations, spiritual relations, etc. A major cultural goal in Amhara society is the assumption of the status personality of the 'great man noble' (telleg saw) in contrast to the rustic peasant (balagar)" (ibid). However, as with most other Ethiopian tribes, the caste system prevents social mobility.

As a result, delegation is avoided as it may produce a potential rival. Equally, a subordinate *"fears to accept delegated authority for fear the superior repent of his grant and suspect rebellion. Thus even routine decisions go all the way to the top. Literal obedience dominates the Governmental administration, for no sub-ordinate would arrogate to himself the privilege of 'interpret' the spirit of the law handed down by the official of superior status"* (Messing, 1957).

In keeping with this, Lee (2001) reports that there is no concept of or words for 'taking the initiative' in Amharic: one can only be initiated.

This influence of the dichotomous division of the social universe is evident in the attitude to the physical environment: *"Amhara culture is oriented to maximum use of what nature provides, but not to alteration of nature ... the trade goods of the foreigner have been received for centuries without hesitation almost as if they were a tribute ... the Amhara themselves are smugly content to remain consumers"* (Messing, 1957). The resulting conclusion that the Amhara possess *"self-assurance without self-reliance"* (ibid), whilst true in the physical domain, could not be further from the truth, this author suggests, with regards self-reliance in the cultural domain.

Nevertheless, Messing continues *"Inventive intelligence, constrained in Amhara culture from developing material objects, applies itself to non-material culture goals ... Speaking in double or hidden meanings, using the esoteric use that can be made of their language, is highly utilised by the Amhara to becloud his real purpose so that he cannot be accused of lying and can say later that he meant something else"* (ibid).

This corresponds with the already quoted Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen "... people will always take into account that when things get difficult for them they can walk free" (051:718).

Levine (1965 and 2000) agrees that along with deference to hierarchy, equivocation is a hallmark of Amhara culture.

As a result, “*education is regarded ... as a highly desirable means to (non-material) achievement. The desire to be regarded as intelligent is even greater than the profit motive ... there is a greater fear of being mocked at than being bested in a trade exchange. Producers would rather undersupply a market than risk having to carry any goods back home. The worst mockery and insult is to be regarded as intellectually inferior*” (Messing, 1957). (This introduces the theme of *yilunta*: see Public self-image below).

Takkele (1994) suggests that the Amhara have developed a strong, implacable sense of Ethiopian nationalism, “*a supra-ethnic consciousness that serves as the pot in which all the other ethnic groups are supposed to melt*” (ibid).

Perhaps as a direct result of this, Workie (1978) reports that other tribes predominantly associate the Amhara with greed, ambition and conservatism, adopting secrecy and revenge to jealously guard their acquired land and power.

Many of the thoughts of this section are summarised well by the Ethiopian church programme drilling coordinator Gezahgn Dejachew (from the south-western Kembata tribe): “the Amhara were keen on ... spiritual or social or cultural aspects rather than physical activities, which had a big negative effect on the country in terms of the country's physical growth, so I always blamed the Amhara for the lack of development or civilisation ... For instance, you can see that the most degraded land is in the Amhara region. Why are they claiming that they are the figurehead of this country? ... There is no history that Ethiopia had a coast, but we were here 3000 years ago ... the Amhara didn't want to even climb down from where they are for 3000 years and go down to Assab and have that port ... It is only pride ... we as Ethiopians have strong cultures. You can take the Oromo or any tribe in Ethiopia; all of them have a strong culture. Even if the Amharan culture is influencing the others, but the other tribes have an equal strength of culture, not less. So what makes the Amhara culture unique is that the Amhara culture has influenced the whole country and tried to harmonise or mix with the other tribes in the country ... they did the same thing that the British did in the whole world ... Language ... is a big tool to express culture, so this is what the Amhara did. For example, religion, it is a big way of expressing the culture, because in the Orthodox Church, you pray in Amharic. Even if you don't know Amharic, you will learn to pray and be a servant there. What they did was to try and influence the whole country. But I have a great appreciation for the Amhara, because they have somehow unified this culturally diverse country. It was costing lives, but they have done it somehow. I know that for the sake of power people do that, but there were some benefits” (110:626).

○ *Individualism-collectivism*

Levine (2000) reports that “*all observers of Amhara society confirm the generalisation that its social relations are organised to an overwhelming degree on the basis of hierarchical patterns and individualistic association*”. Thus Amharan culture is widely accepted as breaking the stereotype that developing nations are collectivist in nature. This supports the observation that Amharan efforts to unify Ethiopia may have more to do with extension of power than a desire for community.

Indeed, Korten (1972) has argued that the concept of community scarcely exists in Ethiopia and that the word itself has no direct Amharic translation. Harrison (2002) agrees that the use of concepts such as ‘community’ or ‘village’ are problematic in Ethiopia, as “*people are members of different communities according to different reasons: by kinship, religion or residence for example*”.

The complexity of holding individualistic and collectivist tendencies in tension was expressed by Mulu Tenagne, a 37 year old mother who moved from within the Amhara region to the project site of Bistiima in the Oromia region due to her husband’s job in the Ministry of Agriculture:

“Well, I can't explain the way of life about these people ... there is a social organisation called ‘Edir’. I will go there and I'll come back to my home. I don't have any relationships with others. I can't go to the neighbours or other places ... I don't mix with the community, I don't want to. And I don't think the community wants to have a good relationship (mixing). They don't communicate like my home town ... (but) I will be happy if the town improves. I don't want to see the poor because I feel sadness about them” (020:71).

Levine (2000) suggests underlying causes of the ‘competitive individualism’ evident amongst the Amhara: exalted masculism and the emphasis placed on the frailty of mankind and the sinfulness of human nature. The resultant idea that other people are not to be trusted was cited as a national trait. “*Combined with the idealisation of aggressive masculinity, (this) supports and expresses an orientation to social relations in which individual interests are vigorously pursued at the expense of possible collective interests*” (ibid). The story of chopping off one’s arm endorses this suggestion.

○ *The Tenta gravity scheme – a case study*

Many of the observations and comments made thus far for the Amhara are grounded in the following case-study of the gravity flow water scheme in Tenta.

A spring was identified 7kms from the town of Tenta. Local users of the spring were apprehensive as expressed by Yitesha Amadi, a 70 year old widow: “JW: When you heard the water project was coming, what did you think? YA: My thought was, ‘Our water is taken’ ... Because I am powerful and also rude and insulting, the people who live in this area don't discuss (the project) with me. I don't know or hear what is said or talked about it” (016:75).

Dait Erdew, a 48 year old mother at the scheme source felt powerless in the face of the proposal: “If I was educated (went to school) I would never have let them (the townsfolk, later explained as the Government) take our water. I would have resisted, known how to argue against them, but because we are poor and uneducated, we can't ... I was so angry for 2 months thinking that they took my water and then they constructed another for me. I felt ... this is because I am not educated ... Even today it doesn't make us happy” (015: 136).

Wendessen Gezaye, the 28 year old WATSAN chairman and Scheme Caretaker from start explained: “people were not really willing to let the spring come down to Tenta. It was a major problem, and after negotiation, through the Wereda administrator, and adequate education, awareness has been given to the community that the Gifa (source) people and the Tenta people are one community and that water is a natural resource and we need to share it” (095:162).

Tadessa Yosef, the Ethiopian church programme Surface Water Team Leader for the project agrees: “I think at the beginning there was generally a big conflict. They (at the source) thought that the water would be taken away, and that they would get no water. But after some negotiation and after Kale Heywet built a cattle trough and a new hand pump, and when they saw the pump operating they were quite happy. And I thought that conflict was resolved, and we have discussed slowly and thoroughly during that time, but when we saw those people again yesterday, they raised up that issue, because they maybe had expectations. I was quite amazed that they would bring this case again - I think it is an exaggeration” (098:120).

Indeed Yitesha Amadi later expressed satisfaction at the handpump provided at the source, but still resentment was expressed by Dait Erdew. The high individualism of the Amhara makes it difficult for both in-group and out-group individuals to assess whether a consensus exists, whether ‘wish lists’ are being presented, unresolved conflicts dragged up, and if there is a single truth.

This is the case for the townspeople of Tenta also, who, for a complex variety of initially undisclosed reasons, were also only partially satisfied. Wendessen Gezaye (the

WATSAN chairman) explained: “I have a high respect for the Kale Heywet Church because they changed our situation in this town. The children used to go six or seven kilometres to find 20 litres and sometimes they would come back empty handed because the sources had dried up. So it really is a great contribution and we value the work very much ... (but) there is a very strong shortage of water from April to June, and I know that people get just one jerry can during that period to last for three days. You cannot wash; you cannot wash your clothes. So there is not adequate water for washing - people are not healthy ... we feel there is a need still to satisfy the people of Tenta town ... So there is still a long way to go, and it would be very important for Kale Heywet to improve the quantity of water in the future” (095:176).

Tadessa Yosef suggested that not only was this a ‘wish-list’ request, but: “The shortage of water - there is a shortage of water but it has very much been exaggerated what they say. It is not three months – it is only one or two months that they do not get as much as they should ... at one stage I heard that there was a building construction going on, and the school, so the water has really been used for the construction for most of the day, so not much water was stored in the reservoir ... JW: and that was a decision that the community accepted to use the water for construction, or did it just happen? TY: I think it is their man who is out of the Committee now, because he can be easily corrupted by the Contractor, or he just let him use the water. I don't think the community would agree. JW: was he the Chairman or the Treasurer? TY: he was in charge of the Municipality, and so this Contractor was under him. On the WATSAN committee, he would choose the people who he wanted because they would get the money from the water collection. JW: has he lost his position as the Head of the Municipality? TY: yes, he has lost his job for two months, and he doesn't have any salary. He was very ashamed to see me this morning when I saw him, but he was not free to see us. He was hiding himself. I think he is sorry for what he has done, and he was in jail for 11 days here in Adjibar and he was released from jail, but it was decided by the Government that he would not continue for the next two months, and then a decision will be made about what should happen after that” (098:46).

The fact that the WATSAN chairman was fully aware of this yet when asked if there had been any problems with the committee, denied any, emphasises, the author suggests, the importance of ‘face’.

The individual self-interest at the expense of the community evident in the Municipality head was also evident in other areas. Wendessen Getachew, an 18 year old male was one of the few to share dissension amongst the community, emphasising the value of marginalised groups: “people do not mention any problems ... But there are problems ... (the committee) don't do anything. JW: Who allowed people to sell water if they have their own pipe? WG: No one allowed them to but they sell secretly. JW: Do the committee know this situation? WG: Yes, they know. They don't follow them up. ... JW: What kinds of people have pipes in their compound? WG: Rich people and traders ... Probably they pay the municipality. JW: The traders and rich people have pipes in their compound - what did others feel? WG: They feel that they are lower people” (019:125).

Fantu Kebede, a 53 year old female ‘bar owner’ was similarly more open: “some of the committee are troublemakers, they don't listen, and they should be replaced. However I appreciate most of the committee ... I don't want to identify the problem, because I have a conflict with one of the committee members. But he has been isolated now” (097:66).

Aragash Hussein Damtow, a 55 year old female ‘bar owner’ was more pragmatic about illegal private connections: “it is for the people who have money. Will I also have a pipe if I don't have money? No, I have to have a little amount of money” (021:134).

This brief case study highlights the complexities of Amharan culture, the value of semi-structured interviews, prior relationship with the interviewees (either through the interviewer or translator), and the importance of triangulation.

The bureaucracy that results from the corruption and distrust in Tenta may inhibit further progress, as the following WATSAN committee minutes suggest:

“We decided that the money which is listed in the receipt book should be audited ... We decided that a ticket has to be bought to make the work easy for the customers and for the water employees. After the ticket is bought, the number has to be written on it and the municipality's stamp put on it in order for them to collect and to take out stuffs and money but also the Kebele receipt has to have the number written on it and have the municipality's stamp on it to write the income and expense” (114:29).

However, those that expressed an opinion as to the community’s ability to maintain the scheme all unambiguously replied affirmatively. By contrast, in Weynamba, less than two hour’s drive away, no such corruption and distrust between end users and Government was reported. All interviewees expressed a good relationship, accepting that, in the words of Melkie Yimer, a 36 year old female WATSAN member, “The Kebele is the boss” (003:138).

However, two of the three responses with regards the community’s ability to maintain the scheme were negative, despite the same level of capacity building and equipping as Tenta. This is perhaps due to the smaller size of Weynamba not enabling it to have a municipality, which also has its advantages, as cited.

- **Public self-image**

Developing some of the observations and comments made thus far for the Amhara, one critical concept in Amharic is *yilunta*, which translates as “what they say about me”, and equates to one’s public self-image.

Ralph Wiegand explains: “*yilunta* ... has become a noun, and is probably the strongest factor of decision-making processes in Ethiopia ... Nobody wants others to talk negatively about him. That is what *yilunta* is really all about. Avoiding the negative - there is a terrible fear that other people will say something negative about me. So out of this fear people do the impossible. Like, at weddings, and it has stuck - poor people take on debts that they will pay off for 10 years for a wedding, just to have a video, a car that they sit in, to have a nice white gown, to have pictures taken, to show that album, to have it in their living-room, so that when anybody comes they will look at that album and see how beautiful the wedding was, and nobody will say ‘oh, they are so poor’. So it is amazing to what extent people go being afraid of anything bad there might be said of them ... sometimes when you meet people and they are totally friendly, you ask yourself ‘why are they so friendly, do they really like me that much?’ and slowly, getting to know people, I found out that sometimes they would invite you for a cup of tea or for lunch, or something crazy, just so that you would say something nice about them, or nothing bad. Now there is a difference between the two. If you make a scale from 0 and if you go towards the positive there is one aspect that you have somebody else say something positive about you. But this is almost like if you would consider that part of the scale as luxury. You go to the other side, and that is how much negative is being said about you, and that is where people would be very much at pains to make sure that people will not say anything negative about them” (048:330).

The importance of not creating a negative image is revealed, for example, by Gezahgn Dejachew: “In England, where I have been doing my studies, people can come and ask you exactly what they want, and then go out. But here (in Ethiopia) you should talk something else, and you should say something, and you should greet. If you ask and just go, it shows in our culture that you are here just for that” (110:46).

It is suggested by this author that this fear of what people will say, *yilunta*, intermingles with the observed strong vertical orientation amongst the Amhara to influence their learning style and that of many other people groups within Ethiopia and perhaps beyond.

Ralph Wiegand explains these learning styles: “The word insight in English - there is no word for this in Amharic - no concept. We find this when we talk about children's education - our (European) way of education is to give them a good, bad, right, or wrong - the results of our deeds. Planting a lot of logic and sequential thinking into our children. ‘We can't do this because ...’ and so on. In Ethiopia this is not at all the case. Education is based on copying ... People are trained as little people of one year, to do what others do, just copying. There is no level of communicating to children why they do what they do. But they do it because other people do it, and it is training, and you find it throughout the education system in school in Ethiopia - it is a copying - students are good if they can copy what the teacher says. Copy, copy, copy - no understanding of situations ... there are very few people, very few people I would say, who really reach the stage of inner understanding, or of insight into something. It depends on the issue, how much insight is needed into something ... In Ethiopia, people learn a lot of knowledge. And they are very knowledgeable people, amazingly knowledgeable people. But people do not learn how to think, and that is a big problem” (048:615).

However, as Triandis (1993) notes, all people groups contain elements of both polarities of a given dimension, thus there are some in Ethiopia who, in spite of the education system, do develop insight and learn how to think.

Similar observations to those of Ralph Wiegand are made by Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen: “ZOA employed two local consultants ... when you talk to them, you think these are brilliant people, but when it comes to the reporting, it was just nothing ... the grasp of concepts, level of English, the ideas that they put on paper, and if there were some good ideas they were copied from other reports actually” (051:1122).

Again, it is dangerous to generalise, and also ignore the fact that writing in a foreign language is difficult. Nevertheless, the dominant thinking style has repercussions for planning according to Ralph Wiegand: “I find that very well educated Ethiopians cannot plan. Because in planning you need to have a complex thinking of many situations, bring them all together and then come up with solutions that are the best option in answering so many needs, or responding to so many needs. It is not easy, and you cannot do this just by a checklist, basically” (048:671).

However, this author suggests that amongst the Amhara at least, with regards planning, as with general development, efforts are simply focussed towards the non-material, fusing the concepts of *yilunta* and inventive intelligence.

This viewpoint is supported from the following from Ralph Wiegand: “for an Ethiopian I think the first question in any decision making is, ‘*yaskatelan*’ which means ‘what are the repercussions, what are the results of this action’ ... it is in every Ethiopian’s mind ... ‘if I say like this, what will be the reply? If I say like that, what will be the reply, or what will be the assumption, or what will other people think?’ and Ethiopians are extremely gifted, very well developed reasoning in this field. Sometimes they will not say what is right or wrong, because this is so secondary, whether it is right or wrong” (048:469).

This emphasises the importance of the methodology adopted in this thesis: semi-structured interviewing through a relatively close relationship between interviewer (or interpreter) and interviewee to engender openness. Equally, the need for triangulation and cross-checking is highlighted.

This author suggests that such is the importance of the concept of *yilunta* or concern for one’s public self-image that it deserves consideration as a cross-cultural dimension in its own right. Two axes need consideration: what is being sought (normally the avoidance of negative or promotion of positive public self-image); and how it is being sought (actively or passively).

Whilst concern for public self-image may appear to predominantly occur alongside collectivist behaviour, i.e. where individuals view the social environment as fixed and themselves as flexible, it is equally likely to occur amongst individualistic behaviour where, for example, individuals project a certain image with the expectation of change in the social environment. Here, it may be possible that negative public self-image is promoted or positive image avoided. For example, to wield power, an individual may seek to generate fear amongst colleagues or employees, thus promoting a negative fear-based image of oneself.

Sawadogo suggests that “*in the African context ... a passive person will always be helped or backed by the gods. Thus, by remaining passive, a person seeks refuge in higher powers*” (Sawadogo, 1995). Again, the generalisation is dangerous, but the point is made.

However, the definition of active-passive is problematic. Keith Etherington, the UK based Ethiopian Desk Officer for the British NGO Tearfund, was asked the following:

“JW: if you had to describe the Ethiopian culture or Ethiopia to someone who had not been here, are there any words or ways that you would describe it? KE: I would say they are very proud, maybe a bit dogmatically proud, but so are the English, so that is probably quite similar. Self determining - I don't think I would say that, I would say they are passively determined. So what happens is more by passiveness rather than by active engagement and deliberateness. JW: no action is action? KE: yes, it is still a decision, but they are almost denying that there is a decision taken” (053:1490).

This author experienced such passive decision making during a meeting in Addis Ababa where he appeared to be the sole voice in opposition to a particular proposal by the General Secretary of the Kale Heywet Church. After the meeting, an Ethiopian colleague explained “Here in Ethiopia we voice our disagreement through silence” (Gereba, 1999).

Strecker (1994a) views ‘face’ as a metaphor for public ‘self-image’, and suggests it draws its power from “*a clever exploitation of part-whole relationships: first; a significant part of a person, that is the face with whom one faces others, or which one hides from others, is taken to represent the whole person, including character and social standing. Secondly, a single act, or single acts, are used to deduce a cause from an effect. A bad deed, it is said, reflects a bad person, to break a social norm is a sign of*

bad character. Thus, the threat behind the notion of face is that if you don't do what is publicly expected of you, you will lose your 'face' and will be declared bad in toto".

Strecker also suggests that 'name' equals the social worthiness of a person, and reflects more the influence of others while 'face' reflects more the influence of self. Thus Strecker (1994a) proposes a continuum, with the attributes of name, esteem and fame being predominantly influenced by others, the attribute of honour influenced equally by others and self, and the attributes of pride and face predominantly influenced by self (see also Collier and Bornham, 1999).

However, this continuum fails to acknowledge that once face is lost, it is not just a matter of personal embarrassment: name and esteem are also frequently lost, both of which are critical considerations in 'the fear of what others will think'.

Strecker also fails to acknowledge the role that a religious belief may have in perceived determination of 'name'. For Yimer Mekonnen, the WATSAN chairman for the Bistiima gravity scheme, social obligation and 'the opinion of God' transcended people-based yilunta:

"To be the responsible person is very hard. I am not happy because I am elected. The reason is if somebody likes you then one (someone else) hates you. But to work for the community is obligation, it is a good thing. Faith is very big thing. A name is important - I will get it from God" (022:170).

This author therefore suggests that public self-image incorporates notions of face (that are generated predominantly by self), notions of name, esteem and fame (that are generated predominantly by others) and notions of honour (that are generated equally by self and others).

Concern for public self-image may therefore be defined as:

the degree to which an individual expresses interest in how others perceive that individual, and the manner in which the individual seeks to influence that perception.

Further data enables the proposed dimension of concern for public self-image to be refined, and may fulfil Maehr's desire to analyse the motivation to achieve with special attention to the situation and the achiever's thoughts (Maehr, 1977).

The following literature provides further insights into public self-image.

Triandis (2002) reports that in collectivist cultures motivation increases following failure as the individual focuses on how to change the self and improve the fit between self and the demands of the social environment. This suggests strong *active avoidance of negative* public self-image. In individualistic cultures Triandis reports that motivation increases following success as people desire to have many choices and to be unique (ibid). This suggests strong *active promotion of positive* public self-image exists.

Niles (1995), Oetzel (1998) and Johnson et al (1987) recognise that the motivation to achieve collectivist values such as social approval, avoidance of shame, and protection of face, may be as powerful as the motivation to achieve individualistic values such as mastery.

Glassman (2000) and Barrett (2004) report that an individual's sense of membership of a community (or social organisation) determines their sense of obligation to that community and therefore their likelihood to engage in pro-social activity, in other words active promotion of positive public self-image.

Triandis (2002) and Waters (1992) report that collectivist cultures use indirect and face-saving communication more than individualist cultures, and suggest that in the former, ambiguity in communication can be very helpful as clarity may result in sanctions. However, such ambiguity has also been shown to be a hallmark of the individualistic Amhara.

- **Religion**

82% of Amhara adhere to Orthodox Christianity, all but a fraction of the remainder to Islam (CSA, 2005). The Orthodox believe that God is everywhere, supernatural, the creator and all that happens is by His will. "*He controls the homeliest details of*

everybody's life" Levine (1965). Whatever does not fit with Orthodoxy "*is highly condemned by them*" (Adege, 1977).

The Amhara believe themselves to be descended from one of the three sons of Noah, Shem. The Oromo (the largest Ethiopian tribe comprising one-third of the population) are descendants of one of the other sons, Ham, who saw his father naked and laughed at him. Noah then invoked a curse that Ham should be a slave of slaves to his brothers Shem and Japhet. Thus loving God and hating the Oromo are closely linked for the Amhara according to Megerssa (1997), and the conquest of Ethiopia is seen as borne out of racial superiority. Similarly, "the attitude ... to foreign missionary endeavours ... has always been justifiably circumspect" (Battell, 1988).

Levine (2000) notes that for the Amhara, time and space revolve around holy figures that are housed in churches of the same name. These holy figures have days ascribed to them (i.e. saints and angels days). "*The names of these holy figures thus come to take the place of calendar dates. Instead of saying 'he fell sick on the 5th', 'he fell sick on Abbo' ... It is customary for people to locate a given place with reference to the nearest tabot or church. 'He lives near Abbo'".*

However, amongst the Orthodox, syncretism between traditional religion and Christianity is common. Zar doctors - often matriarchs (Kenaw, 1997), who are possessed and forever afflicted by spirits, but have managed to learn to control them - call upon the more powerful protective spirits to assist "*against evil spirits, more tricky but less powerful than hers. This enables her to relieve the sufferings of her clients; without, however, curing them. For a possessive spirit can be turned into an asset, into a protective spirit once the spirit's demands are known and regularly fulfilled ... only a few hopelessly evil demons, mostly female, need to be exorcised*" (Messing, 1957).

In a similar vein, visitors, particularly strangers, need to observe certain taboos, lest they be suspected of bringing the evil eye. They should not enquire as to the number of children, nor praise their health or good looks aloud - the buda spirit is always looking for fat, healthy children, whose blood he'll metaphorically drink and make them waste away (ibid).

Clearly, the Amhara exhibit a strong degree of religious belief.

- **Gender**

Hirut (1997) reports that whilst amongst the Amhara, Oromo, Tigray, Somali and Afar (representing 75% of the population of Ethiopia) decisions are made by males, the social status of women is equal to that of men amongst the Amhara and Oromo, and high amongst the other groups. Although this holds true for legal matters (for example, the division of land and property after divorce), this author otherwise disagrees with the findings of Hirut's research, from wider literature, the data of this thesis and personal experience.

The following interview with Dait Erdew, the 48 year old 'dissenter' from the source at Tenta, summarises the common scenario for Amhara women. Dait got married at 9, her sister at 8. "I had been living for 6 years with his parents and I was sleeping with his parents until my body prepared for marriage. Then, his parents built a house for us. Their house was upstairs ... I don't have any option to say 'No, I don't want to get married during my childhood' ... We are hoping that after he finishes his education (*her husband went to Dessie 13 months previously*) we would live a good way of life. We thought only for his education. They didn't think that I am useful concerning education. No one encouraged me to go to school, neither my father nor my mother. I looked after cattle. I didn't give attention for education but I feel deeply towards it now ... If he got job and if we lived in the town, I would have sold water and we would have lived a good way of life. But now, if we become sick, we don't have money to go to the clinic and to buy medicine. These things make me feel sad. Especially his life makes me feel sadder than my life. He drinks, he becomes angry because our way of life is not good. It is not balanced. He has some problem. If he encouraged me to go to school, I would help him ... I started collecting my clothes last year. I thought immediately that if life is not good being with him what kind of life could I get which is comfortable ... the person whom I know has not good conduct. "Oh, this life would have many problems" I said. It is not difficult to leave even next year but the situation will not be good ... These things pulled me back ..." (015:58).

Beletu Ali, a 27 year old mother from Bistiima, feels similarly resigned: "This is culture. Our culture has influence. A girl is born and grows here. She is going to a place where she learns. She is going to get married. After she gets married bearing children has an influence on her. She becomes a house-wife, she takes care of children and she manages the whole family. Therefore it doesn't mean that I liked it but it is life for me" (023:39).

Pankhurst (1956) reports that when a girl is born, it is only the grandmother who feels joy: because the burden on her daughter will be shared. Arranged marriages (by the

parents) are the norm, and although property belongs to the couple, the wife must obey her husband or be punished.

Divorce is only possible in one type of the three marriages practised by the Amhara, *semanya*. It is not permissible in *quarban*, the only legal form of marriage, and under the simplest and easiest (and illegal) form, *demoze*, a woman has no property rights³⁵ (Adege, 1977).

One of the biggest obstacles to marriage is social discrimination. For example, ‘*buda*’ are a group of people believed by *non-buda* (i.e. other Amhara) to have the evil-eye (and the ability to turn themselves into hyenas) (Adege, 1977). “*Non-buda will avoid social contact with buda and will not usually or knowingly marry into that group*” (Wessleder, 1965).

An indication of gender imbalance is evident when the groom goes to his future in-laws house to collect the bride. Both the bride’s and groom’s groups sing prior to arrival, but as the groom approaches, the song of the bride’s group merges into that of the groom’s.

Malone (2005) suggests that whilst the status of women is lower than that of men, it is not as low as in many other Near Eastern or East African groups, especially Islamic societies, and after menopause women’s positions often improve. Whilst the author would agree with this, the improvements are insignificant in comparison to the divide.

With regards children, it is the duty of parents “*to transfer their own culture to the next generation*” (Adege, 1977). Such is the high power distance associated with age that if a child wishes to speak to an old man, s/he must get her/his parents’ or guardians’ permission first. Talkative children are seen to be brought up badly and the family considered ignorant by society (ibid).

³⁵ *Quarban* is the only legal form of marriage in Amharan culture, and takes place in church in the presence of a priest and witnesses: divorce is not permissible. *Semanya* is the second most important type and is by civil contract without a priest, but usually with witnesses: divorce is possible if there are good enough reasons. *Demoze* is the simplest and easiest form of marriage: there is no ceremony but it is illegal according to Amharan culture. Parents are not involved and the woman does not have the right to share in the estate of the man. The first two types are performed by parents - the couple do not choose each other, nor even know each other. Parents and other relatives discuss the matter of marriage when the boy is old enough – a match is determined by socio-economic status. Negotiations revolve around how much the family will contribute to the couple - all of which is written into the marriage contract.

An Amharan interviewee, Tsegaye Medihin stated: “our father controlled everybody” (011:511).

Such attitudes correspond with those described for general Ethiopian culture.

○ *Education*

The “*revolution in education in the Ethiopian context*” (Lemma, 1988) since the downfall of the monarchy in 1974 seems a myth for many female interviewees.

The lack in status felt by women and the poor/uneducated has already been cited by Dait Erdew in relation to the Tenta source (see 4.3.1 ‘The Tenta gravity scheme – a case study’ above). Such powerlessness is expressed by Enan Wolde, a 65 year old grandmother from Tenta town: “JW: Can you tell me how this water project started. EW: I don’t know anything about the water. JW: How did the work start? EW: I don’t know how it started. JW: You were not involved in decisions, or work, or contributions? EW: No ... JW: Did you learn anything (from the health training)? EW: They taught us. But it’s been a long time, and I am illiterate, I learn orally so I forgot ... I can’t speak because I am not educated. If I speak, I will not be listened to” (094:30).

The association between powerlessness and lack of education is often reinforced by educated males: Genet Tesfaye, the Ethiopian church programme’s Health and Sanitation Coordinator explains that “women who are illiterate in meetings ... they are really neglected. When the men are around they cannot speak, and they are the ones who know more about springs and even about the seasons. I have one experience in Bistiima when I was visiting and asking different questions related to water. Her husband came and said ‘she doesn’t know anything; if you have any questions ask me. Leave her, she is illiterate, she is ignorant, she doesn’t know anything. Ask me any question’. So I said to him ‘OK, did you fetch water?’ And he said ‘no, no, no, this is not my work.’ And he just left us” (099:329).

Etafaro Ali, a 60 year old grandmother from Weynamba personified this powerlessness: “JW: How can the community improve (the project)? EA: I don’t know, my child! An educated person can explain this. I didn’t learn, so I am ignorant” (008:96).

Such opinions are not restricted to females, as the reply to the same question from Guzguz Asafew, a 30 year old man from Tenta, reveals: “JW: How could the community improve it? GA: If the educated people give an opinion how to improve it, it would be good” (018:107).

The value placed on education is highlighted by Yetemwerk Arage, a 20 year old female from Tenta who is prepared with other children to walk 12kms - up to 4 hours – each way, every day to school in the neighbouring town of Adjibar: “There are students who ... come back at 2:00 pm and 3:00 pm at night (i.e. 20:00 or 21:00) ... I walked since grade 9. It is a big problem. Our friends were sick on the road and also when we travel we meet hyenas” (014:254).

Yet 70 year old Yimer Mekonnen revealed that his lack of education was not a barrier to his election as WATSAN chairman of Bistiima: “When I say, I can't write and read, please elect another person because it needs care, they said to me no one can be except you” (022:142). He was unable to say the reason.

Naty (1992) suggests there are two realms of powerlessness. ‘Real’ powerlessness is defined as the economic, political and social arrangements that prevent actualisation of human capacities. ‘Surplus’ powerlessness is defined as the emotional, intellectual and spiritual contribution that prevents actualisation of possibilities that do exist. This author asserts that the above evidence is sufficient to show that ‘surplus’ becomes ‘real’ when consistently reinforced by ‘social arrangements’, and that even when not, there is considerable interplay and overlap between the two that Naty fails to appreciate.

- **Summary**

Generally the Amhara may be said to exhibit the following cultural traits: strong hierarchy (high power distance), masculinity, individualism, high uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation, narrowing, instrumentalism, and a strong degree of belief in God. They also exhibit high context communication which hides the meaning within the context of the communication and the relationship between the individuals. In particular a strong emphasis is placed on concern for public self-image. This currently has no widely accepted means of measurement, and for the Amhara there is a clear need to develop axes that include measurement of *what* is sought (i.e. positive face or avoidance of negative face) and *how* it is sought (actively or passively).

There is a clash in the Amhara between their high power distance and individualism. The former would normally result in flexibility (i.e. readiness to ‘fit in’ to stable norms, obligations and duties) and high self-monitoring (i.e. ability to determine behavioural appropriateness), traits usually associated with collectivists as opposed to the Amhara’s individualist orientation. This author suggests that power distance dominates in this arena to produce the two traits of flexibility and high self-monitoring in spite of individualism in other arenas mentioned (see 3.5, Individualism). This therefore questions the definition of the two dimensions.

4.3.2 Amhara - Implementing Agency relationship

For the three project sites amongst the Amhara, all were gravity schemes and therefore involved between nine months and two years of construction, with health promotion an on-going exercise, during which time personnel from the Ethiopian church programme implementing agency lived on-site.

The following selected comments from end users suggest a good relationship in all locations, and reveal the characteristics of the Amhara already noted:

Mohammed Ebre (male, 30, Weynamba), the Kebele chairman: “the Kale Heywet Church employees and the community worked together happily and with good love” (001:118).

Melkie Yimer (female, 36, Weynamba), a WATSAN member: “they can understand the people's problem and they are full of pity... Even if they have work, they stop their car and they greet people like their birth place (home town) and they see the society like their family... They want to do good work, they want to live a social life with the community” (003:101).

Bekele Feleke (male, 28, Weynamba) the Scheme Caretaker: “The important thing for this project to be successful is that we constructed the project peacefully and had a good social relationship with them ... In my opinion, Kale Heywet is the right name (literally ‘Word of Life’). I don't feel towards my brothers and sisters the way I feel towards them. We were wishing that the work would take longer so that they would stay here - this was my desire. We liked them very much. We didn't have any problems with them. They are our brothers and sisters. They treated everybody as equals. For instance, if I am higher than my brother, I want to make my brother low but they didn't make people higher or lower” (004:169).

Misayeh Arage (female, 23, Weynamba): “They are honest, they don't gossip ... They don't want to mistreat people. They firmly live by their own money” (005:60).

Yimmer Mekonnen (male, 70, Bistiima) the WATSAN chairman: “the Kale Heywet Church organization was very, very marvellous according to the whole community, not only by my opinion” (022:219).

Wendessen Getachew (male, 18, Tenta) “They have very good relationship and close contact (with the community). They are praiseworthy” (019:136).

The appreciation of feminine, collectivist traits amongst a backdrop of competitive individualism is apparent. This appreciation is also evident in the following story.

Tadessa Yosef lived on site for 24 months at Bistiima as Team Leader which enabled him to help a woman experiencing severe problems in pregnancy. The clinic in Bistiima

“wrote a letter to Dessie and told them that if she doesn't go there she will die. There was no (other) transportation at that time ... We covered the (pick-up) ... The road is bad. When we arrived at Dessie Hospital, the position of the baby was right and she was able to give birth easily ... They said that our daughter is saved from death by the Kale Heywet Church ... She is called Kale Heywet Awel” (027: 56).

It is noticeable that more positive comments were forthcoming from Weynamba. Tadessa Yosef explains: “We worked first at Bistiima and later Tenta then Bistiima again. The relationship what we had before grew, especially concerning how we have to be close the community and such kind of things. We adapted it and it is growing and improving: we have the best relationship at Weynamba because that was the last place” (027:100).

It is important to note that Tadessa and the implementing team all originate from similar communities in the Amhara region. Thus Sinauer's observation that “*intercultural preparation must take place in country, where words and pictures take on real meaning, reinforced by the reality of cultural differences at a time of maximum receptivity*” (Sinauer, 1978), is applicable to every level from country to local ‘community’.

From the perspective of the Ethiopian church implementing agency, the relationship with the communities in the Amhara region is not all positive. Bereket Gebre'Tsion, the Surface water Coordinator for the Ethiopian church programme suggests that, because the Amhara of South Wollo:

“were depending for the last 30 years on relief ... when you go there for community participation, it is less, because they are expecting something from you. They do not think this project is mine. It takes time for them to understand these things. When you go to the south, immediately people are mobilised and they will work with you. They have not been dependent on relief, so they know the concept of development, so they don't want to miss the opportunity so they grab it” (109:1037).

Although this dependency on relief could be seen as due to environmental rather than cultural factors, comments made earlier on the low emphasis that the Amhara place on material things suggests it is more cultural. Mogus Mehari, the current Programme Manager for the Ethiopian church programme, suggests such dependency is more widespread:

“the trend that there has been in development, is that it can only be done from outside support ... If the donors stop at some stage, there will not be any NGOs ... From the community aspect I think it creates dependency ... they will not value their labour, or they will not be able to value their local resources. I hear there were people talking at one stage with a farmer who was asked ‘Why don't you plough your land on time?’ He

said 'I don't worry, as long as it rains in Canada'. So this is really a sign of laziness and creating dependency on the outside world. This contributes much to poverty" (107:140).

Furthermore, Mogus Mehari declares: "The Amhara are generally very proud people ... They don't seem to be open ... even when they are in really desperate need or at a low standard, they still remain proud ... the Government has been giving them food for work, so when you go up to the north, if you ask them to do free labour, they think that any NGO should have some sort of payment, whereas our programme does not include that sort of payment" (107:168).

Such problems are not insurmountable, as Bereket Gebre'Tsion explains: "I remember once when I gave a workshop, I talked to the community. 'Are you rich or poor?' 'No, we are poor.' 'Really, are you poor?' 'Yes we are poor'. So I wrote a line down on paper about constructing this water, stating everything that we need: stones, gravel, wood, cement. 'Can you get this here?' 'Yes.' 'Can you get this here?' 'Yes.' 'Can you get this here?' 'No.' When we finished, we could see that most of the things were in the community, and most of the costs were on local materials. So when I asked them at the end 'Are you rich now?' they replied 'yes, we are rich. We are not poor'. So I showed them that everything is there, so we have to show them what they have, so that they feel a 'ah, we have this'. So we have to show them, we have to discuss with them" (109:1067).

- **Power distance**

A relationship of high power distance between the Ethiopian church programme and the communities seemed acceptable to many interviewees:

Zewdie Allie, a 32 year old mother from Weynamba: "JW: Were there any problems between the Ethiopian church programme and the community. Were there any idea differences? ZA: There wasn't anything. When they ordered us, we would go and work what they ordered us to do. If they said pay money, we would pay even if it is little" (009:176).

Dait Erdew, a 48 year old woman from Tenta: "Even they can come now, whatever they order me, I will help them by labour. If they say take out this soil, I will take it out. I will do anything that they order me to. It is a big thing that which takes care of our life" (015:148).

However, such distance is not without its disadvantages, as expressed in two locations:

Yitesha Amadi, a 70 year old woman from Tenta explains: "JW: Which one would you prefer most: water, a hospital, school or electricity? YA: I will choose school first. JW: When the church programme workers came to construct this water, did you ask them to build a school? YA: I didn't have a close enough relationship to ask them. But they elected me as a part of the committee. After this I started to get close to people, expressing my interests" (016:131).

A similar perspective combined with the aforementioned dependency was expressed in Bistiima by Aragash Hussein Damtow, a 55 year old grandmother “I would choose food first, and secondly water. JW: did you tell the people who constructed this water that you needed food? AD: we didn't tell them. JW: why didn't you tell them? AD: we were eager for the water. We thought that another organization will bring the food also” (021:167).

Although both interviewees above were uneducated women, a combination already identified as powerful in creating a sense of powerlessness, a comparable view was expressed by Gashaw Merash, a 45 year old priest from Tenta:

“JW: Did the community ask the Ethiopian church programme to get grain? GM: We didn't ask and they didn't say anything about grain. JW: Why didn't you ask? GM: The water has already constructed. We weren't encouraged to ask about grain - it would create a problem. JW: Did you ask them about grain? GM: We didn't ask, thinking that we make problem for the 2nd time” (017:151).

Withholding the expression of these needs may be due, in part at least, to fear of *yilunta*.

Although the implementing agency may not have the resources or mandate to meet such needs (see 4.8.1, Flexibility) it is clearly important to create an atmosphere where such views can be expressed, as stated by Sehin Semaye, a 48 year old woman from Tenta:

“We are very happy that you come and ask this, and I'm very glad to express my problems” (096:138).

However, such openness can be problematic for the implementing agency, as Tsegaye Medihin explains: “people are asking for another point ... they don't want to wait even for a minute, their expectations are getting unrealistic ... It is 9am. And they queue for only 10 minutes because the water is powerful and they fill the jars quickly. But people don't want to wait for 5 minutes” (011:72).

- **Religious suspicion**

For a Protestant organisation like the Kale Heywet Church to work in Orthodox and Muslim communities can be problematic:

Genet Tesfaye explains that in Tenta “they are very strong Orthodox ... very strict Orthodox ... I think 98 per cent or 99 per cent ... because of that in the beginning it was not easy for us to teach ... if they had no problem, they would not allow us to go there ... in the beginning everybody was worried about religion - they thought we might come to teach these people about our religion ... But after communicating with different people, especially with the priest ... he is like a Bishop - he came from Addis ... explaining, introducing us to the community ... they are more open” (099: 173).

Aster Wolde, a Community Health Worker for the Ethiopian church programme, continues: “when they started to get close with us, when they saw our behaviour, when they saw our love, that thing had changed when we left there” (012:456).

Similarly in Bistiima Tadessa Yosef reported that at the beginning “there were many problems ... because we were saying the water would come without motor or electricity, just by gravity. People were surprised and said it was impossible because the ground is sloping upwards, and the water tank is over there. They therefore thought we just wanted to come and preach our gospel. ‘You cannot bring the water like that - it will take time and just you want that time to preach the gospel’ they said. JW: So what happened - how did they start to help digging trenches? TY: Always we were in contact with the Kebele Chairman and the Ministry of Water, Mines and Energy, and they asked the community to help us, just writing by letter for us to give to the Bistiima Chairman. Little by little the pipe came to town. JW: Did the Kebele have to force people to come and dig trenches. TY: Yes, some areas were by force. When the water was close to town and flowing, people could see it and thought it was wonderful. Then they were willing, but before that ...” (027:77).

This suggests both a highly narrowing culture and concrete pattern of thinking.

- **Health**

Approximately 75% of Amhara interviewees stated improved access to water³⁶ as the main benefit of the projects (all female); the remainder improved health (all male). This highlights the high gender distance that exists.

Yimmer Mekonnen from Bistiima states: “During the past, we were drinking saying that mothers and water have no foolishness – wherever I go, if I get water, I can drink it. This is a proverb but now we don't use that proverb anymore. Now I don't do that” (022:29).

Prior to the project in Tenta, Kibret Erdew had to collect clean water nearby early in the morning before sediment was stirred up by cattle. Now they collect at any time: “We use this water now as Holy Water in church” (for handwashing, communion, and healing).

- *Religious beliefs*

In Weynamba, the consensus was that whilst it was universal practice to go to the witchdoctor, only a relatively few do now. Bekele Feleke, a 28 year old male Orthodox

³⁶ Current best practice states that: the maximum distance from any household to the nearest water point is 500 metres; queuing time at a water source is no more than 15 minutes; it takes no more than three minutes to fill a 20-litre container; and average water use for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene in any household is at least 15 litres per person per day (The Sphere Project, 2004).

Christian and the Scheme Caretaker for the project, stated that this was partially dependent on religion: “There are people who go still. There are many in our town ... Lots of Muslims go but some Orthodox believers go ... No-one used to go to the clinic before they went to the witchdoctor ... If he/she needed an injection, he/she would go to the witchdoctor’s place first ... Later, if the witchdoctor says go to the clinic, he/she will go. If the witchdoctor says don't go to the clinic, you will die ... They stay at home and kill a hen as the witchdoctor told them ... they kill a red hen, black hen or other kind of hen as he told them and if God doesn't allow, he/she will die ... I went once without being sick. I took a bag of silver and gold to know whether he knew or not and he asked me what I was carrying. I told him that I wasn't carrying anything. He said ‘you need a black goat’ and also ‘I couldn't see your thing, you have to bow down to the god’. At that time I knew that he didn't know, that is all ... I decided to go out from his house. I went back to my home during night time by the light of the moon. After that, there isn't anything that I believe except God. I have never gone and I don't even want to go. My parents don't go either” (004:236).

Worede Melako (male, 21, Bistiima) also stated that it was predominantly Muslims who went to the witchdoctor (024:200).

However, some like Aregash Hussein Damtew, a 55 year old mother from Bistiima, practise self-cure techniques: “when I have a headache, I put leaves from the eucalyptus tree on my head. I use the white tree. When I am sick with monge bagenge (fever) also, I will cut my body and the blood will come out (pushes nail onto the vein in her forearm to demonstrate). JW: how much blood will come out? AD: much. JW: so you will be better? AD: yes, when the blood comes out, I will be better. My eyes open” (021:189).

Yet syncretism is still common, as Etafaro Ali, a 60 year old Orthodox Christian grandmother from Weynamba revealed: “JW: Why do you burn incense? EA: I like the smell and the sprits like it too. JW: Are you burning when you boil coffee or just on its own? EA: While I am boiling coffee, I am burning the incense ... the spirit likes it. Of course it likes it. The regional people live by boiling coffee and burning incense. When I go to Addis Ababa or Dire Dawa, the hosts say that the good woman has come, please buy coffee and chat (mild narcotic) for her ... JW: Have you never been sick from water? EA: I don't know whether it is from water or from God” (008:121).

Others, such as Tegawade Ali, a 27 year old female Orthodox Christian in Tenta, similarly with little formal education, showed no such syncretism: “JW: What do you think made you healthy? TA: It is one Lord. JW: Will asking God always make you healthy? TA: Yes ... by praying” (013:312).

Other Orthodox interviewees expressed similar practices and beliefs:

Asegedesh Hailu (female, 66, Weynamba): “JW: Do you use cultural medicine? AH: Never. I am here with the willing of God” (007:127).

Etafaro Ali (female, 66, Weynamba): “JW: What illnesses did you have? EA: I feel numb on my leg and I have a head ache. JW: What do you use for that? EA: Blessed water. JW: Don't you go to the wizard's place? EA: I have never been. I don't know about it. JW: Didn't you try to kill hens or sheep? EA: I don't know. Only the blessed

water. JW: Well, did this blessed water heal you? EA: Yes, it is decreasing. The blessed water is better” (008:145).

Dait Erdew (female, 48, Tenta) “JW: But the people who believe in it have you seen them became healed? DY: I didn't see. Even it became worse and worse. Because the person who says I know, he doesn't have any evidence which is seen, because he can't show me like doctors, I don't believe in him even before” (015:470).

○ *Poverty*

The targeted consumption for gravity and other domestic water supply projects is 20-25 litres per capita per day. Habtamu Gessesse of WaterAid revealed that “when we did the research, we found out that it (consumption) was in the order of about nine litres per capita as the highest” (050:571).

Research by this author on the Ethiopian church programme's projects showed slightly less at eight litres per capita (Webster, 2001), although WaterAid found:

“that in communities where the household literacy rate is very high, water consumption per capita is also proportionately higher” (050:568).

The reasons for low usage where user fees are levied often include poverty, as Yetemwerk Arage, a 20 year old female from Tenta explains: “YA: The water which I fetch from the (unprotected) spring is using for cooking ‘Wot’, washing clothes and for washing our body. But the water which I fetch from tap is using for drinking. JW: Why don't you use all the water from the tap? Do you have any reason? YA: Yes I have a reason, shortage of money ... JW: If you fetch 2 pots from the tap how many do you fetch from spring? YA: 3-4 pots” (014:380).

The sustainability of WaterAid's projects is in jeopardy from the resultant low revenues, and it is likely to affect projects implemented by the Kale Heywet Church too. There is likely to be a trade off in such circumstances between practices that are known to be healthy, and those that can be afforded.

Dait Erdew from Tenta explains her inability to practise the health lessons learned: “DY: I can't practise it because my income is very low. I prepared the wood to build a house (for cattle to be separate) but I can't buy tin sheets. One day hail fell on the ceiling and tore it out” (015:515).

○ *Training methodology*

Amongst the Amhara end users interviewed there was a strong preference expressed for house to house visiting (71%) compared to other methodologies (note taking in lectures and film 14% each, group discussions, flipcharts and drama not rated at all), although

where no house to house visiting was conducted, all interviewees preferred note taking lectures.

Halse reports that rote learning is often dismissed, especially by Westerners, as an inferior methodology, yet *“Asian students may initially display a docility syndrome in their learning, be receptive and compliant, operate from an external locus of control, take directions, and absorb information. Then the students reflect on the material to understand it fully and test its usefulness by applying it in their own context. These later stages in learning show an internal locus of control, and knowledge is only accepted if it fits within the student's understanding and meaningful application”* (Halse and Baumgart, 2000).

Such consideration of world view of the recipient is essential in the methodology adopted. Pratt (1991) reports that in China, questioning by students is often seen to be disruptive to the learning process and disrespectful of the teacher who is assumed to be expert in a content area. This was explained to the author as the reason for Ethiopians (and Ugandans in the author's experience) nodding at a set of seemingly clear instructions, when no comprehension had occurred: it would be unacceptable for a 'subordinate' to make the teacher appear stupid for not communicating the instructions effectively (Mehari, 2003).

Sawadogo suggests this is true for much of Africa in a training context, and *“is compounded by the fact that in high context societies ... people refrain from critiquing each other openly because of their unwillingness to separate the actor from the actions”* (Sawadogo, 1995).

Other common methodologies whereby end users are encouraged to express their opinions and feelings in group work or participate in self-evaluation, may similarly meet with resistance. Pratt suggests that such 'empowerment' of the individual emanates from a high value placed on individual differences and individual autonomy, and in China, clashes with notions of self seen in relation with, rather than apart from, others (Pratt, 1991). This author suggests that this would be true of the Amhara and any high power distance group, especially where strong collectivism exists.

An increasingly common practice after a period of hygiene promotion is to encourage end users to set and monitor their own hygiene goals through the formation of Community Monitoring Teams. Pratt suggests that *“to ask them to be self-reflective ... is to place them as subject rather than object and have them critically question the values of those from whom they derive their identity”* (Pratt, 1991). Therefore an implementing agency needs to exercise great caution when it promotes critiquing ‘respected’ individuals within a community by the community.

Returning to the stated preference for house to house training by the Amhara, this is attributed by Aster Wolde to the former political situation: “There were many meetings during the former Government. They don't want meetings. They thought that they would stay for a long time. It is like this but what we did was house to house visiting which was better” (012:81).

This reluctance to attend health training meetings was voiced by Worede Melako, a judge in Bistiima: “Me and my wife didn't go and we didn't learn. If the Kebele didn't say that there is a penalty, no one would go” (024:219).

House to house training needs to be sensitive to the local context and based on an established relationship, as Genet Tesfaye, the Ethiopian church programme's Health Coordinator explains: “I think home visiting is the most effective for us in all areas. In the South no problem, but women are very hard working in the south, and you cannot find them. They used to go for ploughing, also for weeding, collecting firewood, and fetching water. It is not easy to find women in the south. ... but in the north you can find, because they are Muslim, so their husband does not allow them to go anywhere, and you can find them. But I have to cover my hair; I have to wear long skirts” ... visiting people, also making good friends, like visiting people in their homes. Not educating them, but just informally visiting people, having a good chat, having coffee or tea with them. That is the first methodology” (099:683).

Asegedech Hailu, a grandmother from Weynamba expressed a commonly reported preference for house to house visiting: “Even if I am illiterate, I will catch it in my mind. I grasp what I can, I leave which I can't catch ... She was coming in the house. How a house has to be kept, how it has to be swept, how well and toilet has to be dug she is teaching us where dirt has to be put. We received this and we are practising it” (007:138).

Such interaction is in keeping with the theories of Vygotsky and Bruner, who identify the advantages and synergy of group work (Wade, 2001). Wong suggests that *“all higher social functions originate from social interaction”* (Wong, 2001).

However, it is essential to ensure that interaction occurs through an appropriate message structure, which may be problematic if trainers have been educated in the West where

“the use of questioning, abstraction, and sequential argument in which individuals are challenged (is) a common approach to developing knowledge” (Sawadogo, 1995).

Expression *“in a less linear fashion with a message structure that is based on high repetition and that utilizes narrative and critical incidents”* is proposed as the preferred structure by Sawadogo (ibid).

➤ ***Schema change and duality***

Continuing the discussions of schema theory from 3.3.3, Wade explains that with any training *“the situation to avoid is the acceptance by an individual of two concurrent schemata. This can occur when an individual decides to ‘go along with’ the new schema being taught while the teacher is there, whilst storing the existing schema to revert to at a later time when the teaching situation is completed”* (Wade, 2001).

Entertaining two conflicting schemata is not uncommon amongst stakeholders. For example, ideologically individuals in developed countries often want to give funds directly to a community, but also want the accountability of giving through a registered charity. Similarly, foreign donor organisations are often keen on evaluating and monitoring local partners, but are unwilling to allow the partner to reciprocate. Local partners may appreciate the value of participatory development, and practise it in the field with partner communities but not within their own organisation.

The key question is what can cause a permanent change in schema? With group training, the problem is that *“individuals may each learn different things from the same experience and it cannot be ascertained in any predetermined way what understanding the individuals will construe”* (Wade, 2001).

Thus identification of prior knowledge is essential, and can be through the many PRA techniques available to field practitioners. Such a process of elicitation - bringing an individual’s prior knowledge and understanding into the open – enables assessment and evaluation of the original schema. Potential conflict with new schema can then be identified and new schema integrated so that it builds on existing knowledge and creates *“an integrated understanding, rather than compartmentalizing the new data separate from existing knowledge and understanding”* (Wade, 2001).

However, this author suggests that practitioners are rarely flexible enough to adopt such ideal approaches to health or other training.

ZOA's experience is that lowland food security strategies in Ethiopia "are being informed by Highlanders, experts, Ethiopian trained Highlanders who are coming down to the lower regions and forming strategies. These people are advocating exactly the same strategies that are being implemented in the Ethiopian Highlands, and when I challenged the people ... they say 'well, we are backward, we don't know how to communicate that, and people want new things, even our own people want new things' ... therefore I much more believe in a multi-partner approach where, yes, work with the regional Governments, but also work with international and local NGOs to work directly with people at the grassroots level ... so that people have the ability to speak out for themselves" (051:748).

With regards health training, there is growing acceptance from other countries (e.g. Nigeria, Sudan and Afghanistan) that children are very effective health change agents, due to their energetic and dogmatic spreading of beneficial health messages (e.g. Olayiwole et al., 2003 and Webster, 2005). Child-focussed health education in Ethiopia is likely to provide a similar proportionately greater impact for a given input.

Furthermore, there is a need for ongoing support according to Dait Erdew from Tenta: "I don't know the lesson that they teach me even now, I will forget after 3 or 4 months" (015:233).

There appears to be a widespread need for location-specific information as to what the most appropriate methodologies and messages are, especially in countries as culturally diverse as Ethiopia.

- **Summary**

Much of what has been written for the Amhara internal relationships (4.3.1) is true for their relationships with the implementing agency. Whilst there is an appreciation of feminine, collectivist traits amongst the implementing agency, there are clear masculine, individualist traits exhibited, as evidenced by no men but all women appreciating the reduced burden of water collection as the primary benefit of the projects. Additionally, high power distance is apparent.

Dependency in physical matters, yet an unwillingness to openly express needs at the beginning of projects suggests that a high concern for public self-image (fear of *yilunta* or loss of face) may be apparent.

Highly narrowing traits and a strong degree of belief in God are evident, although varied syncretism exists: amongst the Orthodox this is low, whereas amongst the Muslims, it appears high.

Lastly, a preference for a concrete pattern of thinking is evident.

4.3.3 Amhara - Government relationship

The relationship between the Amhara end users and the Government is expressed in the following interview excerpts:

Beletu Ali (female, 27, Bistiima): “The Kebele people called the community for meeting and they said that water is going to be constructed for us. So how can we help? We say by our labour. We were divided by area. One area spends one day and the other area spends another day. So, it is by our ambition and by the Kebele's ambition. JW: Was each section of the society happy when they worked divided by area? BA: They were very happy. No one went by obligation (force)” (023:56).

Gashaw Merash (male, 45, Tenta): “I had hope that the Government will build a water project and we would drink pure water for people and for cattle too” (017:54)

Aragash Hussein Damtow (female, 55, Bistiima) “I live by selling water and daily labour. So the Government will bring grain and give it to me. I save that and I eat” (021:38).

The Tenta WATSAN committee showed a mixture of both dependence and independence:

“The committee believed that the fences have to be re-fenced in a new form. It is not possible for the committee to do this. So, we decided that the municipality should cooperate with us supplying a eucalyptus tree to fence it. We will write an application” (114:107). “The municipality was paying 80 birr per employee till now. But we decided that the municipality will pay 20 birr per employee and the committee will pay the other 60 birr per employee” (115:27).

- **Summary**

The relationship of the Amhara with the Government is best summed up as a mixture of dependence and independence within a high power distance relationship.

4.4 OROMO

4.4.1 Oromo internal relationships

- **Background**

The Oromo form the largest tribe in Ethiopia - 18.2 of 62.6 million or 29% of the population (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001). They inhabit varied lands in Ethiopia from mountain ranges in the centre and north to grassland in the lowlands of the east and south. Subsistence agriculture is practised by over 90 per cent of the Oromo; the remainder are pastoralists (Melbaa, 1999).

- **Social status and power**

As with the Amhara, social and structural differentiation exists and is important amongst the Oromo: *“married men have considerably more prestige than bachelors; killers more than cowards; fertile women more than the barren; wealthy men more than the poor; fathers more than sons”* (Levine, 2000).

This was evident in the choice of ‘important people’ as WATSAN members according to Abdu Aliye, a 50 year old female end user from the FAO/Government implemented project location of Asbe Teferi:

“... the way the WATSAN committee was chosen was not right. People were chosen who live/farm far away. It’s better to choose those who live close by and can monitor” (104:27).

However, the Oromo are widely seen to minimise the significance of such vertical, power distance differentials (e.g. Hirut, 1997 and Melbaa, 1999). This, combined with their *“pursuit of corporate interests through cooperative endeavours”* (Levine, 2000) results in a predominantly low power distance (egalitarian) and collectivist (solidaristic) culture.

- **Religion**

Megerssa (1998) reports that the underlying Oromo world view can be broken into three:

- *ayaana* - that by which and through which Waaqa, God, creates everything;
- *uumaa* – the entire physical world and living things and divine beings contained within it;
- *saffu* - a moral category based on the Oromo notions of distance and respect for everything.

The three parts are inextricably linked in the Oromo world view: the totality of Nature provides the norm and defines the nature of human-beings, animals and plants. It is only by conforming to this norm that they can attain their individual destinies. Natural disasters therefore represent the manner in which Waaqa has chosen to keep the whole together. Consequently the Oromo accept conditions imposed on them by Waaqa and see disasters as a necessity, events which occur for the good of the whole (ibid).

In contrast with the Amhara Orthodox Christians, a considerable degree of syncretism exists amongst Oromo Muslims. Islam further reinforces fatalism, with implications for sustainability of RWSHP projects that are discussed later. However, syncretism also exists with Orthodox Oromo, but with both Christianity and Islam, the veneer is relatively thin – the identity of one interviewee, Abdu Aliye, was stated clearly and unambiguously when asked if he was a Muslim: “No, I am Oromo, but my religion is Muslim” (104:19).

Jaenen (1957) reports that in Oromo paganism there is some concept of a soul and afterlife (the shadows of men go into an underground world), but disagrees with Megerssa in claiming that there is no concept of rational order in the universe: final judgement or rewards/punishment in the afterlife is an unknown concept, according to Jaenen, which is in stark contrast to the Orthodox Christian Amhara, and again has implications for RWSHP projects. Eternal life for the Oromo is the linking of lives being continually transformed into other incarnations.

Megerssa (1998) states that the Oromo traditionally distinguish between good and evil: *saffu* means mankind has both the divine and human law, and with this advantage and responsibility, is the only creature that fails to act in accordance with the natural law, as s/he has the choice between good and evil. As a conscious participant in the natural

processes of the universe, the laws made by man act as a social control, preventing evil deeds from overwhelming the harmony of the cosmic whole.

- **Gender**

Hinnant (1988) states that gender is aligned with this world view: mother is the earth and domesticated nature (similar to *uumaa*) and father is the sky/god (similar to *ayaana*). “*Man is the upholder of order and the active agent (along with god) in procreation. By contrast, woman is either a passive agent or the disruptive force which challenges (or withholds) procreativity. This view of gender opposition extends to the institutional organisation of society. Men alone are in a position to make decisions and uphold the social rules; women are to be submissive. Whenever women are assertive, they are seen as devious and as disruptors of order*” (ibid). Again, with the lower status of women accorded in Islam, this religion fits well with and reinforces traditional / pagan Oromo world views.

A remnant but once core feature of Oromo culture is the traditional Gadaa system that organizes Oromo society into groups or sets that assume differing responsibilities every eight years and fundamentally determined the religious, social (including gender), political and economic life of Oromo for generations (Melbaa, 1999).

- **The Asbe Teferi boreholes – a case study**

The background of fatalism and gender roles described above, when mixed with pragmatic needs, provides some atypical results amongst Oromo end users in the project location of Asbe Teferi. The needs of the end users are largely due to the original implementer, FAO (in conjunction with the Government) not providing any software training, and the Government not having the capacity to provide on-going support of the boreholes that were drilled in the late 1980s (see Table 2.3, page 36). The current plight of the end users of Asbe Teferi is summed up in the following interview:

Nuria Ali “Because of this failure we are collecting water from the town (2-4 kms distant: see Table 2.3, page 36) and when I go there, we have so many quarrels with the community in the town. Last night, we were down there to town to get water on the back of a donkey, and it was midnight, and our family was fighting the local community in the town, and there was a big problem of the donkeys being eaten by hyenas, so the

family were running from this village to the town, because when they heard that there was a problem with them, they came back without any water, holding their empty jerry cans ... having men who are strongly motivated to face everybody in the Wereda to have water is very important, but there aren't any such men who will fight to get water. Everybody shouts when we get assembled, but there is not one who will be really determined to face all the things ... We don't have any strongly motivated men to shout at the Wereda people to have water" (105:81).

Opinions vary as to the level and channels of control that can be exerted over children collecting water:

Abdu Aliye: "I think that the biggest problem is not having a guard to control the site, because the children do not understand how useful the water point is for the community" (104:106).

Abde Adam: "If children came here and destroyed something, they would be punished by the community ... (but) it is our negligence and our carelessness that caused it ... I am emphasising the weakness of the water committee and the elder of that Kebele, the chairman of the Kebele because I believe that if the chairman of the Kebele and the water committees were organised and ordered the people to make a fence, that would be much better - they need to order the community to make a fence and to stop their children from coming here" (103:53).

Nuria Ali: "We know how to give birth to children, but there isn't a good family with a good structure in advising children how to draw ... If I have a daughter ... and if I told her that if you do this you will be punished or you'll face something bad ... she would be careful and take care. If not, she will go to the handpump and destroy the structure ... If the father or the mother is stressing to the children that they should not do certain things starting from their childhood, that would be a good way, but there isn't such a kind of family to do such a thing" (105:168).

The same female interviewee had been elected to the WATSAN committee and to a degree is supported by the community:

Nuria Ali: "Women are now elected on to the committees, so we are shouting at every assembly just to have water, because water is important for us ... I am the chairman of the edir, and I am in control of all the materials that are used in that edir structure. The men are tired of controlling that structure, the water point, so they have passed over the responsibility to me. The women and children were washing their scarves, and washing their clothes. The men were getting tired, so they passed the authority to me. So I ordered 'If you do this, you'll pay 20 or 30 Birr'. I found two ladies. The first one was the daughter of the local judge, and she was found to be guilty of pouring water, bad water, inside the (handpump) compound, having washed their clothes. So I ordered that she will pay 30 Birr and the other lady 20 Birr for co-operating. The judge paid 40 Birr. Women have much more influence in controlling the system than men. I have been taken by the water bureau for training many times in women's affairs ... I am the person responsible for my structure, even though I am illiterate, I'm responsible even beyond

the community for this edir structure. So I will face everybody. JW: where do you think you have got this strength from? NA: this is my nature to do good” (105:168).

- **Summary**

A summary of the cultural traits of the Oromo based on the above is as follows: egalitarian (low power distance), collectivist, masculine, medium uncertainty avoidance, high long-term orientation, and a strong degree of belief in God with high syncretism between Muslim Oromo and the predominant traditional religion.

There is some evidence that the combination of masculinity (i.e. strong assertiveness) and aspects of traditional religion that are strongly adhered to (especially the conscious participation in the natural processes of the universe) indicates active promotion of positive self-image, as evidenced by the election of high status individuals to power and Nuria Ali’s determination to ‘do good’.

A hallmark of the egalitarian trait is Nuria Ali’s ability as an illiterate woman to be given and wield considerable power, albeit in a masculine (i.e. strongly assertive) manner. This questions the definition of the masculinity dimension where it is in “*low masculinity ranking cultures where females are treated equally to males in all aspects of the society*” (Hofstede, 2006a). To redefine masculinity by separating out gender relationships or gender distance would render the masculinity dimension almost meaningless. If the definition is to remain, there must therefore be some hierarchy of cultural dimensions.

From the data and literature, this author suggests that **amongst groups that exhibit collectivism and masculinity in a low power distance environment, collectivism and low power distance will dominate in gender relations** to fulfil their hallmarks of egalitarianism, close ties between individuals, “*extended families and collectives where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group*” (*ibid*).

4.4.2 Oromo - Implementing Agency relationship

From the perspectives of the males of Asbe Teferi, the relationship is summed up well by Tsegaye Medihin, the Ethiopian church programme’s Team Leader for the area, who, whilst supplying water through emergency tankering to a community nearby Asbe Teferi was told by a group of men: “We don’t need to have water, but we do need to

have chat ... We don't mind if you bring water or not' ... When you get up early in the morning for your breakfast, you find them holding chat and eating" (102:52).

The Ethiopian church programme's manager, Mogus Mehari explained: "In the Kembatta and Hadiya areas and in Wolayta (southern areas of Ethiopia) they seem to be very co-operative ... If you go into the Oromo areas, it is quite different to communicate there. Some people are even quite happy to co-operate, some people like to stand up and wait to see what you can do" (107:584).

- **Health**

Amongst the Oromo, the Ethiopian church programme had only just begun rehabilitation of the boreholes drilled by FAO and the Government 15 years previously. As a result, insufficient health training had been conducted at the time of the interviews for any meaningful assessment of preferred methodologies to be made.

4.4.3 Oromo - Government relationship

The relationships of end users with the Government are improving, as Tsegaye Medihin explains: "In recent times, there is some resemblance in the way of approaching the community between the Government and NGOs. Everywhere there is training, there are workshops with Government people, with NGOs ... JW: When did that start to be similar? TM: In the last 5 or 6 years. Everything was top down on the Government side (before), but NGOs would live in the community, thinking the way the community thinks, and there was a better way of communicating with the community. It could be from a shortage of skilled manpower, or shortage of budgets or similar constraints. But still now they are passing orders from top to bottom. Even the EPRDF Government ordered the regional Government heads, and so on down to the community. But I can see the people will not directly tell their needs to the Wereda. They will have some experts who will study and analyse, and then they will give to the Government who will pass down to the Wereda officials. But it would be good even now to approach the community living inside the community otherwise you might not get the heartbeat of the community. So many quarrels will happen when you order from a zone to a Kebele" (102:23).

Nuria Ali expressed appreciation for this (slightly) improved relationship with regards health treatment: "if somebody thinks that he doesn't have enough cash for treatment, he doesn't have to stay at home and die, he has to write a free letter, so if that person is poor, the Farmer Association chairman will write a letter saying that he cannot afford this treatment, so they will take this free letter to the health centre. That man from the Wereda there was encouraging the community to come to the health centre for treatment instead of dying at home. Before that we were going to the clinic and we were spending lots on the treatment" (105:123).

- **Summary**

Relations with the 'out-groups' of implementing agency and Government differs significantly in having high power distance compared to relations with the in-group of low power distance. High masculinity and dependency are also evident.

4.5 BANE

4.5.1 Bane internal relationships

- **Background**

The Bane tribe (pronounced Bunna and alternatively spelt Banna or Bena) consists of 25,000 subsistence agro-pastoralists who inhabit the lowlands of South-Western Ethiopia to the Kenyan border, the most ethnically diverse part of the country and possibly the continent (Petros, 1994). Isolated from the rest of Ethiopia by choice as well as their remote location, the harsh environment forces them to be semi-nomadic during the dry season. The culture primarily revolves around cattle, so men walk long distances with their herds in search of water and grass, and to harvest wild honey. Grazing land is free, and in this highly patriarchal culture a man with 100 head of cattle is considered rich, although the average has one cattle and two to three goats (Lydall, 1988).

Fred Van Gorkhum, an SIM (Society of International Missionaries) vet with the Bane for 12 years, states: “Here when you treat an animal, you are treating their survival, and it is even more true in Bane where cattle is their capital, it is their bank account, it is their investment, it is their status symbol in the tribe ... it is their bride price ... it is the centre of a lot of their ceremonies” (048:32).

Cattle are also a common reference point for time according to Ikey Bazabi, a Bane health worker at the SIM clinic: “We estimate time following the sun. Now it is about 4:00 o'clock. JW: Do they say it is 4:00 o'clock now? IB: No, they don't say that, rather that it is time for the cattle to go out from the manger and come back” (044:331).

Crops grown are predominantly basic diet cereals - sorghum, maize, and millet - with some beans and milk to supplement the diet.

The Bane are ruled by Bita Grazmach Adeno Garsho, one of the interviewees. ‘*Bit*a’ is the Bane’s ritual leader, whose authority is based partly on his spiritual power - the *bita* is considered to have the ability to control *barjo*, the notion representing God, fortune or goodness – and partly his responsibility for appeasing *maeshi*, a kind of evil spirit (Strecker, 1990b and SIM, 2006). Rather than a King or political chief, a Bit a is more of a priest with spiritual superiority, and allegiance to Bit a Adeno Garsho is given not only because of the hereditary hierarchy but also due to Adeno’s generous personality

(Masuda, 1997). The term ‘Grazmach’ refers to a very high military leaders’ rank in Haile Selassie’s time. The fertility of the land and the multiplication of cattle and goats are said to depend on the vitalizing presence of such divine ‘kings’ (Donham, 1994 and Watson, 1997).

Malcolm Hunter, an SIM agriculturalist with the Bane for over 20 years, reports: “his (Bita Adeno’s) son has said ‘I have no power until my father is dead, when my father is dead, we will make changes’. ... So he is the successor, but because of their tradition, he has absolutely no authority until his father dies, and he wouldn’t dare try to challenge his father ... Within every family there’s someone who makes sacrifices, who is actually looked upon as the intercessor and therefore the spiritual leader of the family, and that can be quite an extended family” (046:47).

The Bane, along with the neighbouring tribes of Hamar, Bashada and Karo are called ‘the Hamar cluster’ because they can be classified into a single cultural unit (e.g. Masuda (1997) and Petros (1994)). Malcolm Hunter states that the Bane are:

“the dominant group, they had the guns first. So traditionally they have been a very aggressive, dominant group” (046:25).

Pragmatic inter-relationships are strengthened through formation of bond-friendships expressed by reciprocal exchanges of gifts. In return for allowing cattle to settle in the highlands, the Bane gain outlets to the Omo river without restraint on behalf of the Karo for especially dry season grazing and watering, as well as using the milk and butter of the Karo highland cattle belonging to the bond-friends (Petros, 1994).

The Bane are mostly illiterate or semi-literate (interviewee 049). The following interview excerpts summarise the subsistence aspects of the Bane way of life:

Lito Gadi (male, 20): “We are nomadic people; we put beehives up trees; we do animal husbandry and farming. JW: Is it difficult to live this way? LG: Yes it is difficult. However, it is life ... I do not think there is any thing that can change my life ... When the cattle drink water we sing for them” (039:30).

Kortse (male, 40): “We sow crops and if that grows we will eat it but if it doesn’t grow there are leafs called mudace, kade, domuko, mullaz - we will eat these leafs ... Richard Carter (RC): Who prepares food in the house? K: It is a woman’s job. RC: Does it take a lot of time? K: It may take from two to three hours. RC: What do you use for cooking food? K: We use dry wood. RC: Who collects wood? K: It is a woman’s job. RC: Do you collect wood from near places or do you have to go to far place? K: It is a little bit far from here. RC: Who fetches water? K: Women ... Because of the water problem we go to very far places, and as a result of our journey many of us have got sick. Especially

during pregnancy the embryos have problems as a result of this, so the children we give birth to are not healthy ... There is no school around so we are not sending our children to school. RC: If there were a school, would you send your children to school? K: Yes, I would send them. RC: What is the use of education? K: We have seen educated people doing so many things. Their eyes are opened. But we have not been able to get educated because of this we are living in darkness” (041:20).

Garisho Bukari (male, 50): “Before this (borehole), we had great challenge. We did not sleep. We got up at 3am to search for water (from one hour to three hours). We used to dig the sand to get water. Therefore, we had to get up early in the morning. We used to take our flocks with us and search from one place to another. Sometimes we got a full container or half of it. Sometimes we used to come back empty. If we did not get water from the sand we drank stagnant water. Because of this we are sick, we got different kinds of diseases, like malaria and diarrhoea ... But now we are drinking pure water ... If God wants someone to live that person will live. If God doesn't, he will die” (028:92).

Sharon Smith, an SIM nurse with the Bane for 10 years comments: “compared to their own economy, most of them are not poor. They have animals ... if they have a little bit of cash they buy animals, because animals multiply – money in a box doesn't multiply - so they don't have cash readily available, but they are not poor ... JW: is there a general reluctance to sell any cattle or sheep or goats? SS: oh yes, they definitely don't kill a goat and eat it unless there's a very special occasion because that's your savings account, that's your health insurance, that's your life insurance, it's everything. They sell animals if a child is going to get married ... generally they will not kill and eat their animals. They would rather hunt, but of course that gets them in trouble with the Government” (049:243).

- **Social status and power**

To a degree there is still high status attached to killing a man from another tribe. Garisho Bukari declares: “I used to go to kill people ... I killed people in order to be famous” (028:48). “It was part of their belief that a man should not marry until he has killed either another man, or an elephant, a lion or a buffalo... and it is much easier to kill a man than a lion” (046:27). Killers are celebrated, given special names and receive scarification on the chest.

Whilst killing those from tribes one is at war with brings vitality, killing those with which bond-friendships exist is believed to have opposite effect. Nabo from the Hor tribe is quoted by Wolde (1994) as stating: *“After I killed Boran, I became big and fat. The number of my cows grew ... (however) as soon as I killed Hamar, I lost weight. I had over a hundred goats. After I killed Hamar the number of my goats will not grow at all. Once they get ill, the disease will not leave them. I hate Hamar blood.”*

Strecker (1994b) notes that *“thoughtful men ... do not kill in order to be celebrated ... their killings will have only been motivated by the defence of themselves or others, and*

not by the wish to win social esteem, vent their anger about the loss of a favourite animal or the like ... Baldambe has often pointed out this perversion to me, and I have often heard him say: 'Yes, you should prove your manhood, but you do this by watching the gate of your father's cattle kraal and defending it against anyone who may attack it.'"

Thus the most widely acknowledged rite of passage is the *arsis*, where a young male jumps across the backs of cattle. Tele Bazabi a 32 year-old Bane male: "From 8-10 oxen stand in a line and he will jump over their backs or he will walk over their backs two times back and forth ... he is not an adult if he jumps from the cattle. If he doesn't jump ... it is like fame and you are considered to be an adult. Their names will be replaced by the name of the cattle they jump from. For example, if someone jumps from the black ox he will be named Baldalak or Buramba ... Now you are an adult in your family. So your sister will be whipped joyfully ... because their brother jumped the cattle's back" (043:29). (See later in this section for beating).

The ceremony continues in the words of Malcolm Hunter: "after they have done all the beating ... then the young man is seated in between the legs of a very old man ... the one who is going to 'give birth'. All the other young men sit down and go through this groaning and grunting noise ... Before the ceremony he was worthless, but now this is him becoming a man. After that ceremony there is one final stage when he will walk through the door which is just sticks stuck in the ground vertically, and a few across the top, he will go through the gateway" (046:252).

Fred van Gorkhum: "A very high priority with the Bane men is first of all to go through the initiation rite to become a whole person, secondly to acquire as many cattle as possible, and thirdly to buy as many wives as possible ... There is this prestige of having killed somebody, but ... I think they are driven more by frank economic security. The biggest thing is how many goats and cattle do they have so they are not going to starve when there is a food shortage. Then wives help with that - with gathering food, the work around, the domestic work ... the richer they are, the more wives they can afford, and the more status they have in the community" (047:53).

Tele Bazabi suggests wives are more important than cattle: "In Bane's culture marriage has a great value. A man who has many girls is considered to be rich even if he doesn't have any possessions" (043:236).

Strecker (1994a) suggests that if honour is defined as 'the value of a person in his or her own eyes and in the eyes of others', it has no place amongst the Bane and Hamar, as due to the relatively egalitarian way of life "*some of the more insidious bonds of other societies are missing ... people are respected in their individuality with no impositions on them by others who then cognitively control them by concepts such as honour*" (ibid). This author strongly disagrees with this: many interviewees spoke of a male's

lack of value prior to the arsi ceremony (e.g. “Before this ceremony he is like a donkey or a dog - they don't even remember his name” (047:202)).

○ *Elders and the decision making processes*

As would be expected from the arsi ceremony, strong power distance exists amongst the Bane.

Lito Gadi (male, 20) explains that to be an elder “You have to be an old person, even if you do not have money” (039:110).

Such is an elder’s status that when asked if she knew how problems were solved, Wali (23) replied: “Because I am a child I do not know how they solve problems” (035:66).

Age appears the main criteria for eldership, as 65 year old Dartey suggests: “JW: What do you think about education? D: I know nothing. JW: Do you know how this water project started here? D: I don’t know. JW: Have you participated in this work? D: No, I have not. JW: What is your position in this region? D: I am an elder. I am the one who administers in this region. JW: Why have you been appointed to be an elder for this region? D: I am the oldest person. There is no person older than me” (031:82).

Sara, a 42 year old male supports this: “The old men and I are on the WATSAN” (037:117).

However, Gabo, a 45 year old female, suggests other criteria exist: “JW: Do you elect another elder if the elected elder is ineffective? G: When they elect they see whether he is a good person or not. JW: If somebody makes a mistake what is the punishment? G: He will bring his goat or sheep and they will eat it” (032:164).

Punishment is often more than this, as Dartey explains: “D: If they do not come on the appointed day there is punishment JW: How do you punish them? D: He will be whipped and will slaughter a goat and bring the meat to eat. JW: Do all the people whip him? D: No, all people do not whip him but his friends will whip him in our sight ... JW: Were you whipped when you were young? D: Yes, I had been whipped. JW: When you remember that you had been whipped what do you feel? D: When I remember it now I suppose that in whipping me people wanted to kill me. JW: What were the wrong things you did that put you under punishment. D: My father wanted me to look after the flocks but I did not hear him. I went to play with my friends. Because of this my father handed me over to my friends so that they whipped me. JW: Do you think that it was the right way of disciplining? D: Yes, that was the right punishment” (031:101).

There was no apparent dissension amongst the Bane regarding elders’ decisions as Lito Gadi suggests: “they decide everything and we always agree with them. JW: What would happen if someone disagreed with the elders' decision? LG: The person who disagrees with the elders and their decision will be punished. JW: What is the punishment? LG: If someone goes astray from the decision of the elders he will be tied up and whipped and also he will give his ox or goat and slaughter it. This is the

punishment. JW: Have you ever seen this thing happen in your time? LG: Yes, I have seen many people being punished because of their disobedience. JW: Do they change their behaviour after punishment? LG: Yes, they do ... if I go to do something without the permission of the community I will be punished” (039:115).

Muda, a 27 year old female suggests a less harsh approach is often adopted “The elders will try to make peace by reconciling people” (034:49).

The decision making process moves through four related stages, according to Strecker (1990b), each with its own mode of communication: conversation; divination; oratory; blessing/curse.

When the unusual occurs, e.g. drought, sickness, or internal/external conflict, an individual looks for signs in nature to help them to interpret what is happening. Then people begin to exchange views. When a critical mass is reached such that a public decision becomes necessary, the elders meet having found an animal to be slaughtered to feed the men. Informal conversation begins - young men start followed by more senior men, drawing on past events that may have bearing. Social consensus is thus formed – *“everyone is checked by someone else. No one will ever enjoy complete political success. Complete success would lead to a concentration of power and influence”* (ibid).

If the problem is significant, divination follows - a diviner throws sandals to ask questions about the problems and how it can be solved. The sandals confirm or reject propositions or questions depending on how they fall.

Then selected men speak – a privilege that is taken away if their leadership is not considered good and fruitful. The oldest speak first, usually reprimanding and in theory intimidating the younger by shouting and criticizing them for not being responsible.

The curse (*asha*) and blessing (*barjo la*) are even more formal and closed: *“Here the consensus is complete. There is no divergence, no debate, no doubt”* (ibid). Only the more senior spokesmen may do it, with the others present echoing as a chorus. Thus through the four stages, the differences of opinion are narrowed down towards a consensus. Egalitarian politics are here the exact opposite of centralized politics. The former begin with a multitude of wills which come to a consensus while the latter begin with a single will which imposes itself on a multitude of others.

Lesser decisions are made less formally, according to Lito Gadi: “If there are five elders and if three of them agree and two of them disagree what the three elders say will be done. If they don't agree at all the higher chairman of the region will decide” (039:115).

There is widespread acceptance of the resultant delegation of activities, as Sara explains regarding the borehole location: “Although the elders discussed the location, others were involved in the construction (fencing) so all were happy” (037:73). Lito Gadi agrees: “JW: Did you participate when the fence was made? LG: It is the younger people who did that. So I was there. I did the fence” (039:125).

○ *Education*

The following comments summarise the Bane attitude towards education:

Muda (female, 27) “JW: What do you think about education? M: It is good. JW: Are you planning to send your children to school? M: Yes. JW: What are the changes you expect from sending children to school? M: If they are educated they will help me in times of problem” (034:151).

Sara (male, 42) “JW: What about the value of education? S: It has no value - I don't know the benefits of this” (037:186).

Lito Gadi (male, 20) “I do not exactly know the use of education” (039:196).

Bitu Adeno Garsho (male, 60): “We think it is a good idea, because the Government wants our children to be educated, even if we don't know very much about it” (042:68).

● **Religion**

The religious beliefs of the Bane are complex and have great bearing on RWSHP projects. This is discussed in detail under Health (4.5.2). The general overview here is best described through the following interviews.

Sharon Smith: “Traditionally the Bane worship the spirits of dead ancestors, so they try to please the spirits of their dead ancestors that they will be protected, that it will rain enough on the field, that they will get good harvests, if the children get sick that they will get well ... they ... think that God created the world, but he doesn't have much to do with it now. What really influences the world now are the spirits of their dead ancestors. I know in West Africa, the more long ago the ancestor died, the more powerful that ancestor is ... but the Bane is the opposite - the most recently died is the most powerful in influencing the family ... one of the greatest signs of a curse from the ancestors is a drought ... the evil spirit worship is very much tied into cause and effect, so that is very much a part of their mindset for everything” (049:304).

Garisho Bukari: “We used to sacrifice to get wealth ... (and) if there is some kind of sickness in my house, I will offer a particular sacrifice for that sickness. The other thing is when I go to steal, I will sacrifice in order to be successful” (028:79).

Tele Bazabi: “There are some trees that are presented to the devil ... They sacrifice unreaped solanum incanum on the altar like a goat ... they will be told that it is their dead family who brought sickness against them ... there are different kinds of gods. For example, there are the gods of river, the god of man, the god of women, and the god of mountain ... Bero is known to be the god of river and a rainbow is considered as evil because they believe that a rainbow comes out of the river and the foreigners took the rainbow in order to be civilised, to get knowledge, and wisdom ... Bane people believe is that the western people must systematically have Bero under their control (have captured him) and therefore get whatever they want ... When the rainbow comes they say Bero has come out from the river and when there is Bero they do not go to fetch water ... There is no good spirit for them. Bero is considered to be Satan. They think that everything is coming from Satan. It is Satan who works behind the witchdoctors and says this is your relative spirits who do this and that. Satan never comes for good. All spirits are the same” (043:317).

Ikey Bazabi (Tele’s older brother): “When someone dies they say he is going to meet the people who died before them (especially their own family). When we come to the funeral ceremony it is different for adults and children ... If the person is more than 50 years old they sing a song but if it is a young person they cry for him” (044:274).

○ *Fatalism, tradition and prioritisation*

Fred van Gorkhum: “There is a bit of fatalism, they will say “*Bero dane*” (God is), sort of shrug their shoulders like the Muslims saying “*Inshallah*” - they don't have a loving God who is in control. To me their word Bero is used more like we would use the word luck or fortune. It is sort of over everything, but it is not a loving relationship. And that sort of impacts how they look at water and health. Like I said with the water, if someone is happy to come in and do it for them, or with them, they are happy to do it, they understand the need for it, they will understand even why you want them to learn to do it for themselves, and we do dramas and stuff to try and teach them to do it for themselves ... But that fatalism says ‘No, I'm not going to disturb myself to do that, it isn't what we have culturally always done. Culturally we have always sent women to go and dig in the sand for the seepage of water, and that is what we are going to do when you have gone.’ And so water committees to maintain a hand pump on a well, or water committees to keep the silt from building up in a catchment dam, have not worked very well anywhere in South Omo, because they are just going to fall back on their cultural way ... you could say it's laziness, but they are hard workers, in what they want to do, and what they feel their culture wants them to do, they are athletes. They are not sitting around fat and lazy somewhere ... And yet it is not a priority I think because of their culture ... I think that is how they see it, they see that clean water is good, ‘but we survived before in our old ways, and, yes, it is good to get out and do that, but I have got to use my energy to get cattle and goats so I don't starve to death, I am not going to use my energy.’ And a cultural thing as well of digging in the ground, it is considered a low thing on the cultural scale. So their culture keeps them from some of that in terms of accepting water or not, and it is a fatalism, but it is more than that I think it is a cultural priority. They have other priorities that they want to spend their energies on ... as long as the health clinic is there and has medicine, they didn't want to bother with prevention, boiling water. They would just say ‘If we get sick, we just go to the clinic

and get medicine' ... they would rather sell a goat or a chicken and get medicine rather than draw water all the time, because culturally or historically they have not done that: it uses more firewood, it uses more energy to do that preventive stuff, and they would rather get by, as long as they could, and then on the odd occasion that they would get sick, they would get medicine, even if they would have to sell something ... They would just say "let's just see, if we don't get sick, we don't need it". It is the same thing towards veterinary vaccinations of cattle. They will say "there is not a disease, why should we do vaccination?" Then the disease hits and then they say "Oh, please come and vaccinate us so we don't get it too", and sometimes it is too late, a lot of the cattle die. It is the same perspective that impacts cattle, health, water ... 'tomorrow will take care of itself'" (047:837).

- **Gender**

Amongst the Bane, there is considerable evidence that from a man's perspective, women have little or no status in themselves. Malcolm Hunter explains:

"With all the pastoral groups, their values are in daughters and cattle ... If a man's sons go raiding and get killed, that is of net value to the family, because he does not have to give cattle to marry a wife. If daughters get killed, or die, that is a dead loss, so a man wants to have as many daughters as possible ... because they bring in cattle to the family when you sell your daughters to get married ... It is one of the reasons that the sons go raiding, because in order to have enough cattle before getting married, you have to go and plunder to afford to get married ... A Bane woman has no rights. A man can kill his wife - he has paid cattle for her, if he wants to kill her, it is his loss. She is property ... Whoever's cattle buys the wife, gets the credit for the children. ... When you ask "whose child is this one?" in other words which is the mother of this child, all they will say is "it is ours". It is this group ownership. Any woman will nurse any child; they lose their self identity and become owned by the family ... In Bane there are no words for love, mercy or forgiveness. A woman's lot is nothing but suffering - walking around with those steel rings on her legs, it's 110 pounds of solid steel ... If she dies, the rings are cut off: they have to cut the head off or the hands off to get them off, and then they give them to the next wife, so they are part of the man's wealth that goes with him" (046:310).

Tele Bazabi: "Women do not have ownership over the cattle. It is the man who is in charge of all property. When he dies his first son will take all the property and share it to his brothers and sisters" (043:243).

Sharon Smith: "It is a very male-dominated society. Women who are married are purchased by their husbands, and they have about as much right as a cow would have, so they just kind of expect to be told what to do, many of them. I am surprised sometimes at the amount of initiative that some of the women have, because the place that they are expected to fulfil in their society is one of submission to and obedience to their husbands, basically like a servant in the house. They don't have a concept ... in this society of companionship and love in marriage. It's more a utilitarian relationship,

and if a wife cannot have enough babies, then he purchases the second wife in order to have more babies” (049:130).

Lydall (1988) suggests that large bride wealth contributions may achieve even distribution of cattle amongst the population and affirm binding social relationships: *“whenever a stock-owning unit acquires more than usual numbers of animals, members of their wife’s brothers’, mother’s brothers’ or father’s mother’s brothers’ patriline will come to claim outstanding bride wealth debts”*.

However, Sara, a 42 year Bane male, suggested otherwise: “JW: Do you make any money from the beehives? S: yes, this is the main way. We use it to pay tax. Also for dowry. JW: Is there a limit to the dowry? S: No limit - I am still paying my fathers' dowry (037:180). Thus after more than four decades, his mothers relatives were demanding financial repayment of the dowry, though Sara seemed fully accepting of this.

Another means of strengthening social relations is reported by Donna Cawson, an SIM language translator: “This little baby was named Ethiopia because there was another lady here named Ethiopia who said ‘if you name her after me I will do all these things’ ... you become a godmother to a child by getting someone to name their child after you, you then take on responsibility for that child, not just now to provide clothing, but through the years ... So it is almost as if you bribe somebody to take on your name” (045:147).

The author’s experience amongst the Bakiga of Uganda is that although the end result is the same – responsibility and ‘social reproduction’ of one’s family name - the initiative was always with the parents, as a means to provide financial security and status through association.

Divorce amongst the Bane is forbidden, but polygamy due to a woman’s barrenness/age, a man’s wealth or desire for more children is permissible up to approximately 5 wives (O’Toole, 1994).

O’Toole further notes that whilst men and women share access to resources of land, cattle, honey and tools, as well as the benefits from those resources (i.e. grain, milk, household furniture and cash), it is the men who have complete control of those resources and their benefits with the exception of milk and household furniture (ibid).

With regards children, Sharon Smith asserts that the Bane “put more value on their animals than they do on their children. If they give their wife 3 Birr, they will expect their wife to spend two Birr on medicine for the cow and one Birr on medicine for the

child ... ‘we paid money for the cow, we got the child free. If the child dies we can always have other children’” (049:211). As Bele, a 25 year-old, said of her husband, “It is him who provides money” (040:77).

Against this extreme patriarchal and masculine backdrop, there are a few scraps of femininity. Tele Bazabi notes that:

“Mostly it is women who fetch water, collect wood, grind grain and prepare or cook food. Men do not do any of these things except water. It is unacceptable in the culture. He doesn't even collect water all the time. But he sometimes does it due to his willingness. Men's jobs are putting beehives in the tree, ploughing the land - sometimes women plough the farm but it is mainly a man's job” (043:209). Lito Gadi, a 20 year old male Bane states that “There is no division of work in the house. We work everything that is in the house. JW: Does your father collect water? LG: Yes, he does” (039:64).

Dartey, a 65 year old male expressed some empathy for his wife's struggles: “JW: What did you expect when they came and started the water project? D: I was so happy, because my wife and the flocks can get water easily” (031:60).

Donna Cawson reveals that “the word for river is ‘Baiiti’. It can mean river or small stream. If you put a feminine ending on it, it means a big river or a lake. JW: so feminine means larger? DC: it can quite often. JW: would they see that as a measure of importance as well, that something which is larger and bigger is more important? DC: other linguists have made notes to that effect that the feminine and the feminine plural both have tendencies to mean more important, which seems odd to me, but that is what they say. Today we were talking about the parable of the mustard seed, and because there is no mustard in this part of the world, they use sesame instead, but somewhere in there, the word for wood, or a small tree, or dried wood or chopped-up wood, it is all one word, but if you put a feminine ending on it, it means a big, living tree” (045:211).

○ *Beating*

An oft discussed but little understood ‘gender practice’ is that of beating women.

Malcolm Hunter explains that after a young man has crossed the back of cattle in the *arsi* ceremony, “It is then when the women, the young girls come in hundreds and want to get beaten, and the girl who is beaten most, at the end of the day who has the most lashes on her back is the most popular girl who will get married first. In their estimation, the only way that a woman knows a man loves her is if he beats her. So a young wife will deliberately make bad coffee or bad food, so that the man gets angry and beats her. If she doesn't have in the first years of her marriage a back which has lashes on it, then the other wives will say how sad that her husband doesn't care about her. I can understand it because the women are demonstrating that they are so strong. Part of the beating ceremony is that the woman must never walk away from the whip. If she walks away from the whip, she will never get married. They don't even flicker an eyelid, and they are showing the men how strong they are, so when it comes to having babies there

will be no fuss, no problems - it is a demonstration of their incredible strength ... That is why they start as young girls to build up to small beatings until even after they are married, they really look forward to this, because that is when they can show how strong they are" (046:208).

Fred van Gorkhum states that beating "is a way of breaking that emotional hold that a boy naturally has grown up with his mothers and sisters, and now instead of looking at a mother and sister, he has got to beat them, in order to be able to beat his wife ... But that one murderer who killed Petros, the police wanted to use my car, and as they loaded him in, his sister was a little bit in tears. She tried not to, because that would show weakness, but there is still love between them" (047:810).

Speaking of the Hamer, Lydall (1994) reports that there are restraints: "*a man who beats his wife for no good reason is bad and should be made to stop. In fact, if a man beats his wife brutally, people will intervene and stop him, and his wife will be encouraged to leave him and take refuge among her relatives. Then, if he persists in beating his wife for no good reason, her kinsmen will come and beat him in turn, until he promises to change his ways*".

This suggests that the 'Hamer cluster' often referred to in the literature ceases to exist at this level, as several interviewees took the view that no such restraint exists amongst the Bane. For example, Tele Babazi stated that:

"the husband has authority over his wife because he has brought her as his wife. If she does something wrong he can kill her and marry her sister. JW: For what sort of reason would he kill her? TB: For example, if she goes to another man he will kill her. He has a right to do so. He can do what ever he likes" (044:445).

Arranged marriages mean often the couple are very different and strangers: beating is seen as a way of coming together by Lydall, and of the man liking the woman. "*By provoking him, the bride shows that she wants to get to know him, and by beating her the bridegroom shows that he wants to have her ... It seems that wife beating is a strategy which may be used to ... overcome estrangement between a bride and her husband or his age-mates ...to prevent the bride of an elderly husband from having young lovers ... to get a timid wife to become bold and self-assertive ... to get a husband to make a dominance display*" (Lydall, 1994).

Strecker (1990a) suggests that by whipping her, a husband "*has almost publicly proclaimed: 'I am in charge here', and by doing so he has assumed all responsibility.*

Also he is bound to believe that he controls his wife. But as I have said before, he does not control her. Instead, she controls not only him but also his feeling of controlling her”.

An explanation of this need to control is given by Lydall: *“Women cannot get by well without the assistance of men. They survive best if they have a husband who is committed to them and ... who assumes responsibility ... a woman forces her husband to whip her so that he feels in charge, and to hide the fact that he is really as dependent on her as she is on him (i.e. he will be ridiculed by women if he seeks food at another’s house). He has lost his innate freedom to wander off as he will, and is obliged to take on responsibilities he would otherwise be free of”* (Lydall, 1994).

- **Summary**

The Bane are a people group that have been little studied, as demonstrated by the assumption in published literature that they form part of the ‘Hamer cluster’ in spite of glaring differences with regards the status of women that fundamentally separates them from the cluster.

This status of women also challenges the definition of one core cultural dimension commonly used: individualism-collectivism, and by association, self-interest versus familism and humanistic-instrumental.

Amongst the Bane, a man’s relationship with his wife is highly individualistic, instrumentalist and utilitarian. Yet the society to which both husband and wife are affiliated in a strongly collectivist sense promotes and protects that relationship. When that gender distance knows no limits, in effect, murder for men and suicide for women become effectively legalised, and if not supported and promoted, at least accepted.

Clearly, the Bane are unusual in their gender relations, even amongst neighbouring tribes. Yet even with restraint exhibited amongst the Hamer as described by Lydall, it is clear that where collectivism and high gender distances (i.e. masculinity) exist within a high power distance environment, problems are posed for the definition of individualism-collectivism. (It is worth noting that amongst the Oromo, collectivism

and masculinity were present in a *low* power distance environment which challenged the definition of *masculinity* (4.4.1, Summary).

Hofstede defines individualism-collectivism with the statement that “*a Low Individualism ranking typifies societies of a more collectivist nature with close ties between individuals. These cultures reinforce extended families and collectives where everyone takes responsibility for fellow members of their group*” (Hofstede, 2006a). Clearly, extended families are reinforced within the Bane, and close ties exist between individuals on most levels, except for gender relations.

As with the Oromo, redefining an established dimension to exclude gender relations would render the dimension practically useless. In this case it would also destroy many strong associations that exist. For example, the association between low gender distance and groups that exhibit high collectivism and low masculinity (i.e. high femininity).

Therefore this author again suggests that a hierarchy of cultural dimensions is needed.

Amongst groups that exhibit collectivism and masculinity in a high power distance environment, masculinity and high power distance will dominate in gender relations: the group will support this high gender distance or male domination of females.

This would enable otherwise highly collectivist cultures such as the Bane, who strongly support affective closeness and common identification (i.e. solidarism on the horizontal scale, or collectivism) to also exhibit weak solidarism (i.e. individualism) with regards gender.

Familism - traditionally defined as the degree of importance attached to the well-being of family and tribe compared to individual well-being - and humanism - the value placed on people, including notions of humane treatment – would similarly need to be subordinated to high power distance masculinity where they co-exist. (It is acknowledged that the use of the humanistic-instrumental dimension is commonly confined to organisational culture).

The cultural traits evident for the Bane thus far are therefore: strong hierarchy (high power distance); extreme masculinity and patriarchalism; strong collectivism (excluding gender relations); strong individualism (for gender relations); high uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation; extreme instrumentalism (for males with regards females); strong group membership by right (as opposed to earned); an overarching strong degree of religious belief (with low syncretism between Bane traditional religion and the only other one evident, Christianity); and high concern for public self-image, predominantly achieved through active promotion of positive public self-image (evident in male and female grooming, displays of wealth and wives desiring scarification).

4.5.2 Bane - Implementing Agency relationship

The drilling of a borehole amongst a highly dispersed population like the Bane results in relatively little contact between the end user and implementing agency: drilling time is three days, community contributions are little, and many men who would otherwise assist would be herding cattle or tending to beehives in distant places.

This relatively minimal contact is further exacerbated by a one-in-three chance that water is not going to be found: expectations are often raised and dashed through unproductive baseline surveys. Three locations were abandoned amongst the Bane before water found. However, those who were involved appeared willing to continue:

Kerie (female, 30): “JW: Who told you to bring stone? K: The people who are in the water project. JW: Do you think people were happy to do this? K: Yes, because we drink from it” (036:73).

Ieka (female, 40) “JW: Why did you participate in the work together with people? D: It is because my family and I and also the people who are living around this area come to fetch water from this place” (029:15).

Sara (male, 42) “JW: Did you have any relationship with the project workers when they were drilling the hole? S: We were close to the workers. JW: How would you describe them? S: We'd been assisting them during working time, but then they'd go to Key Afer (14 kms) to sleep. We had no problems with them, but we'd like a cattle trough for the goats. JW: Did you ask them to do that? S: Yes, they said they'd come back but they didn't. We're still hoping (after 7 months)” (037:92).

Similar distrust was expressed by Kortse (male, 40) “There were many foreigners who came and asked (talked to) us. Those people never came back and did what they promised to do. So I doubt you” (041:179). However, Kortse expressed a functional

appreciation of the relationship “RC: Why do you like (Ethiopians and foreigners)? K: When people come to our area they come by car and if I want to go to somewhere they will give me a ride and we also have benefited by water from these foreigners” (041:116).

Fred van Gorkhum, an SIM vet states “they do not inherently trust anybody who's non-Bane at first ... foreigners who are non-Ethiopian nationals tend to be fairly well accepted, still as foreigners, but they will treat them with respect and not much danger of shooting. Whereas non-Bane (not the Hammer, nor the Mursi or the Tsumai) or Ethiopians are all sort of called Amhara, and those are far from being accepted, I think because they view them as the enemy, people they have had clashes with before, or people who have made them pay tax, or people who have set rules, or even who have put a road through their land, where they don't view the foreigner in that way, they view the foreigner as being more on their side, but they view these others as potential threats, or potential enemies, or people who have killed them in the past, and they don't forget these things” (047:643).

This view of non-cluster group Ethiopian is supported by Tele Bazabi “For Bane every body is the same whether he is from Oromo or another tribe. He is considered to be Amhara ... they do not consider them like brothers because of the previous history. For Amhara forced the Bane people to pay taxes” (043:287).

Whilst in theory this presented problems for the non-Bane Ethiopian nationals of the implementing agency who drilled the borehole, there is no evidence of this, although the relationship was, as shown, functional and initially at least, distant.

Solomon Gebre Yohannes, Chief Driller for the Ethiopian church programme, explains: “instead of directly interacting with the Bane, I found responsible and literate people from the Bane in the Government, and I took them with me to the community. So it I communicated my interests and everything through them. After we started, doing our job, they counted me as a friend. So we were able to speak directly. But if I went directly at the beginning, they would not understand me. They wouldn't do anything, so I had to find a way” (108:306).

The objectives of expatriates working amongst the Bane are often reportedly thwarted due to high narrowing (as opposed to broadening) exhibited amongst the Bane, combined with a functionalist approach and strong long-term orientation, as Sharon Smith explains:

“they listen to what I say but they don't always accept it because it in the back of their minds is the idea ‘well, she's a foreigner, she doesn't really understand the way we live. We've always used the meadow for a latrine. Why should we dig a hole or act like a cat and cover up our excrement? She doesn't understand. Our fathers, our grandfathers, our great grandfathers have always done it that way. Why should we change now? They

lived until whatever age it was until they died. We're healthy, we're fine, so what difference is it going to make?" (049:185) (see also Health, below).

Fred van Gorkhum reports similar attitudes toward tradition merging with high masculinity with regards some rainwater catchment dams developed by SIM:

"we did over 66 of them ... What we found was that they were very happy for it, they saw the value of it, but they were not willing to do it if we weren't going to pay them to do it, or if we weren't going to do it for them. They would rather go back to their old way of having the women dig the holes and get dirty water" (047:664).

- **Health**

Amongst the Bane, insufficient health training had been conducted at the time of the interviews for any meaningful assessment of preferred methodologies.

However, the following interview excerpts supplement others already given to provide a fuller picture of health related behaviour and beliefs:

Tele Bazabi (male, 32): "JW: You have said that when women wash themselves they do not take off their cloth that is in front. Do they wash it at the same time as themselves? TB: They do not wash it and they do not take it off. They only wash their feet and their back. Their cloth is made up of leather - they put butter on it to make it soft" (043:368).

Sara (male, 42) questioned just 200m from the new and functioning borehole: "JW: What about these women drinking water from a hole in the river bed? (Note: women very attentive during this question). S: If it is skimmed, it is no problem" (037:150).

In contrast, Gabo (female, 42) "JW: What was your feeling when you heard about the water project? G: I was so happy. But when I came to fetch, it was locked. I cried" (032:59).

Tele Bazabi: "They do not wash their hands - it is not a custom here. It is not a problem for men to go whenever they like and wash their body. They can wash outdoors. But women can't do so. Even if she can do so it should be only half part of her body above her waist. She can not put off her garment even in the night. When she sleeps she may put off her dress but it should be the back side not the front side. For example, if she gets her dress off for any reason while she is walking she will not go further. She will stay where she is and if people are with her they will sit down with her till the person who consecrates her comes and sacrifices animals. If people try to come near her they will be told not to do so ... There is no special place for latrines in Bane ... They just go anywhere they want and defecate ... People go to the bush to stay away from the bad smell ... Especially at night they do not go far from their home ... when children defecate their mothers bring some kind of leaf and clean them" (043:173).

Donna Cawson (female SIM language translator): “the word for malaria and mosquito are the same ... the general word for greeting is ‘*piya*’ which means good, all well, or healthy, or fine, or fertile soil, or anything else. If you change that into a verbal form, it means heal or be healed. So it is it a very broad term. But basically the verbal forms all have to do with health” (045:190).

○ *Seeing is believing*

Common cultural traits amongst collectivists are association, particularism, and concrete thinking patterns:

Sharon Smith (female SIM nurse): “one of the things I did teaching them about clean water was take a microscope to the training centre, and taken a drop of water that they usually drink, and put it on to the microscope and let them see all there wiggly things in the water, and it was fun watching the light bulb come on. ‘That’s why you tell us to boil the water’, and we taught them the 3 pot settling method for clean water, and we actually got some really good samples of muddy water and watched it settle over the three days so they could see the difference. Now that is not totally foolproof for things like amoeba, but it does get a lot of the junk out of the water ... One of the complaints I have heard is that people say ‘when the water is clean it doesn’t taste of anything. When the water has all the stuff in it, it tastes better’. It also fills the stomach during the famine if there’s more junk in the water, but of course there is more chance for disease that way too” (049:38).

Sharon Smith: “people believe that you get gonorrhoea by peeing where someone else has peed, so nobody wants to use a latrine. It took a while to convince them that the germs do not move up the stream of water. JW: how did you convince them of that? SS: they seemed to be convinced with the stories and the examples that we used, and we based it, of course, on medical knowledge and we didn’t, we tried not to put down their traditional beliefs, but we said ‘OK this is what you believe, but this is why it is not possible. Germs don’t have wings, and they cannot fly up, and they are not strong enough to fly against the stream of water that is going down to the ground, there is no way that they can crawl up it’. We tried to use their own kind of logic to show them that it is not possible for it to happen that way ... If somebody dug a latrine and next week his family was totally free of any parasites or diarrhoea problems or anything like that, people in the community would say ‘aha, that does help’. But the value is so gradual in coming because the soil is so polluted from generations of not using latrines, that it is very difficult for them to see the value. If they can see an immediate cause and effect thing from it, they co-operate, but when they can’t see that immediate cause and effect, then it is difficult to convince them ... it’s been a struggle, because it is hard work to dig a latrine, and is not that much hard work to come to the clinic and buy medicine for worms” (049:474).

Similarly, Sharon Smith cites the burden of collection as a barrier to health: “It is hard for them when they carry water on their back to be willing to boil it and watch part of it go up in steam” (049:61). Additionally, effort collecting firewood is similarly seen to be ‘wasted’ in the process.

○ *Religious beliefs*

Especially amongst the Bane, sickness and religious beliefs are inseparable.

Eight out of ten end users interviewed regarding health stated that they would go to the witchdoctor for serious sicknesses first because of tradition, of which six stated that they believe the clinic is greater, the other two equal. If the witchdoctor doesn't work, they would all go to the SIM clinic, which has been present for 15 years.

The following excerpts provide the general landscape:

Kerie (female, 30) “JW: What does the witch doctor do? K: The witch doctor says that it is my father's devil so I have to offer the blood of a goat. JW: Which one is greater? The witch doctor or the clinic? K: The clinic is greater. JW: So, why do you go to the witch doctor? K: It is because of our tradition” (036:91).

Ieka (female, 40) “We go to see witch doctor to serious illness - for malaria and headache we don't go. JW: Where did you learn to go to clinic? I: The witch doctor does not tell us to go to clinic but we do it” (029:53).

Dartey (male, 65) “first I will go to the witch doctor and then I will go to the clinic. JW: What does the witch doctor say to you? D: Your sickness came from your grandfather. So you should offer something to him. JW: Have you been healed when you did all these things? D: Sometimes I got better but some people die ... The clinic is better than the witch doctor. JW: Why do you go to the witch doctor? D: Because is the culture of this area” (031:159).

Gabo (female, 45) “The clinic is greater than the witch doctor. JW: If the medicine is greater than the witch doctor why do you go to the witch doctor? G: In fact, there are times in which we don't get better even if we take medicine. The reason is the devil wants to drink the blood of the goat. If we do not do that we will not be healed. JW: Why are you going to the witch doctor knowing that the devil wants to drink blood? G: The devil wants our property. So we have to do it” (032:87).

Muda (female, 27) “JW: What are you doing when you get sick? M2: Some times I do not get medicine. It will leave me on its time. ... Those who have money go to clinic but those who do not have, die” (034:66).

Regarding death, Ikey Bazabi says “Sometimes they say god punishes me and sometimes they say one of the family members (it could be the father or grandfather) called me - because he wants me to go there he hindered my health ... Everyone has fear of death. Even the very old person whose eyes cannot see does not want to die” (044:301).

Of the two end users interviewed who do not use witchdoctors, one was a Christian convert, Garisho Bukari (male, 50): “If God wants someone to live that person will live. If God doesn't, he will die” (028:113).

The other individual who does not use witchdoctors was Lito Gadi, a young 20 year old male: “First of all I go to clinic. JW: Why do you prefer clinic? LG: If I go to the witch doctor's house they will not give me medicine but if I go to the clinic they will give me medicine. JW: Does the whole family actually go to the clinic? LG: Yes, they would like to go to clinic. JW: Is there a price difference? LG: When I am sick I will pay what ever they like me to pay because I want my health. If I go to witch doctor I do not pay but they will not give me health” (039:170).

Thus fatalism is evident amongst those practising traditional religion and Christianity, suggesting a degree of syncretism, although that would probably be true of the majority of humanity with regards death. Overarching amongst Bane health practices is a strong degree of religious belief.

Concrete associative thinking patterns appear subordinate to strong long-term orientation: tradition prevails in spite of recognition that the clinic is better. However, Ikey Bazabi suggests this is changing:

“When they feel the symptoms like fever, headache and others they know it is malaria. But if it is different kind of illness they go to the witchdoctor because they think it is their family spirit but for malaria they do not go. If it is diarrhoea they will go” (044:103).

This simply suggests the known is treated with modern techniques, the unknown with traditional.

Ikey Bazabi: “JW: You said there are some diseases that are caused by the spirit world. Why is there a difference that some know the physical causes; others see it as caused by spirits? How did they learn to distinguish between these? IB: The reason is they have seen the causes of malaria with their own eyes. They have seen mosquitoes at their maddest in the water so they know the cause” (044:108).

Attempting to increase health knowledge is problematic due to the strong masculinity present amongst the Bane, as Sharon Smith explains:

“Women have more of a domain over their health of their children, and it's women who help each other with deliveries and that kind of thing ... when we asked them to choose people to be trained, all chose men” (049:90).

However, a clear distinction between what is known is treated in the clinic and what is unknown is dealt with by the witchdoctor (initially) is not so evident in reality, as Sara (male, 42) reveals:

“(We use) traditional treatment for non water-related problems, but for water-related, we go to clinic. For anaemia (dizziness), we smell the guts of a goat. JW: Does it work? S: No. JW: What can the clinic solve and what not? S: We do this because of tradition. We can't stop the old practices” (037:160).

Therefore the majority of Bane attribute the majority of sicknesses (and all major sicknesses) to dead spirits (*maeshi*). Diviners find out who of the *maeshi* is making a person ill and how a recovery can be assured by the sacrifice of goats, sheep and even cattle where the illness is critical. The entrails of the sacrificed animal are put on top of a bowl and read, through spreading out like a Bane or Hamar homestead on a hill, to make a model. The colon represents the house, the large intestine the granary, the small intestine the fence, and so on. Features like the presence or absence of blood vessels, fat and glands on the peritoneum and empty spots in the intestines are used to see who of the *maeshi* is asking for the animal to be sacrificed.

Tele Bazabi: “Whenever someone goes to the witchdoctor they will tell him that somebody who is now dead from the family is bringing that sickness against him. The spirit of the dead person accuses the person for the things he did not do for them” (043:41).

- **Summary**

With both construction work and health and hygiene promotion, the above highlights the need for appropriate entry routes into the community, the value of relationships, and the need to elicit prior knowledge and attitudes to create an integrated (non-dualistic) understanding, as detailed in 4.3.2, Schema change and duality.

Cultural traits evident in the Bane-implementing agency relationship from the Bane perspective are: high individualism and instrumentalism with regards benefits of the relationship; high collectivism with regards group membership by right and exclusion by non-right; and strong long-term orientation, which subordinates concrete associative thinking patterns especially in relation to health, and includes strong narrowing (with regards resistance to change).

The relationship with the implementing agencies with regards religious beliefs is an intriguing one with many rich data associated, especially for the repercussions for Bane who convert to Christianity or any other religion that differs from many of their traditional beliefs. However, in the interests of brevity, this aspect of the relationship is not included in this thesis.

4.5.3 Bane - Government relationship

The Bane's relationship with the Government has to an extent been covered: at best the Bane tolerate them.

This is diplomatically summarised by Bita Adeno Garsho: "We accept and obey the orders the Government give us. ... The Government sometimes comes and tells us to give our children for school. We think it is a good idea, because the Government wants our children to be educated. Even if we don't know very much about it we just obey what the Government tells us to do. We do not have any negotiations. JW: Would you like to have negotiations sometimes, to change the Government idea or orders? AG: Yes, we would be willing to do so. JW: What do you think would happen if you did say no to the Government's ideas? AG: For example, if the Government comes and says give your children for schooling and if the school is far we wouldn't be willing to send our children - rather we would like to have a school nearby our children, because sometimes we need our children to be around" (042:68).

Stronger resistance to the Government was witnessed by the author during attempted Derg conscription of Bane youths by force in December 1989. The Bane men cut down trees and blocked the road into the area. They confronted the military with their spears, telling them they could take their cattle but not their sons. The military retreated.

However, during the same period amongst the neighbouring tribe of the Aari, Naty reports of women "*screaming and crying with incredible desperation, as though they were paying their last respects*" and quotes an Aari man as saying "*it is impossible to stop the sunrise and the sunset. We cannot stop the Ethiopian Government from conscripting our sons for the military service*" (Naty, 1997).

As with wife beating, the Bane appear to exhibit stronger masculinity than their neighbours (although the Aari do not form part of the 'Hamer cluster group').

Tele Bazabi says "The problem is the Government doesn't pay attention to our problem. For example, to fix the broken pipe they say we do not have budget. They don't help us

like other organisations. When we ask them to do something for us they do not respond” (043:293).

However, Sara feels positive and sympathetic towards the Government, appreciating their advice, especially warnings of impending droughts:

“JW: What happens in a drought year? Do people die? S: Yes, people die if it is severe. When there is a drought, they turn to the Government and ask for help and they come and they give grain. JW: Does the Government always help? S: When the Government gets funds, they help” (037:34).

- **Summary**

As with the Bane-implementing agency relationship, the Bane-Government relationship from the Bane perspective shows: strong narrowing (including strong group membership by right with exclusion by non-right); strong masculinity; and high instrumentalism and individualism with regards benefits of the relationship.

4.6 UGANDA

4.6.1 Ugandan internal relationships

Of the 56 ethnic groups in Uganda, the largest division, the Bantu, comprise 65% of the total population of 22 million (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001). The project locations of Kacerere and Nyakagyera are located within one people group in South West Uganda, the Bakiga who belong to the Bantu group. Given that the implementing agency, the Church of Uganda's Kigezi Diocese, operates exclusively in this area (politically known as Kabale District), and given the high level of Governmental decentralisation, only the briefest description of general Ugandan culture relevant to the Bakiga is given.

Danert (2003) observes that networks and patronage are key norms of Ugandan culture. *“Corruption is prevalent at the interface between the public and private sector: the business and family are interwoven in such a way that financial and human resources tend to move freely from one to the other ... Funding organisations and change agents may perceive these norms as inefficient, incompetent, corrupt or nepotistic and they thus take a stance against them”*.

4.7 BAKIGA

4.7.1 Bakiga internal relationships

- **Background**

The Bakiga form the third largest people group in Uganda (1.6 million) (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001) and most likely originally migrated from Buganza in Rwanda in search of fertile land and to escape political conflicts. Having settled in the fertile, mountainous south-west corner of Uganda, due to subsequent overpopulation, the Bakiga frequently migrate to other parts of Uganda (Spillman, 2003).

They are traditionally known as hard working agriculturalists (e.g. Church Missionary Society, 2005 and Onyango-Obbo, 2004), tilling ‘The Pearl of Africa’s’ fertile land and enjoying nine months of rains to produce a variety of cereal crops (primarily maize, sorghum and wheat) and vegetables. Some cattle are reared, predominantly through zero grazing. The Bakiga were also known as warriors “*with some excellent blacksmiths*” (Logar and Mukiibi, 2005).

The Bakiga are summarised by Buwembo (2002): “*Now, the Bakiga are productive people ... they produce a lot of children and they also produce wealth because they are very hardworking.*”

- **Social status and power**

The Bakiga were traditionally organised into clans, each composed of several lineages with its own head, Omukuru w’omuryango. To this day, the culture remains strongly vertical, with high power distance evident in all areas of life.

Traditionally, “*the Bakiga abhorred anti-social activities and if any one was caught he was heavily punished. Such activities included stealing, blocking paths, murder, sorcery and night dancing. In the case of murder, for example, the murderer was buried alive in the same grave as his victim*” (Spillman, 2003).

Until recently, politics was closely aligned with religion (see below). Onyango-Obbo (2004) asserts that the Bakiga are the only Ugandan group abroad that has moved beyond politics in “*uplifting conditions back home ... offering scholarships to Bakiga students and working to raise money to support their former schools*”.

Logar suggests that the Bakiga have accepted Western culture from an inferiority complex emanating from the West introducing civilisation and the assumption “*that everything they do is the best*” (Logar and Mukiibi, 2005). Onyango-Obbo acknowledges this trend, but suggests that “*young people are turning their back on our culture because it bores them*” (Onyango-Obbo, 1997). This author agrees with Logar: until recently, exposure to *abazungu* (foreigners) was limited to mostly British and Australian missionaries, the majority of whom possessed professional skills as doctors and engineers, practised a highly moral life, and thus provided an atypical representation of ‘Westerners’. Combined with their wealth (relative to the Bakiga), an image was created that is still aspired to amongst many Bakiga.

An indication of the strong collectivism that exists amongst the Bakiga, as well as relatively high levels of trust, comes from the following interview with Kellen Bazagwe, a 52 year old grandmother in Kacerere.

“JW: what do people do when there is a problem with the rain and there is not enough food? KB: normally we look for money, then we keep going to areas where we expect to purchase food ... JW: looking for money, does that mean selling cattle? KB: sometimes when there is some work, very many resort to working for this money which they take to get this food. Even the groups that we are in, we save some money in these groups, and so we borrow money so that when the famine is over, we can refund this money. JW: how big are these groups? KB: they range from 20 to 30 members JW: and does everybody in Kacerere belong to such groups or different groups? KB: almost everybody is involved in one of the groups which contribute little money, or others belong to groups which contributes much more money. So at least one has benefits. JW: so the more money you contribute, the more you can borrow? KB: normally when we contribute to this money, whoever has a problem, asks for this money. Sometimes he may not have contributed so much. As long as they know you’re capable of refunding this money, then when you have brought that, you can begin another one, depending on how people are borrowing. JW: is there a committee, or is it just the whole group who decide? KB: there is a committee. There is normally a committee with a treasurer, secretary, and chairperson. They sit down and you apply for this money ... before they give you this money, you put there a mortgage, and there is somebody who stands on your behalf. Should you fail to bring it, then this person and you are accountable to refund us money. JW: does it ever happen that people fail to refund? KB: it is not very

common, but there is one time when somebody failed. They sold their land, and then they repaid that money ... we have a bank here which is also assisting in our development. JW: how is that helping? KB: we have shares in this bank. So what we do, when we normally get some money, instead of misusing it, you keep investing this money on your bank account” (065:49).

In addition to the various credit and savings groups referred to, membership of women’s groups (including the Mother’s Union), stretcher and burial societies, wedding groups and so on, form an important part of the social fabric of the Bakiga.

A trait the Bakiga have in common with the Amhara is an admiration of those who kill their enemies having lulled them into a false sense of security. When the Christian gospel was first preached amongst the Bakiga, Judas was seen as a hero for this reason. Inviting an enemy into one’s home and poisoning him/her is not uncommon to this day, and the reason why sodas are only drunk if the gas is heard to escape upon opening, and why, whilst eating in public, a drink or meal is never left to go to toilet (Cullen, 1995); and Gezahgn Dejachew (117:16)).

Thus strong collectivism amongst the Bakiga in certain arenas is mixed with suspicion and distrust in others, a theme that recurs and is explored further in subsequent sections.

○ *Kacerere and Nyakagyera*

Many of the processes related to power distribution already cited are evident in the context of the specific projects of Kacerere and Nyakagyera. Egalitarianism is reported in WATSAN committees:

Irene Jane Kyuzia (female, 70, Kacerere) reports “everybody is at the (same) level when we are in the committee. There is no one who is superior to the others who tries to make himself above others. Whatever is brought up in the committee we just all share it and resolve it accordingly without one fearing another one” (064:145).

Joseline Nkoreata (female, 55, Nyakagyera) similarly reports that in the committee “everybody is very free to share his or her views. JW: when you have to make a decision on something where you have different ideas, how do you reach a decision? JN: we use the vote of majority” (084:115).

Joy Rumanzi (female, 45, Kacerere) reports that “the WATSAN committee itself works, and other than that, the taps have got their own committees which must look after these taps. When children come and maybe do something wrong on these taps, then the

parents of the children are called by the small tapstand committees, and they discuss what the children have done, and then they solve that” (066:83).

Lydia Sesiimoka (female, 27, Nyakagyera) is very appreciative of the tapstand committees: “every tap has a water committee, so it is those committees that discuss those issues. JW: have you ever shared problems with people about water? SL: yes, I have. JW: so do you feel that the tapstand committees listen to you? SL: yes, they are very ready to listen to whatever you have seen which is not good, to be ironed out” (079:97).

Within the committees, poor performance is treated in a relatively non-familial manner, as Kenneth Bekunda, the Health Coordinator for the Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme (hereafter referred to as the Ugandan church programme) explains:

“... normally when you see somebody who is not very vigorous or hard working on this committee, that is when he is replaced. JW: is that an easy process, or is it difficult? KB: it is not hard because everybody participated in the meeting, and then if they are saying that this one is weak on this, everybody is aware and knows it, so it is not hard. Even the one they are sending out will definitely know that what they are saying is true, so there will be no problem” (065:134).

This is backed up by Stanley Zinkubire Basheija (male, 61, Kacerere), the WATSAN chairman: “you call a meeting, let's say, three, four, five times, and you find these particular members are not coming up. Then that one forces them to at least change this person to put in someone who is at least interested” (063:221).

Irene Jane Kyuzia (female, 70, Kacerere) suggests the process is conciliatory: “You will not remove him straight from the committee, you will advise him to put in more effort, so that at least what we want is achieved, rather than getting out this person. They will actually change” (064:165).

Similarly, Jeripena Rutandikiiri (female, 50, Nyakagyera) states that “nobody has been removed from the committee, because when he has woken up, he starts again being active” (081:87).

Both project locations have, however, had their conflicts which provide insights into the values and distribution of power amongst the Bakiga.

➤ *Conflict resolution: Kacerere*

The original WATSAN chairman, Stanley Mateeka, the Church of Uganda (COU) pastor for the area, was removed. In the words of George Bagamuhunda, the Programme Manager for the Ugandan church programme:

“... he was pulled out because he was not co-operating with the community members, so the community members refused him ... he was sending away the headmaster of the secondary school in those days, and the community members wanted him. In that process this Reverend was transferred – they brought another Reverend. JW: do you know why Reverend Mateeka wanted to get rid of the head teacher? GW: he went to the Diocese and the headmaster was transferred. JW: why did he want to transfer the headmaster? GW: the problem was that the headmaster was going around with these schoolgirls, so he refused him. But the community wanted the head master to remain. What brought about that was that the headmaster used to go and booze with the community members at bars, so they liked him very much. So the community members wanted him, the headmaster to remain. They had a meeting and that Reverend who came was chosen as the chairman of the scheme. JW: were there any other problems after that? GW: no, there weren't any problems. People started co-operating” (062:55).

As noted later in 4.7.1, Gender, the Kacerere area is known for its bars, which clearly can cause tensions, as can relative wealth. The former WATSAN chairman, Stanley Mateeka, explains:

“Some people wanted the water to be taken to their homes - the well-off people. They said they could even contribute some pipes to make it possible to reach their homes. JW: how were those requests treated? SM: they were not allowed, because we were told that this water is for the public people, not well-to-do people, so they said that if they allow people to take it in their homes, the time may come when it is the dry season and these people can take all the water, and the public can fail to get water. JW: what did people think about that explanation? SM: well, the ordinary people understood it, but those well-to-do people, did not understand it. Because they wanted it, they said ‘there is a lot of water, we cannot exhaust it’” (67:203).

However, a similar power play experienced by the author had a different outcome. An innovative technology – low cost household rainwater jars – was developed by the author and the then Assistant Programme Manager, George Bagamuhunda. Demand soon overtook production capacity, which led to considerable pressure from many community leaders for satellite production units to be trained to produce and sell jars at full cost, rather than at the donor subsidised cost the Programme was able to offer.

The author strongly resisted the idea, suggesting to the leaders that once those that could afford the full costs of the jars - i.e. the wealthy who tended to be the powerful and therefore the leaders of the community – once they had received their jars, they would fail to then represent the poorer/ less empowered members of their communities in requesting a solution to their problem of the burden of water collection. The leaders unanimously agreed, and the matter was closed.

➤ *Conflict resolution: Nyakagyera*

An unresolved conflict in Nyakagyera is payment of the Scheme Caretaker, James Kakura (male, 52): “in selecting these members, my aim was to look for somebody who will keep this water running effectively. JW: do you feel that the people who were chosen are doing that? JK: they are not doing it to the required standard. JW: what do you see the problems as? JK: the way that they taught us that we should look after the scheme, these committees, the tapstand committees aren’t fully observing what they have been taught ... People are not contributing this money ... there are some instances where I have worked about two or three places and I was not paid, so this discourages me actually. I lose the interest. Sometimes when there is a problem, I just sympathise with people and say that at least they should have water, and I assist them, just helping ... I think the whole committee of 15 people should be changed and then we elect another one” (085:92).

Nathan Raukar, the WATSAN chairman feels that the Scheme Caretakers, who “are paid on a contract basis when there is a problem ... have been demanding higher payments than the community is able to pay ... we still have some well-wishers who contribute regularly, so sometimes we don’t normally need to contact everybody. JW: do you feel that that is sustainable in the long term? RN: actually, it may not be” (083:127).

Another problem cited by Charles Rutandikiiri (male, 58), a Tapstand Caretaker is that “children will disturb ... normally if we find them there, then we cane them, but in most instances we find that they have run away. JW: do you know the parents of the children? CR: yes we will take the children to the parents and even warn them. JW: does that have much effect? CR: it helps, but children, even if you see them again, they are not listening to what the parents are warning them against” (082:93).

○ *Politics*

Where projects show a lack of sustainability, Kenneth Bekunda sees this as often due to politics: “in most cases, it is just because of power struggles. When you are in the community, you may find there are some two giants or three who want to be chairman. If one is the chairman, then there are others who will start failing. Mainly that’s the problem. At times, when it is the wrong timing, and it is around election time, you know elections here are not like your elections - ours are war, struggle. So you find that if I have lost, then I say ‘why should his project flourish?’ Then I will start sabotaging” (072:659). Such behaviour has much in common with the poisoning mentioned earlier.

○ *Public self-image*

There is much evidence that the Bakiga actively seek ways of avoiding a negative public self-image. Many social activities occur on the basis of fear of ‘*yilunta*’. The author was told that funerals are attended “*because if you don’t, it is assumed you had something to do with that person’s death*” (Bagamuhunda, 1996).

A similar concern was expressed by Julius Kasigazi, the Chief Plumber with the Ugandan church programme: “JW: what is the value of a wedding party? JK: it is to become one person, they say that that one who is not wed is like that and that” (070:482).

A mix of active and passive behaviour in relation to public self-image occurred when the author was requested to form and chair a committee to oversee a highly contentious area within the Diocese: vehicle use. This in itself suggests a passive avoidance of a negative image, but furthermore, the author accepted on condition that the meetings would start on time, regardless of whether ‘important persons’ were there - highly against the cultural norm. This was accepted, and typical of the comments subsequently received was that of William Kebemera, the Diocesan Mechanic:

“we really appreciate the meetings starting on time and making those difficult decisions to refuse vehicles to people who don’t pay ... (but) we couldn’t do that ourselves” (Kebemera, 1995). The role of the expatriate in implementing agencies is further explored in 4.8.1, Church-based INGOs.

Kenneth Bekunda suggests in the arena of health promotion training the desire is more for a positive name, rather than avoiding a negative one:

“When they start seeing those plays, the drama, it does much more than you just standing before them and talking. They stay with the messages, they may even adopt those names: they start saying that so and so is a poorly looked after home - they name the other names. So they work very hard not to be called after somebody who has had a bad home. I would say it's very positive. They want to change, because you know, human beings want to be praised, so you want your name ‘so and so has a nice home’ you feel good about it. So when everybody's talking about you and you have a bad home - even here we have some drinking groups, they start shying away from their group. So you feel you want to lift your status, so I think that is positive” (072:117).

○ *Education*

Education has a very high premium amongst the Bakiga for a variety of reasons as the following interview excerpts reveal:

Mideas Tumushabi (female, 23) “because I am not educated, I will make sure that my children go to school. I will struggle and make sure that they have to go to school” (059:83).

Geoffrey Wankwanda (male, 40): “JW: what would you say is important for your life? GW: educating my child” (062:255).

James Kakura (male, 52) “I am a maker of charcoal stoves. Originally I would not make more than 10 of the stoves (per day). Because now water is very near, I make more than 10, so it has helped me very much having water nearer. JW: what are you using this extra money for? JK: I use it to pay school fees for my children. JW: what value do you see education having? JK: there is much which I cannot even express or explain. I see education as very important” (085:192).

The majority of interviewees who, as a result of the project intervention, either similarly increased productivity from the time saved collecting water, or saved money from reduced clinic fees, stated that they used this money for education. For example, Kellen Bazagwe (female, 52) from Kacerere states:

“now I have tomatoes, because the water is very near, so I fetch it in my spare time, give these crops the water, after which I can get some good money from these tomatoes ... I use this money for pay my children's school fees, clothing them, getting salt, getting anything that would assist me” (065:251).

The motivation for educating children is varied:

Joy Rumanzi (female, 45) “when your child is educated in most cases, you find he is helping you” (066:230).

Reuben Byomugabi (male, 37), the Accountant for the Ugandan church programme, suggests that when somebody sacrifices to send all his children to school “the expectation is two-fold. Firstly, he knows that if he has four or five, at least one of them will come to his rescue in his old-age. That is relief. The other side is that if I have 10 children, when they can be on their own, that is another relief. Because for example, if I have something small for my pension, that is enough, because I know these others are independent” (071:687).

From these and other interviews it appears the Bakiga demonstrate a strong instrumentalist motivation to the education of their children.

Mukiibi echoes the comments made by Ralph Wiegand for the Amhara (4.3.1, Public self-image): “‘education’, the tool on which sustainable development ought to rely, has instead, in Uganda’s context, turned into a factor that perpetuates the very underdevelopment it was meant to cure ... rote learning is required to memorize what is taught in class and then be able to reproduce it during exams ... this system tends to encourage students to study for examinations rather than studying for knowledge. And lecturers to teach for examinations ... the school has tended to reduce education from a life-long learning process to a mere institutionalized learning, only proven by bearing certificates” (Mukiibi, 2000).

From having lived and worked amongst the Bakiga for 6 years, the author saw ample evidence to support this view. Even in higher education courses (Diploma level), the period between a mock exam and the final exam was spent revising the ‘correct’ answers to the mock questions, which were then re-set verbatim as the final exam.

Bakiga studying abroad in the West thus face difficulties: *“I really struggled initially. You have to criticise two authors who express different opinions. In our culture, they are both extremely clever to have written a book. They are both right”* (Tirwomwe, 1996).

However, George Bagamuhunda, similarly educated in the UK at a higher degree level, shows a paradigm shift can be made: *“I think education is really important, it changes people's knowledge, and understanding, and attitudes, but it is one thing to be educated and taught that this is the right thing, and another thing to put it into practice. I think you need education and wisdom”* (075:633).

There is a strong suggestion of active avoidance of negative public self-image in Kenneth Bekunda’s appreciation of the value of education:

“Leave alone formal education, education is very important, because if you go into a home and you find a mother is the teacher in the home, she will take time to make sure that her children behave the way she wants, I think that is also educating them. The community has kind of a setting, the standards that they want to live by, so you have to be educated gradually to fit into the community, so if you don't acquire that education level when you're young or whatever you'll find that you're community misfits” (072:526).

Although ‘education’ was the most common response in answer to a standard interview question of *“What is the most important thing in your life?”* the following five consecutive responses from Nyakagyera show a wide cross section of responses:

Charles Rutandikiiri (male, 58): *“to love one another, that is the most important. JW: how would you see that as being demonstrated in practice? CR: like when we have anything to do, when you all join it and work together, then you are showing a sign of love”* (082:273).

Nathan Raukar (male, 50): *“I have been taught by circumstances to believe that funds could make one a better person, so with some riches I have been able to meet my demands”* (083:327).

Joseline Nkoreata (female, 55): *“I take education as being the most important”* (084:386).

James Kakura (male, 52): “to be rich” (085:256).

Mary Buherezo (female, 60): “the most important thing is actually respecting God who gave me life and my children, so I take life as the most important thing” (086:250).

- **Religion**

Kabale District has been the focus of considerable missionary activity since the 1920s and was at the centre of the East African revival in the 1930s (John, 1971). As a result, much of Kabale District is Protestant: the project locations are approximately two-thirds Protestant (Church of Uganda) and one-third Roman Catholic. The few Muslims in the District are concentrated in the town of Kabale, and whilst those practising traditional religion are officially few in number (approximately 4% nationally), syncretism exists, though on a much smaller scale than amongst the Amhara and Oromo of Ethiopia for example. However, where it is practised, this is often in secret for fear of exclusion, in attitude at least, from the dominant ‘in-group’ of Christianity.

One project location, Kacerere, borders with the Batwa, or pygmies, who believe that God dwells in the calm and quiet environment of the forest under the shade of trees, feeding on leaves (Kayeeye, 2004). The Batwa dwell in and guard the forest, yet form a small percentage (< 1%) of non-participatory end users in Kacerere as they move through the area primarily to trade.

Romberg (2003) reports that the churches in Uganda have had a large influence on the abstinence message that has seen Uganda become the first country in the world to halve the numbers afflicted with HIV/AIDS, from approximately 25% in 1992 to 9% in 2000 (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001).

During Uganda’s turbulent political past in the 1970s and 1980s, religious affiliation was closely aligned with politics: there is still a remnant of this present amongst the project locations, although Charles Rutandikiiri (male, 58), a Catholic from Nyakagyera suggests that is not the case:

“in Nyakagyera here we have no problem, because if anybody wants to go and pray at the Protestant church even though he is a Catholic, he is welcome. Even if a Protestant wants to come and maybe give thanks with some of our Catholics, he is very welcome, so we work together” (082:31).

- **Gender**

Diana Tibenderana, the Community Health Coordinator for the Ugandan church programme cites a common problem of “men drinking from morning to evening ... they don't care about their families, they don't care about the children ... what we are concentrating on mainly are the women, because most of them do not usually go for drinking. They concentrate on the housework and bringing up the children” (069:253).

This is reiterated by George Katwesigye, the Diocesan Bishop: “Today many of the Bakiga, men particularly, they are sitting by the roadsides, the trading centres, all day long. They don't do work ... In the Bakiga we never stole, we never heard of people stealing, but today they are stealing because they need money to drink... when we talk of projects which people should participate in, you find women are more forthcoming than men” (073:73).

One project location, Kacerere, typifies these descriptions, having many well frequented bars, as Stanley Mateeka, the former WATSAN chairman states: “there are some people who are very active, but others who are not ... They spend their time drinking ... mostly men. Women are very hard working: they are very responsible for the education even of their children, for food and for clothing children. But many men do not mind about family affairs” (067:35)

A man is not allowed to marry from his clan, and polygamy, whilst still present, is slowly diminishing. An extreme case of polygamy was experienced by the author whilst managing the Ugandan church programme in the early 1990s. The land on which a spring was to be protected was owned by a man in his eighties who was just about to marry an eighteen year old woman as his 27th wife: in total he had fathered 81 children. Largely due to the relative scarcity of land such practises are rare these days.

However, polygamy still exists, with implications for RWSHP projects, as George Bagamuhunda states: “in Kabale, in a polygamous home, you have four wives with 16 children, and a small piece of land. You have only one latrine, all the four wives use it and 16 children. It is very, very difficult to keep it clean. Whereas people would have their understanding ‘yes this latrine should be kept clean’, but whose responsibility is it, because most of those facilities which are shared, it is very difficult, because nobody almost takes the responsibility. But where you go to homes where there is one man, one wife, with two children, the small family, then you can actually see results very quickly. In such a big home, a polygamous house, people know that there is a need for a living house, a separate house for cooking, but someone who has taken on four wives does not have all the resources to take on those separate houses. So there are limitations to what that man can afford, not because he is refusing, but because the means to achieve those facilities compared to the income sometimes it is very, very difficult. It is not really that people are saying no, but there are certain constraints” (075:322).

This illustrates the relative wealth of the Bakiga compared to the majority of Ethiopians, where, from the author's experience, even without the problem of polygamy, people acknowledge the need for a separate dwelling for their cattle, saying that they see it is one of the major causes of disease in the house, but also saying that they cannot afford to build another house even if they only have one wife.

Romberg's study of sexual activity amongst adolescent Bakiga revealed that according to interviewees, a girl's sexuality required control whereas a boy's was thought to be natural and therefore uncontrollable. Similarly, girls had to conceal an active sex life, whereas boys had to conceal an inactive sex life, since they were expected to seduce girls into sex by all means (Romberg, 2003).

All of this points to a highly masculine culture.

o *Roles*

Many suggest that there is low gender distance despite clear demarcation of roles.

George Bagamuhunda: "if the family is co-operating ... it is the responsibility of men to build, and if he builds whether it is a house or a latrine, culturally it is also the responsibility of the woman to sweep it, so somehow both of them have got their distinct roles. If you asked the woman, she is not offended, if you asked the man, he is not offended. They have each got their roles. To me, it bothers me if it is a man who is supposed to build the house, and we are expecting a woman to go and build it, then that becomes an issue. But if each person is playing, doing his own role, then it is not an issue" (075:757).

Jeripena Rutandikiiri (female, 50) expressed a similar acceptance of roles with regards the Nyakagyera scheme: "I didn't attend any one meeting (during construction). It is only husbands who attended these meetings, and then they would come and tell us what they had discussed during the meetings. JW: what sort of things do you remember from what your husband told you? JR: at least I can remember that when they came back, they told us that they have resolved that we women should carry sand and stones, and the day when the men are going to spend a whole day working, then we are supposed to take them food, that one I can remember. JW: so did you carry sand and stones? JR: yes. JW: were all the people happy to do that? JR: they were all very happy, even the children" (081:47).

Sometimes there will be role reversal, as Stephen Rwamahay (male, 60) from Nyakagyera states: "children would bring this jerry can, sometimes me, maybe even the wife" (080:149).

However, this is not the norm. The author witnessed a Pastor in Ruhiiita become completely ostracised by the male members of the community for helping his wife haul water from the lake some 400m below the village.

- **Summary**

The Bakiga can be described as exhibiting the following cultural characteristics: high power distance; strong collectivism in most arenas (although the motivation may be an individualistic, active avoidance of negative public self-image); individualism in conflict resolution (politics and personal vendettas); high masculinity (though low gender distance occurs at times); high uncertainty avoidance; high long-term orientation; and a strong degree of belief in God with medium levels of syncretism.

4.7.2 Bakiga - Implementing Agency relationship

A prominent and recurring feature of the expressed good relations between the Ugandan church programme and the communities of Kacerere and Nyakagyera was the on-going nature of that relationship, as the following excerpts reveal:

Kellen Bazagwe (female, 52) "... there is a good relationship because even up to now, they kept actually saying that they wanted to come and see us" (065:160).

Jeripena Rutandikiiri (female, 50) "... there is a very big relationship between the project workers and the community, because I normally see people coming even if they have made this water for us, they still come and check on us time and again ... it gives us courage and power when we see them at least coming again to check on us: we feel very happy for that" (081:108).

Joseline Nkoreata (female, 55) "... because the church, I see it keeping sending people to come and check with us and talk with us to find out how we are, so this shows that we are still in co-operation and work together as a team, that is why I say there is a good relationship" (084:180).

Similar sentiments were also expressed by men (e.g. 083 and 085) suggesting the value of on-going support extends beyond the training provided.

The high value placed on relationships is summarised by Stanley Zinkubire Basheija (male, 61), the WATSAN chairman for Kacerere, in his personal comments to the author:

“I thank you so much, because when we started this water, I remember you being around, and so remembering to come back and again to come and see us, it means you are our friend, so I am very happy, and to have shown us your family, this is a tie that is uniting us, that we should know each other, and keep remembering each other. Being so concerned to have come and show us your family, that means that even our families are your friends ... it was a pleasure for me to have worked with you because you were very co-operative, you were very approachable” (063:648).

Similarly, Geoffrey George Wankwanda (male, 40, Kacerere): “JW: What was important for it to be successful? GW: the project loved the community” (062:151).

The flexible, functional nature of the relationship with project staff appeared to be the main reason for appreciation by Stanley Zinkubire Basheija: “the project workers are very good people, because whenever I get a problem and go and contact them, they straight away come to my rescue and assist me. So, it is very fair to say that the project workers are so good” (063:352).

A similar attitude was expressed by Joy Rumanzi (female, 45) “I would say that the relationship is very good because even they went to an extent to make sure that we made tapstand committees which would be looking after this water in different areas” (066:117).

Thus a high degree of collectivistic, solidaristic association is exhibited by the Bakiga in relation to the implementing agency, with a small but not negligible degree of instrumentalism.

A degree of competitive individualism was evident in Stanley Zinkubire Basheija’s appreciation of the project: “this water, the Kacerere water gravity flow scheme, is very nice and it is very liked by everyone here because in the whole sub county, it is only our parish which got this chance of having water” (063:160).

A more widespread and strong motivating factor for Kacerere end users is reported by George Bagamuhunda: “I had heard problems with dysentery and people had died, and so really when we came in, and we explained about how dysentery comes and the need for clean and safe potable water, people were very, very enthusiastic to carry on the programme. And that dysentery has actually disappeared, and so motivation, people do not want to go back and see people dying again” (075:684).

However, given the turbulent political history of Uganda, aligned closely with religion (4.7.1), the most common appreciation expressed was unity:

In Kacerere, Irene Jane Kyuzia (female, 70) reports that “water has brought us unity - between the churches - the Catholic churches and the Protestant churches” (064:215).

Stanley Zinkubire Basheija: “the reason why we say that this project is very successful, one major important issue is that we are united ... formerly the Protestants, the Church of Uganda, were not actually collaborating very well with the Catholics. But because

now this water extended to the Catholic churches and the Catholic schools, and because they are having meetings together, so it has brought in fellowship so now they work together. At least they are now one, as compared to before when they could not even talk to each other this has brought us to oneness, so we are now together, so that is very, very, we actually thank God for that” (063:289).

The COU’s Bishop George Katwesigwe: “we used to have some conflicts based on religion, but here, when I go, it’s amazing that sometimes you hear Roman Catholics referring to me as their Bishop because of this water and the group that we sent to them ... Sometimes we have had challenges of people saying ‘why do you give water to the Roman Catholics, because for them when they have any project, they don’t give to us?’ but we have said ‘for us we are not going to pay you evil for evil. We shall give whoever is in need’” (073:140).

Similarly, in Nyakagyera George Bagamuhunda reports: “... they have had a good relationship. The leadership on the Government side, and the church side, both Protestant and Catholic, generally they have been good. All the leaders have worked together as a team, so if there is a problem, they will all come together and they sort that common problem. It has always been like that, right from the start up to now. They have really had a good relationship” (075:713).

However, a problem discussed further in 4.8.1 ‘Equality of service delivery’ is that of community expectations of ‘fairness’ or equality as opposed to equity of service delivery. It is experienced by staff of the Ugandan church programme, and highlights concern for public self-image. George Bagamuhunda: “by working somewhere and not working other places, then the other person feels that maybe you don’t like him, or what” (075:476).

Kenneth Bekunda: “the management committee ... is a very helpful committee. And especially for us the programme workers. It is very good, we regard it as our shield from either the community, or the church authorities ... me I am safeguarded, because I am not the decision-maker” (072:240).

- **Software approaches**

Entry strategies and the relationship with end users are seen as important by the implementing agency:

Diana Tibenderana, the Community Health Coordinator for the Ugandan church programme states that: “the way you enter the community, who have you passed through, who you approach first ... this will decide how successful you will be when you are staying there” (069:225).

George Bagamuhunda supports this view: “if you enter through a bad gate, you can go to a village through a chairman that is not very popular, and that scheme will be very, very difficult. But when you go there and you take time initially, and you go through the right gate, through somebody whom people accept, who they believe in, through a CBO

that is already established, and it encompasses almost everybody in the community, then work really becomes easier” (075:80).

Kimanzi suggests “*spending more time with community leaders may achieve more in the long term than spending more time in community mobilisation meetings. The role of community leaders should never be underestimated*” (Kimanzi, 2002).

As with the Ethiopian church programme’s work amongst the Amhara, the necessity of adapting to the community is recognised by Kenneth Bekunda: “I have seen many educated people who’ve undergone a formal education, but really who are not educated. He has come to school, he has learned, but he is not educated. Put him in a community, ask him to talk to people, the language that you are going to use, people say that this one has not gone to school. Because he does not know how to maybe respect the group he is addressing, he is in a community, he is not behaving in the way that community has educated itself, the settings of that community. He is not fitting in” (072:536).

Formerly with CARE, Diana Tibenderana reveals that “in CARE we used to live in the hotel, and the programme would meet in the churches, but with this programme, we live in the community with the people, we eat with them, we work with them, take them at their pace ... it is we ourselves going to the ground and getting information, so it is first-hand information that we are getting” (069:93).

Reuben Byomugangi states: “these end users, you cannot just decide for them. You cannot just sit at a table here and do a programme, and think that when you present it to them it will be taken wholesale” (071:518).

With regards the uptake of low-cost drilling technologies in Uganda, Danert reports that because “*external change agents tended to be prepared to plan despite uncertainties (whereas) local stakeholders in general were not ... a stage by stage process whereby one aspect of a project is completed before the next is planned may be more appropriate that trying to plan around uncertainties*” (Danert, 2003).

Thus in addition to identification of an appropriate entry point, implementing agency flexibility is critical, with regards cultural adaptation, time, and planning processes.

- **Health**

Water has strong positive connotations for the Bakiga.

Irene Jane Kyuzia (female, 70): “We say it is ‘*amakiza*’ which means ‘*kiza*’ is curing or healing; that mentality, we have it. So we perceive water as an important thing” (064:190).

Stanley Zinkubire Basheija: “I know at least one (proverb), from the old people, who used to say that somebody who loves you is that one who gives you some water to drink” (063:610).

There are various influences on health behaviour amongst the Bakiga, as the following sections detail.

○ *Religion*

Whilst syncretism is present amongst the Bakiga, it is more home-remedy rather than witchdoctor or traditional healer oriented, as Irene Jane Kyuzia (female, 70) from Kacerere explained: “JW: what would you do when you got sick (before the project)? IK: we would go to get herbs, then we would pound them and crush them, then we would just take. Sour herbs. JW: would that always work? IK: most of the people would die. Those who were lucky would live a bit, but most of them died ... when it was serious, we would go (to the clinic), but most of the time we would reach there when we were totally finished, and then we would die. We would reach there very late in most cases ... because of ignorance and hoping that maybe these herbs would heal us, for then we would find ourselves reaching there very late ... even now there are some people who go to see those traditional healers ... those who go there, I normally see them reaching there and they would say ‘this child is charmed.’ Time is going, the patient is getting weaker and weaker, and eventually you find the person has died. So personally I don't believe in these traditional healers, because they are just wasting time, taking these people's money, and in the long run, they don't help much ... there are some people who sometimes get problems with legs, with the knees. They think that maybe somebody has charmed them, so you find them rushing to witch doctors or traditional healers. There is a way of sucking blood from these legs which are bad, using a hole. They say there are those guys who cut and suck blood by mouth, to get out some of these things - the clotted blood and what have you – and there are some young children who may be suffering from some diseases, and still they are taken” (64:261).

The practice of blood letting appears relatively common, as Julius Kasigazi (male, 32) explains: “JW: so when you were younger, with your parents, did you use herbs? JK: yes (laughs), they would cut us with a razor blade, then they would look for medicine when the blood comes out and put it in there” (070:406).

○ *Gender*

In Kacerere, Stanley Mateeka the former WATSAN chairman cites a gender bias in attendees to health training that is common amongst the Bakiga: “many women would come. Few men would come, but women would come. JW: why do you think the women were particularly interested? SM: well, you know that the women they are the people cultivating, collecting food, collecting firewood, collecting water, so they really benefited seeing that water was nearby instead of going for a kilometre to collect water. So whenever they came from the fields carrying food or fuel, they would only have to walk for a few metres to collect water, so they were happy” (067:317).

This suggests either a prior concern for health or that a relationship was established through the tangible provision of improved access to potable water that led to a degree of trust on behalf of the female end users that subsequently led to openness to new ideas.

In Nyakagyera, Lydia Sesiimoke suggests the motivation was strong collectivism: “JW: did everybody go to that training? SL: they all went there. JW: why did you go? SL: we wanted to be together, to work together” (79:187).

○ *Competitions*

One aspect of health and hygiene promotion the Ugandan church programme has used for a number of years is self-monitoring by communities, and competitions between project locations (competitions and other incentives are noted by Senvanpan and Thavivone (2004) to revamp failed projects).

In Kacerere, demonstration pit latrines and urinals were constructed so that, as Stanley Mateeka explained, the community “would copy, and then they would inspect yours. JW: when you say that you would inspect people's homes, what do you think their motivation was? Was it fear that they would be shown to be dirty, and that is why they would dig a pit-latrine, or would it be more positive motivation, that they would see the benefits? SM: well, they were both. Some would fear, but I remember at one time we had the Local Council chairman on the committee, and when we went out inspecting, he would say that if you don't do it, we shall arrest you. We said ‘no, this is a church, we're not arresting you, but you're doing it because this is your own benefit. We want the whole village to be clean to get rid of these diseases’. So some did it out of fear, but others ... knew what they were doing” (067:344).

The current Kacerere WATSAN chairman, Stanley Zinkubire Basheija, suggests a more individualistic and competitive motivation: “when they hear that people from (the Ugandan church programme) are coming for competitions then everybody works so hard to make sure that at least his home may get the best marks so that he can get a reward for listening and literally accepting what has been taught... It does not mean that they are after the prizes only. Still they are aware that they are supposed to look after their homes very well, so they would still make them clean” (063:632).

Opinions amongst implementing agency staff vary:

George Bagamuhunda: “I think competitions are good, it depends how you organise it, and how you guide them. What we always try to avoid is to go in and take the decision that you are the best, and that you are not very good, and that you are poor. The people who are competing adjust given the skills and the guidelines actually to go out and do it themselves. They have their own standards. What you are looking for in a latrine, is really not what they are looking for in a latrine. They know by their standards that if a

latrine is like this it is good enough, so they set their own standards, and they use those standards to judge what they think is good” (075:725).

This however, still encourages a competitiveness that Diana Tibenderana thinks is unsustainable: “when they hear you coming, they become very active and you find them very well done. But if you just pop in, you find they haven't swept, because they know they have to sweep, you find the water that they are drinking, the container is empty. JW: what do you think the solution is to that? DT: that is why we adopted this monitoring programme, for somebody to go and check at different times and you just pop them without telling them you are coming” (069:466).

Kenneth Bekunda concurs: “The moment they hear you are somewhere around, they start putting things the way you want them. That is the most interesting part about it: you identifying with them. They know that so and so doesn't like this, they want things this way. So when they know you are around, we tell them that next week you'll be there, then you find everything is done your way” (072:96).

Competitions thus seem to fit well with the didactic, rote learning style common in the formal education system in Uganda, as noted. However, strong reliance on extrinsic motivators as opposed to intrinsic raises serious questions regarding sustainability.

Kenneth Bekunda suggests a solution: “household level competitions within a community. You first go and do your baseline, you give them their results, then from the results you get the relevant messages to that particular community. You give the results for the whole community, without naming people. You often find that dirty latrines are being shared between many households, so you give them numbers. After that you give your training, then you again make another visit, this time involving the WATSAN going out with you. Then later on we train the monitoring teams, even while you're away, those teams keep on going to check the homes. They are from the community, separate to the WATSAN, but answerable to the WATSAN. So when they make such visits among themselves, you find the results are long-lived, rather than cleaning for you who is coming to inspect today, but tomorrow is not going to be here. This time they know that each person is responsible for the other, and among them are some key people who will be visiting, making remarks, and equipped with the health messages to train them on the spot, advising here and there” (072:138).

This still suggests a potential reliance on extrinsic motivators, but ones that are closer to home. The necessary process of accretion and restructuring of schema to provide sustainable schema driven behaviour (3.3.3) is complex and clearly requires further study.

- *Health promotion methodology*

Amongst the Bakiga, the preferred learning methodologies from the health promotion undertaken by the implementing agency were evenly split between drama, house to

house visiting, note-taking meetings and focus group meetings (discussion). Only one end user preferred film. The following represent a cross section of end users' perspectives:

Joseline Nkoreata (female, 55) states that "there are some people who find that when they are visited in the homes, they fear and maybe they don't appear or you don't find them there, because they are afraid to be found in their homes" (084:329).

Charles Rutandikiiri (male, 58): "I would prefer coming together, because there are some people who are not hard working who would not like to have, for instance, the toilet. But when we are in a group, and this one brings an idea and everybody resolves that we should have a toilet, then that one who is not interested, would be forced to do it. But when they visit house-to-house, some of the things I would not know when somebody else knows, that is why I preferred group meetings rather than individual house-to-house visits" (082:232). This again suggests extrinsic motivators are commonly promoted.

Kellen Bazagwe (female, 52) "I think drama would teach the best, because they are there, you're seeing them. On the film they are just passing by, so I think drama would teach better" (065:241).

Diana Tibenderana sums up the need to adopt a variety of approaches: "I think the old people do better with pictures, especially those that can't read or write, they do better with pictures, video shows, and talks, discussions. You sit with them, and talk to them, and discuss what, and what. JW: one-to-one, or group? DT: group, because a group does better. For example, I can talk: one understands me better than another, then this one who has understood me can pass it on to another one, and the other one will understand me. Then the youth, they do better with writing notes, they will pass even the notes on to other friends. Then the children, of course the video shows. When we take a video, people learn so much, but we don't even have to explain, they like it so much ... JW: if you had to only do one method, which one would you do? DT: one would rather do house-to-house. It is more intensive, because as you do house-to-house, you're doing inspection, you are doing the talking, the two go in one" (069:391).

There is a general recognition amongst end users that such training needs to be ongoing, although the reasoning suggests the effectiveness of community self-monitoring may be limited:

Stanley Zinkubire Basheija: "when the scheme started, the water project from the Diocese used to train our people on health and sanitation, and people liked it so much. This same system has somehow stopped, it is no longer as it started, because these days they are just selecting very few people, and they just meet in town at All Saints Church, and when they come back to teach these people, people respect people from outside, rather than these few who have gone there from within. We would ask that if this system would continue coming to teach our people, those who had slept a bit would at least wake up again then we would find ourselves going on very well" (063:167).

This perspective of a preference for extrinsic trainers is widespread. The same arguments apply as discussed with competitions: potentially, conflicting schema results.

There is clearly a need to carefully assess the effectiveness of intrinsic versus extrinsic training, and how these relate to the generation of intrinsic motivators.

- **Summary**

Similar to the Amhara, the Bakiga were forthcoming in expression of appreciation of the following implementing agency characteristics: familiarity, low power distance (egalitarianism), femininity, collectivism and to a degree flexibility. These differ from those exhibited within the Bakiga (high power distance and masculinity), which reinforces the observation by Triandis (2000) that cross-cultural dimensions are tendencies towards a certain behaviour dependent on the situation, and that all humans have cognitions from all points along the dimension.

Functionalism was a characteristic observed of end users towards the implementing agency.

Motivation for attending health training has elements of strong collectivism, whereas motivation for changes in hygiene behaviour shows at times a strong reliance on extrinsic motivators, both by the recipient of training and the trainers.

4.7.3 Bakiga - Government relationship

Of the end users that expressed a relationship with the Government in the context of the projects (interviewees 063, 064, 065, 066 and 082), all reported a good, high power distance relationship, i.e. that the community was ordered by the Government to do certain things.

Gilbert Kimanzi, the Government's Directorate of Water Development (DWD) National Co-ordinator for Gravity Schemes, states that a general problem in Uganda is dependency due to policies and politics. Despite having built capacity for community maintenance, with the Poverty Action Fund and HIPC (heavily indebted poor countries) grants, districts think they are not supposed to contribute, and funds have to be spent in

a short time-scale or be returned, and in line with the President's pre-election, politically motivated push to increase coverage from 10 to 20% thus:

“it becomes very difficult for you to go back and say you now forget about what the President said let's go ahead and do things in a sustainable manner. No, the communities will say ‘No, no, no, the President has said we have free services. This money you are utilising for rural water is from the Poverty Action Fund. This is poverty alleviation’”
068:67

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) have therefore reported that in Uganda “*project support may create increased dependency rather than independence*” (SIDA, 2001).

- **Power distance**

Gilbert Kimanzi also notes a tendency in the past for Government to impose autonomous independent structures on communities, but that even with integrated management structures, on-going support is necessary: “If there is a local council, LCI³⁷ or LCII or a sub-county council, make sure that the management structure is answerable to the local existing administrative structure. You are not seen as creating parallel structures. Some of the mistakes we made, I think, in SWIP (the Government's South West Integrated Programme) we were a bit enthusiastic, and we would set up committees which were not answerable to the existing councils, they were just there because the project was there ... So whatever you leave in the community, make sure that you take cognizant of the fact that there is an existing and mandatory administrative structure, and tag your community structures towards that ... there is need for ongoing support, and also this points to the need for institutionalising operation and maintenance” (068:729).

- **Summary**

End user relationships with the Government are expressed by end user as high power distance, but nevertheless appreciated. There is a strong tendency towards dependency, exacerbated by Government policies and politicising.

4.7.4 Bakiga - Donor relationship

There is rarely direct contact between end users and donor. An exception was the incident referred to at the beginning of this thesis (section 1.1) at Kacerere, where the donor refused to participate in a banquet held in his honour.

³⁷ The LC (Local Council) structure are the Governmental administrative units in Uganda, ranging from LCI (village) to LCV (district).

Stanley Mateeka, the WATSAN chairman at the time explains: “the relationship with the donor was good, except that in Kacerere, in Uganda, we are not time conscious, and the people were very strict on time, and people wanted to please them, to dance for them, so they did not mind about the time, so it was really... the relationship was good, but that incident did not make them happy, because as they had just given us water, to see that some people did not like them to finish their activities because of the time factor ... we had prepared for dancing, we had prepared for food, and so on ... we invited them for lunch, but one of them, they said he was maybe the leader, he said ‘they are late’. So he did not eat our food. So it was not good in our culture. It was not good for us to prepare food for visitors and then that one refuses it. We were not happy with that ... they (the community) said ‘well, we thought this was a Christian thing. But if we see somebody refusing our food, we feel that this is not Christianity’ ... it was really a very strange way of behaving ... they really need to know about African culture” (067:244).

- **Summary**

Clearly in the above case the donor exhibited high power distance, strong individualism and masculinity, process, time and instrumentalist orientation, with high long-term orientation (i.e. adherence to his own tradition). The end users exhibited the same power distance (i.e. treating the guests as highly honoured, although in a feminine manner), high long-term orientation, but the opposite of the other donor orientations, hence the cross-cultural clash.

Rudolph Glotzbach, the Country Director for the Dutch NGO SNV, reports of success in matching different stakeholder motivation to appropriate activity in the Ugandan setting: “one thing you have to keep in mind with the private sector is that it is called the private sector because they want money, so they tend to be interested in doing a job as fast as possible. NGOs ... have certain values which are important for the society as a whole ... Then you've got the Government which I think should play a controlling or monitoring role, to make sure that the standards set are met. The notion of these three, that is the strength if you want to have a successful programme, these three should come together ... in West Nile that is taking place now ... the private sector was just hired by the district as implementer, then the NGOs are as contractors doing part of the software component, they can also represent the communities or build self-reliance between the communities. Then you have the Government who is in effect the one who is lobbying for funds, and who should monitor whether the funds are used in the most appropriate way. And as I said, they should verify the standards which we all agreed upon” (074:554).

4.8 IMPLEMENTING AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS

4.8.1 Ethiopian church programme internal relationships

A distinction needs to be made between the implementing agency of the integrated Water and Sanitation Programme of the Kale Heywet Church, a programme of approximately 40 full-time staff, and the wider organisation of the Kale Heywet Church, of which the programme is part. The Kale Heywet Church has approximately 200 staff at its headquarters in Addis Ababa, over 4,000 congregations throughout Ethiopia (primarily in the South and South-West), and over 4 million members.

Each of the following sections first of all considers the internal workings of the programme, then the relationship between the programme and the Kale Heywet Church.

- **Power distance**

Within the programme itself, there is evidence of strong power distance at the field level:

Aster Wolde, a Community Health Worker: “I don't have any conflict with my boss. He orders me ‘Aster, go there and work this’. As I am able, I work and come back” (012:293).

Solomon Yohannes, the chief driller: “for the Abishar (Ethiopian), if they are given any instruction, just they approve, and if they don't have a good relationship with the leaders, what can you do?” (108:192).

Sehin Yelma, the programme Accountant, suggests such hierarchy is pragmatic: “a good plan comes from the programme head ... after that the work is scheduled into different groups, and if everything continues according to the schedule, with everybody having appropriate responsibility, the project will continue in a good way” (108:378).

However, Tsegaye Medihin, a Surface Water Team Leader, suggests a divide: “Everybody has worked in the field. They know what the field person wants and needs. But I believe they will forget when they have a job in the office. Sometimes they might feel tired of hearing field conflicts, and their needs, because every time you are going to nag them” (011:345).

Such divides are reported by Habtamu Gessesse, the Ethiopia WaterAid Director: “the regional managers (of WaterAid) are stationed in London. We said that it is not good for decision-making. They have to be nearer to the point concerning where the decisions are being made (050:267).

Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen (Director of ZOA Ethiopia) identifies a problem of such power distance: “Basically if people had their way, also on the management team, they would bother me with all the decisions that they should make, to get a yes or a signature which is even better” (051:886).

This tendency to abdicate responsibility to a higher level or even a higher being has been noted as a trait of the Amhara. It was apparent in the attribution of success by the General Secretary of the Kale Heywet Church, Dr. Tesfaye Yacob, to changes in the organisation:

“I don't want to give anything to human credit, because all of us are tools used by God. So there are encouraging changes, but that is how God uses things” (112:135).

Dereje Jemberu, ZOA's Head of Finance and Administration, suggests a general tendency to promote attitudes of responsibility abdication:

“What I have deep in my mind is to enable that person, not me. If I want to be seen as an important person, then I bring everything here, but that is not right. It will not benefit the organisation” (052:866).

Whilst managing the programme, the author tried to change the power distance table: within the Kale Heywet Church there is a culture of evaluation of subordinates by bosses. The author introduced a system of confidential subordinate evaluation of bosses. After much explanation and assurance of no negative repercussions, this was accepted and proved very fruitful in terms of improved relationships, and a renewed commitment to the programme. However, the wider organisation resisted adopting the idea themselves. A culture of high uncertainty avoidance was the main trait evident.

○ *The Kale Heywet Church*

Within the wider organisation that the implementing agency operates, the Kale Heywet Church, the following two interview excerpts suggest a strong narrowing trait.

Gezahgn Dejachew, the Drilling Coordinator: “I don't even like it when people say ‘Kale Heywet, Kale Heywet, Kale Heywet’. Let us see things a bit wider than that ... People who are even helping us are not Kale Heywet - the donors I mean, so let's make it wider. So the disadvantage is that we are a bit narrow minded” (110:746).

Mogus Mehari, the Programme Manager, suggests the same narrowing trait but in the context of ethnicity: Kale Heywet Church management is historically from Kembatta and Hadiya (Southern tribes), and Mogus comes from the North:

“I am sorry to say that these ethnicity problems are there within the Church ... I seem to be left out, so the Kale Heywet Church only hears what they want to hear. You are just left out if you are in certain ethnicities, and to stay within the decision making, you have to be within a certain limited ethnicity, and generally it says it is the Ethiopian Kale Heywet Church, but it is not Ethiopian” (107:412).

The relationship between the programme and the Kale Heywet Church is not an easy one, and is summed up by Gezahgn Dejachew: “there are people who are task oriented if you like, and they would like to see their plans achieved rather than think from the viewpoint of the whole church ... the Kale Heywet Church's preference is someone who tends to favour the Church” (110:149).

In practical terms, this may mean a compromise of activities agreed under contract:

Gezahgn Dejachew: “they would like to see some benefits flowing a bit to the Kale Heywet Church ... beyond something surplus ... like using vehicles ... to go and drill a borehole somewhere where we do not have a budget for. The Kale Heywet Church management wants the programme to twist or change its plan, which may affect the programme in some ways ... the co-workers should first of all obey the superiors rather than be accountable to what they are supposed to be doing ... there will be a problem of accountability ... Whenever they feel that you are against them, that you are not obeying what they say, which may affect the programme's progress or the programme's plan, then somehow you are supposed to be rebelling or opposing their opinion ... the Kale Heywet Church management has its own way of thinking, and the water programme has its own way of thinking with regard to how to perform activities and how to share resources with the Church if the programme is trying not to accept all the ideas which are coming from the Head Management ... the programme will in some cases be victimised, or punished ... if you make any minor mistake, it will be emphasised so that you will submit yourself to the superiors. Therefore that is a kind of way of manipulating, to have power over the co-workers if you like. I understand it that way ... (110:393).

Genet Tesfaye, the programme Health and Sanitation Coordinator, reiterates this: “They (the Kale Heywet Church management) are not listening to us. They are the ones who decide everything by themselves. There is no delegation, they are not sharing the power, they are still keeping it for themselves ... the salary issue, and also using the vehicles. I mean this vehicle is bought for the project, and they are still forcing us to use (it themselves). And also the salary issue is one of the big problems which is not improved. They asked for the money (and received it) but they are not paying the workers, I think they are not keeping their word, or they are not keeping what they have said before” (099:569).

Bereket Gebre Tsion, the Surface water Coordinator suggests the need for a closer relationship, akin to that in a high power distance familial relationship:

“I think as long as we are part of the Kale Heywet Church, as long as we are under the Kale Heywet Church ... we need to work more closely and understand each other better, and the programme should submit itself to the Kale Heywet Church, because the Kale Heywet Church is as a father, and we are a son, all sections are a son for the Kale Heywet Church. So we have to obey, and we shouldn't exclude ourselves. We have to work very closely with the Kale Heywet Church ... otherwise people are just looking and saying ‘they have their own island.’ So you have to avoid that” (109:607). This also suggests a strong tendency of active avoidance of negative public self-image.

The relationship is seen by Tesfaye Yacob as a struggle for independence and empire building: “The Kale Heywet Church water programme is part of the Kale Heywet Church - it cannot afford to be an island ... it is not an island ... We don't want barons - little barons” (112:274).

Hence the psychologically punitive measures described by Gezahgn Dejachew above are used to ensure conformity to the high power distance, patriarchal relationship promoted by the Kale Heywet Church in a strongly masculine manner. Thus a complex individualism-collectivism relationship exists: the programme attempts to achieve collectivist goals (i.e. development) through typically individualistic means (task orientation). The head office sees this as individualistic empire building by the programme, and attempts to collectively benefit the wider organisation by fuller integration and conformity. This is perceived by the programme as individualistic (self-serving) behaviour that benefits fewer than the programme's targeted end-users.

The relationship between the programme and the organisation of the Kale Heywet Church is described further in subsequent sections, but in a unique stance amongst programme workers, Bereket Gebre Tsion summarises this relationship, in balance, positively, albeit with a high degree of instrumental functionalism:

“whenever somebody asked me about how the Kale Heywet Church is, I will say it is good, because it is good for me, it is good for the community. Even if there are some problems among us, you cannot expose your problems, because the goodness is much greater than the problems ... In most organisations you're working by fear. You don't know who they are going to fire, so you have no stability in your mind, so you don't plan properly because you don't know when you're going to stop your work, but with the Kale Heywet Church you don't see such things. You are stable here: as long as you don't resign, the Kale Heywet Church will not force you to go out, so you can plan your life here, so that is good ... I know some organisations like World Vision, my friend,

when he is sick, he has to use a taxi. World Vision will not provide a vehicle. Even if you stay in bed for three or four months, the Kale Heywet Church still helps you” (109:570).

The loyalty expressed with regards not exposing problems was echoed by Aster Wolde when discussing conflict within the programme: “Private things are your own” (012:300).

- **Decision making process**

Within the programme, Sehin Yelma, the programme Accountant suggests a consensus approach: “JW: how generally would decisions be reached? SY: I think mostly it is by understanding; you can call it democratic except not by a majority vote, rather by everybody discussing it and then coming to a common solution ... my impression is that it is more participatory and we always reach a common solution, even if everybody is not happy about it ... I don't think it is a common practice (in the Kale Heywet Church)” (111:128).

Mogus Mehari suggests the subsequent and broader picture is more top-down: “We say it is participatory development, but I have never seen the participatory approach on development aspects. I think it is usually decided at a higher level once you start a programme - there's always a decision at the top-level, and the decision-makers get the biggest benefit out of it. JW: what sort of benefits? MM: I think you get employment. The organisation has administration income, the employees have good vehicles, and by the time - I am not really emphasising only the Kale Heywet Church, this is really what I have learnt from the past - what has reached down to the target group is trickled down. I do not mind that people get the benefit, but a high proportion of the benefits sometimes remain at the top level - the people who decide on development, I think they get much out of it before the target groups receive. So that has been the general trend in the past with many NGOs - I feel like you could say this started from the United Nations. If somebody is paid 50,000 US dollars a year in the name of the poor people, if you think how many communities that would supply water programmes to, I think there is a big gap between the recipients and the providers, so people decide it for different purposes” (107:253).

Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen, the Country Director for ZOA in Ethiopia suggests a lack of field experience in this divide: “I think there is quite a high degree of policies and resulting programmes and money that is available which are drafted in the West and not informed by real field experience, deep in the situation on the ground. There is a lot of talk among these institutions, with universities being involved, and there are less and less people who actually have actual experience in the field who are able to inform these strategies ... What aid is really given based on genuine concern for people at grassroots level? I see that in Addis when I talk with people. Very few people have been down to the field and those that have, have a very general understanding of what it is going on. Personally, I think a lot of aid is mis-targeted, is even dysfunctional ... So I personally see a huge gap between the policies, resultant programmes, money being available for well intended relief or development projects, and the reality on the ground” (051:319).

Despite good intentions, this appears to apply to WaterAid in Ethiopia according to the Country Director, Habtamu Gessesse: “The good thing about WaterAid is that we meet on a yearly basis of all country representatives. For last year it was here in Ethiopia in May. This year it was in Bath in the UK. Before that it was in Malawi. The emphasis of that meeting is to discuss issues, to brainstorm and come up with good ideas and so on. I remember a long time ago when we were discussing the corporate strategy, it was discussed by all country programme representatives and also some key partners. One of the issues was to say to Water Aid that they need to have some representation from the South. But that hasn't happened” (050:280).

○ *The Kale Heywet Church*

Within the Kale Heywet Church head office, the decision making process is described as high power distance and protracted by Mogus Mehari:

“I have learnt recently from Kale Heywet Church staff, you don't start from the main issues, you need to go around and around it, so you make sure that you don't touch the point first ... Ethiopian meetings usually take half-an-hour to warm-up ... generally in Ethiopia, you don't contradict your boss or your superiors. Even if you have excellent ideas for different ideas from your boss, you don't confront him. If you confront or contradict your superiors in the management, then you are left out of the discussion ... it is both the age and position. They are quite equivalent. If you're working in an organisation, you'll have to respect the elderly people or there may be some influential people in the elderly, so you have to convince them in a different way, or you would have to discuss the things that you don't agree with privately, not in a meeting. JW: so you can contradict them privately, but not publicly? MM: not publicly. JW: because of humiliation? MM: humiliation, and also they feel that they are not respected enough. Even on a private basis, it is exceptional to tell them - it depends on the person. Some people cannot be approached even individually, some may” (107:458).

As a result, Mogus Mehari stated he has learned to modify his strict and outspoken attitude to issues that ostracised him in the past, in order to influence people, and shape the organisation and individuals (as opposed to a desire to be socially or organisationally included) (107:20).

The exercise of caution in disagreements is echoed by Dereje Jemberu, formerly of Mekane Yesus: “In the Church, that is very difficult. If you say something against what somebody has said, then he takes it personally” (052:636). This suggests a high context communication style, and one that leads to a passive avoidance of negative public self-image.

However, the senior management of the Kale Heywet Church view things differently, as the General Secretary, Dr. Tesfaye Yacob states: “I believe I see more confidence in the department heads, and in the staff. Nobody is scared to talk to higher level people in the office - everybody can make his point without being threatened. As far as I know,

nobody has suffered any pain because of expression of opinions, I know that in the Ethiopian environment, that is significant” (112:111).

Desta Demessie, the Deputy General Secretary for Development declares a similar consultative process: “looking at the Kale Heywet Church structure, most of the decisions are made in consultation with the concerned bodies ... I thought coming to the deputy general secretary's office can give me a freedom to make every decision - that is not true. I have to consult with my subordinates, and those above” (113:93).

There is thus a divide between those at the senior levels of the Kale Heywet Church and those otherwise involved in decision making processes, suggesting high power distance.

- **Conflict resolution**

Within the programme, excerpts already cited suggest that conflicts are either resolved, or, with a degree of fatalism and powerlessness, accepted as inevitable.

- *The Kale Heywet Church*

Within the Kale Heywet Church, a lack of openness with regards conflicts and high power distance was described by Mogus Mehari:

“... they are not really resolved. Most of the problems remain as they are, and because the communication being usually one way, things when they are raised from the programme, sometimes they remain without an answer, but when things come from the top, they usually get an answer because of it being power driven. So there is not a two-way communication ... In principle it has been said, internationally and even within the Kale Heywet Church among the last few years, decentralise activities, decentralise power. But there has been much centralisation with the new management. I don't really know the reason behind this. This is really a personal thing - everybody differs in their management style” (107:367).

Ralph Wiegand suggests a lack of openness in the resolution of conflicts in the Kale Heywet Church: “getting rid of people who are really bad, there are some even in the Kale Heywet Church who have performed something that is very bad or very damaging for the Church, and still they are not removed. They are maybe removed to certain places or removed to another place, sometimes upgraded ... sometimes people are knowingly sent for further education in order that they do not come back because they will be over-qualified. So one way of getting rid of people ... JW: certainly that happened in Uganda a lot, you got rid of someone by promoting them to a level that they couldn't cope with, and then just said that you cannot do your job, so we will have to let you go. RW: but that is still objective oriented, you have the objective to get rid of someone. So in a sense they want to expose that person so that it becomes visible finally. Now it is clear. In Ethiopia, it is not that clear, people do not talk about it

openly. There is very little clear and open talking about other people” (048:680). Again, this implies an active avoidance of negative public self-image.

A similar solution is often used by ZOA in Ethiopia, according to Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen: “JW: have you had any examples of experiences of conflicts that have been locally resolved without the management team for example intervening? GJU: of the conflicts that I know, we have never managed to find a good working solution within that particular area. We have had to split people up and move them or not to renew contracts” (051:810).

- **Public self-image**

- *The Kale Heywet Church*

Gezahgn Dejachew suggests conformity and active promotion of positive public self-image can be a strong motivating factor within the Kale Heywet Church as an organisation:

“The value you get from accepting everything from the top is much bigger than what you're doing in terms of the planned work, your potential, your qualifications ... I'm not saying that people who are intelligent or people who are doing what they are supposed to do are not acceptable, but the value that is given to obeying rather than accomplishing what you are supposed to accomplish is different - it is much higher” (110:410).

Similar observations are made by Ralph Wiegand with regards promotion and further education: “if you look at the Kale Heywet Church, there are some people who, you know, who are just long enough in the system in order to be promoted. It is not because they are good. Again, yilunta plays a major role in this decision making. Who is promoted, who goes for further education? It is those who have been long enough there, who are faithful in a sense. Being faithful is important, but it is not all about performance, to be faithful. Being creative for example is a non-criterion, being creative and finding solutions. Saving money for the organisation or wasting money, is almost invisible criteria - non-existent, irrelevant. But if someone is faithful always they are friendly to his people, everybody loves him, then it comes to the committee, and they talk about who should go for this training, and they say ‘Ato so-and-so, he's been here so long, and he hasn't had anything, so really he should have something’. And so he goes, not because he is good or he is gifted and so on, but because he has been long enough in the system” (048:678).

- *Equality of service delivery*

A specific and common problem faced by an indigenous implementing agency with an extensive grass-roots network, such as a large indigenous church, is the problem of demands for equality of service delivery from the grass-roots, as described in the following excerpts.

Mogus Mehari: “There is one guy that I remember he came from the West, the Jimma area, he came with two letters and he telephoned several times. Finally he said ‘when are you going to give us our share?’ ... it creates a conflict among church areas and in the head office as well” (107:197).

Gezahgn Dejachew: “as far as success in the operation by concentrating on one place is concerned, there is no doubt that such an operation can make a big difference: we can mention for instance Atata hospital which is working in a specific area where the Ethiopian programme has drilled many boreholes, so we know that this has had a significant effect on providing water, which shows a big impact on health as well. But looking at fairly distributing resources for the sake of reaching many local Kale Heywet Churches, I think there is no doubt that we need to reach all churches, because if we do not do that, the local church people come and say ‘we say that we have a Water team, but you are working in this area for one year. You have never come to us.’ That is against the Kale Heywet Church's interests, because in the Kale Heywet Church, local churches want us to go there, apart from the real problem existing there, they want us to go there to show us the Kale Heywet Church is doing this, so the local church wants to be considered important” (110:69).

Fear of yilunta – or active avoidance of negative public self-image therefore plays a significant role in such decisions.

This is summarised by Ralph Wiegand: “it is important to understand these principles of decision- making. If you are afraid of what other people will say, you may not do what is right or wrong, but what is opportune, in a sense, and committees governing these offices very often ask exactly these questions ... In my opinion, my view on this, and I have tried to communicate this many times, is that 10 districts are like 10 children: we need to invest according to age and maturity. If you have a small child of one year, you need nothing, because you give your mother's breast, and you need some clothes, and maybe every two months a piece of soap. That is all. But if that one year-old child becomes 10, you need to invest totally different amounts of money, and time, and energy, and intelligence, and if the child is 20 years old and has finished school ... so according to age, to maturity, to their needs, sometimes it is totally fair to give a grown District ten times the amount of one that is not grown. You cannot come with this egalitarian view ‘Now, they've had 500,000 Birr, now they should have 500,000 Birr.’ This is nonsense, but this is how decisions are made” (048:824).

As a result of such attitudes towards equal (as opposed to equitable) provision of services, Desta Demessie, the Deputy General Secretary for Development sees the emergence of dependency:

“They always see the head office to do something for them, as a provider, especially in the development. ‘Head office is there to do this for us.’ I am struggling against that culture and that syndrome. I say that they can do something, and that something could bring something for you. I hope you've heard of that experience in Jimma. We went for evaluation with some Tearfund people and the training department. We went there to

one small village, and they said ‘If these people could help us to build a school, our children could learn here and we will have that facility.’ I said it is not possible to just ask somebody to give me this much money. ‘Why don’t you use your church building for teaching your kids, it is a different place and it is a holy place, and it is very difficult for us to provide this thing?’ After a while, we went back to them, and they said that they could. Just as an incentive we gave them something, and they started the school in the Church, and now they have 1,500 students. They didn’t need any money - they could start it. That is a good model” (113:265).

Thus active avoidance of negative public self-image through equal provision of service results in attitudes of dependency.

- **Flexibility**

One constraint on the felt need to provide equality of service is the amount of flexibility the programme has to respond to end user expressed needs.

Gezahgn Dejachew: “I would say that communities still don’t have a huge choice in participation, for choosing. Where is the choice? For instance, the water programme goes with water only. We don’t have any other aspects we can address. If they say ‘We need a grinding mill’ we cannot provide that, we do not have the power to provide that” (110:1127).

Genet Tesfaye: “we have to finish everything on time, we are running according to our timetable, to the donor timetable. JW: when you said ‘our’ timetable, does that mean that you do accept what donor says? GT: yes. They have to consider the culture, because even here in Ethiopia, the cultures are different - you have to think about the living standards as well. JW: do you see that the donor is the one who is setting the rules? I think you know how the donor cycle works - and a lot of their money comes from Governments - do you feel that the donor is caught in this chain as well? They are not the ones to set the agenda; it is the ones who give Tearfund or EED the money? GT: from where are they getting money? Is it coming from the Government? That means they also have a problem, because they’re caught also in the middle. The Governments need to revise their policy” (099:476).

Such tensions of being caught in the middle are reported by Habtamu Gessesse, the Ethiopia WaterAid Director: “one of the changes that I would like to see is to give more autonomy to the country programmes, because the country programmes are of most of the time challenged. There is no flexibility ... In a country like Ethiopia where you’re confronted with these issues (famine), you have to be able to scale up these services, you have to be able to be a little bit flexible to adapt to the situation, otherwise if you are strict on your principles, sometimes you lose even the confidence of Government and the beneficial communities. So these kinds of decisions, this kind of flexibility should really be given to the country programmes, so that depending on the situation and that country, they should be able in consultation with headquarters, to respond to local needs, otherwise why are we here? JW: there is an exact parallel in Kale Heywet,

especially with the recent famine. Mogus has been complaining a lot that Tearfund hasn't trusted his judgment - we have these funds and eventually Tearfund said yes but we had to have all these detailed proposals, and by that time people have died. I think it is a fairly common complaint ... HG: when communities come, and Government come to you and ask you to respond, and you say that we do not have the mandate, even our name indicates that it is aid, WaterAid, so why are we here ... The most important thing is just a gesture that is required, nobody asks you to go into fully-fledged emergency work" (050:267). There is a suggestion of active avoidance of negative public self-image.

Wallace reports this is common within Ethiopia: "*NGO responses reveal a great deal of anecdotal evidence of tensions between NGO obligations to donors and their efforts to follow the wishes of local people in Ethiopia. Frustrations and conflicts that NGOs have with both donors and communities show that donor accountability and the NGO frame do indeed hinder NGO efforts to develop and sustain a legitimate role within local communities in Ethiopia*" (Wallace).

However, where flexibility is acceptable, the impact is significant.

Tsegaye Medihin: "(we) were called by Oromia State officials two weeks ago and they asked us how far we had got and how much money was left. We told them we have done this and this, and we have this much remaining. They asked 'Would it be possible to allocate the money for such needy things such as pipes for boreholes, pumps and generators for deep boreholes (150-250m deep). Would it be possible to arrange this?' (We) said we could be flexible according to the need as long as we work within the region and zone. The Regional heads were so happy about our flexibility and us telling them the truth. Ato Fanta told us that 'No NGO has ever told us that we have a remaining amount of money.' It is very great being honest, so it was a good experience in a Christian organisation doing this - it is our duty and they appreciated it - it is good. So I saw great flexibility and adjustment in my programme" (102:230).

Habtamu Gessesse suggests the same with WaterAid: "during the WaterAid corporate strategy meetings, we argued a lot that livestock is a livelihood of people in this part of the world, whether you like it or not, they can even cut the line and take water for the livestock. So what is the sense of not providing water for livestock at the design stage? So now WaterAid has become flexible and has agreed to put cattle troughs in, and to sell water for livestock ..." (050:620).

The project 'cycle' as reflected by the flow of resources is typically supporters/Government to donor to implementing agency to end users. The stakeholders in the middle are often willing but unable to be flexible, suggesting a results oriented, high power distance, masculine chain as opposed to cycle.

- **Gender**

- *The Kale Heywet Church*

Within the Head Office of the Kale Heywet Church, whilst in totality, the gender mix is only slightly in favour of men, it is men who occupy all the senior positions of power and decision-making.

This results in a mixture of functionalism and masculinity, as Genet Tesfaye, the programme Health Coordinator explains:

“The decisions are made by the bosses or by other people here in the Kale Heywet Church ... I am not really happy, because like when there is a meeting, they just come to the Office and say there is a meeting, you have to come, stay in the meeting, and I am not involved in the conversation, I'm just called it the last minute ... They may want me just to say that there are two or three women at the meeting - it is just like a show” (099:30). An element of active avoidance of negative public self-image is thus suggested.

Genet Tesfaye suggests the Kale Heywet Church lags behind the Government: “even the Government is really changed now ... (but) here ... the staff devotions - women are not allowed to lead the programme (099:365).

Within WaterAid, Habtamu Gessesse reports similar gender distance: “in the past one of the problems that has been discussed is the issue of the gender balance here in the country programme. Most of the senior staff are men” (050:414).

- **Salaries**

- *The Kale Heywet Church*

A common tension within indigenous churches involved in development is that some workers are locally funded (e.g. pastors), others by donor funded programmes, as Tsegaye Medihin suggests:

“because the water programme workers get more money than others in the Kale Heywet Church, I don't think that everybody has accepted this ... The donors are willing to pay good salaries, but the Kale Heywet Church doesn't allow the workers to get a good salary - they believe we are getting a good salary because we are getting more than others in the Kale Heywet Church, but I don't believe this is the case” (011:69).

Dereje Jemberu reports that similar tensions exist within another large Protestant church in Ethiopia, Mekane Yesus: “that was the experience of our church at first, to have the same salary scale, but it didn't work. The best qualified people have left the church,

because they would get quite a lot elsewhere ... I have to sacrifice, and know it from the very beginning, that to be an evangelist is not to get a good salary. Still, one of the other things that has to be done is to get development workers involved by giving their time and then money for whatever to serve the church that they belong to” (052:276).

Thus the tension appears insoluble, and the solution sacrifice by either the locally or donor paid staff.

- **Church-based INGOs**

The following excerpts discuss the merits and disadvantages of church based INGOs.

Desta Demessie, the Deputy General Secretary for Development in the Kale Heywet Church: “the Church based NGO, as I said; it is a good vehicle for development, because the Church structure is everywhere. If you take the Kale Heywet Church for example, we have 5000 congregations, therefore 5000 offices that we can establish if we want to. 5000 offices we can establish without going through any processes – overnight we can do something there, which the UN or any system does not have that. People know the community, they know the resources, they know every aspect of that local community. They are a good resource which you do not find in any other system ... sometimes the decision-making process is very slow, I have observed” (113:375).

Habtamu Gessesse of WaterAid: “sometimes a church has its own constituency, and you will have easier entry points to go into development work, and it also means you will have a lot of confidence from the beneficiaries. Even if you look at the Government, the Government trusts more the Church based larger organisations, rather than the smaller organisations which do not have any church affiliation” (050:349).

However, Getachew Korrissaa, the Zonal Government’s Zonal Water Bureau Head for West Harerge, denies any such bias: “according to my opinions, religion is nothing for me. Everybody can follow their own way, whatever he wants. My need, my vision is what change have you done in the community?” (100:254).

Thus in the Ethiopian context there are no cultural attributes associated with whether or not an implementing agency is church-based.

- **Motivation**

The motivation to work within the programme varied amongst staff.

Tsegaye Medihin: “I have seen even the children who are learning in the junior school, drinking just pond water like an animal, bowing down on the ground like a sheep or a goat. It was amazing to see that. I was feeling bad. Why are all these people drinking in such a way? ... I just wanted to feed these people with safe and adequate water ... I

wanted to find myself doing what I am supposed to do well and perfectly. I have tried to be realistic to work hard” (011:127).

Sehin Yelma: “because it is a church, its mission is to serve the whole person, and if for example it is a non church NGO, you only give them what they need physically, not spiritually. Because it is a church, you serve both the spiritual and physical needs of people, and I think in the long run, that is what the communities need” (111:211).

Solomon Yohannes: “eventually they (the Kale Heywet Church) asked me to join them, but they were wanting my salary to drop from 1200 to 850, and also the benefits were less. So Ken Isaacs (expatriate head of the drilling section) said that he would pay the extra payment from his pocket, and I told him because of friendship and love I would agree without any extra payment” (108:35).

Bereket Gebre Tsion: “your payment is less here, but you are safe. So I like that stability rather than what you earn here. In some places people make more money, but after three months or year you are displaced or your work stops. Here you are paid less, but you are stable, so that is a good thing” (109:280).

Thus a mix of uncertainty avoidance, a strong ‘Protestant’ work ethic, feminine collectivism, and sacrificial compassion is evident in the motivation of programme staff.

An indication of the sacrificial motivation is the compromise that all programme staff were willing to make with regards health for the sake of the relationship with the end users.

Genet Tesfaye: “you know that you're change agents. You have to sacrifice yourself, otherwise you cannot teach the community. Like in Gofa ... that day we had home to home visitation in that house, and they made a nice coffee for me with coffee leaves. There were five or six people in the house, but there was only one gourd ... We started passing from one person to another. I could see one person was smoking something like a cigarette, the other one is coughing, but it is very difficult for me to say no, because that coffee was made for me. So I had to drink, I had three sips, and I said ‘that was very nice, thank you very much’ ... if I said no to them, there is no communication, and they cannot trust me ... you cannot start without sacrificing yourself” (099:728).

Tadessa Yosef: “as a community worker, if I want to be accepted by the community, I have to eat what they have. I know it is going to affect me, I did have sickness several times, and I know where that sickness comes from, so I would go immediately to the clinic. But there is no choice” (098:234).

Tsegaye Medihin: “in my culture, if someone brings you something that you know is not clean, you have to eat them for their mind's sake ... in our culture it is impossible to refuse if someone brings you some food” (011:569).

- **Summary**

Within the programme, high power distance exists between field staff and more senior staff, with a degree of fatalism and powerlessness accepted by field staff in the relationship. Within the senior staff themselves, the relationships are more egalitarian with evidence of active avoidance of negative public self-image, a trait also evident in the relationship with the wider church with regards provision of services.

Motivation of programme staff generally towards their work varied, with evidence of uncertainty avoidance, a strong 'Protestant' work ethic, feminine collectivism, and sacrificial compassion towards the end users.

Programme staff describe relationships between themselves and the Kale Heywet Church head office as high power distance, which was accepted and promoted by one staff member who also exhibited instrumental functionalism with regards the benefits of the relationship. The Kale Heywet Church is said to exhibit: individualism, high uncertainty avoidance; narrowing; a lack of openness; active avoidance of negative public self-image with regards conflicts, passive avoidance of negative public self-image with regards (high context) communication style; and active promotion of positive public self-image by the Kale Heywet Church employees with regards future prospects. A complex interplay exists between the Ethiopian church programme and the Kale Heywet Church senior staff (see The Kale Heywet Church, page 178 for details): collectivist intentions by the programme are perceived as individualist by the Kale Heywet Church senior staff therefore subject to high power distance punishment, the motivation being stated as collectivism, but perceived by the programme as individualism.

Kale Heywet Church senior staff describe the relationship with the programme as low power distance and open.

This results in a mixture of functionalism and masculinity: the project 'cycle' is a results oriented, high power distance chain with the programme and at times the donor caught in the middle, often unable to exercise desired flexibility.

4.8.2 The Ugandan church programme internal relationships

There are many similarities between the two programmes of the Ethiopian church and the Ugandan church. Both are departments of a wider national church, in the Ugandan programme's case, the Diocese of Kigezi of the Church of Uganda.

The Ugandan church programme has approximately 25 full-time staff, the Diocese of Kigezi approximately 70 staff at its headquarters in Kabale, with 434 local churches throughout the Diocese and over 250,000 members (Anglican Internet Services, 2006).

- **Power distance**

Within the programme, senior staff reported low power distance and a feminine, listening, consultative environment.

Diana Tibenderana, the Community Health Coordinator: "we have regular team meetings, where we discuss our successes, failures, and the way forward" (069:121).

Reuben Byomugabi, the Accountant: "if anything is not clear, at least three or four people are consulted, and they come up with the same mind, they agree, they say that this is the way forward" (071:296).

Kenneth Bekunda, the Health Coordinator: "our programme is very transparent. We normally talk things there and they end there, but we listen to everyone ... all the coordinators we have had, they have been so close to us, that one to one kind of relationship is very important, and you find that even if it is the lowest mason, they all have access to the programme co-ordinator, so they feel motivated to know that he listens, so when you go to work, you don't want to bring shame to such a close person who will listen to your problems and solve them ..." (072:270).

This suggests an active avoidance of negative public self-image. However, amongst the construction field staff, there was some expression of exclusion and higher power distance, perhaps as a result of a pendulum swing away from hardware towards software emphasis within the programme. Julius Kasigazi, the Chief Plumber comments:

"one major problem is that they don't include us, because the meeting is just between the health and sanitation people, and I don't know if we are represented on the meeting. The gravity section, the rainwater section, the masons and the plumbers should have representatives on that meeting" (070:53).

○ *The Diocese of Kigezi*

Kenneth Bekunda has already been quoted (4.7.2) as highly appreciative of the Diocesan management committee which protects the programme from demands for equality from communities (discussed in the Ethiopian context in 4.8.1, Equality of service delivery).

George Bagamuhunda reiterates this: “the relationship with the top leadership is definitely very supportive, and some pastors are also very supportive, but other pastors they just don't care, because they don't see the programme benefiting them directly” (075:438).

However, although a similar parent-child relationship exists between the Ethiopian and Ugandan church programmes and their respective wider organisations (see 4.8.1, Power distance), Bishop George Katwesigwe suggests the relationship with the Diocese is of lower power distance:

“the water department is a child of the Diocese, and I could say the parent and child have worked together on programmes, if anything one would say they are a beloved child. Because they are the organisation, or department in the Diocese, that does what we are happy to see been done. Often times, we want to emulate their example. For example, they keep time, and it is a challenge to our other departments. Secondly, they are faithful in their work. They have not ashamed us, as they go away from here (and) stay for a week in the villages, (the) reports you see as I go visiting are very encouraging” (073:124).

The Diocese clearly appreciates the programme's active avoidance of casting a negative public self-image on the Diocese. Reuben Byomugabi suggests generally the trend for individual relationships with the Bishop is more of a passive avoidance of negative public self-image:

“if you stood and said ‘no Bishop we are spending much on you’, now this is the immediate response and reaction, ‘now these people when they go to study, they want to assume power, they want to even overpower our Bishop’. This is what some of the Christians and some of the clergy would come up with. You see these people are learned, the money is ours, why do they want to restrict the Bishop ... Because most of the Bishops here, they are using these expensive vehicles ... there are some who insist that the Bishop should have the Pajero, but inside their hearts they are saying that even the small car, he should use it ... we don't want to be true, we don't want to be realistic, yet when we go out of those informal meetings, you have presented those accounts, you have shown that the electricity bills in the Bishop's house has been, say, 2.6 million shillings in a year, poor people are asking, ‘how does this person use all this money’?”

The person cannot comment on that when you're in a meeting, but when you go out, they want to get the details" (071:180).

He continues to suggest similar motivation for his own personal action: "if I say please can you release me (from part-time general Diocesan accountancy work) to be in the programme, I think it would be misunderstood. I don't want to suggest it, because the person you are suggesting it to may not understand. He may think this person just wants to run away" (071:117).

This suggests a higher power distance relationship from the perspective of the programme, and one that causes passive avoidance of negative public self-image by programme staff.

- **Flexibility**

Staff of the Ugandan church programme did not express any constraints regarding flexibility to meet expressed needs by the end users, perhaps due in part to the programme being regional rather than the Kale Heywet Church's national programme, and therefore located in a more predictable environment.

Stanley Zinkubire Basheija, the Kacerere WATSAN chairman reports: "originally we were supposed to have only the five tapstands, but when we sat with the committee, we sat down and saw that some of the people really deserved taps although these were very few, we discussed it with Reverend George Bagamuhunda and he accepted our requests and eventually they increased to 42 tapstands and everybody was more or less very, very happy and appreciated it" (063:260). Such flexibility was only possible, however, due to additional funding from a different donor.

- **Salaries**

- *The Diocese of Kigezi*

Reuben Byomugabi reports a situation similar to that faced with the Ethiopian church programme and the Kale Heywet Church (see 4.8.1): "these people who are relying on what comes from the parish only, for the main offices, of course they are earning less, and sometimes they go three months without it, so somewhere the fellowship is not an actual fellowship ... I have been arguing that ... not every parish pastor can come here and do what I am unable to do here ... in the last Finance Board, there is one Christian ... (who) told them 'but now there is an imbalance in the Diocese, because some of the pastors are paid highly, especially those with projects, others are in very good parishes, I would propose that people get the same pay' ... I was happy that the Bishop explained it with almost similar words that I used" (071:748).

Thus whereas the Kale Heywet Church has adopted a single salary scale, the Diocese of Kigezi has a more market led approach determined largely by the willingness and ability of the funding source, be it donor or parishioners, to pay. This results in similar levels of dissatisfaction amongst the overall workforce of the Diocese of Kigezi compared to the Kale Heywet Church, but amongst different groups and for different reasons.

However, there are also some constraints, as indicated by Kenneth Bekunda “the relationship between of programme and Diocese, I am afraid to say, is strained ... we are treated a little bit differently from them, and it causes a bit of a gap ... They were talking about using the Diocesan salary scale. If you put me on that scale, to be frank I will not work for this programme, because, I don't want to call it peanuts, but it is not enough. If you are motivated the way we are, then you don't work hours ... for us even I am sure that the donors would be even happier to give us some little more, but who will recommend it? That management committee will not, because part of them are from the Diocese ... people's relations with us ... On face value, they are very friendly, but when they are away from you, and what you hear, what you meet on the compound, they are cutting, really” (072:278).

Again, active avoidance of negative public self-image is evident in the form of a deceptive or two-faced relationship.

- **Church-based INGOs**

The following comments from two key Ugandan informants discuss the merits and disadvantages of church based INGOs, and echo many of the comments made concerning Ethiopian church based INGOs (4.8.1).

Gilbert Kimanzi, the Government's Directorate of Water Development (DWD) National Co-ordinator for Gravity Schemes states: “Church based organisations ... have a network which has already been established over the years, ... because most of our people are religious ... you have a good entry point ...mobilising communities for participation is quite easy. And also the credible church organisations, they still are able to attract funds, either from Government or from their donors outside war within the country ... some ... don't go for competence in management. For example in Hawasa (a Catholic Diocese) recently, they sacked, so to say, they made the life of the programme manager difficult until he had to resign, because he was not a Catholic ... The man is competent, and I was on the board for that Hawasa and we tried to resist ... I was the only voice that was trying to keep the manager in the post ... the advantages of working with a non church based organisation, again, because I have worked with SNV before, and I have also worked with another NGO in Mbarara called ACCORD, for as long as they maintain their credibility they are also able to attract funds, but then you don't get any of these clashes of religion ...Also they are not subjected to interference from the

hierarchy been priests or the Bishop even, which I have seen in Hawasa again ... if the Bishop wants something, or the priest, who is in charge of development want something, you should just accept it, because he is there ... it is an unusual opportunity and a great advantage that you (i.e. the Ugandan church programme) have a Bishop who is very understanding ... (who) wouldn't want to jeopardise the entire programme just because he wants to influence" (068:465).

Rudolph Glotzbach, the Country Director for the Dutch NGO SNV, states: "with the religious organisations, they have very strong values ... quite an extensive network ... on the other hand, they can be a bit self focused, inside looking, they tend not to be that open for the things that are happening around them. They are more going for the status quo, so if you start promoting dramatic changes, you will tend not to get very far. So they tend to always lag a bit behind. Now, the other NGOs, I think the disadvantage is that their values have in a lot of places gone completely to the dogs: I see now things happening in that area which I thought wouldn't be possible. Another thing is that a number of NGOs tend to go for opportunities. They started off, for example, as an NGO supporting child development, but tomorrow if there are funds to build schools, they will do that, so they are much more linked with the opportunities of the day. That is a negative side, but on the positive side, there is some dynamism in the NGO world, they are much more flexible, they can much more easily follow trends and in some cases they are setting trends. Plus as a civil society organisation they play a role to control Government, for example, and the private sector: in principle they should represent the interests of people who don't have anything at all" (074:587).

Reiterating the unacceptable values sometimes evident in non-church-based organisations, Reuben Byomugabi the programme accountant states: "When you are working with these organisations that are not Christian ... people want to dodge taxes, evade taxes ... now you are thinking of having two sets of books. That thing disturbed my mind, but in a setting like this one, this is where I am free ... but working for an individual like that one, he will say 'Please, I will even pay you another salary, but keeps separate books for these tax people. When they come, you will show them this'. But ... in a church one can express himself, at least most of the things are done in light, and I think it gives me a piece of mind" (071:705).

Thus with regards the Ugandan church programme, cultural attributes associated with being a church-based implementing agency are feminine high power distance (between the programme and the Diocese of Kigezi), and within the programme, greater transparency than with non-church based organisations.

- **Motivation**

A common thread of practical benevolence emerged from various individual's motivation to work in the RWSHP sector:

George Bagamuhunda: “what I would want to do is to share what I know and what I have with people who do not know it for a better world” (075:64).

Bishop George Katwesigwe: “there are several things that make people not live the life in full. One of them his not having food to eat, clothes to wear, enough money to take their children to school, having no clean water, having to be bothered by diseases which can be prevented ... I think one thing that has recently pleased me, was a man who ... had been blind for seven years, so I brought into this Rugarama health centre, and when the doctor looked at his eyes, he said these eyes can be opened. And the man's eyes were opened two years ago. So, to me, that brings me satisfaction. I had to pick him from the village in my home area, bring him to Kabale with his wife, because his wife had also been blind for one year, and they are now both seeing. I came and paid the bill, looked after them, and fed them, took them back, brought them back after some time for rechecking. Now they are happy, so to me, that brings me satisfaction, and there are several examples, where I feel that where there is a need, if I am able, I will help” (073:363).

Rudolph Glotzbach of SNV: “JW: what would you say is the main goal, the top priority in your life? RG: to do something about the unfairness. It may sound ridiculous, but I still have a certain percentage of idealism left, so I would like to continue with that” (074:726).

- **Summary**

Within the programme, senior staff reported low power distance and a feminine, listening, consultative and, compared to non-church based organisations, a transparent environment. Amongst the construction field staff, there was some expression of exclusion and higher power distance.

Staff were predominantly motivated by a feminine practical benevolence, in addition to an active avoidance of negative public self-image, and were flexible to meet end users’ expressed needs.

The parent-child relationship between the programme and the Diocese of Kigezi is stated by the Diocese as low power distance and feminine, with active avoidance of negative public self-image. Programme staff suggest higher power distance and masculinity which results in passive avoidance of negative public self-image by the staff.

4.8.3 Ethiopian church programme - Government relationship

Programme staff make the following comments regarding their working relationship with the Government:

Genet Tesfaye: “it is very difficult for us to build a relationship because they (Government personnel in the field) are always changing. We cannot find those people. It takes time to build a relationship. After we had a good relationship, we cannot find those people in that place ... it is not only about corruption, it is difficult to know. Always the Government is having different policies which we don't know about. They are not really thinking about the community, they are thinking about themselves. They are really trying to sustain their policy, rather than focusing on the needs of the community, more focusing on their political situation” (099:528).

Mogus Mehari: “the Governments have been changing, so that has been one problem, not only for NGOs but also for the development policy as a whole in the country. Secondly, Government and NGOs have been like ... a cat and a rat. This has been seen in Ethiopia. ... the cat is the Government. The rat is the NGO. The cat tries to follow them, and the NGOs try to run away from the Government, try to avoid the problems. The Government has been, in this country, quite hierarchical, it wants to order things ... if you approach Government authorities individually, there can be a very good relationship, and there has been a very good relationship with the Kale Heywet Church water programme, and we have never had such a big problem. So it is the way that you keep in touch, the way that you build relationships with the key people that you sign agreements with ... I would not say that all NGOs have good credentials. Some come in just to use the money and help some target groups, and the money may not be well spent because of inadequate capacity, or lack of management, or misuse of the fund ... some Government staff can be jealous of NGOs, because, not the Kale Heywet Church, but other NGOs are quite highly paid, and the resources that they have, the vehicles etc, so Government staff can be jealous of NGOs as well. So there are always good and bad things that make them like a rat and a cat” (107:746).

Towards implementing agencies that are predominantly foreign NGOs there is a similar attitude of suspicion reported by Bereket Gebre Tsion: “what we hear from the Government side - they don't trust foreigners. That is what I hear. All Ethiopians we hear that. ‘Why are they helping us? They have their own agenda’” (109:35).

However, Desta Demessie suggests that there is a change in Government attitude: “the Government policies ... are improving. Now they are saying that NGOs are Government partners - a few years ago, they said that if you want to work, this is our policy and you have to follow it. If you don't want to follow it, you can go away ... It seems that they have learnt from their past experience. They have rejected NGOs, they didn't want to work with NGOs, they had very hard rules for NGOs, but people have appreciated NGOs better than the Government. The Government cannot reach every part of the country, whereas the NGOs are there. They have seen NGOs in one category, but now they have seen that there are NGOs who do activities for a genuine purpose and want to make a big change” (113:330).

Bereket Gebre Tsion acknowledges this change but suggests it may be short-lived: “yes, there is a major change regarding the relationship these days. I think maybe because of the famine or some other factors, the Government are very co-operative these times, they are approaching you as a friend, they are not feeling as a boss these days, so they discuss with NGOs in advance, and they are flexible as well, they are not rigid. ... every region and every Wereda has their own right to decide, so they want to use that NGO, they don't want to miss the NGO ... that is one reason and the other one is funding. They have no options, so they need to have a good relation ... when the famine is gone, the Government will try to cause a problem with NGOs ... they follow the development strategy for the development policy. That policy is a bit tight, but during the famine, the only priority is to save lives, so they don't care about it. But when you come to the development stage, everything has to be online, restricted and everything. So things are tighter than before” (109:832).

A former Government employee, Habtamu Gessesse confirms these perspectives: “there is a lot of red tape. To register (as an NGO with the Government) it should be on an annual basis, and ... You also write quarterly reports to the DPPC (the Government's Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission), but you don't know where that report is going. I don't know if it has been put in a basket and thrown away, because you never get any feedback ... NGOs are considered not as allies, not as organisations that are complementing the activities of the Government. They are considered as competitors ... It is only for a few NGOs that are considered as allies of the Government, who have access to (bilateral) funding ... The Government thinks that NGO personnel are very highly paid, they are not effective and efficient, they are not producing anything that is tangible and that is effective for the development of the country ... Whereas we in the NGOs sector claim that we are more effective ... (Ethiopia) is not as open as in other countries, in neighbouring countries like Kenya ... there is a lot of red tape around us ... in the past, in the last three or four years what they (the Government) have been doing is that they will cancel the registration of some NGOs. Some NGOs which are not up to what they are supposed to be doing, action has been taken against them. But what I'm saying is that the Government still has a lot of homework to find out the good ones. The good ones are after all going to be good partners for the Government. They will complement the activities of the Government - they are not competitors” (050:163).

Such bureaucracy is not exclusive to the Ethiopian Government, as reported by Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen of ZOA: “the system that is imposed on us by the European Government with very strict requirements on purchasing for example, that is killing off a lot of creative energy, a lot of space for projects to operate, because the system itself asks for things to be very structured” (051:712).

Gezahgn Dejachew reiterates the high power distance experienced with the European Union: “I remember the European Union was forcing the Kale Heywet Church to work with the Government” (110:1052).

Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen reports of inefficiency as a result of such bureaucracy: “the European Union said ‘this is fast-track, the money is there ... we know Ethiopia, we want to have an expatriate member to link with on this project, not an Ethiopian’ ... That was two- and-half years ago ... It went from ‘we have lost the document, we don't

know where it is', to a 'we have to translate it into the six languages, we don't have the translators in, because we are expanding to the east', to 'well, actually this might not be a good idea at all'" (051:1175).

Dereje Jemberu of ZOA warns of the dangers of closeness in a high power distance relationship: "If you are very close, I have seen it practically, it will be very, very dangerous ... if you have a very close relationship with the Wereda administrator, he will want that car anytime he wants, whether you have anything on or not. When you say no, he takes it as if he was denied. He takes it for granted that he has to get at any time that he wants" (052:407).

- **Summary**

Thus the Ethiopian Government is described as exhibiting narrowing, individualistic and long-term oriented cultural traits. A high power distance, masculine, instrumentalist relationship exists between Government and implementing agency, with high suspicion and distrust from the Government, particularly where the implementing agency is predominantly foreign. The relationship is perceived by some to be improving, perhaps only as long as famine conditions dictate a need for a more egalitarian relationship, and residual high power distance may create operational problems where too much closeness in the relationship is fostered.

The European Union is described by implementing agencies as bureaucratic, inefficient and inflexible with a strong, vertical, power distance relationship.

4.8.4 The Ugandan church programme - Government relationship

The Government is reported to be very appreciative of the Ugandan church programme.

Bishop George Katwesigwe reports: "The Minister of Lands and Water ... said the Government is happy with the water department, for the support they are giving the Government" (073:380).

Reuben Byomugabi reports: "if they (the Government) have some things to do, this practical work, they say 'if the Diocese of Kigezi has enough time, they would do these things on our behalf' ... like this Poverty Alleviation Fund, when it came, they were saying, 'we wish this fund would be for the Diocese of Kigezi. We know the quality of their work; we would rather give this work to them.' I think that is also another indicator that they have trust in us ... when we were buying this tipper truck, these days it is not easy to have the tax waived. But they said 'no, the Diocese of Kigezi, we know what they are doing'. So the Ministry paid that tax. It was over 10 million shillings" (071:553).

However, Diana Tibenderana states that jealousy exists in the relationship as a result: “I sort of feel they are sometimes envious about the good things that we do, because for them they can just sit behind desks and make reports, while for us we are actually on the ground doing the report” (069:205).

Gilbert Kimanzi provides a Government perspective that promotes this: “progressively Government should be enablers, they should retain legislation, supervision, quality assurance, policy. If they stick to that and move completely out of implementation, then the NGOs should be able to takeover, and they should foster a very good working relationship with NGOs, because NGOs are distinct in implementation, and they should keep there, because NGOs will not come to policy-making. There shouldn't be any competition” (068:571).

Furthermore, he promotes the following relationship with (I)NGOs: “they (are) on the ground, they have a niche, for instance, in community mobilisation through the church structures, which, through the Government extension staff, or even if we hired a private person to mobilise communities, you wouldn't mobilise communities as easily and as effectively as a department like the church based organisation. JW: is there resistance from the private sector? GK: yes, there is. They have been trying to say, ‘no, no, no you don't give money directly to NGOs. That is corruption, there is no transparency, you should go for open tendering’, but that to me is bullshit. My personal opinion is, given the choice, if I have a competent NGO and the private sector, I would go for the NGO, because the private sector will construct the facility and go away, but the NGO will stay there because they have a name to protect, and they give that necessary ongoing support, even post construction there are able to follow up, give some support using their own resources, so that you build this culture of sustainable maintenance, which the private sector will not do ... The private sector is just a means, and that is where we are losing sight, because of some personal interests, they try and say that the NGOs will undercut the private sector, but so what? If the NGOs provide a better service, me as a client, so to say, I am happy dealing with NGOs” (068:400).

SIDA (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) reports that in Uganda, with regards the public and private sector, “*the former tend to dominate even if efforts are made by the planners to engage non-Government entities*” (SIDA, 2001).

- **Summary**

Thus the cultural traits the Ugandan Government are described as exhibiting are bureaucratic with a supportive, low power distance, feminine relationship between Government and implementing agency although a degree of jealousy exists. The Ugandan church programme is described by the Government as open, transparent and committed to ongoing support (in contrast to the private sector), perhaps due to a concern with positive public self-image.

4.8.5 Ethiopian church programme - Donor relationship

The following sometimes contrasting excerpts describe the relationship with and characteristics of donors from the perspective of the Ethiopian church programme implementing agency.

Sehin Yelma: “Some are very top-down, such as EED. We do everything according to their requirement, everything. ‘You do this’ or we don't get the money, that is exactly what they told us, even on their workshop that they provided. It seems it is for our benefit, but it was not” (111:466).

Tesfaye Yacob: “when we wrote our mission statement, we sent it to everybody as a draft, and we had a few partners that really understood it and gave us comments ... We don't have many who really understand” (112:478).

Genet Tesfaye: “I think there is still a gap between the community and the Kale Heywet Church (KHC), also KHC and the donor. I was a bit worried about the gap, because the gap is still there, especially the gap between KHC and the donor, because the donor was saying that you have to do this all the time, it is difficult for KHC to explain everything. The donor has to be flexible with KHC. Because of the influence that we have from the donor, we are also doing that to the community. But a good relationship is the main thing ... (some donors) might ask for the report like when it is the rainy season - it is difficult to work. They say you have to do this one on this time, and we cannot do that on that time. They have to be flexible; they have to know about the culture, the seasons, also about the area, they have to be flexible about that ... What I feel personally is that a donor is someone who is really very strong, someone who wants everything just perfect. Because of that I would prefer if they started in a friendly way, it would be easier, and that means you would be very open to them” (099:434).

Bereket Gebre Tsion: “what I have learned from the donors are that they are always flexible, they are not rigid, but they are still looking for transparency from the partner. As long as we are transparent and clear for the donors, they are flexible” (109:798).

The integrity of some donors is questioned by Sehin Yelma: “with EED, I always suspect why they buy from WEM (*Note: for purchasing materials, EED almost insists that you have to get a quote, and strongly advises that you buy, from WEM, a German organisation*). But from Tearfund, I have never seen anything; I have never heard anything in the 12 years that I have been here” (111:40).

Genet Tesfaye: “I think Tearfund is very helpful because ... it is easy for KHC to communicate with Tearfund, also the relationship has not for a short time, it is for a long time. There is a good relationship - there is a good base, like a concrete base. Because of that the relationship is stronger with KHC. Also another thing I have found is that it is easy to communicate, also they reply. They are very friendly that's what I have found” (099:418).

Sehin Yelma: “I believe the donor shouldn't directly interfere in the Church's business, but on the other hand, if the donor totally ignores everything, it is impossible to achieve that purpose, because it is the purpose of the donor too. I think there should be some middle ground, like providing some consultants to point out the problems” (111:289).

Tesfaye Yacob: “I would prefer a capacity building rather than implementing; that is what would really like to see with a partner” (112:31).

Other relevant key informants' comments were as follows:

Ralph Wiegand a missionary with the Kale Heywet Church Arba Minch: “I totally abhor these fashion things. AIDS, gender: they are certain trends, and you have to go where these trends are ... it has taught many Africans to cheat. Because you write, you put into your proposal, just these catchwords, and you get something. It is ridiculous, it is showing how uneducated we really are, that we do not go according to the real need, the real situation ... Another thing is rapid rural appraisal. I think it is nonsense. The word rapid is an insult to Africa, because things are not rapid: life is not rapid, death is not rapid, and if you do not get down to the real things if you do things in a rapid way. I don't think this is appropriate at all” (048:1199).

Habtamu Gessesse of WaterAid: “our partners ... are claiming that we are not flexible, most of the time, but we are demanding a lot because we require quarterly reports, sometimes monthly reports in the case of finance ... there is some flexibility, but not always, because we're also sandwiched” (050:675).

- **Financial issues**

Further to comments made about donor trends leading to implementing agencies 'cheating', more specific points regarding the Kale Heywet Church's attitude towards donor funding and accountability are as follows.

Keith Etherington, Tearfund's desk Officer for Ethiopia, makes it clear that there is power distance in financial decision-making:

“after consultation with partners and talking with other organisations that have done this, Tearfund realised that ... there is nothing wrong with us keeping decision-making, financial decision-making, based in Teddington” (053:544).

Keith Etherington continues: “The water programme ... is an exceptional programme in Ethiopia ... I see them running after money something chronic - I don't know where that comes from, I really don't know. It is dictated to others from on high, Dr. Tesfaye (General Secretary), the executive committee put in a proposal for £10 million or something, but this is wasting time. It smothers any potential support that they would get from anybody by submitting these massive proposals, and they don't seem to listen to what I'm saying that I could fund. ... I would like to see them taking more responsibility. I think this dependency syndrome, that it is not our responsibility; it is

the donors: that needs to change. They need to say ‘this is what we're doing. If you want come in and join us, then we would be happy with you, but we're going to do this anyway.’ I would like to see that attitude much more, because then they would find that the donors would start running after them rather than the other way round” (053:1309).

Ralph Wiegand reports that the Kale Heywet Church head office took a regional highland fruit project proposal “and totally changed it, they added a Forestry component, which had gone wrong previously so they blew the budget up from 680,000 to 1.5 million, feeling that we have despised them. They openly said this in anger ... ‘you are despising us in writing just a project for 600,000. This is an insult. Just 600,000 with a car.’ Anyway, it is wrong just to choose big projects ... one of the biggest wishes I have for the Kale Heywet Church head office is this: to forget about the size of the project, and rather concentrate on when there is any activity ... the short sighted solution, the short cut from poverty to wealth, is the adding of money, so if there is money added in the form of the budget, it is the aim. So that is the short cut - it is a short-sighted thinking ... I think that any donor should much more put an emphasis on how the money, the funds are dealt with: how that faithfulness, how that reliability, how that stewardship attitude is dealt with, and build on this the future co- operation with the partner, which is very hard” (048:1220).

Such a poverty driven focus towards large projects demonstrates either active creation of positive public self-image or active avoidance of negative public self-image. This is reported by Gezahgn Dejachew of the programme in relation to the donation of a drilling rig, where it appears that despite a long-term donor relationship, there was insufficient confidence in the existing standard of communication to debate the suitability of the project:

“This country is poor, we are receivers, so we say ‘OK, let's forget our view; let's forget what we need, let us not lose this machine.’ Even though we had this good long-term relationship with Tearfund, we were not really confident to say no, we didn't say that, although we really knew that the problem (with the unsuitability of the rig) would appear ... it is not easy to build that confidence, because donors have the power to say no as well. If you say no, they may say no. In this case, those who refused the donors view may be seen as inflexible or as someone who is not responsible to be flexible enough to address the problem here in the country” (110:52).

Thus the drive to overcome poverty, or to be seen to do so, predominated, a further example of concern for public self-image.

Such attitudes are likely to inadvertently persist if the relationship develops along the assertive lines promoted by Tearfund’s Executive Director, Doug Balfour:

“I want to get us into a much more partner-partner consultation, working with partners closer, but also at the same time balancing that with actually having a much more

assertive and grown-up view of our own beliefs about things, and being quite happy to argue with partners about it in our own right, rather than saying ‘oh, you are the partner’, therefore we would just be reactive and responsive ... every time we want to do anything proactive, it is almost like we are being very, very naughty. To me that smacks of real parent - child type mentality, rather than actually saying ‘actually what we want is interdependent adult - adult, transactional analysis relationships’ ... these partners are actually grown-up, we need to give them the right of arguing with them, because actually that is still not treating them as grown-up” (054:303).

Whilst a self-declared retention of fiscal decision-making power exists with the donor, i.e. a parent-child relationship, to expect a different relationship in negotiations with partners is, this author suggests, unrealistic and unreasonable.

However, poverty alleviation drives are not seen to such an extent in other Ethiopian partners by Keith Etherington: “For ECFE (Evangelical Christian Fellowship of Ethiopia) I am funding for an HIV AIDS proposal, and for a vehicle they only put in 50 per cent costs, and they said the other 50 per cent they would find from their own resources. That attitude of ‘this is something that we are going to do and we are willing to invest in it,’ I don't see that with the Kale Heywet Church. They kind of say that the problem we are in is because of you, and you should pay for it. It is that kind of attitude which comes across. ... I find the Kale Heywet Church tries to get money through emotional blackmail ... There wasn't a rationale put forward for going into Afar (for relief work). The rationale put forward was very much an emotional one, and then there was a lot of resentment when Tearfund, when I turned round and said ‘I don't see the justification for it. I won't sanction you to use funds from the water programme for anything else.’” (053:1394).

This author suggests that the use of ‘emotional blackmail’ strongly supports the argument that emotional concerns - fear of *yilunta* or negative public self-image – are the primary motivation behind the proposed action.

Within the programme, there is a pragmatic acceptance of financial dependency voiced by Gezahgn Dejachew:

“it is good to try and support ourselves, but I don't think that this is the time to do so. In my opinion, it is wise to exhaustively use the available resources. If we get donors, it is good to use. It is known that this is a poor country, it is known that there is an overwhelming need in this country, so I don't see any harm if we are dependent on donors. There will be a day that will come when we say that we have had enough, let's try ourselves” (110:608).

Desta Demessie paradoxically suggests that day will only arrive in the Kale Heywet Church and Ethiopia through long-term donor commitment: “in our partners, I want to see long-term commitment. Development ... takes time ... The most important thing is when they see behavioural changes - that is a key factor. Rather than people saying

‘Unless donors help us, we cannot change ourselves’ ... saying ‘We can do that, but if you can help us to do this part’ ... I appreciate Tearfund. They have a good long- term commitment. Some, they just give something and say ‘just use that’, and you don't see them again” (113:293).

Bereket Gebre Tsion suggests a basic relationship between donors and funding: “I think the sign of a bad relationship is stopping or minimising funding - this is one indicator that shows how your relationship is with the donor. So when I am looking now, Tearfund are slowly reducing their fund, and some donors are stopping their funds. So that shows your relationship” (109:704).

Such an attitude not only promotes dependency, but also militates against building capacity.

- **Expatriates**

A strong element of capacity building within the Ethiopian church programme has been the presence for the majority of the programme’s 20 year existence of Western expatriates, predominantly from the UK but also Holland and America. Roles have ranged from management of the overall programme to that of specific sections within the programme, with a focus on eventual hand-over to local staff. The following excerpts and comments provide a comprehensive perspective on the role of expatriates in the Ethiopian church programme.

Mogus Mehari, the current programme manager: “Learning from the Western culture in my young age I think that has had a big influence, meeting deadlines, coming to a meeting on time, all these things” (107:447). Job and task orientation are thus seen as common Western characteristics.

Gezahgn Dejachew: “the expatriate will be usually accountable, much more accountable to the donors than the national workers ... usually things, processes, are very slow here. When you want something to be done, that is really the main problem that the expatriates were facing ... here, you should talk something else, and you should say something, and you should greet. If you ask and just go, it shows in our culture that you are here just for that. So we are too slow. This is one of the main problems that expatriates face ... the programme was not able to give reports on time at all, whenever it wanted, so the programme came to the decision to have its own accountant in order to produce reports on time. With very intensive negotiations with the Kale Heywet Church and lot of hard work, we have been able to come to a decision that the programme should have an accountant, and a decision to whom the accountant should be accountable, was very difficult” (110:774).

Thus although job and task orientation have caused tensions in the Kale Heywet Church, the opposite is also true, as expressed by Sehin Yelma:

“JW: when the expatriate leaves, next week, what do you think will happen? Do think there will be in a big impact on the programme? SY: yes, I think so. They have already started, and I think they will interfere more, and decisions will be delayed ... (head office) is top down and arbitrary” (111:273).

Difference in communication styles is seen as critical by some. Mogus Mehari:

“The way that we communicate to donors is different, and sometimes we do not communicate to donors, whereas if there are expatriates, they can express to donors the way that they like it. Sometimes Ethiopians neglect it” (107:298).

Sehin Yelma: “the foreigners, first of all when they came to get involved in the work, they had enough knowledge, they are skilled people. Also they had a good relationship with the donors. Also they have powers on decisions when they are here, how to continue the project” (108:186).

Bridging the perceived gap in communication styles may therefore undermine local ownership of a programme, evident as Sehin Yelma describes conflicts between expatriates and the Kale Heywet Church management:

“there are conflicts. It has been solved through the carrot-and-stick method. You tell them that if you are not going to do this, you will tell the donors - even if you are not going to tell them, that is what they feel. That if they go too far, the donors will hear about it ... they always think you are from the donor side, and will tell the donor” (108:26).

Such potential power is observed by Gezahgn Dejachew: “it is the expatriate’s role mainly for the relationship to be good or bad ... if the expatriate is able to construct a good relationship, then donors will definitely accept their expatriate’s opinion” (110:1002).

Sehin Yelma states that such a relationship with donors is not necessarily the preserve of expatriates: “I think they trust more the expatriates, I don't know why. It is not a racist trust, but it is just based on experience ... JW: have you seen any Ethiopian achieve the same relationship with a donor that the expatriate has, over a course of time? SY: yes, like Mogus. He used to have a very good relationship with Tearfund” (111:239).

There is clear opposition to expatriate management by the General Secretary of the Kale Heywet Church, Dr. Tesfaye Yacob: “in the Kale Heywet Church, or generally in the developing world at the moment, we need expatriates to come here and train and pass on skills, and do training ... so I would prefer a capacity building rather than implementing, that is what would really like to see it with partners” (112:377).

A similar perspective is shared by Bereket Gebre Tsion: “Everything is simple for the expat, looking at things simply. But when you come to the administration of our country, things are not clear, you have to pass on processes, and that makes a conflict

between the expats and the Kale Heywet Church. So what I am advising is that it is good to have an expat in the programme, but not on the administration side, because it makes conflict sometimes” (109:349).

Keith Etherington of Tearfund suggests that paradoxically, results oriented local management of the expatriate is part of the cause of such problems:

“we have seen a lot of negativity in terms of where expatriates have gone in and they have left and there they don't seem to have had any impact at all ... in our experience, there has been a tendency for expatriates to do more than realistically the partner could ever be expected to do, and they are only doing that because they are there so they start their own work. In a way that is started in order to justify the position of the expatriate ... part of that is the way that they have been managed, there is an expectation that they will prove their worth in some way or other, and that proof has to be fairly instant, rather than thinking ‘well, we want to see capacity built’ and recognising the slowness of that capacity building” (053:1510).

The tendency towards such ‘justifying’ activity may be evidence of the truth of a proverb developed in Amharic “*The Europeans go in like a thread through a needle’s eye, they spread like a sycamore*” (Dombrowski, 1988).

Many of the above comments and observations are reiterated by the following two key informants, both expatriates within Ethiopia.

Ralph Wiegand, a missionary with the Kale Heywet Church in Arba Minch, suggests Ethiopians “will learn from his thinking, his world view, and he will learn from the Ethiopian world view. It takes time. This process of cross-cultural work, there is a lot of friction, there will be failures, there will be tears there will be anger, but have the stamina to go through that ... the way of solving problems by going about planning, this is the big benefit that an expatriate can give to them ... I can be more direct. I am not in the hierarchy, I am not directly prone to be fired or promoted, I am not competing with somebody in the system and doing things, I’m always outside enough of the system to be able to say things straight. This could be a role, especially when it comes to advising, you need to be direct in advising, and if you are too much in the system and afraid of your own position and so on, you can't work properly ... No matter how expensive expatriates are or missionaries, putting a missionary, a white person with the right attitude and right training and mind set into an area will do more for the area than so many budgets. The change that somebody can make in examples, in relationships, and in cross-cultural learning, is big, and is long-term” (048:931). Thus systematic thinking and immunity from reprisals are seen as key benefits.

Gerrit-Jan van Uffelen of ZOA suggests a more functional beneficial role of fund raising: “to play the game, it is good to have an expatriate there ... It is a difficult task, and I think that Ethiopians are not aware how difficult it is to get funding for programmes” (051:1218).

- **Summary**

Inevitably there exists a variety of relationships with donors, dependent on the donor. Attributes that are appreciated by the Ethiopian church programme are good communication subsumed in a long-term relationship with either no direct implementation or at least a reasonable degree of autonomy of the implementing agency.

EED and the European Union are described as high power distance, inflexible, and the integrity of EED is questioned by one interviewee.

Tearfund is described as flexible, and self declared as high power distance with regards financial decision making.

Key informants described donors generally as: out of touch with the real needs, thus driven by trends; time, task and results oriented. Generally, donors can be said to exhibit high uncertainty avoidance with very specific funding including explicit logframes, although some donors show limited flexibility.

The pursuit of large grants by the Kale Heywet Church as a shortcut out of poverty is described by key informants (including donors) as exhibiting high uncertainty avoidance and an active concern to either create positive or avoid negative public self-image. One interviewee stated a direct association between strength of relationship and amount of funding.

Whilst Tearfund feels justified in the retention of fiscal decision-making powers, creating a parent-child relationship, it then expects a mature adult relationship in negotiations with partners.

See 4.8.1 and 4.8.2 for further comments with regards donor flexibility.

Expatriates are seen to be job and task oriented, attributes of donors that have caused tensions in the Kale Heywet Church. There is thus opposition to expatriate management by some within the Kale Heywet Church, although it is suggested that such management as opposed to the stated preference for a capacity building role of expatriates is due to results oriented local management of the expatriate.

Implementing agency stated benefits of expatriates include bridging the perceived gap in communication styles between donors and implementing agencies which may undermine local ownership. Expatriate self-stated benefits include: teaching systematic thinking styles; immunity from reprisals enabling direct communication; and effectiveness in fund raising.

4.8.6 The Ugandan church programme - Donor relationship

Relationships between the Ugandan church programme and donors differ according to donor attitude, as explained by George Bagamuhunda: “Some donors, depending on their background, they are willing to build up the partner, and other donors just want to give money and they don't want to establish a relationship. They just want to give you money for what you want to do. I don't think (EED's) requirements are really complicated, but they don't bother to teach, come down and say ‘this is how we want to do it, and this is how it should be done’ ... we haven't had a single problem (with DFID) because they took the effort to know that ‘yes, this is a new area, and we need to go down and train people, and they need it.’ EED was not bothered” (075:403).

Reuben Byomugabi sees few problems in his role as programme accountant where there are clear procedures: “I think the relationships so far are good ... these donors have been specific right from the start, a donor will come in and say I am funding you for the next five years ... They say, we want this by this date, we want that by that date, and whenever we send those reports, they answer back saying that they appreciate our efforts, reporting on time ...” (071:282).

Similar procedural clarity is appreciated by Diana Tibenderana: “I personally feel we are OK with them. What they tell us we understand. If they say there is little money, we shall use it according to how much we have got. If they say we have a bit more, we shall also expand” (069:170).

However, as with the Ethiopian church programme, job, time and task orientation, bureaucracy and the distant relationship of donors is seen at times as problematic by staff of the Ugandan church programme.

Kenneth Bekunda: “you have agreed on so much to be released quarterly, and you find that you are deep into another quarter and the money has not come. This is caused by DFID, because Tearfund have always sent money on time. But because we have to report to Tearfund, and then Tearfund has to report to DFID, I think that is why there is a delay. Then when the money comes, it comes at the end of the quarter, it comes even following another quarter, just so close, then you have too much on your plate, and yet you have been a bit redundant somewhere. So if the releases could be constant it would be better” (072:338).

Diana Tibenderana: “JW: is anything you feel that the donors could do that would make your work easier? DT: Maybe the time framing for the donors, because sometimes we

find it too quick, for example they want us to report every three months, then we haven't finished constructing the latrines and put all the things that we wanted to put in use, then we have to give a report. Maybe that - the time framing" (069:179).

Reuben Byomugabi: "they tend to be very rigid in their budget lines, and sometimes it might not be very easy to keep those lines from the beginning of the year to the end... I don't know what they want, they keep saying that we have to keep within. I don't know what they have at the back of their minds. Maybe they feel that if they don't ask us to be strict, we will go completely over expending ... They never answer directly, there is a thank you for your communication, your explanations, and they stop there ... I prefer to have more specific feedback ... when they come (to visit) most of them confess, 'Oh, this is what you do. It is important that we came here. Because when you write these things down, the concept that we get is somehow different from what we have seen on the ground'" (071:394).

The benefits of such interaction are noted by Danert commenting on development in Uganda. *"There is a need for a real understanding on behalf of the donors of the project. There is a need for more interaction between funding bodies and change agencies ... Development as it is understood today, in particular 'participative development' requires such time and flexibility on the part of the change agents. This requires time and flexibility on the part of the donors"* (Danert, 2003).

George Bagamuhunda and Gilbert Kimanzi of DWD (Government) see donor behaviour as irrationally obsessed with change: "GK: it has taken you all this long to build a programme up to this, where your services are recognised, you have built credibility with the communities. And then they (the donors) want you to change that, just for the sake of changing it. That's the painful thing about this whole approach of the donors ... GB: in the Western world, if you're a leader of an organisation, you can take, sometimes, very, very strange decisions, and the decisions would work in an organisation. GK: I think in these donor organisations, some people are evaluated on the extent to which they can cause change. If you can cause change, they will say, 'Oh yes, the programme has changed now, their man is forward-thinking'. Whether the changes are good or not, forget it. Change is becoming a superior God. I don't understand it" (068:879).

- **Summary**

The implementing agency appreciates procedural clarity from the donor, although is sometimes varied. Donor job, time and task orientation, as well as their bureaucracy and the distant relationship is seen at times by the implementing agency as problematic, and there is a donor obsession with change perceived by the implementing agency.

4.9 DONOR, SUPPORTER AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIPS

The donor represented in this chapter is predominantly Tearfund, a UK donor who has funded both programmes for over 20 years.

4.9.1 Donor internal relationships

The following interview excerpts provide an overview of relationships within Tearfund.

Joanne Green, the Water Policy Advisor for Tearfund: “it is a very friendly place to work, it is a very challenging place to work because there is so much going on here, and it is working at the coalface ... quite a conservative organisation ... because it comes from an evangelical Christian background, that is a traditionally conservative wing of the Church, and it doesn't like change” (055:32).

“JG: I think the reason why Tearfund and WaterAid have been happy to work so close together, is because WaterAid is also quite conservative organisation, and that is what they said to us. ‘First we were worried about working with you because you are evangelicals, and we didn't really know what that was. Then we realised that you are just as conservative as we are’ ... They see themselves as very conservative because they are engineers, that is their basis (laughs)” (055:581).

“JG: people do not feel they are invested in as staff ... Tearfund will not invest in them so that they can move up to something else. They prefer to recruit somebody from outside ... I think generally the staff that are here don't stay here very long, a lot of staff don't, because there is no internal scheme keeping people here - if they were promoted they would feel invested in or whatever” (055:117).

Keith Etherington, the Desk Officer for Ethiopia: “there is certainly a culture of do what we say and not what we do. We expect an awful lot on our partners, but we don't necessarily practise that ourselves. Evaluations are a good example. We want programmes to be planned well, to be evaluated well, but really we don't practise that very well within Tearfund” (053:44).

“KE: I think we feel under the shadow of some of the larger institutions, and we would like to aspire to be held more in esteem by the NGO community” (053:88).

As with the implementing agencies, senior staff view things in a more positive light.

Doug Balfour, the Executive Director, describes Tearfund as “dynamic, relational, creative, sometimes fun, thoughtful, serious, committed. Sometimes confrontational, complex, always interesting - fascinating. Full of stuff going on, full of people thinking about ways to make it different” (054:43).

- **Decision making process**

Doug Balfour wants the International Group, who deal with all aspects of overseas operations, to be “much more can-do, much less bureaucratic, much more open to creativity, less process oriented, more relational, based more overseas than here (in the UK), whilst actually not allowing the funding decisions to be taken overseas so that we keep partner’s wishes being observed” (054:281). By inference, the International Group is thus seen as bureaucratic, traditional, process-oriented, individualistic, and relatively high power distance in relation to overseas partners.

A second internal International Review Project (IRP2) was nearing completion at the time of the interviews of this thesis. Keith Etherington states that “in terms of listening to the international group’s staff, we don’t really feel that we have been listened to, not in terms of what is coming out of it ... we don’t see anything coming out that really answers the questions that we have asked ... there seems to be a gap in communication. They (senior management) feel that they have answered the questions, and we feel that they haven’t. ... maybe they have listened to some views, but I don’t think they have listened openly enough to find out the truth, really. They have found out what they wanted to hear to a certain extent ... it listens enough to keep its head bobbing along the surface, so it can keep breathing” (053:365).

Joanne Green concurs: “most of the decisions had been made at a very high level, and there has been a limited consultation, so people do not feel that their opinions were taken on. It was just a consultation. It didn’t influence anything that has been decided” (055:168).

Doug Balfour responds: “What most people mean when they talk about feeling listened to is that you’ll take what they have said and work a hundred percent on putting that into operation for the future. Therefore it is quite common I think in change to get to the situation where almost nobody feels wholly listened to. There is an inevitability about that” (054:213).

Regarding management and decision making styles, Doug Balfour continues: “Early on I realised that with the complexity of Tearfund there is no way that you could manage it, as Misburg would say, by supervision. You had to instil a set of values and a vision and then allow individual people to take all their own individual decisions, and you had to be sure that they would take it in the type of framework that you wanted them to take it, moving towards a common objective ... what you had was five directorates who didn’t produce a coherent plan, but all had their own plans, because they were the barons, and each of the barons had their own baronetcy, and it was all brought together, so there was nothing really corporate” (054:137).

Thus egalitarianism and collectivism are perceived by higher management as being promoted in the organisation. However, Keith Etherington openly and forcefully disagrees, suggesting that high power distance and masculinity are promoted:

“I kind of feel that leadership has become more isolated, and it is digging its trenches. That worries me a little bit ... I think Doug (Executive Director) is a bit of a bully. I think he frightens people, and I think David White (Chairman of the Board) is pretty much the same, but he just does it in different way. I think that in itself is partly what you're seeing expressed, and there are certain people in the leadership who are known to be powerful figures, and what they say seems to carry more weight than what other people say. Kindness is not looked on as a very - people would be very shocked if they hear this - I don't think kindness is looked on as a particularly good attribute” (053:960).

- **Motivation**

Keith Etherington suggests similarities with the Kale Heywet Church in terms of a focus on funding: “I think actually Tearfund is governed by money, and it is more concerned about income and expenditure than it is about whether or not this is right or wrong, as such. If something is going to be said which potentially could affect the amount of income coming in, then it will be avoided rather than tackled directly ... I suppose that is part of the history of Tearfund's funding base. I would say it is quite vulnerable. People talk about Tearfund having an incredibly strong funding base, because there is a database of about 170,000 names of churches or individuals, and those people compared to other organisations have a longer giving expectancy, so maybe secular organisations like Oxfam would see people lasting three or four years' average, whereas the commitment to Tearfund is nine or 10 years plus. So there is this perception that we have a very strong funding base and we get 95 per cent of funding from individuals and churches. We are not dependent on Government funding, unlike some other organisations that could be dependent on 40 to 60 per cent of their funding coming from major institutions. So there is this perception that we are strong in terms of funding, but if you look at that and actually challenge that, you realise that actually we are very dependent on one single type of funding, which is your average evangelical Christian. If you say anything that will potentially upset them, then you will upset all of them, so you are in a sense very vulnerable to your own perception of what they expect of Tearfund, it is not necessarily even reality” (053:197).

This in conjunction with the conservatism identified would create high uncertainty avoidance and a strong avoidance of negative public self-image either passively or actively.

This view is supported by Joanne Green: “I feel at the moment that we are too influenced by others ... I suppose it is about risk taking, and I think early on Tearfund as an organisation when it was much smaller and it was led by a particular type of director who was very radical ... as an organisation becomes older, it has more to lose, and I think it is a lot to do with this whole brand thing ... what we do has to fit into our personality to keep money coming in” (055:489).

Ralph Wiegand makes a general suggestion that for some donor organisations there “are a lot of people sitting; they are just administrators, they want their salaries, and they are not personally interested whether the project is a success or not. They want their

salaries: that depends on how the projects are started in the first place, you know if they are weak, then they realise somehow that they won't work anyway, the project, but they have to get rid of this money. So they wouldn't necessarily care how the money is used" (048:262).

Such individualistic, high uncertainty avoidance and instrumentalist behaviour potentially opens the door for corruption.

- **Spiritual**

Despite Tearfund's Christian basis, there are suggestions it is less spiritual and more exclusivist than some other non-religious NGOs.

Joanne Green: "I hear people saying that other organisations are not concerned about spiritual growth, but they call it something else. They refer to it as self-esteem, mental health, things like that. If you start actually unpacking the difference, you would probably find that some secular organisations are doing far more than religious organisations in terms of helping people to develop holistically" (053:122).

Keith Etherington on Tearfund: "there is a tension to want to be seen to be professional and to be seen to be part of the gang of NGOs that can raise funds from Government institutions ... Government donors don't think much of funding Christian religious organisations ... you would probably find that some secular organisations are doing far more than religious organisations in terms of helping people to develop holistically" (053:82).

"KE: it is quite an exclusive organisation, in that it only seeks to raise funds from evangelical Christians, it only seeks to work with evangelical Christians, and yet those it works with, it expects to work with anyone. I think it would be quite healthy for Tearfund, even if it was only five or 10 per cent of the work it supports, to be with non-Christians, other organisations ... and therefore engage with some of the issues that some of our partners engage with, and that would help us understand their perspective much more ... if we want to raise funds from institutional donors, we have to be seen as less discriminatory. I think we are quite a discriminating organisation" (053:564).

Similar discrimination is observed by Reuben Byomugabi with funding received by the Ugandan church programme from the Irish Embassy: "I remember when the ambassador came here, he wanted to know the proportion of the beneficiaries, how many are Roman Catholics, and how many are Protestants ... So I think that some of them may be biased if we chose an area where only, say, a quarter or a 5th are of the funding denomination. I think especially with the Irish Embassy, this is true ... the Irish Embassy, they can be flexible in the areas of expenditure when you explain that the variance is due to this or this but that component of the composition of the beneficiaries, it seems there they are not flexible, they are rigid. If for example you say this area that we are serving has no or very few Roman Catholics, you might not secure that funding" (071:489).

Thus a high degree of belief in God amongst donor organisations may result in narrowing and low levels of holism.

- **Gender**

Joanne Green suggests there is high gender distance present in Tearfund similar to that seen in the Kale Heywet Church (see 4.8.1, Gender): “(Tearfund) has a gender policy that was produced three years ago and has never been talked about since. There is one woman on the leadership team of 13 or 14. When you look at the number of women in the organisation, it is more than men, but when you look at the number of women in leadership positions, then there are more men. ... I think some of it is to do with the fact that we are quite male dominated, and it is a problem with the way that businesses and companies are run generally. If they are run mostly by men, and men often feel that they are prepared to sacrifice a lot of things family-wise to achieve things in their workplace, that is their main fulfilment, so I personally feel that is often why women don't get to those positions, because women are not allowed to sacrifice those things. Men are allowed to sacrifice those things, women aren't. We only have one woman in the whole of our leadership team, and she is single, so she doesn't have a family or is married” (053:248).

Thus the high gender distance is perceived as self-perpetuating.

- **Summary**

According to ‘lower-level’, non-leadership team staff, Tearfund exhibits: conservatism; aspirations to a more positive public self-image amongst larger donors; disempowering human resource policies (low level of investment in staff); high power distance; high uncertainty avoidance and a strong avoidance of negative public self-image either passively or actively with regards its fiscal focus; self-perpetuating masculinity.

According to ‘senior level’ leadership team staff, the International Group is seen as bureaucratic, traditional, process-oriented, individualistic, and relatively high power distance in relation to overseas partners. Egalitarianism and collectivism are perceived as being promoted in the organisation.

‘Religious’ donors (Tearfund and Irish Aid) are perceived as less spiritual and more exclusivist than some other non-religious NGOs, suggesting a high degree of belief in God amongst donor organisations may result in narrowing and low levels of holism.

4.9.2 Donor – supporter relationship

It has already been stated that non-leadership team staff within Tearfund perceive a focus on organisational income which, in conjunction with conservatism, creates high uncertainty avoidance and a strong avoidance of negative public self-image either passively or actively with regards supporters.

Keith Etherington elaborates: “I think Tearfund does have two faces ... It has a supporter face and a partner face, and Tearfund is like the bridge in the middle ... their supporters want to hear about life-saving stories and transformational stories, and want to present a very compassionate view of Tearfund, that it is really a sort of the organisation that is engaging with the needs in a way no other organisation does and can. In a way that is true - Tearfund is incredibly well- positioned to actually address many of the needs” (053:72).

“KE: ... the developmental work has progressed faster than the education of people (supporters) has, so a lot of people see development as giving resources, rather than necessarily as helping people struggle, and actually failure is a really good thing as well as success in a sense, as long as people are learning as part of the process and growing as a result ... I don't think the leadership of Tearfund have really embraced that. I think it is very money-driven, so if something is going to potentially upset or affect funding, then there will be no reaction to militate against the potential consequences of that” (053:746).

Joanne Green reiterates this: “It is a situation where the culture of the UK or the development culture drags us along rather than us leading, blazing the way, we are responding to it rather than being at the forefront of it ... because we are worried about how we are seen by our supporters ... education and marketing have done lots of research into how Tearfund is perceived by Christians, and what you'll find is that Tearfund people within Tearfund are much more progressive than are people who support Tearfund. In a way, that is the way that it should be ... but it does mean that we are stuck between being prophetic but not going ahead too fast so that our supporters don't come with us ... when the supporters describe what they see Tearfund as, it is very caring and sharing, which is absolutely right and Christian and everything. But it is also very soft, and it is more philanthropy than actually justice. It is less about justice; it is more about caring and sharing. Obviously you need both ...” (055:502).

The research mentioned revealed that supporters primarily perceive Tearfund as practical, operating with compassion, care and love (women), and is well-organised and reliable (men) (Farthing, 2001). Thus incisive truthfulness and justice may well cause the negative (financial) reaction feared.

“KE: ... I would like us to ... have the focus on speaking honestly, deliberately, and taking risks in a sense, without regard to finance ... We cannot be honest with our

supporters, because if we're honest, we tarnish what we think is a whiter-than-white image, it suddenly gets a blotch on it. So I think it is not the right way, they should be saying that the reality is that humans have struggles, and if we want to be really Christian about who we are, then we should encourage truthfulness, honesty, openness, and not put policies in place where people are going to be paranoid about what they say and who they say it to ... If income grows, everyone thinks that they are succeeding, that is the definition of success. Maybe I'm being a bit hard, I don't know, because within the organisation there are plenty of people, like the desk officers, who would step out and take risks. Unsupported I would say to a large extent (laughs)" (054:857).

- **Summary**

The focus on Tearfund's income, seen as a measure of the quality of supporter relationship, combined with Tearfund's conservatism, creates high uncertainty avoidance and a strong avoidance of negative public self-image either passively or actively.

4.9.3 Donor - donor relationships

Joanne Green: "A big problem that the Government has and the media has is the way that NGOs don't get on with each other, and are always in competition" (055:554).

This may be the direct result of idiosyncrasies which were the cause of Tearfund parting company with a particular donor in a collaborative campaign on private sector participation due to their "*vested interests*" (anonymous).

Competitiveness, according to Joanne Green, is partly due to size: "(Oxfam) are better at working with other people than the other ones, the other big ones... Oxfam are so big that they don't need to be territorial, whereas Tearfund and Christian Aid have an overlapping constituency in terms of competitiveness" (055:672).

- **Summary**

High masculinity and individualism (competitiveness) are hallmarks of most donor-donor relationships, fuelled primarily by a focus on income.

4.9.4 Donor - Government relationships

Non-leadership team staff confirmed the implementing agency experiences of Government donors. Keith Etherington: "There is quite a variety of relationships (with other donors). Some of them I feel are much more open and approachable and are willing to work together, in a sense more friendly, whereas the European Union is really a distant relationship, I don't really have close contact with them. With DFID it is really

difficult to know what they really want and what they are doing. They don't - if you go to their office, they don't give clear directions in terms of what they will and will not fund. Contrary to that, when we went to Ireland Aid, they were quite clear in saying that we want to do some seed distribution, and would fund this, and that we had a negative experience of cash for work so we would probably shy away from this - so they were quite upfront about things, whereas DFID were saying 'well, give us a proposal, and if it is well justified we will look at it' ... I don't think there is a stereotypical donor trend; I am not that familiar with the European Union. I think they all have their own idiosyncrasies" (053:1127).

Joanne Green: "(DFID) are generally quite conservative people. They are generally not very proactive in relating to us - we have to be proactive in relating to them ... I think they do want the relationship, but because they know that they are the Government, they know that we are always going to come to them and that they don't have to do anything, so it can be a bit of a one-way relationship ... A lot of Government especially DFID work is increasingly being done through NGOs ... (but) they don't really like being told by NGOs 'we don't agree with what you're doing', so that is a slightly more contentious area ... I think generally they are quite responsive, and I think that that is because NGOs can do campaigns. In the last year Tearfund has done a big campaign on water and that has been very useful for our influence, because Government can see that if we didn't like something that they did, we could do a campaign. This campaign has not been particularly controversial and the Government has agreed with most of our objectives for the campaign, but they can see that we can mobilise the general public and so therefore they do have to listen to what we say, because there is that sort of threat, and the media always wants to criticise the Government. There have been lots of instances where NGOs have criticised the Government and got the Government in trouble ... if there was a campaign that alienated them, because that has happened with other agencies, that they have done a particularly aggressive, critical campaign of the Government, and the Government have felt very angry about it, and it has damaged their credibility a lot" (055:355).

As a result there may be a tendency again to allow a funding focus by donors to generate an active or passive avoidance of negative public self-image in the eyes of Government funding agencies.

Rudolph Glotzbach reports that in Uganda, "the European Union had quite different ideas about the methodology of capacity building: they were more into the piecemeal approach - quick training, putting things in place, distributing computers. SNV were more interested in the process, to really build capacity that really sustains. So you look at the structures, you look at the skills, what the motivation of people is ... That was very foreign to the European Union - they didn't appreciate it at all, those sorts of activities" (074:107).

This suggests a masculine, instrumentalist, and results oriented approach on behalf of the Government compared to a feminine, humanistic, process oriented approach on behalf of the donor/implementing agency.

Gilbert Kimanzi reports a shift in power in donor-Government relations in Uganda: “(decision making powers were) weighted in favour of the donors, I think, way back, you could say in the early 1990s. Now, as DWD, we have come a long way, to an extent that you can tell a donor now that what you are suggesting is wrong. You couldn't do that in the early 1990s ... Of course, the donors do not like to hear that but, we tell them beforehand, now we are notorious for throwing out (donor) consultants ... You hire private sector now, just because you do not have time to do it yourself, but you know what needs to be done ... we have worked with the Swedes, SIDA Sweden, those are good, because they engage you in dialogue, you know, you go in discussions. Even DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency) is also good, for as long as you can state your case and engage them in dialogue, they are willing to listen ... and change some of the things, yes, it is give-and-take ...the bad ones are the Japanese, I mean, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), Japanese, they come with fixed mind sets, they are not going to change. They come with the plan and that is it, whether you take it or leave it. We have had problems with them. I had a few problems with the Austrians too, but with time they are beginning to change, with pressure, in fact pressure from other donors, the donors accuse them, because there is a donor forum, for water and sanitation, for the sector (set up by DANIDA), so they criticise some of the policies if you have very divergent views, they say ‘no, that won't work here’. That helps us a lot” (068:208).

Thus a more egalitarian, feminine, low power distance relationship exists between Government and donors, although this is highly dependent upon individuals:

“GK: We used to have a very good working relationship with DANIDA at one time, then he changed, the person who was the programme officer for DANIDA in charge of water, they brought in a lady, and this lady who would just say ‘you do this otherwise DANIDA will not give you money’” (068:847).

- **Summary**

Although masculine, instrumentalist, and results oriented approaches exist amongst certain Governments and donors, there is a trend towards relationships that exhibit more egalitarian, feminine, low power distance, humanistic, and process oriented approaches. Amongst donors at least, this is highly dependent upon individuals. There is evidence that a funding focus by a ‘donor’ hoping to receive Government funds may generate an active or passive avoidance of negative public self-image by the donor towards the Government, and indeed the same may be true with the roles reversed where the Government is the recipient of donor funds.

4.9.5 Government internal relationships

Much has been said of the Ethiopian Government at the national level (see 4.2.1).

In Uganda, Government corruption was reported by staff of the Ugandan church programme at the District level.

Julius Kasigazi states that “when they (the Ugandan Government) are constructing the tanks, they do not use the correct amount, because much of the cement they sell them” (070:330).

Kenneth Bekunda: “Last year but one, they (the Government) sent somebody to build a tank, I think 32 cubic metres, then when they had completed it, they came and asked Reverend George to go and inspect it. He condemned it. He said that this tank, if you put water in, it will explode - it was square. He said first of all you need to put reinforcement in the corners ... he even wrote a report. But was the report followed? I think some small money was passed through the hands, and then the water was pushed into the tank. That same week it crumbled ... the District Water Officer ... almost lost his job because he didn't give us things to do, and those people he gave those tanks to, (that) have already collapsed ... the technocrats within (the Government) ... they were the ones getting the tenders: it is their own companies” (072:462).

George Bagamuhunda suggests the Government are more hardware than software based: “(the Government) need something that they can really show, that people will see” (075:487).

At the national level, within DWD, Gilbert Kimanzi reports that “one of the strengths we have in DWD, I would say, that the director is a very good administrator. He is a good personality ... well respected ... and that has been instilled in his management style ... So whether you agree with him or not, you can tell him to his face, that I think that is wrong ... Whether you're junior to me, or I am senior to you, that doesn't matter, you can still speak your mind, which I think he is it a good way of resolving different issues” (068:304).

- **Summary**

The Ethiopian State at the national level has been described in 4.2.1 as hierarchical, controlling, bureaucratic and suspicious. High power distance, uncertainty avoidance, narrowing, and long-term orientation are evident alongside strong individualism and masculinity.

Within Uganda, corruption and a results-oriented hardware focus (individualism and masculinity) are reported characteristics of the Government at the District level (also reported by Amayo, 2003). At the National level, within DWD, there is low power distance, efficiency, and collectivism, although this appears very dependent on individuals.

4.10 OVERALL SUMMARY

Figure 4.1 and the following sections summarise the findings by stakeholder group and stakeholder interaction primarily according to the initial conceptual framework developed in Chapter 3 and newly proposed cultural dimensions: power distance; individualism (versus collectivism); masculinity (versus femininity); uncertainty avoidance; long-term orientation; degree of religious belief; and concern for public self-image. This group of cultural dimensions includes all the relevant concepts associated with other dimensions discussed in 3.5.

It is important to recognise that in Figure 4.1, where a complex interaction occurs either internally or cross-culturally, the cultural trait that is evident most of the time is presented. Thus, for example, for the Bane internal relationships it was found that high collectivism was evident except with regards gender relationships where high individualism occurred (4.5.1, Summary). Thus the Bane are presented as exhibiting high collectivism in Figure 4.1: the subsequent section '*Bane internal relationships*' explains the complexity.

The following abbreviations and terms are used:

Donors

DFID	Department for International Development (the UK Government Department responsible for managing Britain's aid to poor countries)
EED	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (Church Development Service – a donor association of the Protestant Churches in Germany)
EU	The European Union

Implementing agencies

Ethiopian Church programme	The Ethiopian Kale Heywet Church's Integrated Water and Sanitation Programme
Ugandan Church programme	The Church of Uganda's Kigezi Diocese Water and Sanitation Programme

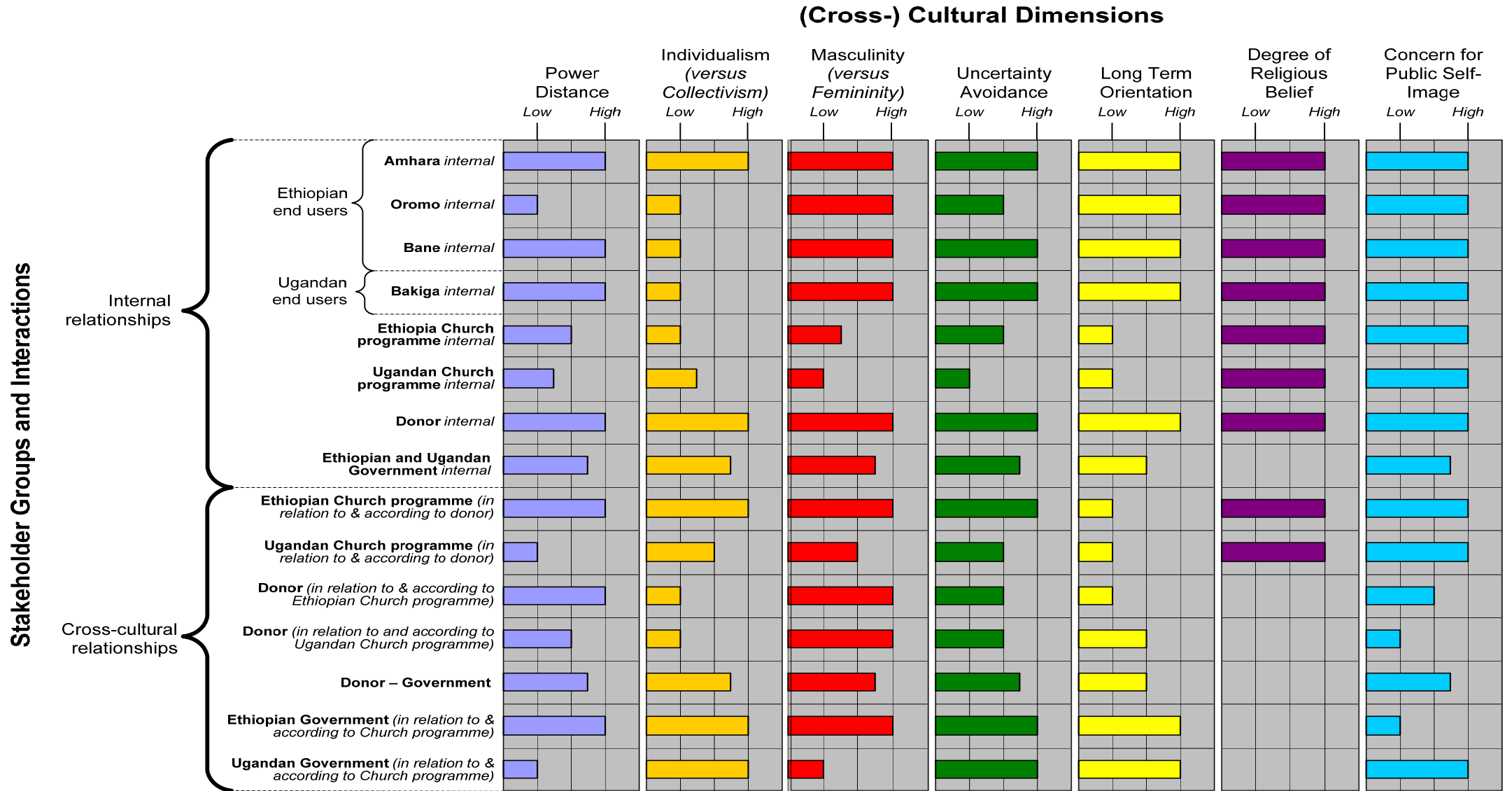


Figure 4.1: Summary profiles of the **predominant** (cross-) cultural dimensions for various stakeholder groups and interactions (additional interactions described in the text). Note: low individualism = high collectivism, and low masculinity = high femininity.

The following sections are therefore summaries of the cultural dimensions exhibited by stakeholder groups. They follow the order presented in Figure 4.1, and provide important supplementary information.

Amhara internal relationships.

- **Power distance: high.** There is a complete deference and acquiescence to superiors, where a negotiation between those of unequal rank is unthinkable, and the acquiring of ‘office’ is a reward rather than a personal responsibility. Delegation is avoided as it may produce a potential rival. Equally, a subordinate doesn’t accept delegation for fear the superior renege and suspect rebellion. There is no concept of, or words for ‘taking the initiative’ in Amharic: one can only be initiated. **Amhara-Government relationship: high power distance** results in a dependent (i.e. parent-child) relationship.
- **Individualism: high.** High instrumentalism and narrowing. High power distance clashes with and overrides strong individualism, bringing in to question the definitions of power distance and individualism-collectivism. The Amhara appreciate the feminine, collectivist traits evident amongst the implementing agency.
- **Masculinity: high.** None of the male but all of the female interviewees appreciated the reduced burden of water collection as the primary benefit of the projects.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.** A lack of trust results in high levels of bureaucracy and uncertainty avoidance in Ethiopia.
- **Long-Term Orientation: high.**
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** Syncretism with traditional religion is low amongst Orthodox, high amongst Muslims.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** Some active but predominantly passive avoidance of negative public self-image. There is dependency in physical matters due to emphasis on social matters, yet an unwillingness to openly express physical needs at the beginning of projects. This suggests the fear of negative public self-image.

Concrete thinking patterns are combined with high context communication (i.e. hiding the meaning within the context of the communication and the relationship between the individuals). Children have a relatively low status.

Oromo internal relationships

- **Power distance: low.** Egalitarianism is evident in an illiterate woman given considerable power and allowed to wield it, albeit in a masculine (i.e. strongly assertive) manner. **Relationships with implementing agency and Government: high power distance** including dependency on the Government.
- **Individualism: low (i.e. collectivism).**

- **Masculinity: high.** Low individualism and power distance subordinate the gender relations component of high masculinity to produce egalitarianism (albeit in a masculine manner)
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: medium.**
- **Long-Term Orientation: high.**
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** Syncretism with the predominant traditional religion is high amongst Muslim Oromo.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** Predominantly active promotion of positive public self-image. There is some evidence that the combination of masculinity (i.e. strong assertiveness) and aspects of traditional religion that are strongly adhered to (especially the conscious participation in the natural processes of the universe) indicates active promotion of positive self-image, as evidenced by the election of high status individuals to power and one interviewee's (Nuria Ali) determination to 'do good'.

Bane internal relationships

- **Power distance: high.**
- **Individualism: low (i.e. collectivism) but high for gender relations.** There is strong/extreme individualism and instrumentalism for most gender relationships, as well as for the benefits of implementing agency and Government relationships.
- **Masculinity: extreme.** A husband's relationship with his wife is highly individualistic, instrumentalist and utilitarian (i.e. masculine). This challenges the individualism-collectivism dimension and by association, self-interest versus familism and humanistic-instrumental. High power distance and masculinity subordinate the gender relations component of collectivism to produce individualism and utilitarianism.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.** High narrowing is exhibited: group membership is by right and exclusion is by non-right.
- **Long-Term Orientation: high.** Especially in relation to health practices, where tradition prevails over knowledge, concrete-associative thinking is subordinated by a strong long-term orientation.
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** Low syncretism between Bane traditional religion and the only other one evident, Christianity.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** This is predominantly expressed as active promotion of positive public self-image: evident in grooming, displays of wealth, and wives desiring scarification.

Bakiga internal relationships

- **Power distance: high.** Low power distance (egalitarianism) and familiarity are appreciated in implementing agencies and donors; high power distance is experienced in Government relationships

- **Individualism: low (i.e. collectivism).** This is also appreciated in implementing agencies. However, strong instrumentalism is shown towards implementing agencies and donors, the latter being perceived as process and time oriented. Strong collectivism amongst the Bakiga in certain arenas is mixed with suspicion and distrust in others. The motivation for strong collectivism may be an individualistic and active avoidance of negative public self-image, although in conflict resolution (politics and personal vendettas) behaviour is highly individualistic. Functionalism was a characteristic observed of end users towards the implementing agency.
- **Masculinity: high.** Femininity was appreciated in implementing agencies. The donors were perceived as exhibiting high masculinity.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.**
- **Long-Term Orientation: high.**
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** Medium syncretism between Christianity and traditional religion.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** In some collectivist activity/ values, active avoidance of negative public self-image was evident.

The motivation for attending health training has elements of strong collectivism, whereas motivation for changes in hygiene behaviour shows at times a strong reliance on extrinsic motivators, both by the recipient of training and the trainers.

With Government relations, the Bakiga show a strong tendency towards dependency, exacerbated by Government policies/ politicising. The Bakiga differed only in individualism-collectivism orientation with donors, which could cause clashes.

Ethiopian Church programme internal relationships

- **Power distance: mixed.** The relationship between Ethiopian church programme senior staff and field staff was reported as high power distance by field staff (who accept a degree of fatalism and powerlessness), but low (and open) by senior staff. The relationship between head office and senior programme staff is reported as high and lacking in openness by programme staff (accepted and promoted by one staff member who also exhibited instrumental functionalism with regards the benefits), but low (and open) by head office. Within senior programme staff, low power distance is evident.
- **Individualism: low (i.e. collectivism).** Sacrificial compassion amongst programme staff was evident towards end users. Complex individualism and instrumentalism existed from the head office towards the programme.
- **Masculinity: low (i.e. femininity).** Although femininity was evident amongst programme staff towards end users and each other, masculinity was shown by head office towards the programme.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: medium** amongst programme staff. High uncertainty avoidance and narrowing reported by programme staff of the head office staff and the Kale Heywet Church generally.

- **Long-Term Orientation: low.** High flexibility was shown within the Ethiopian church programme staff, but high long-term orientation shown in head office and the Kale Heywet Church generally
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** A ‘Protestant’ work ethic is prevalent throughout the programme and head office.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** Active avoidance of negative public self-image is evident within senior programme staff, within the wider church with regards provision of services, and within the Kale Heywet Church head office with regards conflicts. Passive avoidance of negative public self-image is evident in high context communication styles. Active promotion of positive public self-image is shown by the Kale Heywet Church employees with regards future prospects.

The project ‘cycle’ is a results oriented, high power distance chain. The programme and at times the donor are caught in the middle, often unable to exercise the desired flexibility. The ‘cycle’ therefore shows functionalism and masculinity.

Ugandan Church programme internal relationships

- **Power distance: medium-low.** The relationship between the Ugandan church programme senior staff and field staff is reported by senior staff as low, listening, consultative and transparent compared to non-church based organisations, but medium by some field staff, with some exclusion felt. The programme-Diocese of Kigezi (i.e. head office) relationship is reported by both as a parent-child relationship: reported by the Diocese as low power distance; reported by the programme as higher.
- **Individualism: low (i.e. collectivism).** The programme shows collectivism (flexibility) towards end users’ expressed needs. Functionalism (i.e. individualism) was observed by end users towards the implementing agency.
- **Masculinity: low (i.e. femininity).** Senior staff report internal relationships as feminine. All staff were mainly motivated by a feminine, practical benevolence. The programme-Diocese of Kigezi relationship is reported by the Diocese as feminine, but by the programme as masculine.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance and Long Term Orientation:** the programme is likely to be *low* in keeping with flexibility toward end-users.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** Concern for public self-image amongst programme staff in relationship with the Diocese was evident as active avoidance of negative public self-image. The programme-Diocese of Kigezi relationship showed high concern for public self-image. Diocesan staff exhibit active avoidance of negative public self-image; programme staff exhibit passive avoidance of negative public self-image.

Donor internal relationships (self-stated by Tearfund unless stated otherwise)

- **Power distance: high.** Tearfund, according to ‘lower-level’, non-leadership team staff exhibits high power distance. ‘Senior level’ leadership team staff, see the International Group (IG) as relatively high power distance in relation to overseas partners
- **Individualism: high.** Non-leadership team staff report instrumentalism, disempowering human resource policies, and low levels of investment in staff. Leadership team staff perceive egalitarianism and collectivism being promoted in the organisation, though report the IG as individualistic. High individualism (competitiveness) is reported between donors (for funding)
- **Masculinity: high.** Self-perpetuating masculinity exists according to non-leadership team staff. Leadership team staff perceive the International Group as process-oriented. Strong masculinity (competitiveness) exists between donors (especially in relation to income)
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.** High uncertainty avoidance and conservatism, according to non-leadership team staff, especially in relation to concern for public self-image amongst supporters.
- **Long Term Orientation: high.** Leadership team staff perceive the International Group as high long-term orientation: bureaucratic and traditional
- **Degree of Religious Belief: high.** It is suggested that ‘religious’ donors (Irish Aid and Tearfund) are less spiritual and more exclusivist than some other non-religious NGOs. High degree of religious belief may result in narrowing and low levels of holism.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** According to non-leadership team staff, a strong avoidance of negative public self-image exists either passively or actively due to a focus on (supporter/other donor) income, and aspirations to a more positive public self-image amongst larger donors.

When donors need to spend budgets at all costs, high individualism and uncertainty avoidance behaviour encourages corruption by donors and implementing agencies.

Ethiopian and Ugandan Government internal relationships

- **Power distance: medium-high (varied).** Ethiopian Government and Ugandan District Government: high power distance. Ugandan National Government (DWD): low power distance, dependent on individuals
- **Individualism: medium-high (varied).** Ethiopian Government: strong individualism. Ugandan District Government: individualistic; Ugandan National Government (DWD): collectivist, dependent on individuals (ironically)
- **Masculinity: medium-high (varied).** Ethiopian Government and Ugandan District Government: high masculinity (latter focus on hardware). Ugandan National Government (DWD): feminine and open dependent on individuals.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: medium-high (varied).** Ethiopian Government (and Ugandan District Government?): high uncertainty avoidance, narrowing and

bureaucratic. Ugandan National Government (DWD): low uncertainty avoidance and efficient

- **Long Term Orientation: medium (varied).** Ethiopian Government: high long-term orientation regarding policy inflexibility, yet low long-term orientation regarding traditions (i.e. Marxism prevalent). Ugandan Government: no data
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: medium-high (varied).** Ethiopian Government: high concern for public self-image with predominantly passive avoidance of negative public self-image. Ugandan Government as above.

Within Uganda, Government characteristics depend on individuals.

Ethiopian Church programme - donor relationships

- **Power distance: high.** According to staff of the Ethiopian church programme, high power distance exists in EED and the EU, who are strongly vertical, bureaucratic and inflexible. The EU is reported as inefficient, and EED has its integrity questioned. Tearfund is reported as flexible, but self-declared as high power distance with regards financial decision making. Tearfund retains fiscal decision-making powers, which creates a parent-child relationship, but it expects a mature adult relationship in negotiations with partners.
- **Individualism: high.** High instrumentalism is reported of the Kale Heywet Church (and to a lesser extent the programme) by Tearfund, as shown by the pursuit of donor grants. Staff of the Ethiopian church programme appreciate good communication and a long-term relationship with, but autonomy from, donors.
- **Masculinity: high.** Donors and expatriates reported by key informants and the Kale Heywet Church as high masculinity: time, task and results oriented.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.** Tearfund reports high uncertainty avoidance in the Kale Heywet Church: the pursuit of large grants is seen as a shortcut out of poverty. Donors exhibit high uncertainty avoidance (specific funding, explicit logframes), though some show limited flexibility.
- **Long-Term Orientation: low.** Donors described generally by key informants as low long-term orientation: driven by trends (yet often inflexible).
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: high.** Tearfund reports high concern for public self-image in the Kale Heywet Church who actively either promote positive or avoid negative public self-image by seeking large grants (a direct association was seen by one Ethiopian church programme interviewee between the strength of relationship with the donor and the amount of funding)

There is some opposition within the Kale Heywet Church to management by expatriates – there is a preference for capacity building. The Ethiopian church programme sees the benefits of expatriates as bridging the perceived gap in communication styles between donors and implementing agencies. Expatriate self-stated benefits include: teaching systematic thinking styles; immunity from reprisals enabling direct communication; and effectiveness in fund raising

Ugandan Church programme - donor relationships

- **Power distance: medium (variable).** The programme appreciates low power distance with the donor (as with DFID), though often a distant, high power distance relationship exists (e.g. with the German donor EED).
- **Individualism: medium (variable).** The programme appreciates procedural clarity and closeness (i.e. collectivism) from the donor. However, most donors seen as job, time and task orientated i.e. instrumentalists
- **Masculinity: high.** Donors generally reported as masculine by the programme, emphasising achievement over relationships.
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: medium (variable).** Donors on the one hand seen by the programme as obsessed with change (low uncertainty avoidance), on the other bureaucratic and process oriented (high uncertainty avoidance)
- **Long Term Orientation: medium (variable).** Donor seen as a mix of high and low long-term orientation as with uncertainty avoidance
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: low.** Low concern for public self-image reported by the programme of donors, probably due to job, time and task orientation of donors.

Donor – Government relationships

- **Power distance: medium-high.** Recipients of funding report the traditional relationship with Government funding bodies of high power distance is slowly changing to low power distance, though this depends upon individuals. DFID and EU still high power distance; Irish Aid low power distance
- **Individualism: medium-high.** Again, traditionally individualistic, instrumentalist approaches by (Government and donor) funding bodies are moving towards more egalitarian and humanistic relations, dependant upon individuals. Tearfund non-leadership team staff report instrumentalism in Tearfund: income is seen as a measure of the quality of supporter relationship.
- **Masculinity: medium-high.** Traditionally masculine, results oriented approaches by (Government and donor) funding bodies are moving towards more feminine and process oriented approaches dependant upon individuals
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: medium-high.** Mixture: high uncertainty avoidance by donors seeking Government funding; low uncertainty avoidance by Ugandan Government seeking donor funding
- **Long Term Orientation: medium (varied).** Both groups exhibit both high long-term orientation (i.e. the expectation of long-term rewards – sustainability - as a result of hard work) and low long-term orientation (following development fashions)
- **Concern for Public Self-Image: medium-high (varied).** As above, potential funding may generate high concern for public self-image - an active or passive avoidance of negative public self-image from the recipient towards the donor. Ugandan Government shows low concern for public self-image when seeking donor funds.

Ethiopian Church programme - Government relationships

- **Power distance: high.** Ethiopian and European Governments are reported by the Ethiopian church programme and staff of similar Ethiopian programmes as high power distance, bureaucratic and inefficient.
- **Individualism: high.**
- **Masculinity: high.**
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high (narrowing.)**
- **Long term orientation: high.**
- **Degree of Religious Belief:** not stated.
- **Concern for Public Self-Image:** Government shows low concern for public self-image according to staff of the Ethiopian church programme, perhaps due to the high power distance in the relationship. High suspicion and distrust of implementing agencies is shown by the Government, particularly where the implementing agency is predominantly foreign. This is perhaps improving with famine conditions that dictate lower power distance (more egalitarianism).

Ugandan Church programme – Government relationships

- **Power distance: low.** Reported as low power distance relationship by both sides; Government reports the programme as open and transparent
- **Individualism: high.** The Government is reported as individualistic by programme staff, showing instrumentalist use of the programme's good reputation albeit with some jealousy
- **Masculinity: low (i.e. femininity).** Programme staff report the relationship as feminine and supportive; Government states that the programme committed to ongoing support (in contrast to the private sector)
- **Uncertainty Avoidance: high.** The programme reports Government as showing high uncertainty avoidance and bureaucratic.
- **Long Term Orientation: high.** Government likely to be high long-term orientation in keeping with bureaucratic tendencies
- **Concern for Public Self-Image:** Some evidence that the Government shows active promotion of a positive public self-image.

5 NEW INSIGHTS FROM THE RESEARCH

The aims and objectives of the thesis as set out in Chapter 2 are summarised below.

Aim

To improve understanding of the influence of culture on stakeholder interactions in rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion (RWSHP) projects

Objectives

1. Identify relevant (cross-) cultural dimensions and develop an initial conceptual framework of dimensions (*achieved in chapter 3*).
2. Use the framework to describe and understand interactions within and between the stakeholders (*partially accomplished in chapter 4, completed in this chapter*).
3. Develop insights and identify new (cross-) cultural dimensions (*partially accomplished in chapter 4, completed in this chapter*).
4. Determine the degree and extent of the influence of dimensions, especially cross-culturally, and determine ways of militating against or promoting them to enhance beneficial impact (*primarily addressed in this chapter, concluded in chapter 6*).

The achievement of the above objectives has significant implications both for academic understanding and development practice. This is in part due to the inclusion of a wider range of stakeholders than in previously published research. Both ‘developing world’ stakeholders (Government, community, implementing agency, and to a lesser extent, private sector) and ‘developed world’ stakeholders (donors, supporters and Government) have been considered in this thesis.

This enables unique insights and new (cross-) cultural dimensions (objective 3) to be developed from a broader range of interactions within and between stakeholders than previously attempted. These insights and new dimensions are therefore grounded in a wider reality than previous cross-cultural research.

Similarly, the pragmatic application of the insights and new dimensions (objective 4) to a wider range of stakeholders than previously considered has unique implications. The

way in which cross-cultural interactions are analysed and the way in which development is practised could both be fundamentally revised.

Therefore the insights and new (cross-) cultural dimensions are most usefully divided into those with implications for academic understanding, and those with implications for development practice.

The implications for academic understanding are:

- Approaches to the analysis of group behaviour;
- New dimensions for (cross-) cultural description, understanding and analysis;
 - Concern for Public Self-Image
 - Degree of Religious Belief and Spirituality
- Restating established dimensions
 - Long-term orientation
 - All dimensions
- Disagreements with published literature

Implications for development practice are:

- Power distance, dependency and poverty
- Masculinity, gender and participation
- Concern for Public Self-Image and communication
- Degree of Religious Belief and Spirituality
- Hierarchy of dimensions
- Expatriates
- On-going support
- Donors and Governments

5.1 IMPLICATIONS FOR ACADEMIC UNDERSTANDING

5.1.1 Approaches to the analysis of group behaviour

Traditionally, one of a variety of differing approaches is chosen to analyse group behaviour. This author suggests this is inappropriate and simplistic and asserts that a multidisciplinary approach that reflects the complexities of group behaviour and converges research findings is essential. This would revolutionise the manner in which group behaviour is analysed, and would lead to a clearer and more accurate understanding of interactions within and between stakeholder groups.

In 3.4.1 (page 63), three approaches to the analysis of similarities and differences between human groupings were identified: functionalist, values and cognitive approaches (Glenn, 1981). Each suggests that behaviour is determined by different drivers: social needs, value judgements, and a combination of situation and individual knowledge, respectively. Furthermore, within each approach, there is no allowance for hierarchy of drivers.

This author concluded in section 3.4.1 that dimensions emanating from the values approach would be used to describe and understand (cross-) cultural stakeholder behaviour. The values approach itself was not used because it ignores any variations that may occur within stakeholder (inter-) relationships, giving only a single score for a given dimension³⁸. The functionalist and cognitive approaches similarly use such aggregation.

The data presented in chapter 4, examples of which are given below, clearly show that stakeholder behaviour in a given cultural dimension may be constant, or it may vary according to the (sub-) group interacted with, the situation or the need.

³⁸ For example, Hofstede's Value Survey Module is used to generate the value dimensions of power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long term orientation. It contains broad questions such as "In your private life, how important is personal steadiness", "perseverance" and "tradition" (Hofstede, 1994c). An individual may value all highly, yet subjugate all, for example, in a high power distance relationship with an elder.

- Consistent stakeholder behaviour is seen, for example, in the high power distance shown by the Amhara internally and in relationships with the Government.
- Variations according to stakeholder (sub-) group interaction are seen in several cases. Amongst the Oromo, for example, low power distance (i.e. egalitarianism) is exhibited internally but high power distance is exhibited with implementing agencies and the Government. Similarly, the Bakiga exhibit high collectivism with the in-group (i.e. amongst themselves), but strong instrumentalism (i.e. individualism) towards the out-groups of implementing agencies and donors. Variation according to sub-group is seen amongst the Bane who exhibit strong collectivism internally except in gender relationships where they exhibit extreme individualism. Similarly the Bane exhibit high power distance as a tribe internally, but within the 'elite' elders there is egalitarianism (low power-distance) with regards decision-making (4.5.1, Elders and the decision making processes, page 134).

The values approach would attribute an aggregate 'medium' score of approximately 50% for the behaviour exhibited by the Oromo, Bakiga and Bane in each of the dimensions described. This would fail to reflect the variation of values and behaviour according to interaction. (It is also very noticeable from the data that many stakeholder groups exhibit one value but appreciate the opposite in other groups, e.g. the Amhara and Bakiga exhibit masculinity but appreciate femininity amongst the implementing agencies).

- Variations according to situation are evident in the relationship between donors and Government funding bodies (e.g. DFID). Both groups exhibit high long-term orientation in expecting long-term rewards – impact and sustainability - as a result of hard work, yet show low long-term orientation in following development fashions i.e. not adhering to tradition. Triandis (2000) claims that all humans have, for example, both collectivist and individualist cognitions, but they sample them with different probabilities depending on the situation: when

the in-group is being attacked most humans become collectivists (also Schwarzwald, 1978).

- Variations in stakeholder relationships are likely to be seen according to need, especially poverty levels. The Ethiopian Kale Heywet Church was reported by a donor to exhibit high masculinity, instrumentalism, and uncertainty avoidance in seeking large grants as a potential shortcut out of poverty.

This author therefore asserts that due to the unpredictability of stakeholder behaviour - whether it is constant or varies according to interaction, situation or need - none of the functionalist, values or cognitive approaches is appropriate on its own to analyse cross-cultural behaviour.

Furthermore, complex scenarios occur that not only require complex explanations but also a measure of the strength of motivation behind competing values – a hierarchy of values. The following examples from the data illustrate this.

Firstly, as stated in 4.3.1 (Summary, page 110), there is a clash in the Amhara between their high power distance and individualism³⁹. This author suggests that power distance dominates in this arena (which therefore questions the definition of the two dimensions and is discussed later).

Secondly, where masculinity and collectivism co-exist, the group's orientation on the power distance dimension will determine gender relations. In a low power distance environment, for example amongst the Oromo, collectivism and low power distance will dominate over masculinity to produce femininity in gender relations, where females are treated equally to males. However, both genders exhibit other masculine traits such as assertive behaviour (see 4.4.1, Summary, page 127)⁴⁰.

³⁹ High power distance would normally result in flexibility (i.e. readiness to 'fit in' to stable norms, obligations and duties) and high self-monitoring (i.e. ability to determine behavioural appropriateness). These traits are usually associated with collectivism as opposed to the Amhara's individualism.

⁴⁰ In addition to support from the literature (see 4.4.1), evidence for this is seen in Nuria Ali's ability as an illiterate woman to be given and wield considerable power, albeit in a masculine (i.e. strongly assertive) manner. She was supported in doing so by men and by the legal system.

Where high power distance exists in the presence of masculinity and collectivism, for example amongst the Bane, masculinity and high power distance will dominate over collectivism to produce individualism with regards gender relations. The group supports this high gender distance or male domination of females, as shown by the practice, acceptance and even promotion of beating women, even to death (see 4.5.1, Summary, page 142).

Lastly, as quoted in 4.8.1 (page 178), complex individualism-collectivism interplays occurred within the Kale Heywet Church between the programme staff (i.e. implementing agents) and senior staff of the wider church organisation⁴¹. This resulted in the programme staff having to make a decision between achieving collectivist aims (i.e. programme implementation) or subordination to a high power distance relationship.

Therefore it is evident that as the situation or stakeholder interaction varies, the driver of behaviour may also vary, and vary with differing intensity.

Consequently, as discussed in 3.4.1 (page 63), this author asserts that a multidisciplinary approach that synthesises a variety of approaches is essential to adequately *describe* stakeholder interaction, rather than *analyse* them in a reductionist manner. Such an approach uses dimensions of culture identified through various methodologies and has many similarities to complex systems theory⁴². Due to this complexity, no accepted methodologies are available, and clearly this is an area in need of further study.

The justification of a multidisciplinary, synthesising approach is therefore as follows:

⁴¹ Programme staff attempt to achieve collectivist goals (i.e. development) through typically individualistic means (i.e. task orientation). The head office senior staff see this as individualistic empire building by the programme, and attempt to collectively benefit the wider organisation by fuller integration and conformity. This is perceived by the programme as individualistic (self-serving) behaviour that benefits fewer than the programme's targeted end-users. The programme staff were subsequently punished in a high power distance manner by head office senior staff in the name of collectivism, which was perceived as individualism by the programme.

⁴² These similarities are identified and described in 3.4.1. In summary, the dynamics of (cross-) cultural interactions and complex systems both have large numbers of mutually interacting dynamical parts that relate in a non-linear manner to each other, and contain feedback loops and memory.

- It recognises that the three approaches to the description of similarities and differences between human groupings – the functionalist, value, and cognitive approaches – are useful descriptors, but that it is impossible to predict which one will most accurately describe a given behaviour in any given instance;
- It seeks to describe and understand stakeholder interactions using cultural dimensions, rather than analyse them in a reductionist manner. Such reductionism produces a single ‘score’ for a given dimension that does not allow for variation that may occur within stakeholder (inter-) relationships;
- It allows for a hierarchy of values to be established where necessary.

5.1.2 New dimensions for (cross-) cultural description, understanding and analysis

This author proposes two new cultural dimensions that deserve to be accorded equal status to established dimensions. If adequately considered, these new dimensions will lead to a fuller and more accurate understanding of (cross-) cultural interactions. Without adequate consideration, understanding will be at best partial and at worst incorrect. It is therefore vital that these new dimensions are mainstreamed into (cross-) cultural description, understanding and analysis, especially where developing country stakeholder groups (e.g. end users, implementing agencies and Government) are concerned.

- **Concern for Public Self-Image**

The first new dimension is concern for public self-image, a primary driver of behaviour amongst all stakeholder groups. As discussed fully in 4.3.1 (Public self-image, page 100), this author suggests public self-image embraces the notions of face and pride (which are predominantly generated by self), the notions of name, esteem and fame (which are predominantly generated by others) and the notion of honour (which is generated equally by self and others). Furthermore, this author proposes that concern for public self-image is defined in two parts: **the degree to which an individual expresses interest in how others perceive himself/herself, and the manner in which the individual seeks to influence that perception.**

Measuring these two parts further distinguishes this dimension from others: this author suggests the following three aspects:

- Firstly, the strength of concern for public self-image needs. If concern is present, then:
- What is being sought (normally the avoidance of negative or promotion of positive public self-image);
- How it is being sought (actively or passively).

Although what is being sought is usually either the avoidance of negative or promotion of positive public self-image, there are instances in which the avoidance of positive or promotion of negative public self-image is sought. For example, to wield power, an individual may seek to generate fear amongst colleagues or employees, thus promoting a negative fear-based image of oneself. To an extent this is true of Kale Heywet Church head office senior staff who are reported by programme staff to generate conformity by ‘punishment’ (see previous section). Similar tactics are reported by ‘lower level’ staff in Tearfund of senior staff where bullying is used to induce fear (4.9.1, Decision making process, page 213). Promotion of a negative fear-based image is likely to occur when the Bane kill those of another tribe. Within the Bane the result is high status; for the affected tribe, the result is likely to be fear or anger (though there is no hard evidence of this or of the level of concern this generates amongst the Bane). In that avoidance of positive or promotion of negative public self-image acts against the formation of close-knit groups, it is likely such behaviour will positively associate with individualism, where priority is given to personal goals.

However, the overall dimension of concern for public self-image does not consistently associate with any other dimensions. This indicates that it deserves to be considered as a dimension in its own right, as opposed to being a category of an established dimension. This is especially true of individualism-collectivism, where collectivists typically have a desire to ‘fit into’ a social environment that is perceived to be fixed, a trait that could easily be assumed to positively associate with concern for public self-image. However, Figure 4.1 and the data show otherwise. For example, individualistic behaviour and high

concern for public self image occurs in the pursuit of grants by the Ethiopian church programme (in relation to donors) and in the donor organisation Tearfund.

Furthermore, otherwise collectivist groups may exhibit individualism and high concern for public self image in certain circumstances. For example, the motivation amongst the Bakiga to attend funerals of any in-group member may appear to show high collectivism, but is, in fact, an individualistic and active avoidance of negative public self-image: an individual who does not attend a funeral is assumed to have been involved in the person's death (see 4.7.1, Public self-image, page 159).

There were relatively few recorded instances of low concern for public self-image. One example was of the Ethiopian Government who were reported to show a general lack of concern as to how staff of the Ethiopian church programme viewed them. This was possibly due to high power distance in the relationship where the Government is in a controlling position and has little need for concern. Another example was the Ugandan National Government's relationship with donors: despite low power distance, the Government had sufficient confidence to reject funding at times, showing little concern for public self-image.

These two examples may suggest that where a combination of high masculinity (i.e. assertiveness) and low uncertainty avoidance (i.e. risk-taking) exist, a low concern for public self-image would also exist. The data show no such association (e.g. Figure 4.1), further evidence of the need to mainstream concern for public self-image as a new dimension of culture.

- **Degree of Religious Belief and Spirituality**

There are calls amongst academics to recognise religiosity and spirituality to the same degree as other widely accepted dimensions of culture. Religiosity may be defined as the degree of "*people's beliefs and opinions concerning the existence, nature, and worship of God, a god, or gods, and divine involvement in the universe and human life*" (Encarta, 2005). Spirituality may be defined as "*a sense of connection to a much greater whole which includes an emotional experience of religious awe and reverence*" (Wikipedia, 2006c).

Currently academic understanding of cultural dimensions that measure religiosity and spirituality is in its infancy. It is restricted to scales that measure degrees of belief in God amongst predominantly Western (and some Middle Eastern) societies, all with monotheistic religious traditions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam (section 3.5, page 68). Eastern and traditional religions and spirituality generally are not represented in current analyses. This is largely due to the enormity of the subject, and the difficulty in determining areas of commonality or diversity that are useful to measure.

Thus far in this thesis, this author has proposed a second new (cross-) cultural dimension, degree of religious belief. It has primarily measured the strength of religiosity, and is broader than Degree of Belief in God (page 79) in that it embraces Eastern, traditional and other religions.

However, it must be stressed that the thoughts and discussion offered by the author in this thesis with regards this proposed dimension of culture represent some very preliminary thinking: much more needs to be done to develop this dimension into one that rightfully takes its place alongside established dimensions as a useful way of measuring (cross-) cultural interactions.

For example, as discussed more fully later in this section, the proposed dimension needs to measure not just the degree of religiosity but its nature as well, and ideally be broadened in its scope to include measurement of the nature and degree of spirituality.

Nevertheless, the measurement of the originally proposed new dimension of degree of religious belief alone has significant implications both for academic understanding (discussed here) and for development practice (discussed in 5.2.4, page 258).

As with concern for public self-image, the data show no strong association between degree of religious belief and other dimensions (see for example Figure 4.1). This again emphasises the need to mainstream degree of religious belief (or more broadly, nature and degree of spirituality) as a new dimension of culture in its own right.

Following on from section 3.5 (page 79), four attributes or groups of attributes associated with religious belief and spirituality are considered here.

Firstly, there are the characteristics reported by Maiello (2005) that are measured in the Degrees of Belief in God scale: **attributes of God, who is considered as almighty, and as offering salvation, redemption, security, justice and the meaning of life. As a group, these characteristics are considered by this author as too specific to Western religions to be of universal relevance.** For example, the 6% of humanity heavily influenced by Confucianism honour Confucius as a great teacher and sage but do not worship him as a personal god (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001). However, many of the notions of the Degrees of Belief in God scale are subsequently considered by this author in more detail.

Secondly, the parameter suggested by Saroglou et al. (2004), **conservatism versus openness to change, is rejected by this author.** Saroglou et al report that religiosity amongst western monotheistic religions corresponds positively with values of tradition and conformity (conservatism) and negatively with values of hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction (openness to change). This suggests there would be a strong positive association between degree of religious belief and long-term orientation (see 5.1.3); from the data in this thesis, there is no evidence of such an association. Figure 4.1 clearly shows that of the nine stakeholder groups or interactions that showed high degree of religious belief, four showed low long-term orientation, in other words, were very open to change (the other five showing high long-term orientation). **This author therefore rejects the notion of degree of religious belief being associated with conservatism versus openness to change.** A further reason for not measuring conservatism versus openness to change as a component of degree of religious belief is that it is measured as a fundamental component of another (established) cultural dimension, long-term orientation (see 5.1.3, page 245).

Thirdly, Mendonca and Kanungo (1998) suggest that absence of a work ethic (i.e. the Protestant work ethic) and fatalism correspond positively with degree of religious belief, and that religiosity causes individuals to disregard their betterment in this life (3.5). Whilst this author rejects this seemingly muddled thinking⁴³, the notions are important.

⁴³ A Protestant work ethic by definition originates from strong religious belief, although this author recognises that not all adherents to a Protestant work ethic will share those religious beliefs. Furthermore, religiosity does not necessarily generate fatalism: it can equally foster a sense of destiny

This author therefore suggests that fatalism versus self-determinism is one aspect of degree of religious belief that requires measuring. Fatalism induces in individuals an external locus of control, and normally equates to passivity (for example, abandoning one's destiny to a 'higher' being). Self-determinism demonstrates an internal locus of control and normally equates to activity (as, for example, with the Protestant work ethic). Whilst certain religions may promote either fatalism or self-determinism, both may correspond with either a high or low degree of religious belief, assuming religious belief is defined to include religion and general spirituality. Therefore this author suggests that fatalism versus self-determinism is a *descriptive dimension* within religious belief, rather than a dimension that associates with religious belief either positively or negatively in a predictable manner. However, it may be that with further investigation an association or correlation does exist, but one that 'flips' under certain circumstances (as was found with collectivism amongst the Bane). For example, a high degree of religious belief in Christianity may correlate with a strong Protestant work ethic (i.e. high self-determinism). Yet if the culture also exhibits high power distance, interactions with or responses to any being with high power are likely to exhibit high fatalism.

Fourthly, this author suggests a similarly descriptive and complex dimension: **tolerance and acceptance of self and others** (versus intolerance and non-acceptance). Hofstede and Bond (1988) suggest that the religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are more prone to a divide between fundamentalism/intolerance and liberalism/tolerance than 'Eastern' religions. It is suggested by Hofstede and Bond that this is due to the monotheistic nature of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam that may or may not cause adherents to believe they have the 'one truth': Eastern religions are not perceived to have such an emphasis, seeing human truth as partial. This author rejects the notion that fundamentalism does not incur in Eastern religions. For example, Lamaistic Buddhism is supported by the state of Bhutan which bans all proselytization (attempts at conversion) by practitioners of other religions. Extremist Hindu groups in India (especially Gujarat and Orissa states) are supported by local Government and police in

as with, for example, the 'health and wealth' or 'prosperity' gospels associated with some strands of Christianity.

their persecution and even execution of Muslims and Christians (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001). There is much need for further study of this suggested attribute of religious belief: in the above two cases, whether a hierarchy of dimensions of culture exists where tolerance ‘flips’ into intolerance (or vice versa), and whether religious fundamentalism is actually tribal or ethnic in its origins. The existence (or not) of correlating sub-dimensions also needs to be established: for example, between tolerance/acceptance and values of forgiveness and mercy (of both self and others). Similarly, intolerance/non-acceptance may correspond with values of condemnation and judgement.

A final important point: one interviewee claimed that some ‘religious’ donors are less spiritual than some non-religious donors, in that they do not help people to develop holistically in areas such as self-esteem and mental health (4.9.1, Spiritual, page 215). It is therefore important that a religious or spiritual dimension of culture measures holistic practice / non-practice as well as belief / non-belief.

To summarise the discussion thus far:

- There is a need for a cultural dimension that measures the *nature and degree* of religious and spiritual *belief and practice*;
- Two aspects of religiosity and spirituality have been identified as *descriptors* that do not necessarily associate or correlate with each other or religiosity / spirituality, but are important components. The two descriptors are:
 - fatalism versus self-determinism; and
 - tolerance and acceptance of self and others versus intolerance and non-acceptance.

Although there is a pressing need for further research into the beliefs and practices of religiosity and spirituality to determine other descriptors or sub-dimensions, this author provisionally suggests this new cultural dimension be simply called “Spirituality”. It can be defined as a synthesis of the definitions of religion and spirituality.

Thus this author provisionally suggests an (amended) new cultural dimension of spirituality, defined as “The nature and degree of people’s beliefs and practices

concerning the existence, nature, and worship of, and connectedness to God, a god, gods, or a greater spiritual whole, and involvement of the divine or greater spirit in the universe and human life”

Furthermore, this author suggests that measurement of spirituality needs to include: an individual’s propensity towards fatalism (the belief that events are predetermined by an external force or principle) or self-determinism (the belief that actions are caused and controlled by self); and his/her tolerance and acceptance or intolerance and non-acceptance of self and others.

In refining and expanding the definition and determining other key components to be measured, this author suggests the following need to be considered:

- the strength of allegiance to God, god(s) or a greater spiritual whole compared to mankind;
- the relationship, if any, between strength of spirituality and loyalty / cohesion between those with similar outlooks (e.g. fundamentalism and solidarity);
- whether the offer of salvation, redemption, security, justice and the meaning of life (characteristics of the Degree of Belief in God scale – see page 79) are universal to spirituality, and the association or correlation of other variables such as resilience, depression, life satisfaction and drug abuse;
- whether the parameters of the new cultural dimension overlap with other more established dimensions, and whether the concept of ‘spirituality’ is too broad to have any meaningful use in the analysis of similarities and differences between human groupings.

5.1.3 Restating established dimensions

This thesis has applied well-established dimensions of culture to a broad variety of stakeholders and stakeholder interactions. As a result, the data have shown several limitations and inaccuracies in the descriptions of several of these dimensions. Clarification of these descriptions is essential to further the understanding of cultural interactions within and between stakeholders.

The dimensions of culture of power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long term orientation have emanated from Hofstede's 'Value Survey Module' which is designed "*for measuring culture-determined differences between **matched** samples of respondents from different countries and regions⁴⁴*" (Hofstede, 2006b) (this author's emphasis). Thus these well established and widely used dimensions of culture have their origins in carefully matched respondents: this author applied no such matching to the respondents (interviewees) or stakeholder groups of this thesis (see Chapter 2, Methodology).

Furthermore, Hofstede's dimensions of culture were initially established through surveys of **national organisational** cultures (Hofstede, 2002). Many researchers and most academics have widely adopted the dimensions: research measuring the dimensions is, however, rarely outside of organisational culture, and even more rarely at the sub-national level. There is no published literature where these or other established dimensions have been applied in a single study to interactions within and between stakeholders at the local community, regional (i.e. sub-national), national and international level.

Therefore, this thesis applies cultural dimensions identified by Hofstede and others to a unique range of stakeholders: as a result, this author questions the descriptions of several established and well used (cross-) cultural dimensions.

- **Long-term orientation**

The data bring into question the name and definition of the (cross-) cultural dimension of long-term orientation.

Donors, including Government funding bodies (e.g. DFID), exhibit both high and low long-term orientation as defined by Hofstede (2006a). On the one hand, they expect long-term rewards (i.e. impact and sustainability) as a result of hard work - high long-

⁴⁴ Hofstede uses 'region' here to refer to the international level. Throughout the rest of this thesis 'region' refers to the sub-national level.

term orientation. On the other hand, they cast aside tradition as they follow development fashions - low long-term orientation.

To a Western mind, the phrase 'long-term orientation' implies strategic planning for the future, but is defined as a "*long-term devotion to traditional, forward thinking values*" (ibid). This definition in itself appears contradictory as tradition is associated with values or customs established in the past. Indeed there may be a negative correlation with strategic planning as in cultures exhibiting low long-term orientation "*change can occur more rapidly as long-term traditions and commitments do not become impediments to change*" (ibid).

Therefore it is recommended that the name and definition be modified, to put less emphasis on time and more on change (or the resistance to change), without changing the core meaning proposed by Hofstede (ibid).

This author suggests:

- Changing the name of the dimension to '**resistance to change**';
- Changing part of the definition from "*the degree the society embraces, or does not embrace long-term devotion to traditional, forward thinking values*" (ibid) to "**the degree the society resists, or does not resist change, and promotes, or does not promote, long-term commitments and the perpetuation of traditional values**". All other aspects of the definition (except for the name change) would remain unchanged⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ "High Long-Term Orientation ranking indicates the country prescribes to the values of long-term commitments and respect for tradition. This is thought to support a strong work ethic where long-term rewards are expected as a result of today's hard work. However, business may take longer to develop in this society, particularly for an "outsider". A Low Long-Term Orientation ranking indicates the country does not reinforce the concept of long-term, traditional orientation. In this culture, change can occur more rapidly as long-term traditions and commitments do not become impediments to change" (Hofstede, 2006a).

- **All dimensions**

It was recognised in 5.1.1 (page 234) that a hierarchy of dimensions sometimes exists. It was also recognised that orientation within a single dimension may change according to situation or stakeholder (sub-) group interaction.

A hierarchy of dimensions is evident where a certain combination of orientations causes the suppression or even reversal of behaviour in a dimension. For example, amongst the Oromo, collectivism and low power distance dominate over masculinity to produce femininity in gender relations.

Similarly, change in orientation is evident where, for example, a group exhibits high power distance collectively, but low power-distance within the ‘elite’ (e.g. egalitarianism in decision-making), as with the Bane.

Currently, the descriptions of cultural dimensions imply that a stakeholder group, organisation or society will have a fixed orientation on a given dimension, and that each dimension acts independently of each other. Clearly there is a need for the descriptions to be modified to reflect these complexities⁴⁶. It is likely that many other hierarchical situations and orientation changes exist. Therefore further research is needed before valid modifications can be suggested.

5.1.4 Disagreements with published literature

The original nature of the methodology and study arena (i.e. broad range of stakeholder groups) of this thesis has generated a significant amount of unique data. This has enabled a grounded critique of published literature, some of which has proved to be lacking.

The data in this thesis challenge the following published literature:

⁴⁶ These complexities embrace definitions of complex systems such as “highly structured systems with variations” (Goldenfeld and Kadanoff, 1999) but have little in common with definitions that state the system as “difficult to understand and verify” (Weng et al., 1999).

- Messing (1957) suggests that the Amhara possess “*self-assurance without self-reliance*” but fails to state that this is only true in the physical domain: it could not be further from the truth, this author suggests, with regards self-reliance in the cultural domain (4.3.1, Social status and power, page 94).
- Naty (1992) suggests two distinct realms of powerlessness: ‘real’ powerlessness (economic, political and social arrangements that prevent actualisation of human capacities); and ‘surplus’ powerlessness (emotional, intellectual and spiritual contributions that prevent actualisation of possibilities that do exist). This author asserts that ‘surplus’ becomes ‘real’ when consistently reinforced by ‘social arrangements’. Even without this reinforcement, there is considerable interplay and overlap between the two realms that Naty fails to appreciate (4.3.1, Education, page 109).
- Strecker (1994a) suggests that honour (‘the value of a person in his or her own eyes and in the eyes of others’) has no place amongst the Bane and Hamer. This author strongly disagrees with this as many Bane interviewees spoke of a male’s lack of value prior to the *arsis*⁴⁷ rites of passage ceremony (see 4.5.1, Social status and power, page 132).
- Whilst there is a dearth of published literature concerning the Bane, the little that there is states that the Bane form part of the ‘Hamer cluster’ (e.g. Lydall, 1994 and Strecker, 1994a). The data of this thesis identify glaring differences with regards the status of women that fundamentally separates them from the cluster at this level.

⁴⁷ The most widely acknowledged rite of passage amongst the Bane, where a young male jumps across the backs of cattle.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

This thesis set out to understand the disparities that exist between the intended and actual outcomes of rural water and sanitation projects. These disparities diminish the impact of such projects and therefore contribute to increasing global poverty. The data of this thesis gives several useful pointers that, if applied, would enhance the impact of rural water and sanitation projects and development practice generally. This would in turn make a much needed positive contribution to the reduction of global poverty.

At the beginning of this thesis, three examples were given of unintended project outcomes. These examples are briefly revisited in order to set the context of the themes discussed in this section. Each example is presented as a problem statement, and in the light of the data of this thesis, an interpretation is given and a solution offered to prevent recurrence of the problem. These interpretations and solutions are not exhaustive and are highly speculative, but serve the purpose of grounding theory in reality.

1. **Problem:** Byaruhanga's rainwater jar lies on its side whilst he continues to send his children to collect water from a distant spring.

Interpretation: He was motivated to invest in the jar by an active desire to either promote a positive or avoid a negative self-image. Only the status value of the jar was seen and he invested in one in order to gain status, or avoid the relative loss of status by not having one. He was prevented from seeing his children as having equal value by high power distance, masculinity and individualism.

Solution: Prior to construction, a house to house baseline survey by mixed gender staff is necessary to determine the motivation for involvement in the project. Follow-up by a resident male extension worker in the evening (to ensure finding farmers at home) is required to address issues of inequitable status according to age and gender. Alternatively, the programme should deal with primary end-users, in this case the woman of the house.

2. **Problem:** A family collects, consumes and dies from contaminated stream water when an improved source whose construction they had contributed to was only a further 50 metres away.

Interpretation: The behaviour resulted from a combination of: lack of awareness of health risks due to high power distance, didactic (masculine) training by the implementing agency; time pressures emanating from poverty - a sick member of the family needed constant care, or household/agricultural chores needed attending to; a high resistance to change i.e. doing things as usual; a high degree of religious belief that generated a sense of fatalism; a low concern for public self-image with regards hygiene, or a lack of critical mass of public opinion to 'encourage' improved hygiene.

Solution: a baseline survey to determine existing health schemata; 100% hygiene promotion coverage in appropriate manner (e.g. through use of microscopes or house to house visiting) to bring about schema change and achieve a critical mass of good practice; people rather than task oriented construction where an end user focus prioritises burden reduction; adequate funding by donors to facilitate end user focus.

3. **Problem:** a foreign guest of honour – the main donor of a project - refuses to participate in a banquet prepared for him by the end users as it would cause his schedule to run one hour late.

Interpretation: the donor exhibits high individualism (including time and task orientation), high masculinity, low concern for public self-image and high resistance to change (inflexibility). The end users exhibit high collectivism (including people orientation), high femininity, high concern for public self-image (refusing a gift is unthinkable), and high resistance to change.

Solution: prior to interaction, each stakeholder needs to understand and as far as possible, commit to accommodating the high or strong orientations of the other. From the interpretation above, for the end users these will be the individualism and masculinity of the donor (particularly time and task orientation). For the donor, these will be the collectivism, femininity, concern for public self-image and resistance to change of the end user.

The following sections are therefore pointers for development practice.

5.2.1 Power distance, dependency and poverty

The reduction of power distance within and between stakeholders through more participation and consultation will enhance the flow of project processes, and therefore the achievement of programme goals. Furthermore, the resultant healthier states of inter-dependence will enable a smoother, two-way dissemination of information between field practitioners and national/international funders, policy setters and academics. A direct impact on poverty will result from improved practices in a more enabling framework and supportive system.

Where a high power distance relationship exists between or within stakeholder groups, there is likely to be dependence, as with a parent-child relationship, rather than an inter-dependent, adult-adult relationship where low power distance exists.

The data confirm this: the high power distance relationship of the Amhara, Oromo and Bakiga with their respective Governments (and to an extent implementing agencies) results in 'donor' dependence. This dependency is more pronounced if the end users also exhibit instrumentalist tendencies.

There is a danger that such heightened dependency may open the door for corruption. Where a donor has to account for expenditure of a donation in a fixed time-frame, inordinate emphasis is often put on spending according to budget regardless of any changes in circumstances. Thus the individualistic, high uncertainty avoidance behaviour of the donor combines with instrumentalist tendencies in the recipient. This all occurs within a high power distance relationship and a blind eye is turned to unjustified spending (4.9.1, Motivation, page 214).

Poverty may also be an influence in this scenario, as stated in 5.1.1 (page 234), where large donor grants are seen as a means of escaping poverty. Such attitudes may determine the degree of concern for public self-image: more care is taken not to 'offend' donors as large grants are sought. This is achieved through actively promoting positive or avoiding negative public self-image. It is important to note that similar attitudes and

behaviour are reported of donor organisations seeking Government funding (e.g. Tearfund seeking DFID grants), and Governments seeking donor funding (e.g. the Ugandan Kabale District Government (4.9.5, page 220)). An exception was the Ugandan Directorate of Water Development who regularly rejects the opinions of donor funded consultants, and indeed refuses to accept certain consultants (see 4.9.4, page 218).

It is noticeable that within one implementing agency, the Ethiopian church programme, and the donor agency Tearfund, 'lower level' staff reported the relationship with 'higher level' staff as relatively high power distance, accepting, at times, a degree of fatalism and powerlessness. The extent of this may depend on factors such as degree of religious belief and the strength of power distance, although it needs to be borne in mind that, as the Executive Director of Tearfund stated, people may only feel listened to when their wishes are 100% put into practice (054:213).

The 'higher level' staff all reported the relationship as low power distance and often open, highlighting a clear divide between the perceptions and experience of staff at different levels.

Such a divide was generally not true within the Ugandan church programme or between the programme and the Government. Here the power distance relationships were reported as low by all interviewed, or only slightly higher by those further from the management.

The reasons for the differences between Ethiopian and Ugandan church programmes are not apparent as both share similar orientations on the dimensions of individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, and uncertainty avoidance.

It is suggested that reduction of power distance through more participatory, consultative processes will result in healthier states of inter-dependence. Certainly the consensus in Ethiopia was that the Government showed less suspicion and greater trust as a result of being forced into a lower power distance relationship (i.e. more egalitarian) with implementing agencies and donors due to the famine.

From the data, it appears that there is a negative association between the length of relationship between stakeholder groups and power distance, i.e. the longer the relationship, the more egalitarian it is. However, this extent of this association is limited by one or both of the stakeholders.

For example, despite a fifteen year relationship between the Ethiopian church programme and Tearfund, a donor, the latter feels that further lowering of the power distance relationship is prevented by submission of proposals for funding way beyond what the donor has clearly outlined is possible (4.8.5, Financial issues, page 203). It is important to recognise that Tearfund also perceives these submissions as dictated from on high by the head office of the church (who, as already mentioned, see large donor grants as a means of escaping poverty): thus the power distance relationship between the programme and the head office determines the power distance relationship between the programme and the donor.

It is equally important to note that the Ethiopian church programme sees egalitarianism with another donor, EED (a donor association of the Protestant Churches in Germany) as limited only by EED's attitude (4.8.5, Financial issues, page 203). Again, the 'limiting' stakeholder (in this case EED) may be dictated to from on high (the German Government⁴⁸).

5.2.2 Masculinity, gender and participation

Gender equity and participation have been at the forefront of development practice since the 1980s. Both negatively correlate with masculinity, a trait dominant amongst all end user groups. It is therefore essential to find appropriate ways to promote gender equity and participation.

All end user stakeholder groups exhibited high masculinity, where typically women are accorded a low status relative to men, and where achievements and performance are high on the agenda (Figure 4.1).

⁴⁸ In Germany, individuals automatically pay a church tax (unless specifically opted out of). A portion of this automatically goes to EED whose accounting requirements are set and regulated by the Government.

Much has been written on gender inequity amongst the Bane. Another striking example occurred amongst the Amhara where no men but all women saw the primary benefit of the projects as reduced burden of water collection (4.3.2, Health, page 115). In both cases, development must by definition progress along lines of greater equity.

High masculinity also often causes the project 'cycle' to become a results oriented, high power distance chain that is fuelled by a mixture of functionalism and masculinity. This would seem to militate against participation: the end users essentially just want to get the job done. An enforced level of participation may paradoxically equate to dependency. Olsson et al (1996), notes that the consistent community response to maintenance of the SIDA water project in Dodota, Ethiopia was "*Just tell us what to do, we are more than willing to contribute with our labour*". 'Participation' under such circumstances is unlikely to lead to the intended sense of ownership (and therefore maintenance and sustainability).

It is therefore important to determine the optimum level of participation and precisely what participation is intended for: "*high community participation does not necessarily mean higher project effectiveness. Projects should be designed for adequate participation level*" (Dahanayake, 2004). This is especially true of emergency relief projects: the author's experience in the immediate aftermath of the Asian earthquake in October 2005 was that one week after the event, communities were still in a state of shock and had limited capacity to be able to participate in project design in any meaningful way.

5.2.3 Concern for Public Self-Image and communication

Communication between and training of stakeholders is a fundamental component of rural water and sanitation projects and most development projects. If misunderstandings and conflicts are to be avoided, and training is to achieve lasting change, communication and training must appreciate and be tailored to the recipient's world view.

All end user stakeholder groups had in common a high concern for public self-image. However, this was expressed in three different ways (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: What is sought in the concern for public self-image, and how it is sought.

		What is being sought	
		Avoidance of negative public self-image	Promotion of positive public self-image
How it is being sought	Actively	Amhara (minority) Bakiga Ethiopian church programme (conflict resolution and grant seeking i.e. drilling rig acquisition) Ugandan church programme (internal relationships) Tearfund (50%)	Oromo Bane Ethiopian church programme (future job and large grant seeking for status)
	Passively	Amhara (majority – high context communication) Ugandan church programme (in relation to the Diocese of Kigezi) Tearfund (50%)	

Any cross-cultural interaction must appropriately recognise these differences in order to convey and interpret information. An awareness of the preferred mode of communication is particularly beneficial:

- **at the organisational level** to minimise or eliminate misunderstandings and conflict during (contractual) negotiations and communications;
- **for end user training** to determine appropriate means of triggering schema change, especially for sustained improvements in hygiene practices or maintenance and management of projects.

With regards organisational communication, the following evidence from the relationships within the Amhara is of relevance:

- High levels of bureaucracy and uncertainty avoidance amongst the Amhara emanate from a lack of trust;
- Negotiations between those of unequal rank are unthinkable, and complete deference and acquiescence to superiors occurs. The acquiring of ‘office’ is a reward rather than a personal responsibility;
- Delegation is avoided as it may produce a potential rival. Equally, a subordinate fears to accept delegated authority for fear the superior repent of his grant and suspect rebellion;

- There is no concept of, or words for ‘taking the initiative’ in Amharic: one can only be initiated.

With regards cross-cultural training, the following summaries from the data and quoted literature are relevant:

- Indirect and face-saving communication is used more amongst collectivists, although ambiguity is also a hallmark of the individualistic Amhara;
- Amongst collectivists, motivation increases following failure; amongst individualists motivation increases following success (Triandis and Suh, 2002);
- Encouraging end users to express their opinions and feelings in group work or participate in self-evaluation, may meet with resistance where avoidance of negative public self-image dominates;
- Training needs to be sensitive to gender and age: different groupings may be necessary e.g. amongst the Amhara, if a child wishes to speak to an old man, s/he must get her/his parents’ or guardians’ permission first (Adege, 1977);
- Competitions (between project sites and individuals) may fit well where didactic, rote learning styles are common in the formal education system, as is the case for the Bakiga in Uganda. However, strong reliance on extrinsic motivators as opposed to intrinsic ones may see reduced sustainability of behaviour change;
- Motivation amongst the Bakiga for attending health training has elements of strong collectivism, whereas motivation for changes in hygiene behaviour shows at times a strong reliance on extrinsic motivators, both by the recipient of training and the trainers.

The ideal of training is to initially elicit prior knowledge and attitudes of the recipient. The subsequent process of accretion and restructuring of schema to provide sustainable schema driven behaviour (3.3.3, page 60) and create an integrated (non-dualistic) understanding is highly complex and requires further study.

There is also a need to carefully assess the effectiveness of intrinsic versus extrinsic training, and how these relate to the generation of intrinsic motivators.

5.2.4 Degree of Religious Belief and Spirituality

Appropriate consideration of the nature and degree, and the beliefs and practices of religiosity and spirituality is essential both to minimise cross-cultural conflicts, and to ensure appropriate development occurs.

The thesis data show that the degree of syncretism between traditional and ‘newer’ religions may determine the nature of religious belief. Amongst end users, syncretism was found to be high with Ethiopian Muslims (Amhara and Oromo), medium with Ugandan Christians (Protestants and Catholics), low with the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, and non-existent amongst the traditional religion (or few Christian) Bane.

Attributes of spirituality – especially fatalism versus self-determinism – will fundamentally affect the process and progress of any development activities. In particular, for RWSHP projects, hygiene promotion needs to be tailored to the target audience. For example, the religious and world views of the Bane who attribute the majority of sicknesses (and all major sicknesses) to dead spirits (*maeshi*), needs to be addressed for hygiene promotion to have any impact. Similarly, whether the preferred method of anal cleansing is wiping or washing, or whether mothers- and sons-in-law can share the same latrine is often determined according to religious beliefs.

The election of high status individuals to power by the Oromo may also have its roots in religious belief or spirituality. Certain aspects of the traditional religion of the Oromo may be strongly adhered to, such as the conscious participation in the natural processes of the universe. Where this occurs in conjunction with masculinity (i.e. assertiveness), there is some evidence from the data of a desire to elect high status individuals. This is known from experience to often be the downfall of WATSAN projects, as such individuals are often not best placed to manage or maintain a project. They typically either have business interests that prevent enough time being given to the project, or, as with one particular project location studied in this thesis, Asbe Teferi amongst the Oromo, the elected officials live too far away from the project site.

Participation may be affected by religious beliefs and practices: amongst the Bane, digging in the ground is considered un-sacred and thus has a very low value.

These examples serve to stress the importance of consideration of spirituality (as defined and described in 5.1.2, page 240) in any development project.

5.2.5 Hierarchy of dimensions

A pragmatic understanding of which dimensions of culture dominate under what circumstances enables the goals of development be more readily achieved through appropriate (cross-) cultural interaction.

The dominance or preference of one cultural trait over another is often case specific yet critical to ascertain for effective development (as fully discussed in 5.1.1). Attempts to emulate the behaviour of another stakeholder group in order to ‘fit-in’ and produce harmonious relationships may be counter-productive. For example, the Amhara and Bakiga end user groups both exhibited competitive (i.e. masculine) individualism towards implementing agencies yet expressed appreciation of exactly the opposite in the implementing agencies - feminine collectivism (see 4.10, page 222). Similarly, the clash cited in 1.1 between the foreign guest of honour and the Bakiga end users of the gravity scheme he had primarily funded was largely due to high resistance to change (adherence to tradition) by both stakeholders.

The Bane provide another good example of the importance of determining hierarchies of cultural traits. In relation to health practices, tradition prevails over knowledge, and concrete-associative thinking is subordinated by a strong resistance to change. Thus using microscopes to reveal organisms in contaminated water may appeal to the dominant concrete-associative thinking pattern of the Bane, but will be ineffective if the tradition of visiting the witchdoctor rather than the clinic is not addressed.

5.2.6 Expatriates

There are unique advantages and disadvantages to an expatriate presence in otherwise indigenous implementing agencies.

The interviewees suggest that expatriate staff in implementing agencies (the Ethiopian and Ugandan church programmes) have the following benefits:

- they bridge the perceived gap in communication styles between donor and implementing agencies (though this may undermine local ownership);
- they are effective in fund raising (a function of the above);
- they teach systematic thinking styles;
- they are relatively immune from reprisals, thus enabling direct communication.

Disadvantages include:

- they are seen to be job and task oriented. These are attributes of donors that have caused tensions in the Kale Heywet Church;
- being undeniably ‘foreign’, they are less likely to be accepted amongst stakeholder groups that exhibit high intolerance / un-acceptance of others or strong narrowing (as opposed to broadening), as experienced by expatriates working amongst the Bane.

Expatriates therefore have a unique role to play in an implementing agency.

5.2.7 On-going support

In order to enhance effective on-going support, femininity amongst implementing agencies needs to be promoted.

An association exists between feminism exhibited by implementing agencies towards end users, and the degree of effective on-going support that is afforded. The local Government in Kabale District states that a feminine, supportive relationship exists with the Ugandan church programme who, in contrast to the private sector, is committed to ongoing support.

5.2.8 Donors and Governments

In order to enhance process rather than results oriented relationships between Government and donor funding bodies, femininity needs to be promoted.

Several inconsistencies exist amongst donors regarding power distance, resistance to change and uncertainty avoidance. These inconsistencies are dependant on the stakeholder being related to and prove particularly unhelpful for implementing agencies.

The gradual shift from competitive, masculine and results oriented relationships between Government and donor funding bodies, towards more feminine and process oriented relationships is welcomed by donors and Government alike. Although this is partly dependent upon individuals, frameworks that further this progression will beneficially serve the sector.

Donors are generally seen by both Ethiopian and Ugandan church programme interviewees as obsessed with change with regards development trends (i.e. low resistance to change and low uncertainty avoidance), yet often inflexible, bureaucratic and process oriented (i.e. high resistance to change and high uncertainty avoidance) with regards donor-implementing agency relationships. Donors are also self-reported to exhibit high uncertainty avoidance when seeking funding from Governments or other supporters.

Further inconsistency within donors is reported by Tearfund with regards financial decision making. Tearfund, and other donors, retain fiscal decision-making powers, creating a parent-child, dependent relationship (high power distance) with overseas 'partners'. Yet Tearfund expects a mature, adult, inter-dependent relationship (low power distance) in negotiations with partners for that funding.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In a world where networks of human communication and interaction continue to rapidly expand, there exists a parallel expansion of (cross-) cultural research. For example, just one established dimension of culture, individualism-collectivism, is used in approximately one hundred publications per year to discuss cultural differences (Triandis, 2001). Despite this considerable research focus, this thesis has shown that in many areas (cross-) cultural research is still in its infancy, both in terms of academic understanding and practice.

To further academic understanding and generate improved practices, there is a clear need to:

- Develop a multidisciplinary approach to (cross-) cultural research that describes and understands interactions within and between stakeholders, rather than analyses them in a reductionist manner (5.1.1). Such an approach will be a synthesis of a variety of approaches and is likely to require new methodological and theoretical principles to be developed. It will need to recognise several points made in 3.4.1 (page 63), specifically that:
 - many established dimensions of culture are manifested in a myriad of ways specific to interactions within and between cultures;
 - surveys are not the only way measuring culture, and culture is not best expressed in mathematical language;
 - nations are not the best units for studying culture: ideally a single multidisciplinary approach will be valid for levels of human grouping from the international level through to the household levels;
 - culture is similar to a complex system, where the whole system both determines and is determined by the parts of the system.

- Mainstream the newly proposed cultural dimension of concern for public-self image (5.1.2 and 5.2.3). This would require further testing of the dimension across a greater range and number of cultural groupings: this may lead to further refinement of the definition of concern for public-self image;
- Further develop, test, refine and subsequently mainstream the newly proposed cultural dimension of spirituality (5.1.2 and 5.2.4). There is a need to identify additional descriptors or sub-dimensions of spirituality that have minimal overlap with other more established dimensions of culture (for example, whilst conservatism correlates with belief in God, it is suggested as a dimension in its own right i.e. resistance to change). Once the attributes of spirituality are identified, means of measuring them need to be determined (including use of the multidisciplinary approach detailed above);
- Establish hierarchies that may exist between cultural dimensions (5.1.3 and 5.2.5). This will have implications for both the understanding and practice of (cross-) cultural interactions, and will require application of established and new cultural dimensions across a full range of interactions that may lead to modifications of the definitions of some dimensions;
- Rename the established cultural dimension of ‘long-term orientation’ to ‘resistance to change’, and redefine it to reflect this shift in emphasis (5.1.3);
- Investigate more fully the promotion of schema accretion and restructuring through training in order to create an integrated (non-dualistic) understanding that provides sustainable schema driven behaviour (5.2.3). The main academic discipline concerned is educational psychology, but such research needs to be applied to many varied individual cultural contexts, in addition to varied cross-cultural contexts;
- Investigate the effectiveness of intrinsic versus extrinsic training, and how these relate to the generation of intrinsic motivators (5.2.3). Again, the discipline of educational psychology needs to be applied to multiple (cross-) cultural contexts.

The fulfilment of some or all of these recommendations would increase academic understanding of (cross-) cultural interactions to the extent where linkages to other academic disciplines could reap significant rewards. In particular, currently available software that simulates complex systems⁴⁹ could be used not so much to predict the outcomes of interactions, but to provoke debate and dialogue amongst stakeholders, especially forewarning them of potential hazards. Such software enables the rules of behaviour and objectives of (multiple) agents (or stakeholders) in a complex system to be fed into the programme, dynamically linked and simulations run. The rules, objectives and linkages are changed to provide different scenarios. Currently, such simulation software is primarily used to set up particular processes and through role play of agents (stakeholders), encourage them to adopt certain rules of behaviour.

Therefore, if, for example, (cross-) cultural dimensions were sufficiently developed in parallel with a multi-disciplinary approach that described and understood (cross-) cultural interactions within and between stakeholders, a data bank of stakeholder rules of behaviour could be established. This would need to include any hierarchies between cultural dimensions that may exist under differing circumstances. Such data combined with suitable simulation software would provide an invaluable tool in the hands of development practitioners. For example, in the context of rural water, sanitation and hygiene promotion projects, cross-cultural clashes could be pre-empted and the impact of hygiene promotion maximised.

However, as with all tools, their effectiveness lies with the user. With simulation software, the quality of data output will depend on the quality of data input: in this case, the extent to which the culture of all stakeholder groups including one's own is known. It has to be stressed that in this author's opinion, the extent of current (cross-) cultural knowledge is insufficient to yield useful results from simulation software.

⁴⁹ Since the mid 1990s agent-based model simulation (ABMS) and multi-agent simulation (MAS) of complex systems have been well established branches of simulations. The Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation (JASSS) is dedicated to "the exploration and understanding of social processes by means of computer simulation" (JASSS, 2006). Two software packages (SWARM and REPAST) are widely used for such simulation and are continually under development.

From the previous chapter, the following are the main recommendations for development practitioners:

- Enhance participation and consultation within and between stakeholders in order to reduce power distance, dependency and poverty (5.2.1 and 5.2.2);
- Promote femininity amongst:
 - end user groups to enhance gender equity and participation⁵⁰ (5.2.2);
 - implementing agencies to enhance effective on-going support (5.2.7);
 - Government and donor funding bodies to enhance process rather than results oriented relationships (5.2.8).
- Base communication between, and training of, stakeholders on the recipient's world view to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts and achieve lasting change in training (5.2.3).
- Appropriately consider both the nature and degree of religious belief prior to stakeholder interaction, especially with regards hygiene promotion training (5.2.4).
- Be aware of and carefully consider the pros and cons of expatriates in otherwise indigenous implementing agencies (5.2.6).
- Address the inconsistencies evident amongst donors that negatively affect relationships with implementing agencies, especially inconsistencies in power distance, resistance to change and uncertainty avoidance.

⁵⁰ The dominant trait observed in this thesis amongst all end user groups was masculinity (see Figure 4.1).

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Annex I: Development theory, practice and best practice in the RWSHP sector

A. THE EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT THEORY

Definitions and notions of development abound:

- “*the process of becoming more economically and socially advanced*” (Pearsall, 1998, The New Oxford Dictionary of English)
- Gabriel (1991) sees that this process of change may involve “*some kind of structural and organisational alterations in society*”.

Drawing these and other common notions associated with development together provides a definition that is used throughout this thesis:

‘the growth of economic and social capacities’.

The majority of development theory has been generated in the West and therefore caution is necessary not to create what Latour (1993) calls “*‘particular universalism’: one society extending to all others the historically constructed values in which it believes*”.

- **The ancients and the moderns**

The ‘ancients’, such as Aristotle (384-322 BC) and Augustine (354-430), had cyclical theories of world history, with notions of birth, growth, decline and decay. Aristotle’s perspective was one of a perpetual series of new beginnings which echoes much contemporary non-Western thinking, such as Hinduism. Augustine’s theory had Christian foundations and whilst still cyclical, was of a single cycle of world history.

A shift occurred in Western thinking from this evolutionary and open-ended cyclical perspective to a linear one that is more deterministic, mechanistic and finite in nature. This shift is seen by most authors to have begun in the 17th or 18th centuries with Hobbes (1588-1697), Descartes (1596-1650), Locke (1632-1704) and Newton (1642-1727). This author suggests that its origins can be traced back to Augustine.

Marshall (2005) sees that Western thinking is based on five core ‘modernist’ beliefs, which, combined with a linear view are typified by the laws of motion, which is concerned with order, predictability, and cause and effect.

- **Objectivism:** that people can remain separate from the system they are seeking to understand and act upon.
- **Universalism:** the underlying nature of the myriad phenomena of the world and the relationships between them are explainable by simple and discoverable universal principles.
- **Mechanism:** the relationships between the parts of any natural system are constant and thus enable prediction of how it responds to changes.
- **Atomism:** natural systems are the sum of their unchanging parts that can be knowable independently.
- **Monism:** there is a single best cohesive way of understanding and given natural system.

Rist (2002) sees that the shift to linear thinking had, at its core, the 18th century notion that the *“development of societies, knowledge and wealth corresponds to a 'natural' principle with its own source of dynamism which grounds the possibility of a grand narrative.”* In other words, development was not a choice; it was the unstoppable finality of history.

This view was bolstered by the similarities between the theory of social evolution and Darwin’s accepted theory of biological evolution. In reality they differed radically: Darwin (1809-82) never implied superiority or inferiority in his theory of natural selection.

Nevertheless, the doctrine of social evolutionism became firmly rooted in people's minds and imaginations. Development was primarily measured in material, non-cultural terms, and was seen as both desirable and inevitable: societies of the ‘Third World’ were evaluated and judged by the West only with reference to the West, having no intrinsic value themselves (Hulme and Turner, 1990).

- **1950s**

Pearce (2000) and Rist (2002) claim that the development era was launched by President Truman in 1949, with most well known specialist UN agencies established around then.

There emerged a theory of development economics which asserted that following the path to change set out by the industrialised nations in conjunction with political and economic nationalism would lead to development of the “*Third World*” (Gore, 2000). The path had four main elements: economic growth, technology, centralised planning, and an assertion that the causes of underdevelopment lay mainly within the developing nations (Rogers, 1976, Rogers, 1995 and de Rivero, 2001).

As a result, development was predominantly a top-down, large scale transfer of technology and infrastructure by Governments : such management styles are seen as another indicator of linearity by Rihani & Geyer (2001).

Thus the 1950s saw large-scale patronage of developing nations by developed ones in order to generate political and economic growth.

- **1960s**

The Proposals for Actions of the first UN development decade (1960 - 1970) established that development was not just a problem of quantitative growth but also of social, cultural and qualitative change (Sachs, 1995 and UNDP, 1991).

Nevertheless, economic growth continued to be the predominant dogma of the 1960s. In his highly influential Stages of Economic Growth, Rostow (1960) stated “*It is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of mass-consumption.*” Modernisation theory claimed that as societies evolved around these core processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, the differences among them would gradually disappear (Gabriel, 1991).

Dependency theory emerged as a reaction to modernisation theory. It asserted that domination of the South by the North was partly due to internal politics and external

domination: the periphery could not reproduce the accumulated surpluses of the central economies, the old industrial countries.

As a solution to dependency, self-reliance briefly came to the fore in development thinking in the late 1960s, and was explicitly proposed by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in his Arusha declaration of 1967 (Nyerere, 1968).

- **1970s**

The October War of 1973 resulted in a quadrupling of OPEC countries' oil prices and precipitated the next sea change in development thinking. In 1974 the UN General Assembly issued a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Rist (2002) notes that essentially, NIEO set out to fulfil "*a long-standing dream of world capitalism: that is, to ensure continuing growth of the system as a whole by better integrating the peripheral countries*" (ibid).

The basic-needs approach born in the late 1960s came to the fore in the mid 1970s and simply asserted that everyone needs to have their physiological needs met (Duller, 1982 and Minogue, 2005).

Some identified higher needs: Schumacher (1973) differentiated between worldly goods with 'ephemeral' benefits and eternal goods; Maslow's ladder of successive satisfaction started with physical needs, and progressed through security and 'belongingness' to higher needs (e.g. Popper, 2004). Meeting such higher needs is only just being mainstreamed into development practice⁵¹.

Rogers (1976) identifies talk of a change in the main model of development in the 1970s to include equity, quality of life, integration of the modern and traditional, appropriate technology and participation.

The report at the end of the decade commissioned by the UN and chaired by Willie Brandt, "North-South: A Programme for Survival", advocated shifting resources on a

⁵¹ The provision of psycho-social support to communities, for example, has only become a required component of development projects by larger funding agencies such as the EU and DFID in the 2000s.

massive scale to stimulate growth in the interests of all, and aimed at the eradication of absolute poverty by the end of the century (Pearce, 2004). This spawned the International Development Targets (IDTs) and the Human Development Indicators of today (Sachs, 1995).

The 1970s therefore saw these varied and often conflicting ideas and ideologies emerge under the umbrella of alternative development: the importance of stakeholder culture and interaction; basic-needs approaches; large-scale resource re-allocation; and recognition of components of development more diverse than purely economic growth.

- **1980s**

The Washington Consensus - an IMF/World Bank approach - shifted policies from being state-led to market-oriented in order to achieve macroeconomic stability (Gore, 2000). This approach - termed neoliberalism - lets the market generate the economic growth synonymous with development, with Government market distorting interventions seen as anathema (Pieterse, 2001).

To an extent, neoliberalism recognised that development aid was a Western commodity resulting from Western thinking and designed with Western structures in mind (Theunis, 1992).

Two challenges to the Washington Consensus occurred in the late 1980s: sustainable development, linking environmental protection and economic growth in a concept of limited growth; and human development, which considers the enlargement of people's choices and human capacities (Pieterse, 2001), and continues to embrace the basic needs approach.

The "*Water Decade*"⁵² of the 1980s saw the introduction of low cost affordable technologies, and a greater focus on capacity building and community participation

⁵² The 1977 UN Water conference in Mar del Plata, Argentina, recommended that the 1980s should be proclaimed the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (IDWSSD). All countries adopted the target of 100% coverage in water supply and sanitation by 1990.

(Tiberghien, 2002). However, sanitation coverage was outpaced by population growth during this period (DFID, 1998).

- **1990s**

The first UNDP Human Development Report of 1990 stated that “*Development must ... be more than just the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be people*” (UNDP, 1990). Haan and Zoomers (2005) saw this as “*a more productive*” actor-oriented perspective which drew attention to issues such as poverty, vulnerability and marginalization (see also Ravallion et al., 1991).

In 1992 the “Earth Summit”, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro produced Agenda 21, (i.e. for the 21st century), which stated that “*environmentally sound and sustainable development should recognize, accommodate, promote and strengthen the role of indigenous people and their communities*” (UN, 1992).

As a result, environmental concerns, cultural considerations and participation were firmly put on the international development agenda, with lasting effect. Post-development thinking - which attacks the means of development, the goal of economic growth and its results – rose in the 1990s (Pieterse, 2001). So too did the sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework, to be used within a holistic, poverty focussed approach to development.

- **2000s**

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), drawn from the United Nations Millennium Declaration (UN, 2000) was “*a seminal event in the history of the United Nations*” (Kofi Annan in UN, 2005a).

The UN’s Human Development Index (HDI) had already become an influential standard within mainstream development, and this was cemented with the 8 MDGs for 2015, which focus around the target to halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty. It includes halving the number of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.

This poverty reduction focus cemented that begun in SL thinking and is reflected in most if not all current development practice, e.g. the Bonn Keys⁵³ of 2001 (Catley-Carlson, 2001).

The 2000s have also seen the application of complexity theory to development (e.g. Harvey, 2002 and Rihani and Geyer, 2001). Rihani (2002) sees that *“effective development ... has three indivisible components: survival, adaptation and learning. Survival relates to the presence of a discernable stable pattern or structure, learning means the build up and application of relevant knowledge, while adaptation describes change that enhances performance and the probability of survival ... The complexity framework for development views a nation, or any community of people for that matter, as a complex adaptive system. Such systems acquire self-organised stable patterns The interactions have to be regulated by simple rules that command general acceptance, as haphazard interactions produce chaos without a pattern, and rigidly controlled interactions result in an unchanging ordered pattern that could not evolve. Self-organisation is a key feature in the behaviour of complex adaptive systems.”*

However, Puddifoot (2000) calls for more judicious accommodation of concepts and methods from complex theory to social sciences, and *vice versa*.

- **Summary**

As development perspectives have evolved since the 1950s (Table 1.1 page 4) there have been several corresponding shifts. The emphasis on hardware – infrastructure, capital inputs, technology (Harrison, 1993) – has moved towards equal attention being paid to software – institutions, processes and management, education and knowledge. A one dimensional focus on externals has been replaced by multidimensional internal focus. The structuralist perspective that emphasised the role of macro-structures (large scale changes in economy, state and social systems – a perspective particularly associated with Marxism) has shifted towards a perspective of multitudes of potential agencies – international and regional institutions, regimes and organisations,

⁵³ Proposed solutions to global freshwater problems that emanated from the International Conference on Freshwater in Bonn in 2001.

Government at all levels, civic institutions and household. Western domination of thinking is increasingly influenced by Southern perspectives (Pieterse, 2001). There has been an increasing recognition that “*development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul*” (Centre for Creative Communities, 1995).

Many authors (e.g. Berger, 1992, Gabriel, 1991 and Hulme and Turner, 1990) have commented on the parallel changes in social science have accompanied these long-term trends in development theory (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: General trends in development theory over time (after Pieterse, 2001).

From	To
Macro-structures	Actor- and agency-orientation, institutions
Structuralism	Constructivism
Determinism	Interpretative
Homogenising, generalising	Differentiating
Singular	Plural
Eurocentrism	Polycentrism

B. DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

This section examines various aspects of development practice, their evolution, and their link to development theory. There is frequently a time-lag in the complex relationship between development theory and practice; the following sections acknowledge the existence of a relationship rather than attempt to establish the cause.

- **Stakeholders and their relationships**

The complexities of multiple stakeholders with differing interests and agendas in development is summarised in Table 6.2.

The surface structure has an infrastructure of determining forces, so, for example, the World Bank and the IMF are not autonomous; they are significantly influenced by their boards of trustees, Government treasury departments and others. The various actors are often associated with distinct physical locations; they reflect recognised types of development thinking, and they draw on certain disciplines that direct their focus.

NGOs and INGOs form a highly heterogeneous group of actors with a broad spectrum of agendas and practices and considerable influence: NGOs in Bangladesh, for example manage far larger budgets than local Governments (Sogge, 2002), although this would not be true of Africa.

Table 6.2: Change agents in the development field (adapted from Pieterse, 2001)

	State	IFIs	UN system	Civil society
Structure	Government, ministries South & North	IMF, World Bank	UN agencies	INGOs, NGOs
Infrastructure	Bureaucracies, interest groups, parties, factions, citizens	WTO, G8, central, international & development banks, MNCs	UN General Assembly, governments, ILO, WHO, etc.	People. Social movements, trade unions, parties, firms, churches, etc.
Locations	Capitals, regional centres	Washington, DC	New York, Geneva, Paris, Nairobi, etc.	Dispersed
Development thinking	Economics (neoclassical to Keynesian) & human development	Neoclassical economics, monetarism, neoliberalism	Human development	Alternative development (& post-development)
Disciplines	Economics, political science	Economics	Economics, political economy	Sociology, anthropology, ecology, gender & cultural studies.

As they tend to function outside Government control, (I)NGOs answer to their boards and funding bases whose agendas therefore influence the (I)NGO. These agendas are as diverse as the societies from which they emanate, and may be those of religious evangelical movements, participatory self-help perspectives or those that emphasise environmental sustainability, to name a few.

Despite inter-dependency between change agents, ethnocentric tendencies are often evident (e.g. Breakwell, 1994, Blunt and Jones, 1997 and Diallo and Thuillier, 2004). For example, in an attempt to ensure a certain level of effectiveness of partner organisations, USAID requires that *“Programme planners need to look to partner organisations (and leaders) with the following qualities. Do they have an entrepreneurial spirit? Are they motivated by the desire to create significant grassroots change? Are they pragmatic and do they have problem-solving skills? Are they strategic planners, able to develop management structures appropriate to carrying out their*

ideas?” (Smillie, 2000). Such values may be entirely inappropriate. In Ethiopia, for example, there is no word for ‘initiative’ in the national language of Amharic: such a concept is seen as disrespectful of authority and subversive, although one can be initiated.

Enhanced relations between all stakeholders, including the private sector, is urged by many: “*The future requires new partnerships between the state, the private sector and civil society*” (Thompson et al., 2003, also Johnson and Wilson, 2006, Kelly and Muludyang, 2001 and Jindal, 2004)⁵⁴.

- **Culture**

Culture was brought to the fore of mainstream development practice through the UNESCO funded World Decade on Culture and Development which highlighted it as “*the ‘last frontier’ of development*” (UNESCO, 1995). “*Building cultural insights into the broader development strategies, as well as a more effective practical agenda, had to be the next step in rethinking development*” (ibid).

Despite the rhetoric, little appears to have happened (Briggs and Sharp, 2004 and World Bank, 1998), with DFID (2001), for example, failing to incorporate culture into their anti-poverty strategy. UNESCO, ten years on, continues to preach a pragmatic approach in light of a global escalation of inter-ethnic tensions: “*In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities*” (UNESCO, 2005, also Lindsley and Braithwaite, 1996, Lowe et al., 1984 and Sherriton and Stern, 1997).

The former Secretary General of the UN, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, reiterated this concern: “*The challenge is ... to promote different paths of development, informed by a recognition of how cultural factors shape the way in which societies conceive their own futures and choose the means to attain these futures*” (UNESCO, 2001). This challenge lies at the heart of this thesis.

⁵⁴ Thompson et al (2003) compared information from the original landmark large-scale, long-term, cross-sectional study of domestic water use and environmental health in East Africa in the late 1960s ‘*Drawers of Water*’ (White et al., 1972), with that from a repeat study, *Drawers of Water II*.

Furthermore “*if development is culturally grounded, no one can ever claim to be ‘developed’, as every culture is and will forever be in a permanent state of developing*” (Logar, 2002, also Mahapatra, 1990).

- **Globalisation and homogeneity**

Through the varying concern for differentiation and diversity, there has been a move away from the early thinking on development that was fundamentally generalising and homogenising, and a move towards more local or regional thinking (Pieterse, 2001, Ravallion, 2003).

There is still, however, a tendency to homogenise at varying levels, be it national – “*Globalization can threaten national and local identities*” (UNDP, 2004b) – or community level (Guijt and Shah, 1998). Haan & Zoomers (2005) question the concept of a household strategy in development in recognition that individual goals and household goals may diverge.

Some still urge globalisation. For example, Griffin (2003) advocates the formation of “*institutions necessary for a global polity*” to match the global economy. Nsibambi (1999) promotes the “*upgrade*” of tribal languages to national ones.

However, amongst development practitioners, globalisation in any form is commonly seen as having “*made nearly all developing countries more vulnerable to external influence than in the first 2 decades after decolonisation*” (Pronk, 2001). This overlooks some clear benefits of the ‘external influence’ of globalisation: for example, the relatively cheap start-up costs of mobile phone networks has enabled many developing countries to rapidly establish advanced communication networks that were unthinkable even in the late 1990s (see also Brew and Cairns, 2004).

The impact of globalisation on health is complex: positive benefits include improved medical technology and services; negative ones include lifestyles detrimental to health (McMurray, 2004).

The tension of how to appropriately consider and promote culture in an increasingly globalised world led Robertson (2004) to see the creation of effective strategies to

handle the reality of global multi-cultural diversity “*as one of humanity’s most pressing challenges, as recent wars, ethnic cleansings, genocides and the restless tide of refugees and displaced persons demonstrate*”.

- **Interdisciplinarity and holism**

Interdisciplinarity commonly involves cooperation across or improved linkages between separate disciplines. A holistic approach goes an important step further in asserting that the linkages are only explicable by reference to the whole. Interdisciplinarity may therefore be seen as a necessary process of holism.

Theunis (1992) identifies holistic NGOs as those that promote justice, sustainability, inclusivity, self-help, self-reliance and democracy, and sees this as alternative development with a focus on structural change as well as conventional services to the needy.

However, the practicalities of embracing such a holistic approach are challenging if not insurmountable. The sectoral or ‘cluster’ approach to development makes it difficult for an implementing agency reliant on outside funding to receive anything other than, say, water and sanitation sector funding. Focussing on a single community or group of communities for an extended period to access different pockets of funding that enable a holistic approach to be adopted causes inequitable coverage: often anathema and unacceptable to the non-Western world view.

In response to the Asian earthquake of October 2005, the author experienced similar logistical dilemmas with separate UN coordinated cluster meetings for shelter, WATSAN, food security, logistics and others. The timing and location of these invariably prevented more than one of these daily meetings being attended and thus perpetuated a fragmented (and very poorly coordinated) response to the crisis.

- **Capability and sustainable livelihoods approaches**

Livelihoods thinking had its origins in the mid 1980s with the work of Robert Chambers. Sen’s Capability Approach (SCA) came to the fore in the late 1980s as an approach to identify the impact of a project on different aspects of individual and thus

community wellbeing, enabling an informed decision to be made (Alkire, 2002 and Saito, 2003). Although wholeheartedly adopted by the UNDP in the 1990s, critics claim that it placed an extreme emphasis on choice (Gasper, 2002) whereby development was defined as “*a process of enlarging human choices*” (UNDP, 1990), and said little about the material basis of well-being (Clark, 2005).

In the late 1990s the sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework was developed and became mainstreamed by many organisations. Its principles state that poverty focussed development activities should aim to be holistic, to “*broaden the lens with which we view poor people’s livelihoods, in order to better understand the issues and linkages that shape those livelihoods*” (DFID, 2003a).

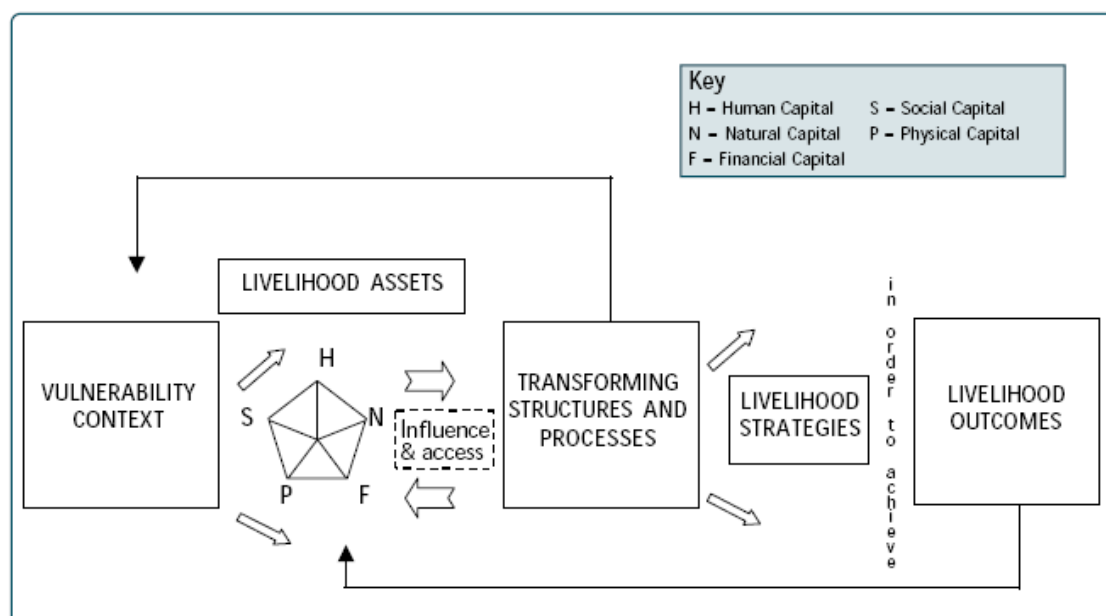


Figure 6.1: Sustainable livelihoods framework (DFID, 1999)

As can be seen from Figure 6.1, it is a non-linear, cyclical framework which therefore embraces pre-modern and complexity theory thinking.

Five capitals comprise the livelihoods assets at the core of the SL framework: social, human, financial, natural and physical. Social capital refers to horizontal networks, social relationships or connections among individuals in a community, such as civic associations, social organisations or family/kinship ties, and has been hailed as ‘*the missing link*’ in development by the World Bank: “*Social capital is not just the sum of*

the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together” (World Bank, 1999).

Other key players - international organisations, Governments and NGOs - have enthusiastically embraced the concept of social capital (e.g. Cleaver, 2003), and claim that it is replacing the neoliberal view of development of the 1970s and 1980s that saw the market as the magic bullet.

Criticisms of the SL framework include: ‘empowering’ women through women-only groups/networks, for example, may further isolate them from mainstream decision-making processes and effectively dis-empower them (Dikito-Wachtmeister, 2001 and Eylon and Au, 1999); power is often an overlooked variable (Haan and Zoomers, 2005). These criticisms are further evidence of two pitfalls common amongst those trained in a reductionist ‘Western’ manner: the attempt to extricate oneself from culture and society, and treat them as commodities to be managed; and the attempt to apply holism as a tool in a fragmented manner.

For rural water supply, Moriarty (2002) and Soussan (1998) see a correct application of livelihoods-based approaches providing for people’s domestic and productive needs.

- **Participatory approaches**

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) - an approach and methods for learning about rural life and conditions by, with and from rural people (Chambers, 1997) - was a precursor to the SL framework, and is still the dominant force of participatory approaches in development (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995).

PRA is an on-going empowerment process and evolved out of rapid rural appraisal (RRA) which essentially involved data-collecting activities (Chambers, 1997).

PRA now encompasses a variety of methods and approaches to enable planning, acting, monitoring and evaluation by rural people, some of which are:

- **SARAR** (Self-esteem, Associative strengths, Resourcefulness, Action-planning and Responsibility) with self-esteem seen as a prerequisite to decision-making (Srinivasan, 1990);

- **HEP** (Hygiene Education Procedures) and **PHAST** (Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation) which engage community members and external agents in informal processes of investigation and analysis (Almedom, 2003);
- **PPAs** (Participatory Poverty Assessments) which use PRA methods (Chambers, 1998);
- **MPA** (Methodology for Participatory Assessment) which disaggregates local information by gender and socioeconomic level, and may include some elements of quantification (Wijk and Postma, 2003);
- **SOCAT** (Social Capital Assessment Tool) an integrated quantitative/qualitative tool to collect structural and cognitive social capital data at the household, community and organisational levels (World Bank, 1999).

Several authors warn that donor-driven participatory assessments often use cumbersome and expensive quantitative data to inform policy (Almedom, 2003, Chambers, 1997, Venter-Hildebrand, 2003). The pitfall of attempting to apply holistic approaches in a fragmented way is easily repeated here in the use of participatory approaches in a top-down, reductionist manner (e.g. Kapoor, 2002).

- **Sustainability**

A cornerstone of development, sustainability has many different meanings and applications. Esteva (1995) and Harvey and Reed (2003) suggest that the mainstream interpretation of sustainable development is a strategy for sustaining development itself, thus increasing dependency. This author suggests that while this may have been true of the 1960s, prerequisites to funding by foreign donors nowadays are discrete objectives within clearly defined time-frames, and capacity building of end users to achieve optimal local sustainability.

A good basic definition of sustainability is “*whether or not something continues to work over time*” (Abrams, 1998). However, even if this definition is agreed upon, the debate as to where the line of sustainability should be drawn continues. Some, such as DFID, advocate self-sufficiency (e.g. DFID, 1999); others, such as the UNDP promote enhanced inter-relationships (Gore, 2000).

This author suggests that with regards sustainability, the evolution of development practice and theory have mirrored the evolution of an individual: initially a child is totally dependent (colonial and development economics, modernisation theory); then follows a period of independence (self-reliance); inter-dependence between stakeholders (reflected in most subsequent development models) is the mature and desired final state (Webster et al., 1999).

Numerous studies of RWSHP projects have shown that the initial enthusiasm of end users and the established CBOs (Community Based Organisations) responsible for the management and maintenance of the project wanes and members change. Therefore refresher training and encouragement of communities and CBOs (e.g. WATSAN committees, Technicians and Community Health Workers) is necessary to sustain the benefits of such projects (e.g. Bagamuhunda and Kimanzi, 1998 and Carter and Tyrrel, 2001). Furthermore, there is always a need for a back-stopping agency for major repairs that are beyond the capacity of the community to undertake (Webster et al., 1999 and Carter et al., 1999b).

- **Poverty**

The World Bank's landmark 'Voices of the Poor' study at the beginning of the millennium (World Bank, 2001) shifted the predominantly Western concept of poverty defined in economic terms (Deaton, 2001) to one defined by hunger, lack of shelter, being sick, illiteracy, fear of the future, powerlessness, and lack of representation and freedom (also World Bank, 2005c, Green, 2003, Hossain et al., 2000, Howarth, 2001, Matin and Hulme, 2003, Narayan et al., 2000a, Narayan et al., 2000b, Prahalad and Hammond, 2002 and Reddy and Pogge, 2003).

Poverty reduction strategies are firmly embedded in SL approaches, they are one of the UNDP's five focus areas, and are at the heart of the MDGs. These strategies are diverse, but generally incorporate recognition of diversity within poverty. DFID's Water Action Plan emphasises that efforts should be focussed on the links between water and poverty, and recognise that "*different poor people have different needs*" (DFID, 2004). WaterAid has recognised the importance of disaggregating impact data by economic status, as well as gender and age (Blagbrough, 2003). Deverill & Smout (2000)

Dissanayake (2003) and Ubaidhha and Kumari (2004) see the ability to identify poor and marginalized individuals, groups and communities in project areas, enabling them to be included in demand responsive projects, as essential.

- **Gender**

Gender considerations rose in development thinking in the 1970s (Newland, 1979) and now lie at the core (Ogbodo, 2003). Chronologically (after Momsen, 2004):

- **Welfare** approaches prevailed until the early 1970s;
- **WID** (Women in Development) policies aimed to integrate women into economic development by focussing on income generation projects for women. It largely failed;
- **GAD** (Gender and Development) emphasised the important influence of differences in class, age, marital status, religion and ethnicity on development outcomes;
- **WAD** (Women and Development) argued that overcoming poverty and the effects of colonialism was of paramount importance. By 1990 WID, WAD and GAD views largely converged (Rathgeber, 1990), but different approaches to gender continue to evolve;
- **The efficiency approach** argued that gender analysis within the structural adjustment programmes made sense, but was criticised for focus on what women could do for development rather than vice versa;
- **The empowerment approach** for many means enhancing efficiency and productivity without changing the status quo; for others it is a method of social transformation to gain gender equality;
- **GED** (Gender and the Environment) made an essentialist link between women and environment and encouraged environmental programmes to focus on women's roles; and
- **GM** (Gender (equality) Mainstreaming): the Beijing 1995 UN Fourth World Conference affirmed that the advancement of women needs to be seen as a fundamental human right. Mainstreaming gender equality combines the

strengths of the efficiency and empowerment approaches with the context of mainstream development.

Thus development practice is at a stage where *“promoting gender equality is now deemed so essential to reducing poverty and improving governance that it has become a development objective in its own right”* (World Bank, 2005a).

As a result, Goal 3 of the 8 MDGs is to *“Promote gender equality and empower women”* (UNDP, 2004c) through the elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education. Other goals incorporate gender promotion or equity either explicitly or implicitly. Clark & Clark (2004) report a strong positive correlation between the status of women and the quality of life (measured as a composite of indicators such as poverty, access to sanitation, infant mortality and fertility rates).

Gender equity will remain at the core of development whilst there exists inequality: *“Two-thirds of illiterates are women, and the rate of employment among women is two-thirds that of men”* (UNDP, 2001).

- **Governance**

As with poverty reduction strategies, good (often democratic) governance is often a prerequisite to donor funding (UNDP, 2005b), is incorporated in the 8th MDG (UNDP, 2004c), and one of the five Bonn Keys (Catley-Carlson, 2001).

Implicit in notions of good governance is anti-corruption, though such phraseology has recently fallen out of favour, but not fully. *“Combating corruption is therefore a central development issue”* (SIDA, 2005b).

Bannister (2003) sees corruption - the abuse of public power for personal gain - evident particularly at the junction of public and private sectors, and stimulated by low civil service salaries, poor working conditions, greed, and weak policies and monitoring systems at all tiers of Government.

However, the definition of good governance and corruption is culturally determined. For example, Timmins (2006) reported that *“operational differences”* caused a British NGO to dissolve its partnership with a North American NGO. The issue was differing

perspectives on vehicle use amongst expatriate field personnel: the North American NGO had a holistic view whereby vehicles were used during the day for routine family needs, whereas the British perspective was a more fragmented, compartmentalised and linear model that prioritised project needs during set working hours. A global, homogenised approach to governance is therefore questionable. Harrison (2004) calls for a new approach to development governance that is aware of constitutive, not ephemeral, differences.

C. CURRENT BEST PRACTICE IN THE RWSHP SECTOR

The roles of development theory and practice alternate between cause and effect: theorists are rarely immediately aware of innovations and movements in the field; practitioners are often too busy delivering to be informed by the latest theories.

Nevertheless, development perspectives and best practice have shifted from an emphasis on hardware (infrastructure, capital inputs and technology) towards equal attention being paid to software (institutions, processes and management, education and knowledge). A one dimensional focus on externals has been replaced by a multidimensional internal focus, with a trend towards actor-oriented development, focussed on the world of lived experience, the micro-world of family, network and community (Haan and Zoomers, 2005).

Current best practice therefore consists of a mix of results- and process-oriented approaches, although there is no consensus amongst practitioners as to the precise components. Results-oriented approaches tend to include, for example, clearly established implementation, monitoring and follow-up plans as well as budgets (SIDA, 1998). Process oriented approaches often promote, for example, empowerment and capacity building, equal worth of stakeholders, partnership and honesty (Davis and Wall, 1992).

The key cross cutting components of best practice in the RWSHP sector, many of which are common throughout development, are:

- **Gender mainstreaming**

Gender mainstreaming is a process (Smout and Coates, 2000): the recognised need for gender equity in development (see Development Practice, Gender) is especially pertinent to projects that involve water, as the burden of collection in practically all developing countries falls predominantly on women and children.

There has traditionally been a division between ‘domestic’ and ‘productive’ water use, whereby productive use (i.e. agricultural) is seen to have a direct and greater impact on poverty due to the readily tangible financial benefits of increased food production. (SIDA, 2005a). Equitable sharing of the burdens, benefits and responsibilities of water hauling is therefore seen as a vital component of best practice (Smout et al., 2001 and Francis et al., 2000).

The formation of women’s clubs that address issues such as literacy, hygiene and sanitation, and provide training for income generation are increasingly part of best practice (e.g. Suwaiba, 2003 and Webster, 2004b). However, there are reports that many years of positive discrimination towards women has resulted in men being neglected (Bagamuhunda, 2005). As a result young men may be “*at the bottom of the heap*” (Cornwall, 1998 and Cousins, 1998). It is therefore imperative to broaden the scope of gender relations to ensure equity amongst all sections of society.

- **Hygiene promotion**

Whilst improved hygiene practices are a fundamental goal of RWSHP projects, the factors that influence their sustainability once end users are no longer in contact with or supported by programme staff are not fully known (Bolt, 2004). Sustained hygiene behaviour is reported to be determined by: the intensity of the hygiene promotion intervention; support from influential groups in the local community; and the extent to which the type of contact with the various target audiences matches the behaviours and messages promoted (e.g. Cairncross and Shordt, 2004, Berry et al., 1983, Bolt et al., 2003, Clark, 1982, Dotse and Laryea, 2004, Govindan and Scott, 2003, Laverack et al., 2001, Snel and Shordt, 2001, Waterlines, 2004 and Webster, 2004a). Social marketing

of hygiene promotion, i.e. marketing approaches that match available resources with social needs, is also reported as critical (Wegelin-Schuringa, 2000).

Best practice therefore reflects these findings and is moving away from the belief that semi-literate women can only focus on a few key high-risk practices (e.g. Loevinsohn, 1990, Shordt, 2004 and Curtis et al., 2001) towards intensive training reinforced by peer pressure and group decisions to effect high levels of behaviour change across a broad range of hygiene practices (Waterkeyn, 2003, Snel et al., 2000 and Fox, 1995).

- **Participation**

It is widely recognised amongst development theorists and practitioners that participation both as an approach and an action needs to be adopted and applied throughout development practice. End user investment in capital costs, local ownership and control of projects (including monitoring and evaluation) and implementing agency responsiveness to end user feedback is noted by several authors to significantly contribute to overall project effectiveness (e.g. Narayan, 1995, Chambers et al., 2001, Chanthaphone and Lahiri, 2004, Memon, 2004 and Blagbrough, 2003).

- **Sustainability and on-going support**

As with participation, sustainability is widely accepted by development theorists and practitioners as a fundamental component of best practice. Furthermore, on-going support is seen by many authors as implicit in the term sustainability (e.g. Carter et al., 1999b, Carter et al., 1999a and Webster et al., 1999). Key ingredients for sustainability include: demand-responsive approaches by the change agents; the use of established CBOs and leaders; building capacity of and adequately resourcing end users and support organisations; and the presence of a backstopping agency (Ayeni, 2003, Carter and Tyrrel, 2001, Nedjoh et al., 2003, Nolan, 2002, Shrestha, 2003 and Soley and Thogersen, 2003).

- **Monitoring and evaluation**

The gathering and effective use of qualitative and quantitative data from projects is essentially part of the PRA family of approaches. Current best practice advocates self-

assessment by end users against their own goals that are set from qualitative and quantitative data primarily gathered by the end users themselves (Karanja and Shordt, 2004 and Venter-Hildebrand, 2003). Shordt & Snel (2002) advocate the use of the information to control the quality of construction, check the understanding of health concepts and hygiene practices (through KAP (knowledge, attitude and practice) surveys), and check public satisfaction with project hardware and software.

As a means of gathering data quickly and cheaply, the use of proxy indicators is increasingly prevalent (Holden and Phakathi, 2003). For example, the use of ‘squit sticks’ – different coloured sticks that correspond to different colours of diarrhoea – is promoted amongst the partners of, and communities supported by, the British NGO Tearfund. Community elected volunteer Village Health Workers undertake a daily check of the incidence of different types of diarrhoea in the community by simply counting the sticks put in a bucket in each latrine. However, the validity of measuring health impact using proxy indicators needs to be ensured: “*to be useful, indicators need to be believable, easy to collect and sensitive*” (Larkin, 1998).

- **Information dissemination**

Notions of knowledge management or communities of practice - a group of people with a shared interest who interact to learn from each other – are relatively recent trends within the RWSHP sector. They have the primary benefit that the more colleagues interact, the less time they will spend reinventing the wheel (Odhiambo and Pels, 2004). This is true of relationships between as well as within stakeholders: for example, end users project exchange visits and knowledge transfer between developed countries and developing countries improve performance through knowledge management (Anumba and Khan, 2003). To this end, DFID, for example, currently fund several Resource Centres around the world that provide free advice.

- **Entry and exit strategies**

The widely perceived wisdom and practice is that demand responsive and participatory entry and exit strategies are essential for sustainable development (e.g. Carter et al., 2001, Boydell, 1999b, Boydell, 1999a and Onah and Aleje, 2003).

However, ‘poor’ entry strategies can be compensated for (Koestler et al., 2003). For example, where hand-pumps have been installed under emergency conditions, carefully planned exit strategies can make up for such ‘poor’ emergency entry strategies. *“Agencies should note that a key factor in creating a sustainable water supply is to have adequate technical and management competence within the locality ... While social mobilisation is desirable for long term development, its influence on availability of water is not as key as competence”* (Batchelor et al., 1999, Batchelor et al., 2001). This assumes the presence of other key aspects already identified, and emphasises the need for appropriate capacity building and resourcing of communities.

With regards the optimal time-scale for hygiene interventions, studies in India that have measured behaviour up to nine years after the end of projects have concluded that behaviour was not correlated with the length of intervention, but with the achievement by the NGO and local government of their hygiene goals (Zacharia and Shordt, 2004). In other words, quality of intervention is more important than quantity which may seem obvious, but is often overlooked in projects that promote long-term hygiene promotion.

Annex II: Influences on the health of end users

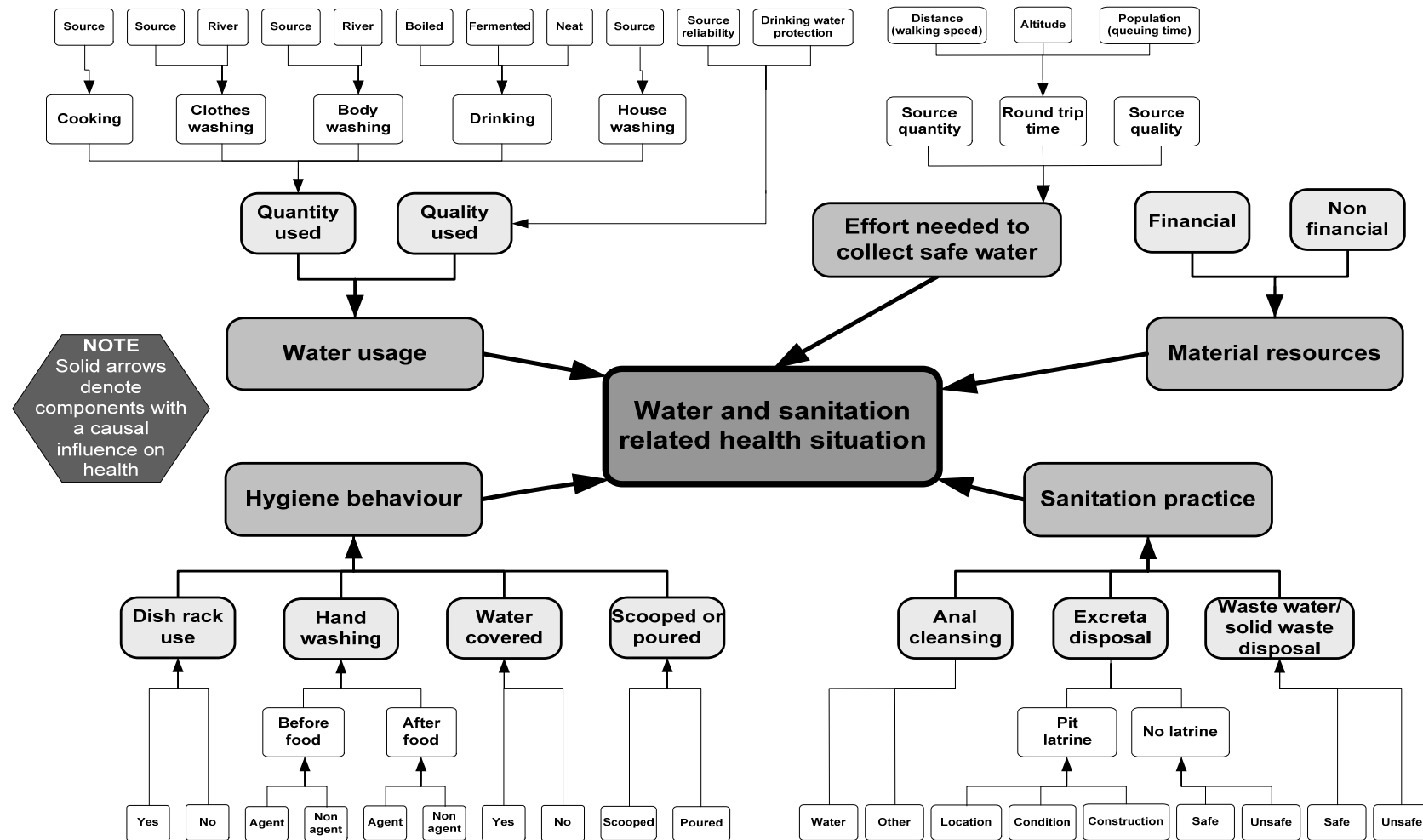


Figure 6.2: Physical components that influence the health of end users

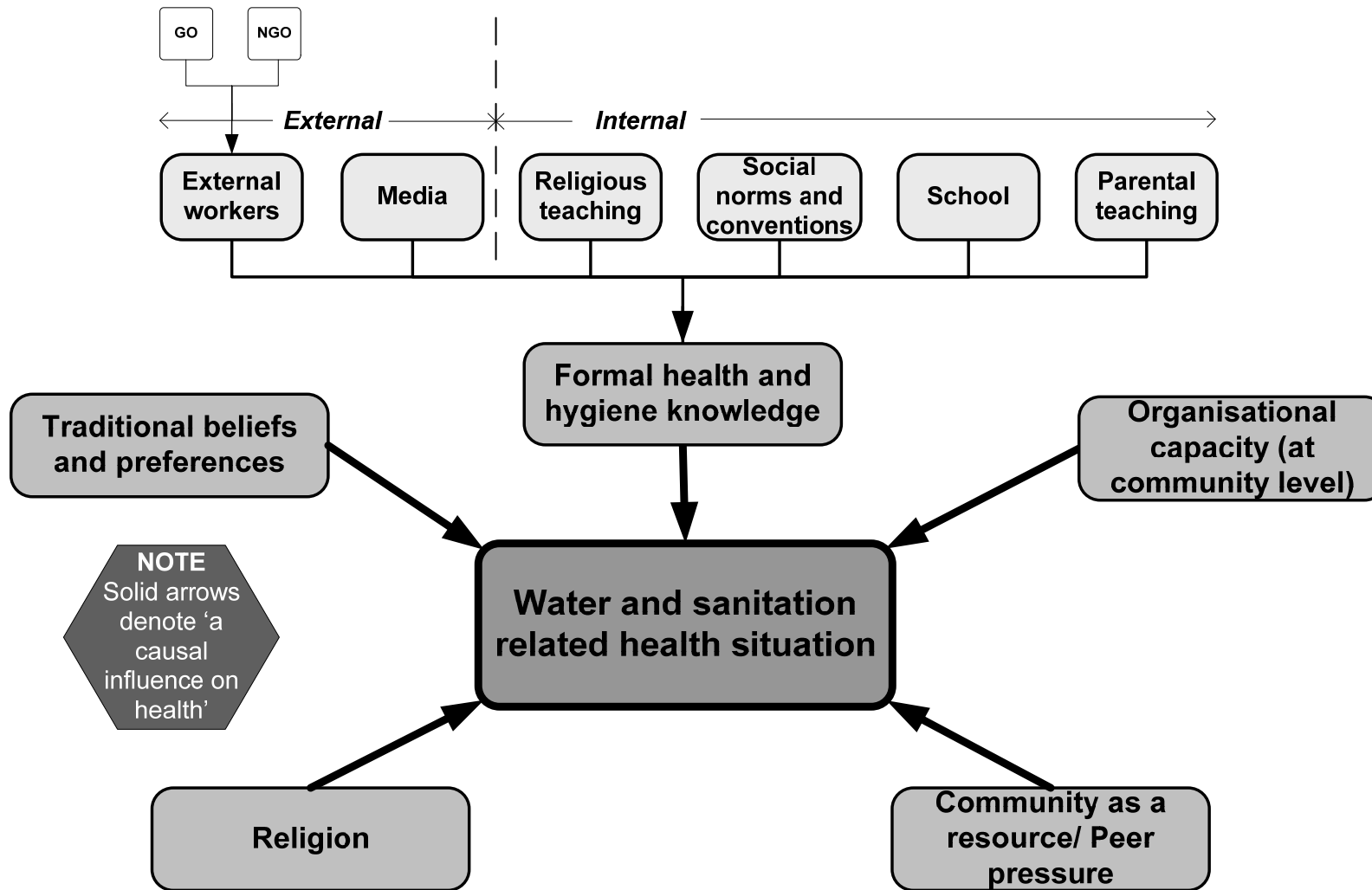


Figure 6.3: Cultural factors that influence the health of end users

Annex III: Interview and interviewee details

Int No.	Location	No.	Date	Forename	Surname	Age	Gender	Religion	S-h group	Selection process/notes
001	Weynamba	01	28/05/2002	Mohammed	Ebre	30	M	O	LG	Kebele Chairman
002	Weynamba	02	28/05/2002	Kebede	Ardre	35	M	M	C	Former Kebele Chairman
003	Weynamba	03	28/05/2002	Melkie	Yimer	36	F	M	W	WATSAN member
004	Weynamba	04	28/05/2002	Bekele	Feleke	28	M	O	W	Scheme Caretaker
005	Weynamba	05	28/05/2002	Misayeh	Arage	23	F	M	W	Local Community Worker
006	Weynamba	06	28/05/2002	Legesse	Haile Mariam	69	M	O	W	WATSAN chairman
007	Weynamba	07	28/05/2002	Asegedech	Hailu	66	F	O	C	RT: grandmother
008	Weynamba	08	29/05/2002	Etafaro	Ali	60	F	O	C	RT: grandmother
009	Weynamba	09	29/05/2002	Zewdie	Allie	32	F	M	C	RT: mother
010	Weynamba	10	29/05/2002	Abiot	Abera	15	F	M	C	RT: Grade 9 student
011	Weynamba	11	29/05/2002	Tsegaye	G/Medihin	27	M	P	I	Team leader, surface water (<i>as 102</i>)
012	Weynamba	12	30/05/2002	Aster	Wolde	29	F	P	I	Project worker (H&S)
013	Tenta	01	04/06/2002	Teguwade	Ali	27	F	O	C	RT
014	Tenta	02	04/06/2002	Yetemwerk	Arage	20	F	O	C	RT
015	Tenta	03	04/06/2002	Dait	Erdev	48	F	O	W	WATSAN member
016	Tenta	04	04/06/2002	Yitesha	Amadi	70	F	O	W	RT
017	Tenta	05	05/06/2002	Gashaw (Priest)	Merash	45	M	O	C	RT: Priest
018	Tenta	06	06/06/2002	Guzguz	Asafew	30	F	O	C	RT
019	Tenta	07	04/06/2002	Wendessen	Getachew	18	M	O	C	RT: Young, political
020	Bistima	01	07/06/2002	Mulu	Tagenye	37	F	O	C	RT: Outsider, caring
021	Bistima	02	07/06/2002	Aragash Hussein	Damtow	55	F	M	C	RT: Very open
022	Bistima	03	07/06/2002	Yimer	Mekonnen	70	M	M	W	WATSAN chairman
023	Bistima	04	07/06/2002	Beletu	Ali	27	F	M	W	WATSAN; tap-stand
024	Bistima	05	07/06/2002	Worede	Melako	21	M	O	C	RT: Youth plus father (judge)
025	Bistima	06	07/06/2002	Ma'aza	Kebede	17	F	O	C	RT
026	Bistima	07	08/06/2002	Fatuma	Daod	90	F	M	C	RT: good quotes on trad. remedies
027	Bistima	08	07/06/2002	Tadessa	Yosef	30	M	P	I	Team leader, surface water (<i>as 098</i>)
028	Bane	01	13/06/2002	Garisho	Bukari	50	M	P	LG	RT: Chief of area, very informative
029	Bane	02	13/06/2002	Ieka	(no surname)	40	F	T	C	RT: V short interview
030	Bane	03	13/06/2002	Dinga	(no surname)	20	M	T	C	RT: Typical youth
031	Bane	04	13/06/2002	Dartey	(no surname)	65	M	T	C	RT
032	Bane	05	13/06/2002	Gabo	(no surname)	45	F	T	C	RT
033	Bane	06	13/06/2002	Muda 1	(no surname)	20	F	T	C	RT: Truncated interview
034	Bane	07	13/06/2002	Muda 2	(no surname)	27	F	T	C	RT
035	Bane	08	13/06/2002	Wale	(no surname)	23	F	T	C	RT: Truncated interview
036	Bane	09	13/06/2002	Kerie	(no surname)	30	F	T	C	RT: Truncated interview
037	Bane	10	14/01/2003	Sara	(no surname)	42	M	T	C	RT
038	Bane	11	15/01/2003	Sofar	Gashow	32	F	T	C	RT: Int terminated
039	Bane	12	15/01/2003	Lito	Gadi	20	M	T	C	RT
040	Bane	13	15/01/2003	Bele	(no surname)	25	F	T	C	RT
041	Bane	14	15/01/2003	Group: 3 men (60, 40, 35); 3 wives (25, 20, 20)				T	C	RT
042	Bane	15	16/01/2003	Adinew	Gershew	60	M	T	LG	King of Bane
043	Bane	16	16/01/2003	Tele	Bazabi	32	M	P	I	Translator
044	Bane	17	16/01/2003	Ikey	Bazabi	33	M	P	I	Health worker
045	Bane	18	16/01/2003	Donna	Cawson	61	F	P	K	Linguist: ex-pat missionary
046	Bane	19	13/02/2003	Malcolm	Hunter	66	M	P	K	Agriculturalist: ex-pat missionary
047	Bane	20	18/02/2003	Fred	Van Gorkum	43	M	P	K	Vet: ex-pat missionary
048	Bane	21	20/02/2003	Ralph	Wiegand	36	M	P	K	Agro-forester: ex-pat missionary
049	Bane	22	14/04/2003	Sharon	Smith	60	F	P	K	Health officer: ex-pat missionary
050	WaterAid	01	26/05/2003	Habtamu	Gessesse	56	M	O	D	Country rep WaterAid
051	ZOA	01	26/05/2003	Gerrit-Jan	Van Uffelin	38	M	P	K	Country rep ZOA
052	ZOA	02	26/05/2003	Dereje	Jemberu	50	M	P	K	Admin ZOA; former Mekane Yesus
053	Tearfund	01	25/10/2002	Keith	Etherington	39	M	P	D	Desk Officer, Horn of Africa
054	Tearfund	02	25/10/2002	Doug	Balfour	44	M	P	D	Executive Director
055	Tearfund	03	25/10/2002	Joanne	Green	26	F	P	D	Advocacy officer, water
056	Tearfund	04	25/10/2002	Mike	Duckering	42	M	P	D	Govt. funding officer: int interrupted

Notes

Interviews are named in the attached MS Word and Atlas files according to interview number, location, number (of interview at that location) e.g. 043 Bane 16 is the 16th interview connected to the Bane, interviewee no. 043 (Tele Bazabi).

Where interviewees are quoted in the thesis, the interviewee code no. is given, followed by the line number of the beginning of the quote, according to the analysis of the Atlas software programme used, e.g. (043:128) is the 128th line of Tele Bazabi's interview.

Grey shaded interviews were discarded for reasons stated in 'Selection process'.

Religion: P = Protestant; O = Ethiopian Orthodox; M = Muslim; C = Catholic; T = Traditional

Stakeholder (S-h) group: C = Community; W = WATSAN member; LG = Local Government; I = Implementing Agency; D = Donor; G = Government

Selection process: RT = Random Transect; LC = Local Council (Ugandan Government); Kebele = local Ethiopian Government

Int No.	Location	No.	Date	Forename	Surname	Age	Gender	Religion	S-h group	Selection process/notes
057	Kacerere	01	19/06/2002	Jane	Twebazi	35	F	C	W	WATSAN member
058	Kacerere	02	19/06/2002	Matayo	Bwamwanga	45	M	C	C	RT: Int shortened but some use
059	Kacerere	03	19/06/2002	Mideas	Tumushabi	23	F	C	C	RT: Int shortened but some use
060	Kacerere	04	19/06/2002	Kedrace	Rwabyoma	27	F	C	C	Int terminated
061	Kacerere	05	19/06/2002	Baskazia	Nyabishaka	65	F	C	C	RT
062	Kacerere	06	19/06/2002	Geoffrey George	Wankwanda	40	M	P	W	Scheme caretaker
063	Kacerere	07	20/06/2002	Stanley Zinkubire	Basheija	61	M	P	LG	LCII chairman
064	Kacerere	08	20/06/2002	Irene Jane	Kyuzia	70	F	P	C	RT
065	Kacerere	09	24/06/2002	Kellen	Bazagwe	52	F	P	C	RT
066	Kacerere	10	24/06/2002	Joy	Rumanzi	45	F	P	C	RT
067	Kacerere	11	24/06/2002	Stanley	Mateeka	63	M	P	W	Former WATSAN chairman
068	Kabale	01	20/06/2002	Gilbert	Kimanzi	34	M	P	G	DWD (Govt) head of gravity schemes
069	Kabale	02	21/06/2002	Diana	Tibenderana	50	F	P	I	On-going support coordinator
070	Kabale	03	24/06/2002	Julius	Kasigazi	32	M	P	I	Plumber
071	Kabale	04	25/06/2002	Reuben	Byomugangi	37	M	P	I	Accountant
072	Kabale	05	25/06/2002	Kenneth	Bekunda	49	M	P	I	Health coordinator
073	Kabale	06	26/06/2002	George	Katwesigwe	53	M	P	I	Bishop
074	Kabale	07	26/06/2002	Rudolph	Glotzbach	46	M	P	D	Country rep, SNV
075	Kabale	08	27/06/2002	George	Bagamuhunda	44	M	P	I	Programme Manager
076	Kabale	09	22/06/2002	Jackie	Assimwe	26	F	P	I	H&S worker: interview over-taped
077	Kabale	10	22/06/2002	William	Keberera	40	M	P	I	Driver/mechanic: over-taped
078	Nyakagyera	01	21/06/2002	Noreda	Nyagerere	60	F	P	C	RT
079	Nyakagyera	02	21/06/2002	Lydia	Sesiimoka	27	F	P	C	RT
080	Nyakagyera	03	21/06/2002	Stephen	Rwamahay	60	M	P	C	RT
081	Nyakagyera	04	21/06/2002	Jeripena	Rutandikiiri	50	F	C	C	RT
082	Nyakagyera	05	21/06/2002	Charles	Rutandikiiri	58	M	C	W	Tapstand caretaker
083	Nyakagyera	06	22/06/2002	Nathan	Raukar	50	M	P	W	WATSAN chairman
084	Nyakagyera	07	22/06/2002	Joseline	Nkoreata	55	F	P	W	WATSAN member
085	Nyakagyera	08	22/06/2002	James	Kakura	52	M	P	W	Scheme caretaker
086	Nyakagyera	09	22/06/2002	Mary	Buherezo	60	F	P	C	RT
087	Jamma	01	14/02/2002	Almaz	Zenebe	45	F	M	C	RT: content subsequently changed
088	Jamma	02	14/02/2002	Zewdie	Tesfaye	45	F	O	C	RT: content subsequently changed
089	Jamma	03	14/02/2002	Senait	Tekele	15	F	O	C	RT: content subsequently changed
090	Jamma	04	14/02/2002	Ayelu	Bogale	55	F	O	C	RT: content subsequently changed
091	Jamma	05	14/02/2002	Yewebda	Kifle	18	F	O	C	RT: content subsequently changed
092	Tenta first	01	15/02/2002	Dait	Erdew	48	F	O	W	Windy - notes in 015 Tenta 03.
093	Tenta first	02	15/02/2002	Kibret	Erdew	47	M	O	W	Scheme caretaker: windy- notes only
094	Tenta first	03	16/02/2002	Enan	Wolde	65	F	O	C	RT
095	Tenta first	04	16/02/2002	Wondessen	Gezaye	28	M	O	W	WATSAN chair & scheme caretaker
096	Tenta first	05	16/02/2002	Sehin	Semaye	48	F	O	C	RT
097	Tenta first	06	16/02/2002	Fantu	Kebede	53	F	O	C	RT
098	Tenta first	07	16/02/2002	Tadessa	Yosef	30	M	P	I	Team leader, surface water (as 027)
099	Tenta first	08	19/03/2002	Genet	Tesfaye	32	F	P	I	Health coordinator
100	Asbe Teferi	01	07/04/2003	Getachew	Korrisaa	39	M	O	G	Zonal Water Bureau head
101	Asbe Teferi	02	07/04/2003	Dagafaa	Raggaasaa	42	M	O	G	Zonal Operations / Maintenance head
102	Asbe Teferi	03	07/04/2003	Tsegaye	G/Medihin	27	M	P	I	Team leader, surface water (as 011)
103	Asbe Teferi	04	08/04/2003	Abde	Adam	26	M	M	C	RT
104	Asbe Teferi	05	08/04/2003	Adbu	Aliye	50	F	M	C	RT
105	Asbe Teferi	06	08/04/2003	Nuria	Ali	40	F	M	W	RT
106	Asbe Teferi	07	08/04/2003	Nori	Adam	32	F	M	C	RT
107	KHC	01	14/04/2003	Mogus	Mehari	34	F	P	I	Programme Manager
108	KHC	02	14/04/2003	Solomon	Yohannes	37	M	O	I	Chief driller
109	KHC	03	10/06/2003	Bereket	Gebre T'sion	40	M	P	I	SW co-ordinator
110	KHC	04	10/06/2003	Gezahgn	Dejachew	38	M	P	I	Drilling co-ordinator
111	KHC	05	14/04/2003	Sehin	Yelma	34	F	P	I	Accountant
112	KHC	06	14/04/2003	Tesfaye	Yacob	48	M	P	I	General Secretary
113	KHC	07	16/06/2003	Desta	Demissie	40	M	P	I	Deputy G/S Development
114	Tenta meeting	01	13/04/2001	Meeting					C	WATSAN meeting minutes
115	Tenta meeting	02	20/04/2001	Meeting					C	WATSAN meeting minutes
116	Tenta meeting	03	30/09/2001	Meeting					C	WATSAN meeting minutes
117	KHC	08	16/05/2003	Gezahgn	Dejachew	38	M	P	K	110 KHC 04 comments as key inf.

Notes

Interviews are named in the attached MS Word and Atlas files according to interview number, location, number (of interview at that location) e.g. 043 Bane 16 is the 16th interview connected to the Bane, interviewee no. 043 (Tele Bazabi).

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Religion: P = Protestant; O = Ethiopian Orthodox; M = Muslim; C = Catholic; T = Traditional

Stakeholder (S-h) group: C = Community; W = WATSAN member; LG = Local Government; I = Implementing Agency; D = Donor; G = Government

Annex IV: Interview schedules

End User Interview

a) Background information

Name; Gender; Age; Personal status; General Impression; Official Connection to Project; Education-socio-economic status; Religion; Location specific; Selection Process.

Topic 1a: Change Process Generally

1. I am not from here. Can you tell me what life is like in the village? *How describe to a friend in ... Have things got better or worse? What value do you place on education?*
2. Please describe any major changes/events there have been in the community recently? *(Not the water & san project - if so, skip to Topic 1b) What, when, who affected.*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If group decisions in the project were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. democratic WATSAN election, What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the community?*
5. How were any different ideas resolved? *Process, winners/losers,*

Topic 1b: Project Change Process

1. When you heard there was going to be a project, what did you hope for? Do you feel you have got this?
2. Please describe the process of the project from start to now. *Contacting KHC, negotiation (what wanted vs. what delivered), interaction, election WATSAN, SC, LCW. How did you decide which people to choose?*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If group decisions in the project were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. democratic WATSAN election, What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the community?*
5. What sort of things are discussed about the water? How are/were any different ideas (community, IA, Govt) resolved? How were the tap-stand sites chosen? *Process, winners/losers.*
6. Do you feel this project was successful? What is important for a successful project? *Why? Please rank.*
7. How would you describe the relationship with the IA?
8. How could the IA/community have improved the project during construction?
9. Can you maintain the project? *Is the WATSAN maintenance training adequate/ appropriate?*
10. What needs, apart from water, do you have now? Before the project, which one would you chose (including water)? *Rank. If not water, How would life change with this? Did the community express this to KHC before the project? Why not? How?*

Topic 2: Health and Water Related Behaviour Change

1. Tell me about your health and water situation before the project. *Where did you collect water from/round-trip time/how much? Who would collect? Did you get sick from water/other? What did you do when you got sick? How did you learn your health behaviour and about safe water before the project? Preferred method of receiving information? Where did this information come from originally?*
2. Tell me about your health and water situation now. *What changes have there been? How far/much time to collect water now/how much? What do you do with the time/money saved? When do you get sick? What do you do when you get sick?*
3. Did you have any health training from the project? *Why not/what type (seminars/house to house, etc)? Did you learn anything about health? What? How did you learn this? What was particularly useful? Have you changed any health practices? Why did you change these practices?*
4. What is the biggest benefit of this project? *Rank. Why?*
5. If you had a tap in your house and the water was free, would you use any more water? *What would you use it for (rank)?*
6. Do you always practice what you know to be healthy? *When do you not? Why? Any health problems because you don't use enough for ...?*
7. That's all my questions - do you want to add anything else?

Implementing Agency (IA) Interview

a) Background information

Name; Gender; Age; Personal status; General Impression; Official Connection to Project; Education-socio-economic status; Religion; Location specific; Selection Process.

Topic 1a: Change Process Generally

1. What is it like to work in the IA? *How would you describe it to a friend? Are your views typical? What did you hope for from the IA? Do you feel you have got this? Why/how?*
2. Please describe any major changes there have been in the IA recently? *What, when, who affected.*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If group decisions were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. democratic elections,* What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the organisation?
5. How were any conflicts resolved? *Process, winners/losers,*
6. What words would you use to describe the IA/donor(s)/community? How are they perceived by the IA?
7. If you could change the IA, what changes would you make? What is important for a successful
8. How could the donors improve the programme? If you could, what changes would you make in donor world? Communities? Govt?
9. Is the programme sustainable? *Why/why not?*
10. What needs do you have now that could be addressed by the IA/donor? Are they being met? *Why/why*
11. What lessons have you learned from this IA?
12. What are the positives and negatives of being a church organisation vs. non-church?
13. What are the positives and negatives of having an ex-pat leading the programme?

Topic 1b: Project/IA Change Process

1. What did you hope for from this project? Do you feel you have got this? *Why/how?*
2. Please describe the process of the project from start to now. *Priority of project vs. other developments, contacting community/donor, negotiation (what wanted vs. what delivered), interaction, election WATSAN, SC, LCW*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If decisions related to the project were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. funding priorities,* What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the IA?
5. How were any conflicts resolved? *Process, winners/losers,*
6. What is important for a successful project? *Why?*
7. What words would you use to describe the community?
8. How could the community/IA/donors have improved the project?
9. Is the project sustainable? *Why/why not?*
10. What needs does the community have now that could be addressed by the IA/donor? Are they being met? *Why/why not? How?*

Topic 2: Health and Water Related Behaviour Change

1. Tell me about your health and water situation. *Where do you collect water from/how much? When do you get sick? What do you do when you get sick? How did you learn your health behaviour? What were the most effective health messages? Where did this information come from originally? What if any health practices have you changed recently? Why?*
2. What do you feel are the most appropriate health messages and ways of communicating for the
3. How do you decide how much water to collect? *When do you wash dishes, clothes, etc.*
4. If you had a tap in your house and the water was free, would you use any more water? *What would you*
5. Do you always practice what you know to be healthy? *When do you not? Why?*

Donor Interview

a) Background information

Name; Gender; Age; Personal status; General Impression; Official Connection to Project; Education-socio-economic status; Religion; Location specific; Selection Process.

Topic 1a: Change Process Generally

1. What is it like to work in the organisation? *How would you describe it to a friend? Are your views typical? Your position? What did you hope for from the organisation? Do you feel you have got this?*
2. Please describe any major changes there have been in the organisation recently? *What, when, who*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If group decisions were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. democratic elections, What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the organisation?*
5. How were any conflicts resolved? *Process, winners/losers,*
6. If you could change the organisation, what changes would you make? What is important for a successful donor organisation? *Why?*
7. Is the organisation sustainable? *In what ways? Why/why not?*
8. What needs do you have now that could be addressed by the donor/donor base? Are they being met? *Why/why not? How?*
9. What lessons have you learned from this organisation?
10. What are the positives and negatives of being a Christian organisation vs. non-Christian?

Topic 1b: Project Change Process

1. What did you hope for from this project/partnership (with IA)? Do you feel you have got this? *Why/how? SAME FOR OTHER STAKEHOLDERS: DONORS (E.G. EU, DFID), COMMUNITIES,*
2. Please describe the process of the project from start to now. *Priority of project vs. other organisational/developmental needs, contacting IA/community, negotiation (what wanted vs. what delivered), interaction, funding priorities/policies*
3. How were the decisions made? *By whom; how; why made in this manner?*
4. *If decisions related to the project were made that were culturally untypical, e.g. funding priorities, What did you think about that process? How was it accepted by the organisation?*
5. Were/are there any conflicts? How were they resolved? *Process, winners/losers,*
6. What words would you use to describe the (IA)? How are they perceived by the organisation?
7. How could the (IAs) improve the programme?
7. If you could change the (IA), what changes would you make? What is important for a successful (IA)?
9. Is the (IA) and your relationship with them sustainable? *In what ways? Why/why not?*
10. What needs do you see the (IA) having that you could address? Are they being met? *Why/why not?*
11. What lessons have you learned from this (IA) and your relationship with them?
12. What are the positives and negatives of working with/through Christian/church organisations vs. non-
13. What are the positives and negatives of having an ex-pat (leading the IA)?

Topic 2: Health and Water Related Behaviour Change

1. Tell me about your health and water situation. *How did/do you learn your health behaviour and about safe water, e.g. who told/tells you when to wash hands, what water to drink? Where did this information come from originally? When do you get sick? What do you do when you get sick? What practices have you changed recently? Why?*
2. What do you feel are the most appropriate health messages and ways of communicating for the community? *Training KHC to impart these messages?*
3. How do you decide how much water to collect? *When do you wash dishes, clothes, etc.*
4. If you had as much water as you wanted and it was free, what would you use it for?
5. Do you always practice what you know to be healthy? *When do you not? Why?*

Original End User Questionnaire Rationale
(*Subsequently Discarded*)

Area of enquiry with relevant questions

Measure by

GOALS/APPROACHES: success - it's degree and components

Was this project a success/failure

Scale 1-10

Why was it a success/failure.

Discuss, list 5 and rank

Choose and rank (from a list, adding if necessary) the 5-10 most important things for project success

Rank 10

Choose and rank (from same list, adding if necessary) the 5-10 things the implementing agency most emphasised

Rank 10

APPROACHES: relationships and possible improvements

How could the implementing agency have improved the project? Did you discuss this with them? What results?

Discuss, list 5 and rank.
Describe.

How could the community have improved the project? Was this discussed with them? What results?

Discuss, list 5 and rank.
Describe.

What did you find easy or good about working with the implementing

Discuss, list 5 and rank

What did you find difficult or hard about working with the implementing

Discuss, list 5 and rank

WORLD VIEW/APPROACHES: self-analysis and analysis of implementing agency

What are the differences between you and the implementing agency?

Discuss, list 5 and rank.

How did these affect the project?

Scale 1-10 on impact/
describe

What are the 5-10 most important things in your life?

Discuss, list 10 and rank.

Interviewees and methodology of interview

1. General community (not including those below): split into groups of approximately 10 people of: women, men, youths and mixed group. Perform interviews, then repeat with whole group.
2. WATSAN: split into 2 groups of women and men. Perform interviews, then repeat with whole group.
3. Local community worker(s): interview as a group if more than one.
4. Scheme caretaker(s): interview as a group if more than one.
5. Poorest women: two or three at their homes

Annex V: Codes

