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Human Needs and Human Harms: Some Evidence from Rural Ethiopia

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Human Needs and Human Harms: Some Evidence from Rural Ethiopia

Draft still in progress: comments please

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes one phase in an ongoing 'interductive'[1] research programme designed to contribute to the development of a conceptual framework, and related research instruments, that can be used in any cultural context to identify:

(1) local instantiations of 'universal' needs;
(2) the extent to which these are being met for different kinds of local people;
(3) the particular resource failures and problematic events, actions and relationships which are producing harm or the failure to meet needs; and
(4) the local political economy and socio-cultural structures and dynamics which underpin resource distribution, failure to meet needs, harmful actions and unequal relationships of various kinds.

An interductive research methodology involves interactive and iterative phases of conceptual analysis and field research. Section 2 of the paper describes a conceptual model for researching people's human needs empirically with roots in the work of Doyal and Gough (1991), Ryan and Deci (2000) and Harré (1979, 1983, 1994). It highlights two important aspects of life likely to have an impact on the experiencing of needs and harm: human development/ageing and gender. Section 3 describes the fieldwork context: this research was done as part of the Ethiopia WIDE[2] project conducted in 20 variegated rural sites in Ethiopia between July and September 2003 by a pair of researchers, one male and one female. In Section 4 the research instruments for exploring human needs and human harm are presented, and the types of conclusion that can be drawn from the data discussed.

Section 5 focuses on human needs, using the data first to make some changes to the WED Wellbeing Essentials Framework, and second to explore the ways in which gendered age affects both needs and the form needs satisfiers would take. In Section 6 reported human harms to men, women, boys, girls and babies are arranged in a matrix in relation to the four human needs identified in the conceptual framework: competence, autonomy, relation and meaning. The data show that there are two main causes of harm: absences of needs-satisfiers or resources, and harmful presences of events and actions/activities. Gender and age affect the experience, causes, and consequences of, and potential remedies for, many human harms and some of these are described using the data. Using illustrations from the data Section 7 describes three ways in which different needs and harms may interact, raising the questions of choice, consequences, and unequal power relationships. Some needs compete with others offering a choice of potential harms. The failure to meet a need, or a particular harm, can have knock-on effects. And the meeting of one person's met needs may equate with harm to somebody else.

In Section 8 we take a reflexive look at what we have done, express some doubts about the whole process and suggest how to proceed in the next phase of our research into needs. Section 9 draws a number of conclusions.

[1] I am using this term to describe a methodological strategy which sequentially and iteratively mixes different epistemological approaches: hermeneutic or interpretive approaches ('abduction' (Blaikie: 1993); the use of theory to guide exploratory research or generate hypotheses for testing ('deduction'), the use of observation to make empirical generalisations ('induction'), and the building of models of structures and mechanisms to explain observations ('retroduction').

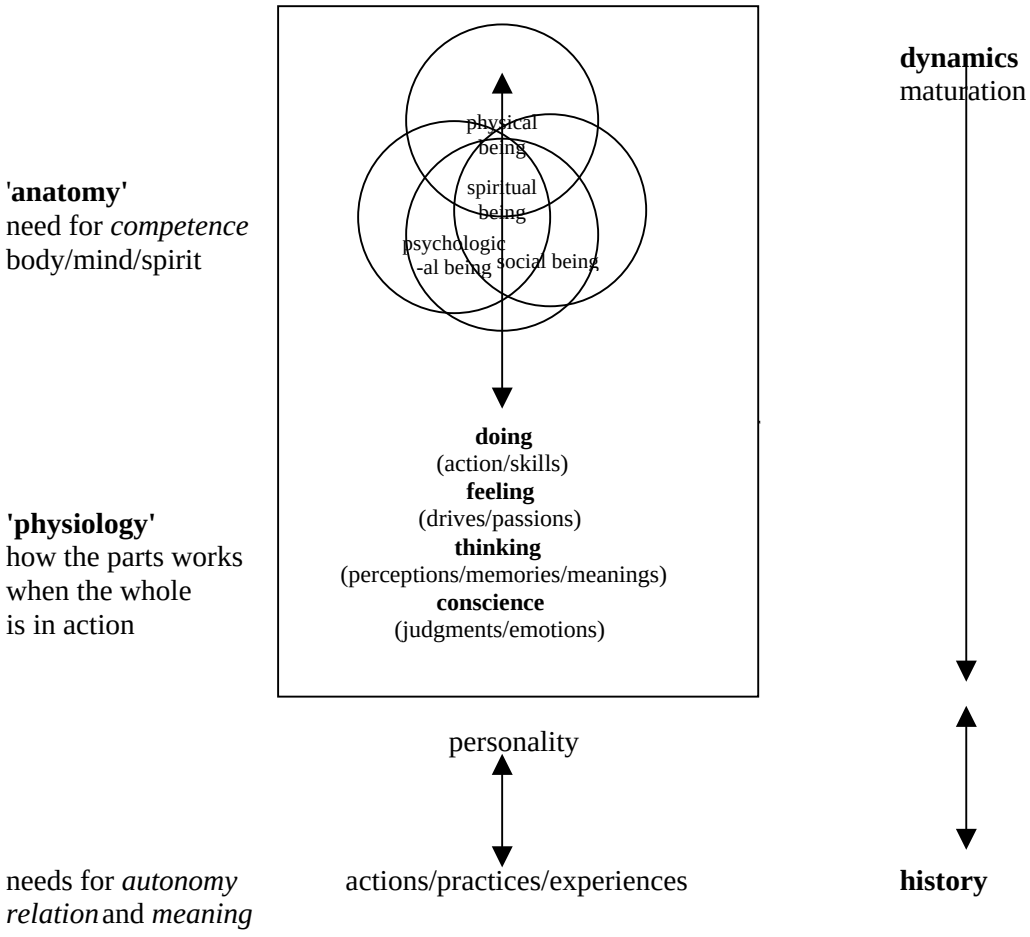
[2] The Ethiopia WeD Research Programme consists of three projects: Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE: 20 rural sites and 2 urban sites); in-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty (DEEP: 6 of the WIDE sites; 4 rural and 2 urban); ExploratioN of The In/security Regime in Ethiopia (ENTIRE: country study).

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Three ways of exploring human needs and harms are important for the WeD programme: the first involves 'objective' criteria identified and contested by social scientists (e.g. absolute deprivation); the second 'objective' criteria identified and contested locally (e.g. relative deprivation); and the third individual criteria identified by the person feeling the need or experiencing the harm. As part of the 2003 WIDE2 research we were interested in comparing social science definitions with local definitions but felt we should start with a well-specified social science model in order to ensure we covered all possible 'universal' aspects.

In developing our model to guide the field research we started by mixing elements from theoretical approaches produced by Doyal and Gough (1991), Ryan and Deci (2000), and Harré (1979, 1983, 1994), none of which were designed with cross-cultural field research in mind. From Doyal and Gough's normative theory we learned that there were basic needs for health, and autonomy and a goal (which could be considered as a need) of social participation, and from Ryan and Deci's positive psychology approach that there are universal 'psychological needs' of autonomy, competence and relatedness. An analysis of the 'structure of being' arising from a reading of Harre's critical realist approach to physical being, psychological being and social being suggested a view of the 'structure of being' depicted in Figure 1. The concept of harm is important to Doyal and Gough's argument that a person's human needs <u>should</u> be met; if they are not, the person is seriously harmed or 'fundamentally disabled in the pursuit of one's vision of the good' (1991: 50).

FIGURE 1: A VIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF BEING



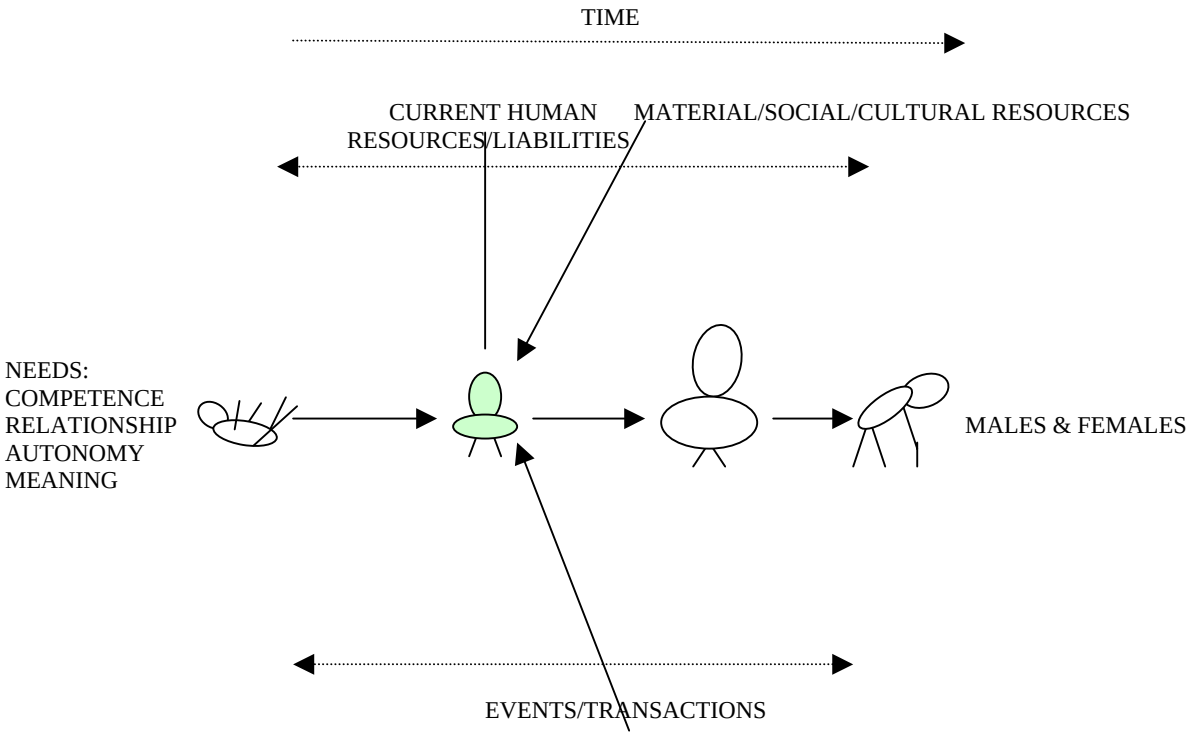
In our model needs are conceptualised in terms of competence, autonomy, relation and meaning. Competence involves body, mind and soul or spirit. This produces two major categories – needs *of* and needs *for*, each of which has three analytically separable aspects:

(1) the structural dimensions of a person – needs <u>of</u> body, mind, soul/spirit = competence

(2) the whole person in action – needs <u>for</u> relationships, status/identity/meaning, and autonomy.

When these needs are not met the person is harmed (in body, mind and/or spirit). This is a different conception of 'harm' from that used by Doyal and Gough; it is a more practical conception related to human resources and liabilities and suffering (or 'negative subjective wellbeing'). Needs are met or not met on a daily basis; nobody's needs are always met and as we negotiate our paths through life we all suffer harms of different kinds, due to the absence of resources to meet needs and/or the presence of problematic events, actions and relationships. Also different people, and individuals in different moments of their lives value and balance the four types of need differently. In our Ethiopia programme we are mainly interested in the serious harm that poor people suffer.

FIGURE 2: HUMAN NEED/HUMAN RESOURCE INTERACTION: FROM BIRTH TO DEATH



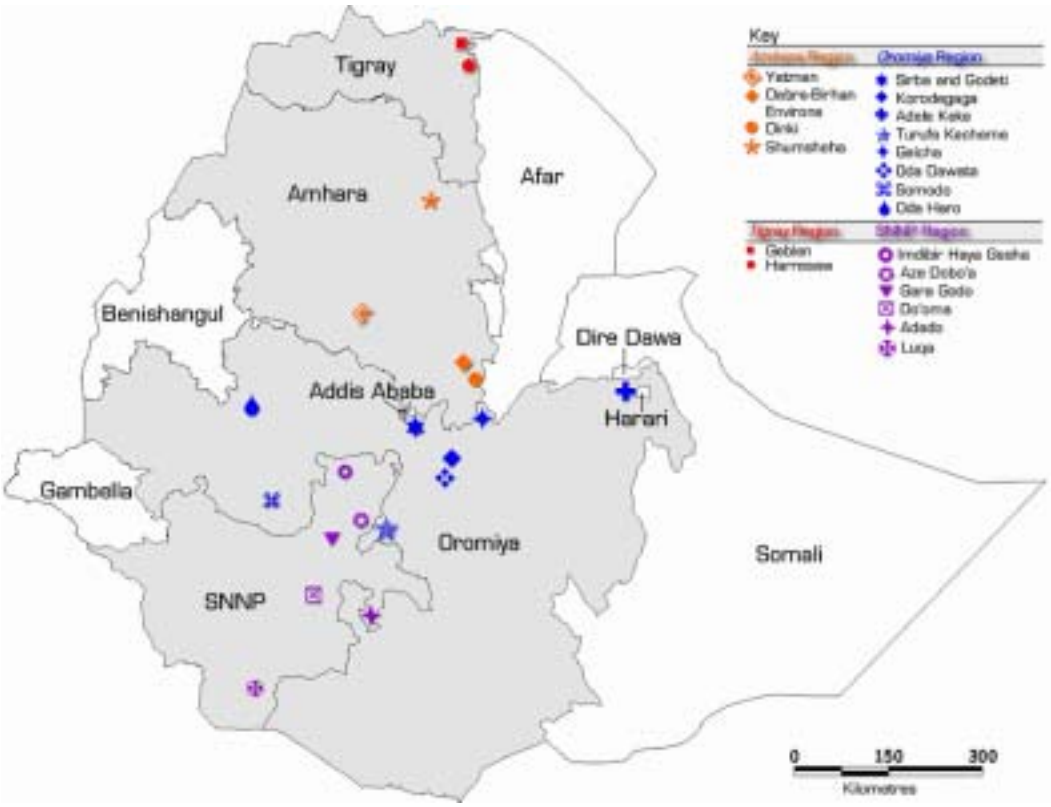
Note: The diagram depicts four moments in a normal human life and, for just **one lifestage**, shows how the interaction between human resources (dependent on the extent to which human needs have been met in the past), access to other resources, and events and transactions determines the extent to which current needs are met.

Figure 2 shows how, as time passes, the success or failure to meet needs is continuously embodied, or laid down in people's bodies, minds and spirits, providing the human resources and liabilities available for current use. At any point in time a person possesses a range of human resources and liabilities, related to competences of body, mind and spirit as a result of prior experiences; these human resources/liabilities circumscribe what the actor is capable of in the face of current contextual

events and actions and other resources available. Human harms are conceptualised as incompetences (of the body, mind or spirit), oppression or lack of autonomy, isolation and anomie or meaninglessness.

III. FIELDWORK CONTEXT

FIGURE 3: THE TWENTY RURAL WIDE2 SITES



As part of the Ethiopia WIDE project[3] 20 variegated rural sites in Ethiopia (see Map and Appendix 1 for a brief description of each site) were studied by a pair of researchers, 1 male and 1 female, for a period of 30 days between July and September 2003. TheWIDE2 methodology involved a set of semi-structured interviews with a range of respondents guided by Protocols and organised into eight

[3] In eighteen of the twenty sites where the WIDE2 research was carried out prior WIDE1 research has been undertaken. Research at community level using social anthropological methods was undertaken in fifteen of the sites in 1995 (Bevan and Pankhurst, 1996). Panel household survey data has been collected in eighteen of the sites by the Economics Department of Addis Ababa University, with the International Food Policy Research Institute, the Centre for the Study of African Economics at the University of Oxford, and once with USAID. The Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) data has been gathered in five rounds, the first in 1989 comprising six food-insecure sites. In 1994/5, six new sites were added and households in fifteen sites representing different agro-ecological zones and degrees of market integration were researched over a period of a year. Three further sites were added in the 1999 household survey to include more cash crop producing areas. Two more sites were added in the 2003 WIDE2 study to include pastoralist areas where intensive anthropological fieldwork had already been carried out, although there is no household survey data for these sites. Households in the fifteen 1994/5 sites are currently being resurveyed by the Economics Department at AAU in collaboration with IFPRI and the CSAE. We have selected four of these sites for our DEEP project and the WeD Resources and Needs Household Survey is being administered in these sites alongside the ERHS.

modules[4]. In this paper we use data collected through Module 6, Protocol 2 'Harm and suffering', and Protocol 3 'Needs'. The male researchers were trained in anthropology at the masters level and the female students were either masters students in anthropology or BA graduates in sociology or other social sciences. The researchers took part in two training days during which the modules and protocols designed to explore wellbeing issues were explained to them.

IV. RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS AND MODES OF ANALYSIS

The Protocols on 'Harm' and 'Needs' are reproduced in full in the Annex. In each of the 20 sites the male researcher interviewed two sets of respondents consisting of (1) two or three better-off men and (2) two or three worse-off men, while the female researcher interviewed parallel sets of women. The questions on harm, being more open-ended, were asked first.

1. Harm

Figure 5 lists the questions posed about harm.

FIGURE 6: QUESTIONS ABOUT HARM

Q1. Tell me all the ways in which a man can be harmed.
Q2. Tell me all the ways in which a woman can be harmed.
Q3. Tell me all the ways in which a boy child can be harmed.
Q4. Tell me all the ways in which a girl child can be harmed.
Q5. Tell me all the ways in which a baby can be harmed.
Q6. In the local language what are the possible ways of saying that people can be 'harmed' as a result of their personal needs not being met?
Q7. What are the connotations of the local terms which may be different from the English concept?
Q8. What are the local terms related to the idea that people can be 'harmed' as a result of the actions of other people?
Q9. What are the connotations of the local terms which may be different from the English concept

2. Needs

FIGURE 4: PROTOCOL INSTRUCTIONS FOR HUMAN NEEDS QUESTIONS

A 'human need' relates to different aspects of a person as s/he moves from birth to death. The form these 'needs' takes will vary by sex and age. They relate to:

Dimensions of the person
The body e.g. need for health, strength, physical skills, satisfying biological drives..

The mind e.g. need for mental health, cognitive development, emotional development, moral development

The soul e.g. need for a meaning in life and death

The whole person
Relationships e.g. need for caring, sharing ..

Status e.g. need for identity, dignity ....

Autonomy - to be able to make choices and pursue goals suitable for the person's age and sex within the local cultural context

Start with a discussion of these concept of 'human need' in order to arrive at an understanding of what we are getting at.
WE ARE NOT ASKING ABOUT 'BASIC NEEDS' – SUCH AS FOOD, HEALTH SERVICES ETC. WE ARE DEFINING THESE AS NEEDS-SATISFIERS OR RESOURCES AND ASKING ABOUT THEM IN MODULE 6.4.

[4] 1. Introduction to people and society; 2. Social structures and dynamics; 3. Site history; 4. Policy regime interfaces; 5. Crises and local responses; 6. Grounding WeD-related concepts; 7. Changes in wellbeing and inequality; 8. Revisiting people and society.

FIGURE 5: TRANSLATING HUMAN NEEDS CONCEPTS

Q1. In the local language what are the possible translations of the English concepts related to 'human need'? What are the connotations of the local terms which may be different from the English concept?

	Local terms	Connotations
Human need of the body [health, strength, physical skills, satisfying biological drives]		
Human need of the mind [mental health, cognitive development, emotional development, moral development]		
Human need of the soul [for meaning in life and death]		
Human need for relation [for caring, sharing etc]		
Human need for status [identity, dignity etc]		
Human needs for autonomy [able to make choices and pursue goals suitable for age and sex within local cultural context]		

The interviewer then went on to ask about the human needs of a man, woman, boy, girl and baby:

Q2/3/4/5/6. Tell me what the human needs of a [.....] are?
Human needs of the body:
Human needs of the mind
Human needs of the soul
Human needs for relationship
Human needs for status
Human need for autonomy

3. Six Modes of Analysis

We potentially[5] have data from 20 sites (gathered in 12 languages[6]), from 80 groups of respondents (4 in each site), 40 male and 40 female, 40 of whom the researchers considered better-off and 40 worse-off. A further variable is the interviewer. We are in a position to:

(1) produce a list of all needs and harms identified by respondents in all 20 rural sites;
(2) identify differences in forms of need, appropriate needs-satisfiers or resources, and sources of harm according to (interacting) gender and age;
(3) identify differences according to contrasting wealth categories;
(4) produce a 'quantitative' analysis of frequency of mention by livelihood system/lifeworld, wealth and gender;

[5] Not all questions were answered by all respondents.
[6] Amharic, Argoba, Gamo, Gedeo, Gurage, Kembata, Kereyu, Irob, Oromiffa, Tigrayan, Tsamako, Wolayita.

(5) learn something about how needs and harms perceived by different respondents relate to the local political economy and socio-cultural structures of each site[7];
(6) explore interviewer effects by comparing the responses from the two groups of respondents which each interviewer interacted with.

In this paper we focus on (1) and (2).

V. HUMAN NEEDS

1. The WeD Wellbeing Essentials Framework compared with the WIDE2 data

The Wed Wellbeing Essentials Framework, whose purpose is to map research at individual, household, community and country levels, has four major headings: Immediate Fundamentals; Activity/Doing; Being in the World / Intangibles; Material / Tangibles. We have classified fieldwork responses in relation to the framework, in the process identifying some needs which rural Ethiopians have reported as important which need new headings. The fourth category of material / tangibles is a list of needs-satisfiers or resources rather than needs and we are not analysing this here. We have a set of separate questions on resources the data from which is yet to be analysed. In the three tables presented in this section we compare the two lists under each heading, and in subsequent analyses we use the WIDE2 list.

TABLE 1: IMMEDIATE FUNDAMENTALS

WeD Wellbeing Essentials	WIDE2 Ethiopia: Human Needs
• *Health and health failures*	• *Health and health failures*
• Physical health	• Physical health
	• Physical strength
	• Physical attractiveness
• Mental health	• Mental health
	• Cognitive development
	• Emotional Development
	• Moral Development
• Reproductive health	• Reproductive health
• Disability chronic illness	• Disability chronic illness
• Disease	• Disease
• Hygiene	• Hygiene
• *In/security*	• *In/security*
• Physical in/security	• Physical in/security
• Food in/security	• Food in/security
• Economic in/security	• Economic in/security
• Political / institutional security	• Political / institutional security
• Social in/security	• Social in/security
• Psychological in/security	• Psychological in/security
• Cultural in/security	• Cultural in/security
• *Close affiliation*	• *Close affiliation*
• Intimate primary relationships – caring and being cared for	• Intimate primary relationships – caring and being cared for
• Significant support relationships	• Significant support relationships

The importance of physical strength was frequently raised for adults, children and babies of both sexes. Physical appearance was also often reported as important for everyone except adult males: women, girls and babies needed to be beautiful and boys handsome and/or with a wellbuilt body.

[7] To relate to the considerable other information we have, much as yet unanalysed (though see Bevan and Pankhurst, 1995 and 2004, Pankhurst 2004, Bevan 2004, Derese 2004).

The Protocol question suggested the distinctions between mental health, cognitive development, emotional development and moral development which were responded to by a number of respondents. There were frequent responses that could be categorised as 'moral development'.

Cleanliness or hygiene was frequently reported as necessary for all five types of person.

The in/security categories were not spelled out in the Protocol but many responses could be fitted under most of the separate headings. The need for political/institutional security was mostly phrased in terms of the need for 'peaceful times'; while there were not many responses that could be clearly categorised as cultural in/security.

TABLE 2: ACTIVITY/DOING

WeD Wellbeing Essentials	WIDE2 Ethiopia: Human Needs
Work • In the household • Outside the household • Away from home *Play / rest* • Having fun • Sleep, rest and recuperation • Prayer, meditation and contemplation *Non/participation* • Kin work, building and maintaining networks • Religious participation, daily practice, rites of passage • Collective action • Political participation • Social participation	*Work* • Generally • In the household • Outside the household • Away from home • Working conditions • *Learning* • Self-improvement • Skills *Play / rest* • Having fun • Sleep, rest and recuperation • Prayer, meditation and contemplation *Non/participation* • Kin work, building and maintaining networks • Religious participation, daily practice, rites of passage • Collective action • Political participation • Social participation

There were some comments about work in general, and, for all ages and both sexes the importance of the activity of learning was raised by some respondents. Working conditions were also a concern. Needs related to play and rest were reported for all. There were large numbers of responses related to kin networks, religion and social participation, much less on collective action and nothing on political participation.

TABLE 3: BEING IN THE WORLD / INTANGIBLES

Agency / power/lessness • Voice and ability to express oneself • Decisionmaking • Access to and control over assets and money • Freedom of movement • In/dependence • Growth and development	*Agency / power/lessness* • Voice and ability to express oneself • Decisionmaking • Access to and control over assets and money • Freedom of movement • In/dependence • Growth and development
Sense of meaning • Core values: religion, philosophy of life, customary values • Sense of place, order, space, location • Identity, authenticity, sense of belonging	*Sense of meaning* • Core values: religion, philosophy of life, customary values • Sense of place, order, space, location • Identity, authenticity, sense of belonging
Respect/recognition – disrespect/denial • Social status and prestige • Leadership, influence • 'Name' – reputation, scandal • Giving / receiving respect	*Respect/recognition – denigration/denial* • Social status and prestige • Leadership, influence • 'Name' – reputation, scandal • Giving / receiving respect
Knowledge: local and formal • Practical knowledge – knowing how to go about things • Skills, including language, literacy and training	*Knowledge:* • Practical knowledge – knowing how to go about things • Skills, including language, literacy and training
Attitude/appreciation of life • Temperament: being positive/negative, open or closed to experience • Sensual appreciation: touch, beauty/ugliness, relation to environment • Feelings and emotional state	*Attitude/appreciation of life* • Temperament: being positive/negative, open or closed to experience • Sensual appreciation: touch, beauty/ugliness, relation to environment • Feelings and emotional state

There were very many responses that could be fitted into the sub-categories under the headings of agency, respect, and knowledge, fewer related to attitude/appreciation of life, and not so many related to a sense of meaning over and above religious meaning. No response matched the 'sense of place' category.

2. Some effects of gender and age on needs and needs-satisfiers: a summary

Needs defined as 'universal' are often imagined from the perspective of an (academic) male in his prime, while those who are in the majority (women + old men + children) are regarded as having 'specific' needs. The idea that men have needs as a result of being male[8] is rarely recognised in the academic literature. In this section we describe some of ways in which people of different ages/genders have specifically different needs. The data informing this section can be found in Appendix 1.

i. Needs whose specificity relates to gender and/or age

ii. How the balance between different needs varies as a result of variations in gender/age

iii. Universal needs with needs satisfiers which relate to gender and/or age

[8] This does not seem to be a problem for our male respondents from rural Ethiopia.

3. Disagreement about needs: identifying cultural repertoires

On a number of issues there are competing claims, notably to do with the needs of women. For example a group of women respondents claimed that:

> The autonomy of a woman in making choices, doesn't exist.
> She can't make her own choice in marriage, she can't decide on property and wealth when she is married, can't decide, meet on public issues.
> Women, if they are married, are represented by their husbands in Peasant Associations.

On the other hand some male respondents said that women need to have freedom and to have a right to own property. Since in this analysis we have lumped all the responses together it is not possible to distinguish cross-site differences from intra-site differences, but the question of how cultural repertoires are structured within sites will be followed up in further analysis of these data, and future DEEP research.

VI. HUMAN HARMS

In this section responses to the questions about human harms as they affect men, women, boys, girls and babies are classified in relation to the four human needs identified in the conceptual framework: competence, autonomy, relation[9] and meaning. This exercise suggests (1) that there are harms which are common and harms which are specific; and (2) that harms can result from two different processes which are the absence of need-satisfiers, and the presence of harm-causers.

1. Harms: Common and Specific (by Gendered Age)

TABLE 4: HARMS RELATED TO COMPETENCE: COMMON AND SPECIFIC

Common	**Specific**				
	Men	*Women*	*Boy*	*Girl*	*Baby*
Livelihood disaster					
Starvation Hunger Malnutrition Death		Especially when pregnant or breast-feeding	Having to travel long distances to get food		Lack of nutritious food in womb and after birth
Disabilities /Illnesses/Accidents Death		Abortions/miscarriages			
		Overwork while pregnant; damage or death			Problems during mother's pregnancy
		During delivery of baby: damage or death			Birth-related problems
		No rest after delivery			Neglect after birth
		Breast feeding demands and problems			
		Births without gap			
Lack of modern medical care Absence of treatment when sick Failure of traditional medicine		Lack of access to health services during pregnancy, labour and post-natal.			No vaccination
Harmful cultural beliefs and practices					
No clothes					

[9] Autonomy and relation are not totally independent and it sometimes proved difficult to decide where to place a particular response.

Lack of right or good clothes					
Lacks information Traditional way of farming No education Little education				Not taught women's skills	
Personal characteristics					
Lack of hygiene					
Contaminated water					
Poor housing/lack of bedding					,
	Despair	Most mothers are unable to fulfill the basic needs of their children and this affects women psychologically			

While everyone is harmed as a result of starvation and malnutrition, there are particular consequences for pregnant and breast-feeding women and their babies (Bevan, 2004), and the table shows other specific harms suffered by the mother/baby couple as a result of pregnancy-related problems, overwork, problems during delivery, and lack of reproductive health services.

Harms to competence result from a number of resource failures including lack of food, modern medical care, clothes, housing, bedding, information, and education.

Harmful events and presences include livelihood disasters such as drought and famine, diseases such as malaria and measles, harmful cultural practices which in many places include circumcision, cutting of tonsils, removal of the uvula with unsterilised instruments, removal of milk-teeth, dirt and germs, and contaminated water.

TABLE 5: HARMS RELATED TO AUTONOMY: COMMON AND SPECIFIC

	Specific				
Common	*Men*	*Women*	*Boy*	*Girl*	*Baby*
Poverty		Cannot provide hospitality	(Orphaned poor)		*None reported*
Too much work Harmful work		Jobs beyond her capacity No rest Unable to work due to starvation or illness	Work beyond the capacity for his age Heavy work		
Exploited by rich	Works as daily labourer or hired farm labourer.	Works as servant in someone's house.	Employed by others as a herder		
		Problems doing off-farm work: tella house, trading			
		Being abused. Abduction, rape, kidnapping	If he is abused	Sexual abuse / pre-marital underage sex. Abduction and rape by men and boys	
			When he marries early.	Child marriage	
		Pre-marital pregnancies		Child pregnancy/birth	
		Married to someone not her choice	Does not choose marriage partner	Does not choose marriage partner	
		Male domination Oppression either from her husband or her family			

Many respondents said that babies did not need autonomy and no harms to them were reported which fitted into this category. Poverty, particularly lack of land, was considered harmful to both adults and children. Positive harmful presences included too much work, harmful or heavy work, and working as a daily labourer or employed farm or domestic worker, which one set of respondents characterised as exploitation by the rich.

With regard to specific harms to autonomy women, boys and girls may be harmed as a result of sexual abuse; in the case of women and girls abduction and rape were commonly reported as a problem. Child marriage (in some places) and not being allowed to choose their marriage partner were reported as harms for both boys and girls. Some respondents acknowledged harms to women caused by male domination and 'oppression from her family'.

TABLE 6: HARMS CONNECTED TO RELATIONS

Common	**Specific**				
	Men	*Women*	*Boy*	*Girl*	*Baby*
Absence of close relations	No wife Wife died Divorced	No husband Husband dies Divorce	Mother died/left Brought up by step mother	Death of mother Stepmother	No mother Breastfeeding failure
	No children No son Children died	Infertility When she loses her children Son dies young No daughter	Orphaned.	Orphaned	Orphaned / Adopted
Too many dependents	Too many wives/children	If husband is harmed / sick Having too many children			
Absence of kin	No strong kin members Relative(s) died	No strong kin members to protect her from husband Death of close relatives If she has no kin group to support her.		No strong men to protect from abduction	
Inadequate behaviour in family	Badly behaved family members Lack of peace at home	If she is the family head No respect for husband and home Husband does not take care of her Extravagant husband Drunken husband Not having a peaceful relation with the husband Husband has many wives Married by inheritance to STD-infected man	Father that couldn't lead his family properly Lack of care and socialisation	Lack of care, proper socialisation Conflict with brothers Is not married at the 'right' time.	Lack of parental love Negligence / abandonment Lack of care
Violence in the home		Assaulted by husband	Beatings Mistreatment by parents	Violent punishments	Punishment
Conflicts in the community	Disputes / losing disputes Fighting / murder Punishment by his clan members Theft/destruction of	Bad relations with friends Does not have peaceful relations with neighbours.	When playing with his friends.	Bad relations with friends	

Common	Specific				
	Men	*Women*	*Boy*	*Girl*	*Baby*
	property				
Social exclusion	Marginalized, ostracized and stigmatized	When she is marginalized.	Can't play with his friends	No time to play with friends;	
	Actions by government officials War				
		When her children are sad about their future			

Most harms related to relations that were reported were caused by events and actions rather than lack of resources. Two serious lacks were the absence of close relations (husband, wife, children, parents) and the absence of kin to support and protect people. Harmful presences for all included too many dependents, various kinds of inadequate behaviour by close relatives, violence in the home, conflicts in the community and social exclusion. Harm to men was reported as resulting from government action and war, while women were reported as harmed when their children had serious problems.

TABLE 7: HARMS RELATED TO IDENTITY/MEANING

Common	Men	Women	Boy	Girl	Baby
Bad behaviour	Sinner	Lazy	Crime and theft		*Nothing reported*
	Escapism: drink cigarettes chat sex	Not taking care of herself	Quitting school. Escapism: chat alcohol		
Importance of circumcision		Not circumcised	Boys not circumcised	Identity depends on being circumcised	
				Identity depends on dressing as her friends do	
				Male bias by parents	
				Education is damaging	

Not many harms that could be classified as related to identity or meaning were reported. Various kinds of bad behaviour were seen as causing harm to men, women and boys. The cultural importance of circumcision in some places meant that the uncircumcised suffered harm. Some respondents reported that education damages girls, while others said that girls are harmed by the male bias of their parents. Girls who cannot dress like their friends are reported as harmed.

2. Causes of Harm

Table 8 abstracts the major causes of harm from the previous tables

TABLE 8: THE CAUSES OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF HARM

	Absence of needs-satisfiers (the extremes)	Presence of harm-causers
Competence / incompetence	No food No clothes No housing No cosmopolitan health services No formal education services	Contaminated water Bad weather Pregnancy and birth risks Harmful beliefs and practices Diseases Other causes of physical illhealth Disabilities Health-threatening environments

		Anxiety and despair
Autonomy / oppression	No wealth/income No food	Rich exploiters Male sexual abusers / rapists Male domination Parental/kin domination Too much work Harmful work
Relations/ isolation	No close relations No kin Not socially included	Too many dependents Inadequate behaviour in the family Violence in the home Conflicts in the community Government activities Harm to loved ones
Meaning / anomie and alienation		Bad behaviour Circumcision Male bias Peer pressure

In the literature much attention has been paid to what poor people do not have that means that their needs are not met, resulting in harm but much less to what people do have in terms of harm-causers. In Ethiopia respondents have identified the following:

- Natural events, e.g. rain failure, frost
- Unequal structures and cultures, e.g. exploitative work relations, gender ideologies
- The direct actions of others, e.g. family violence, rape, community conflict
- The failure of others to act as they should, e.g. neglect
- Indirect consequences of the actions of others, e.g. war, contaminated rivers
- Livelihood circumstances, e.g. too much (heavy) work, too many dependents
- The sufferings of others
- Vicious circles of need-failures and harm-causes leading to an inability to cope, with knock-on effects for dependents

3. Diversity in the Experience, Causes, and Consequences of Common Harms resulting from Events or Actions (by Gendered Age)

Diseases
Accidents
Violence

VII. THE INTERACTION OF NEEDS AND HARMS

Using illustrations from the data Section 7 describes three ways in which different needs and harms may interact, raising the questions of choice, consequences, and unequal power relationships. Some needs compete with others offering a choice of potential harms. The failure to meet a need, or a particular harm, can have knock-on effects. And the meeting of one person's met needs may equate with harm to somebody else.

1. Competing Needs – Intra-personal: Choices

2. Competing Needs – Interpersonal: Relations and Power

3. Intra-personal knock-on effects: Vicious circles...

4. Inter-personal knock-on effects: Responsibilities?

VIII. HOW LOCAL IS THE WIDE2 DATA? A REFLECTION ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

1. Problems with the Methodology

While the questions about harm were relatively simple and open-ended, those about needs were designed in the light of a complex social science conceptual framework which researchers were asked to try to explain to the respondents. Some responses mirrored exactly the phrasing in the Protocols; although it has to be said that many other responses did not, although they may have mirrored the explanation provided by the researcher. During the training many of the researchers found the amount of data they had to collect daunting, and they expressed skepticism about their ability to explain some of the concepts to local people and the latter's ability and interest to respond. During the analysis workshop one researcher said that he felt he had provided the answers rather than the respondents as a result of the considerable explanations he had to make. A number reported that the human needs questions were the most difficult of all the WIDE2 questions.

The respondents in the sites have been exposed to prior questioning by academic researchers though most of this would have been household questionnaires on a fairly standardized range of questions to which local people tend to have stock answers. Many of the questions in our protocols probe more into conceptions and understandings, which may require dialogue, examples, and discussion. The research was carried out over a month on a wide range of topics and researchers felt overstretched and probably did not pay enough attention to the conceptual questions with which this paper deals, preferring to dwell more on the more straightforward types of questions.

2. Issues of translation, culture and language

1) A first major issue that we face in trying to interpret the data is that many of the concepts and terms we are using may not have or may not seem to have clear local equivalents, or may have different connotations. [discuss mind, body soul, and competence, relationship, autonomy and meaning in Amharic as example] This was compounded by the fact that not all the researchers were working in their native languages [check how many were], and therefore many were working through translators.

2) we know very little about how the groups were selected to discuss with the researchers. This was left mainly up to them. Further we do not know about the relations between the individuals in the groups of two or three, and whether there were disagreements among them and how consensus was reached if it was or whether some speakers views predominated for whatever reasons.

3) for most cases we do not know anything further about the individuals who took part, and the answers they gave to normative questions will no doubt have been influenced by the grounded, engendered and enaged experiences… (suggest this is an area for further research).

4) knowledge being differentiated within communities, it may well be that we did not try hard enough to find "local experts" on world views etc. Understanding such world views probably requires a more dialogic approach with respondents that researchers know better than was possible in this short period.

5) researchers' biases. Most of the researchers either come from urban backgrounds or have been influenced by formal education. There is a likelihood that some of the responses may have been prompted or suggested by the researchers. In some cases researchers simply put the same response for

different age and gender categories, which in some cases suggests that they either did not bother to ask the questions, or that respondents could not be bothered to answer.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

1. Substantive conclusions

The difficulty of using normative concepts to guide fieldwork research. Empirically we are particularly interested in illbeing, harm and resource failures rather than human needs. We also need a 'language of dismay' (Kleinman et al).

Harms as well as needs; other actions (theorised from a model of human structuration - e.g. related to drives and/or emotions rather than needs)

Importance of gender and age

Focus on transactions and relationships

2. Future research

Ethnography in the DEEP sites into local cultural repertoires related to needs and harm

Relate the WIDE2 findings to the Theory of Human Need

Research distributions of needs-satisfiers and harms: relate to Resources and Needs Survey data

Model the underlying relationships, mechanisms and processes

APPENDIX 1: THE TWENTY SITES

Sites in Tigray Region

Harresaw

Located in the Eastern zone of Tigray Region in Atsbi *wereda* Harresaw is a highland site on the eastern escarpment. The main production is cereals notably barley. Livestock sales, migration and the salt trade are the major sources of additional income. The site used to produce a regular surplus but has become vulnerable to famine.

Geblen

Located in Tigray region, Geblen is a highland escarpment site producing cereals, notably barley. Cash is obtained by selling livestock and labour migration. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Sites in Amhara Region

Yetmen

Located in Amhara Region, East Gojjam Zone, Enemay *wereda* Yetmen is a mid-altitude site producing cereals, especially *tef* and wheat. Cereals, livestock and their products are the main sources of cash as well as some trade and migration. The site is fairly rich

Debre Berhan

The four sites near the town of Debre Berhan are in Amhara Region, in Basso and Worana and Debre Berhan Zuria *weredas.* The area is a highland cereal producing area that is generally self-supporting.

Dinki

Located in Amhara Region, North Shewa Zone, Tegulet Wereda, Dinki is a small lowland site producing mainly *tef*¸ maize and sorghum, with some fruit around the river. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Shumsheha

Located in Amhara Region, in the Lasta area, Shumsheha is a lowland site near the airport of Lalibela Town. The main crops are cereals and pulses, with limited irrigation. The area is vulnerable to famine and many people migrate out in search of work.

Sites in Oromiya Region

Sirbana Godeti

Located in Oromia Region in the fertile Ad'a plain Sirbana Godeti are two mid-altitude road-side villages producing cereals, notably *tef* and pulses. *Tef* is the major cash crop and livestock and their products are also traded. The area has been a surplus producing area linked to nearby markets and is fairly prosperous.

Turufe Kecheme

Located close to the town of Shashemene in Oromia Region, Eastern Shewa Zone, Turufe Kecheme is on the edge of the Rift Valley. The main products are cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables. The site produces cereals and vegetables, notably potatoes which as sold as cash crops as are livestock. The site has become rich due to its linkages with Shashemene and involvement in the market economy.

Adele Keke

Located in the Oromia Region, Kersa Wereda, Adele Keke is a middle altitude site which produces a variety of cereals and vegetables and the cash crop chat. It is by the roadside near the town of Alemaya that provides a ready market and the site can be considered to be fairly rich with some very wealthy inhabitants. The site has regularly been affected by rain failure and in bad years is dependent on food aid.

Arsi Gonde -Odawata

The site of Odawata is located in Oromia Region, Tiyo Wereda of Arsi Zone. Cereals and pulses are produced as well as vegetables on irrigated land. The site is within a agricultural surplus producing

area and is fairly well off.

Bako – Oda Haro
Located in Oromia region, West Shewa Zone, Bako Tibe Wereda the site of Oda Haro is mainly a maize producing area, as well as other cereals, pulses, oil seeds, and *chat* for cash crops. The area is relatively wealthy.

Somodo
Located in Oromia Region, Jimma Zone, Mana Woreda the village of Somodo is a mid altitude site producing cereals, pulses and *enset*. Coffee is the most important cash crop and some villagers are involved in trade, and the sale of livestock products. The area is fairly prosperous.

Kereyu
Located in Oromia Region among the pastoral Kereyu this site is a lowland area which has been affected by the introduction of irrigated farms and the establishment of a park. The Kereyu rely largely on their livestock although some sedentarisation and cultivation has been taking place. The Kereyu have found their livelihoods becoming more vulnerable in part owing to externally induced pressures.
Korodegaga
Located in Oromia Region, Arsi Zone, Dodota *wereda,* Korodegage is a lowland area by the Awash river. The main crops are maize and *tef*, as well as pulses. The main source of cash are livestock and firewood sales. The Oromo population is only partly settled, and the site is vulnerable to drought despite some irrigation, and malaria poses a major problem.

Sites in SNNP Region
Adado
Located in the Southern Region in Gedeo Zone, Adado is a middle altitude site within the *enset* growing area. Coffee is the major cash crop. Both hoe and ox-plough agriculture are practised to produce a wide variety of crops and livestock. The site is within the area of the Gedeo people and can be considered fairly rich, although it was hard hit by the drought of 2002.

Imdibir
Located in the Southern Region in the Chaha Gurage area near the town of Imdibir Haya Gasha is a mid-altitude site producing *enset,* maize, and vegetables. The main cash crop is eucalyptus trees. The site can be considered to be fairly well off.

Aze Deboa
Located in the Southern Region in the Kambata area, Aze Deboa is within the highly populated *enset* growing area. Cereals, pulses and vegetables are the main crops, and cash is obtained through sale of livestock and their products, as well as Eucalyptus, *chat* and coffee, as well as through trade and migration.

Do'oma
Located in the Southern Region, North Omo Zone within the Gamo area Do'oma is a lowland site set up initially as a resettlement project in 1985. The main production is cereals notably maize and the main sources of cash are cotton production and weaving and trade in livestock products. The site relies on irrigation but is vulnerable to drought.

Gara Godo
Located in the Southern Region, Wolayta Awraja, Bolosso Wereda, Gara Godo in a densely populated middle altitude site within the *ense*t growing area. The main other crops are maize, vegetables, and fruit. Trade and migration are the main sources of cash together with sale of coffee and livestock products. The site is vulnerable to famine.

Tsamako

Located in the Southern Region, South Omo Zone, the Tsamako site is an agro-pastoralist lowland site relying partly on traditional irrigation. The main crops are sorghum and maize and livestock are important sources of cash. The area has been vulnerable to drought.

APPENDIX 2

Table 1: WIDE2 Human Needs: Immediate Fundamentals

WIDE 2 Wellbeing Essentials	Some Responses from the Field
Health and Health Failures	
Physical health	*All* Better health / Not being malnourished or starved / Ability to work *Men* Longevity / Avoiding HIV infection. *Boys* Full physical structure
Physical Strength	*All* Needs to have active physical body Physical strength for work *Girls*
Physical attractiveness	*Women* Beautiful *Boys* A wellbuilt body / Handsome *Girls* Beautiful *Babies* Beautiful / Good physical expression
Mental health	*All* Mental health To be able to think properly and normally Happiness (with limited income). Refraining from thinking Self-confidence No worry about death *Women* Should not be angry and nervous / Free from depression and worries *Babies* Free and out of fear.
Cognitive development	Needs to have a sound mind to understand others Mental development /Clever mind /Intelligent To remember (especially *Girls*) Speeching and dispute solving skills. Free from mental disability. Being creative
Emotional development	*Boys* Emotionally courageous. *Girls* Having love for everybody. *Babies* To be brave
Moral development	*Men* Being kind-hearted. / Moral and considerate / Wisdom *Women* Not being aggressive / Not cheating Patience / Wisdom / Religiousity / Abstinence Treating her children properly Doing good to others / Help poor people / To help the disabled *Boys* Obedience / Endurance / Being brave / Having a good discipline Not to lie / Not to be in a hurry *Girls*

WIDE 2 Wellbeing Essentials	Some Responses from the Field
	Patience / Being kind. Helping mentality . *Babies* Need to be directed, where to go / His family tells him how to live with others. Mothers advise their children not to quarrel with others
Reproductive health	Not to be sterile. Ability to give birth and to care for her children.
Disability/chronic illness	Free from all sorts of disabilities.
Disease	Free from all sorts of diseases
Cleanliness	Cleanliness / Hygiene /To take shower /To keep her sanitation /Wearing clean clothes
In/security	
In/security generally	Need security / Safety / Needs a peaceful environment Security in the house as well as having secured family Security and having more time to look after a child
Physical in/security	Living without fire or war, drought and disease / Peace /To be far away from fighting If husband and wife are not aggressive, the children will also be in peace. Not being harmed by heavy burden of job Protection from sexual abuse *Baby* Physical support /To be kept warm/Urination/Protection from damage/injury
Food in/security	Better food / Water / Breast Well nutritious food / Not being malnourished Food security - If there is much food at home, she is not going to think of any problem.
Economic in/security	Get wealth / Not to be poor / Good money If she gets good gifts when she marries
Political/institutional insecurity	Need peaceful times
Social in/security	To have peaceful relation with the whole society and with her own family / Needs to have social security / Not quarrel with her neighbours /Good relation with her friends Needs to understand the way of living Always want to see his/her parents *Baby*
Psychological in/security	*All* Free from anxiety, tension, trauma and stress. Psychological satisfaction *Men* If he is a hardworker, and has good contact he becomes happy and strong. *Women* We are afraid of death and hunger / We are also afraid of our neighbours the Mali. *Baby* Needs to have a peaceful parents
Cultural in/security	To be similar with her peer group like in terms of circumcision
Close affiliation	
Close affiliation generally	Human beings need to have diverse relations among themselves: Needs to have friends for different purposes Needs to have relatives for different social and economic purposes Needs to have wife and children Needs to have neighbours Needs to have parents, brothers and sisters Good treatment
Intimate primary relationships – caring and being cared for	*Man* Having a wife and a consequent sexual satisfaction. Love To have children / Care and security from children in old age. Try to be comfortable for his family, *Woman* A need of getting love of others. Early sex / Sexual intercourse /Husband (relationship)

WIDE 2 Wellbeing Essentials	Some Responses from the Field
	To have a husband of only her own. Good husband / Caring and help from her husband when she is working Free from husband's offensive act. /A husband who does not get angry and does not nag /She does not like to be beaten by her husband /She does not like to be disdained by her husband Children / Peaceful children (they should not disturb her) Love with friends *Boy* Living with his mother and father/ Mother care /Care from family members (mother, father, and siblings). Advice of parents / Direction about good and bad things / Proper socialization. *Girl* Love / Her parents should take care of her properly. Close relationship with parents and siblings. Advice / Appropriate socialization / Sometimes stick Parental guidance on moral issues and issues of life. In order to lead a good life in her future they advise her to look for a good husband. Try to help her mother /Caring /They need to protect their family, their small brothers and sisters from any harm. *Baby* Good family / Parents' care /Parent's love Having mother / Getting mother's love / Good mother care Family care / Care / Advice / Need of care from siblings To be spoken
Significant support relationships	*Man* Sexual intercourse Discussion with a friend Affiliation, someone who can help him /Getting a friend's labour for a difficult task / Sharing with relatives To stand together at time of crisis *Woman* Moral guidance from parents and elders / Should have brothers and sisters. Friendship / Neighbourhood Assisting the needy / Voluntary help to older people in every thing they need *Boy* Needs to be listened to Brothers / Peer group / Needs to have good friends Sharing others problems / Caring for neighbours *Girl* Needs to have friends / Playing with peer groups (regeda) A role model

Table A2: Wellbeing and Human Needs: Activity/Doing

WeD Wellbeing Essentials	
<u>Work</u>	
Work generally	*Girl* To work simple things / To leave her to play
In the household	*Women* To know housework skills / Being able to take care of their husbands and children *Girls* Help their mother in work
Outside the household	*Women* Participate in agricultural activities / Fetching drinking water *Boys* Needs to help his father / To work in their ability / Plough

	Girls Help their mother in work / Fetching water Need to have Tella borde, Arake, Tella, Kenato house and petty trade
Away from home	*Men* To trade (sale and buy) *Women* Going to and from market / Trade to get profit *Girls* Migrate to towns and to be a prostitute / Need to live in towns
Working conditions	*Men* An ability to travel long distances by foot *Women* Not working hard / Not being harmed by heavy jobs *Girls* If a girl does not work overloaded works in her childhood, she becomes very tall and beautiful. / But some mothers force their child to work hard, and such girls become very short.
Learning	
Self-improvement	*Men* To be able to learn and adopt new things / Experiment *Women* To strength internal personality./ Needs for improvement *Boys* Work for acceptance in the community *Girls* To be good at everything they are expected to do.
Skills	*Girls* To learn skills from her mother / Hair making / To learn to make herself beautiful.
Play/rest	
Having fun	*Men* Recreation / Sport / Running / Wrestling / City life *Women* Playing *Boys* Playing with peers / Sports / Playing ball / To spend a time together with friend./ Chatting / Singing / Dancing at weddings /Having a girlfriend *Girls* Time to play and run around with friends./ Need for sex /To do sport *Baby* Enjoyment / Play / Playing games
Sleep, rest and recuperation	*Men* Rest / Comfort /Need to relax / Chatting and drinking together with people *Women* Get enough rest / To have beds /Relaxation *Boy* Need of relaxation / Leisure *Girl* Leisure / Rest *Baby* Sleeping deeply / Rest
Prayer, meditation and contemplation	*Men* Praying, / Controlling emotion / Be free from all sins / Be religious to join heaven. *Women* Being Christian and prayer every day / Arguing with oneself. Thought about her life gives freedom for her soul, do good thing for life. Other than food and drink her soul does not want anything else. *Boy* Reading Holy Bible / To learn the Kuran / Needs to consider the fate of his soul / Have eternal life *Girl* Prayer and worship / Religious education at the church / Needs to consider the future fate of the soul / Praying every morning and carrying God's cross / They need to escape from the wrath of Allah / Need to have eternal life.

Non-participation	
Kin work, building and maintaining networks	*Men* Kinship as well as any relation can be warm if you have money. Mutual help and cooperation in different contexts. *Women* Visiting relatives Having good relationship with relatives Respect and good relationship with her father and mother - in laws. *Boys* Needs to have relatives / Knowing relatives Thinks about sex / Deals about marriage *Girls* Needs to have relatives / To help her family Marriage and procreation She decides to marry another husband who have money If she marries a good husband / If her husband's relatives understand her
Religious participation, daily practice, rites of passage, festivals	*Men* Following religious doctrine / To fast and pray for a good life after death To control and protect the desire of human body from doing sin. To go to religious places / Being the lover of religious law Knowing God and then eating and drinking / Attendance of religious rituals, ceremonies and feasts / To be a member of 'Senbete' religious organization / Banquet in commemoration of a dead relative Sacrifice for "Jari" twice a year butter and fattened cows / Klakkan (traditional skygod) *Women* To be religious and have one husband / To go to church and pray about everything / Fasting / To think about life in heaven and be religious to join that life, Try to be preserved from evil things / Needs to control the unlimited desire of the body / Try to respect and follow religious rules *Boys* Prayer and adoration / Live in peace with Allah / As a child no need, but as he comes of age, he needs to take part in religious rituals and practices like fasting. Giving alms to the needy *Girls* As she comes of age taking part in religious rituals, activities. / They need nothing but some girls go to the Mosque to pray *Babies* [On] behalf of him the family should go to the church and pray.
Collective action	*Men* Being part of community work. To establish cooperative works like Gollo, house building association, church association. *Women* Taking part in social functions. labour sharing activities and cooperative works Preparing food and drinks with her friends when there are Dego work parties or religious feasts.
Political participation	*Men* Round table discussion to solve problems
Social participation	*Men* Caring for others in various ways / Mediating disputes / Advising people for good. Peaceful co-existence / Fellowship with other men./ active participation in social institutions and festivities and mutual support with neighbours and friends in farm work /Paying contributions Try to communicate with elders and socially notable people / Telling past stories Discussions: share ideas and problems / To borrow oxen at times of farming. Self-relation or low cooperation/No sharing /He involves in daily labour to get a means *Women* Exchanging gifts / Hospitality / Gossip / chatting with neighbours Friends – borrowing/lending materials and money; going to market; eating and drinking, helping each other in hard times. Participation in social events / To take part in social organizations such as Idir, Mahber, gebe, CEC / Help in social life affairs (E.g. New Birth, wedding) Free from stigma, ostracism and outcasting. *Boys* Needs to be a representative for their team / Participating in dancing ceremonies / Helping others / Love partner *Girls*

Social participation (continued)	Playing with her friends / Need to have boyfriends./ Advise each other who is right for marriage and who is not. To have good relationship with neighbours (since they accomplish most of the housework, they will have more contact with reighbours) Not sociable with many other people. Giving alms to the needy *Babies* Needs to play with everyone / Starts to choose peergroup / Starts to compete with peergroup

Table A3: Wellbeing and Human Needs: Being in the World / Intangibles

WeD Wellbeing Essentials	
Agency / power/lessness	
Agency / power/lessness generally	*Women* The autonomy of a woman in making choices, doesn't exist. She can't make her own choice in marriage, she can't decide on property and wealth when she is married, can't decide, meet on public issues. Women, if they are married, are represented by their husbands in Peasant Associations. *Girls* She does not have a need for autonomy
Voice and ability to express oneself	*Men* Needs to have equal rights Needs to have a right to participate in elections, needs to be elected as a resident *Women* A person (woman) who has good speech / Able to talk in front of public / Ability to be assertive, ready to confront others / Gender sensibility Try to be equal with men / To avoid cultural and social violence against women / Try to be active in activities out of home / No oppression from anybody / Needs to have equal rights *Boys* Ability/strength to accomplish whatever is expected of him / Needs to be feared by others. *Girls* Needs to be listened by everyone / Right to speak with parents and to play with elder brothers and sisters / Right not to be punished in case of committing a mistake *Babies* Need of tasting everything / Need to possess everything / Violating against family orders
Decisionmaking	*Men* Needs freedom to choose his own wife, crops to be harvested and type, and number of property to be owned. Men should be head of the household, should be respected and obeyed by his wife and children and participate in the public sphere. / He needs to be the one who protects his family from any harm. / He needs to decide in any of the family affairs himself *Women* To provide food according her will / Needs to have autonomy for household management Needs freedom to live or not with her husband / To be part of decision making *Boys* They shouldn't decide by themselves without consulting their parents / A boy child does not want to make choices and pursue goals of his own Needs freedom to choose what to do / to choose his friends Wants to go out to play with children without asking your permission *Girls* To work what she is ordered / Being obedient to elder brothers and sisters Lead her life by her own decisions / The more she is educated, the more she can decide about her life / Having right to choose her marriage partner *Babies* Do activities without the influence of parents
Access to and control over assets and money	*Men* Needs to have a right to manage his household / Needs to own and use property without external interference. *Women* To have her own money / Economic freedom / If she inherits a property from her parents/ Needs to have a right to own property

	If there is no problem or shortage of goods in the house, everything in the house will be hers./ A woman needs to keep economic resources she may have for herself / Owning assets little by little (the same for both sexes)
Freedom of movement	*Men* Needs to have privacy / Doing things secret *Women* Get respect by staying in the house To learn and get job / To get out of the community / Attending women's issues whenever it is possible. *Boys* Needs to have freedom to play games from the parents / Wants to go out freely without much control *Girl* A baby girl is advised by her family not to play with boys. This is because they may rape her and cause problems to her.
In/dependence	*Men* The one who manages to support himself using his strength / Not wasting time on useless places and people. / Have no dependent members of a family. / To farm independently his own land without his brothers In the community an older person, however does not need autonomy. *Women* Independence / Liberation It is hardly possible. / No, because she wants to be happy by the better status of her husband than her own. If she has a family who has a nature of cooperativeness. She needs her family to be independent of her husband's family. For example if she does not want her husband's family to live with them. *Boys* Right to select marriage partner / Need of respect and authority *Girls* Respecting parents, norms and values of the society /Independence, to be married. Needs to have freedom to play games with friends from parents / Needs to have freedom to buy clothes from their parents. Need of being self-dependent / Need of working on one's own *Babies* No need at this stage / Excursion without restriction / Movement (like playing)
Growth and development	*Men* To be a hard worker / To learn / Being brave / Skill development *Women* Effort to develop / Interest to know new things *Boys* Having a right of learning. / Working hard *Girls* Has to be raised up in a good environment to interact with her agemates
<u>Sense of meaning</u>	
Core values: religion, philosophy of life, customary values	*Men* Protestant beliefs / Giving alms / Not to be jealous of his friends / Not to steal / Hospitality When a man alive, he has to get married has to have children. Otherwise when he died there would not be anybody for him. But this is our culture we live for today, we do not know about tomorrow *Women* Happiness of her children / Needs to see her childrens' needs satisfied - she gets peace and rests in the mind when this is justified. / Peace and love *Girls* Circumcision *Babies* Belief in his parents.
Sense of place, order, space, location	
Identity, authenticity, sense of belonging	*Men* Free ideas *Women* Strong kin – membership *Boys* Folk tales / Knowing and studying his roots (family tree) *Girls*

	Need of reaching the stage of acceptance *Babies* Helping them to know itself
Respect/recognition – denigration/denial	
Social status and prestige	*Man* Getting married / Marry more than two wives / To have children and to be called by the name of his children Respect resulted from one's occupation (work) /Needs to have position in the society / To be notable person / Elder who is called upon to settle disputes. Need to be identified either as a good farmer or a local politician (Kebele leader). Being wealthy / Getting land / Paying taxes / Being armed *Woman* A woman's status here is identified by being a mother or wife. But can also earn status by her skills in making a living and improving her life by her own work. Having a rich partner/ To have a husband of higher status than others' husbands Being a first wife / Unity between husband and wife / Supportive to their husbands Proper management of a house / She needs to be called a good mother who cares for her children / Needs her family better than her neighbours / The good personality of the children /If she can marry her child by ceremony / Having children who are married To be wealthy by herself / Being educated / Being charitable person./ Dignity Not be insulted as a beggar. If she can win on the fighting Hardworker, good quality, good personality, a model in everything, honesty, kindness, clever The oldest one are also feared for cursing so they are respected and have status. *Boys* Need that their family is in a better position/ wealthy / Need their families to eat and dress well and their father to be a respected person. / Having membership in his father clan Need to be a strong farmer./ Need to be smart, knowledgeable / Needs to have skill which makes him famous / Taking someone's wife as a mistress Being armed with weapons / Committing robbery and murder (of enemies?) *Girls* Need that their family live better / Belonging to wealthy parents / Needs to have friends who are well known To get married To become a teacher / To be the best one / To be merchant / Need to be more active than others / To be hardworker / Disciplined. Need to be blessed by others *Babies* Anointed with butter
Leadership, influence	*Men* Power (political) / Needs to be elected / Need to be powerful / Representative of his family and perhaps community / Being a respected person in the tribe (having a say in every situation) / Being role-model and counsellor / Supremacy over others *Women* Men are not that much troubled like women by taking responsibility for the well-being of the household / If she can manage her household. The woman needs to be naturally wise and knowledgeable, to mediate and bring people together. / To become church leader *Boys* To be elected by friends for game leader
'Name' – reputation, scandal	*Men* He need to get respect and fame by doing something / Fame / Getting popular / Adventure (heroism) / Killing animals and enemies Needs to have dignity / Good conduct / Obeying the rules of the government Progress up oneself in terms of education and trade / Needs to have a good yield Needs his family to eat and dress better *Women* Good conduct / Fidelity to partner / To be virgin / Not drinking alcohol / Not wasting time with bad people / Respect to law / Need to be hard worker Self esteem / Need to be famous She should be a nice person / Not being aggressive / If she is sincere *Boys* To excel from everybody./ To win fighting with friends / To be polite *Girls* Needs to be a nice child for her family /Good conduct / Not to steal

	To be good at accomplishing household work / To keep her home clean / To keep her sanitation Needs to be able to attract boys / To be returned to her home in time / To be virgin
Giving/receiving respect	*Men* Needs to be respected / Needs to be listened what they are saying To get respect from his wife / To get respect from his juniors If his first child is a baby boy everybody respects him./ And if he is a hard working person everybody respects him and nobody blames him for his mistakes. If somebody is rich, he is a respected person. But even though he is rich if he is selfish everybody respects him but nobody likes him. On the other hand even though a person is poor, if he is wise everybody loves and respects him To respect parents / To respect his wife and the community / To respect the older people To respect one's guests *Women* Needs to be respected / Needs appreciation / Needs to be notable in her life whether she is married or single / To get respect from her juniors To respect people and specially if married her husband if she is girl, to respect her parents and her brother./ Respect good friend, that friend should have good conduct. *Boys* Moral, and respecting parents and elders / Respecting the values and norms of a community / Giving honour. / If the boy respects elders, the elders also care for him./ To be respected / Needs to be appreciated by his father./ If a man is a hard worker, everybody give respect for him, but if he is lazy everybody despise him. *Girls* Needs to respect all people / If her husband family gives respect to her. She does not need respect and identity To live in a community being respected / Needs to have identity /Needs to have recognition *Babies* Appreciation
<u>Knowledge</u>	
Practical knowledge – knowing how to do or go about things	*Men* Being intelligent in informal or formal education. *Women* Knowledge / Appropriate socialization / Needs to be a good mother and wife *Boys* Next to natural gift, fathers teach their children to be enough brave. They give them an arrow and show him how to hunt wild animals. Needs to be a good father / Not to be talkative Greeting people / Establishing contact with people *Girls* Right to learn various skills from her mother / Some girls are naturally brilliant, some are brilliant because their mothers teach them or advise them what to do liberally. But some are aggressive which makes their child dull *Babies* Speaking without shouting.
Skills, including language, literacy and training	*Men* Having work ability or being good farmer *Women* Interpersonal skills. *Boys* Learning skills from his father. Wrestling / Jumping (physical fitness) / Shooting *Girls* A person who has knowledge of writing/ Right to education / Needs to be educated *Babies* Excellency in playing./ Helping them to know their name, that of their parents - language
Information – what you know	*Women* Interaction with her friends or relatives to get good information about everything.
<u>Attitude / appreciation of life</u>	
Temperament: being positive/negative, open or closed to experience	*Men* Hope / Futurity/vision / Positive minded / Eager to know *Women* Be hopeful for the future / To take care of themselves / Tolerance / Integrity. *Boys*

	Needs wisdom / Need for acceptance *Girls* Everybody advises her to be good and obedient.
Sensual appreciation: touch, beauty/ugliness, relation to environment	*Men* Looking at attractive things. Beautiful wife *Women* Music / Singing / Dancing *Boys* Singing and dancing *Girls* Looking at things that she loves./ Dancing and singing *Babies* Providing them with everything beautiful and attractive / Mothers singing for the babies
Feelings and emotional states	*Men* A man's mind has to be free of worry and depression to create new things. *Women* She wished she had no kids because her husband does not want to sleep with her for fear of child's urine and faeces *Boys* Needs attention / Needs love *Girls* Laughter / Enjoyment / Not crying. *Babies* Try as much as possible not to cry

APPENDIX 3: Amharic Translations

The Various Needs: Translations from the Amharic

Needs of body

YetmenW: Yeakal teninet = body health; = M
M yesiga filagot need of flesh, = M
M mulu akal = lit. full body (not disabled) = M

Dinki; M + = comfort
M - = stronger, no health problems

Debre Berhan W health, strength

Shumsheha Tenama sewinet = healthy body

Needs of mind

Amhara

YetmenW: Yeamimro filagot = needs of mind, = M + Yeamiro teninet Health of the mind
Yechinqilat? Filagot = need of the brain = M
Yemenor? Filagot = need to live = M

Dinki M= supporting needy; giving advice to people, serving as a conflict mediator

Debre Berhan W mental health

Shumsheha Yeamiro teninet

Needs of soul

YetmenW: Yenefs filagot = needs of spirit = M
Yegenet? filagot = need of heaven = M

Dinki: M + = being religious
M - = fearing god and living according to his order

Debre Berhan Good work

Shumsheha Yehaymanot filagot = need of religion

Need for relation

Yetmen:W Yezimdina filagot = need for kinship, relatives
Yemeqerareb filagot = need for getting closer to one another
Yenkibikabe filagot = need for being looked after

Dinki: M + = giving care to every person
M - = not performing evil thin

Debre Berhan Good relation

Shumsheha tiru sinemigbar = good conduct
Tegbabinet = ability to get along
Tesmaminet = ability to agree
Mehaberawi nuro = communal life
Abro meblat + eating together
Tiru sew = being a good person

Need for status

YetmenW: Yemaninet tiyake = lit. question of [knowing] who one is, one's beingness
Yemekeber filagot = need for being respected (yekibir)

Dinki M + = giving emphasis to the status a person owns
M - = sitting on a very special chair, giving special food?

Shumsheha M Tedemachinet = being listened to
Kibir = respect
Peace maker
Balabat mehon to be landlord

Need for autonomy

YetmenW: Yenetsanet filagot = need for freedom
Dinki M + = honest?
M - = being knowledgeable; finding means to a fruitful life
Shumsheha Yebalabat zer mehon to be from the landlord family
Shumet yalew = someone who has an appointment

Harms: Amharic translations

to follow