

# Institute of Social Studies

## PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO RURAL POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN ETHIOPIA:THE CASE OF OMOSELEKO ADP/IRDP RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

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#### I INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This paper tries to assess generally poverty alleviation strategies by the government and specifically the participatory rural poverty alleviation strategy pursued by an NGO as an alternative strategy. A particular case from the south central Ethiopia will be in focus.

In Ethiopia, rural poverty has become endemic because of the cumulative effect of debilitative government policies and the outcome of socio-economic and political forces (Fassil G. Kiros, 1993). Mesfin Wolde Mariam (1986:113) described that:

"The impoverishment and degradation of rural life was due to continuous exploitation in various ways by officials of the government and land lords. Officials were carefully selected not for what they could do for the people, but for what they could squeeze out the peasant to fill the government treasury as well as their own. The rural people were there to be milked mercilessly."

During the end of 1960s, the development strategies of Ethiopia were mainly agricultural modernization (mechanized private farms) and Integrated Rural Development Programs which initial objective was to improve the livelihood of small holders. The first IRDP, CADU/ARDU, was region based comprehensive project to bring about economic and social development in the target area. Activities were also targeted towards the low income peasants (Ottfried C. Kirsch, et. al, 1980, 201). However, the project benefit went to middle and large farmers, and small farmers/tenants were evicted by the introduction of mechanization (Cohen, 1987: 136). WADU in Walaita district, has not been also successful due to management problem. Because of non-replaceability nature of IRDP to other regions, Minimum Package Programs (each MPP addressing 10,000 farm families) were designed at a relatively low cost to distribute agricultural packages (fertilizer, seeds, chemicals,etc.) (Berhane Ghebretnsaie, 1985: 26). In addition to this 'the basic aim of government policy was not to achieve rural transformation, but rather to create the conditions for raising production and extracting "surplus" with little in the prevailing production relations' (Fassil G. Kiros, 1993:78).

The 1975 radical land reform which abolished land lordism and redistributed land to peasantry was expected to improve the livelihood of rural people, but did not have much impact (Brune, 1990, et. al:20). On the other hand it is argued that the reform 'redistributed very little land' but the difference was that there was a security on land and obligations to the land lords were abandoned (Pausewang, et.al, 1990:44).

Through institutional reforms (establishment of service cooperatives and producers cooperatives) did not also assisted especially poor peasants because of the fact that the distribution of agricultural inputs by the state-owned Agricultural Inputs Supply Corporation (AISCO) through service cooperatives was mainly effected to relatively non-poor peasants. Dessalegn Rahmato (et.al, 1990:104) says that producers cooperatives, though they were given high priority and variety of incentives, had not been successful in improving rural life.

Small scale peasant farming, the predominant mode of production, was holding an area of 95% of the total farm land and was producing 94% of the total agricultural output, the rest being from state and cooperative farming (Pickett, 1991:4). The sub-sector's contribution is even more than this, currently, because the cooperative farms have been liquidated by the peasants themselves. It was also unfavoured by the government in supplying agricultural inputs and marketing and pricing policies as the development objective was to encourage cooperativization and expansion of state farms as a strategy to accumulate capital and thereby generate growth. The overwhelming majority of peasants have been thus squeezed, further to the discouragement, by levying taxes, by reducing land holding and allocating for cooperatives, and by controlling markets and prices (forced grain quota and low prices).

These peasant squeezing economic policies associated with other social and political factors (such as civil war and its repercussions, population growth, etc.) and fragile ecosystem (degraded environment) have deepened the incidence of poverty.

In response to the deprivation of rural people in the drought- prone areas of northern Ethiopia, massive resettlement program was launched to shift rural population to western part of the country. As Alemneh Dejene (et.al, 1990:176-177) analyzed the problem of resettlement, the main reasons why resettlers returned back to their original residence were 'health problems death of family members, poor working conditions,...hostility among the natives, home sickness'.

The interwoven social, economic and political factors and the resultant poverty ensued to vulnerability to famine. Rural poverty, vulnerability and famine eventually became identification of rural people.

The response of the government to this unmanageable situation has been unsatisfactory and this called for the interventions of international NGOs particularly during the famine of 1984/85. It was since that time that large number of NGOs commenced operation step by step from relief to development. NGOs claim that they implement alternative rural

development strategy that involves community in the 'bottom-up' approach unlike the 'top-down' of the government. Among the NGOs, WVE through its 13 ADP/IRDP and environmental rehabilitation projects, has adopted participatory approach to rural poverty alleviation. Omosheleko ADP/IRDP, among others, will be presented as a case in this paper.

#### Brief background of the case study area

Omosheleko ADP/IRDP, located in the most densely populated area of the south central part of the country(annex 4.4), was initially launched as an emergency relief project. The project area has a population of 177,600<sup>1</sup> (with a population density of 472 and annual growth rate of 4%) and a total land mass of 376km<sup>2</sup> (out of which an average of 60% is annually cultivated). Land holding per household (household contains 7-8 persons) is 0.9ha and per household crop production amounts 600 kg per year which meets below 50% food requirement (Omosheleko, 1994 report and IRDP Phase II proposal).

In the Ethiopian history of famine, the northern part of the country is prominently known. But the south part was not vulnerable to famine as the north does. The 1984/85 famine has hit the south part especially the central south where population pressure, coupled with traditional farming system which is the only source of livelihood, has become the foremost problem. Among the *woredas* (districts) in the south central *awrajas* (provinces), Omosheleko woreda is the populous and heavily hit by the 1984/85 famine. In addition to and as a result of population pressure, its land is full of terrains and hills, environmental degradation (soil erosion) is serious, soil is infertile, land productivity is marginal, and it is geographically dislocated. Unlike other woredas of the region, either regional or national rural development strategies have not encompassed it because nothing can be extracted from. Before 1984 there had not been any institution in Omosheleko except few elementary schools.

Because of high population pressure and degraded environment, and the resultant serious food shortage, the people (especially children) were easily affected by the 1984/85 drought which claimed large number of lives. It was in the response to this famine that World Vision Ethiopia intervened through the agreement with Relief and Rehabilitation Commission- The government agency.

Right after the end of relief operation (1986), rehabilitation phase continued (1987-1990)

<sup>1-</sup>according to estimate of 1995

focused on massive provision of agricultural inputs to the affected households, rehabilitation of environment by reforestation and soil conservation practices, and provision of primary health services, and support to children (through child sponsorship) to enable them attend school. In 1990, long term development strategy- Area Development Program with a project life of 10 years (1991-2000) was adopted which main objective is to improve the livelihood of the poor by addressing the root causes of poverty through integration of sectoral activities and mobilizing the target community to enable them actively participate in the whole development processes through its approach called community-based technical program. The intervention areas are, in addition to the above, gender and development, rural income generation activities, rural basic infrastructure, and capacity building.

The main causes of rural poverty, in addition to the causes of rural poverty in Ethiopia in general, could be explained by population pressure, disintegration from the operation of markets, technology and agricultural knowledge (isolation), and absence of any effort by the government to develop the area and inability of the people to appeal for help (powerlessness). This internal (population pressure and lack of resources) and external (lack of attention by the government but taxing the poor) dynamism of causes finally put people of Omosheleko vulnerable to famine. Can this situation be reversed by the current participatory rural poverty alleviation interventions?

#### 1.2 OBJECTIVES, SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study has the objectives of:

- 1.2.1. Analyzing rural poverty alleviation strategies and policies of the Ethiopian government.
- 1.2.2. Analyzing participatory approach to rural poverty alleviation effort of Omosheleko ADP/IRDP.

The study will generally cover the causes of rural poverty in Ethiopia for the last three decades (historical analysis) and specifically analyze the experience of Omosheleko ADP/IRDP by covering all interventions but emphasizing on the participatory approaches to alleviate rural poverty, starting from the project inception (1984/85) till 1993/94.

As NGO's intervention in rural poverty alleviation is highly expanding in Ethiopia, especially after the 1984/85 drought, and as they are pursuing participatory strategy the analysis of experience of participatory rural poverty alleviation is of timely importance to the existing

and new NGOs working in Ethiopia as well as to the rural poverty reducing projects and regional development programs implemented by government.

#### 1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

- 1.3.1. What are the main causes of rural poverty/rural vulnerability and how they evolved in Ethiopia in general and Omosheleko district (the project area)?
- 1.3.2 What have been the main rural development strategies pursued, and have they effectively addressed rural poverty?
- 1.3.3 Specifically in the case of Omosheleko ADP/IRDP: is participatory approach effective in alleviating rural poverty?
- 1.3.4 Is the **participatory** approach genuinely a reality: are the target community effectively participating in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation of projects and the entire program?
- 1.3.5 What are the potentials and limitations of ADP/IRDP especially in relation to government's large scale regional projects?

#### 1.4 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Descriptive and quantitative (land ownership pattern, income transfer patterns from rural to urban, institutional arrangements, marketing and pricing policies, government expenditure on rural development and non-productive activities) analysis of government rural development policies and strategies.

Descriptive and quantitative (loss of land productivity, deforestation, trend of food availability, and other directly or indirectly related variables) analysis of consequences of rural poverty.

Sectoral performance analysis of Omosheleko ADP/IRDP since inception (1984/85).

Analyzing the process of decision making from planning to evaluation, community organization structures, capacity building processes. The relation between these community

participation processes and achievements of physical interventions will be analyzed. Participation Assessment Matrix (PAM) will be deployed in assessing community participation in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing, and evaluation.

In collecting data, different books on the subject, annual statistical abstracts, agricultural sample surveys, project reports and documents, case studies will be the resource materials.

The paper is organized in five chapters. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework of analysis wit a focus on community participation (types, dimensions, institutional aspects and indicators) and social dimensions of poverty and its alleviation through integrated national poverty alleviation strategy (INPAS). National and local experiences of community participation are also briefly highlighted. PAM is selected as a tool to qualitatively assess participation in the case area. The third chapter tries to review the evolvement (and causes) of rural poverty in Ethiopia and assess the strategies and policies (more of social perspective) responses to the crippling rural poverty. As the central theme of the study, Chapter four reveals the NGO-implemented alternative participatory and integrated poverty alleviation strategy in which pattern of participation will be assessed at large to particularly check whether genuine and active (learning process) or the opposite- manipulated and passive (participation as an input, and blue print). The last chapter summarizes the findings and forwards some concluding remarks.

#### II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 TYPES AND DIMENSIONS OF PARTICIPATION

Development is 'people's own business' and thus the external interventions and assistance are welcomed if they do not develop any dependency syndrome and then become impediment to the transformation of people's life. The management of development by the people could be possible when particular attention is given to the needs and concerns of the rural poor and organize them thereby empower them (Rahman, 1986:11). This shift of responsibility in managing development rather to the people calls for management reversal, as Chambers calls it, which 'involves shifting power and initiative downwards and outwards. Decentralization-deconcentration of staff and resources, and devolution of authority- is usually seen as the result of central decisions' (Chambers, 1983:214). Two conditions are important for the reversal: 'clear specification of the rights of the poor clients' and 'the formation of groups around common interests, encouraging them to demand their rights' (ibid:214-215).

In general two types of organizations are common: hierarchical and participatory corresponding to blueprint and learning process approaches which emphases are 'planning from top and implementation from below', and starting from below, respectively (ibid:211) which is concluded based on the analysis of success stories of five Asian countries:

the blueprint approach never played more than an incidental role in their development. These five programs were not designed and implemented rather they emerged out of a learning process in which villager and program personnel shared their knowledge and resources to create a program which achieved a fit between needs and capacities of the beneficiaries and chose outsiders who were providing the assistance. Leadership and team work, rather than blue prints, were key elements. (as quoted by Korten, 1980:497 in Chambers, 1983:211)

The achievement of rural poverty alleviation through people's empowerment is also conditioned by or much depends on empowerment of marginalized communities-'organizing the grass roots, equipping them with necessary perspectives and skills to enable them engage in collective reflection and action on their day to day circumstances, and mobilizing the community to take specific action for the furtherance of self reliant development' (Torres, 1992:177).

Despite the varieties of definition and interpretation, participation greatly has to do with the opportunities and capacity of decision making, power exercise and most likely approached as 'participation is seen as the means for widening and redistributing opportunities to take

part in societal decision making, in contributing to development and in benefiting from its fruits' (Abdul, 1989: 24). Whereas Paul's definition of community participation:

In the context of development, community participation refers to an active process whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects rather than merely receive a share of project benefits. (As quoted by Paul in Bamberger, 1986)

The latter definition seems to emphasize, in a stronger sense than the preceding one, evolutionary process of community participation but with strong power of people in decision making.

In a more elaborated version, Uphoff (1989:1) identifies four main kinds of participation, not a single theme, which have strong interlinkages. These are: (1) participation in decision making- problem identification, formulation of alternatives, planning of activities allocation of resources, etc., (2) participation in implementation- activity accomplishment, program management and operation and sharing of services, (3) participation in benefits- economic, social, political and cultural (individually or collectively), and (4) participation in evaluation-evaluating activities and its results as a feed back to participation in decision making, implementation and benefits.

In a participatory rural poverty alleviation, different dimensions of participation which are the premise for project design, implementation and evaluation should be examined. Uphoff (1989:2-6) comes up with six propositions which are vital to participatory rural poverty alleviation efforts.

- (1) Optimization of participation- due to structural limits (for instance too many committees) and resource constraints (costs), maximization of participation is not possible. Specifically it embarks on a question of 'how much of what kinds of participation by whom are occurring?'
- (2) 'How participation occurs can be as important as <u>how much</u>'- this triggers the question of whose <u>initiatives</u> is the participation (beneficiaries? governments? other agencies?), what are or/and are there <u>incentives</u> involved? (voluntary? by remuneration? due to coercion?), what are the <u>channels</u> for participation? (directly? indirectly?), what is the <u>duration</u> of participation? (adhoc? regular? continuous?), what is the <u>scope</u> of participation? (confined to narrow or broad activities?), how <u>empowered</u> is the participation? is there assurance for results?)

- (3) Institutionalized participation is more likely effective than individual participation. It brings about multiplier effect in decision making, implementation, benefits sharing and evaluation.
- (4) 'Participation can occur at <u>different levels</u>' -group level (based on common interest-occupational, ethnic, gender, etc.), community level (village or certain geographically defined unit) and locality level (a set of communities having socio-economic relations)
- (5) 'Participation can occur through institutions organizations in one or more sectors which are complementary'- the sectors- public (based on state authority), private (profit motivated) and intermediate (membership based on common interest) provide different incentives for participation and form different local institutions to promote participation.
- (6) 'Participation does not necessarily impinge upon the power of governments and may even expand it'- though governments may yet fear that participation may be lifted up to the capacity of claim making and to forwarding criticisms, it contributes to the improvement of resource allocation and efficiency in attaining objectives. It is also emphasized by Bamberger (1986) that community participation has contributions in sharing project costs, increasing costs, increasing efficiency, increasing effectiveness, building beneficiary capacity and promoting empowerment.

Community participation, in its true form, is quite important not only to address the economic problems or income /asset poverty, but also to help to break the 'deprivation trap' in which the poor are engulfed. Uphoff and Cohen (1977:3) noted that the basic questions posed on participation are: on whose terms and with what effect? No longer does it appear sufficient and regard as participation, people's doing just what they told to do and having no influence on how the benefits of development efforts distributed.' This triggers the importance of participation in rural development. Lisk (1985:8) also emphasized the essentiality of popular participation in development planning from the outset by noting that '...the absence of popular participation in planning process can have more serious implications in terms of distorting planned development. If indeed development planning to serve as a viable mechanism for attaining a fairer distribution of the benefits of development within the economy as a whole, thereby reducing poverty and meeting basic needs, it should be characterized by popular influence on decisions pertaining to the allocation of resources, the selection and prioritization of development projects<sup>1</sup>, the implementation and monitoring of such projects, and so on.' (Uphoff and Cohen, 1977:3-4).

#### 2.2 INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

According to Uphoff and Esman (1974) two contending approaches have been dominant in thinking or rural institutionalization process:

The <u>paternalistic</u> approach assumes that rural people are passive and fatalistic, uninterested in improving their lives and incapable of initiative in making improvements. Consequently, every thing must be done for them (or to them) in a top-down, bureaucratic manner.

An opposing view is the <u>populist</u> approach which assumes that rural people are vitally interested in change and completely capable of transforming their communities if only the politicians and bureaucrats would leave them alone. Both approaches derive from unreal stereotypes of rural people, who are neither as inert and ignorant as the first assumes, nor as virtuous and wise as assumed in the second.

What ever the approach is prevailing, rural institutionalization has a paramount importance in building up the institutional capacity of community (in the form of social, economical and political bargaining power). Very often and almost all rural institutions neither represented nor benefitted the rural community (especially the poor) because of the main stereotypes that the organizer (usually the government or agency) establishes them to use them as a means or instrument for particular interest<sup>2</sup>.

Uphoff (1989:15-19 and 1991) suggests five major options in building up and strengthening local capacities for agricultural and rural development. These are:

- (i) existing Vs new organizations- the contention in choosing between existing and new is that on one hand, since existing organizations are traditional to involve in 'modern' development effort and they are dominated by elites new institutions should be organized, on the other hand existing organizations should be worked with even if they are imperfect. Uphoff (ibid:16) suggests that 'the emerging consensus for working with existing thus needs to be qualified. Support for new organizations is some times necessary ... after considering carefully the capacities and orientation of any organizations already functioning in rural areas.' Though there are organizational and management weaknesses with existing local organizations (especially challenging when dominated by elites as it actually happens), they need to be appreciated and to work with for they have long cultural and social experiences, knowledge, skills and confidence than the new institutions.
- (ii) Formal-legal Vs informal organizations<sup>3</sup>- governments prefer to establish new formal-legal organizations for the advantage of control and accountability which implies local organizations are instruments for the governments rather than for the community. On the contrary the informal ones have certain qualities such as commitment, effectiveness of

operation and sustainability (ibid:17).

- (iii) Catalyst Vs officials<sup>4</sup>- catalysts '... are especially recruited, trained and deployed to live and work in communities, to encourage, assist and nurture local action capabilities for planning and implementation. They are to initiate a process, but not absorbed by it. They are catalyzing a potential which already exists, not creating it' (ibid:18). However, the proposition of local initiation by Uphoff may not be generalized due to the fact that in absence of democracy like in Ethiopia, as Pausewang (1990:221) puts the political situation in which the Ethiopian peasantry lived or is living that 'They choose the "exit option" because they see no way towards improvement of their situation within the economic and administration framework they are offered at present.' Thus the practicality of self initiation might be doubtful and rather 'catalyst' mode is worthwhile.
- (iv) Small Vs large organization- the organizational advantages of small over large organizations, as Uphoff (ibid:19) portrays, that they have strong solidarity among members, easy mobilization of resources and manageability of deviations and so that small is largely favourable. The advantage sacrificed in large organizations are economies of scale and large resource base. In vertical linkage of base-level to higher level of organizations, the combination of small base-level with one or more higher level of organization, the relationship being federated, is worthwhile structural arrangement.
- (v) Blue print Vs learning process approach- also known as 'adaptive' approach to project planning and implementation or termed inductive planning. It 'proceeds from he premise that neither ends nor means can be fully known in advance' and 'Tentative plans must be made, but they need to continually reviewed and revised in light of experience (ibid:19-20).

#### 2.3 INDICATORS OF PARTICIPATION

Unlike the easy quantification of economic variables of development, it is hardly possible to measure social variables. However, in 1960s, efforts were exerted to develop social indicators after accepting the importance of quantitative and qualitative indicators to measure rural development participation. Nevertheless, there has been disagreement in social science in applying qualitative or judgemental measures for social variables that can not be measured quantitatively (Uphoff and Cohen, 1977:166, 167, 171). Despite the contentions, both qualitative and quantitative indicators, in fact depending on the type of development process or activity, have been applied. Thus as a framework of analysis the 'Participation Assessment Matrix' (PAM) (table 2.1) combining both qualitative and quantitative

measurements, but more of the former, is useful in dealing with the empirical study. It tries to incorporate the four types and six dimensions/elements of participation.

Table 2.1 Participation Assessment Matrix (PAM)

		Propositions/dimensions of participation															
Types of participation / Participation in:	Optimization of How par		How part	ticipation occurs		Insti tutio nal	Levels		Sectors			Govt response					
	How much	What kind	By whom	Whose initi	Incen tive	Chan ells	Dura tion	Scope		Group	Commu nity	Locality	Public	Private	Interm ediate	Fear	Appro val
1. Decision making -prob. identform. of alternative -planning & resource all.																	
2. Implementactivity accomplishprog. mgt -resource contrib.																	
3. Benefit sharing -economic -social -political -cultural																	
4. Evaluation (feed back to 1, 2, & 3)	•																

PAM is an analytical tool to evaluate participation by applying certain selected elements under the major types of participation and analyzing each element by cross checking against the major dimensions of participation. Dimensions of participation attempts to show the processes of participation by using inquiries of **what**, **how** and **how much** for general and specific types of participation. By applying PAM one can easily identify and answer: (1) what type of (rural) development approach has been applied, for instance, whether 'learning process' or 'blue print' approach has been applied; (2) who are the key actors and what kind of relationships exist among themselves in the development process; (3) what are the weaknesses and potentials of development strategy in alleviating poverty; and (4) whether participation is genuine and active or manipulated and passive. If these are well identified, it further helps to take corrective measures and redirect a program/project to meet people's or beneficiaries' needs and expectations.

### 2.4 POVERTY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES, AND RESPONSES

In conceptualizing poverty, its socio-economic and political elements or constituencies can be taken into account, as Chambers (1983:112) portrays that poverty strongly determines other dimensions of deprivation that:

"Poverty contributes to **physical weakness** through lack of food, small bodies, malnutrition leading to low immune response to infections, and inability to reach or pay for health services; to **isolation** because of the inability to pay the cost of schooling, to buy a radio or a bicycle, to afford to travel to look for work, or to leave near the village centre or main road; to **vulnerability** through lack of assets to pay large expenses, or to meet contingencies, and to **powerlessness** because lack of wealth goes with low status: the poor have no voice."

Poverty is also defined in terms of degree or state: **absolute** and **relative**. Absolute poverty is 'the inability to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency' while relative poverty is 'the inability to attain a given minimum, contemporary standard of living.' (ibid).

In setting minimum standard of living which is figuratively termed as poverty line is often used which is specific to country situation or area situation with in a country. The measurement of poverty, however, only takes into account the measurable dimensions of poverty telling us nothing about non-measurable elements.

In explaining the cause of rural poverty, Chambers (1983:35-40) classifies into two contrasting views or schools, but having overlaps and exceptions and thus taken as clusters.

These are: 'political economy cluster' and 'physical ecology cluster'. In the former case, political economists generalize that, rural poverty is seen as a consequence of processes which concentrate wealth and power' which operate, through technology commercialization, at three levels: first, globally, the transfer of resources from the poor countries to the rich countries 'through colonial exploitation and post-colonial unequal exchange' and 'expatriation of profits'; secondly, internally, the working of rural-urban terms of trade against the rural sector and 'investment in urban industries and services'; and, thirdly, at local level, concentration of wealth and power in the hands of local elites and the perpetuation of misery in the livelihood of the poor. In the latter case, physical ecologists attribute rural poverty mainly to population pressure and the environment. As population continues to grow, land become scarce through sub divisions of small farms to descendants. This in turn results in rural unemployment and induces migration to urban areas and movement to marginal environments (steep sloppy, forest areas, etc.) to support their precarious livelihoods. 'Uncontrolled population growth and uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources' in combination ensues to a vicious circle of '...the more the people there are, the more they destroy the long term potential of fragile environments, and the poorer this makes them and their descendants.'

The extreme end or consequence of poverty is vulnerability to famine or famine itself (as some regions in Ethiopia are vulnerable to or perpetually affected by famine). Mesfin (1986:9) by distinguishing famine proper from other ambiguities (like undernourishment, malnutrition, hunger, drought, etc.) and by rejecting the Dumont's definition of famine as 'a chronic state of food deficiency...' prefers to give situational description of:

In a culture that vocally mourns and openly weeps and shrieks at a death, one saw mothers simply covering their dead child's face and look at you with a blank realization. Perhaps in the beginning they cried- with first child, or a husband or a parent. Now it was a loss piled on so many others that had gone before, and that had become a way of life. (Nolan, 1974, quoted in Mesfin, 1986:8).

In other way, the causes of famine are interwoven socio-economic problems. Webb, et.al. (1992:15-16) explain the very cause of famine by saying, 'A root cause of famine is poverty, which is seen as endogenous out come of resource availability and of policy dictating resource use... It is a combination of depth of poverty and degree of risk of entitlement failure that defines vulnerability.... the characteristics of vulnerability include limited range of income source, low asset base, and limited access to social networks for mutual assistance'. It is quite important to be aware of the socio-economic impact of the famine on the subsequent rehabilitation and development intervention targeted towards the famine survivors (as reflected in this case study).

Among the global, regional and national agendas of development strategies, especially of developing countries, poverty alleviation has ever become a leading issue implying that the incidence of poverty is getting deeper and deeper despite the development strategies and approaches pursued to reduce poverty. The question is thus why past development strategies could not reduce poverty? As economic development history shows (Bamberger and Aziz, 1993), during the 1960's and 1970's economic growth<sup>5</sup>, predominantly, was considered as a strategy to attack poverty but unfortunately became distribution-blind and thus attention switched to distribution aspects of growth. Subsequently, emphasis was placed on the development of human capital- investments in health, education and other social components (basic needs). However, the oil crisis of the late 1970's and early 1980's and drastic increase in debt burdens which substantially slowed down growth finally ensued in the reemergence of growth with structural reforms bringing structural adjustment program.

According to Bamberger and Aziz (1993:13), for national poverty alleviation strategies (table 2.2) to be successful the objectives to be pursued are: first, formulation of conducive policy environment which encourages development model to integrate all approaches to poverty alleviation and that policy instruments should provide relevant incentives to check that poverty policy objectives are contained in projects and programs; secondly, promotion of human resource development by ensuring access to social and economic services which refers to increasing accessibility of these services to the poor; and thirdly, social safety nets and targeting programs for the poor and vulnerable aimed at mitigating social costs of structural adjustment program, protection of vulnerable groups and building of local capacity and empowerment.

Table 2.2 The Components of an Integrated National Poverty Alleviation Strategy (INPAS)

Level	Component	Example
Creating a conducive policy environment	Promoting economic growth through labour intensive policies and with due attention to distributive impacts	* Using public expenditure management to ensure that investment policies are pro-poor * Eliminating gender biases * Eliminating distortions that promote capital intensive production methods
2. Promoting human resource development by broadening access to social and economic services	* Increasing access to primary health and education	* Giving investment priority to construction of primary schools and health centres * Promoting access to of girls to health and education
	* Promoting economic opportunities	* Increasing ownership of physical assets, particularly land * Raising productivity of assets owned or used by the poor
	* Improving living conditions	* Promoting sites and services and squatter upgrading housing * Giving greater priority to the sustainability of social infrastructure
3. Social safety nets	* Mitigating the social	* Targeted health and nutrition programs
and targeting programs	costs of structural	[ ] - [ [ [ [ [ [ [ ] ] ] ] ] ] [ [ [ ] ] ] [ [ [ [ [ [ ] ] ] ] [ [ [ [ [ [ [ [ ] ] ] ] ] [
for the poor and vulnerable	adjustment	* Employment guarantee programs * Targeted credit programs
	* Protecting those unable to help	* Subsidies for food, housing and basic services
	themselves	* Targeted credit & economic programs for women * Safety to cover essential health services
	* Building local	* Bottom-up, participatory planning
	capacity and	* Leadership training
	empowerment	* Strengthening the role of NGOs.

Source: Bamberger and Aziz, (1993:14, table 1.1).

For our purpose of analysis what can be drawn from INPAS are: (1) poverty alleviation should be incorporated and processed in the national policy environment but not undermined as a 'pocket' of intervention; (2) the poor needs to be effectively targeted in providing basic needs and creating a necessary condition to own or have access to productive assets and thereby raise their income through appropriate pro-poor policy interventions; and (3) enabling and empowering the poor through their active participation in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation of projects/programs. This in turn vitalizes the complementarity between participation and poverty alleviation, for the former is an essential condition for the latter to be successful<sup>6</sup>.

#### 2.5 EXPERIENCE OF PARTICIPATION IN ETHIOPIA

In a country where the dictatorial feudo-capitalist (before 1974) and the socialist military (1975-1991) regimes had reigned, community participation is not anticipated. During the former regime as Fassil (1988:13) notes that the state by expanding its apparatus had a policy of 'selected investment' because or its limited capacity to reach outside the accessible areas and had adopted central planning. As an effect of centralism, 'Participation in preparation of plan documents was quite restricted even on the level of central bureaucracy...' and the introduction of community development and rural development were even 'promoted from the centre. They represented 'blue print' approach imported from abroad...'. The military government had not also reversed the development policy of 'top-down' approach, which can be put:

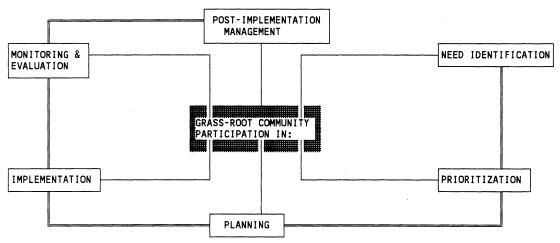
The historic socio-economic reforms which have been carried out have certainly opened a wide vista for a process of broad-based development from which the benefits can accrue to the mass of the population. However, the adoption of the socialist philosophy did not mean that the legacy inherited could disappear all at once. Neither the international economic situation nor the inherited socio-economic and institutional structures and processes could readily be altered (ibid:14).

As a result of extremely limited or absent community participation in rural development in Ethiopia, the term participation has been used narrowly that, 'To some people 'participation' implies involvement in political activity as opposed to development activity. To most people, however, it indicates involvement in the latter in one way or another. For example, such involvement may simply mean the regular attendance at community meetings, the contribution of labour and/or material resources toward a community undertaking, involvement on the part of the people in goal- setting and in decision making regarding specific, or participation in the sense of sharing the benefits of development activities' (ibid:15).

Alternatively, NGOs in poverty alleviation endeavour have rapidly been increasing in number and volume of intervention since 1984/85 famine implying that the magnitude of the rural poverty has become out of the grip of the government. As a general picture of NGOs, the relief and rehabilitation period (1984-1990) has followed by the development phase mostly in project or program form. A peculiar characteristic of NGOs is their participatory approach to rural development or rural poverty alleviation program. Among over 200 international and local/indigenous NGOs and among the top big NGOs, WVE (the case) is the one of those pursuing participatory ADP/IRDP to alleviate rural poverty. Community-based Technical Program (CBTP) has been applied to promote community participation in decision making,

implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation and thereby empower the community.

Fig 2.1 CBTP's Approach



The logical flow or cause effect relationship is that participation in the project cycle will ensure that the community will take over the projects/program bit by bit and eventually the entire program. However, there is trade-off that WVE uses community participation as a benefit/project input rather than accepting community participation as a development process (annex 2.1).

However, in proving whether community participation is used as an input or process (or neither as input nor end), and whether community participation is genuine or not (manipulated) and its impact on reduction of rural poverty, it is essential to carefully apply the PAM using the available qualitative and quantitative information from Omosheleko ADP/IRDP.

#### III. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF RURAL POVERTY IN ETHIOPIA:

#### 3.1 Extent of Rural Poverty

The culminating incidence of poverty in Ethiopia which has been manifesting it self in the form of cyclical drought and famine is not accidental but it has been a cumulative effect of deteriorating economic performance. As Fassil (1993: 2-3) portrays, the declining per capita GDP since 1960s reflects the gloomy performance of agricultural sector as it is the source for 'every thing' to support life. The picture that Ethiopia has, in comparison to group of countries, explicitly suggests a widespread incidence of poverty taking in to account sectoral growth of production, per capita daily calorie supply and conditions of health.

Table 3.1 Average Annual Growth Rates of Production by Major Sectors

	Agricu	ulture	I ndu	ıstry	Services	
Group of countries	1965-80	1980-90	1965-80	1980-90	1965-80	1980-90
World Low Income	2.6	3.9	7.3	8.2	6.2	6.5
China & India	2.7	4.6	7.0	10.3	6.5	7.7
Others	2.4	2.6	8.0	3.7	5.8	4.8
ETHIOPIA	1.2	-0.1	3.5	2.9	5.2	3.7

Source: World Bank, World Development Report 1992 (Extracted from Fassil, 1993: 3, table 1.1).

Table 3.2 Per capita Daily Calorie Supply in Ethiopia as Compared to Other Developing Countries

Group of Countries	1965	1986
All Low Income Countries	2046	2329
China and India	2061	2411
All Others	1998	2100
ETHIOPIA	1832	1704

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 1988 (1988:278) (Extracted from Fassil, 1993:6 table 1.2).

Table 3.3 Health Conditions in Ethiopia as Compared to Other Group of Developing Countries

Group of Countries	Infant Mortality (1986)	Maternal Mortality (1980)	Child Mortality (1985)	Life Expectancy (1985)	Pop. per Physician (1981)
All Low Income					
Countries	69	329	9	61	6,050
China and India	56	237	6	64	2,550
Other Developing		*			
Countries	106	607	19	53	17,650
ETHIOPIA	155	2,000	38	47	<b>88,</b> 150

Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 1988 (278, 286) (Extracted from Fassil, 1993:9, table 1.3)

The extent of rural poverty seems to be concealed in the national average figures, considering the 85% of the rural population or earning their livelihood from agricultural sector the reality can not be far away per se but of course with out forgetting the higher incidence of rural poverty than the urban poverty because of inaccessibility of basic needs to the rural population and low level of income generating employment opportunities in the rural areas. As shown in table 3.1 the agricultural sector has suffered from sharp production decline and thus ensued to production fall in industry and services sectors. A study on rural vulnerability to famine by Mesfin found out that more than 81% of Ethiopian peasants are under absolute poverty, and the seasonal variation even in the normal crop year puts into three to six months starvation (1986:90).

Per capita self sufficiency ratio and food availability ratio (including food imports) significantly declined from about 87.7% and 91.2% in 1979/80 to 59.3% and 67.7% in 1991/92, respectively. With this trend, most of the regions are becoming vulnerable to famine as the agricultural production growth trend is getting worse and worse. Emanated from the serious food shortage, malnutrition afflicts vulnerable groups (children and mothers). And the per capita calorie supply is only about 77% of the consumption requirement which is also attributed to the quality of food consumed (Asres, 1995:13, table 1, Fassil, 1993:6). According to ECA report (1993:16), 46% of the Ethiopian population is food insecure among the group of selected African countries<sup>7</sup>.

The health condition, being strong indicator of poverty, is also frustrating in that malnutrition described in terms of prevalence of anaemia ranging from 37.2-43.8%, mineral deficiency resulted in goitre is prevalent by 30% and 16% of the children suffer from vit. A deficiency. Only about 12% of rural population have access to water reliable and uncontaminated sources (Getahun, 1995:8 and Fassil, 1993:7).

#### 3.2 Rural Development Strategies and Policies

The economic performance in general and the success of rural development in particular are almost entirely dictated by strategies and policies pursued which commences from the idea generation and designing stage and goes through implementation and thereby attaining the intended development goal. Strategy and policy factors have played substantial roles in hindering rural development and as a whole and, in fact, the exogenous factors (such as war, natural diaster, etc.) which even some are partially explained by the policy blindness or defects, have a contribution. It is quite imperative to systematically analyze the Ethiopian rural development strategies and policies by dividing into two major historical periods: feudocapitalist period (before 1974) and socialist period (1974-1991) and possibly the current scenario under the start of structural adjustment program.

**Pre-1974-** After several decades of traditional economy, as had been elsewhere in the world, modernization (in Ethiopian case connoted with westernization) was initiated during the half of 19th century. Modernization, then, associated with '...the process of national state formation and centralization of political power which in Ethiopian case was strongly influenced by the necessity to repel external aggression...' and so that earliest import was begun with fire arms to defend against European invaders and massive mobilization of human and capital resources (Fassil, 1993:53-54). Along this, economic infrastructures such as introduction of modern education, transport, communication, etc. which were mainly for capital city and few regional towns, had to be established by importing materials. What impact had the modernization brought on the rural people at times? First, dependency was shortly came in to being on foreign import<sup>8</sup>; secondly, as the consequence of this, rural producers had to feed the new urban dwellers, military and families of oligarchy. The increasing number of military and security forces and the establishment and increasing number of bureaucratic machinery and the subsequent increase in expenditure had intensified the burden on the rural producers. Different types of taxes had been introduced in addition to increase in the amount of taxes. The burden<sup>9</sup> was intensified because of the fact that the agricultural sector was yet subsistence (there was no measure taken for improvement at times), the cash payment of taxes succumbed local producers into exploitative market relations, and export and income taxes were transferred to rural sector (ibid 58-60).

The neglect to agricultural development<sup>10</sup> up to 1960s was stopped and in late 1960s government paid attention to promotion of agricultural production, food grain production being given particular emphasis. Three forms of agricultural development strategies (which continued up to 1974) were adopted: (1) regional project approach<sup>11</sup> to promote food grain

production in a limited agriculturally potential areas; (2) national program of agricultural development yet aimed at producing food grain in subsistence areas; (3) private commercial agriculture focused on the production of industrial raw materials and food crops (ibid:78). The appropriate question is but did these agricultural development strategies have positive impacts on rural transformation or rural livelihood? Fassil (ibid:78) points out that 'the overall assessment of the agricultural strategies implemented between 1967 and 1975 shows that their impact on the whole had been extremely limited. Most rural producers had little to gain and indeed some had much to lose as a result of these strategies of agricultural modernization... the basic aim of the government policy was not to achieve rural transformation, but rather to create the condition for raising production and extracting the "surplus"...'. Apparently, even the "trickle down" proposition seems to be unthought of in the agricultural policy as there was no any statement about rural poverty alleviation and no response to the agriculturally unimportant regions.

Generally, the pre-1974 rural development strategy was characterized by exploitative agrarian system and deepening of rural poverty. As Ghose (1985:127) noted '... a large surplus was being extracted from a low productivity agriculture. This, on the one hand, kept the peasantry desperately impoverished and, on the other, preserved primitive cultivation practices. The surplus itself was frittered away in wasteful consumption of the elite', and Saith (1985:151) also accentuates by identifying principal sources of rural poverty and inequality; the first was '...extreme inequality in land access and ownership' and the second being '...the fragile dependence of various regions on the vagaries of weather.'

**Post-1974-** The 1974 revolution demolished the age-old feudal land tenure system and distributed land to rural producers. Land has become under the control of the socialist state and households have been given usufructuary rights which prohibits transfer of land by arrangement of lease, sale and mortgage or other arrangements. The military-dictated socialist state promulgated an agricultural development policy which took three forms of agricultural production organization (table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Percentage of Average Area and Production under Major Production Units (1986)

Production Unit	Area	Production
Private holdings (peasant farm)	94.80	94.59
Cooperatives	2.55	1.68
State Farms	2.65	3.73

Source: CSA, 1986, Data on Area, Production, and Yield of Major Crops in Ethiopia (extracted from Abebe; 1990:15, Table 3.1)

As the socialist path of development was pursued, the focus of attention was on the development and expansion of producers cooperatives and state farms by discouraging fragmented and 'uncontrollable' small peasant holdings. As Fassil 1993:114) notes the main objective of agricultural producers cooperatives was '...to increase agricultural production by making use of modern technology and by consolidating the small and fragmented holdings... to promote and establish socialist conditions in rural areas to safeguard the political and social interests of the peasantry...' (Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, in ibid:114). The state farms<sup>12</sup>, independently implemented under the Ministry of State Farms, had an objective '...to alleviate the country's food problems; produce adequate amount of raw materials for industry; expand output for foreign exchange earning; expand establishment of agro-industries; create employment opportunities.' (as quoted from MSF, June 1984 in ibid:117).

The regional integrated rural development projects have also continued especially CADU being changed to ARDU. ARDU had focused on organizing Farmers' Producers Cooperatives (FPC). The Minimum Package Program II, almost with out marked change from Minimum Package Program I, continued under the socialist agricultural development strategy.

In terms of phases, the first six years National Revolutionary Development Campaign (1978/79-1983/84) had attempted to create the necessary condition for the Ten-Year Perspective Plan (1983/84-1993/94). By the end of the TYPP, it was expected that FPCs to encompass about 52.7% of all peasant households and about 48.5% of the total cultivated area, and the state farms to have a share of about 6.2% of the cultivated area (ibid:119-122). The growth trend of the three production units is portrayed in the following table.

Figure 3.1 Trend of Area and Output for Peasant Farms

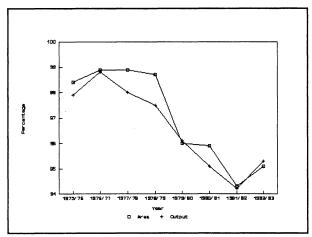
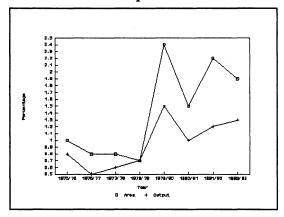


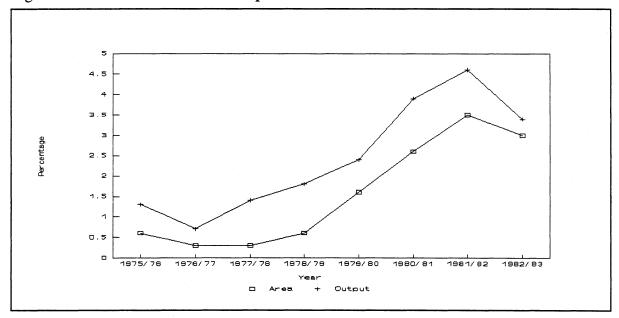
Figure 3.2 Trend of Area and Output of Producers' Cooperatives



Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of State Farms and Central Statistical Office (extracted from Ghose, 1985:132, table 2).

In the agricultural development strategies, in addition to the three production units, institutions such as Agricultural Marketing Corporations (AMC), the only state-owned marketing parastatal, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) to implement resettlement programs by shifting vulnerable

Figure 3.3 Trend of Area and Output of State Farms



Source: (same as above).

population from drought prone and populous areas to the so called potential areas, etc have been organized to strengthen rural intervention.

All these efforts, however, have not yet bear tangible results in terms of alleviating poverty because of the inherent structural problem. Ghose (1985:138) analyzes the state-peasantry exploitative relationships that the state became land owner and extract 'surplus' through three methods: First, by direct tax<sup>13</sup> in the form of land use tax and income tax. Secondly, by extensive control of agricultural pricing and marketing through its monopolistic marketing parastatals<sup>14</sup>(AMC and AISCO); and, Thirdly, by expanding state farms as an instrument to implicitly or/and explicitly extract 'surplus' from peasantry through high allocation of resources to the state farms that would have been for the peasantry (indirect tax to peasants) and through exploitation of peasant labour<sup>15</sup> in the actual farming operation (statutory minimum wage payment).

#### 3.3 Socio-political Factors

Since long time, Ethiopia has been known for its socio-political unrest mainly emanated from the scramble for power and dominance over the people internally, and defence against foreign aggression which costs and burdens are always hauled on the rural poor. Fassil (1993:30) emphasizes that rural producers '...not only bore the costs of the scramble for power; but also themselves forced to join ...military campaigns which have characterized the Ethiopian history.' The unbearable imposition of tribute obligations, (for instance 22 types of taxes were levied on peasantry in Gonder region), the plundering of resources by the soldiers (as they were expected to do 'officially'), different kinds of family labour services to the land lords and other officials, and the like had been loaded on the rural poor. It is worth citing, because of the paucity of data to reflect the reality, what a peasant said of his living as portrayed by Mesfin (1986:114):

You think we are lazy, perhaps. We are not. You see how we toil, and we are prepared to toil more. But the more we get the greater becomes the appetite of those who live on us. You know, we are like this earth (he said stamping his foot), we are silent fools. This earth- you can plough it, can dig it, you can spit on it, you can throw any waste or refuse on it, you can do anything. It does not complain. We are the same.

Because of absence of any peasant institution to raise their voice through, peasants often express their grievances in traditional ceremonies. To them government is simply tax collector and 'sucking' them ruthlessly. 'They feel neglected, alienated and robbed' (ibid:114) as really they are and which reminds us powerlessness, being one of the less recognized multi dimensions of poverty, as Chambers (1994:17-20) that 'The poor are powerless. ...they lack influence. Subject to the power of others, they are easy to ignore or exploit'.

#### 3.4 Population and Environmental Factors

The population of Ethiopia has doubled within 25 years (in 1970=29.5 million and in 1995=57.912 million) and by this trend the current population figure will double by the 2015 (Fassil, 1993: 160 & 164, table 7.1 & 7.3).

Obviously, population growth has a direct impact on the environment and thus degradation is hastened. According to survey in 1980s, 59% of the highlands (around 270,000 or 22% of the total area) had already lost its productive potential. The current soil loss is alarmingly high which turned out to be one of the highest among Sub Saharan African countries. The outstanding soil loss (about 45%) is from crop land (ibid:160-165) (table 3.7).

Table 3.5 Estimated Soil Loss by Type of Land Cover in Ethiopia

Type of Land Cover	Area (%)	Ton/Ha/Year	Ton/Year (Million)
Cropland	13.1	42	672
Perennial crops	1.7	8	17
Grazing and browsing land	51.0	5	312
Currently unproductive	3.8	70	325
Currently uncultivable	18.7	5	114
Forests	3.6	1	4
Wood and bushland	8.1	5	49
Total	100.0	12	1,493

Source: Hans Hurni, Ecological Issues in Creation of Famines in Ethiopia, Paper Presented to the National Conference on a Diaster Prevention and Preparedness Strategy for Ethiopia, (Addis Ababa, Dec. 5-8, 1988:10) (extracted from Fassil, 1993:166, table 7.4).

The impact on agricultural production is found profound if specially left unchecked. The current 2% annual reduction in agricultural production could leap to an average of 30% loss in income from crop and livestock from 1985 to 2010 (ibid:160). Given the magnitude of environmental degradation which has also ensued to crippling drought and famine especially in northern and south central populated regions, the current environmental rehabilitation effort is dismal. As one of the measures, population shift in the form of resettlement in unoccupied free land did not bear result mainly due to failure in design and implementation.

It was totally forceful and thus the social and environmental costs on the new resettlement areas was quite remarkable. Incidence of rural poverty has also been aggravated by the population pressure and environmental degradation.

With these general explanations for the causes of rural poverty, we selectively analyze the rural development strategies and plocies (as expected to reduce rural poverty) in terms of patterns of community participation in the whole processes commencing from project design to evaluation by taking into account some cases.

#### 3.5 'Top-down' Approach to Rural Development: Some Cases

Rural development strategies (as explained in the previous section) adopted by the successive Ethiopian governments have not generally targeted to the poor but it has been a growth-oriented 'surplus' extraction model. Programs and projects have been formulated and institutions have been established towards this objective of extraction. It is not abnormal that this type of growth-oriented rural development strategies adopt 'top-down' planning tools and characterized by spatial biasedness. In other words, it does not rest on the people's needs and priorities and thus in stead of that the people are officially forced to be subservient rather than voicing their needs. This had been revealed during the last two historical periods: feudal regime and socialist path of development.

Some could argue that various community institutions such as peasant associations, youth associations, women's associations, service cooperatives, farmers' producers cooperatives, etc. are/were as an evidence for popular participation, but all were political instruments of the defunct regime and even for the present government (in case of PAs and service cooperatives) serving the policy of extraction. In the following sub sections, rural development strategies applied by the Ethiopian government specially during the socialist period (1974-1991) are presented by highlighting the role of the community in program/project design, decision making, benefit sharing and evaluation.

#### 3.5.1 Regional Integrated Rural Development Programs

The first comprehensive development plans (1957-1973) were divided into three phases each having its own particular attention. The First Five Year Plan (1957-1962) concentrated on the development of infrastructure- transport, communication, electric power, manufacturing, and housing in order to lay a base mainly for promoting marketing of export crops. The Second Five Year Plan (1963-1968) mainly focused on the manufacturing, mining and

electricity. The agricultural development gave priority to institutional development and private commercial farming. The small holders' agricultural development was constrained by prohibitive land tenure pattern. It was in the Third Five Year Plan (1968-1973) that agricultural development captured attention because of the structural constraint to accumulate capital and generate growth. One strategy was development of commercial farms and the other was peasant agricultural development through package approach integrating activities of input distribution, credit provision, market facilities, storage facilities, promotion of rural health and literacy. In the small holder strategy, among the five regional projects, CADU<sup>16</sup> was the first and foremost integrated rural development regional project (assisted by SIDA) launched in one of the three provinces (awrajas) in Arssi administrative region. It was taken as a pilot project to draw lessons and experience and replicate to other areas. Comparing to others, it was well organized and coordinated and its impact on the regional economy was relatively also sound. Furthermore, its experience in community participation can be useful in comparing to WVE's experience. The objectives of CADU were: (i) the achievement of economic and social development through out the project area; (ii) the continued finding of suitable methods for bringing about agricultural development in Ethiopia when applied in an integrated manner; and (iii) the creation of possibilities for application elsewhere in Ethiopia of the experience gained by CADU (Fassil, 1993:80).

Chilalo province was selected because of its: (i) suitability of its natural endowment for intensive agriculture; (ii) accessibility and proximity to the centre or metro-politan area; (iii) relatively conducive land tenure pattern; (iv) inhabitants desire for progress; and, (v) possibility for expanding to other potential provinces.

The strategic interventions were agricultural extension, input distribution and output marketing. The marketing strategy had been focused on purchasing of agricultural outputs (mainly cereals and milk) at fair and stable prices; the extension program diffused agricultural knowledge and technology through progressive (medium size land lords) model farmers and demonstration plots; research activities, being well equipped, focused on plant and animal production to attain 'scientific planning, research and recommendations'; provision of input and credit to tenants and small scale land owners; and supportive development services (ibid:81-89).

Nevertheless there are trade-offs concerning the economic impact of CADU/ARDU that Cohen argues'...the project made substantial progress in achieving its objective of verifying methods of agricultural development and raising agricultural productivity by the target population.' However, as Cohen concedes, the extent of benefit shared from the project to

the tenants and small holders is difficult to identify. Importantly, one clear point is that 'The objectives of CADU were never operationalized with clear indicators suitable for quantification...there is little systematic data on increase and distribution of benefits' (ibid:111) justifies that the impact on rural poor could uncompromisingly be negligible and if the middle rich farmers are benefitted more, the distributional pattern of income could highly be skewed. It had been concluded that the average annual income of farmers had increased by 50-100% (ibid:111). On the other end Fassil (1993: 85) argues that since CADU is characterized by the introduction of "green revolution" which impact is mostly weak especially when introduced to where unequal access and control of resources is prevailing like in the CADU project area. Cohen and Uphoff (1977:198) accentuate that middle sized land owners had realized profitability of agriculture and in effect 'land prices nearly doubled, and tenants' rents were raised to half of their production...pasture land [converted] into cultivated area, and large scale mechanization arrived in force...outsiders moved in to buy or contract land and take advantage of the infrastructure and production possibility created ...by CADU...'

Concerning participatory approach in CADU/ARDU project, the extent of and forms of participation (or the **what**, **how**, **who** questions of participation) in decision making, in implementation, benefit and evaluation can be assessed based on the existing scenarios discussed in the preceding and forthcoming sections.

Participation in decision making- The patterns of participation in decision making as Cohen and Uphoff (1977) analyzed, are: First, local residents, local leaders, government personnel (project employees are excluded) and foreign personnel were participants; and Secondly, from these participants only few people from local groups involved. Specifically, the participation rate (or extent) was non-existent in the initial decisions about the project (designing stage), little in an on-going decisions about the purpose of the project or operational decisions regarding the composition and function of cooperatives as local instruments for development.

**Participation in program implementation-** In evaluating participation in implementation, resource contribution, administrative coordination, and enlistment in programs had been used as indicators as Cohen and Uphoff (1977:219) summarized in table 3.8.

Table 3.6 Patterns of Participation in Implementation, by Types of Participants and participation

Types of Participation	Types of Participants				
	Local Residents	Local Leaders	Government Personnel <sup>2</sup>	Foreign Personnel	
Resource Contribution Labour Inputs Material Inputs Information Inputs	None None <sup>1</sup> Some	None None <sup>1</sup> Some	None None Some	None None Some	
Administration and Coordination (1973)	Model Farmers=300 Cooperative Society Members=1,000 Women's Groups=2,500 Youth Groups=2,000 Local Employees of CADU (low level)= approx. 700-1,000		None	None	
Enlistment in Programs (by 1973-74) Direct Indirect	13,000 50,000	*	*	n.a. n.a.	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>- Some departments, such as Water Development Section, were charged with organization of self-help schemes, but little was done on these.

n.a. = not applicable.

Source: Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:220, table 10.1.

As can be observed in the preceding table, almost neither participation by all groups existed nor consultation of the local community carried out. At least in the areas of local infrastructural development (road construction, health services, etc.), participation could have been materialized. On the whole there was structural problem from the outset in instituting and promoting participation in the overall program at least as an input to the program, if not considered as a strategy for practical rural development.

Limited participation in project administration and coordination as reported by Cohen and Uphoff (1977) had been in place through the project employees, model farmers, members cooperatives, members of farmers committees and members of women's and youth groups. Nevertheless, this organization and grouping pattern was not sought to promote participatory approach but it was simply to use them as a tool to implement activities. This could be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>- It does not include project staff as their work in administration and coordination is not considered as participation, unless done outside their assigned duties.

<sup>\*-</sup> It is difficult to distinguish local leaders and government personnel from local residents; Probably most local leaders are included in the 13,000 direct or 50,000 indirect enlistment of CADU program activities for credit, seeds and fertilizer.

evidenced by the fact that there was no any facilitation, conscientization and training activities before starting implementation of the program nor was there any institutional arrangement to promote genuine participation that could be elevated to community empowerment, and specifically to involve the poor.

Participation in benefits- Rather than examining the extent of benefits accrued to beneficiaries, it is worth noting to see into distributional aspects of benefits for the reason that it clearly indicates who were more participating or targeted. By taking material benefits to individuals which can be assessed easily among collective, non-material and indirect benefits, CADU's experience in alleviating rural poverty is rather unsatisfactory, though '...those who participated in benefits increased their real household income 50 to 100 percent or more' (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:259). The comparison in benefit sharing between the tenants and land owners (see for example ibid) shows that, especially until a change in credit policy, significant amount of loan went to land owners. This only indicates the direct resource leakage to unintended groups (CADU's target groups were tenants and small scale farmers) but in terms of indirect leakages through working of repressive prices, markets and taxes the amount could be considerable.

The other debilitating consequences as a result of conducive investment for the outsiders and local large land owners, were:

(1) tenant eviction as a consequence of increased mechanization; (2) increase in tenant rents and land costs; (3) the granting of government land to outsiders rather than residents, and (4) the extraction of economic benefits by local government officials themselves (cited in Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:278).

**Participation in Evaluation**- Apparently, it is unwise to expect participation in evaluation if not realized in the previous processes. Cohen and Uphoff (1977:282) recapitulated by dividing evaluation activities into project-centred processes, political activities and public opinion efforts:

In all these categories of evaluation, the involvement if any of the local population has been indirect and unsystematic. Local residents have been asked some, though not many, questions about how the project has affected them. They occasionally come to project head quarters or visited field staff to voice complaints. Usually such complaints involved only a few individuals and centred around narrow issued, not leading to much change in the project's manner of operation.

The following table also summarizes the extent of participation in evaluation.

Table 3.7 Patterns of Participation in Evaluation, by Types of Participants and participation

Type of Participation	Type of Participation				
	Local Residents	Local Leaders	Govt Personnel	Foreign Personnel	
Project-centred Processes Formal Informal	None	None	None	None	
	Some	None	None	Some	
Political Activities Positive Negative	Some	None	None	Some	
	Some <sup>1,2</sup>	Some <sup>2</sup>	Some <sup>2</sup>	Some	
Public Opinion Positive Negative	Some	None	None	Some	
	Some	Some	Some	None in Ethiopia	

Source: Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:283

### 3.5.2 Minimum Package Programs (MPP)

MPPs, launched in 1971 under the auspices of Extension and Project Implementation Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, were an alternative strategy to the comprehensive Package projects like CADU. They were objectively '...designed to reach peasants with a few "proven" innovations that were developed or tested by the "Comprehensive Package Projects" and/or research institutes. 'Being divided into two phases; the first MPP (1971-1974) covered 16.1% of rural population (or 155 woredas) and the second MPP (commenced in 1980/81 after the full implementation of radical land reform of 1975) has extended its coverage to 440 woredas (districts) out of the total 586 (Tegegne and Tennassie, 1984:81, Cohen, 1987:181). The MPPs' selection criteria had been purely technocratic approach/steps classified into: (i) observation zone- selection of agricultural areas by gathering and computing information on crop types, soil types, number of households, etc.; (ii) demonstration area- testing package of innovations (fertilizer and improved seeds) on model farmers field; (iii) MPP area would be determined after the result of the two previous steps (after 3-4 years) (Fassil, 1993:83).

Based on the designing and implementation of MPP, neither does it have an objective of rural poverty alleviation nor does operate by promoting community participation. It is purely growth-oriented strategy to accumulate capital by investing on the agriculturally potential areas or in other words it is potential area targeted approach by leaving out 'unproductive

<sup>1-</sup> leading to some study by CADU staff

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>- had an effect on CADU strategy or policy.

areas' with out any intervention according to the criteria set. After the land reform and development of state farms, peasant agriculture got the lowest share of the input packages.

#### 3.5.3 Peasant Agricultural Development and Extension Program (PADEP)

PADEP, largely World Bank funded, was a modified and elaborated version of MPP. It was established in 8 administrative regions (out of the total 14) by grouping into four zonal projects '...to promote increased small holder farm production and resource conservation (Cohen, 1987:182). It was characterized by relatively improved coordination and integration of agricultural activities. The main strategies pursued were: (1) integration of research, extension and other MOA's programs under the responsibility of regional coordination<sup>17</sup> office in charge of planning, budget operation, and work plan implementation; (2) strengthening institution for catering of inputs and credits (such as AMC and AIDB) and extension services; (3) staff development through training, reporting and evaluation based on T and V system; (4) special emphasis on high potential areas in terms of injecting resources; (5) cereal and export crop production (ibid:182).

However, this strategy was constrained structurally and policy wise that the World Bank's conditionality of incentives to small holders and private traders through policy reforms was not met because of the ideological differences and thus was not operationalized.

In the PADEP designing process, rural poverty alleviation strategies were not entirely considered and yet it was growth-oriented approach. The role of the benefiting community was not also stipulated and only considered as a mere receiver. The grass root institutions such as peasant associations and service cooperatives were also instruments for the government agencies in lieu of representing the community.

#### 3.5.4 Rural Institutionalization: Service and Producers' Cooperatives

Prior to organizing service and producers cooperatives, PAs<sup>18</sup> government established grass root unit and hierarchically organized up to the national level, were formed which main objective was to implement government policies and directives.

In the economic areas, service cooperatives formed by combining three to ten PAs, had objectives of 'supplying consumer goods to the members according to their needs; marketing the produce of the members at fair prices; to supply improved agricultural implements and provide tractor services; to give loans at fair interest rates; to give education in socialist

philosophy and cooperative work; to organize craftsmen in order to promote cottage industry; to provide political education with a view to establishing agricultural producers' cooperative societies by forming, promoting and consolidating mutual aid teams' etc. (quoted by Tegegne and Tennassie, 1984:85 from Proclamation no. 109, 1975). Though service cooperatives as economic institution have had some positive impacts, they had been entirely an apparatus of the state such as by enforcing (in collaboration with PA administration and state agencies) grain supply quota, embezzlement of financial resources, mismanagement of services, and inefficiency in providing services.

Farmers Producers' Cooperatives (FPCs)<sup>19</sup>, established in 1980s, were the basic agricultural production unit under the socialist agrarian reform. Their principal objective after the communal control of means of production was 'to increase agricultural production by making use of modern technology and by consolidating the small and fragmented holdings... to promote and establish socialist conditions in rural areas and to safeguard the political and social interest of the peasantry...' Fassil, 1993:114). The important question is, however, did/have these rural institutions promote popular participation and play roles in alleviating rural poverty? Some comments can be raised. Before raising critical comment a point worthy to mention is, though there were a lot of weaknesses, cooperativization process and mass organizations (such as women's association, youth association, etc.) which was negligible before 1974, have brought about institutional development and it was a learning experience for future institutional policy and strategy formulation.

**First**, the establishment of cooperatives, in the first place, was abrupt that there had not been any prearrangement such as conscientizing or awareness building and mobilizing (at least to facilitate the people); **secondly**, people had not been consulted in designing cooperative development but simply copied from other socialist countries with out trying to learn from them or/and (catiously) adapt to the local conditions; **thirdly**, membership in FPCs was said to be "voluntarily" but it was full of direct and indirect enforcement which could be generalized by putting that non-volunteers were marginalized in resource allocation and charged higher amount of various taxes; **fourthly**, implementation and decision making processes in the cooperatives were largely hindered by excessive interferences from government, and administrative units in the cooperatives had corruptive relationships and thus there had been a great deal of resource leakages.

Generally, it is important to note the shortcomings of cooperativization program as Ghose (1985:144-145) commented that it relied on '... a supposed superiority of large scale over small scale farming... In Ethiopian conditions, cooperative farming can be regarded as

superior to peasant farming, not because the former is larger in scale than the latter, but because the former provides a more effective frame work for mobilizing surplus labour for capital construction in agriculture than the latter.'

In a nutshell, in terms of genuine and active community participation, cooperative development in Ethiopia neither did deploy participatory approach nor, in terms of rural poverty alleviation, had peasant livelihood been improved.

#### 3.5.5 Resettlement Programs

The officially coordinated large scale and debateful resettlement program was launched after the 1973/74 famine in Wollo (the most famine-prone administrative region) which claimed about 200,000 lives (Yemane, 1995:2). The objective of the program<sup>20</sup> was moving the vulnerable population- those repeatedly affected by drought and famine in several districts of the northern part and from the south central part of the country where population pressure has been a critical constraint to development to the 'free' land of the south western part.

An important comment here is that resettlement might be seen as a strategy to alleviate rural poverty by relocating people from "crisis zone" to the "potential" zone. In principle it might deserve applause but practically it completely failed to hit its objective. The possible reasons, from our departure of explanation in this paper, could be: first, there was not involvement of people to all in the designing process of the program or they were not at least consulted; secondly, even in terms of technocratic program appraisal, thorough and complete study was not conducted in 'wasting' a huge amount of money<sup>21</sup> (Yemane, 1995:11). Adequate reconnaissance study on the destination was not at least taken and the resettlement areas were found unsuitable for living and many of the resettlers died of diseases, especially malaria; and thirdly, resettlers were moved forcedly and as a consequences there had been a lot of social messes such as family separation and missing. In effect most of the resettlers<sup>22</sup> have been returned back to their original residence (ibid:14).

Generally speaking, resettlement program uncompromisingly failed to address the very problem of the poor because of its wrong strategy assumption.

#### 3.6 Strategies adopted by Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Though information on NGO intervention (and as a data base on this alternative development strategy) is absent or meagre, they are proliferating in Ethiopia particularly since the big

famine of 1984/85. Under the auspices of government represented Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) and coordinating role and technical back up of Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA)- a non-governmental organization, NGOs often operate in a vulnerable areas to famine and drought. As drought prone areas are delineated to NGOs by RRC, NGOs design projects and enter a work agreement with RRC. Most of NGOs started from relief and rehabilitation program and thereby developed to participatory rural development program, alleviating rural poverty being the centre of focus. Among NGOs, WVE has been selected (for access to information and experience with) and a case, among various projects, is analyzed in the following chapter.

# IV. PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO RURAL POVERTY ALLEVIATION: THE CASE OF OMOSHELEKO ADP/IRDP

The central theme of this chapter, after brief organizational orientation to or profile of the case, is to extensively present the case study with main focuses on: (a) the socio-economic situation of case study area in relation to the evolvement, causes and the aftermath of poverty before the external intervention; (b) the occurrence of transitional processes from relief and emergency to development, and the role of the community in the processes; (c) after defining the ADP/IRDP, examining the development phase by applying the Participation Assessment Matrix (PAM) which incorporates the four types of participation and dimensions/elements of participation and then draw some critical observations; (d) the institutionalization process of participatory approach in ADP/IRDP context; (e) the analysis of community participation sectorally (agriculture and environmental rehabilitation, health, education, rural infrastructure, and gender and development) and indicative impacts on poverty reduction; and (f) analysis of issues of participatory approach (replaceability, targeting and empowerment). The chapter is divided in to: (1) profile of the case study; (2) Pre-project situation and transitional processes; (3) ADP/IRDP and community participation; and (4) issues of participatory ADP/IRDP.

#### 4.1 WVI/Ethiopia and Omosheleko ADP/IRDP: Profile

WVI is a Christian humanitarian non-governmental organization founded in 1948 with the main objective of rendering assistance to the poor through relief, rehabilitation and development interventions by coordinating and mobilizing resources from international, national and local communities. Supported by 80 field offices operating through 5,649 projects, WV claims to reach 22.3 million needy beneficiaries in developing countries annually (WVE, PDD, 1990:9).

WVE whose establishment dates back to 1971<sup>23</sup> originally centred its activities on the settlement of refugees, operation of scattered relief fragmented child sponsorship project. The evolvement of WVE (see annex 4.1) classified into four major phases having particular goals, intervention strategies and activities. The establishment phase (1971-1984) was marked for its resettlement of refugees from neighbouring countries (Sudan and Somalia) and pockets of relief operation in northern and south central part of the country; the relief phase (1985-1986) is recalled by the massive relief operation when the country was badly struck by the great famine; the rehabilitation or linking phase (1987-1988) had embarked on rehabilitating the

famine survivors as well as creating a base for long term development; and, the <u>Area Development Program (ADP) phase</u> (1989-2000) is an ongoing phase where projects and activities are integrated and where participatory approach is applied to alleviate rural poverty<sup>24</sup>.

WVE has 13 ADPs and 35 small scale child sponsorship projects in partnership with churches in different parts of the country (see annex 4.1 for basic profile of ADPs) where the incidence of rural poverty and vulnerability are deep especially in case for ADP interventions.

Under the framework of evolvement of WVE, Omosheleko ADP, after its 1984/85<sup>25</sup> entry to combat the massive famine as requested by Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), government organization responsible for coordinating NGO activities, has also passed through all processes of organizational development and phases except the establishment phase which was concomitantly happened with relief phase (Annex 4.3).

## 4.2 Pre-project situation and processes from relief to ADP/IRDP

## 4.2.1 Pre-project situation

Omosheleko woreda is located 430 km south of Addis Ababa, the capital, in the south central (see the map in annex 4.4) of Ethiopia in the South People's Administrative region.

Omosheleko was scarcely known by the government or NGO before 1984/85 (the famine period) nor any study carried out on the area except aerial survey, as commonly done for other areas, taken by the Ethiopian mapping agency during Haile Sillasie's regime( before 1974). Specifically what was there were one Catholic missionary junior school, very few government elementary schools, government administration unit simply to collect taxes and implement government directives. Between 1974 and 1984, there had been no government intervention in areas of basic needs nor in areas of rural development efforts in any form. The MPP and PADEP (agricultural development projects) have not encompassed Omosheleko as a target area because of its meagre potentiality and dislocation. The only notable interventions were construction of elementary schools and primary health centres in collaboration with the area community.

Because of this neglect of Omosheleko, it is hardly possible to get pre-project socio-economic and rural poverty indicating data specifically on Omosheleko. Even after the project, specific

data, being disaggregated into different categories, are unavailable except surveys conducted for specific purpose (like FFW impact assessment) and aggregated data collected during the ADP redesigning year (1990).

What is the extent of and cause of rural poverty in Omosheleko woreda (district)? With a population density of 472 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, the population of Omosheleko predominantly (about 95%) depend on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood. Cereals (mainly maize) are the major source of food supply complemented by food crops (sweet potato, godore-taro, and enset) and meagre cash crop (coffee and teff) all grown on area of less than a hectare (0.9) for a household containing 7-8 members. Because of high environmental degradation, over-cultivation and traditional farming system a household only produces 600-800 kgs/year which puts a household under a food deficit of over 50% annually. To support their vulnerable livelihood, non-farm activities like petty retail trade of grain, coffee and spices are supplementary activities. Local non-agricultural income sources such as pottery, blacksmithery, and weaving are rarely existing but left to the 'minority' tribes.

In the context of south central Ethiopia and specifically Omosheleko woreda, the cause and perpetuation of rural poverty can be explained by the two views, but 'the physical ecology cluster' view having more prominent image than the 'political economy cluster 'view. In terms of the latter view, peasants had been exploited by the local elites (mainly land owners, money lenders and bureaucrats). The Ethiopian peasants in general, as Ghose (1985:127) puts, were exploited by few land lords in the form of tribute payment and share cropping. Fassil (1993:59-60) also discusses that the tax payment in a variety of forms and in cash (the payment in cash resulted to exploitative market relations), the passing of export and business income taxes on to the rural poor and of tax obligations of land lords to tenants. The tenancy rate in the southern part of the country was 40-70%. Tenants and share croppers were paying from a quarter to half of their farm produce to the land lords (10-50% absentee land lords). No doubt this applies to Omosheleko woreda, too.

The 'physical ecology cluster' fairly locates the causes of rural poverty in Omosheleko in the high population pressure (472 persons/km²) and degradation of the natural resources and diminution of farm lands (less than a hectare per household).

South Shoa administrative region in general and Kembatana Hadiya awraja in particular are notoriously known for their population pressure which is the principal obstruction to regional and area development in a context of agrarian economy. The awraja in which Omosheleko is located is the most densely populated (287 persons/km²) whereas the lowest density is of

Borena awraja (in Sidamo administrative region with 3.9 persons/km²). Though data for woredas is not available, Omosheleko, most likely, is the most (or among the top most) densely populated woredas in the country. In the most densely populated awrajas (as well as in drought-prone pastoral areas), the interventions of NGOs is not uncommon which implies that incidence of rural poverty is highly correlated to population density (examples are Wolaita, Kembatana Hadiya, Sidama, Dessie Zuria, Harar Zuria having 190, 287.7, 279.5, 203.4, and 175.4 persons/km², respectively) (CSA, 1990).

The increasing population has an impact on farm size, especially within a limited area (like PA) where expansion is entirely impossible but rather land diminution is evolved, and this is becoming a critical problem in Ethiopia. Even if population policy would be pursued an average individual land holding in the high lands will be 0.6 ha per household by 2015 (Alemneh, 1990:33) and by this reckoning a household in Omosheleko will be no more than small plot of garden.

### 4.2.2 From relief to ADP/IRDP: Processes and community participation

In Omosheleko, in 1984, 13,197 households (55% of the woreda population) had been assisted by the relief operation (distribution of food commodities and intensive wet feeding). For our purpose, what socio-economic characteristics were observed during the daunting period? Hopelessness, intimidation, unrest, psychic wound and the like were in the minds of the famine victims (survivors). A farmer interviewed to explain the outset and incidence of the famine said that:

I noticed that people could not replace their worn out clothes. The bit by bit we realized that there was not enough food. There was not enough for one meal a day, and we could not buy any. During this year [1983], we began to sell our cows and oxen. Also at this time disease attacked humans and livestock. I sold two of my cows, the other five died before I could sell them.... We were forced to [by mid-1984] sit and wait upon World Vision because we could not do any thing. At that time, they gave and we took. We knew World Vision was here to help us and was on our side.' (Evaluation Report, 1992:18).

This state of broken livelihood or socio-economic crisis normally continues for some time in spite of the life saving relief operation. Recovering or rehabilitating the survivors was another important task. The rehabilitation phase (1987-1990) was not only expected to provide people with the rehabilitation inputs but also laying a foundation for development was another demanding task.

The period between 1987 and 1990 was distinguished by the following main characteristics:

- (1) institutional depression and rise, where WVE encountered difficulty in its organizational sustainability as soon as the relief operation was completed because there was neither institutional preparation to continue intervention nor any dependable financial backing except short term agricultural package program, and in case of mild reviving after internal group initiation and triggering, child development/community development (CD/CD) was commenced in 1988 through child sponsorship (child-centred but scattered development).
- (2) there had been a rapid conceptual and attitudinal shift towards community development and thus an implementation instrument was developed called Community -based Technical Program (CBTP);
- (3) the strengthening of child sponsorship program as a result of dramatic increase in the number of sponsored children from 1800 in 1988 to 7204 in 1990 which means quadrupling of budget;
- (4) challenge in changing the relief attitude (dependency syndrome) of the target community into developmental out look, particularly through introduction of credit in the form of, revolving agricultural inputs loans scheme (RAILS);
- (5) in the 31 targeted peasant associations (PA), there had been 20 family welfare-oriented CD projects entirely concentrated on the provision of consumption goods (food, clothing, school materials, etc.) only to targeted families. The challenge with this approach was that the economic impact on the community (who had no access to basic social services and productive economic sectors) and even on the benefits receiving families, was insignificant; the CD projects were not integrated and there was funding and delivery principles that the resources have to go directly to the intended family only.

The vision for ADP was conceived in the rehabilitation or linking phase. In addition to the limitations of the rehabilitation phase, important conditions fulfilled for the launching of ADP in Omosheleko were: **first**, reliable and long term (up to ten years) external fund source through child sponsorship was obtained; **secondly**, coordination and integration of scattered CD projects into a systematic and integrated poverty alleviation program was found essential; **thirdly**, participation of the target community in program designing, implementation and evaluation was sought to be decisive in ensuring program effectiveness in terms of delivery mechanism and socio-economic impact as well as sustainability of the program; **fourthly**, empowering the target community in resource allocation and utilization, program administration and management- control of resources, implementation, benefit sharing and

program evaluation, and organizational or institutional capacity was quite important through appropriate social interventions.

In 1990, reflection on the rehabilitation phase and thereby redesigning of ADP were carried out subsequently. Quite important inquiries are: how, to what extent and through whom the community participation did evolve? what types of participation were realized and at what level during the rehabilitation phase?

Obviously and normally, during the relief and rehabilitation phase the urgency of the operation means that community participation can not be anticipated. Nevertheless, depending on the severity of drought or famine, implementing committees (beneficiary screening committees) may be formed to distribute emergency aid to the victims. The quality of committee formation is particularly unexpected due to the urgency of the operation. A comment on the relief and rehabilitation operation is that there had been no adequate survey carried out by government to assess the possibility of famine and give warning prior to the relief operation with out any rapid institutional arrangement to reduce casualty, increase the effectiveness of beneficiary targeting and the overall operation, and reduce wastage and leakage of resources through uncoordinated logistics and delivery mechanisms.

The rehabilitation phase (RP) extended from 1987 to 1990 had an objective of continuing physical and social rehabilitation and building a foundation for long term and integrated area development program through the provision of agricultural packages (seed, fertilizer, plough oxen, farm tools, etc.), reforestation and soil conservation through FFW program, primary health care, rural infrastructure (rural feeder road construction and maintenance, health post construction, spring capping, wooden bridge construction), and provision of basic benefits to sponsored children and their family. Primarily, the RP was not designed following conventional project design approach and the involvement of the community has also not materialized. The project preparation and designing gap at the outset had a substantial impact on the effectiveness of the program. These are: first, though nominally objectives were set, the direction and goal of the program were elusive; secondly, because project document (indicting goal, objective, time frame, bench marks, activities, implementation strategy, etc) was not well prepared as a guiding tool, and in effect planning, coordination and implementation of activities even for a short time were not executed systematically; thirdly, community participation was not sufficiently incorporated in decision making, implementation and evaluation processes rather 'top-down' decision making was prevailing. However, in the absence of coordinated execution of the RP, the reorientation of CBTP primarily to staff in the form of intensive inductive training and subsequently to the target community was rather

worth mentioning to raise a successful aspect.

## 4.3 ADP/IRDP and community participation

Defining ADP/IRDP conceptually and empirically is quite important before we turn to the participatory dimension of the program. Perhaps ADPs and IRDPs have more extensively been applied and widespread in south and south east Asia than elsewhere, mainly planned and implemented by governments (some in collaboration with donors) as a comprehensive intervention (in terms of capital and area population coverage) than elsewhere. In this regard, ADP/IRDP approach to rural poverty alleviation or rural development adopted by WVE, and perhaps other field offices of WV, might have adapted the experience to the new micro area. For instance, the Bangladesh's donor initiated area-based IRD, in mid 1970s known as Rural Development-1 (RD-I), Sirajgonj Integrated Rural Development Programme (SIRDP) and Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Programme (NIRDP-I) with integration of various components such as infrastructure, agricultural production, rural industry, market development, health and family planning, education, and other special programs were launched. With removal of shortcomings in the First Five-Year Plan, area based IRD model was yet adopted in the Second Five-Year Plan (1980-85) which peculiar feature was 'organization of the poor as the target group...' (Abdul, 1989). The experience from India also Shows that IRDP as an important instrument in alleviating poverty launched with a proportionate targeting to special groups (scheduled caste, schedule tribes, women) has a special area-based dimension like Drought prone Area Program (DPAP) with integration of various components (Khanna, 1989:115). The Philippines case also demonstrates that after the meagre impact of Community Development and Regionalization Strategies, Integrated Area Development (IAD) lastly under the auspices of National Council on IAD was adopted as 'an area-based multi sectoral programme designed for integrated development in depressed areas of the country' (Bruce, 1989:134-135). Whether the experience is adapted or the idea is evolved in WV's ADP/IRDPs, they have certain commonalities regardless of the extent and forms.

In WVE context, ADP is defined based on the integration of activities, geographical boundary and the role of community in processes of rural development. In the 1991 Annual Report (1992:4) the definition is that 'The ADPs are integrated rural development commitments containing crop and animal production, soil and water conservation, infrastructural development, health and nutrition, child development components' which is similar to the definition in the 1992 Annual Report (1993:6) except in the latter the activities being expanded and open ended by listing '...such components as environmental

rehabilitation, service centre development, health, water resource development, credit scheme, local capacity building and institutional building, etc.' Practically the main components in 1991 continued as they were with the addition of sub-components listed in 1992 Annual Report. Whereas the 1994 revised ADP document (1994:3) defined, 'ADP is an action oriented development project in a defined geographic limitation with emphasis on community ownership of project through need identification to program management.' As one external evaluation report (1992:33) observed ADP method as expansion of rehabilitation or community development program 'by increasing the number of beneficiaries, covering a greater area and number of PAs,... increasing sectoral inputs, and delegating greater authority to committees...' and commented that 'macro policy factors of sustainability and participation in development have not been included in design and management; and strategic long term planning was also found to be absent.' Further to this, the emphasis especially placed on the initiation and importance of community participation initially in the form of awareness creation through facilitation method during the end of rehabilitation program has significantly and abruptly been reduced during the start of ADP and in the lieu of that attention was excessively put on the 'things to be accomplished'- quantitative target striking. Thus ADP approach from its beginning seems to adopt the blue print approach of 'planning from top and implementation from below' (Chambers, 1983:211) instead of learning process approach. Before analyzing the participatory dimension of ADP/IRDP, it is important to scrutinize the structure, strategy, process and funding of ADP/IRDP briefly.

Structure of ADP/IRDP- The organizational flow starting from the head office to the ADP level at field is four tiered (annex 4.5) following the conventional bureaucratic hierarchy each tier given responsibility and authority to exercise.

Except the last tier all are based on at head quarter level supporting the field staff and doing routine office works. For an NGO working closely with community in areas of delivery of basic benefits, mobilizing, organizing and empowering the community such pattern of organization by concentrating staff at head office level and multiplying routine and less productive activities might pose questions. As Chambers(1983:210-211) notes most large government departments 'face inwards and upwards, away from rural clients, having centreperiphery orientation and 'their structure and style are often authoritarian, hierarchical and punitive.' For NGOs in general and WVE in particular this characteristic might not be seen openly and clearly but as long as staff (and that means resource in terms of knowledge and finance) is concentrated in centre, it might entail some similar characteristics of structure and style of GOs. Chambers (ibid:190) suggests that:

Reversals in management entail changes from authoritarian to participatory communication; fewer staff transfers and better staff in poor and remote districts; and enabling and empowering weak clients to make effective demands for services and for their rights.

This management reversal is a process requiring steps as Chambers (ibid:190) proposes that, 'To achieve reversals, it is best to start by acting and learn by doing... through small steps and little pushes.' However, what Chambers fails to reckon is the parallel cost of reversal especially in deconcentrating human and capital resources from centre to periphery both in GOs and NGOs. Nevertheless, what ever the cost is claimed decentralization is an important instrument particularly for NGOs advocating to pursue participatory rural development or rural poverty alleviation programs.

Regarding the structure of ADP at field level, it is basically redesigned, in addition to the criteria observed in previous section, on the basis of reliable funding source for at least ten years which in turn based on to the minimum or appropriate number of children to be sponsored which is 10,000 for one ADP. The justification is that fund raised and reached the project (after covering management costs) is sufficient to launch ADP (or for the reason of economies of scale.).

The structure of Omosheleko ADP (annex 4.6) is semi-hierarchical and semi-participatory for the reasons that: **first**, the functional structures such as extension activities in agriculture and soil conservation and gender and development, and facilitation activities in training and animation have been structured in a conventional hierarchical pattern; **secondly**, it is semi-participatory in that community through ADP committee and respective functional committees at PA level, zonal (centre) and woreda levels do participate in different processes such as planning, implementation and evaluation.

As Uphoff and Esman (1974) suggest what is important is the extent and effectiveness of the horizontal and vertical linkages between and among institutions for successful rural development. Similarly, how this various ADP and functional committees are organized, integrated and coordinated at different levels and to what extent these committees initiate and represent genuine community participation are the important points to be assessed in the next sections.

**Strategy of ADP/IRDP-** Prior to the transition to ADP phase, CBTP was introduced as a development strategy which continued also during the ADP phase. 'The CBTP approach is designed to urge, encourage and enhance participation to bring attitudinal, behavioural changes and in the end build self confidence in project communities through untiring

facilitation techniques and inculcating program development skills' (WVE, FY1992 Report:7) (emphasis added). Relating to Uphoff's (1989:24-25) identification of three approaches<sup>26</sup> (assistance, facilitation and promotion) to promote community participation, WVE's CBTP approach is more or less similar to the facilitation approach where initially intensive facilitation internally within the staff and projects, creating and strengthening working relationships with local government organizations and organizing and lately identifying local and traditional community organizations have taken place. A CBTP team was formed at head office level first to conceptualize and then organize a series of ADP workshops for head office and project staff to further reconceptualize and develop CBTP working manual so that the rehabilitation phase could be transformed to development phase. The CBTP was also oriented to local government organizations through workshops. Lastly orientation was given to the target community through workshops and facilitation by project animators and the staff. This facilitation technique has had impacts primarily in reforming the development attitude of the staff and in preparing the community in the end of rehabilitation phase for sustainable development and in creating relationships with local government organizations especially with the stake holders such as Ministry of Agriculture (MOA), Ministry of Health (MOH), local administration, Ministry of Education (MOE). However the CBTP approach was community based there had been short comings: (i) a clear outline of community participation in decision making (problem identification, planning, resource allocation), in activity implementation, in benefit sharing (economic, social political), and in evaluation was not thoroughly prepared and given to the community;(ii) following participation at different levels, duties, responsibilities, rights, etc of the community, WVE, GOs were not also listed out and sanctioned among the actors; and, (iii) appropriate channels or institutional arrangements were not adequately installed to initiate institutional participation which is more effective in charging collective actions than individual small group-based participation Despite this the role of CBTP played in awareness creation (conscientization) and initiation, particularly during ADP redesigning (1990 for Omosheleko) was substantial.

Funding of ADP/IRDP- The funding for ADP/IRDP is entirely external except physical and financial contribution from the partner community and matching fund from government in case of provision of social services (agriculture, education and health). The external funding takes three forms: (1) sponsorship funding (80-85%) which is based on the fund raising for child from individuals in the north through support offices; (2) funds from multi-lateral agencies (15-20%) such as Partnership Africa-Canada for IRDP; and (3) food aid and complementary cash component from USAID and CIDA for reforestation and soil conservation projects. The latter two are project approach ranging from three to five year period.

### 4.3.1. Mechanism and processes of community participation

As portrayed in the theoretical framework, the combination (a matrix) of four main kinds of participation and six propositions is the premise in attempting to apply to case study. The participation matrix mainly contemplates: **first**, the key and important actors (community, WVE and government) in the ADP/IRDP and their position and degree of participation (or roles and relationships); **secondly**, the processes of participation or whether it is learning process or blue print approach to participatory rural poverty alleviation; **thirdly**, the level of attention paid to the four types of participation and whether balanced or unbalanced attention is given to each type of participation; **fourthly**, whether participation is taken as input (means) or end, or neither of both; and **fifthly**, whether participation is taken as genuine or manipulated.

Before going into the process, since community is represented by the general (ADPC) and functional committees, how have these committees formed and what is their role as one of the actors? General and functional (sectoral) committees, unlike those established by the government as a pro-government instead of politically representing the community, were formed following the steps: (1) WVE (through project staff and local development facilitators) held meetings with community in each PA to conscentize them about CBTP and ADP (especially on the importance of participatory approach); (2) after thorough facilitation (conscientization), WVE processed the election of committees at presence of the general community in respective PA; and (3) WVE oriented the committees about their duties and responsibilities (promulgated in collaboration with the represented committees) in the respective intervention areas. Committees are serving the community with out payment except provision of some incentives usually in the form of credit. In principle the terms of service is two years but in practice there has not been election except replacing incompetent members of committees. In principle the committees should be accountable to the community (general assembly) but practically committees report and receive message from WVE that should be relayed to the community.

#### Participation in decision making

Decision making mainly consists of problem identification, formulation of alternatives, activity planning and resource allocation (Uphoff, 1989:1). The main question, however, is how and to what extent Omosheleko community has participated in this process of decision making? The process, briefly, goes like this in drawing annual plans, for instance:

- (1) message from project staff (management unit composed of all sectoral unit heads) is passed to the PA ADP committee (a general committee responsible for coordinating specialized or sectoral committees) to convene one-day planning session at development centre (DC) level which embraces 6-8 PAs;
- (2) two to three representatives from committees, traditional local institutions (tribal and self help) and agricultural and gender and development extension and support groups (contact farmers, contact women, child-care takers, agricultural extension facilitators, gender and development extension facilitators, project workers, local animators) and PA administration are represented in the meeting with the ADP management team and support staff;
- (3) based on the ADP ten year plan, PA needs and priorities are listed out in a process of discussion. The needs and priorities stipulated in the ADP document can be altered depending on the prevailing socio-economic policy environment and local situations, and;
- (4) based on the need/problem identification and priorities, and the ADP's total budget, financial resources are allocated, activities are listed by PAs, and implementation schedule (work plan) are prepared by the ADP management staff.

The decision making process actually goes like this: two to three representatives from each committee in a PA are called for meeting at development centre level (6-8 PAs/ development centre) by WVE through local development facilitators and ADPC. Then participants gathered to list out and prioritize problems (whenever macro-projects are proposed, a feasibility study is conducted by the technical staff) and prior to the main discussion on what activities to be planned and how would be implemented, the project staff give brief orientation of the plans stipulated in the ADP document containing 10-year development plans. Depending on the planning document and current needs raised, activities are listed out in their priority order. The rest planning work (resource allocation, preparation of implementation schedule) is done by WVE. And finally, dispatch planning sheet to each PA's development committees or ADPC to enable them accomplish activities and monitor progresses.

Relatively speaking, the process of participatory decision making is an encouraging start and exercise under the meagre political environment and centralized 'top-down' national planning context though presently decentralization, in principle, seems on start.

#### Participation in implementation

The implementation is carried out at PA level by the respective sectoral committees, after having a planning sheet with detailed activities. Given sectoral disaggregation of responsibilities of committees, how can integration (so that conflicting and overlapping activities can be avoided and) be kept? During the early period of ADP, lack of integration had resulted in duplication of activities, competition for resources (labour) delays and managerial problems which was also emanated and perpetuation from the absence or lack of integration at ADP staff level. In alleviating the problem, after keeping sectoral integration at ADP staff level through management team, integration has also been maintained at PA level under the leadership of ADP committee. Regular (monthly) meetings have been held to assess monthly performance, consult on the following monthly plan and to strengthen integration. Sectoral committees report to the PA ADP committee. Local development facilitators )local animators, AEFs, GADEFs and project workers) attend the meeting and the committees.

#### Participation in evaluation

Very often evaluation of programs/projects is taken by the implementing agency (donor) or /and independent evaluation team with out involving the benefiting target community perhaps due to the reason that evaluation is accounted as highly technical in which the local community is unable to contribute to or participate in. However, despite this preconception, participatory evaluation has been exercised by the target community. The process of evaluation, by and large, takes the form of decision making process but with the difference that annual evaluation is taken at woreda level by the representatives from each sectoral committees, local traditional institutions, PA administration, local facilitators (AEF, GADEF, local animators, project workers) and from concerned local government organizations (MOA, MOH, and local government administration).

Committees especially after intensive facilitation and reorganization to involve traditional institutions in the development process are not passively reacting to WVE and the government organizations. To cite an example, the long debate between the community (represented by elders) and MOE in constructing a high school in Omosheleko but finally approved (see annex-- for major events). In the ADP/IRDP document, it was only intended to supply water for some villages in PAs to get the service, but other villages presented their appeal to WVE and as a result got potable water supply. The community has also appealed for the change of committees who committed corruption and accordingly dismissed through

the agreement of the community. The encouraging trends have developed recently.

Though often committees try to reflect the demands by and interests of the community, community participation seems to be affected by the excessive reliance on committees to facilitate decision making, implementation and evaluation and shorten the time required for the processes to be followed with the larger community. So that WVE's development interaction might have been confined to committees who inhibits clear understanding of the reality at community, group and household levels. Effective and genuine community participation needs to include the general community especially for major decisions such as planning and evaluation at an appropriate level. (PA or village level). Generally the extent of the general community (public) participation is quite limited and thus the key actors in the development process are WVE and committees.

#### Some observations

Using the community participation framework of analysis, the participatory approach of Omosheleko ADP can be assessed:

(1) As one independent evaluation report commented in reference to the discouraging experience of committee working (because of undemocratic election, instrument for the government rather than representing people, administrative corruption, representation from elites only,...) 'The reliance on formal committee as the vehicle for people's involvement with WVE is a natural outcome of the context set by the government. The team seriously doubt, however, that committees are the most appropriate expression of communities or always serve the needs of the poorest and most marginalized' (A Study on WV's Work in Omosheleko, 1992:57). Politically peasants have been repressed and isolated and as a result lost their control over their resources. Pausewang (1990:220) points out that 'peasants complain frequently about being controlled from above and not having any influence on local decision making' (my emphasis). The fear with the ADP and sectoral committees, especially according to the fear and doubt of the evaluation team, is that they might have had a sentiment of government organized PA administration. (Limited) corruption particularly during the target beneficiary screening for input distribution, FFW employment and basic benefits and assistance to sponsored children and their families might be experienced by the committees. However, the organization and function of the committees do differ from the corrupted PA and service cooperatives executives in that: first, they have been elected democratically and dismissed when found ineffective or corrupt; secondly, they have been trained in leadership and management; and, thirdly, they feel the ownership of the program

and feel accountability to the community.

- (2) Though optimization of participation is supported, the excessive reliance on committee decisions, implementations and evaluation leads to the denial or undervaluing of the right of the target community. Community as a whole needs to be involved in some process of program management. This is not raised without recognizing the community facilitation and mobilization by the local animators recruited recently (during the end of 1993) from the community. Committee-based participation most likely deters the creation and development of self initiatives, direct participation, voluntariness, continuity of participation and empowerment.
- (3) Participation should neither accounted as an end nor reduced to means (Uphoff,1989:2). In the case of WVE or Omosheleko ADP, participation has often times been playing the main role by which goals and targets of the program are achieved. A simple evidence could be that the responsibilities of the committees are only associated with the flow of project activities but dynamism of community participation without project activities has not been in place. Collective social actions (such as farmers organizations, peasant rights, etc) even without initiative or involvement of WVE have not taken place.
- (4) The institutionalization of participation is not sound in Omosheleko ADP (though PA level ADP committee has begun to coordinate other sectoral committees to discharge their responsibilities in an integrated manner) due to the fact that committees are yet fragmented and have not been organized upwardly (at woreda level) to effectively promote participation to the level of empowerment. The stronger the institutional capacity and thereby institutional participation the more their voices be heard and challenge or influence the execution of projects and activities and local decisions. It seems, too, that institutional gap exists at woreda level which was very essential in boosting up institutional capacity.
- (5) Representation from the poor, ethnic minorities and women in ADP and sectoral committees is considerably limited. Local elites (composed of tribe chiefs, leaders of self-help groups, relatively literate or educated, and relatively resource owning) have significantly dominated the proportion of membership in committees. Though the proportion of minority tribes ('fuga') is not known, the number of representatives from the tribe is extremely low out of the total number of committee members. For women, not more than 5-10% is represented in all committees. Their representation in flour mill and water committees is moderately high.

(6) As one of the important factors in promoting community participation leadership training is quite essential. Uphoff (1989: 28-29) accentuates the importance of training as human development that '...training should be field-oriented and task related, employing innovative, often non-formal methods.' He emphasizes on leadership development that 'Participation will not occur or is unlikely to be sustained and productive with out "leadership". Leadership development 'involves more than identifying and strengthening the capacities of a few persons ... though having at least a few capable and committed leaders makes a big difference in any group, community or program.' Therefore, formal and informal training and leadership development needs to be strengthened in Omosheleko ADP to effectively promote community participation.

# **4.3.2** Organizational /Institutional Aspect of Participatory Rural Poverty Alleviation Program

In analysing the local organizational aspect of ADP in relation to the standards or requirements for local organization, it is useful to examine the organizational pattern of sectoral committees.

The establishment of most of the committees was not just after the launching of ADP but after the operationalization of activities. One shortcoming during the redesigning of ADP, as an evaluation team (1992) also commented, was that the local organizational structure and management system were not clearly drawn, in spite of the substantial volume of sectoral activities to be accomplished and a big project/ADP goal to attained within a ten years and eventually transfer the program to the community. Given the large size of the program over long period and the advocacy of participatory development approach through CBTP (a tool adopted to empower the community), lack of clear organizational vision and details about future organizational arrangement in the ADP document might pose questions on the institutionalization of community participation and empowerment. For instance, to be specific, an institution that would take over the whole program has not be designed or thought of and simply it says 'community will take over the program or will be handed over to the community' which does not clearly show the real 'receiver'. However, the practical situation in the field is that micro and meso projects (such as water supply schemes, flour mills PA nurseries, etc.) have been fully or partially handed over to the respective committees though the vision for the independent institution coordinating overall program in integration is yet missing.

In the light of rural institutionalization strategy (options), it is quite necessary to analyze how

this process is followed in Omosheleko ADP.

(1) WVE or Omosheleko ADP during the relief and rehabilitation and ongoing ADP phase, has given more emphasis on organizing new institutions (committees) than inventorying and promoting existing local/traditional institutions having a great deal of experience and local knowledge and managerial capacity, except recently commenced to identify, build relationships and using them especially during the organization of Omosheleko Farmers' Credit and Saving Association (see in sectoral analysis).

Two important local traditional institutions, inter alia, are found in Omosheleko. One is elders council (see annex 4.7) locally known as *Lamala Mola*<sup>27</sup> under the leadership of one chief (*Balanbaras*) and seven to nine tribe leaders (*Megabas*). Before the intentional disruptive effect of the Mengistu regime on traditional organizations through displacement by PA and service cooperative, they had a substantial role in mobilizing the community for collective action (like community defence, appeal for respect of social and economic rights, etc), in solving disputes among families and clans, and other social and economic activities (resource contribution in the form of cash and labour). *Lamala Mola* had also been assisting the local government structure by collecting taxes, transfer message to the community, implement government directives and so that it might had served the government in some instances. There is no evidence how *Lamala Mola* helped the poor given the fact that there had been minority groups (called *fuga* who were the servants for the rich and now engaged mainly on pottery) who were socially and economically isolated.

Edir is a micro social and economic association within a village or part of a village coordinating mutual support especially in case of accident, death and other social and economic imbalances in a household. It has its own rules and regulations, in oral or written form.

There are also permanent and task-oriented indigenous groupings and associations such as *Jalla* (male group in time of circumcision), *Belamo* (marriage concerned mutual support group), *Dawa* (mutual assistance in providing agricultural labour), *Nefela* (mutual assistance in house building), *Equib* (men's and women's savings -lottery type association).

Before forming or strengthening new local organizations (committees) it is yet advisable to carefully study these existing and sustainable traditional institutions and adapt development activities into their system as far as found feasible.

- (2) The legalistic notion undervalues or ignores the importance of informal local organizations. Rather than doing so or adapting the informal organizations to legal framework, it seems advisable to adapt and instill the legal approach into the 'informal organizations' through capacity building training. Recently, a good start of including leaders of traditional institutions in training by the ADP is quite commendable though an important step prior to training -thorough analysis of the working of traditional institutions is yet lacking to, then, identify the ways to inject development activities into the existing system after the learning process-oriented leadership training.
- (3) The WVE's CBTP is, in essence, a 'catalyst' mode; first, that the project staff as a whole has been trained (mostly in service and experience sharing inter and intra projects) and deployed to live and work with the target community; and secondly, specifically, animation and training sub section was organized (though seems to be slowed down during the early phase of ADP for project targeted-oriented professionalism and strategy has undermined the social and learning process approach but now to reemerging) and animators ('catalysts') were recruited to do extensive facilitation for change. The Uphoff's 'catalyst' mode is basically '...to initiate a process,... but not to become absorbed by it ...catalyzing a potential which already exists, not creating it,...to build "social infrastructure" to the physical infrastructure...' (1989:17). However, the WVE's CBTP approach has a mixed styles by incorporating what Uphoff calls the social "soft ware" and physical (capital and technology) "hard ware". Implicitly, it is a question of sequencing of both "wares". In case of WVE's approach there is no clear demarkation between social "soft ware" and physical "hard ware".

With the WVE's CBTP approach as the last destination is to empower the community and then ultimately 'transfer' the program to the community the 'catalyst' mode with accentuation on capacity building (institutionalization and leadership development) needs to be further strengthened.

(4) With regard to the question of size of organization, small is preferable due to its intrinsic advantage (as mentioned earlier) and in light of this, the WVE's multitude of committees on one hand, have advantages mainly in promoting the four types of community participation, and on the other hand, the coordination of all committees could be much difficult. Despite the improvements attained in keeping the integration at grass root level (PA level) is on move, the vertical linkage is yet at infancy stage that, for instance, ADP committee (responsible for overall development activities) at woreda level once represented at early start of ADP is now failed to operate. This position seems to be occupied by the ADP management staff with consultation with committees and elders' council.

(5) While the 'top-down' and technocratic blue print approach greatly prohibits the possibilities of community participation in rural development or rural poverty alleviation projects, on the contrary the learning process approach triggers and create conducive circumstances to increase community participation. By learning from successful cases which pursued learning process approach (like AMUL dairy cooperatives in India, BRAC in Bangladesh and Kenya Tea Development Authority) and a suggestion that '...planners did not enough in advance to set up a 'perfect' organization immediately, nor could they anticipate all the changes which would affect it over the years' (Lamb and Mueller, 1982:49, as quoted in Uphoff, 1989:19), it is useful for WVE to strengthen the learning process approach.

In thinking of learning process, though it demands sufficient back ground or base work and social time (in social time it means the normal time that should be allowed for the social organic process to take place), the Chambers' (1983:201-210) 'reversal in learning' is practically useful. Chambers suggests that in addition to the formal schooling, '...learning directly from rural people trying to understand their knowledge system and eliciting the technical knowledge', and 'trying to experience the world as a poor and a weak' are important. This normally demands and builds the 'bottom-up' approach of learning and sharing process. In the WVE's CBTP approach, the learning process especially in inventorying what the community owns in its social, economic and political structure (from household to community level) was marginally carried out since the start of rehabilitation phase and ADP redesigning period. Nonetheless, the analysis in the learning process was economic intervention-biased with the strong intention to bring about economic transformation given the larger resources WVE has. The budget Vs expenditure or target/plan Vs actual/ achievement style of assessing project leads to overlooking of learning process as has been observed just after the launching of ADP (because more attention is given to the attainment of planned figures than processes of community transformation). The comment by an external evaluation team (1992) seems realistic that '...one can see that WVE staff have understood "participation" largely as a benefit and project planning and design tool....WVE treats participation as a project input rather than development process.' The reconceptualization and reframing of participation and participatory approach seems to be on ground recently (for instance, the organization of OFCSA, the transfer of management and responsibility or disengagement from some micro and meso projects like flour mills, potable water, health posts, and tree nurseries), but yet the social "soft ware" needs to continued in the ongoing and fully and partially 'phased out' projects.

## 4.3.3 Sectoral Analysis of ADP/IRDP

The following sectoral analysis (also see annex 4.21 for sectorall performance) will use indicative and general evaluative points of how (whose initiative, incentives involved, channels) community participation occurs, and the level/extent of community participation by type and participants in the four types of participation.

## 4.3.3.1 Agriculture and Environmental Rehabilitation

Agriculture is almost entirely the main source of livelihood for Omosheleko community, and it is estimated that over 95% of the population engaged in farming. The ADP base line survey conducted in 1990 depicts that out of the total 37,552 ha of land, 24,457 ha (65%) is crop area (cultivable), 2,655 ha (7.1%) is grazing land, 3010 ha (8%) is homestead (residence area and backyard), 4739 ha (12.6%) is forest area, and 2691 ha (7.2%) is degraded and hilly areas (see annex 4.8). As of 1994 the population has increased by 31% from 135,760 (in 1990) to 177,600 (in 1994), the household being estimated at 34,926. The per household land holding is thus 0.9 ha and the land ownership inequality is insignificant because of the 1975 radical land reform which abolished land lordism and distribute to peasants mainly based on family size (ADP document, 1991). The livestock ownership pattern (annex 4.9) also shows that out of the total households 43.43% have no ox, 10% have 0.5 ox (sharing of an ox for two households), 46.57% have 1-4 oxen (or out of the total households 33.07% owning an ox) (ibid). This implies that 9,274.4 ha (33.3%) out of the cultivable area is constrained by shortage of draft oxen which resulted in much reduction in agricultural production. The population pressure (475 persons/km<sup>2</sup> in 1994) which brought about severe land fragmentation and intensive farming, and rugged topography (ranging from 800 -2600 masl) have exposed the environment to severe degradation (mainly soil erosion) and thus resulted in heavy loss of productivity which eventually put the population under vulnerability to famine.

In order to redress the subsistence crisis, agricultural and environmental rehabilitation intervention has been accorded prior emphasis in integrated approach alleviate rural poverty in Omosheleko. The agricultural and environmental rehabilitation is, therefore, aimed at increasing of agricultural production and income mainly through provision of agricultural inputs (draft oxen, fattening steers, small ruminants, farm tools, etc) on credit and through land management practices (soil conservation measures, reforestation and natural forest/resource management). In delivering these services, agricultural extension (farmers

training and on-farm demonstration on application of improved innovations and promotion of existing cultural practices), provision of credit and FFW activities as casual employment opportunities are the major means/channels (Revised ADP document, 1994).

The agricultural extension services by adapting the T and V system (annex 4.11) has mainly concentrated on the training of contact and follow farmers in crop protection and management, improved agricultural practices (compost preparation, bee-keeping, vegetable and fruit growing, inter-cropping, coffee management, etc.), livestock management and feed preparation, etc as well as on-farm demonstration (on contact farmers' field) of the improved practices. Provision of agricultural inputs on credit, based on the priority set while participatory planning is also the major activity.

The main activities under the environmental rehabilitation and natural resource management sub component are reforestation, community wood lot development, construction of soil conservation measures (soil bund, check dam, fanyajuu), agro-forestry (fruit and animal feed growing), and training of farmers (contact and model farmers) in related disciplines. The basic inquiry, however, is that how and to what extent the target community (especially the poor) are participating?

In the process of delivery of services and benefits: first, in agricultural extension services, PA ADPC proposes AEFs from their respective PAs according to the technical criteria set by WVE and then the employment process is handled jointly. The PA ADPC also involves in selecting contact farmers, establishing functional committees such as IC, OFCSA, LMC/TSC; second, in distribution of agricultural inputs to the farmers, the PA ADPC and RAILS/RLSC in collaboration with PA administration and extension were screening the 'needy' borrowers and then effect the delivery of inputs, but now totally the responsibility is transferred to the newly established OFCSA; third, under the environmental rehabilitation, management of PA nurseries (by decentralizing two big nurseries into 20 PA nurseries), area selection for planting, coordination for the construction of soil conservation measures have been entrusted to the ERC. LMC/TSC is also responsible in coordinating the monetization of 40% of the FFW commodity as being decided by the community and selling of community owned trees.

The process of community participation in general has been dominated by committee structure, though democratically elected, which might be a hindrance to mass participation in all types of participation; secondly, committee members are outnumbered by rural elites and the representation from the poor and women is insignificant; thirdly, in

beneficiary/borrower screening process for credit, committees are suspected for bribery and corruption most likely due to lack of built-in accountability of the committees to the general community rather than to WVE. At PA level, if there would have been a strong community structure, for instance a General Assembly in which all PA population or households participate, were established with strong and workable authority, the risk of corruption might have been considerably reduced or avoided. The absence or feebleness of this structure debilitates or even displaces genuine community participation and instead it becomes committee participation; fourthly, at PA level, participation in decision making, implementation benefit sharing and evaluation is not clearly visible because of the overshadowing function of committees and absence of any structure to promote genuine community participation. In semi-independent or federated style, i.e. without interference from 'above' (WVE, government and woreda ADP), capacity building (institutionalization and leadership) at PA level needs to be emphasized so that community in respective PA could manage their development.

In the agricultural component, it is useful to examine three important sub components, namely agricultural extension, rural credit and rural public works (FFW-based reforestation and soil conservation) in perspective of participatory approach.

(a) Agricultural Extension Services- before looking into the services, it quite useful to briefly recall two important perspective in the subject: first, the World Bank's Training and Visit (T & V) system where the proportion/ratio of Agricultural Extension Agent (AEA)-Contact Farmer (CF)-Follow Farmer (FF) is recommended (usually 1:10:200) and agricultural innovations are diffused mainly through training of contact farmers and visit of their demonstration plots by the AEA; and secondly, according to Uphoff, et.al. (1979:189-193), participatory extension strategy which includes model farmers (involving small farmers unlike the World Bank's progressive farmer-oriented extension strategy) and group extension. Model farmers (like the resident villagers of the Comilla project in Pakistan and high school graduates and experienced farmers in brigade and production team of China) are selected by peasants and intensively trained and then introduce agricultural innovations to the other farmers. The group extension, with simultaneous application of model farmer strategy, unlike the conventional extension services, is effective in reaching small farmers, economical in undertaking demonstrations, recommendations/information are received by the farmers, and learning from extension worker and from each other is effective. The model farmer and group extension approach also stimulates and promotes community participation in the extension services from planning through evaluation processes.

To this focal point, WVE's agricultural extension approach (see annex 4.10) is however influenced by the conventional T & V system (also widely adopted by the MOA) with only slight differences that paraprofessionals (high school graduates) have been recruited and trained as AEF and community has involved in some processes. In principle, it was sought that AEFs to be accountable to the PA ADPC administratively, and to WVE's agricultural unit technically. Yet, in practice, they are accountable both administratively and technically to the agricultural unit, and thus community participation in the processes is limited. The selection of contact and follow farmers, however, has been conducted jointly.

(b) Rural credit- There had been almost no formal credit extension (only one time fertilizer loan extended by Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank) in Omosheleko, before the launching of RAILS in 1988 by WVE. Informal borrowing from local money lenders (land owners before 1974 and local elites and small merchants after 1974) at an exorbitant interest rate (ranging from 100-200% per annum) have common in the area. Rural credit program in the form of Revolving Agricultural Inputs Loan Scheme (RAILS) (in 1991 it became Revolving Loan Scheme [RLS] to include non-farm income generating activities) was first initiated in 1988 by WVE. The main objective of RAILS (being individual credit and with out collateral) was to rehabilitate drought-affected households by providing agricultural inputs on non-interest bearing loan basis. From the point of view of participatory approach the important question to be raise is that have the community played roles in designing and implementation of the credit program (RAILS/RLS)? WVE had been a key actor in designing process, while in implementation process RLS committee was formed at development centre and woreda levels (see annex 4.11 for the processes followed). At woreda level representatives from WVE and MOA were added. The performance of RAILS/RLS, from 1988 to 1993, in terms of coverage and loan recovery rate (annex 4.12 and 4.13) shows that 20-41% of the needy households (needy households are taken to be 80% of the total households in the target area) have been covered and the recovery rate was ranging from 49 to 90% (WVE, 1994).

Despite the modest performance, it was identified that RAILS/RLS had encountered structural and functional (delivery) problems. The main ones are: first, ineffectiveness of RAILS/RLS committees in screening of borrowers, purchasing of inputs, follow up of loan utilization and collecting loan repayments; second, in-kind (in grains) loan repayments had been difficult because of problems associated with storage, transportation, quality of grains and handling; third, delays in delivery of agricultural inputs which should be availed from outside the project area; fourth, because of limited understanding about the credit program (often emanated from absence or inadequate awareness creation), borrowers had not utilized

loans wisely. For instance, a good number of draft oxen were sold by borrowers and they were not very well sure whether the loan should be repaid. Moreover, the sustainability of the credit program was questionable due to its structural and functional constraints. So in response to the limitations, RAILS/RLS was redefined in 1993 and Omosheleko Farmers' Credit and Savings Association (OFCSA) has become operational in 1994. It is expected that OFCSA will be fully handled by the community with technical support from WVE, AIDB, and MOA (annex 4.14 shows its structure). Organizationally, it is composed of traditional chiefs, elders, *edir* leaders, youth and women (annex 4.15) and supported by its own technical employees, and financially it has an initial source already in hand and outstanding balance and continuous fund channelling from FFW monetization and income from tree sales (from community wood lots and plantations), and borrowing from formal banks after being legally recognized. Savings deposits from members will also be initiated after its organizational strength according to financial sustainability plan.

Despite potential organizational and functional improvement in OFCSA's approach, yet there are cautions to be taken especially in areas of genuine community participation, targeting of the poor, quality of delivery and marketing. The bottom poor (assetless and near assetless peasants) in general and women in particular who were not well targeted during the RAILS/RLS phase should now be well targeted. Community participation at PA and sub PA (village) levels in processes of decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation needs to ensured to sustain the program at grass root level. Otherwise, the program will easily collapse without benefiting the poor.

(c) Food for Work (FFW)- one of the main agricultural problems is environmental degradation because of high population pressure and soil erosion. Soil erosion is a serious problem in Omosheleko due to intensive cultivation and ruggedness of the area. Productivity has thus been falling from time to time may be more than the national average productivity decline by 2% every year. To alleviate agricultural and environmental problems, among others, labour intensive public works such as construction of soil conservation structure (soil bund, fanyajuu, checkdam), reforestation (nursery activities/seedling raising, pitting/repitting, planting, etc) and feeder road construction and maintenance have been operationalized on FFW basis since 1986.

Food aid, besides its developmental impacts, has substantial contribution in addressing the chronic problem of food insecurity. Annually, from 1988 to 1993, 300 to 1614 MT of FFW commodity (wheat grain and food oil) has been channelled to Omosheleko which provides up to 30% employment rate annually. The food aid (FFW and FFW/relief) has a share of

about 18% of the total food availability (annex 4.16) (Food Aid Impact Assessment, Omosheleko, 1994).

In spite of the fact that food aid has positive developmental impacts, the disincentive effects on local production can not be overlooked.

The pattern of community participation in the public works or FFW activities (mainly streamed into nursery activities, preparation of planting areas, construction of conservation structures and feeder roads) follows, like others, committee structures. The PA level Environmental Rehabilitation Committee (ERC) composed of five members elected by the community coordinates the above activities.

The specific activities in the public works are screening of beneficiaries for FFW employment, identifying areas to be reforested and farm lands and degraded areas to be reclaimed by constructing soil conservation structures, managing PA/community nurseries, wood lots and plantations, distribution of FFW commodities (wheat grain and food oil) and monetizing the 40% of it to divert to sustainable development activities (like credit).

## 4.3.3.2 Basic needs provision (health, education and rural infrastructure)

The provision of basic needs (health, education and rural infrastructure) by the government was very minimal before the launching of ADP. In early 1980s, for over 100,000 of population in the woreda, there had been only two clinics (with inadequate staff in number and qualification), few elementary schools, and dry weather road. To get health services one had to walk 3-5 hours; a high school was 80-100 kms away from the woreda and as a result there had been significant number of dropouts after completing junior school; and there was no safe water supply at all and thus water-borne diseases were rampant.

#### (a) Primary health care (PHC)

The PHC services has begun during the relief period (1984/85) with intensive and curative medical care and then changed to preventive type. The primary objective of the component is 'to minimize the level of morbidity and mortality rate through PHC and capacitate [enable] the community to have easy access to health services' (Revised ADP document, 1994:9). The service has been covering 17 target PAs out of the total 31 PAs (others getting access to government and NGO clinics). The health staff of the project reach each PA once in a month with a major services of health education (mainly personal hygiene, environmental sanitation,

uses of immunization, family planning, AIDS control, etc.), antenatal care, delivery, family planning, diarrhoeal disease control, treatment of minor illnesses, extended immunization and epidemic control (malaria). Moreover, the project in collaboration with MOH and the community, coordinates the sustainability of health program through establishment of community-managed health posts (as a satellite to the health centre to provide minor PHC services for 2-4 PAs) and training of community health assistants (CHAs) and traditional birth attendants (TBAs) regularly in cooperation with the local staff of MOH. The health unit also conducts growth monitoring and nutritional surveys to check improvements and monitor the incidence of malnutrition.

After the project's health intervention in providing services and establishing and upgrading health institutions (one health centre and ten health posts), mortality and morbidity rate are said to be reduced considerably though the extent is unknown due to lack data. Before 1993 the ratio of population to doctor was nil but presently two medical doctors are assigned for population of 177,600 which is below the national population-doctor ratio of 88150:1.

Back to our point of departure, what does community participation look like in this component? The participation in decision making starts with community reporting of a variety of health problems to the community-recruited CHAs and sponsorship/health committee and then the information is relayed to WVE's health staff or/and government clinics and health centre by CHA usually on monthly basis (PHC day) or depending on the emergency situation. General problems are also raised during the general annual planning session at development centre level. Formulation of alternatives and planning exercises are processed by the health staff with inputs from MOH. But since health posts are partially decentralized they have their own revolving essential drug purchasing budget in order to provide continuous services with technical assistance from WVE and MOH.

In the implementation process, community participation is limited to initiating families to regularly attend the PHC, effecting salary payment or in-kind provision (managing his farm) for CHA, managing health post (resolving financial and operational problems related to health posts and sustaining the services) through sponsorship/health committee.

In terms of benefit sharing, the question of equitable access to health services can be raised that the benefit might largely go to the economically better off families. Given the current reduction of public expenditure on social services under the structural adjustment program and the resultant escalated costs of health services, the bottom poor might not be benefited except in the monthly WVE's PHC which is provided freely and may not be sustainable in

the long term.

The evaluation of the health component is also incorporated in biannual and annual evaluation session where the participants (representatives from community and government) raise weaknesses and propose solutions to the services only to their capacity.

#### (b) Education

This intervention 'is intended to ensure child well-being in that children have got basic benefits and access to education' (Revised ADP document, 1994:10). The major activities are education of sponsored children, provision of basic benefits to sponsored children and to their families and creating the necessary facilities (initiating families to send their children to school and cooperating in fulfilling school facilities). Out of the total 10,000 sponsored children in Omosheleko (which is 10% of the total population below 18 years of age), 81% have been enrolled in primary and secondary schools. Since the children are mostly sponsored from the poor families (mostly a child or occasionally two from a household), basic facilities such as covering school fee, meeting costs of school materials, school uniform and medical care, and of supplementary food to vulnerable or malnourished children have been provided. To protect away children and families from dependency syndrome, distribution of income generating assets/inputs such as breeding goats and pullets (poultry) have been effected to sponsored children in school or to their families. Moreover, families of sponsored children are assisted through revolving loan managed by the PA-based sponsorship/health committee (but recently transferred to OFCSA) to raise their income through non-farm income generating activities (mostly petty retail trade). What are the roles of the community in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation of the intervention?

Like the other intervention, the role of the community in decision making has often embarked on the listing and prioritization of problems related to education during the annual planning session and report to child development unit or the project through project workers working with and living in the community whenever families encounter unexpected problems. At the very grass-root level there are child care takers (CCT) (all women) looking after sponsored children in their village or sub-village (a CCT on average is responsible for 42 children) and regularly (on monthly basis) report the status of the children to the project workers.

In the implementation process, activities are accomplished according to the implementation schedule set by the project staff in consultation with the community during the planning

session. The project workers, sponsorship/health committee, CCT have their own responsibilities and do accordingly. Committee members and especially CCT have got incentives (in the form of credit provision) to discharge their responsibilities.

The sharing of economic benefits (in the form of direct benefits to the children and loan to their families), goes directly to sponsored children and their families. The social benefits accrued (individually and communally) are mainly increase in the school enrolment and increased access to education through provision of incentives/benefits and improvement in the school facilities (see annex 4.17 for the impact on school enrolment).

Like other interventions evaluation has been carried out during the biannual and annual evaluation session with the representatives from community and concerned local government organizations.

#### (c) Rural infrastructure

Rural infrastructure (construction of road and bridges, basic social services- schools, water supply schemes and spring capping, health facilities- health centre and health posts, and construction and renovation of economic services- small scale irrigation, animal health clinic, establishment of flour mills, etc.) has been a necessity to Omosheleko due the fact that the area was completely isolated from the centre. During the first phase of ADP/IRDP (1991-1993), high priority was accorded to the development of basic infrastructure. Before 1984/85, it was hardly possible to get to Omosheleko and later government constructed 25 km of low quality all weather road. By now almost it became possible to reach all target PAs by vehicle (though some of feeder roads are dry weather), the roads being constructed by the FFW program. Because of water supply schemes and capped springs, 25% of the population have got access to safe water compared to 12% of the national figure of rural population access to safe water.

The community has a significant role in implementing the activities though it seems too technical to participate in. They contributed cash, labour and material in constructing all schemes. For instance, out of the total cost of high school construction (which is not yet completed as it is being constructed by phases), community is contributing 30% in cash. For other activities, the community's share in resource contribution<sup>28</sup> (mostly in labour) ranges from 30-50% of the total cost. In terms of scheme management, some schemes such as water supply (for three PAs and one rural centre), small scale irrigation (two), health posts (ten), flour mills (two), preschool (five) have been fully or partially handed over to the community

(or to the respective and general committees). This was not easily done but followed certain processes such as skill training, management, leadership and book keeping training, linking to concerned government organizations for further technical assistance, and building of institutional capacity. In constructing and operationalizing of some project such as high school, health centre, potable water supply, and animal health clinic, concerned stake holders from the government have collaborated in taking over some of the schemes by meeting almost all operating costs with the initial co-financing by WVE.

Except the common evaluation method of biannual and annual evaluation, there had been no comprehensive impact evaluation. According to the original plan stipulated in the ADP document, the first comprehensive mid-term ADP/IRDP evaluation would have been carried out after completing the first ADP/IRDP phase (1994).

# 4.3.3.3 Gender and development (GAD)

Women in Omosheleko are not only economically poor but also socially and culturally discriminated. Over and above the subsistence crisis in south central Ethiopia and specifically in Omosheleko, women are over burdened by the whole household chores and field work, too. Feeding the whole family members is entirely up to the wives. Men have rare contribution to the household only working in the field and during the slack season they used to migrate to other areas for casual employment though now restrained due to the overwhelming ethnic politics in the country. To these economic and socio-cultural scenario, the GAD component had to intervene to address both economic and social problems. Thus the objective of the component' is to lessen home burdens, improve working conditions, create access to resource management and control, increase women participation in decision making and sensitize the public about gender issue (gender inequality)' (Revised ADP document, 1994:9). Accordingly the major intervention areas are: creating access to asset creation or income generating schemes such as flour mill services, water supply, credit to finance farm and non-farm income generating activities (farm tools, small ruminants, cattle fattening, gardening, weavery, spinning, retail trade, etc.), (see annex 4.18) fuel efficient (energy saving) mud stove production. The strategies/means pursued to implement these activities are adoption of GAD extension services as an education and diffusion of appropriate innovation to women, organizing women in functional committees (like flour mill committee and representation of women in other committees) and in women credit groups, and GAD awareness training to men and women (represented from all committees) in the project area.

The pattern of community participation in general and women participation in particular in

decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation is almost similar to the pattern in other components. In the annual planning session, women are represented from contact women (who have been selected to impart innovations like contact farmers), flour mill committee and water committee, though their representation is still minimal compared to male representation. They raise their economic and social problems to be addressed. It should be noted here that it was a gradual process that women attain this position because of inherent cultural discrimination (for instance women should not sit in the formal meeting) and thus they were even disregarded when they were speaking in the meetings. The improvement achieved was mainly due intensive gender awareness training and workshops for the project staff, development facilitators, local government staff and community.

In the implementation process, women are becoming active in activity accomplishment and resource contribution (usually labour). Their involvement in program management like water supply schemes, flour mills and credit provision is encouraging.

Regarding economic, social and political benefits, though limited at present because of the low level of involvement in decision making and implementation, women have got opportunities in improving their family income and thereby consumption, improving their position in their social status in the society and reducing cultural stereotypes. The question of access to and control of resources at household level might have been addressed.

Like in the planning session women representatives attend the evaluation session and raise comments and suggest solutions to their economic and socio-cultural problems.

In summary, as being analyzed generally at ADP/IRDP level and specifically by sectors/intervention components (in the preceding sections), participation of Omosheleko community in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation of ADP/IRDP (and the role of WVE and government) can be summarized using PAM (table 4.1). It should be noted that under the dimensions of participation, sectors (public, private and intermediate) does not apply to Omosheleko setting (as it is for the macro perspective where the state/public, NGO and the private sectors are profoundly the main actors). In filling the matrix, judgemental analysis (for instance for how much of participation in optimization of participation) has been applied; the main actors are WVE, committees (representing the community and sometimes community itself) and government; and the variables under the types of participation directly corresponds to the variables under the dimensions of participation.

Table 4.1 Analysis of Types and Dimensions of Participation for Omosheleko ADP/IRDP using PAM

Types of participation			Di	mensions of particip	ation							
participation		Optimization of particin	pation	How participation occurs								
	How much	What kind	By whom	Whose initiative	Incentive	Channels	Duration	Scope				
1. Decision making Problem identification	Most	Enlisting problems	ADPC, sectoral comm., facilitators, beneficiaries (stm), PA adm., LTI	WVE and committees	Voluntary	Mostly indirectly	Regular	Broad				
Formulation of alternatives	Few	Enlisting activities Prioritization	(Same)	WVE and committees	Voluntary	Mostly indirectly	Regular	Broad				
Planning of activities	Almost none	Scheduling, drawing implem. strategy (plan of action)	WVE and facilitators	WVE	-	-	-	-				
Resource allocation	None	Total budgeting, allocation by target PAs	-	=	-	-	_	-				
2. Implementation							1					
Activity accomplishment	Medium	(Sectoral)	ADPC, sectoral cmm. facilitators, beneficiaries, LTI, govt	WVE and committees	Voluntary	Indirect (mostly) & direct	Continuous	Medium				
Program management	Few	Monitoring, supervision, administration	ADPC, sectoral comm., govt	WVE and committees	Voluntary, incentives (stm)	Indirect	Continuous	Narrow				
Resource contribution	Medium	Labour, material, cash	Beneficiaries/ target HHs, govt	WVE and committees	Voluntary, coercion (stm & indirect)	direct	Adhoc	Medium				

3. Benefit sharing Economic	Medium	Employment (FFW), asset creation, income generation, productivity improvement	Middle and low income groups	WVE and committees		Direct and indirect	continuous	medium
Social	Medium	Basic needs, participation	All income groups	WVE and committees	-	direct and indirect	Continuous	Medium
Political	Few	Respect for economic & social right (justice)	LTI, committees	WVE, LTI and committees	Voluntary	Indirect	Adhoc	Narrow
Cultural	Medium	Gender issue	Women	WVE	Voluntary	Indirect	continuous	Medium
4. Evaluation (feed back to 1, 2 & 3)	Medium	Biannual & annual participatory program evaluation, external evaluation	WVE, ADPC, sectoral comm., facilitators, PA adm., LTI, goyt	WVE and committees	Voluntary	Indirect	Continuous	Medium

NB: stm- sometimes comm.- committees

adm.- administration

Types of participation			Dimensions o	f participation				
	Institutional/ individual		Levels of participation	pn	Government response			
	individual	Group	Community	Locality	Fear	Approval		
1. Decision making								
Problem identification	Inst.	3	2	1		Y		
Formulation of alternatives	Inst.	3	2	1		Y		
Planning of activities	-	· =	-	-		Y		
Resource allocation	_	<u>-</u>	-	-	Y	_		
2. Implementation			1					
Activity accomplishment	Inst.	2	1	3	-	Y		
Program management	Inst.	2	1	3	Υ	-		
Resource contribution	Indiv.	3	2	11	-			
3. Benefit sharing					•			
Economic	Indiv. (mostly) & inst.	2	1	3	-	Y		
Social	Indiv. & inst.	3	2	1	Υ	Y		
Political	Inst.	-	-	1	Υ	-		
Cultural	Indiv.	-	-	1	<u>-</u>	Υ		
4. Evaluation (Feed back to 1, 2 & 3)	Inst.		2	1	Υ	ΥΥ		

NB: - means none 1= mostly 2= moderately 3= rarely Y= Yes

# 4.4 Issues of Participatory ADP/IRDP

As NGOs are not constituencies of government their development strategies and interventions are characterized by the feature that they strive to enable and empower the target community to execute and sustainably continue to achieve the long term goal. This implies that NGOs would not wait until the overall goal is achieved but phase out or withdraw from the intervention area after attaining their 'own goal' that is to enable and/or empower. To this end this sub section tries to examine current preparation for that and foresee potential challenges by taking into account replacability/sustainability, empowerment (especially in relation to government and NGO dichotomy of development strategies) and targeting (in relation to sustainability of addressing the poor and marginalized).

# 4.4.1 Replacability/Sustainability

Replacability and sustainability can be treated in short term and long term perspectives respectively. Any organization or WVE can ask itself, internally, whether ADP/IRDP is replacable in all target regions uniformly and, externally, can it be adopted and replacable by other NGOs (as NGOs have, by and large, common characteristics) and/or government organization? This would help to answer whether ADP/IRDP is an alternative strategy or 'fit-to-the-government' development intervention though ADP/IRDP is capital 'pouring' in comparison to government's 'drops'. This also reminds us to recapitulate the lessons drawn from 'test ADP' which was considered as a learning/workshop forum before launching in other regions. Comprehensively enough, sustainability significantly demands the capability of WVE to achieve its goal which is to hand over ADP/IRDP to the community or to the coalition of the community and government so that the 'owner' can handle the program sustainably.

To start from simple organizational limitation, WVE did not adequately plan sustainability in the ADP document; nevertheless in the course of implementation the issue became an impasse and (re)thinking was thus necessary. To test the replacability of ADP in the first place, WVE launched test ADP to draw lessons from and then apply to other regions within the organization. However, the time gap between the launching of test ADP (1989) and in the northern part of the country and applying to other regions (1990/91) was so brief that it is difficult to justify whether sufficient lessons were recorded within that period. In the ADP designing process, appropriate government personnel at all level (with greater participation from local offices) were involved and so that a strong interaction between the actors (including community representatives) had taken place to shape ADP at least in conformity

to the government development policies and strategies. The position of the government organizations as stake holders and RRC as a controlling/monitoring body had given them an opportunity to influence WVE's (and also NGO community in general) development goal and strategy to be a subservient to government rather than empowering the community which is not stipulated in the government policies. Other NGOs did not involve in the ADP designing process which could have brought important contributions in directing poverty alleviation strategies more towards empowering the community.

In WVE (as might be in most NGOs), there is strong belief that as far as community participation is well instituted in the process of rural development or poverty alleviation program, the question of phase out and sustainability is not worrisome. To this effect the following checklist was considered by WVE.

Table 4.2 Standards and Indicators of Phasing out and Sustainability

Standard	Indicators
1. Leadership training	-Identify potential leaders
	-Identify key organizers
	-Delegation/power exercise
	-Stewardship
	-Efficiency & effectiveness
	-Sense of ownership
2. Skill training	-Book keeping/financial management
	-Irrigation water management
	-Water supply management
	-Credit management
	-Clinic/health post management
	-Input supply management & extension management
	-Nursery/tree planting management
	-Harvesting management
	-Child sponsorship
3. Food security	-Availability
	-Access
3.1 At household level	-Use
3.2 At PA level	
4. Resource commitment	-Material
	-Labour
	-Cash
5. Environmental management	-Checking soil erosion
<del>-</del> .	-Availability of fuel wood
	-Vegetation cover
	-Environmental sensitivity in intervention

Source: Checklist for Measuring Transformational Development (extracted).

The checklist tries to list out an important economic and social interventions or activities to be emphasized. Though these are essential, the basic organizational or institutional arrangement has not been accorded top priority as it should have been, except identification of local traditional institutions and strengthening of functional committees. In other words institutional participation has not been well thought of and due preparation commenced. Establishing functional and general committees and building relationships with local traditional institutions and using them as a means to execute activities is not the same as creating or promoting a strong community institution that can take over and able to sustain the program independently with technical assistance from the government but without unnecessary interference. Though half of the project life is remaining according to the original plan, relying on the existing committees as a panacea for sustainability seems controversial and challenging to WVE. Sustainability from the micro point of view (project/scheme sustainability), provisionally seems to be happening without much organizational and financial difficulty as long as the necessary conditions (such as skill and leadership training are given) are fulfilled and technical assistance rendered by WVE. But sustainability at macro level (sustaining the whole program in integration for poverty alleviation) needs to be given top priority. From wider economic perspective, for instance taking food security at household and locality level, to what extent will the woreda be able to sustain itself in producing sufficient food and having access to it when FFW intervention (currently contributing 10% to the food supply) is disengaged? Until the phase out period agricultural production should increase significantly and other alternatives of income generating activities needs to be promoted to ensure economic sustainability that is reduction of rural poverty. At the same time employment opportunities should be created when FFW employment is withdrawn.

## **4.4.2** Empowerment

Empowerment inherently entails two faces: economic and socio-political. In the former case it is the right and capacity of the community to have access to and control or resources and capacity to pass decisions on the allocations and management of resources; and in the latter case, in addition to economic right and capacity, political right and self-administration are essential. However, empowerment in the WVE;s social development context is conceptualized by concentrating only around program administration (decision making, planning and implementation, and evaluation), addressing social injustices that undervalue the poor, and educating the powerless. Nonetheless empowerment, in addition to these, has to do with institutional capacity to mobilize the community towards self administration and respond to government policies and strategies to the people's economic and socio-political

advantage.

A case from Omosheleko which can be considered as one aspect of empowerment is the extended debate/interaction held between the community (represented by elders) and the government organization-MOE for construction of a high school in Omosheleko (see annex 4.19) for the processes undergone) though an evaluation team (1992) argues the case is not a typical example of empowerment,. Though WVE had an indirect input, in fact as a role that should be played, the community had eventually persuaded the ministry to construct a high school in tripartite financing (WVE, MOE, community).

# 4.4.3 Targeting

In ADP/IRDP intervention targeting takes three forms: first, direct targeting to the poor in sponsoring children and their families; secondly, targeting towards the most deprived PAs (for instance addressing the problem of water supply, malaria infestation, soil degradation, malnutrition, availability of social services, etc.); thirdly, group or occupational targeting where occupationally distinct groups such as potters, weavers, small traders, women, etc are addressed.

Direct sponsorship targeting involves the screening of income/asset poor households by the sponsorship committee according to the screening criteria set. The sponsorship or child development unit of the project checks whether the screening is done according to the criteria and fill child's and parent's basic form and send to the sponsors via head office. The PA or area targeting method also focuses on the economic and social problems encountered by the residents and again disaggregated to villages and households. The group or occupational targeting also includes returnees from the resettlement areas due to ethnic conflict intensified by the ethnic politics in the country, and demobilized soldiers of the previous (Derg) regime (especially the south central Ethiopia was the main source of military recruitment because of its high population or based on quota system). Both groups in Omosheleko (estimated to 13,000 or 7% of the total population) are deprived because of the fact that their property has already been looted or devastated during the strife and war.

Despite the unavailability of data, it is apparent that the assetless poor (landless and near-landless) have very limited access to credit that committees respond that since these 'ineligible' groups are not able to pay their debt, they are not considered during beneficiary screening for credit, but only eligible for FFW employment opportunities.

As eligibility criteria is always important in targeting, criteria have been applied in each (sub)component (like FFW, credit input provision, child sponsoring, etc.). However the criteria developed are ambiguous basically for the main reasons that: (a) absolute and relative poverty have not been defined in the local or regional context (it is also true for the country) and so that who are and are not poor have not been vividly identified. This implies that screening or targeting is so subjective and can easily be twisted or misapplied to divert benefits to unintended groups; (b) seen from poverty definition point of view, household registration does not clearly show the ownership of asset (especially land) and how much is owned by a household as land redistribution (to the new households) is a continuous process; the household registration by itself is not clear due to the fact that there are two kinds of household: 'visible' (tax payers, land owning and PA members) and 'invisible' (non-tax payers, landless and not often PA members); and (c) food supply/availability and income and expenditure pattern at household level has not been adequately defined aggregatively nor temporally. In absence or inadequacy of these basic variables, it quite difficult to implement targeting and on the contrary leakages of benefits to the unintended groups could be maximum. For instance, in the FFW scheme one of the eligibility criteria is small land ownership (at least below average land holding of 0.9 ha/household), whereas the 47% of the FFW beneficiaries were owning above a hectare each according to the FFW impact assessment survey conducted in 1994 (see annex 4.19). In the credit component, most of the borrowers are under the average income category since the low income groups (land less and nearlandless), though in principle eligible for credit, are not practically benefiting for which the committees justify that they can not repay their debt.

With imperfection of targeting, leakage is inevitable which can be seen at two levels: during and after the delivery of inputs/services. 'During delivery' leakage is largely ascribed to bureaucratic process which in turn splitted into WVE's staff and community (committees). At WVE level leakage could be considered in term of delay in procurement and distribution, bureaucratic decisions (say long project appraisal), unjustifiable expenses, etc; and at community (committee) level imperfection in screening (bribery, clique friendship, etc.) and in purchasing and distribution (corruption, low quality purchases, etc.) . 'After delivery' leakage is higher especially with FFW commodity distribution where local traders (mostly traders from outside the project area) purchases at lower prices and sometimes they pay in advance so that the beneficiary is tied to the agreement especially in time of seasonal food shortage. Centralized FFW commodity distribution points have also contributed to leakages since beneficiaries should travel long distance to get their payments.

## V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From our analysis, the increasing incidence of rural poverty in Ethiopia is not only attributed to macro-economic (lack of capital, technology, etc), social (civil strife, poor administration, etc) and natural causes (poor weather/drought) but also, more importantly to lack of community participation which stretches from participation in simple project design to national policy formulation. The development strategy in general and rural development strategy in particular have adopted 'top-down' style of development management which entirely marginalized the community and kept away from knowing what the state does thus a gap between the state and the public has strategically been maintained so that the former can mercilessly extract 'surplus' from the latter especially the from rural population constituting 85% of the total population.

The centralization of the political power and national state formation (before 1974) through its exploitative agrarian system (land lordism) was the main instrument to control the rural poor and make subservient to the centralized state. The poor were denied access to and control of physical assets. None of the institutions helped the poor at least to improve their livelihood until the 1974 popular uprising that demolished the feudo-capitalist regime. Although the post-1974 military regime completely abolished land lordism and redistributed land, the subsequent policies of agricultural development, (production organization into socialist large scale farming), marketing, pricing, industrialization and the like could not free the poor from the 'deprivation trap'. Small holders (peasant family farms) were discouraged and Soviet-oriented collectivization (agricultural and services cooperativization and villagization) was highly favoured but did not succeed due to structural problems, more conspicuously due to the 'top-down' management instead of initiating 'bottom-up' participatory approach. The campaign-oriented development strategy was basically 'capital accumulation to generate fast growth' at the expense of the peasantry. Consequently, agriculture or rural economy was to finance the industry and service sectors, and meet the export demand to import capital goods for the secondary and tertiary sectors. This urgent need accelerated the extraction of 'surplus' from the rural sector through marketing, pricing and fiscal policies. Furthermore, the rural sector had to finance the costs of extended civil war which claimed considerable magnitude of resources. Natural calamities (erratic weather) and environmental degradation have also eroded the productive capacity of human and capital resources. Due to the resultant subsistence crisis the rural poor have become vulnerable to famine and any economic shock.

The response to this crippling crisis was unsatisfactory. The regional rural development

integrated rural development projects like CADU/ARDU, WADU, etc. launched under the framework of growth-oriented 'surplus' extraction model had not brought about positive economic impacts on the rural poor but the poor were marginalized due to the fact that the benefits of the project were directly or indirectly channelled to the middle and large land owners. It is not difficult to draw implications from the objectives of the projects (for instance CADU/ARDU) that had been veiled under 'bringing economic and social development' which is not either targeted to reduce poverty or involve the poor in rural development. With other subsequent rural development strategies such as MPP, PADEP, and cooperativization (favouritism to large scale farming for simplified extraction), the same holds true that they were utterly growth-oriented extraction strategies instead of attacking rural poverty. Even the resettlement program said to have grossly targeted to the poor regions had remained fruitless because of 'top-down' designing and implementation, and weak targeting. In addition to ascribing incidence of rural poverty to the extractive policies, and social and natural factors, as being analyzed in this paper, what is the structural explanation for the increasing incidence of rural poverty? An important but undermined by the planners policy makers is absence or lack of community participation as being analyzed in this paper by applying the Participation Assessment Matrix (PAM) on a participatory ADP/IRDP aimed at alleviating rural poverty.

As being emphasized in the theoretical framework, participation is essential to break the 'deprivation trap' or its absence or inadequacy means 'distortion of planned development'. So the complementarity between the participation and poverty alleviation is quite essential if the latter or rural development intends to effectively address the root cause of poverty. As poverty alleviation can not be reduced to a means so does participation and can not also elevated to an end. However, quite a large number of rural development or rural poverty alleviation projects (both of government and NGO) use participation as a means to achieve objectives and consequently failed to address what they have intended for. This is true for CADU/ARDU and partially for Omosheleko ADP/IRDP. From planning point of view, non-participatory approach adopts a technocratic 'top-down' and 'blue print' version while the participatory one applies the 'learning process' approach where the community involves in all processes of development from the grass-root to higher level. The former applies to CADU/ARDU and the latter (with some limitations) to Omosheleko ADP/IRDP. Specifically, with the help of the analytical tool- PAM, the followings are the major findings with regard to community participation in Omosheleko ADP/IRDP.

(1) In the decision making process community participation is almost only envisaged in problem identification and partly in formulation of alternatives (in which most of them are

done in the formal annual planning session). Participation in planning of activities and resource allocation is almost absent which means WVE does it independently for the probable reason that it is too technical to involve people in this part of decision making. However, if the participation is to be comprehensively enhanced it can be made simple to get community involved in or/and improve the technical capacity of the community (committees).

- (2) In the implementation process the participation of the community is generally moderate, but participation in program management is limited.
- (3) Participation in benefit sharing indicates that economic and social benefits have also been accrued to all income groups but with some targeting to the poor (like child sponsorship, FFW, input provision, credit to women). Provision of basic needs are equally accessible to all income groups which indirectly implies more accessibility to the relatively middle and high income groups than to the low income groups. Political and cultural benefits to the community (through local traditional institutions or elders council and committees) and women respectively have been realized as the effect of the project though this might arise government's fear that community would claim their economic, social, and political rights which is politically unsafe to the government.
- (4) Program evaluation in general largely focuses on activity accomplishment rather than on each aspect of decision making, implementation and benefit sharing. This would have helped in identifying the major weaknesses had it been done exhaustively for every element in each type of participation.
- (5) Unlike the standard requirement of participation which is the participation of general public (in the manageable organizational form), committees (general and sectoral) have excessive roles in all processes and thus it became committee participation instead of community participation. As key actors, WVE and committees have strong relationships rather than committee with community and WVE with community. This in turn installed accountability of the committees to WVE instead to the community. In other words, community is merely considered as benefit receiver not as a partnership in the overall processes. This accountability gap is developing towards various kinds of corruptions which WVE is unlikely to easily manage to control unlike the community.
- (6) Often times initiation for participation comes from WVE (by animators and sectoral staff) and sometimes from committees (when they encounter operational problems) though participation is usually voluntary but with few incentives to committee members (in the form

of credit provision) for their services. The general community rarely participate directly and thus participation is indirect through committees representation. The duration and scope of participation vary depending on the type of participation but generally seems regular and medium respectively.

- (7) Most of the time participation is institutional type (committee-based) usually at locality (project level) and less frequently at community and group levels.
- (8) There is a fear by the government in areas of resource allocation (the government grossly suspects NGOs for inefficiency and ineffectiveness in utilizing available funds, and thus demands more allocation to some components for strategic objective), program management (government agencies want to (co)-manage some projects for strategic interests) and political benefits (power sharing and claim making).

In addition to this, the issues of sustainability, targeting and empowerment need special emphasis as each of them has to do with participation and poverty alleviation and their synergetic application for concrete impact on the livelihood of the poor. The question of sustainablility of ADP/IRDP upon the withdrawal of WVE (in year 2000 or beyond) should reasonably be answered in advance. As Uphoff (1992:13) puts sustainability 'applies to institutions as much as it does to development. Sustainable institutions, ones which meet people's needs and expectation, are important for sustainable development.' This challenge is on ground for WVE to relentlessly work for sustainable institutions either by restructuring the committee structures in operation or starting total reinstitutionalization process, given the shortcomings of committees and committee participation. The issue of targeting, too, deserves utmost attention by solving the structural problem associated with it by identifying who are the poor (sound criteria in differentiating the target population into distinct income groups through exhaustive income surveys) and setting workable targeting criteria to directly channel resources to the poor without or with minimum leakage. With regard to enabling and empowerment, initially it deserves the refinement of community participation in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation and then has to do with institutional capacity as mentioned earlier.

Finally the successfulness of rural poverty alleviation is much dependent on genuine community participation in decision making, implementation, benefit sharing and evaluation, with equal attention to all types, which is achievable through continuous 'learning process' approach and management reversal.

## **ENDNOTES**

- 1. A comparative analysis done for 16 cases from Asia and 36 from African and Latin American countries showed a strong correlation between or project success (in terms of agricultural productivity and social welfare measures) and community participation (in the form of effective system of participatory local organization and small farmer involvement) in decision making and implementation (Uphoff and Cohen, 1977:3-4).
- 2. The institutions are accountable to the organizer rather than to people and elites are always the vanguard in the institutionalization process as they identified them selves with the bureaucrats. For instance, in Ethiopia , the PA administration, service cooperatives and producers cooperatives had been instrumental in the government's 'extraction policies'.
- 3. It is interesting to cite examples of successful organization against the legalistic approach from Thailand, 'When the government in Thailand undertook to "modernize" existing irrigation system by upgrading physical structures, it is also laid down a uniform system for WUAs [Water Users Association]. The standard by-laws however ignored the fact that Thai farmers had been operating existing systems reasonably effectively and certainly efficiently for generations through their own indigenous organizations' (Uphoff, 1989:17).
- 4. Uphoff (ibid:18) found out that the analysis from 150 cases of rural organizations in the world came up with the outcome that '...government personnel are not especially capable of establishing effective local organizations.' On the contrary, the effectiveness or performance of local organization has been proved to be best when they are initiated by local leaders in the community or through 'catalyst' mode.
- 5. The Brazilian 'economic miracle' was cited as a model of this approach.
- 6. In linking participation to poverty and its alleviation the grave inquiry is how participation can help in disentangling the elements of the trap from the poor? Primarily it is useful to understand the dimensions of poverty, past efforts, and contemporary strategic framework to alleviate poverty and finally to see the positive linkage between participation and rural poverty. In poverty alleviation program, it is poor that, in principle, should participate as long as they are adequately targeted. But quite often because of their powerlessness, isolation and vulnerability, their participation in processes of rural development or poverty alleviation program is considerably limited and their role is usually snatched by the local elites. It is not, consequently, impossible that the intended benefits leaked to the counterparts (the elites) and bureaucracy. Thus in assessing the performance or/and impact of participation, due attention should be given the extent of real participation by the poor.
- 7. The bottom list being Chad, Somalia, Mozambique, Zambia and Uganda with 54%, 50%, 49%, 48% and 46% of food insecure population, respectively. More than all other African countries, the frequency of famine occurrence has been higher as much as five times in 28

- 8. With in six years (between 1945 and 1951, for instance) import had doubled and exceeded export value by 28% in 1948 (Fassil, 1993:59).
- 9. Obviously the burdens were on the tenants as they operated on 36% of the total land holdings or 33% of the crop land area (Dessalegn, 1985:202). With out any productivity raising investment and change in production relations in agricultural sector by modernization, rural producers (mostly tenants) alone had to finance the escalating cost of modernization which brought about and revealed in the creation of absentee landlordism, urbanization, 'modern' life style of privileged classes and bureaucratic machinery, recognition of land as an important asset/value which in turn exacerbated exploitation of rural population (Fassil, 1993:60).
- 10. In Ethiopia, until recently, rural development is often equated to agricultural development as the non-farm rural income generation was entirely neglected. The existing small scale hand crafts producers were/are even culturally isolated and given extremely lower position.
- 11. Among the main projects, Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU) initiated in 1967 was said to be more successful and comprehensive than others. CADU, later after 1974 changed to Arssi Agricultural Development Unit (ARDU) to include the whole Arssi administrative region, had been a variant of integrated rural development designed after or may be inspired by Comilla project in Bangladesh.
- 12. Initially state farms have been continued by nationalizing the private commercial farms which had originally evicted pastoralists to establish farms, and establishing new farms in sparsely populated regions of the country but by abandoning small holders and change some of them into labourers.
- 13. Land use tax is fixed rate regardless of size and quality of land and the income tax being progressive in principle but difficult to apply practically due to absence of house hold level income data.
- 14. Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) had been collecting food and cash crops on repressive quota basis on households and at fixed prices; and Agricultural Inputs Supply Corporation (AISCO) had been distributing agricultural inputs (fertilizer, seeds, chemicals, etc.) without private or public intervention.
- 15. Ghose identified the implications of official prices that labour values are lower than even the minimum daily wage (1.92 birr) and peasant labour is undervalued and thus the peasants are losers by comparing the ratio of fertilizer to crop prices fixed by AMC in parallel or local markets. Although Ghose undermines the volume of extraction by saying '...the surplus presently extracted through this mechanisms can not be large', even leaving aside the quantitative surplus extraction, the disincentive effect on the peasants' agricultural production both in the short term and largely in the long term can not overlooked.

quantitative surplus extraction, the disincentive effect on the peasants' agricultural production both in the short term and largely in the long term can not overlooked.

- 16. The area of and population coverage by CADU was 6276 km<sup>2</sup> (or 10 districts) and 398,592 or 92,997 households respectively (Cohen, 1987:53, table 1).
- 17. Woredas (districts) were organized within regions and service cooperatives were then organized under woredas.
- 18. Specially they were instrumental in effecting land distribution among PA members. They were economic and political tools particularly in recruiting military men and mobilizing resources for the same purpose during the civil and transboundary wars.
- 19. After passing through three stages and ultimately evolving service cooperatives and PA into one system, they were expected to be like the commune of China (Fassil, 1993:115-116).
- 20. The plan, especially after 1984/85 famine (which affected 7.7 million people out of which 2.6 million or more than one-third was in Wello administrative region) was to move 1.5 million population and RRC report shows that 593,004 settlers from three administrative regions were settled in six administrative regions (Yemane, 1995:13, Dessalegn, 1991:14). Another source (Fassil, 1993:148) reports that nearly 750,000 people were resettled.
- 21. For instance to settle 7000 households 8 million dollars was incurred which is almost twice the annual per capita income (Yemane, 1995:11).
- 22. For instance after the demolition of the previous military government, a total 105,726 people returned (Yemene, 1995:14).
- 23. Initially the office was in Nairobi and the Ethiopia office was opened in 1975. The main objective at the time was settlement of refugees from Sudan and drought stricken people of Ogaden (arid region in the eastern part of Ethiopia).
- 24. Except the 'urban advance' through which urban poverty especially Addis Ababa (the capital) is addressed, small rural centers are included in the rural poverty alleviation.
- 25. Before the relief intervention it had been sponsoring 300 children through Kale Hiwot Evangelical Church.
- 26. Assistance approach is appropriate when local institutions are able to identify needs and problems; facilitation approach is applicable when local institutions are less capable and less experienced in development areas; and promotion is adopted when urgent need is required for which local institutions are underdeveloped (Uphoff, 1989:25).
- 27. Lamala Mola actually means (in the local language- Tembarigna) an association of seven tribes or brothers. By tracing long ethnic history as presented by local elders the seven tribes were all brothers.

28. For instance, community has contributed 217,850 Birr (about 34,580) until mid of 1994.

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## ANNEXES

Annex 2.1 Two Views of Participation

Issue	Participation as benefit	Participation as process				
Over all objective	Participatory development	Participation in				
Participation	Is a component in design	Is the primary rationale for intervention				
Project agent	External professional	Local animator				
Project group dynamic	Induced evolution	Organic evolution				
Education activities	Are to increase knowledge	Are to enhance awareness				
Economic activities	Are to expand benefits	Are focusing mechanism				
Human resource method	Participatory training	Training in participation				
Evaluation emphasis	Participatory evaluation	Evaluation of participation				
Evaluation method	Measurement/judgement	Description/interpretation				
Usual external agency	Governmental	Non-governmental				
Project design	Directed by NGO with community input for donor approval	Community formulated out of development process				
Accountability/reporting	NGO reports to donors with community input	Community accountable to its members				

Source: A Study on World Vision's Work in Omosheleko, Ethiopia Documentation and Learnings: 1984-1991 (1992:75).

Annex 4.1 Evolvement of WVE's intervention strategies in different phases

FIRST PHASE	SECOND PHASE	DEVELOPMEN	IT PHASE
ESTABLISHMENT> (1971-1984)	RELIEF OPERATIONS> (1985-1986)	REHABILITATION> (1987-1988)	ADP IMPLEMENTATION (SINCE 1989)
GOAL: Save lives	Save lives	-Food security -Vision for devt	-Food security -Sustainable devt
MAIN FEATURES:			
-Free food distr.	-Free food distr.	-scaled down relief	-CBTP & clustering
-Scattered projects	-massive relief	-focus on rehabil.	-Transformation of -clustered projects
-Settlement of refu.	-AgPak	-scattered projects	<ul><li>-integrated &amp; holistic approach to devt</li></ul>
-Scattered relief	-Attitudinal rehab. -Less emphasis on sponsorship	-Reflection on the -CBTP adopted as a tool -RAILS initiated -ADP vision	-RLS refinement & operation past expansion -Cooperation with GOs -Evangelism enhanced -Empowerment -Transformational devt
CHALLENGES:			
-Dependency problem	-Dependency syndrome	<pre>-Internal &amp; external resistance to devt appr.</pre>	-Self reorganization
-Low publicity	-Top down approach	-Organizational crisis	-Institutionalization
-Low cooperation	-Management complexities	-Low participation	-Sustainability & phase
from government	(personnel, trucks)	· ·	out strategies
	-Lack of strategic direc.	-Relationships gap	-Empowerment Vs culture -Govt policies & politics

Source: WVE (1994).

Annex 4.3 Basic Profile of ADP/IRDP

Project Name	Location	Year established	Main Objectives	Target beneficiaries (in 1993)	Sponsored Children	Altitude	Language and Religion
1. Omosheleko	South Shoa	1984/85	-To increase agricultural production -To ensure better health services -To provide clean and reliable water supply -To improve social services	140,000	10,005	800-2600 m.a.s.l.	Hadiya (25%), Timbaro (22%), Wolayita (14%), others (39%); Protestant (69%), Orthodox (19%), Catholic (4%), Others (8%)
2.Damota I	North Omo	1984	(same)	60,000	10,000	1500-1800 m.a.s.l.	Predominantly Wolayita and Protestants
3. Damota II	North Omo	1984	(same)	NA	9,547	NA	Predominantly Wolayita and Protestants
4. Saatusa	North Omo	1988	(same)	30,000	9,652	1100-1360 m.a.s.l.	Wolayita (majority) and Oromo; and predominantly Protestants
5. Antsokia I	North Shoa	1984/85	(same)	NA	7,807	1500-2500 m.a.s.l.	Amhara (70%), Oromo (30%); Orthodox (majority) and Muslims
6. Antsokia II	Wollo	1984/85	(same)	43,093 (in 1994)	10,000	1500-2300 m.a.s.l.	Amhara (majority) and Oromo; Orthodox (majority) and Muslims
7. Adama	East Shoa	1989/90	(same)	38,000	7,000	1400-1500 m.a.s.l.	Oromo; Orthodox (50%) and Muslims (40%)

8. Shenkola	South Shoa	1986	Reclaiming environmentally degraded areas	56,000	1,842	1100-3000 m.a.s.l.	. NA		
9. Shone	South Shoa	1991	(same)	76,431	NA	NA	Predominantly Hidiya; protestants (majority) and Orthodox		
10. Тіуа	South Shoa	1992	(same)	52,246	<u>-</u>	1500-3200 m.a.s.l.	Oromo (85%), Gurage (15%); Orthodox, Protestant, Muslim religions		
11. Kilte Awlaelo	Tigray	1992	(same)	80,000	2,570	2040-2800 m.a.s.l.	Tigray and Orthodox (majority) and Muslims		
12. Mehal Meda	North Shoa	1988	(same)	30,000	5,500	2600-3000 m.a.s.l.	Amhara and Orthodox		
13. Partnership Projects	In different parts of the country	NA	To enable needy children sustain their life	-	13,811	-	Diversified		

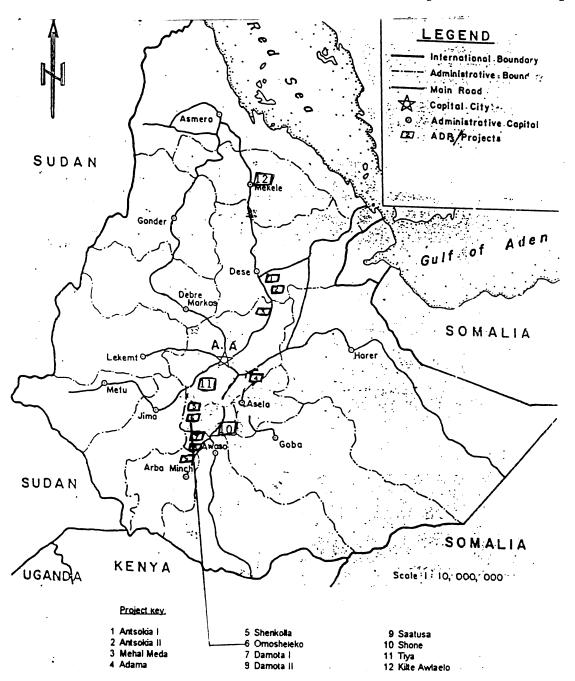
Source: WVE, Annual Reports (1992 and 1993).

Annex 4.3 Transitional Ohases of Omosheleko ADP/IRDP

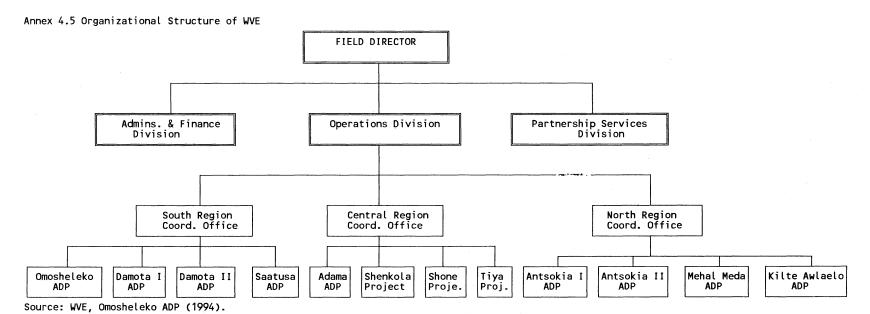
PHASES====>	RELIEF	REHABILITATION	Α,	DEVELOPMENT -ADP/IRDP
TIME FRAME===>	1984/85	1986-90	D P	1991-2000
MAJOR OBJECTIVES	Life saving	Recovery	R E	To improve the quality of life through holistic intervention
MAJOR EVENTS/FEATURES	-Free hand out -Wet feeding -Intensive medical care (curative type)	-Agpack (1986) -CBTP (1986/87) -Sponsorship (1988) -RAILS (1988)	D.	-Strategic sectoral planning -Grass-root community organization and strengthening of participation -Institutional capacity building -Empowerment -Transformational development (economic, social and cultural)

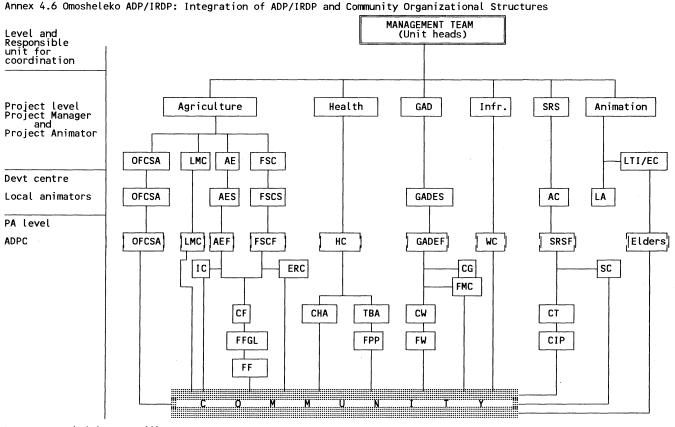
\*- ADP redesigning in 1990. Source: WVE/Omosheleko ADP (1993).

Annex 4.4 Location of ADPs and Non-ADP Projects in Ethiopia



Source: WVE, Annual Report (1993).





Source: Omosheleko ADP Office Abbreviations:

OFCSA- Omosheleko Farmers Credit and Savings Associations LMC- Local Monetization Committee AE- Agricultural Extension FSC- Forestry and Soil Conservation FSC-GAD-

Gender and Development

SRS-AES-

Sponsorship Relations Service (Child Development)
Agricultural Extension Supervisor
Forestry and Soil Conservation Supervisor
Assistant Courier

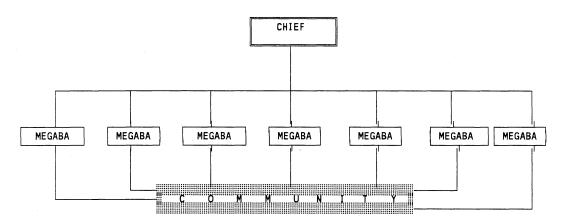
Local Animator

LTI/EC-Local traditional Institution/Elders' Council

AEF- Agricultural Extension Facilitator
FSCF- Forestry and Soil Conservation Facilitators
HC- Health Committee
GADEF- Gender and Development Extension Facilitator
WC- Water Committee
SRSF- Sponsorship Relations Services Facilitators
IC- Irrigation Committee IC-ERC-Environmental Rehabilitation Committee Credit Groups
Flour Mill Committee
Sponsorship Committee
Contact Farmers
Community Health Attendants CG-FMC-SC-CF-ČHA-Traditional Birth Attendants TBA-CW-Contact Women Care Takers
Follow Farmers Group Leader
Family Planning Promoters
Follow Women FFGL-FPP-CIP-Children In Program (sponsored Children)

Note: (1) All facilitators, supervisors, couriers are project-employed local staff from the community
(2) All community structures (committees) at PA coordinated by ADP Committee.
(3) HC and SC are the same committee responsible for health and sponsored child care.

Annex 4.7 Organizational Structure of Traditional Institutions in Omosheleko For Tembaro, Hadiya and Donga Ethnic Groups



Source: WVE, Omosheleko ADP (1993).

Annex 4.8 Land Use Pattern of the Project Area (31 PAs) by Agro-ecological Zones

Agro-zones <sup>1</sup>	No. of	Total			Crops			Total	Grazing	Forest	Hilly &	Residential	
	PAs	Area (ha)	Cereal s	Pulse s	Root crops	Home Stead	Other s	Crops			Degraded	Areas	
Dega (12%)	4	4645	3138	230	_	300	60	3728	265	402	190	60	
Woina Dega (45%)	14	16911	10917	1158	250	1074	24	13423	730	1722	734	302	
Kolla (43%)	13	15996	7670	370	520	1086	120	9766	1660	2615	1767	188	
Total	31	37552	21725	1758	770	2460	204	26917	2655	4739	2691	550	

Source: Omosheleko ADP document, 1990.

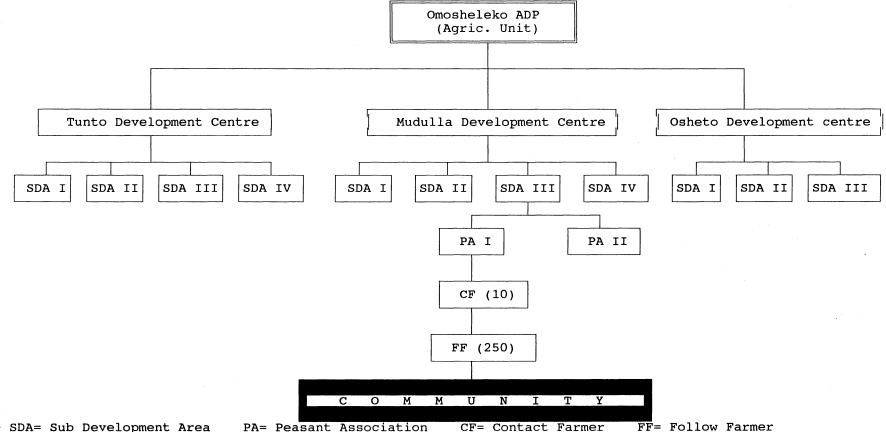
Annex 4.9 Pattern of Livestock Ownership (1990)

		Number of Animal Owned by Households																		
	None	•	0.	.5	1			2	3	3		4	5-	10	11-	- 15	16	-20	>2	0
Type of	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%	HHs	%
Livestock							,,				,,,,,									
0x	11593	43	2670	10	8829	33	2670	10	800	3	134	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cow	11143	42	5 <b>3</b> 40	20	4050	15	2688	10	2240	8	807	. 3	230	1	83	.3	75	.3	40	.2
Sheep	20388	77	1224	5	1837	7	1530	6	1225	5	337	1	87	.3	29	.1	27	.1	12	-
Goat	11934	45	2708	10	5415	20	3385	13	1805	7	1083	4	232	1	62	.2	45	.2	27	.1
Equine	22914	86	520	2	3088	12	149	1	25	-	-	-	_	-	-		-	-	-	-
Poultry	2577	10	5462	21	2731	10	6828	26	6372	24	1912	7	468	2	168	1	51	1	27	.1

HHs= Households

Source: MOA, Omosheleko Office, 1990 (extracted from ADP Document, 1990: Annex 4.0).

Annex 4.10 Omosheleko ADP/IRDP Agricultural Extension Structure



NB- SDA= Sub Development Area Source: Omosheleko ADP Office

Annex 4.11 Major Processes Undertaken in Improving the Delivery of Credit

PROCESSES/STEPS FOLLOWED	RATIONALE, PECULIAR CHARACTERISTICS AND MAJOR ACTIONS
1. INITIATION/CONCEPTION	-Community was driven by dependency attitude -An intention to stock grain for food security by collecting repayments in- kind (in grain) -An intention to revolve loans -WVE took major responsibility -Community was facilitated formally and informally
2. DESIGNING	-Goal/objectives and strategies set -Orientation on goal,strategies and procedures given to the target community -Working procedures developed (formats, manuals) -Beneficiary screening criteria developed -Terms and conditions of loans established
3. IMPLEMENTATION	-Implementing committee formed from WVE, government organization and community -Beneficiaries screened by committees _In-kind disbursement effected -Repayments in grain collected, stored and sold according to the procedures set
4. PROBLEM (FEED BACK) ANALYSIS	-Feed backs on implementation collected and analyzed -Storage and handling of grains collected had been a hindrance (poor grain quality, pest infestation, handling expenses) -Long loan processing (bureaucratic) -Less community participation _limitation in loan diversity (only limited on crop production)
5.PROGRAM RESTRUCTURING	-RAILS restructured to RLS -Repayments made in cash (simplified) -Committees restructured

Source: WVE/Omosheleko, The Role of Grass-root Credit Program in Transformational Development (Omosheleko Experience), 1994:11).

Annex 4. 12 Performance of RAILS/RLS: Loan Disbursement by Types and Number of Borrowers

Types of Loan	198	8	19	89	19	90	19	91	19	92	199	3
	Disbmt (Birr) <sup>9</sup>	NoB	Disbmt (Birr)	NoB	Disbmt (Birr)	NoB	Disbmt (Birr)	NoB	Disbmt (Birr)	NoB	Disbmt (Birr)	NoB
Improved grain seeds <sup>1</sup> Farm tools <sup>2</sup> Draft oxen Cattle fattening Breeding Goats/sheep Income generating <sup>3</sup> Retail trade <sup>4</sup>	50698 4256 - - - - -	4720 532 - - - - -	9466 11987 87878 - - -	1112 1455 279 - - - -	12622 19989 28170 - - -	2984 2659 81 - - -	23291 22132 152112 11825 - -	2080 1953 349 33 - -	11875 27103 111800 52075 12543 12470	1048 2849 288 134 143 43	- 139108 50580 9913 62400 55000	275 104 103 290 275
Total	54954	5252	109331	2846	60781	5724	209360	4415	227866	4479	317001	1047
Total No. of HHs <sup>5</sup>	1764	40	181	170	187	<b>'</b> 10 ·	192	280	198	350	2246	50 <sup>7</sup>
Needy HHs <sup>6</sup>	141	12	145	36	140	33	144	<b>460</b>	148	188	1790	68
Total No. of borrow.	525	2	28	46	57.	24	44	15	44	79	104	7 <sup>8</sup>
Access: borr/needy	37	•	2	0	4	1	3	1	30	0	5	
Unit loan (Birr)	10	)	3	8	1	1	- 4	7	. 5	1	303	3

<sup>1-</sup> Maize is the major one.
2- Are sickles, digging hoe, plough unit, etc.
3- Includes flour mills, sewing machine, wood work.
4- Directly cash disbursement to women to finance petty retail trade in grains, livestock, spices, etc.
5- Total population in the target PAs (22 PAs) divided by the average family size of 7-8.
6- Estimated to be 80 % of the total households.
7- Increased (inflated) due to returnees from resettlement areas and demobilized soldiers returned.
8- Farm tools sold in cash and beneficiaries are excluded.
9- 1 US Dollar= 2.07 Birr before 1991 and 6.00 after 1991.
Disbursement.

Disbmt- Disbursement.

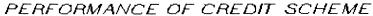
NOB- Number of borrowers.

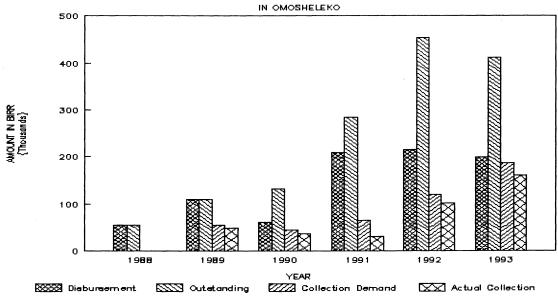
Source: WVE/Omosheleko, A Case Study on RAILS/RLS, 1992 [extracted from The Role of Grass-root Credit Program in Transformational Development (Omosheleko Experience),
1994:7]

Annex 4.13 Disbursements, Outstanding, Collection Demand and Actual Collection (1988–1993)

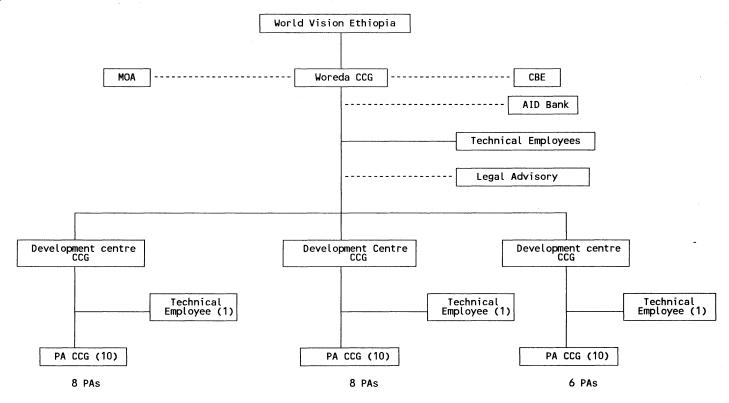
Year	Disbursement	Outstanding	Collection Demand	Actual Collection	Recovery Rate (%)
1988	54954	54954	0	0	0
1989	109331	109331	54954	49370	90
1990	60781	131084	44612	36216	81
1991	209368	283966	64883	31708	49
1992	215396	453746	120371	102075	85
1993	199601	411893	186114	160837	86

Source: WVE/Omosheleko ADP, A Case Study on RAILS/RLS, 1992 (extracted from 'The Role of Grass-root Credit Program in Transformational Development: Omosheleko Experience, 1994:11)





Annex 4.14 Organizational Structure of OFCSA



AID Bank= Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank
CBE = Commercial Bank of Ethiopia
CCG = Credit Coordinating Group
MOA = Ministry of Agriculture
PA = Peasant Association

Source: WVE/Omosheleko, The Role of Grass-root Credit Program in Transformational Development (Omosheleko Experience), 1994:11).

Annex 4.15 Members of Credit Coordinating Groups of OFCSA

Members	Number of	Number of members represented in CCG								
	At PA level	Number	%							
Traditional chiefs Elders 'Edir' leaders Youth Women	- 3322	1 2 2 2	32 1 32	3 66 66 44 44	1 30 30 19.5 19.5					
Total	10	9	11	223	100					

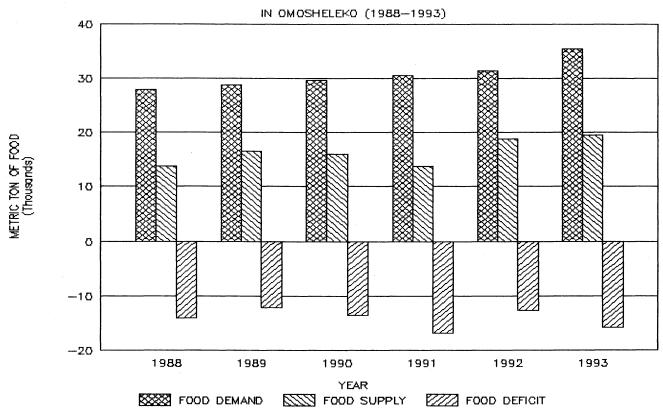
Source: WVE/Omosheleko, A Case Study on RAILS/RLS, 1992 [extracted from The Role of Grass-root Credit Program in Transformational Development (Omosheleko Experience), 1994:11).

Annex 4.15 Total Food Availability and Contribution of Food Aid in Omosheleko

			Food Su	Food Sup	oply (MT)		Food Deficit	(MT)
Year	Population	Food Demand (MT)	Crop Production	FFW	Relief	Total Supply	Volume	%
1988	123910	27880	11130	301	2347	13778	-14102	-50.6%
1989	127740	28740	15850	726	0	16576	-12164	-42.3%
1990	131690	29630	14860	1202	0	16062	-13568	-45.8%
1991	135760	30545	12990	738	0	13728	-16817	-55.1%
1992	139830	31460	17190	1614	0	18804	-12656	-40.2%
1993	157200	35370	16490	840	2220	19550	-15820	-44.7%
Total	816130	183625	88510	5421	4567	98498	-85127	-46.4%

Source: Omosheleko ADP, FFW Impact Assessment Survey, 1994.

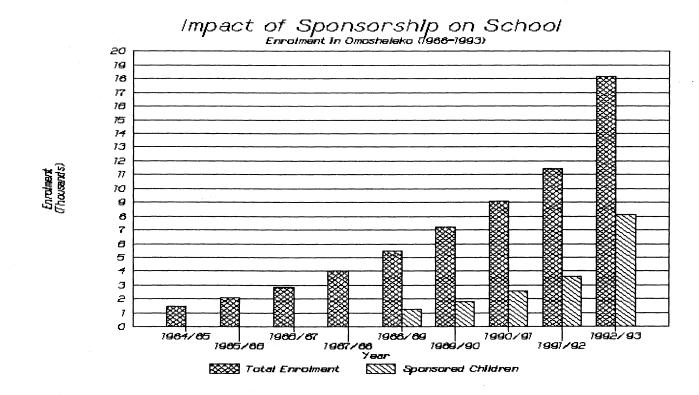
TREND OF FOOD BALANCE SHEET



Annex 4.17 Impact of Child Sponsorship on School Enrolment in Omosheleko (1984–1993)

Academic		Total Enrolm	ent P	ercentage	Sponsored	Percentage	% of sponsored
Year	Male	Female	Total	Increase	Students	Increase	Children
1004/05	1150	005	4444	•			
1984/85	1159	285	1444	0	0	. 0	0
1985/86	1618	458	2076	44	0	0	0
1986/87	2231	657	2888	39	0	0	0
1987/88	3121	924	4045	40	0	0	0
1988/89	4201	1255	5456	35	1264	0	23
1989/90	5519	1732	7251	33	1852	47	26
1990/91	6804	2275	9079	25	2558	38	28
1991/92	8494	2979	11473	26	3590	40	31
1992/93	12647	5503	18150	57	8090	125	45

Source: Omosheleko ADP, Annual Report, 1993.



Annex 4.18 Provision of Credit to Women

-	1	991	1	992		1993	Total	
Type of credit	NoB	Amt Disb.	NoB	Amt Disb.	NoB	Amt Disb.	NoB	Amt Disb.
Draft Oxen Small Ruminants Fattening Steers Flour mill (two) Tailoring/Sewing Machine Retail trade (in cash)	3 - - -	1290 - - - - -	63 - - 4	1800 5040 - 4000	11 103 9 290 - 275	4800 9913 4215 62400 - 55000	18 166 9 290 4 275	7890 14953 4215 62400 4000 55000
Total	3	1290	71	19840	688	136328	762	148458

NB- Retail trade includes local trade of grain, butter, spices, small ruminants, etc. NoB= Number of borrowers Amt Disb. = Amount disbursed

Source: Omosheleko ADP File (1993)

Annex 4.19 A Case of Community Empowerment: Processes of Empowerment in Constructing Mudulla High School in Omosheleko

	_
PROCESSES.	/ACTION

# INITIATION/IDEA GENERATION

### PERIOD/YEAR

#### 1972

#### **MAJOR EVENTS**

- 1. Why initiated? The nearest high school was available at 80 km of distance. Hence: unaffordable in terms of:
  -cost of living (Birr 600-800/student/year)
  -transport service (unavailable)
- 2. Elders had a leading position in initiation

### PROCESSES/ACTION

## APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT AND THE RESPONSE 1977-1980

PERIOD/YEAR MAJOR EVENTS (1974 - 1976)

- (Revolution) 1. The articulated appeal made to the government- MOE (verbal and in writing)
  - Rejection by the MOE reasoning that Omosheleko does not fulfil the technical requirement and lack of resource from the government
  - 3. Strategy revised- community contribution to partially cover the construction cost and the community agreed

## IDEA DISSEMINATION AND DISCUSSION

#### 1973- early 1974

- 1. Idea disseminated to other elderly groups and community members of the woreda
- Comprehended and approved by the community
- 3. Coordinating team established (reputed elders) by the community

### REAPPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RESPONSE

#### 1981-1983

- 1. Repeated appeal made with consensus by the community to partially to partially meet the cost
- 2. MOE planned to construct high school at 60 km away from Omosheleko (in other woreda)
- 3. MOE proposed the contribution to be made by Omosheleko community 4. The coordinating team and the community disagreed on the proposal of the MOE

#### PROCESSES/ACTION

#### **EXTENDED DEBATE AND STRATEGY REVISION**

PERIOD/YEAR

(1984/85)

1986-1989

**MAJOR EVENTS** (Famine) Repeated appeal to MOE (up to the central government Rejection by the MOE/gov't

- 2. Rejection by the MOE/gov't
  3. High number of drop outs at grade eight
  4. Strategy: -raise the level of contribution by the
- community; and also contribution in labour and material

  5. What was the role of WVE? (what has CBTP done?) 5.1 Facilitating the community to avoid dependency on free-hand outs
  - 5.2 Encouraging and rendering technical advices on the construction of the high school

### PROCESSES/ACTION

## PERIOD/YEAR

### **MAJOR EVENTS**

CONSTRUCTION COMMENCED

#### 1991

- 1. Contribution started by the community (30%) and by WVE (70%) (total cost Birr 3 million)
- wee (70%) (total cost Birr 3 million)

  2. Community (with the leadership of elders and committee members) have protected the high school under construction from looting during the fall of the previous regime.

  3. The HCC started supervising the progress of construction that the horse started supervising the progress of construction of the hCC started supervising the progress of construction.
- 4. The HCC planned to conduct regular meetings to discuss on
- the progress of the community contribution and related items

  5. The HCC frequently meets the ADP's management team and
- discusses on issues and problems 6. The HCC started to coordinate fund raising outside the the project area
- 7. The community raised the importance of vocational rather than academic school since the former creates self employment

Source: WVE/Omosheleko Document, 1994.

#### STUDY BY THE MOE

#### 1990

Priority given to high school construction in need identification during ADP redesigning

Discussion with WVE on the possibility of constructing the high school

3. WVE agreed to contribute with a condition that the coordinating team

to process the approval with MOE

4. Revised strategy shown to the MOE

5. Study by the MOE and approval upon the condition that agreement paper between WVE and the community be submitted

6. Agreement signed between WVE and the community

7. plan drawn on how to coordinate the contribution by the community

### CONSTRUCTION CONTINUED

#### 1992-1994

9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades opened Supervision continued by high school construction committee

Cash contribution continued by the community

- 4. Request for the vocational school again raised by the community to the MOE
- MOE reexamined the inquiry and processes of approval have been started for the construction of general workshop accommodating some important vocational streams

6. Community allocated an operational area of 3 ha for the expansion the school to the existing 7 ha

Annex 4.20 Land Distribution Pattern of FFW Beneficiaries by Agro-zones

	. Number of	Total land	Average land holding/HH (ha)	Range of land holding (Ha)						
Agro-zones	interviewees	holding (ha)	holding/HH (ha)	0.5-1.0	1.1-1.5	1.6-2.0	2.1-2.5	2.6-3.0		
Dega (12%) Wina Dega (45%) Kolla (43%)	3 13 14	3.4 14.9 17.3	1.2 1.1 1.2	2 7 7	1 3 5	- 3 1	- - -	- - 1		
Total	30	35.6	1.2	16	9	4	_	11		
%				53	30	14	-	3		

Source: Omosheleko ADP/ FFW Impact Assessment Survey, 1994.

Annex 21 Sectoral Performance of ADP/IRDP (1984/85-1993)

	Unit	REL	IEF		REHABIL	ITATION		C	EVELOPMEN	١T
Sector/activities		1984/85	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
1. RELIEF										
Wet feeding Dry ration distribution Patients treated (new) Admitted patients Immunization Food distribution: Wheat grain CSB Food Oil Total Total beneficiaries	Person Person Person Person Person MT MT MT MT Person	3000 13197 27252 934 4664 NA NA NA 4664 NA	- 11846 - - NA NA 2347 NA	- - - - - - - - -	11567 - - - - - - - -	1111111111			-	- - - - 3363 308 78 3749 198188

		REL	IEF		REHABIL	ITATION			DEVELOPMEN	I
Sector/ activities	Unit	1984/85	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
2. AGRICULTURE 2.1 Agric. Ext. & Input Dis.										
Improved seeds (HYV) Vegetable seeds Fertilizer Pesticides Farm tools Draft oxen Fattening steers Breeding goats/sheep Poultry (Improved pullets) Beehives Compost preparation Coffee stumping and pruning Forage development Training of farmers	Qt. Kg Qt. Lt Pcs No No No Pits Trees HHs Person	5407 1270 5289 1350 27614 1513 - - - - - - - 90	-	499 984 5639 2379 10348 - - - - - - - - -	590 44 2980 1760 532 83 - - - - - - - - -	140 45 1530 161 1454 539 - - - - - - 165	370 -7 754 1869 314 - 268 - - - - 297	260 216 59 2659 349 33 - - - 429 2513 110	231 25 324 2887 2887 128 122 400 122 2589 378	107 540 627 257 99 99 1869 3688 167
2.2 Forestry & Soil Conserv.	·	·								
Reforestation Tree seedling production Fruit seedling production Total Tree seedling planted Distribution: tree seedlings fruit seedlings Total	,000 (No) ,000 ,000 ,000 ,000 ,000		510 510 500 - -	1480 40 1520 1231 249 40 289	1653 7 1660 1419 234 7 241	2035 44 2079 1786 249 44 293	2148 2 2150 1899 238 2 240	2369 149 2518 1741 628 149 777	2210 12 222 1372 838 12 850	2533 14 2547 2310 223 14 227
Forage seed multiplication	Ha	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.32	0.37	1.96
Physical conservation Simple bund Fanyajuu Check dam Cut off drain Micro-basin	Km Km Km Km ,000 (No)	- - - -	- - - - -	42 - 5 - 5	135 - 29 - 28	333 12 - 492	981 36 484	811 40 16 895	754 59 5 325	202 348 24 5 19
Training of farmers	Person	-	30	24	77	77	92	100	97	146

Sector/ activities	Unit	RELIEF		RËHABIL	ITATION			DEVELOPMENT	r
		1985/86	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
3. HEALTH									
Antenatal service Delivery service Postnatal service Growth monitoring Family planning Immunization	Persons Persons Persons Persons Persons	- - - - -	- - -	2544 379 624 3435	1429 428 572 4261 8	2447 760 602 11535 15	1640 929 1119 11671 189	1427 852 - 18484 341	2162 686 3709 660
DPT Polio BCG Vaccination	Persons Persons Persons	- - -	49 49 155	2722 2722 2954	1845 1845 1852	1686 1686 2047	1077 1077 1347	913 913 843	1029 1029 1029
Measles Meningitis Treatment Malaria	Persons Persons Persons	4664 - -	59 - -	7701 7639 3790	138 <u>5</u> - 167	1620 - -	-	756 - -	1029 - 2353
Meningitis _II for mothers	Persons Persons		-	835 835	167 167 663	-680	1205	895	1102
4. INFRASTRUCTURE  Road construction Road maintenance Bridge construction Irrigation development Grain mill house constr.	Km Km No Ha No	- - - -	36 70 - -	4 50 37	7 <del>5</del> 1 -	22 13 - - -	14 29 1 1	- 6 2 - 1	- - - 20
Construc. of social serv. Feeding centre Major clinic Health posts High school Pre-schools VIP latrine Warehouse Gravity water supply Springs capped	No No No Block No No No	8 - - 1 -		- - - - - - -	16	- 5 - - - 2	162 1	- - - - 85 - -	- - 6 2 - 1 2

			REHABILITATION			DEVELOPMENT	
Sector/activities	Unit	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
5. SPONSORSHIP/CHILD DEVELOPMENT							
School fee payment School material distribution School uniform distribution Other cloth (sweater) distrib. Detergent (soap) distribution Medical treatment Supplementary food Distribution: Grain Oil Supplementary food Livestock distribution Poultry (pullets/cockerel)	CIP CIP CIP CIP CIP CIP MT MT CIP No	- 1800 - - 687 208 - - 183	1620 1620 4807 - 578 169 - 658	4552 4552 6674 - 962 360 139 644	4533 4533 1052 - 10005 1631 - - 822	7971 5971 8000 - - 2506 - - 2176	8090 8090 6000 10000 2771 - - 3000 - 400
6. GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT							
Appropriate technology Mud stove production Mud brick bakery Mud brick Mud furniture Fuel efficient mud stove adopters	Set Set Pcs Pcs HHs	- - - -	- - - -	23 	173 1 7884 22 23	217 3 8383 83 150	194 4 13675 50 190
Facilitation and education	Persons	-	-	2200	6478	5028	11209
Retail credit borrowers	persons	· -		-	-	-	275
Training Food and nutrition Mud stove production Gardening (vegetable production) Income generating Pottery skill upgrading	Persons Persons Persons Persons Persons	- - - -		23 23 - - -	77 72 10	277 - 12	475 44 380 10 47

NB: (1) Set includes all parts of a stove or a bakery to start function.

(2) Facilitation and education mainly concentrates on diffusion of appropriate innovations and income generating activities.

(3) Trainees (including men) in income generating activities (weavery, carpentry, tailoring) have also been provided with the necessary tools and equipment on credit basis.

(4) Retail trade credit beneficiaries are widows, potters (locally considered as a minority) and contact women (as incentives and demonstration to others).

			TION

Tanina	Capacity building training in 1993				
Trainees	No of trainees	Frequency	Types of Training		
Facilitators Agricultural Extension Facilitators GAD Extension Facilitators SRS Facilitators Local Animators	14 11 32 3	2 2 1 3	CBTP and GAD awareness		
Community ADP Committee OFCSA/CCG members Local plumbers Black smithers	85 182 8 15	1	Leadership, Communication and book-keeping Leadership, Communication and book-keeping CBTP CBTP		
Staff Project staff	31	2	CBTP and GAD awareness		

Source: Extracted from 'World Vision Int./Ethiopia Omosheleko ADP Basic Information and Accomplishment Report (1984-1993)', (October, 1993: 16-22).