



Sustainable Poverty Reduction through Area Development Projects

ETHIOPIA COUNTRY REPORT

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ACRONYMS & PERSONNEL

ACAO	Agricultural Cooperatives Affairs Office (now CPB)
ACSI	Amhara Credit and Savings Institution
ADLI	Agriculture Development Led Industrialisation
ADP	Area Development Programme
ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
ARARI	Amhara Regional Agricultural Research Institute
ARRA	Amhara Rural Roads Authority
ASIP	Agricultural Sector Investment Programme
BoA	Bureau of Agriculture
BoFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
BoPED	Bureau of Planning and Economic Development
BoTI	Bureau of Trade and Industry
BoWUD	Bureau of Works and Urban development
CARERE/SEILA	Cambodia Resettlement and Reintegration Programme
CB	Capacity Building
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
CEP	Community Empowerment Programme
CPB	Cooperatives Promotion Bureau
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
DA	Development Agent
DoA	Department of Agriculture, zonal office of BoA
DoFED	Department of Finance and Economic Development, zonal office of BoFED

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DoPED	Department of Planning and Economic Development, zonal office of BoPED
DoTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Committee
EEOA	Economic Expansion in Outlying Areas
EGS	Employment Generation Schemes
EGZ	East Gojjam Zone
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HH	Household
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HRD	Human Resource Development
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IPRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
IPIS	Integrated Planning Information System
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
LFA	Logical Framework Approach
LLPPA	Local Level Participatory Planning Approach
MBG	Mengestawi Buden Group
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NATUR	Sida's Natural Resources Department
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSSD	National Strategies for Sustainable Development
ODC	Orgut Danagro Consortium
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OFR	On-Farm Research
ORDA	Organisation for Rehabilitation and Development in Amhara
PADETES	Participatory Demonstration Extension and Training System
PCC	Programme Co-ordinating Committee (SARDP)
PCU	Programme Co-ordinating Unit (SARDP)
PIP	Public Investment Programme
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PLG	Partnerships for Local Governance
PPP	Public Private Partnerships
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RARCU	Regional Agricultural Research Co-ordination Unit
RARMP	Regional Agricultural Research Master Plan
RBA	Rights-Based Approaches
REMSEDA	Regional Micro and Small Enterprise Development Agency
SARDP	Sida Amhara Rural Development Programme
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SMS	Subject Matter Specialist
SWC	Soil & Water Conservation
SWZ	South Wollo Zone
TA	Technical Advisor
TNA	Training Needs Assessment
UTV	Sida's Evaluation Department
WAO	Women's Affairs Office
WATC	Woreta Agricultural Training Centre
WDCC	Woreda Development Coordination Committee
WDF	Woreda Development Fund

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Currency

US\$	UK£	EBirr
1.00	0.68	8.55

Disclaimer

This report is a draft, based on relevant documents, interview notes and fieldwork in Ethiopia, circulated for comment. It should not be treated as a final document or quoted at this stage. The bibliography needs expansion and the acronyms need further checking. A map will accompany the text to locate the towns and provinces mentioned.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Sida commissioned ODI and its partners to conduct a study of poverty alleviation through Area Development using a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. Three countries were chosen as case studies, Ethiopia, Zambia and Cambodia. Fieldwork was first tested in Cambodia before being carried out in Ethiopia and Zambia in a broadly comparable way. This is a draft report of the Ethiopian field study carried out in the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) from January 8th to February 5th 2002.

The ANRS Sida Cooperation in Rural Development Programme, recently renamed the Sida Amhara Rural Development Programme (SARDP), was initially planned in 1995, and background technical studies were conducted in 1996 with the implementation beginning in April 1997 (both phases are referred to here as the ANRS Programme). Planning for phase II was halted during the Ethiopian-Eritrean war and then resumed with Phase I ending in December 2001. Six subsequent six-month contract extension agreements have been settled before SARDP II, a new phase of the ANRS Programme begun in January 2002. The second phase of the programme is carrying on most components from phase I. New components added are support to judiciary, a stronger focus on governance and *woreda* level capacity building plus a component on family planning and AIDS/HIV prevention. The second phase will end in 2004 as Sida is about to revise the country strategy for Ethiopia.

The ANRS Programme is an Area Development Programme (ADP) operating in two pilot 'zones', East Gojjam and South Wollo of the Amhara Region. Its key elements are a *sustainable increase in agricultural productivity and natural resource use as well as economic diversification*. This was to be achieved by core support to the *woredas*, to emphasise participatory planning mechanisms and building local capacity. A concept for decentralisation was developed through the *woreda* fund, a general development fund allocated by the programme to the pilot *woredas*. The principal positive elements were in infrastructure development, notably roads, bridges, water-posts, schools, health clinics and veterinary clinics. These are public goods, the investments were in demand and could therefore be justified on a "first things first" basis. The *woreda* development fund has proved a dynamic input for supporting these needs identified at local level. BoPED (Bureau of Planning and Economic Development) became the focal point for programme support despite the agricultural nature of many activities. A consequence was that many designated activities were never implemented by the BoA (Bureau of Agriculture), which led to some internal friction.

East Gojjam is traditionally perceived to be a "bread basket" area with a relatively high crop production potential, whereas South Wollo is an area often severely affected by droughts, soil erosion and higher risks related to crop production. Both zones however suffer from decreasing food security at household levels caused by increasing evidence of structural poverty, i.e. lack of access to sufficient assets, low productivity and low income. The main emphasis of the programme was increasing agricultural production through intensification i.e. promotion of credit-based high input production systems and diversifying agricultural production through introduction and development of small scale and low risk technologies. There was little effective emphasis on markets, or linkages between the rural and urban economy. Unfortunately the input credits and the requirement to repay them after harvest forced prices down, thus making it more difficult for farmers to rebuy grain at the end of the season and thereby decreasing food security. Efforts to diversify production have mainly resulted in a broadened base for subsistence level agriculture, offering farmers a wider range of options for meeting their basic needs. Of the households interviewed, 64 % stated that food security today is the same or worse compared to five years ago. Combined with increases in tax and a major land redistribution in 1996-97, the overall impact of the agricultural development strategy in recent years has been negative to a majority of rural households in the pilot zones. This raises questions as to the potential impact of an ADP within an overall policy environment that is not conducive to sustainable development and food security.

Some positive but yet not significant achievements are emerging from the rural micro-finance scheme at local levels. On the whole however the economic diversification, i.e. non-farm and off-farm income-generating activities linked to a rural micro-finance, is an illusive programme component in need of improvement regarding contextual analysis and strategy development.

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despite considerable investment in BoPED's planning capacity, internal learning within the programme has been very weak. A failure to contact and interact with local Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and NGOs, some with several years of experience in the areas, has meant limited external learning. The weak internal learning reflects the highly centralised and hierarchical nature of officialdom in Ethiopia and a generalised suspicion of non-government bodies. Documentation and information activities enabling internal and external dialogue, discussion and replication of lessons learnt is not yet systematically incorporated in programme processes or programme design. Phase II does not build on the experience of Phase I, but doubles the funds available without any very clear frame of activities that could complement the achievements and eliminate the problems experienced in Phase I.

The local level planning process and the local organisation framing the planning process is fully integrated in the existing governmental structures at the *kebele* level, where "local mobilisation" sometimes is equal to forced labour. The local planning has mainly focussed on infrastructure and service delivery and there has been only a marginal focus on anchoring these investments in strategies related to livelihood issues, or improved local organisation. The level of participation is on a consultative level and still lacks components of relating M&E and negotiating power at community level. If programme support aims at moving from infrastructure provision to planning encompassing human, organisational and livelihood development issues, the level of participation must be enhanced.

Capacity building elements have been related to service delivery, i.e. strengthening the capacity of programme stakeholders to implement defined activities. The strengthening of the capacity of institutional systems, human resources and networking has so far had limited impact. Sustainability related to capacity building is at high risk of being lost, mainly due to the high rates of staff turnover commonly found at all levels in the governmental administration. Weaknesses related to documentation and information also worsens the situation.

A poverty focus is expressed in programme documents, but is not analysed or strategically planned and framed. Baseline information and indicators have still not been integrated into practical tools for support to planning, monitoring and evaluation. The vagueness on the issue together with different views regarding poverty reduction expressed by the Programme Co-ordination Committee (PCC) members provide a shaky foundation for a programme level strategy and follow up. If the programme better prepared, it could play an important role in linking the PRSP initiatives with the regional capability to monitor and evaluate local level effects of poverty alleviation measures. This national to regional link would then be able to capture the lessons learnt and elicit needed course corrections.

The programme is fully integrated in existing governmental structures and policy frameworks. This simplifies implementation and "integration" in general but complicates dialogue regarding lessons learnt and integration of new thinking and new strategies. The emphasis has been on bureaucratic implementation of activities, rather than strategic vision. It is doubtful if the *woreda* focus and the decentralisation reform will provide a decentralised platform strong enough to generate new reforms and policy dialogue. Maintaining an open attitude towards critical reflection and change in this context will require some quite strategic design measures together with a proactive programme management. This will also require a more concerted effort to taking into consideration the deep seated hierarchical institutional and cultural norms that reproduce current political and administrative power structures.

The challenges facing smallholder agriculture in the Region are still overwhelming: a scarce and declining resource base; small and diminishing per capita holdings; decreasing productivity and increasing food shortages; limited opportunities for technological improvements; enormous and increasing population pressure; frequent environmental shocks and deep-seated livelihood insecurity; and growing structural poverty and destitution.

In the light of this, the key lacunae are;

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Failure to base the project on a realistic appreciation of the social, economic, institutional and political context and to make use of the background technical studies.
Failure to describe the agronomic systems adequately and its linkages with existing markets
Failure to commission critical evaluations and to thereby learn by experience
Failure to explore with partners the institutional context leading to difficulties to meet needs and demands
Failure to make use of wider collaboration i.e. CBOs and NGOs both for learning and to develop innovative implementation channels

This analysis of the ANRS Programme suggests the following design considerations for future Area Development programmes;

- Baseline studies are essential not only to understanding impact, but also for the ‘course-corrections’ that are part of a process project. However, the baseline studies must be used in project design and involve local stakeholders rather than being commissioned by an external team and just documented in a report.
- For a programme focused on agricultural production, a basic description of the agricultural systems would appear to be a necessity, as well as some appreciation of the interaction of tenurial, market, climatic and economic variables.
- Effective poverty reduction will not occur unless this is designed into the programme at its inception. The argument that “since the whole region is poor this is not relevant” is inadequate; beneficiaries should still be segmented, different strata have different strategies and undifferentiated perspectives fail to provide a basis for M&E and learning.
- Where populations are very dense, as in Ethiopia, much greater consideration needs to be built in of likely demographic change and its impact on landholding and access to resources.
- Government policies towards decentralisation and the private sector must be thoroughly analysed in their context. ADP design has to reflect on difficulties related to introduction of new policies in old structures.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Area development projects (ADPs) are designed to contribute to the development of rural areas, especially those neglected or bypassed by central government or other more high-profile investments. The key design element is a multi-sectoral approach, similar to the Integrated Rural Development Projects of the 1970s, with activities in agriculture, water supply, health, rural infrastructure, and small-scale off-farm enterprises.

Sida requested ODI to carry out an evaluation of Sustainable Poverty Reduction through Area Development Projects, focussing on Sida-supported projects in Cambodia, Zambia and Ethiopia. Table 1 shows the full name of each of the three projects under consideration;

Table 1. Sida Area Development Projects

Country	Name	Full Name
Cambodia	CARERE/SEILA	Cambodia Resettlement and Reintegration Programme
Ethiopia	ANRS	Amhara National Regional State - Sida Co-operation in Rural Development Programme
Zambia	EEOA	Economic Expansion in Outlying Areas

This report covers fieldwork in Ethiopia undertaken by Karin Ralsgård, Dessalegn Rahmato and Roger Blench between 8/01/02 and 06/02/02. It should be read together with Sida's original ToRs and ODI's Inception Report, finalised 21/12/01. A workshop was held in Bahir Dar on 5/2/02 with the major stakeholders and their comments are incorporated into this draft document. Theoretical perspectives are summarised below and their application to the Ethiopian case study considered in Section 3.

1.2 Theoretical perspectives

The approach taken by ODI to the study of ADPs brings together relevant elements of recent development theory and applies them to the field data. The main theoretical aspects given below are described in more detail in the inception report;

- Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) and Rights-Based Approaches (RBA)
- Role of the State, including governance and citizenship
- New architecture of aid
- Poverty reduction, diversification and sustainability in relation to Sida's overall mandate
- Integration and capacity building versus the delivery of services
- Microfinance, credit and the role of the private sector

The elements of SL approaches that underlie the analyses can be broken down in terms of their application to different units of society and government. These are shown in Table 2;

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Table 2. Analytic Grid for ADP study						
		Central Government	Local government	Community	Household	Private Sector
1.	Livelihoods portfolio/ diversification	—	—	+	+	—
2.	Vulnerability	—	+	+	+	—
3.	Access to types of capital	+	+	+	+	+
4.	Directionality of Resource flows	—	+	+	+	+
5.	Socio-political change	+	+	+	+	+
6.	Income proxies	—	—	+	+	—
7.	Voice/articulacy	—	+	+	+	+
8.	Integration of lessons learnt	+	+	—	—	—
9.	Capacity building	+	+	+	+	+
10.	Sustainability	+	+	+	+	+
11.	Private sector	+	+	+	+	—

2. The ANRS programme as a case study

2.1 Description of ANRS programme

2.1.1 Planning of Phase 1

The Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) Programme was intended initially as a multi-sectoral project to increase agricultural production and encourage economic diversification in one of the more densely populated regions of Ethiopia. Planning started in November 1995, and a Logical Framework Approach (LFA) workshop involving the Region and Sida resulted in agreement as to the overall objective of the support programme. In January 1996, the Region submitted a plan for the planning phase to Sida for discussion and agreement. An inception phase agreement between Sida and ANRS was reached on integrated sector-based activities (**core support**) initiated in *woredas* in South Wollo Zone (SWZ) and East Gojjam Zone (EGZ). A **role seminar** was carried out in March 1996 as an additional step in the programme planning process, to clarify and reach agreement on the respective roles and responsibilities of major stakeholders, i.e. Sida, the Region and the Consultant in future programme co-operation.

On a request from Sida, the Region produced a “**Concept Paper**”, clarifying guiding principles and approaches to be applied in the programme, in June 1996. Documentation and experiences from on-going Sida activities i.e. of Bureau of Planning and Economic Development (BoPED) regarding computer training, library and data base management and the Community Empowerment Programme (CEP) were contributing to ideas and proposals for the Programme Document. Despite Sida instructions not to discuss operational implications by describing components and activities this was done, and due to the fact that development efforts are guided by policies and laws already in place, i.e. the Agriculture Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI) policy and ANRS Five Year Development, Peace and Democracy Programme (ANRS 1997).

Between January and June 1996, nine different technical studies were carried out as input into the Programme Document. The studies covered the following areas:

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- Livestock Management
- Agricultural Extension and Training
- Natural Resources, Demography and Socio-Economics
- Agricultural Research
- Rural Roads
- Gender Issues
- Local Institutions and Social Organisations
- Agricultural Marketing, Input Supply and Credit
- Economic Diversification

This intensive and costly exercise might be considered as baseline and design information crucial to underpinning the ANRS programme. Variable quality in the studies and underlying political priorities that were at odds with the findings of these studies meant that many of the insights from this research were never used. Major changes in the programme document before its final acceptance. The formulation of the “Concept Paper” seems to have shifted the planning process away from the findings and recommendations brought up in the initial studies towards an integration and general support to existing official development strategies. Programme objectives now became framed in the ADLI and the Region’s 5 year development programme strategy i.e.

- Raising agricultural productivity
- Conservation of the natural resource base
- Creating an enabling environment for socio-economic development and
- Reducing poverty.

Strategies for reducing poverty were:

- To intensify small-holder agricultural production in order to raise productivity, profitability and food security.
- To promote diversification of the economy by processing of agricultural products and by creating employment through industrial and service sectors.

The final Programme Document was submitted to Sida in September 1996 for Sida appraisal and a revised version was issued in November 1996. In January 1997 it was agreed to proceed with the preparation of those programme components on which agreement could be reached, and to study some components in further detail. It was also agreed to start the implementation of Phase I on April 1, 1997.

Table 3 shows the core support topics suggested in 1995 and the activities eventually outlined in 1997;

Table 3 Specific activities developed in the planning phase, December 1995 to April 1997
Woreda core support topics Dec 1995 Specific activities in Programme Document 1997

Agriculture and Natural Resources	Sustainable agricultural production, on-farm research, soil and water conservation (SWC)
Education	Material support and maintenance of buildings
Health	Material support and maintenance of buildings
Water	Water posts and water committees
Rural Roads	Feeder roads, roads upgrading
Rural non-farm activities	Business development training and rural credit
Small scale irrigation	-
	Seed multiplication, seed sector support

The mix of activities demonstrates a demanding situation regarding future programme management. Planning and implementation of service delivery was expected to be co-ordinated with the development of

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complex production systems as well as with non-farm income generating activities in a very challenging context. Some of the key elements were;

Institutional strengthening / support to different technical bureaux

Specific support was planned for sector bureaus with the aim of strengthening their capacity in priority areas i.e. environmental monitoring with Bureau of Agriculture (BoA), gender at Women's Affairs Office (WAO), management under Bureau of Planning and Economic Development (BoPED) and Agricultural Cooperatives Affairs Office (ACAO). BoPED was selected as lead institution because;

- it is the lead institution to support the Regional Government's policy making functions i.e. policy analysis, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and impact assessment.

- it also has a long term goal to establish an information centre for the region by hosting a library and documentation centre and by establishing a database on natural resources, demography and socio-economics.

BoPED's Programme Coordination Unit (PCU) also became fully responsible for the overall coordination of the support programme and as a sector neutral institution overseeing the decentralisation process regarding *woredas*. Implementation responsibility was delegated to the *woredas* to implement the core activities and the relevant sectoral bureaux for supporting activities.

Sida's earlier support to the Region through the Community Empowerment Programme (CEP), i.e. development of local level planning methodology (community participation workshops) and training of community facilitators (community empowerment methods) had been phased out, but Sida hoped that the *woreda* based activities would draw heavily on the methodology developed during CEP.

Woreda Fund, Core Activities and Support Activities

The role of the *Woreda* Development Fund (WDF) was to increase *woreda* administration resources for social and infrastructure projects. These projects would be decided by the *woreda* administration based on needs identified by community workshops, with special attention to vulnerable groups and women. Both individual and communal requests should be encouraged and supported. A rural credit scheme, managed by the Amhara Credit and Savings Institution (ACSI) would provide additional resources for household investments..

There was also support to Subject Matter Specialist (SMS) teams at zonal and *woreda* level for training, on-farm research, transport and equipment. Sustainable agricultural production included support to sectors as: agricultural research, rural extension/training and livestock within BoA plus support to rural roads, agricultural marketing/ seed sector and economic diversification headed by the Bureau of Trade and Industry (BoTi).

There were major institutional shifts during programme implementation April 1997 – December 2001. The small scale irrigation was delayed/added as a component in the second half of phase I. RARCU (Regional Agricultural Research Coordination Unit) was replaced by Amhara Regional Agricultural Research Institute (ARARI). ARARI developed a 20 year research master plan and was eventually established as an independent unit outside BoA. The Regional Micro and Small Enterprise Development Agency (REMSEDA) was established by ANRS 1999, as an organisation responsible for promoting and assisting micro and small enterprises and is now gradually expanding to zonal and *woreda* level. The extension and training component was gradually split up into two separate components. Training gradually shifted towards support to upgrade the Woreta training centre, while agricultural extension remains at BoA with activities related to "extension and communication services". The plan at hand became to upgrade Woreta training Centre to a college level autonomous from BoA.

2.1.2 Phase II

The planning of phase II was halted during the Ethiopian – Eritrean war and then resumed with phase I ending in December 2001. Six subsequent six-month contract extension agreements have been settled before a greatly expanded Phase II now named SARDP (Sida Amhara Rural Development Programme) was initiated in January 2002. In 1999, some planning began for a second Phase. A first draft of the design document was delivered in March 2001 and a final version was accepted by Sida in September of that year.

The overall development objective is in principle the same: *“To improve the livelihoods of the communities through sustainable increase in agricultural productivity, natural resource management, economic diversification, and through promotion of good governance and equitable development”*. Table 4 shows the major design elements of Phase II, as they evolved during the planning process;

Table 4. Major shifts during planning phase II; Oct 1999 / March 2001 to September 2001

<i>Woreda core support proposed March 2001</i>	<i>Woreda core support Phase II Pro Doc, Sept 2001</i>
1. Infrastructure projects	1. Infrastructure projects
- Road construction, maintenance, rehabilitation	- Village road construction
- Rural water supply	- Water supply and water harvesting
- Irrigation structures	-
- Physical soil conservation structures	- Soil and water conservation
- Rural buildings	- Furniture, equipment, maintenance
2. Sustainable agriculture production, extension and communication services, on-farm research	2. Agriculture support, farm models extension evaluation, seed stores, veterinary clinics
3. Rural credit	3. Rural credit
4. Social Organisation	4. Institution and Capacity Building
- Capacity building	- Training, gender, family planning, HIV/AIDS
- Training	- Training on project management
- Monitoring and Evaluation	- Training on financial administration
-	- Training in participatory planning, monitoring and evaluation
-	- Training on environmental impact assessment

The *woreda* is strongly emphasised as the focal point for programme support in Phase II. The component consists of a *woreda* development fund plus administrative and managerial support to pilot *woredas*. A local microfinance credit component is supported through ACSI. There is also support to an SMS team at zonal and *woreda* level regarding training, on-farm research, transport and equipment.

Sustainable agricultural production includes support to sectors as: agricultural research, agricultural extension and livestock within BoA and also support to rural roads, agricultural marketing/ seed sector and economic diversification (BoTI; REMSEDA ACSI). Credit based input delivery will be used to encourage the adoption of new technologies.

The Phase II design document proposes new components and good governance elements:

- 1) Population and demography issues within the Population Department at BoFED to be closely linked to the poverty reduction strategies outlined in the PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper).
- 2) Enhanced promotion of gender equality within the Women’s Affairs Office (WAO).
- 3) Decentralised planning, i.e. linkages between local level planning and central level planning and a strategy development systems Public Investment Programme (PIP) with BoFED to be tested in SARDP pilot *woredas*.
- 4) Urbanisation policies and municipal reform strategies.

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- 5) Environmental protection, land administration and land use issues, i.e. selected pilot *woredas* should be used as pilot sites in developing rural cadastral and land administration system. The aim is to provide farmers with registered and property rights.
- 6) Strengthened judiciary through production of training and information material, procurement of literature and equipment and through construction and equipment of *woreda* court offices.
- 7) Amhara Radio i.e. investment in one medium wave transmitter, radio studio, technical equipment and vehicles.

The programme will continue to support BoFED in phase II. The programme co-ordinating unit (PCU) will operate in accordance with established administrative and financial procedures and be closely attached to BoFED and its sub-units in EGZ and SWZ. The appointed Programme Director will report directly to the Head of BoFED. Further, a monitoring database will become an integrated part of BoFED's Integrated Planning Information System (IPIS). Programme support is expected to develop and maintain IPIS, including system operation, training and hardware maintenance. Furthermore the programme in phase II will finance independent evaluations and the development of an impact evaluation plan (by using IPIS for data collection).

The striking feature of this expansion is the diverse, even haphazard nature of the activities, many of which are concerned either with public goods or with urban issues. Independently, many of these components are well justified, and synergies could emerge, for example between urban and rural initiatives. There is little evidence, however, that these links are being analysed and operationalised. Many of the strategic planning structures were included in phase I, but were not effectively implemented. It is not clear whether the obstacles that led to this earlier poor performance have been reflected upon or added in phase II. The focus on service delivery is similar in phase I and phase II. Phase II lacks process design features tailored to open up questions related to management and capacity building objectives. In sum, the complex issues on the development agenda will be even more difficult to address as the unwieldy nature of the programme increases and as existing dysfunctions are not addressed.

2.2 Field methods

This study builds on three main elements; documents (see Appendix), interviews with key stakeholders and a quantitative interview schedule of beneficiaries. Interviews with programme target groups (farmers, vulnerable groups, private sector representatives and technical and managerial staff at governmental levels) have been carried out, including representatives from institutions and organisations both directly and indirectly involved in development in the ANRS and also non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other donor projects (see Appendix).

Field surveys using the sustainable livelihoods framework requested by Sida were carried out with the aim of capturing changes and trends in rural population livelihood strategies, economic and organisational diversification, vulnerability, and levels of participation in planning and implementation. Field methods used were; survey questionnaires, focus group discussions and individual household interviews. A local team of enumerators was trained to conduct interviews based on the questionnaire. A field pre-test of the questionnaire was carried out in each of the two zones.

The most relevant regional institutions in ANRS were covered together with their technical and administrative links to the zone and *woreda* levels in East Gojjam and South Wollo. In each of the two zones, two pilot *woredas* were selected, each with several years of programme intervention experience. In each *woreda* one to three *kebeles* were selected. In all eight *kebeles* in the four *woredas* selected for the study were involved (see Appendix).

A closing workshop was held in Bahr Dar on February 5th. Representatives from the Programme Coordination Committee (PCC), Orgut–Danagro Consortium (ODC), Sida/Swedish Embassy in Addis Ababa, other donor programmes and local NGOs in ANRS attended and provided comments and feedback on initial study findings and some key issues.

3. Ethiopian context

3.1 Recent history

Ethiopia was a highly centralised monarchy until the early 1970s, when the Emperor was removed and control fell into the hands of the revolutionary Marxist regime, the Derg. Continuing insurrection in the regions and a decade of warfare in the 1980s resulted in extreme running down of national resources and infrastructure as well as isolation from the major donors. The fall of the Derg in 1991 has been followed by a decade of increasing stability and reform under the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The border war with Eritrea in 1998-9, was marked by a suspension of aid by some donors.

Continuing insecurity has conjoined with a troubling demographic situation to create a country permanently on the edge of food security crises, with a severely degraded environment. With a population of more than 67 million projected for 2002 (CSA 1999) and a land area of 1,127,000 km², Ethiopia has a very high average population density (59 inhabitants/km²) in relation to most other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world (ranked 171 out of 174 countries) (UNDP 2000) reflecting its low per capita income, but also the deteriorating food security situation. Average food supply per day and per capita is between 16-1700 calories, only 70% of estimated requirements (World Bank 1999). The national economy is primarily agrarian. Yet agriculture as a share of GDP has fallen from about 65% of GDP in 1960 to about 45% (1997), (World Bank 2000). Nevertheless, agriculture accounts for as much as 85% of all exports and 80% of total employment, implying very low returns to labour. Moreover, growth in agricultural production has consistently failed to keep pace with population growth. High rates of labour absorption in agriculture, low growth rates in land productivity and stagnant labour productivity only increase demand for arable land. As land reserves in the Ethiopian highlands are extremely scarce, this offers poor prospects for the ecological sustainability and the economic viability of current agricultural practices (UNDP 1997).

3.2 National policy context

Following the fall of the Derg, the new government was encouraged to take a radical position in rebuilding the economy. Accordingly, a New Economic Policy was adopted in November 1991. The major objectives were;

- Changing the role of the state in the economy
- Promoting private investment
- Promoting popular participation in development
- Involving regional administrations in economic management through decentralisation
- Mobilising external resources to support the development efforts of the country.

This new era of policy objectives should be seen together with the overall trend to dismantle central power in favour of regionalisation and eventually the creation of the federal republic. This decentralisation has been implemented amid prevailing historical and cultural norms that emphasise strong central power, which has naturally led to some gap between stated objectives and operational realities.

The Government's Five-Year Development Programme (1997-2001) concentrated on three main thematic areas:

- Eradication of poverty through accelerated growth which is mainly rural centred
- Consolidation of peace and participatory democracy
- Capacity development for economic management both at the federal and regional levels.

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The long-term development strategy, Agriculture-Development-Led-Industrialisation (ADLI) was adopted in 1994/95-1996/97 to bring about structural transformation of the economy, in which the relative weight of agriculture, industry and services would change significantly towards the latter two. ADLI revolves around productivity improvement of small-holder agriculture and industrialisation based on utilisation of domestic raw materials with labour-intensive technology. The contribution of agriculture to economic development is two-pronged. On the one hand, it supplies commodities to domestic food markets, domestic industries and for exports, and on the other, it will expand the market for industrial outputs.

The development of small-holder agriculture is envisaged proceeding in three sequential stages. Stage one concentrates on the improvement of traditional agricultural practices. Stage two involves the development of agricultural infrastructure, such as small-scale irrigation and the introduction of modern agricultural inputs such as chemical fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides, etc. The third stage is the shifting of the rural labour force away from the farm, which paves the way for productivity improvement and the easing of population pressure on rural land.

The agriculture sector policy and strategy (1997-2001) identified the following priority areas; provision of modern agricultural inputs, credit and extension services to the farmer, promoting conservation-based agriculture, development of small-scale irrigation, improvement of the country's livestock resources, development of efficient markets, promoting private investment in large-scale modern farming and strengthening of need-based agricultural and applied research. To translate the policy into action, a new extension programme has been designed and implemented PADETES (Participatory Demonstration Training and Extension System).

A key element of national policy as it affects the smallholder is the tenurial system. With the takeover of the Derg in the 1970s, the old landlord system, which was essentially feudal, was dismantled and replaced by a more equitable landholding system. However, at the same time, government became ultimate owner and arbiter of land, and its exercise of that power has increased smallholder perceptions of insecurity of tenure. Major land redistribution exercises in 1991-2 and 1997-8 have inhibited the evolution of large-scale farms and deterred small-scale investment in long-terms crops such as trees and slow payback investments such as soil and water conservation.

3.3 Demography and population composition of the ANRS

Amhara Region has a high and rapidly growing population, even by African standards. Based on the 1994 census figures, the population is projected to double from 14.13 million in 1995 to 28.6 million in 2015. In the same period, the rural population will reach 24 million; there will, in other words, be twice as many peasants in 2015 as in 1995. About 44 percent of the population is below 15 years of age. The ANRS is the least urbanised region in the country with only 9 percent of its population now living in urban centres, far below the nation as a whole, which is put at 15 percent. By African standards, Ethiopia is among the least urbanised countries in the continent. Table 5 shows the projected growth of population between 1995 and 2025.

Table 5. Population Projections for Amhara Region (Medium Variant)

Year	Urban	Rural	Total ('000,000)
1995	1.31	12.82	14.13
2000	1.68	14.62	16.29
2005	2.10	16.53	18.63
2010	2.63	18.55	21.18
2015	3.27	20.65	23.92
2020	4.03	22.78	26.80
2025	4.91	24.85	29.76

Source: 1994 Census

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The present production system cannot possibly support these numbers, and projected growth rates suggest some important elements in understanding the likely future of the region. Already, population pressure has forced farming households to bring under cultivation land in fragile ecosystems as well as pasture land, with damaging consequences to the environment and to the livestock economy. Resource depletion will continue on a much greater scale as the carrying capacity of the land is exhausted. There is an ongoing decline in soil fertility due in part to erosion, in part to continuous cultivation and in part to lack of soil enrichment technology. Deforestation has led to the drying up of streams, springs and other water sources.

The Amhara Region is one of the poorest in the country even by the standards of Ethiopia. Poverty indicators appear to have worsened since the 1980s. Some 57 percent of the population is considered poor according to government figures, and food poverty is put at 61 percent (WB 2000), (CSA 2001). Life expectancy in the rural areas was 50.7 and in the towns 53.6 years in the mid-1990s. Malnutrition is high as evidenced by measures of the nutritional status among children. Fifty seven percent of children in the Region are stunted, indicating long-term malnutrition. Table 6 shows comparative mortality and malnutrition data for the five big Regions of the country.

Table 6. Mortality and Malnutrition in Amhara and 4 Other Regions

Region	Life Expectancy	Infant Mortality	Child Mortality	Stunting	Wasting
Tigray	49.5	123	182	55.3	11.1
Amhara	50.8	116	170	57.0	9.5
Oromia	50.4	118	173	47.0	10.4
South Reg	48.6	128	189	55.4	11.8
Addis Ababa	58.4	78	109	26.8	4.2

Sources: CSA: DHS 2000 (main source); World Bank 2000b (reworked figures)

Note: Infant: under one year. Child: under 5 years. Mortality per 1000.

The population is almost entirely Amhara in ANRS, with some Argobba, Oromo and other groups in pockets in the South and East. Although the Amhara are historically Orthodox Christians, ANRS is a region where Islamic influence is strongly felt. Many villages, especially in the Dessie area are Muslim and in some *woredas*, the population may be more than 50% Muslim. Lifestyles and production systems are very similar. Historically, the two groups have enjoyed good relations.

Amhara society has a strongly patriarchal ideology, but economic realities have functioned to give women more power in decision-making than would otherwise be the case. In rural areas, pressure on women to marry is high and widows also remarry rapidly. So female-headed households are quite rare in theory and probably transitional. However, because of the high levels of labour migration, AIDS and, until recently, warfare, households headed by women in practice are quite common. In reality, many women make key decisions about farming and marketing of agricultural products although these may be attributed to their husbands by convention. However, women can take part in Community Based Organisations (CBOs) which provide key social insurance against labour shortages on the farm and make available credit for exceptional expenses.

3.4 Agricultural economy in the ANRS

With an area of over 170 thousand km², and a population of over 16 million (CSA 1999), the Amhara Region is the second largest in the country. It comprises a wide diversity of agro-ecological zones, ranging from the hot, arid zones to cold, sub-moist zones. The land use and land cover of the Region is similarly varied; however, the expansion of agriculture and the increasing need for grazing has contributed to a high level of degradation of the vegetation. About 55 percent of the land is under cultivation and the main farming system is cereal cultivation. On the other hand, less than one percent is forest cover. Most of North Shewa, Wollo (both north and south), Wag Hamra and Gondar are dominated by rugged and mountainous landforms and hill farming is common. Soil erosion is prevalent and constitutes the main cause of soil

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fertility decline. According to some sources (Mesfin 1991; Dessalegn 1991), some 42 percent of the land in the Region is subject to moderate to high rates of erosion. The Region has considerable water potential. It falls within three main river basins, the Abbay (Blue Nile), the Tekezze, and Beshilo-Awash Basins. Despite this, only a small percentage of the land is under irrigation at present.

Basic infrastructure such as roads, electric power, communications and water supply are little developed. Whilst air transport link the main cities of the Region with Addis Ababa, the road network for the most part is in poor condition. Of the 114 *woredas* in the ANRS, many are inaccessible by road for most parts of the year. The majority of *woreda* and medium-sized towns have no electricity or telephone service. A feature of the Ethiopian economy relevant to farmers' strategies is the central importance of Addis as a market for grain and other crops. At 1.6 million, Addis is far larger than any other regional town. Given the poor access conditions, this makes the economics of cash crop production highly unfavourable for most farmers.

The ANRS consists predominantly of smallholders growing cereal crops with low levels of external inputs. While agriculture is the major economic activity in the Region, the combination of land degradation, land fragmentation and shortage, and population pressure has had the effect of retarding, and in many places, depressing food output and productivity. Average farm plots are small and getting smaller. The main crops grown are *teff*, barley, sorghum, maize, wheat, pulses and oilseeds such as *noog*. Per capita food production is low and declining, and is now estimated to be 105 kg per annum. For most people in the Region, food insecurity is the most critical problem. Periodic food crises and major famines have had devastating effects on the farming population in North Shewa, all of Wollo, Wag Hamra, and north and south Gondar since the 1960s.

The two zones where the ANRS operates, East Gojjam and South Wollo are somewhat different. East Gojjam is less densely populated than SWZ and higher potential – South Wollo is very high density and semi-permanently in food deficit.

In East Gojjam annual crops like *teff*, wheat and maize and cattle provide the foundation for the farm family livelihood. Income generation through the sale of cash crops (including trees) and livestock has increased in importance in the last decade. Cereal productivity has generally increased in the last five years due to greater use of improved seeds and fertiliser. Cereal production profits are however now decreasing and farm households are facing great difficulties to pay back their input credit. Two to three months of food shortage seems to be a quite normal situation in the East Gojjam pilot *woredas*. Labour migration has been a coping strategy since 1980 but the proportion of households depending on it has recently increased.

In South Wollo cereal production (sorghum, wheat and barley) has a decreasing importance in the farm household economy. Land fragmentation together with land degradation reduces the possibility of sustainably feeding the household based on crop production. Only a small percentage of the land in the zone is under irrigation. Regular food aid is a part of the household economy, food for work and labour migration are widespread coping strategies.

4. SL Analysis

4.1 Livelihoods portfolio/ diversification

Livelihoods analysis strives to avoid stereotyping rural dwellers as agricultural producers and present a more rounded image of the diverse sources of income they can access as well as the risks and choices they face in broadening their options in this way. The poor are now seen as producers, labourers and consumers rather than merely passive victims of a process of impoverishment. The study therefore explored the pattern of changing livelihood options in the ANRS Programme pilot zones and the extent to which these could be attributed to the introduction of innovative local-level processes.

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The gaps between income strata in rural communities of EGZ appear to be widening. The better off farmers can pay for agricultural inputs in cash and also have means to invest in intensified and diversified production. They are not caught in the repayment trap and can sell surplus production at optimal times; it is therefore worth their while to rent land from others. Other groups of farmers are gradually selling assets such as livestock or trees, and renting their land out, either because of problems related to debt repayment or low farm productivity. More of this latter group are turning to labour migration. In Libanos *kebele*, farmers estimated that 300-400 persons (of 1500 households in the *kebele*) went away on wage labour every year. In Yenech *kebele* (1030 households), 300 were said to depend on migration (the figures were also confirmed by the field survey findings, see 4.4.1). These migrants sometimes stay away up to five months (October-April). Women and children left behind sustain themselves through production of charcoal and dung-cake sale at local markets.

In contrast, farmers in SWZ maintain a low risk and low input production strategy. Few buy crop production inputs, and few would take a credit risk for that purpose. Cattle are the preferred investment, although feed problems are increasing which has caused a shift in interest to small ruminants. Farmers have ambitions to begin small-scale irrigation, to intensify vegetable and potato cultivation or to start petty trade in consumables or cattle. Others see opportunities in improving their skills as carpenters, water-post constructors, forest guards, improved stove producers etc. However, labour migration is also increasing, suggesting that the potential for local diversification remains slight. Despite active support for economic diversification by governmental programmes and ACSI credit, its actual contribution to the rural household economy is meagre. Food aid and food for work are also established as important elements of livelihoods portfolios in SWZ.

Farmers in EGZ are more integrated with the market and therefore increasingly vulnerable to grain price fluctuations. The market has somewhat less impact on the subsistence and food-aid supported systems in SWZ. Whilst farmers in EGZ sell assets to settle debts, farmers in SWZ sell assets to buy food. The same trend is however found in both zones; less capital, decrease in production, greater vulnerability and increasing food insecurity.

The major effort to encourage income diversification among the farming community has been through the savings and credit programme managed by ACSI (Amhara Credit and Savings Institution). ACSI provides microfinance to the poor in the rural areas. While it provides some savings and credit services to the urban poor, its main programme is in the rural areas. ACSI employs a Grameen Bank-type model: it provides group loans and the group is responsible for ensuring that individuals repay. Loans are made to enable borrowers to invest the money on productive activity and not for household consumption. Most loans are small even by the standards of rural Ethiopia. In East Gojjam, nearly 80 percent of the loans were invested in agriculture-based activities. These included livestock raising, horticulture, bee keeping, and food and beverage making; the rest was for petty trade and improving handicraft making.

Economic diversification sometimes seems to be repeated like a mantra, as *the* solution to the problems of impoverished rural areas. But no strategy succeeds without a sophisticated appreciation of the socio-economic matrix in which it is embedded. It is not clear that the ANRS programme addresses this context adequately. The primary rationale of diversification is vulnerability reduction, improving the access of poor households to a broader range of investment opportunities, goods and services such that they can better withstand environmental and economic shocks. Diversifying within agriculture remains a relatively weak strategy compared with moving into another sector, as crises within the sector leave households still vulnerable.

The other key element in economic diversification is the urban sector. Strong linkages with an expanding and vigorous urban economy provide a much greater range of opportunities for a rural population. But support for improved linkages between the urban and rural economy are virtually absent from the ANRS Programme. Even where efforts are made, creating such linkages will not be easy. Urbanisation is very underdeveloped in the ANRS. Most towns in the Region have not acted as a strong magnet to the rural population for lack of employment opportunities. Land tenure policy inhibits large-scale migration out of the

rural areas. Urban - rural linkages are seriously constrained by inadequate power, telecommunications, roads, and water and sanitation.

4.2 Vulnerability

One of the key aspects of the sustainable livelihood approach is its emphasis on reduced vulnerability at the level of both household and the individual. Vulnerability can be expressed in terms of food security, climatic variability, threats of violence and civil disarray and drains on household resources through long-term sickness. Results from the survey clearly indicate that personal safety is not a major issue in the rural communities in Ethiopia. This contrasts to the insecurity on major roads experienced by transport companies and private drivers. An increased vulnerability to market fluctuations, taxation and credit policies is however emerging.

4.2.1 Food security

Food insecurity has marked Ethiopian history for many centuries, but since the fall of the Emperor it has become a perennial feature of the agricultural landscape. War and insecurity played a key role up to 1991 in ensuring that food aid would become institutionalised and this has persisted up till the present, as output becomes ever more uncertain. The government's strategy for increasing agricultural productivity ignores differences in farming systems arising out of ecological variations as well as adaptive responses to vulnerability. The core programme consists of a uniform package of modern inputs and cultivation practices, offered to all peasants irrespective of their vulnerability profile, ecological setting or resource endowment. The ANRS programme has made little provision to tackle the problem of food security that is most pressing in South Wollo. Intensification of crop production based on high levels of farm inputs is not a sustainable solution on marginal land in a high risk environment. Even if yields would increase by 100%, the average land lots are too small to allow for a significant increase in household food supply.

In the field survey farmers were asked about food security today compared to five years ago, 32 % of the interviewees in SWZ responded that the situation was worse, 20 % said there was no change and 48 % responded that the situation was better. The reasons for this were; no significant change in crop production (20%), decrease in production due to droughts sometimes in combination with less food aid (16%), crop sharing and extended families (11%) and dependency on food aid (5%). Reasons for a better situation were; income generating activities together with food aid or food aid in combination with better production (18%), diversification of production i.e. vegetables, poultry, small livestock and forage development (9%), increase in yields due to intensified crop production (7%), and small trade and other side activities (14 %). Almost all respondents (95%) had received food aid in the last five years.

Natural disaster is common in South Wollo. Localised environmental shocks affect one or more *woredas* in Wollo almost every year. Farmers in the high *degga* areas of the SWZ, who depend only on one harvest a year frequently have to contend with frost. *Belg* producers are highly vulnerable because they have no other source of food except the one harvest. In East Gojjam such disasters are infrequent, though the *degga* (highland) areas are subject to some level of drought, flooding and landslides.

Many *kebeles* in East Gojjam are relatively less vulnerable than those in Wollo due to better climatic conditions, though the *degga kebeles* continue to suffer food shortages and deterioration of income sources similar to those in Wollo. There are strong indications that East Gojjam is heading in the direction of Wollo as soil fertility declines, incomes become depressed, land holdings become smaller, and the ability of the farming population to maintain existing levels of agricultural production is diminished. In the field survey farmers were asked about food security today compared to five years ago, 41% of the interviewees in EGZ responded that the situation was worse, 30% said there was no change and 29% responded that the situation was better. The 2001 harvest in much of the EGZ was a good one, however, grain prices were depressed due to increased supply in the market while fertiliser prices were high. Peasants had to pay their input loans

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immediately after harvest, which meant that they had to sell grain when prices were low. Table 7 shows how grain prices in EGZ have gradually fallen since 1997, while DAP fertiliser is becoming more expensive;

Table 7. Farmer prices of some cereals and costs of inputs, East Gojjam Zone (ANRS)

	PRODUCTION YEAR, PRICE BIRR/QT				
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Cereals					
Teff	165	179	203	200	128
Wheat	154	146	190	177	82
Barley	137	134	196	195	97
Inputs					
DAP	253	260	277	278	283
Urea	238	234	188	192	212

Source: BoA, Bahr Dar, 2002- unpublished

It is the policy of the government to collect not only input loans but also taxes and other financial obligations from peasants immediately after harvest. This compels peasants to sell grain when the market is full and prices are depressed, thereby benefiting grain merchants and urban consumers. The combination of low grain prices and high input and other prices has been devastating to peasants in EGZ where 57% of the survey respondents said this was the reason for decreasing food security. Because grain prices are so low, peasants have been selling their livestock to meet their obligations. *Woreda* officials in East Gojjam express concern about the unfavourable terms of trade, which has been a drain on the local economy for some time. It would seem logical that increased output in EGZ should improve food security; but this does not always automatically follow. When prices for farm products are seasonally low, because high volumes are coming on to the market, a household will have to sell a much greater proportion of its harvest to pay back loans and meet tax and other financial obligations, thereby depleting its overall stock. Both cash and food reserves are thus lower than before input credit became widespread and the capacity of a household to buy back grain at the end of the season thereby reduced.

According to DPPC's figures, 2.13 million people in the Region were recipients of relief assistance in 2001; another 0.9 million were considered to be on the margin of subsistence and needing close monitoring. Both are highly vulnerable, but DPPC has made the decision that the first are more vulnerable than the second. Government officials and NGO staff at the zonal level in East Gojjam and South Wollo considered that there has been increased food insecurity in the last five years. Figures for food aid recipients show that food aid has been distributed in all sixteen *woredas* of the SWZ since 1994. Table 8 and Figure 1 below show the population of South Wollo reliant on food aid in the years from 1995 to 2001. In 2001, more than 30 percent of the rural population received food aid.

Table 8. Food Aid Recipients, S. Wollo 1994/95 to 2000/01

Year	Population	Grain (in Quintals)
1994/95	449,986	236,679
1995/96	237,000	115,854
1996/97	607,564	303,746
1997/98	616,486	372,504
1998/99	876,466	574,155
1999/2000	785,864	984,688
2000/01	745,400	500,484

Source: DPPC, Dessie, 2002

Food aid is distributed to communities in two ways. Government policy is that food aid should not be handed out indiscriminately for fear that this will encourage dependency. Recipients have to earn the food through what is known as EGS (Employment Generation Schemes). *Woreda* and *Kebele* officials are expected to prepare off-the-shelf work plans to be carried out by food aid recipients. Often, this involves soil and water conservation, repairing roads, schools, etc. (i.e., activities similar to those promoted through the *woreda* development fund). Only the elderly, the sick, the infirm and

mothers with infants are allowed to receive free handouts. NGOs and others who are undertaking programme activities employ poor and needy peasants and pay them in kind. There are now pilot schemes in South Wollo where cash-for-work has been tried out. *Woreda*-initiated programme activities, including those supported by the programme, involve the mobilisation of peasants contributing labour and materials for free. On occasions peasants are also expected to make cash contributions.

There were famines in South Wollo in the mid-1960s, mid-1970s, and mid-1980s, as well as intermittent localised food crises affecting much of the farming population. The food crisis of 1999 was prevented from turning into another famine by timely delivery of relief assistance in which both the donor community, NGOs and government played an active role. Over 40 percent of the rural population was dependent on food aid in this and the following year.

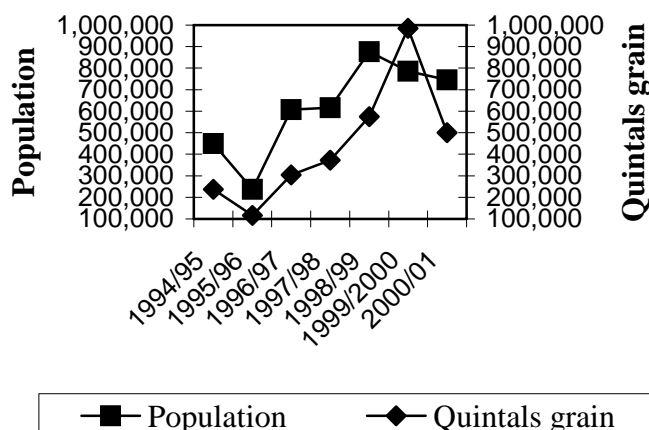
In 1995, the government issued a new policy on disaster preparedness and prevention with a structure extending down to the *kebele* level. Since then, relief assistance has been provided before many deaths occur or masses of people flee their homes in search of food. However, food aid still often arrives after peasants have exhausted their coping mechanisms as well as their assets. Food aid only aimed at humanitarian needs does not help peasants to recoup their assets but only prevents them from dying. The net result is that peasants become progressively more vulnerable after each crisis. DPPC officials are concerned that while the new policy may have succeeded in preventing deaths and mass migrations, food crises are becoming a structural problem and today food aid is also trying to address this problem.

HIV/AIDS will probably soon grow to be a major factor of livelihood vulnerability. No reliable data is available regarding the extent of HIV infection in the rural areas, but national estimates suggest something like 10% of the population may be HIV-positive. Its impact is already appearing in South Wollo. The victims are typically men in the economically active age group of 20-50, who are forced to migrate in search of employment. One source estimates that the rural areas of the country may have already lost 5 percent of their active agricultural population (Spoelstra 2001). Productive assets are frequently sold off to care for the sick and the loss of labour inevitably has a serious impact on agricultural production, income and family well being. The Phase II programme document includes funding for a programme of activities focusing on family planning and HIV/AIDS. Whether this will make a significant impact in the programme *woredas* remains to be seen.

4.2.2 Land tenure

Land tenure for individual households in ANRS is not secure due to recurrent land redistribution. Anyone living in the rural areas who is 18 years and older has the right to a plot of land - this according to the policy of the federal and Amhara Regional governments. It does not matter whether such a person is living with his/her parents or by his/her self, married or unmarried. If such a person does not have land, he or she is

Figure 1. Population and food-aid in S. Wollo since 1994



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considered landless. This complicates long-term investment on allocated land. The principle of providing every rural household with land is deeply rooted in the administration, and newly established households expect to get their share once they settle. There is also pressure to allocate land lots to vulnerable groups i.e. displaced, returning soldiers and resettlers from other parts of the country.

Better off farmers now sometimes rent land from local institutions or other farmers. Few have more than 2-3 ha, and farmers generally feel that fragmentation has severely affected agricultural production. The 1997 land redistribution was also carried out in South Wollo, but in some of the S Wollo *kebeles* there has been no redistribution since 1987 (during the Derg). The individual lots were already too small so it was not possible to carry out the new redistribution in 1997. Resettlers and displaced at that time got a maximum area of two oxendays (0,5 ha) whereas others got a minimum of four oxendays (1ha). The situation today is that many households are “extended”, meaning that sons with their families live in their parents’ households and are sharing the land. While 43% of agricultural households in East Gojjam have 1 ha or less of annual cropland, the South Wollo figure is 73 % (CSA 2000).

Woreda officials interviewed, were firmly convinced that redistribution has benefited the landless, the poor and women, and has had a positive impact on agricultural production. Peasants and many expert staff do not share this optimism, several households interviewed said they could sustain themselves on the land they had before the latest distribution but now it was impossible. Peasants are apprehensive that there will be further redistribution and loss of family holdings as a result. Insecurity permeates peasants’ land management decisions, the most damaging consequences of which are the fear of making investments on the land and a reluctance to employ sound land management practices. Tenure insecurity also inhibits long-term migration out of the rural areas, as government can re-allocate land not farmed with a few years.

Land redistribution has not eliminated landlessness, which was one of its chief objectives. The landless are frequently, though not exclusively, the young who have to postpone marriage because they have no land to support a family. This has forced the *Kebeles* to distribute marginal land, often pasture land, to the landless. Communal pastures are now under pressure, grazing land is becoming scarce. Consequently, peasants in the *degga* areas of both programme Zones are shifting to small ruminants in preference to cattle.

The policy of equity regarding rights to land has now led to extreme land fragmentation, family plots are often too small and insufficient for sustained agricultural crop production. In S. Wollo, average holdings are below one hectare, and in East Gojjam below 1.5 hectares. Poor peasants in the former cultivate 0.4 - 0.6 hectares of land, and in the latter 1.0 - 1.2 hectares.

This issue exemplifies many of the differences between rights-based and livelihood approaches. The Ethiopian government perceives access to land as a basic commitment in its relationship to the rural population. Livelihoods analyses highlights how this “right”, actually conflicts with several livelihood strategies, particularly with regard to promoting sustainability through long-term investment in land husbandry, and also flexibility, by encouraging migration. The question of land tenure has been extensively debated in Ethiopia. More in-depth research into the differences and potential synergies between rights-based and livelihoods approaches to the implications of this issue could contribute to putting this debate on a more constructive footing.

4.3 Access to types of capital and income proxies

In the classic SL model, the relative access to natural, social, human, physical and financial capital largely determines both the vulnerability of an individual or household to external forces, and the potential that a household or community has to take advantage of alternative livelihood strategies. The following section briefly reviews the interactions between these different forms of capital, with particular emphasis on the relationship between natural and social capital that the ANRS Programme hopes to develop.

4.3.1 Natural capital

Land

All households have access to locally managed commune grazing land. The grazing areas are however gradually decreasing due to land use change. Some grazing areas in South Wollo are actually classified as uphill forestland. Despite declining herds of livestock in S. Wollo (due to droughts and lack of financial capital) the carrying capacity is still decreasing. Forestland is either *kebele*/community managed or governmental. Trees and forest products are generally protected and not supposed to be used by individuals. Farmers collect firewood “illegally” and poorer households also use the wood for charcoal production. More intensive farm level forestry production is taking place on farmers’ individual small land lots, in homestead areas, along roads, paths and borders between fields. These assets increasingly contribute to the household economy. Many plantations from the Derg period are today old enough for thinning and other forest management measures.

Livestock

The major farm assets are still the herds of livestock varying in size and composition between different households. Due to present stress primarily related to the debts on agricultural inputs in East Gojjam, farmers either sell off cattle in order to settle the debt after harvest, or if there is no more cattle to sell, they now sell a major share of the harvest at a low price. Similarly in S Wollo livestock is the first asset farmers sell in order to generate capital for buying food grain. Farmers are further burdened by the fact that they either do not own farm oxen or they have only one ox; they thus become dependent on others for ploughing purposes. For cereal producers, small plots and the shortage of traction power is a bad combination that exacerbates their poverty.

4.3.2 Human and social capital

Ethiopia is highly diverse ethnically and in terms of production systems, but the ANRS region is extremely homogeneous, consisting almost entirely of Amhara. Typically, the Amhara social system is strongly patrilineal with property inherited by the sons. The feudal system that operated until the 1970s was strongly hierarchical and reinforced by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Beginning with the era of the Derg, there has been substantial social fragmentation, with forced population movements initiated by the Derg, increased labour migration and the early break-up of patrilocal households encouraged by the land distribution laws.

Nonetheless, there is still a deeply rooted tradition of social cohesion and mutual self help. In the context of the Amhara Region, CBOs are indigenous membership organisations, faith-based or secular, formed and managed by the members themselves. They include *iddir* (*kirre* in Wollo), *ikkub*, *mahber* and *senbete*. The first is a burial society, the second a rotating savings and loan association, and the last two faith-based organisations that bring people together around a common saint or religious figure. The Orthodox Church is important and its traditions and representatives are highly respected. Islam and Muslim traditions are much stronger in S Wollo compared to E Gojjam, in Legambo *Woreda* the Muslim population comprise 95%. In some communities, people form a *debbo*, a labour-pooling device to support each member of the group during periods of peak labour demand. The formation of *yenbis* (sharing of breeding animals) help families in restocking. According to the survey, most (110 out of 117 i.e. 94%) peasants in the two zones belong to one or more CBOs. As in other parts of the country, CBOs play an important role in peasant society, bringing people together, regulating community relations, resolving conflicts, and providing support. Most peasants do not have access to institutional credit; ACSI reaches only a small percentage of the rural community and the *ikkub* is the most accessible source. Some NGOs have made efforts to use CBOs as focal points for programme implementation but in the ANRS programme they have been completely ignored. New social capital in the form of expanded and innovative local level organisation i.e. interest groups, farmers’ clubs arrangements seem to be very limited, indicating that programme claims related to empowerment and local level capacity building does not extend to informal (non-governmental) institutions.

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If sustainable development at local level shall be achieved, it would seem appropriate to support the development of local (self) organisation, leadership and an expanding collaboration with various outside organisations.

Many farmers have been trained by the region and by the ANRS programme in new production techniques such as apiculture, home gardening, poultry, fattening of small ruminants, and tree planting. These new skills are reflected in the survey as new sources of farm income. The overall contribution to the farm household economy still remains at a marginal level.

4.3.3 Income Proxies and the growth of financial capital

The conversion of surpluses into financial capital and its expenditure on a range of priority goods provides a useful tool for analysing both increase in absolute wealth and wealth stratification. In the light of this, interviewees were asked about income proxies i.e. their priorities for spending if their income were to increase. Those cited during the survey tended to be typically related to investment in production assets, together with investments aiming at improving basic standard of living. Table 9 shows a comparison between investment priorities in the two zones;

Table 9. Income proxies for East Gojjam and South Wollo

East Gojjam	South Wollo
Intensified and expanded livestock production	Improved physical living conditions (house, food, clothes)
Improved physical living conditions (house, tin-roof, food, clothes)	Intensified and expanded livestock production
Local trade on grain or livestock	Local trade on grain or livestock
Small scale business (milling, shop)	Small scale business (milling, shop, transport, hotel in town)
Agricultural intensification	Agricultural inputs (fertiliser, seeds)
Technically advanced farm implements	Religious ceremony
Education for children	Pension
	Give to poor
	Educate children

Only better off farmers with relatively larger land plots were interested in intensified crop production investments, and those farmers were few. There were also some households in EGZ that had plans to invest in expensive items aimed at agriculture like water pumps, and tractors. For others rural investment based on no or small land holdings meant grinding mills, trucks for transport and start of small trade business. The great majority still keeps a focus on livestock investments (restocking) and improved living conditions i.e. basic needs.

4.3.4 Credit

In a system where outputs depend so heavily on inputs that must be purchased with cash, credit should be a crucial element in the production system. There are basically two official credit systems, the SCs (Service Cooperatives) and the rural credit and savings service provided by ACSI.

The agricultural input credit service provided by the SCs at the beginning of the crop season is not well thought-out. A householder provides a down payment for the input, which must be repaid at the harvest season. This floods the market and lowers prices. Early programme reports and documents repeatedly discuss this threat. In the Programme Document of November 1996 paragraph 7.2.1. it says: "Continuously lower prices in surplus areas could have serious implications for the return on increased use of agricultural inputs and thereby remove the incentive for increased production" (ANRS 1996). One reason for this

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situation was: “Lack of price stabilisation interventions by the Ethiopian Grain Trading Enterprise (EGTE)’. The document recommends ‘Support to private sector to promote small scale processing i.e. expanding the market’ and ‘To design credit programmes using the crop as a collateral where farmers are not forced to sell directly at harvest’. Today Sida is purchasing grain in Ethiopia i.e. 350,000 qt at a value of 47 MSEK (in 2001) indirectly acting as a price stabilising factor through supporting the DPPC food aid requests. It is somewhat alarming that despite the discussions between Sida and ANRS during the planning and preparation of phase I, input credit and grain price relations are now having the predicted negative effect and impoverishing programme beneficiaries. This hardly commends the learning process within the ANRS programme and no remedy is proposed in the second phase design document.

The second credit service, which receives support from the Programme, is a pure financial rural credit and savings service provided by ACSI and similar to the Grameen Bank credit and savings concept, i.e. building on group lending. The most vulnerable groups seldom qualify for this form of group lending. In the survey 28 out of 117 interviewees responded that they had some experience of this type of credit. Of those already having some experience 17 (61 %) said their experience was good and the credit had contributed to expanding activities whereas 9 (32 %) had encountered repayment problems. As experience so far is encouraging, there should now be specific lessons to tailor the service to people and their needs.

Overall, access to monetary credit was very low, strange enough more respondents in S. Wollo (34%) answered that they had some experience whereas only 15 % of respondents in E. Gojjam gave the same answer. The informal credit and saving institution *Ikkub* is widely used and trusted, although it is poorly regarded by *kebele* leaders and other officials, who thought it was backward and inappropriate and should be replaced.

4.4 Resource flows

4.4.1 Goods and services

The most visible impact of increased access to resources is the flow of goods and services in and out of the rural areas. All the interviewees were asked about the contrast with five years ago in terms of products going out of the village and new items coming in. A majority (70%) of interviewees responded that there was no change either on incoming or outgoing items, confirming the low levels of economic diversification and the limited change in the overall level of economic activity. This is notably in contrast to Cambodia, where 100% of informants cited new products both coming and going from the district.

Table 10 and Table 11 show the new products perceived as incoming and being exported over the last five years.

Table 10. New outgoing products compared to five years ago

East Gojjam Zone	South Wollo Zone
Grain from improved seed	Cash crops (horticultural crops, fuelwood)
Potatoes	Oats (<i>wobelo</i>)
Fattened livestock	Grain from improved seed
Cash crops (horticultural crops and wood)	

Table 11. New incoming products compared to five years ago

East Gojjam Zone	South Wollo Zone
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House-building materials (tin roofs)	Seeds of forages, wheat and maize
Improved seed	Household utensils, plastic items
Household utensils, plastic items	Food aid
	Improved breeds of livestock
	Modern beehives

New incoming goods observed were either related to agricultural production i.e. input supply and new products included in the extension packages for model farmers or in some cases consumables for house and household improvement.

Access to food aid is an advantage that to some extent provides some security when households are trying out new activities. 19 % of respondents in SWZ directly stated that food aid in combination with better production or new activities had helped to improve their food situation. This argument is also supported by the findings in a study in North Showa concluding that food or cash- for-work programmes strengthens not only food security but also the economic status of households because they allow surplus for investment in animals and inputs (Yared 1999).

Labour migration is increasing; in the field survey 25% of the households answered that household members were away to work. Labour migration is equally common in South Wollo and East Gojjam. People migrate to local, regional and other regions to look for work. Some get work as daily labour on vegetable and coffee plantations in distant Regions and stay away several months. Only those who are in the most difficult situations migrate for labour, as wage labour is associated with low status (Yared 1999).

4.4.2. Access / road construction

Access is important for marketing opportunities, for public service improvement and for the flow of communication and information. Major roads tend to provide trade opportunities in similar ways as urban centres. Travellers and drivers buy local products enabling a diversification in income generation and farmers' investments in intensified production technologies.

The ANRS Programme is supporting rural roads through two different programme components: support through the Amhara Rural Roads Authority (ARRA) and to rural infrastructure and road construction channelled through the Woreda Development Fund where ARRA provides technical support. The latter is also supported by volunteer labour from the *kebeles*. The strategy in the second phase of the Programme is to shift ARRA to using the private sector. The budget for ARRA's institution building is planned to improve its capacity in contract management, system design and performance evaluation.

Road construction and road upgrading is taking place at many levels in the Region. The ANRS Programme support to feeder roads and maintenance of inter-*woreda* roads is substantial and has already shown a positive impact on access, especially for outside services reaching rural areas. Villagers state that when they have a feeder road; health posts, veterinary clinics and schools will be better run by staff from the *woreda*. Staff at *woreda* and zone level feel that extension and on-farm research activities can now be better implemented, people in remote areas become closer and interaction and dialogue is enhanced. The road maintenance system applied in South Wollo has created off-farm work opportunities (Dessalegn 2000). Rural means of transport are primarily mules and walking. Villagers in remote *kebeles* in South Wollo cannot afford to use public transport, not even to the hospital in Dessie. Farmers were positive to the labour opportunities offered for the road construction work but had a limited perspective on the benefits from the road as a means of access to resources and opportunities.

4.5 Socio-political change

The main changes which occurred in the course of the programme in the Region are:

Land redistribution in 1997;
the Ethio-Eritrean war;
administrative restructuring.

The Region is now putting in place a new administrative reform and restructuring that has been initiated by the federal government. The objective of the reform is the devolution of responsibility to the *woredas*, and it is expected that the reform will have far-reaching implications. The *woredas* will receive, directly from the Region, an annual grant which they will be responsible for managing and utilising based on their own needs and priorities. The model originates from the *Woreda* Development Fund supported by the ANRS programme. Zonal structures will be bypassed; they will be expected to provide only technical support to the *woredas*. None of the programme *woredas* were consulted before, during or after the formulation of the reform, a regrettable comment on both learning (including change of attitude) and integration.

The success of the new initiative will depend on building up the capacity of the *woredas*. Officials at the regional bureaux are facing this challenge with a good deal of apprehension. It will be a considerable task to deploy trained personnel in all the 114 *woredas* of the Region, a majority of which are remote, and contain hardly any amenities. At present, there is high staff turnover at all levels of the Regional government, including the *woredas*, and this problem will more likely be exacerbated by the new policy. In order to attract and retain qualified staff, *woredas* will have to provide considerable incentives.

Nonetheless, *woreda* officials in programme areas were quite enthusiastic about the new reform. They argue that due to the experience they have gained through the programme supported *Woreda* Development Fund, they will be able to shoulder their new responsibilities without much difficulty. They recognise a need for more qualified staff and continued technical support from higher authorities, but believe that ANRS programme *woredas* will have a better advantage in comparison to other *woredas* in the Region.

The Region is considering a transfer of some staff from the Regional bureaux to the Zones and from the Zones to the *woredas*. The administrative reform is now at an initial stage and there is no information on how it is unfolding. The challenge that devolution and restructuring will pose will take many years to address. In the meantime, the Regional government will be pre-occupied with putting in place a new structure and with institutional capacity building. Paradoxically, programme implementation and development activity at the *woreda* level may be seriously hampered by the decentralisation reform that the programme itself inspired. It may also become difficult to differentiate between the impacts of the programme and that of the overall decentralisation efforts, with the programme even more resembling an unconscious form of direct budgetary support. This suggests an urgent need to put into place viable learning mechanisms that reflect the high level of integration into regular ANRS administrative structures.

4.6 Voice/articulacy

A key element in the understanding of poverty that has been underlined by the Sustainable Livelihoods framework is the extent to which denial of voice is also poverty. Analysing beneficiaries' own perceptions regarding their ability to communicate their aspirations and expectations and to what extent actual response has been obtained is therefore a key element of this type of analysis. In a highly centralised system such as Ethiopia, where freedom of expression has previously been repressed, this must be an important achievement of any programme. Generally speaking, the ANRS programme has enhanced the capacity of individuals and communities to communicate their aspirations and expectations to authorities. This does however not automatically mean that authorities respond by action or by policy change.

4.6.1 How familiar is WDF to beneficiaries?

All interviews except 6 were conducted in villages/*kebeles* where there had been some kind of ANRS programme *woreda* fund interventions. Although a majority actually knew about the Woreda Development Fund (WDF) information flows are apparently far from perfect.

Table 12. Do you know about WDF?

	No.
Know	78
NA	6
Don't know	33

The interviewees were also asked about how they heard about the WDF:

Table 13. How did you hear about the WDF?

	No.
No information	39
Information from government (<i>kebele</i> , <i>woreda</i>)	46
By seeing the project	15
By participating in implementation	14
From family and friends	3

This answer shows that about half of those who knew about the WDF got information from the source itself and the rest either learnt from observing changes or by providing labour for implementation.

4.6.2 Speaking up

During the field survey interviewees were asked if they ever had participated in a village-planning meeting (Table 14) and if so, did they feel that they could express their views freely (Table 15). The answers show a good level of meeting attendance, especially in South Wollo where 73 % had been in a village meeting.

Table 14. Have you participated in a village-planning meeting?

	Yes	No
EGZ	36	37
SWZ	32	12
All	68 (58 %)	49 (42 %)

Table 15. Did you feel you could express your views freely?

	Yes	No
EGZ	35	1
SWZ	26	6
All	61 (90%)	7 (10%)

Of those who felt that they could not express their views freely, 6 were women and 1 was a man. Gender is considered in the planning by the awareness training of facilitators and the active involvement of women in the planning teams. Illiteracy is often a factor hampering communication. Among the interviewees in this study 61 % could not read and write (55 % in EGZ, 70% in SWZ). Individuals sometimes feel alienated from the more articulate and knowledgeable groups in the community. The problems related to this kind of situation require a high level of facilitation skills. It cannot be easy for a Development Agent (DA) to structure planning meetings and lead general discussions toward constructive problem solving. Expressing

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one's view freely does not automatically mean that point and action is taken, which seems to be a problem when village meetings are raising complex issues.

Woreda level voice

The ANRS programme has enhanced voice and articulacy at the *woreda* level. *Woreda* officials are now more self-confident and assertive. They say that because programmes are carried out through participatory planning they have been greatly empowered vis-à-vis higher level authority. They have gained skills in participatory planning, budget management and programme implementation. They are able to defend the interests of the *woreda* and the local community from pressure from above more strongly now than before.

On the other hand, this is still not fully reflected and respected during high level meetings where traditional hierarchical relations remain strong. Staff from *woreda* level did not always dare to speak up during sessions commenting on issues and criticising higher levels. They stayed silent during meetings, wrote letters or spoke informally with higher level managers. Neither have *woredas* been consulted in the new administrative restructuring process, despite the fact that concept development and experience is at *woreda* level. This still suggests that the rhetoric of decentralisation is not yet firmly founded on a genuine change of attitude and behaviour.

Village level voice

In the programme two different “participatory” planning methods are simultaneously applied in the village planning process.

The “Mengestawi Buden” mobilisation (or government teams mobilised at community level on a base of 30-120 households) is the method applied for the *woreda* development fund (WDF) priority setting as well as for the extension planning PADETES (Participatory Demonstration and Training Extension System) in ANRS. This method is the government planning and implementation tool for reaching out to the grass-roots level. Mengestawi Buden is not specific for ANRS, it is common all over Ethiopia and has been so for a long time. Traditionally these working teams are expected to plan, schedule and implement rural development projects like construction of schools and clinics, development of springs, tree plantations and construction of physical structures, road construction etc. The *kebele* “budget” for this is mainly based on local contributions, i.e. “local material”, “local knowledge” and “local labour”. When agricultural production has been demonstrated with the involvement of extension staff, the people of the *kebele* have developed a tradition of assigning test farmers and evaluating the result at the end.

Planning teams of 9 (3 men, 3 women, 3 youth) are mobilised and the plans of these “Mengestawi Buden” teams are aggregated and co-ordinated at *kebele* level. The aggregated *kebele* plan is discussed at village (*Kebele*) meeting in order to reach consensus before handed over to the *woreda* and higher levels. When the *kebele* plan has been reviewed and revised at these different organisational levels it is approved and returns to the *kebele*.

The other planning tool applied is the LLPPA (Local Level Participatory Planning Approach), which was developed as a tool for involving farmers in forestry and soil and water conservation methods under the former Ministry of Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection. The planning process is participatory, analytical and holistic with a Participatory Learning and Action approach (PLA). It stands out in contrast to the consensus building method applied for WDF and PADETES planning, which lacks analytical and learning promoting components. The Department of Agriculture Team of Natural Resource Management is applying LLPPA as their planning tool when interacting with the *kebele* level planning teams (Mengestawi Buden groups).

Village planning workshops mainly focus on problem identification. Villagers are consulted regarding their needs, but solutions and major means (except labour) are provided from outside. Nonetheless, the Woreda Development Co-ordination Committee may sometimes add activities to the village plans, which have not

been prioritised or clearly enough specified during the workshops. This fact indicates weaknesses in the appraisal method. The intention should not be to leave farmers to generate solutions on their own, but to interact with research/extension in analysing causes and consequences to the problems identified. This will require follow up visits and topical appraisals after the village planning workshop event. Depending on problems identified different forms of trying out and testing new things should be discussed between farmers and outsiders. This would mean pure experimental topics i.e. participatory technology development as well as demos and verification trials, but also action research not exclusively focussed on agricultural production. The extensionist–researcher–farmer collaboration should operate as a very vital component linking local level technology/knowledge generation with new forms of local organisation and dissemination.

Spontaneous interactions between different *kebeles* or independent farmer group interactions rarely occur. Lateral initiatives are initiated top down e.g. regarding schools and service co-operatives. Initiatives come from outside and communication is vertical in all aspects and in almost all situations. The potential for lateral learning from kebele-to-kebele, woreda-to-woreda, and zone-to-zone has not been developed.

Farmers today claim that they are fed up with the elaborated and time consuming planning process which at the end of every annual planning cycle comes back with the same cut backs on activities of high priority to them. It seems to have been a mistake to build the local planning process on the Community Empowerment Project (CEP) planning method. In its most simplified form it just reinforces the “governmental group mobilisation” and may act against local empowerment. The methodology suits consensus building and the setting of priorities regarding common goods but fails to deal with complex problems requiring learning and analysis. The present planning method needs improvement according to farmers and technical staff (ANRS 2001), in its present form the “village planning workshop” approach is just at a consultative level of participation. A good local level planning process must provide villagers with stronger negotiation power. They should also be given full voice and responsibility regarding M&E.

There is however still a dilemma regarding the level of responsiveness possible from the Bureau of Agriculture. The BoA is directly linked to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Extension Department and is in that line ministry context supposed to serve certain objectives and targets in the annual work-plans. Radical shifts in response to demands from below are not yet easy to handle. Furthermore, the human resources of the BoA are limited, and their capacity to steer, support and train local-level DAs is limited.

4.7 The Private Sector

4.7.1 Government and the Private Sector

In the ANRS phase I programme document, the private sector is identified as one of the primary target groups, along with farmers, rural women and the disadvantaged. It was believed that private sector growth would provide employment opportunities and help promote economic diversification for the farming population. Nonetheless, it seems that programme activities were based on a very limited analysis of the functioning of the market and of the policy context.

In the programme *woredas*, the private sector consists of the informal economy, microenterprises, and small-scale businesses. The informal sector is made up of hundreds of individuals engaged in petty activities for a living using the streets and public places as their base of operations. Micro-enterprises are mostly service-based activities run often by families operating out of their homes. Small-scale enterprises include retail trade, small hotels, workshops, small traders in grain, hides and skins and eucalyptus poles, and bakeries; there may also be small time transport operators. More individuals tend to be involved in the local trade in grain and livestock, but only 8% of interviewees responded that trade was a major source of income. Grain moves out from the Region in a stepwise trading network starting with the small local mule traders, continued by middle level traders and finally taken over by bigger traders with large trucks. Almost everything goes to Addis Abeba. There seems to be no or very little interregional trade and few existing regional or zonal cities with significant market opportunities. Earlier, grain and Eucalyptus poles from

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ANRS were sold to Eritrea, but there is now a trade embargo. Agricultural input supply is imported from Addis Abeba, together with tin roof sheets and smaller amounts of consumables. According to information from zonal staff, last year purchase of fertiliser and certified seed has decreased in East Gojjam, which is worrisome and indicates that overall production will decrease as production incentives already have decreased. DoFED officials informed the team that the import value of goods and consumables exceeds the export value of agricultural produce in both East Gojjam Zone and South Wollo Zone. There has been a general failure to promote private sector investment and entrepreneurship in general. With the exception of some significant investment in Kombolcha, small and medium size agro-processing industries that would have contributed to a decentralised economic growth are still absent in one of the breadbasket zones of Ethiopia. Substantial quantities of low priced products are exported out of the ANRS and value is added mainly in Addis Abeba.

The main formal institution that represents the interests of the business community is the Chamber of Commerce. There is at present a Chamber of Commerce office in Dessie, Bahr Dar and Gondar. The former two offices are quite weak and ineffective, which businessmen and Chamber officials attribute primarily to the government's restrictive legislation, which is a legacy of the Derg regime. The legislation defining the powers and duties of the country's Chamber of Commerce requires that forty percent of its Board of Directors be government officials. The national Chamber of Commerce in Addis Ababa has vigorously lobbied Parliament for a change of legislation but so far without results. Chamber officials complain that the Regional government does not consult them even on issues affecting the private sector. They contend that their organisation is the right one to run training programmes for the business community. It seems only proper that once there is a strong Chamber of Commerce, the training of men and women in the private sector should be entrusted to it.

Instead, the Department of Trade and Industry (DoTI) at the Zonal level has been engaged (with programme support) in a training programme for small and medium business people and local artisans for some time now. The training includes short lessons in bookkeeping, business management, and investment laws. Although there is no impact information available, and the benefits of the programme are thus hard to measure, it is doubtful whether business people have gained significant benefit by it. DoTI is a regulatory authority, an odd body to run a training programme. DoTI has also been conducting a market survey for some time, and the results of the survey, containing information on prices and supply of commodities in selected *woreda* towns, is broadcast on local radio. There are now plans for BoA to collect market information and this may duplicate what DoTI is already doing.

There are few if any medium to large-scale enterprises in *woreda* towns; such enterprises are located in much bigger towns such as Dessie, Kombolcha, Bahr Dar and Gondar. In the last five years, Dessie has attracted nearly a dozen agricultural, manufacturing and service industries, and there is considerable building construction going on in the town. There is also increasing investment activity in the nearby town of Kombolcha, which since the 1960s has been an industrial town, and in Haiq, a *woreda* town some 30 kms north of Dessie. While businessmen here complained of lack of access to sufficient institutional credit, and unfair competition by quasi-government and Party affiliated business enterprises, they say they have received encouragement and support from the Zonal authorities.

In contrast, Debre Marcos in East Gojjam is a dying town. There is very little investment activity, and frustrated businessmen and women are leaving for other towns, in particular Addis Abeba, where the investment climate is relatively better. Businessmen here complained of red tape and corruption among public officials; unfair tax burdens on businesses; difficulties of access to land for investment purposes; and an underlying hostility to the private sector on the part government authorities. Tax collection, they noted, often lacks transparency and tax rates are set arbitrarily. Many of their complaints were echoed in a socio-economic study of Debre Marcos conducted by its own Zonal administration in 2001 (EGZ 2001).

East Gojjam is reputed to be one of the Region's breadbaskets, yet the Zone's agricultural surplus is marketed and processed elsewhere, impoverishing Debre Marcos, its chief urban centre. On the other hand, Dessie and Kombolcha are located in the middle of one of the most vulnerable and food deficit Zones in the

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Region, nevertheless, the towns are enjoying considerable investment growth. This paradox deserves further research, as it could indicate clues regarding incentives for local investment.

Woreda officials reported that they have made serious efforts to involve the private sector in programme activities and to support increased investments in their localities. There is probably some truth to this; however, given the feeble nature of the local economy the benefits are hardly visible. A recent study in Wogda in Northern Shewa found that peasants expressed a strong distaste for grain trading (Yared 1999). Muslim women are by tradition not supposed to deal with trade or business. By exploring traditional ways of engaging in trading and commercial activities, solutions may be found that are culturally and socially acceptable.

If the private sector is to play an active role in the development of the Region, there should be a partnership between it and the Regional government. At present, there is no common meeting ground between the two. The periodic workshops that DoTI organises for business people have not served as an open forum for constructive dialogue. While the partnership envisaged will take quite some time to materialise, it is important that public and private sector representatives should begin to talk to each other in good faith. There should be a forum in which both sides will meet regularly to hold frank talks on matters of common concern.

4.7.2 NGOs

According to information compiled by the Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Committee (DPPC), there were 80 NGOs operating in the Region in 2001, of which 48 percent were local. Some 29 NGOs were awaiting permission to undertake project activities. There were 18 NGOs operational in South Wollo but only 6 in East Gojjam. NGOs ran some 167 projects in the Region, reaching five million beneficiaries, and involving a budget of 704 million Birr. Of these, many concentrate on care for children in urban areas. Rural projects included water supply, environmental rehabilitation (including relief aid), income generating schemes, and health services of which HIV/AIDS awareness programmes were the most important.

NGOs bring considerable resources and reach a good percentage of the Region's population. However, while they work under close supervision from the relevant line departments and offices, they do not operate in close partnership with these same government bodies. A good number of NGOs have been working in the Region for many years and they have accumulated valuable experience related to food security and vulnerability. They have employed a variety of participatory methods for planning and service delivery purposes, and some have proved to be quite effective. Here then is a store of knowledge and expertise, which the government has failed to tap. There is no forum for constructive dialogue between government and NGOs, and best practices are not replicated and valuable experiences not shared. DPPC periodically hosts meetings for NGOs but this is not an experience-sharing or learning opportunity. It is important to establish a meaningful partnership between government and NGOs so that both can work together and support each other. Government does not have to undertake all programme activities by itself. It can contract out those activities in which NGOs have gained valuable experience. These include rural water supply, environmental protection, HIV/AIDS awareness, and income generating programmes.

5. Relevance to larger goals

5.1 Poverty reduction

5.1.1 The ANRS Programme and poverty reduction

The ANRS programme has changed its position regarding poverty focus over time. In the draft programme document of September 1996, and in the revised programme document of November 1996 (ANRS 1996),

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primary target groups and vulnerable groups were identified and listed together with specific programme support activities aiming at perceived needs of these groups. The final programme document of March 1997 took a broader focus (ANRS 1997). The targeting of vulnerable groups and women became the responsibility of the *woreda* administration and was generally intended to be linked to the allocation of WDF resources and the promotion of ACSI credit. The overall poverty reduction strategy now became an equal priority to intensification of smallholder agriculture and economic diversification. The general view was that all farmers are poor and that programme activities aiming at agricultural development for the rural population will benefit the poor by definition. More specific targeting was therefore deemed unnecessary.

In the first programme document for phase II of March 2001 (ANRS/SARDP 2001) the primary target groups are farmers, rural women and private sectors entrepreneurs. No discussion on poverty reduction is included. The strategy on agricultural intensification/diversification and economic diversification remains similar to phase I. In the final phase II programme document of September 2001 (ANRS/SARDP 2001), poverty focus is given somewhat more attention. In this document the primary target groups are the rural poor, i.e. those who are living in absolute poverty, those who are deprived social services, and those who are powerless. In the same document it is stated that a holistic approach towards perspectives of opportunities for poverty and vulnerability reduction should be applied. The poverty reduction strategy remains the intensification of smallholder agriculture and economic diversification.

By following the changes of the poverty reduction focus across the documents, it appears that pressures were exerted to increase the poverty focus during the course of the planning process. The ownership and impact of objectives inserted when the planning process has gone quite far ahead can be questioned. It would have been better to achieve consensus on such key issues at the outset of the planning process.

At an early stage of phase I, the WDF was intended to be targeted at individuals or groups of individuals (i.e. more vulnerable groups). Officials today admit that this has not been done. The vague targeting of poor, vulnerable groups, or a socio-economic stratification in general reflects the local planning method applied. The village planning workshop manages to build consensus on local infrastructure investments, but fails when addressing rural livelihoods and other complex issues.

The results from the survey suggest that this persistent lack of focus has had unfortunate consequences for programme impact on the actual poorer households on the ground. Food security has deteriorated everywhere and only the system of food aid delivery has become more effective. Input credit systems have increased the absolute amount of food produced but the repayment schedules mean that this production increase is not improving household level nutrition. Fragmentation of landholdings and insecurity of tenure have militated strongly against investment in soil and water conservation and long-term tree-planting. Migration has increased everywhere, suggesting that labour is no longer available for investment in the home farm area. There is no evidence that the design of Phase II seriously addresses any of these issues. The ADLI and the land distribution policies strongly rule the context for development planning in the Region, the impact of these policies should have been discussed.

5.1.2 PRSPs and ANRS

The government's *Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (IPRSP) was drafted in November 2000 (FDRE, 2000), but it was not until January of the following year that copies of the document were available for public discussion. The poverty reduction strategy developed for the interim report has the following elements;

- ADLI
- Judiciary and civil service reform
- Decentralisation and empowerment
- Capacity building in public and private sectors

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The underlying idea is that increased agricultural production will follow from further economic reform and market liberalisation, leading to increased exports and eventually greater investment in industry. Agricultural production will also reduce levels of food insecurity thereby releasing the productive potential of households constrained by chronic food shortages. The model is a growth-led, encompassing a level of optimism concerning government policy not untypical for this type of document. The other elements are all fairly standard civil society enhancement measures revolving around the improvement of public goods and services. The most striking lacuna in this document is any analysis either of the structural causes of poverty or the segmentation of the poor. As a consequence, its proposed remedies largely fail to address the underlying problems.

Initially, government did not encourage public debate of the IPRSP but a number of civil society organisations took the initiative to hold public discussions on poverty in the country and to demand that the PRSP process involve broad-based consultations with stakeholders, including the rural and urban poor. In August 2001, the government announced its plans for countrywide consultations on the IPRSP as a prelude to the preparation of the final PRSP. These consultations were to be undertaken at the *woreda*, Regional and national levels. At each stage, a report of the proceedings was to be prepared to serve as an input to the subsequent discussions at higher level. At the end of the consultations, technical committees already set were to prepare the final PRSP. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development was to be in charge of the whole process. The final document is planned for completion in May 2002.

The IPRSP does not contain any framework for detailed monitoring, though it does suggest measurable indicators that could be included as part of a monitoring system. There is as yet no monitoring approach that has been agreed upon by either civil society or donor groups. It may be much more valuable to consider monitoring intermediate outcomes and at the Regional level. This will give the Regions an important role to play, and make it possible for the government to get feedback and to learn from the experience. Monitoring at regional level, based on a simple but transparent system of measures or indicators, will enable government to make timely course corrections.

5.2 Integration of lessons learnt

5.2.1 Programme level learning

The ANRS programme does not seek alternative solutions or ways of finding out things. Key phrases are *provision of...*, *support to....*, *enabling of...*. If 'learning' is to be a strong objective, then the programme design must have a learning process approach. However, the ANRS programme is presently designed for result-oriented implementation of pre-determined tasks.

Although learning processes and course corrections are certainly allowed for in programme design, the main strategy has not been to design programme process lines strategically leading to stepwise change building on learning/reflection and action. The course corrections and changes that have taken place during phase I therefore appear somewhat unpredictable in this light.

Annual internal M&E of programme activity implementation is carried out and reported according to agreed programme standards. The focus is on outputs and the assessment is based on comparison of planned outputs compared to actual outputs. Reflections regarding lessons learnt are included in these reports. Typically, the same issues and bottlenecks recur from one year to another. The implementing institutions are becoming more articulate in expressing themselves due to experience and clearer visions, but management mechanisms enabling major changes and shifts at programme level in response to emerging needs and problems are not yet operational. If the link between monitoring and programme management continues to be weak, collaborators will probably lose motivation.

The programme often commissions studies to be carried out by external consultants to assess a problem area, provide recommendations or to prepare ground for training events. Although the volume of studies carried

out is impressive, it occurs that this approach to learning is not very conducive regarding capacity building and sustainability. How are the findings actually internalised in the minds of individuals at different programme levels. Do such studies help them to solve problems in better ways? It would have been a better investment to make better use of existing staff in these missions and to keep a long term perspective on their role regarding follow up of findings. External expertise should not only be contracted based on technical merits, facilitation and capacity building responsibilities must be added.

Sida has commissioned three external supervision missions, which were intended to support upward accountability within Sida. They are not a substitute for support to programme level learning. A systematic learning process could be enhanced by a stronger focus on participatory M&E at all levels (including an active, broad and transparent use of the LFA). Regular self-evaluation reviews at programme and sub-component levels could if properly facilitated initiate mechanisms for programme -and institutional learning. This change generated from the “inside” of a system is sometimes very challenging but needed in order to enable reflection and debate in a programme strongly integrated in governmental structures.

5.2.2 Lessons learnt and course corrections

The Phase II programme document tries to express a clearer view on the overall design and guiding principles. Issues such as poverty focus, good governance, gender equity, environmental care, decentralisation, diversification and sustainability are briefly discussed and analysed. The shift between phase I and II also reflects a stronger focus on capacity building, i.e. Human Resource Development (HRD) at local and *woreda* level. New programme components include family planning and HIV/AIDS, support to the judiciary, population and demography and municipal reform strategies. These new issues are quite remote from the agricultural and growth-led principles underlying phase I. The same policy framework is however still guiding strategies and implementation in the second phase. There also seems to be some difficulty in incorporating and structuring new visions and principles in the planning. The guiding principles are still not well reflected in an overall programme approach and design. It would have been an advantage if the phase II design had come out more process oriented and less in favour of activity implementation. The second phase now continues to exemplify a full integration and acceptance of governmental agricultural development objectives and strategies. This simplifies implementation, but also makes problematic dialogue and integration of new thinking and strategies. A new programme design should grab the opportunity to learn from both ongoing and future field based experiences in order to generate change in both management structures, and policies.

The *Woreda* Development Fund (WDF) is perhaps the programme’s greatest example of learning. It has won approval among all target groups, both primary and secondary. According to the initial programme documents, the primary target groups consist of farmers, rural women, vulnerable groups and the private sector in the programme *woredas*. The secondary target groups include *woreda* administration and sector offices, Zonal and Regional bodies. Among the last two, the *Woreda* Development Fund is singled out as the success story of the programme. *Woreda* officials are emphatic that the Fund has made it possible for them to implement a wide diversity of programmes, which would not have been possible if the Fund was not available. The second phase of the programme is consequently increasing efforts at *woreda* level. The WDF has proved a successful concept for provision of public goods, less successful though in responding to complex issues i.e. rural livelihoods. There is now evidence that the WDF concept, initiated and developed by the programme actually served as a model for the government’s new policy of reform and restructuring. The Amhara Region example is today cited in public debate when promoting for wide replication.

The broad and complex research support in phase I, has shifted in phase II and is now strictly focussed on the on-farm research and the extension-research interface. The Regional Agricultural Research Master Plan (RARMP) and the Amhara Regional Agricultural Research Institute (ARARI) has after substantial support successfully attracted external donor funding, and a long-term agricultural research sector support programme is now scheduled to begin in June 2002. Similarly the Woreta Training Centre is now cut off from programme support and ready to be upgraded to college level. Woreta should have equal potential to

attract external funding as ARARI. It could be discussed if one donor should upgrade a capacity or a sector to the point when an other donor finds it attractive to take it over. Luckily this happened but it seems a bit risky to count on it without partners from the start.

5.2.3 Documentation and information exchange

At programme and/or regional level there seem to have been few workshops or seminars to facilitate learning, i.e. programme level reflections and discussions on lessons learnt from strategies, activities and methodologies applied. The examples traced were the research-extension review meetings, small scale irrigation workshops and a spontaneous inter-zone and inter-*woreda* workshop on village planning methodology. There are however few mechanisms to systematically structure reflection and assessment into replication and implementation. This blocks wider replication of lessons learnt by NGOs and local pilot initiatives emerging from *woredas* and *kebeles*.

Neither has any strategic and structured learning path been opened up between the Federal Government institutions and the ANRS programme. A programme of this magnitude should have capacity to arrange national seminars on key experiences from programme implementation, or at least to ensure that documentation and information is maintained. A good linking mechanism between Region and Federal Government will become even more critical in the future.

To enhance documentation and information a new library including an information and documentation centre was supported by the programme in phase I and is now established at BoFED. This demanding undertaking seems not to be fully understood at the higher programme level, especially regarding requirements of staff, software and external collaboration. Considering the long term effort that will be needed to establish this centre it is remarkable that no documentation and information exchange component is included in the Phase II programme document. Instead programme support is proposed for the development and maintenance of IPIS (Integrated Planning Information System) a database of physical and socio-economic settings of the region. The programme has apparently decided to shift focus and to support BoFED in developing and maintaining IPIS. Similarly quite substantial efforts were spent on a baseline study (IDR 1999, 2000), but there has so far been no follow up or practical use of this in programme management.

5.2.4 Learning and Human Resource Management

The overall capacity to attract and retain staff is a key issue both regarding efficient programme implementation and sustainability. Managers at *woredas* and other programme co-operating institutions have not become familiar with human resource management and human resource development concepts. Despite the capacity building support in the programme, there is no clear training strategy or a HRD plan founded on an institutional vision and context. At present the high staff turn-over in *woredas* and other offices is a major threat to the progress of the ANRS programme.

A very comprehensive Training Needs Assessment (TNA) was carried out at the onset of the programme (ANRS 1998). The objective was mainly to feed the result into the curriculum development at Woreta training centre but the method and process on how to assess training needs were relevant for all types of human capacity building in the ANRS organisation. This experience could have been used in a much wider programme context. Alternative methods deemed more suitable for in-service training and adult training i.e. peer group coaching and joint training workshops on specific themes would provide a much more dynamic learning environment and better serve programme objectives than the present promotion training.

5.3 Capacity building

Capacity-building can be thought of as taking place at three main levels; region/zone, *woreda* and beneficiary. The institutions through which the ANRS programme operates, notably BoPED and DoPED, should have increased management capacity. The *woredas* should be better able to plan in a participatory way. Beneficiaries should be able to both improve household food security and develop a wider variety of economic activities to be more risk-averse.

Region/zone

During the time of the programme co-operation some clear achievements have been made at regional level:

BoPED/BoFED

- ❑ is stronger and more articulated regarding co-ordination and management of regional level institutions i.e. routines and structures for programme planning and implementation are in place, financial and administrative routines are working
- ❑ has developed a more reflective and less dogmatic view regarding planning and management of a rural development programme, i.e. *woreda* representatives are participating in the PCC meetings, and lower level experience has started to influence higher levels
- ❑ dialogue and co-operation with the Federal Government seems to have been enhanced, mainly due to the experience from *woreda* focussed collaboration and development.

There is still a need to further explore improvements in management systems especially as the future *woreda* focus and the overall promotion of decentralised planning will create a need for responsive and flexible support/coordination institutions.

Capacity building at regional and lower levels will in many respects be overshadowed by the planned Administrative Reform and Restructuring. The federal and regional governments will be preoccupied for the coming two to three years with institution building following the restructuring initiative.

Woreda level

Woreda officials in both EGZ and SWZ reported improved programme planning, management and implementation capabilities. However, these changes did not involve adoption of new and innovative practices. Moreover, capacity building at the local level has been seriously hampered by high levels of staff turnover, the inability to attract trained staff, and lack of training and skill up-grading opportunities for existing staff.

The HRD or “capacity building” in phase I has mainly been focussed on individuals not on institutions. Many international scholarships have been financed, but basic human resource development at *woreda* level has been less emphasised, creating tensions between different categories of staff. *Woreda* staff complain that they have been denied the benefit of in-service and longer-term training compared to staff at regional and zonal levels.

The *kebele* leadership follows governmental approaches and models. The organisational structure is similar in all *kebeles*. No new structures have emerged as a result of the planning and implementation cycles in the pilot *woredas*. Initiatives on development issues still follow the vertical line of command. Local initiatives are rare and have yet to prove fruitful. Spontaneous inter-*kebele* collaboration is rare. The DA (Development Agent) or the *kebele* is not yet in a position to contact and tap resources outside the governmental system.

In order to avoid that local level “voice” becomes equal to freedom to complain or protest and “response” becomes equal to support provision from outside, farmers should be given freedom and responsibility to take

action and organise themselves independently of existing structures. This requires facilitation skills, competent collaborators, networking capacity and policy dialogues.

Beneficiaries

Households have been provided technical training, some have hosted on-farm research trials, some have been local seed producers and some have taken part in exposure trips arranged by *woreda* or zonal teams. Many household members have taken part in the volunteer labour force mobilised for implementing the *woreda* fund generated activities e.g. construction of water posts, feeder roads, soil and water conservation structures. Others have been mobilised in food for work activities related to soil and water conservation and gained some skills in planning and implementation of *subkebele/kebele* projects. Further processes of capacity building and local level organisation i.e. interest group formation, selection of local farmer extensionists and evidence of farmers' own initiatives, experimentation or participatory research are rare.

5.4 Sustainability

The ANRS programme is fully integrated in the governmental organisational structure, from regional to village level, which has both advantages and disadvantages. There are no bypass structures at organisation, planning and implementation levels. The only new bodies are the PCC (Programme Co-ordination Committee) with the PCU (Programme Co-ordination Unit) and the WDCC (*Woreda* Development Co-ordination Committee) that manages the WDF together with the *Woreda* Executive Council. The sustainability of these committees is dependent on the political will of the national and regional governments. It is likely that these will be maintained as long as funds continue to flow from Sida or other donors.

Each *woreda* has several sources of funds; a block grant from the Region, community contributions, and in the case of the ANRS programme *woredas*, the *Woreda* Development Fund. According to the World Bank's pilot study of Awabel *woreda* in East Gojjam (World Bank 2000), one of the ANRS programme *woredas*, the programme grant to the *woreda* was offset against what it would otherwise have been received from the Regional government. We were unable to confirm this in our interviews with *woreda* officials in Gozamen and Machakel *woredas* in East Gojjam and Legambo *woreda* in South Wollo. *Woreda* officials here stated that they did not suffer any loss of revenue transfer to their *woredas* from the Region as a result of programme funds. The Bank's findings in Awabel were that the ANRS programme's contributions amounted to only 12 percent of the revenue available to the *woreda* during the year. The rest came from the government and community contributions. The World Bank's study points out that if all community contributions are included, they would account for 51 percent of the *woreda's* annual resources. Over 80 percent of the *woreda* budget received from the Region goes to cover salaries and related expenses, while the WDF goes directly to finance development activities. In other words, even though the WDF provides a relatively small proportion of *Woreda* resources, it is very important for development initiatives.

In some of the phase I programme documents a stepwise strategy for the WDF phasing out was outlined. Apparently this was deemed too ambitious, as no such phasing out has yet started. Instead there is a new strategy outlined in the March 2001 programme document proposal, which is again absent in the final September 2001 programme document. Nonetheless, there appears to be strong evidence that the participatory model and funding flow to *woredas* will be maintained by government. It is certainly true that the skills developed by *woreda* officials are likely to persist because they can be applied to budgetary processes on a scale much larger than the WDFs.

Organisationally, therefore, it seems that some of the procedures set in motion by ANRS programme and the capacity built thereby are sustainable. However, when it comes to approaches to agricultural production, food security and poverty reduction, it is unclear that these should be reproduced, let alone sustained. The survey suggests that weak contextual knowledge has permitted programme activities that are of little or no benefit at the farm level.

The local planning approach adopted by the ANRS programme will not be sustainable unless the planning cycle is completed with a participatory M&E process. The approach should also allow for stronger negotiating power at community level. The level of participation applied in the programme is at the level of consultation if assessment is made according to recognised typology criteria of participation (Arnstein 1969; Pretty 1995). This level of participation is too low, especially if programme interventions aim at moving from infrastructure provision to planning encompassing human, organisational and livelihood development issues.

Generally speaking, programme design has not effectively taken sustainability into consideration; changes in emphasis regarding phase out strategies from one version to another suggest that there is not clear vision regarding when or how the “temporary” injection of resources that the WDF represents will have led to sufficient “development” so as to be no longer necessary. Exit strategies are effectively discouraged due to political pressure to keep funds both flowing and to expand their volume. The failure to confront this issue raises significant questions regarding the underlying assumptions in the area development concept in ANRS.

6. Conclusions

6.1 Summary

Sida commissioned ODI and its partners to conduct a study of poverty alleviation through Area Development using a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. Three countries were chosen as case studies, Ethiopia, Zambia and Cambodia. Fieldwork was first tested in Cambodia before being carried out in Ethiopia and Zambia in a broadly comparable way. This is a draft report of the Ethiopian field study carried out in the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) from January 8th to February 5th 2002.

The ANRS Programme, recently renamed the Sida Amhara Rural Development Programme (SARDP), was initially planned in 1995, and background technical studies were conducted in 1996 with the implementation beginning in April 1997. Planning for phase II was halted during the Ethiopian-Eritrean war and then resumed with Phase I ending in December 2001. Six subsequent six-month contract extension agreements have been settled before SARDP II, a new phase of the ANRS Programme begun in January 2002. The second phase of the programme is carrying on most components from phase I. New components added are support to judiciary, a stronger focus on governance and *woreda* level capacity building plus a component on family planning and AIDS/HIV prevention. The second phase will end in 2004 as Sida is about to revise the country strategy for Ethiopia.

The ANRS Programme is an Area Development Programme (ADP) operating in two pilot 'zones', East Gojjam and South Wollo of the Amhara Region. Its key elements are a *sustainable increase in agricultural productivity and natural resource use as well as economic diversification*. This was to be achieved by core support to the *woredas* to emphasise participatory planning mechanisms and building local capacity. A concept for decentralisation was developed through the *woreda* fund, a general development fund allocated by the programme to the pilot *woredas*. The principal positive elements were in infrastructure development, notably roads, bridges, water-posts, schools, health clinics and veterinary clinics. These are public goods, the investments were in demand and could therefore be justified on a “first things first” basis. The *woreda* development fund has proved a dynamic input for supporting these needs identified at local level. BoPED (Bureau of Planning and Economic Development) became the focal point for programme support despite the agricultural nature of many activities. A consequence was that many designated activities were never implemented by the BoA (Bureau of Agriculture), which led to some internal friction.

East Gojjam is a traditional “bread basket” area with a relatively high crop production potential, whereas South Wollo is an area often severely affected by droughts, soil erosion and higher risks related to crop production. Both zones however suffer from decreasing food security at household levels caused by increasing evidence of structural poverty, i.e. lack of access to sufficient assets, low productivity and low

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income. The main emphasis of the programme was on increasing agricultural production through intensification i.e. promotion of credit-based high input production systems and diversifying agricultural production through introduction and development of small scale and low risk technologies. There was little or no emphasis on markets, or linkages between the rural and urban economy. Unfortunately the input credits and the requirement to repay them after harvest forced prices down, thus making it more difficult for farmers to rebuy grain at the end of the season and thereby decreasing food security. Efforts to diversify production have mainly resulted in a broader base of subsistence level agriculture, offering farmers a wider range of options on meeting their basic needs. Of the households interviewed 64 % stated that food security today is the same or worse compared to five years ago. Combined with increases in tax and a major land redistribution in 1997, the overall agricultural development trajectory has been negative for a majority of rural households in the pilot zones. This raises questions as to the potential impact of an ADP within an overall policy environment that is not conducive to sustainable development and food security.

Some positive but yet not wide spread achievements are emerging from the rural micro-finance scheme at local levels. On the whole however, the economic diversification through non-farm and off-farm income-generating activities linked to a rural credit service is an illusive programme component in need of improvement regarding contextual analysis and strategy development.

Internal learning within the programme has been very weak and a failure to contact and interact with local Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and NGOs, some with several years of experience in the area, has limited external learning. The weak internal learning reflects the highly centralised and hierarchical nature of officialdom in Ethiopia and a generalised suspicion of non-government bodies. The new administrative reform, which aims at a general decentralisation to *woreda* level shows potential of weakening these hierarchies, which may in turn create new opportunities for internal, lateral and inter-agency learning. Documentation and information activities enabling internal and external dialogue, discussion and replication of lessons learnt are not yet systematically incorporated in programme processes or programme design. In general, Phase II does not demonstrate significant learning from the experience of Phase I, but doubles the funds available without any very clear frame of activities that could complement the achievements and eliminate the problems experienced in Phase I.

The local level planning process and the local organisation framing the planning process is fully integrated in the existing governmental structures at the *kebele* level, where “local mobilisation” sometimes is equal to forced labour. The local planning has mainly focussed on infrastructure/service delivery and there has been only a marginal focus on livelihood issues, or improved local organisation. The level of participation is on a consultative level and still lacks components of M&E and negotiating power at community level. If programme support aims at moving from infrastructure provision to planning encompassing human, organisational and livelihood development issues, the level of participation must be enhanced.

Capacity building elements have been related to service delivery, i.e. strengthening the capacity of programme stakeholders to implement defined activities. The strengthening of the capacity of institutional systems, human resources and networking has been very weak. Sustainability related to capacity building risks being lost, mainly due to the high rates of staff turnover commonly found at all levels in the governmental administration. Weaknesses related documentation and information also worsens the situation.

A poverty focus is expressed but not analysed or strategically planned and framed. Baseline information and indicators have still not been integrated into practical tools for support to planning, monitoring and evaluation. The vagueness on the issue, together with different views expressed by the Programme Co-ordination Committee (PCC) members, provides a shaky foundation for a programme level strategy and follow up. Was the programme better prepared, it could play an important role in linking the PRSP initiatives with the regional capability to monitor and evaluate local level effects of poverty alleviation measures. This national to regional link would then be able to capture the lessons learnt and elicit needed course corrections.

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The programme is fully integrated in existing governmental structures and policy frameworks. This simplifies implementation and “integration” in general but complicates dialogue regarding lessons learnt and integration of new thinking and new strategies. It is doubtful if the *woreda* focus and the decentralisation reform will provide a decentralised platform strong enough to generate new reforms and policy dialogue. Maintaining an open attitude towards critical reflection and change in this context will require decisive strategic design measures together with a proactive programme management. Critical reflection on governmental priorities has not been traditionally encouraged in Ethiopia, and a shift in institutional and bureaucratic culture will require a concerted effort. Integration and ownership appear to sometimes have been used to justify passivity by Sida and the consultants in this regard.

The challenges facing smallholder agriculture in the Region are still overwhelming: a scarce and declining resource base; small and diminishing per capita holdings; decreasing productivity and increasing food shortages; limited opportunities for technological improvements; enormous and increasing population pressure; frequent environmental shocks and deep-seated livelihood insecurity; and growing structural poverty and destitution.

In the light of this, the key lacunae are;

- Failure to base the project on a realistic appreciation of the social, economic and political context and to make use of the background technical studies.
- Failure to describe the agronomic system adequately and its linkages with existing markets
- Failure to commission critical evaluations and to therefore learn by experience
- Failure to explore with partners the institutional context leading to difficulties to act in responsive ways
- Failure to make use of wider collaboration, i.e. CBOs and NGOs both for learning and to develop innovative implementation channels

6.2 Design considerations for Area Development

This analysis of the ANRS Programme suggests the following design considerations for future Area Development Programmes;

- Baseline studies are essential, not only to understanding impact, but also for the ‘course-corrections’ that are part of a process project. However, the baseline studies must be integrated into project design and involve local stakeholders rather than being commissioned by an external team and just documented in a report.
- For a programme focused on agricultural production, a basic description of the agricultural systems would appear to be a necessity, as well as some appreciation of the interaction of tenurial, market, climatic and economic variables.
- Effective poverty reduction will not occur unless this is designed into the programme at its inception. The argument that “since the whole region is poor poverty analysis is not required” is inadequate; beneficiaries should still be segmented, different strata have different strategies and broad, vague perspectives on poverty do not provide a basis for M&E and learning.
- Where populations are very dense, as in Ethiopia, much greater consideration needs to be built in of likely demographic change and its impact on landholding and access to resources.
- Where government can intervene radically in the tenurial and tax regime, the project needs to develop realistic responses.
- Government policies towards decentralisation and the private sector must be thoroughly analysed in their context. ADP design has to reflect the difficulties related to introduction of new policies in old structures.

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6.3 ADP projects: matrix for design features

Table 16. ADP projects: matrix for design features

Sida objective	Original assumptions	Current assumptions	Relevant actual design features	Reality	Desirable future design features
Poverty reduction	By Intensifying small holder agricultural production By economic diversification	SARDP II should have a holistic approach and look upon agricultural production and natural resources utilisation and other programme components from the perspective of opportunities for poverty and vulnerability reduction	1. Mixed farming approach 2. Small livestock improvement 3. Rural credit 4. Woreda development fund (aimed at individuals or groups) 5. Economic diversification	Diversification of subsistence farming activities adopted (but with minor impact on food security). Woreda development fund aimed at supporting vulnerable groups has not been used in the way it was aimed. Economic diversification component weakly developed. Credit through ACSI to some extent successfully used	1. Local level stratification of different groups and their livelihood situation. 2. Specific plans and actions according to needs and options identified by different poverty profile groups at local level 3. Monitoring and evaluation improved, identification of indicators 4. Dialogues and links to support services 5. Dialogues and links with policy levels.
Sustainability	Living conditions improved through (phase I): 1. Sustainable increase in agricultural productivity 2. Sustainable use of natural resources 3. Economic diversification. 4. Empowerment and democratisation i.e. the	Livelihoods improved through (phase II): 1. Sustainable increase in agricultural productivity 2. Natural resources management 3. Economic diversification 4. Promotion of good governance and equitable development	1. Agr. prod. Short term: Increase in availability of inputs, credit, services and extension. Long term: Agr. research and conservation based agriculture 2. Conservation of natural resource base: Rehabilitation of	1. Food insecurity in both EGZ and SWZ is increasing 2. S&WC projects including small watershed areas have not proved to contribute to production more than at a marginal and subsistence levels. 3. Economic diversification efforts	1. Overall development objectives (ADLI etc) must be logically linked to and broken down into specific programme objectives. 2. Specific objectives should be complementary to each other thereby designing the overall programme

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Sida objective	Original assumptions	Current assumptions	Relevant actual design features	Reality	Desirable future design features
	Woreda Fund and local planning workshops	Economic sustainability = cost effectiveness analysis Social sustainability = impact monitoring regarding gender and “poor people”. Environmental sustainability = environmental impact assessments	degraded areas to increase productivity Promotion of sustainable agricultural practices 3. Enabling environment for socio-economic development: Provision of infrastructure Strengthening the democratic decision-making process Support private sector involvement in the economy	have failed 4. Strong support to infrastructure provision 5. Local planning method does not meet required level of participation. 6. Woreda Fund initiative adopted for national replication. 7. Private sector support neglected. 8. High rate of staff turnover at all administrative levels	process. 3. Outputs (expected results) should be process oriented, and strategically support each specific objective. 4. Major activities should be process oriented, stepwise, and strategically support its expected output. 5. Indicators should be developed at different managerial levels and used in regular (self) M&Es.
Learning	1. Specific capacity building/training to BoPED (baseline studies, library, database) and other sector bureaux . 2. Woreda development fund earmarked for CB at woreda level 3. Training and capacity building component mainly focussed on co-training and organisational development of extension within BoA i.e	1. To strengthen the woreda’s capacity for development planning, project implementation and delivery of services to the communities. 2. To improve development planning, communication and ensure good governance in general. 3.To efficiently plan, co-ordinate, implement, monitor and evaluate SARDP.	1. Information and documentation centre at BoPED, database at BoPED, baseline studies 2. The Extension training support was starting with training needs assessment and following a logical line of activities, but eventually mainly focussed on the upgrading of the Woreta training centre. 3. In-service promotion training for selected	1. Baseline information, M&E and “lessons learnt” are not systematised and transferred to course corrections or changed management practices. 2. Focus on “capacity building” is on individuals and service delivery and <u>not</u> on processes or institutions. 3. Poor linkages to NGOs, CBOs and private sector. 4. Information exchange	1. Stronger and clearer objectives on institutional capacity building and HRD management. CB to be perceived as and end in itself, and not just as a mean. 2.Training course development and training inputs linked to realities in the field. 3. Planning, implementation and M&E activated as learning and

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Sida objective	Original assumptions	Current assumptions	Relevant actual design features	Reality	Desirable future design features
	the Planning and Training Service department.		individuals in country and overseas.	and documentation not well developed and with no strategy	management tools. 4. Documentation and information exchange strengthened and systematised
Integration	Phase I: Fully integrated in governmental organisational structures as well as in governmental policy framework	Phase II: Same as phase I		Ad hoc adoption and replication. Ownership and integration at policy level does not automatically mean ownership and integration at staff level.	Mechanisms needed in order to ensure wider dialogues, both regarding methods and approaches developed and on policies.
Capacity to inform wider processes such as PRSPs	-	-	Not in place	Poorly developed	Linked to the general need to strengthen capacity on documentation and information exchange. Define a strategy and follow up

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Appendix 1. Glossary

<i>Ato</i>	Mr.
<i>arake</i>	local liquor distilled from grain
<i>belg</i>	short rainy period and cropping season lasting any time from February to April
<i>birr</i>	Ethiopian currency
<i>debbo</i>	work group that is hosted by a household for tasks that require heavy labour input, to be compensated by meals for all participants
<i>debre</i>	fortress, church, mountain
<i>degga</i>	commonly used Ethiopian term for areas of altitudes around 2,400 meters and above
<i>derg</i>	committee, junta
<i>edir (iddir)</i>	a burial society helping each other for funerals
<i>gesho</i>	leaves of a plant similar to hops, used for preparation of local beer tella
<i>ikkub (ekub)</i>	a rotating savings group in which the sum of members' regular contributions is given to each member in turn, in a sequence to be determined by lot
<i>injera</i>	local thin bread prepared of cereals (teff), pulses and water
<i>kebele</i>	denotes a residential local governmental administrative unit. After the 1975 land reform, the term also came to mean the area controlled by the peasant associations which allocated the land within its boundaries to member households.
<i>kirre</i>	a burial society helping each other for funerals (= <i>edir</i> in Gojjam)
<i>maheber</i>	a religious association which meets on a particular saint's day once a month to feast together at the house of members who take turns preparing the feast
<i>meda</i>	highland flat fields that are easily waterlogged, and therefore mainly usable for grazing and hay production
<i>meher</i>	the longer rainy period lasting from June to September. It is the main cropping season
<i>mekenajo</i>	arrangement in which two peasants who only have one ox each put them together to plough in turns
<i>mengestawi buden</i>	government teams mobilised at community level on a base of 30-120 households
<i>noug</i>	endemic oil seed crop
<i>oxenday</i>	unit of land based on the area covered by a pair of plowing oxen in one day, four oxendays is almost one hectare
<i>senbete</i>	similar to maheber but meets at the local church instead of at members' households
<i>teff</i>	fine-grained endemic cereal from which the local bread injera is prepared
<i>tella</i>	local beer made from barley
<i>woreda</i>	administrative level of the Ethiopian government, between the local kebele and the zone.
<i>yenbi (ribi)</i>	arrangement in which a household maintains a female animal of another household. Offspring go to one of the two households, determined by lot. The other household gets half the value of the offspring in cash

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Appendix 2. Persons Interviewed

DAY	NAME	ORGANISATION
January 8	Mr Lars Leander, First Secretary	Embassy of Sweden, Addis Abeba
January 8	Mr Aklog Laike, Nat. Programme Officer	Embassy of Sweden, Addis Abeba
January 8	Mr Erik Korsgren, Counsellor, Dev Cooperation	Embassy of Sweden, Addis Abeba
January 8	Dr Belay Demissie	Former head BoA, ANRS, Bahr Dar
January 9	Mr Addis Anteneh, Economic Consultant	Orgut –Danagro-Consortium/ODC, Addis Abeba
January 11	Mr Göte Lidvall, Programme Management Advisor, Team Leader	Programme Co-ordination Unit/PCU – ODC Bahr Dar
January 11	Ato Haddis Mulugetta,	ODC, Bahr Dar
January 11	Ato Ayalew Gobeze, Head (former vice president of Amhara Region)	BoFED, ANRS, Bahr Dar
January 11	Ato Solomon Abebe Haile, Senior Deputy Head	BoFED, ANRS, Bahr Dar
January 12	Ato Derege Biruk, Head	BoA, ANRS, Bahr Dar
January 14	Ato Mekonnen Merid, Head	DoFED, Debre Markos, East Gojjam
January 14	Ato Habtamu Sahlu, Coordinator	DoFED, PCU, Debre Markos, East Gojjam
January 14	Ato Ababu Mersha, Chief Administrator	Gozamen Woreda Office, East Gojjam
January 15	Ato Assefa Tirusew, Rural Development	Gozamen Woreda, EG
January 15	Ato Solomon Mekuria, Deputy Adm.	Gozamen Woreda, EG
January 15	Ato Sintayehu Mengesha, Woreda Expert	Gozamen Woreda, EG
January 15	Kebele leaders and farmers	Libanos Kebele, Gozamen, EG
January 16	Kebele leaders and farmers	Yenech Kebele, Machakel, EG
January 16	Ato Walelign Woubie, Woreda Council Chairman	Machakel Woreda, EG
January 16	Ato Muluken Abera, Health office	Machakel Woreda, EG
January 16	Ato Admassu Arkesso, Agriculture Office	Machakel Woreda, EG
January 16	Ato Manie Alem, Rural Dev.	Machakel Woreda, EG
January 16	Ato Adinew Sileshi, Agriculture Office	Machakel Woreda, EG
January 17	Kebele leaders and farmers	Geraram Kebele, Gozamen, EG
January 17	Ato Melaku Alehegn, Head	DoTI, E. Gojjam Zone
January 17	Ato Sisay Hailu, Branch Head	ACSI, E. Gojjam Zone
January 17	Ato Melesse Tegegn	Ethiopia Aid, E. Gojjam Zone
January 18	Ato Mohammed Hamed, Head of Planning and Training	Department of Agriculture (DoA), E. Gojjam Zone
January 18	Ato Teshome, SMS	Nat. Res. Mgmt Team, DoA, E. Gojjam Zone
January 18	Ato Tadelle Getahun, Businessman	Debre Marcos, E Gojjam Zone
January 18	Ato Anteneh Menber, Businessman	Debre Marcos, E Gojjam Zone
January 22	Ato Tesfaye Gugsu, Head	DoFED, Dessie, South Wollo
January 22	Ato Endalkachew, Coordinator	DoFED, PCU, Dessie, South Wollo
January 23	Ato Kassaye Belay, Woreda Adm.	Legambo Woreda, SW
January 23	Ato Tarekegn Teferra, Rural Dev.	Legambo Woreda, SW
January 23	Ato Endiro Seyid, Asst. Adm	Legambo Woreda, SW
January 23	Ato Tewodros Abebe, Participation	Legambo Woreda, SW
January 23	Ato Seyid Mendel, Information	Legambo Woreda, SW
January 23	Ato Mulugetta Amede, Expert	Legambi Woreda, SW
January 23	Kebele leaders and farmers	Yilada Kebele, Legambo, SW
January 23	Ato Ayele Mammo, DA	Yilada Kebele, Legambo, SW
January 24	Farmers	Segnogkbeya Kebele, Legambo, SW
January 24	Ato Abraham Gashahun, Head	Agr. Office, Legambo, SW
January 24	Ato Tesfaye, Acting Head	DoA, Dessie, SW

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DAY	NAME	ORGANISATION
January 24	Ato Emishaw Workineh, Agronomist	DoA, Dessie, SW
January 24	Ato Tefera Melaku, Horticulturalist	DoA, Dessie, SW
January 24	Ato Tefera Aragaw, Livestock team leader	DoA, Dessie, SW
January 24	Ato Yekuno Amlak Aberra, Businessman	Dessie, SW
January 24	Ato Assefa Kassa, Businessman	Dessie, SW
January 25	Mr Mark Spoelstra, Woreda Expert	Dessie, SW
January 25	Ato Kinfu G. Tsadik, Head	DoTI, SW
January 25	Ato Kinflu Bulbula,	DoTI, SW
January 25	Ato Negash Alemu,	DPPC, SW
January 25	Ato Mekonnen Yimer	Save the Children, Dessie, SW
January 25	Ato Selessie, Head	Dessie Zuria Woreda, SW
January 25	Kebele leaders and farmers	Abuto Gelsha Kebele, Dessie Zuria, SW
January 26	Ato Berhanu Assefa,	Mekan Yesus, Dessie, SW
January 26	Ato Washera Mogesse Tamene	Mekan Yesus, Dessie, SW
January 29	Ato Tesfaye, Head	ORDA, Bahr Dar, ANRS
January 29	Dr Kebede Zeleke, Head of Planning	ORDA, Bahr Dar, ANRS
January 29	Ato Yohon Yigzaw, Librarian	BoFED, Bahr Dar, ANRS
January 30	Ato Aderaw Dagnaw	DPPC, Bahr Dar, ANRS
January 30	Ato Mekonnen Getahun,	Chamber of Commerce, Bahr Dar
January 31	Ato Derege Biruk, Head	BoA, ANRS, Bahr Dar
January 31	Dr Gete Zeleke, Head	ARARI, Bahr Dar
January 31	Mr Arto Suominen, Programme Coordinator	RWSEP, Finnconsult, Bahr Dar

Appendix 3. Village Interviews

Village	Kebele	Woreda	Zone	Date
Fulekete	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Bole	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Denjam	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Kerchem Bud	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Yebabate	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Kerchenber	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Goshamdie	Lebanos	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-15
Seguage	Yenech	Machakel	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Sekuya	Yenech	Machakel	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Yenech	Yenech	Machakel	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Delema	Yenech	Machakel	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Melit	Enerata	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Mamiro	Enerata	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Fendiea	Enerata	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Sheten	Enerata	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Tach Kush Bar	Enerata	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-16
Yederebar	Geraram	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-17
Yeguldeba	Geraram	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-17
Tach Amo	Geraram	Gozamen	East Gojjam	02-01-17
Gereba Tashu	Yilada	Legambo	South Wollo	02-01-23
Alibet	Yilada	Legambo	South Wollo	02-01-23
Jema	Segnogebeya	Legambo	South Wollo	02-01-24
Kotu	Abas	Dessie Zuria	South Wollo	02-01-22
Mendbo	Abuto Gelsha	Dessie Zuria	South Wollo	02-01-25
Fito	Abuto Gelsha	Dessie Zuria	South Wollo	02-01-25
Sirrako	Abuto Gelsha	Dessie Zuria	South Wollo	02-01-25

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Appendix 4. Itinerary

Date	Day	Subject	Remarks
Jan 04	Friday		Karin R arrives to Addis Abeba
Jan 05	Saturday	KR and Dessalegn Rahmato meets	
Jan 06	Sunday	Addis	
Jan 07	Monday	Addis	Roger B arrives to Addis Abeba
Jan 08	Tuesday	AM: Team meeting PM: Meeting with Sw Embassy Staff Cont. team planning	
Jan 09	Wednesday	ODC rep office, Addis Abeba Farm Africa Central Statistics Office University Book Shop	Travel arrangements and hotel reservations.
Jan 10	Thursday	Travel, Addis Abeba - Bahr Dar (10,5 hours)	
Jan 11	Friday	Bahr Dar 9.00 Meeting with PCU, 10.30 Meeting with Head of BoFED, Ato Ayalew 14.00 PCU, documents, logistics and workshop preparations 16.00, BoFED, Ato Solomon	
Jan 12	Saturday	8.00 Interviews in Bahr Dar, Ato Derege, Head BoA	
Jan 13	Sunday	Travel to Debre Marcos (8 hours)	
Jan 14	Monday	East Gojjam Zone Debre Marcos DoPED and PCU. Selection, introduction and training of local team. Gozamin Woreda office. -short visit for info and planning Field test of questionnaire with local team.	
Jan 15	Tuesday	Field survey at household and community (got) level Woreda interviews	
Jan 16	Wednesday	-“-	
Jan 17	Thursday	-“-	
Jan 18	Friday	EGZ -interviews with zonal DoA -interviews with private sector reps -DoPED -interviews with DoTI and ACSI	Roger B travels to Addis Abeba/ Phnom Penh
Jan 19	Saturday	Travel to Bahr Dar (9 h.)	
Jan 20	Sunday	Bahr Dar, Workshop prep.	
Jan 21	Monday	Travel to Dessie (12 h.)	By car the China road
Jan 22	Tuesday	South Wollo Zone, Dessie DoPED and PCU. Selection, introduction and training of local team. Field test of questionnaire with local team. planning of team activities	
Jan 23	Wednesday	Travel to Akasta and Legambo Woreda. Woreda level interviews and secondary data collection Field survey at household and community level	
Jan 24	Thursday	Field survey at household and community level Travel to Dessie	

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Jan 25	Friday	Interviews in Dessie and secondary data collection Travel to selected kebele in Dessie Zuria woreda Field survey at household and community level	
Jan 26	Saturday	Interviews in Dessie Visit to tannery in Hayk	
Jan 27	Sunday	Travel from Dessie to Nefas Mewcha	
Jan 28	Monday	Travel from Nefas Mewcha to Bahr Dar Settle appointments in Bahr Dar	
Jan 29	Tuesday	Workshop invitations and preparations Interviews in Bahr Dar	
Jan 30	Wednesday	Interviews in Bahr Dar	
Jan 31	Thursday	Interviews in Bahr Dar	
Feb 01	Friday	Writing	
Feb 02	Saturday	Writing	
Feb 03	Sunday	Rest and writing	
Feb 04	Monday	Writing and workshop prep	John F arrives to Addis Abeba
Feb 05	Tuesday	End of study workshop in Bahr Dar	
Feb 06	Wednesday	Travel to Addis by car 12 hours.	
Feb 07	Thursday	Writing	John F travels to Lusaka
Feb 08	Friday	Writing	
Feb 09	Saturday	Writing	Karin R returns to Copenhagen
