

***NGO's EXPERIENCE WITH THE PRACTICE OF
PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT
THE CASE OF CARE-ETHIOPIA BORANA
PASTORAL WATER DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES***

BY ABRAHAM FIREW AYANU

A thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies Addis Ababa University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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In Regional and Local Development Studies

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PART ONE

1.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.	THE STUDY AREA	3
2.1.	Overview	3
2.2.	Location and Topography	4
2.3.	Climate and Rainfall	4
2.4.	Population	4
2.5.	Land use and Economy	5

3.	RESEARCH PROBLEM	5
3.1.	Pastoral Development	5
3.2.	Pastoral Water Supply Development	7
3.3.	Indigenous Water Management System	11
3.4.	NGOs Pastoral Water Development: CARE-Ethiopia Borana Water Development Activities	13
3.5.	The State of the Research	17
3.6.	Research Issue and Research Questions	18
3.6.1.	Research Issue	18
3.6.2.	Objectives of the Research	18
3.6.3.	Research Questions	19

PART TWO

4.	METHODS	20
4.1.	Research Methods	20
4.2.	Site Selection	20
4.3.	Field work	22
4.4.	Secondary Materials	26

26

PART THREE

5.	THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS	27
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5.1.	Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	27
5.1.1.	Importance of the NGOs Sector	27
5.1.2.	Classification of the NGOs Sector	28
5.2.	Participatory Development Approach	30
5.2.1.	Concept	30
5.2.2.	Interpretations of the Approach	32
5.2.3.	Major Principles of the Approach	33
5.2.4.	Arguments for and Against the Approach	35
5.2.5.	Methods for the Operationalization of Participatory Development Approach	36
5.2.5.1.	Features of Participatory Projects	36
5.2.5.2.	Elements of Participatory Development Practice	38
5.2.5.3.	The Stages of Participatory Development Practice	45
5.2.5.4.	Participatory Approach to Water Development	47
5.2.6.	Constraints for the Practice of Participatory Development Approach	48

PART FOUR

6.	DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	54
6.1.	CARE-Ethiopia Experience with the Practice of Participatory Development	54
6.1.1.	Institutional Setup	54
6.1.2.	Water Supply Development Activities	59
6.1.3.	Interpretations of Participatory Development Message	62
6.2.	Operationalization of the Participatory Approach	71
6.2.1.	Community Need Assessment	71
6.2.2.	Planning of the Pastoral Water Supply Development	73
6.2.3.	Construction of Water supply Scheme	75
6.2.4.	Monitoring and Evaluation	76
6.2.5.	Maintenance and Management of the Water Supply Scheme	78
6.2.6.	Community Education and Organization	80
6.2.	Opportunities and Constraints of the Initiatives	82

6.3.	Summary and Observations	86
6.4.	The effects of CARE-Ethiopia Pastoral Water Development	
	On the Local livelihood	90
6.4.1.	Local Livelihood	90
6.4.1.1.	Availability of Water	93
6.5.1.2.	Pastoral Reciprocity.....	99
6.5.2.	Access to Productive Resources and Productivity of the Poor.....	101
6.5.	Summary and Observations.	103

PART FIVE

7.	CONCLUSION.....	106
8.	LIST OF REFERENCE MATERIALS.....	109

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

PAGE

TABLES:

1. Table- 1. Water development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in Borana, the type of development, capacity in M³ and size of population covered (November 1985-June 1997)
16
2. Table- 2. Water development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in Dire woreda, the type of development, capacity in M³ and size of population covered (November 1985-June 1997)
16
3. Table-3. CARE-Ethiopia Borana APO total number

of staff, newly employed and separated by nationality (1999-2002)
56

FIGURES

1. Fig.1. Major steps in the communal water cistern
development adopted by CARE-Ethiopia 89

2. Fig. 2. Major determinants of the indigenous local livelihood
92

LIST OF APPENDICES

ANNEX-I. Data collection instruments
ANNEX-II. Organizational structure of the APO
ANNEX-III. Study area map

LIST OF ABRIVATIOTIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFD:	Action For Development
APO:	Area Project Office
BoPED:	Bureau of Planning and Economic Development
BRDP:	Borana Range lands Development Project
CBREP:	Conservation of Borana Rangelands Ecosystem Project
CISP:	Comitato International Per lo Sviluppo dei Popli
COOPI:	Cooperation International
CR:	Community Representative
DDPD:	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Department
DF:	Development Facilitator
DFP:	Dry land Farming Project
DPPB:	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
DPPC:	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Committee
DPPC:	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
DRP:	Borana Drought Recovery Project
EECMY:	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekaneyousus
EGS:	Employment Generating Schemes
EOP:	Emergency Operation Program
GTZ:	German Technical Cooperation
LVIA:	Lay Volunteers International Association
MEWRDD:	Mines, Energy, and Water Resources Development Department
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPDPM:	National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management
PA's:	Pastoral Associations
PCAE:	Pastorlists Concern Association
RDP:	Borana Relief and Development Project,
RFAP:	Borana Relief Food Aid Program
SCF/USA:	Save the Children Fund United Sates
SNNPR:	Southern Nations and Nationalities People's Region
SORDU:	Southern Rangelands Development Unit
WMERDB:	Water, Mines, and Energy Resources Development Bureau

BSTRACT

Following the empirical lessons gained from the government-led pastoral development initiatives of the 1970's and 1980's, "participatory development approach has emerged as a panacea in the development of the third world in general and pastoral societies, in particular. Concurrently, the NGO sector claiming more suited for delivering enduring and equitable development has engaged in the development issue of the pastoral societies. But very little was known about their method of operationalization of the participatory approach in the field and their capacity to make sensible difference on the livelihood of the community in whose name resources are pledged.

This thesis was aimed at exploring the experience of NGO with the practice of "participatory development" approach and to assess the capacity of their development projects to deliver enduring positive changes on the livelihood of the pastoral societies through case study of CARE-Ethiopia Borana zone, Dire woreda pastoral water supplies development initiatives CARE-Ethiopia was one of the leading international NGOs working with Borana since 1985, both emergency relief operation based water development projects, including water tankering as an emergency relief item, and non-relief pastoral water supply development with Borana.

An assessment of the practice of CARE-Ethiopia pastoral development initiatives in the study area showed that, the very concept of "participatory development" message has never been understood uniformly among the executives both at the head office and the APO, and the senior staff entrusted with on the field implementation of development projects. The institutional set up employed by NGO was unable to exercise demand responsive management because of the confusion arising from the ambivalence in pursuing both relief and development objectives at one and the same time, and the inability to restrict the scope of its operation area to the limits of its own institutional competence and preparedness.

The methods for the operationalization of "participatory development" approach employed by CARE were, incompatible with the features of NGO's participatory projects known in theory. The various pastoral water supply development projects were envisaged in the absence of participation by the community. The planning activity of the pastoral water supply development projects were also undertaken by CARE-Ethiopia's own insights and experience of local

community needs and priorities. Thus, participation of the people in the pastoral water supply development process was limited to labor and material contribution.

As a result of this, the pastoral water supply schemes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were not capable of creating substantial economic benefit to the community of the study area. Therefore, its development intervention has barely impacted on the indigenous means for livelihood and on the capacity of the poor among the study area community to overcome the bondage of low productivity employment, and poverty.

The experience of CARE-Ethiopia "participatory development" with pastoral water supply development among the community of the study for the last 17 years generally show that, the vocal claim made by NGOs on the approach and the rhetoric that ascribes to them the practice of development that is centered on people's needs and priorities was not supported by the practice of CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water supply development initiatives. Therefore, the empirical evidences from the experience of CARE-Ethiopia, implies that, the strategic developmental value ascribed to the NGO sector by current development rhetoric are unfounded and mere exaggerations.

PART ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Pastoral water supply development, and veterinary services were the major form of technical interventions in the 1970s and 1980s pastoral development efforts. The endeavor was generally described unsuccessful. Bounty of the literature on the subject explains that, the major reason behind the failure of this endeavor was the inability of the development approaches to augment the indigenous ingenuity of the pastoral societies with the technical interventions introduced.

In the pastoral context, water supply determines the livestock production; man and livestock interface with the rangelands ecology; and the social and economic interdependence among the pastoral communities and households. The 1970's and 1980's development projects that emphasized increasing water supply have not considered much of this intricate interdependence between the variables of pastoral enterprise. Therefore, the increased water supply produced by the project has resulted in unintended negative consequences on the range ecology and livelihood of the pastoral societies.

Following the empirical lessons of these decades, both the ambition and the form of pastoral development has changed from the objective of integration into the national economy and manipulation of the pastoral factors of production into the restoration of the capacity of pastorlists to feed themselves. Therefore, in the contemporary pastoral development thinking and practices, great importance was seemingly attached to the fostering of 'popular participation' so as to revive the indigenous ingenuity.

Furthermore, it appears that, NGOs are increasingly taking over the duty of pastoral development with the growing influence of the new 'participatory' outlook.

In spite of the lessons gained out of the subsequent livelihood displacing and ecologically maladaptive interventions of the 1970s and 1980s, quite a large number of NGOs have engaged in water supply development interventions among the Borana pastorals of Ethiopia. The capabilities of these NGOs to overcome the limitations of the government-agency-led pastoral development were accepted by vocal claims regarding the participatory development approach that are made by NGOs and rhetoric that assign to them an utmost competence for the development approach that is centered on people's needs and priorities. The approach has emerged as a dominant normative concept in development thinking since the 1970's, in general.

The theoretical concepts ascribing the NGOs with strong built-in adeptness for the mobilization of local resources hitherto unused; and awakening of human ingenuity was not without critique. Some, writers who contend the rationale argue that, the approach was popularized by vested interests to co-opt, the force from the radicals' fringe, and for the conceptual ambiguity of the approach that gave the way for inconsistent interpretation as the root cause for the popularity of the participatory approach. Similarly, they challenge the competence ascribed to NGOs stating that, the efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and participatory approach in rhetoric has never been proved by empirical evidences.

Therefore, this research work was set out to: (1) explore the NGOs experience with the practice of the promised “participatory development” approach; and (2) find out how their practice has impacted on the livelihood of the partner pastoral community, through case study of CARE-Ethiopia’s Dire woreda pastoral water supply development initiatives.

This thesis is organized into five parts. The first part presents the study area and the research problem. The second part contains the research methods. The third part contains the theoretical discussions on the NGOs sector; the concept of “participatory development” approach; and the methods for the operationalization of the approach. The fourth part is the data presentation and analysis part. The fifth and the final part of the material contain conclusions drawn from the research process and list of reference materials used in the study.

2. THE STUDY AREA

2.1. Overview

This research was conducted in Dire woreda, Borana zone, Oromia region. Oromia regional state is one of the nine regional states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Geographically, the region extends from 3° 40' N to 10° 46'N latitude and from 34°08'E to 42° 55'E longitude. The region has an area of 353690 square kilometer which accounts for 32% of the total area of the country. According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census result the region has a total population of 20 million (50.2% male and 49.8% female).

Borana zone is, one of the 30 pastoral societies in the Ethiopian dry lands that accounts for 10-12% of the Ethiopian population and 40% of the land area of the country. Geographically, the zone lies between 3° 36' and 6° 38'N and 36°43'to 41° 40E, and has total area of about 69,373.3 square kilometers, divided into 12 woredas (districts). Borana Zone has a total population of 1,520,00 (844,000 males and 676,000 female). Out of the total population only 9.5% is inhabiting the 14 urban centers (Weeb and Braun, 1994; Helland, 1999))

2.2. Location and Topography

Dire woreda is located in the southern part of Borana zone bordering with Kenya to the south, Somali region to the east, Teltelle woreda in the west and Yabello and Arero woredas to the North. As per Oromia BoPED, the woreda has a total area of 12, 700KM² divided into 31 pastoral associations. The topography of the woreda is predominantly plain low lands with some highlands such as Gamadu, Gololicha, and Walmal and Tesso major plateaus having an altitude range of 750 to 1000 meters above sea level (m.a.s.l.). The woreda has no water bodies like perennial rivers, streams and lake (BoPED, 2000).

2.3. Climate and Rain fall

The study area is predominantly semi-arid climatic zone that accounts for 70% of its agro-climatic zone classified as *kolla* (semi-arid) and 30 % *woinadega* (moderate). The woreda receives bimodal rainfall ranging from 500mm to 750mm during *ganna* (March to May) and *hagayya* (October to November). The total annual crop production is during the season of *ganna* (March to May). The *Bona*, which is from January to March, is the most critical dry season of the Borana where the indigenous permanent wells are the only water sources. *Adoolessa*, season (August-September) is cool season characterized by cloud cover, and mists.

2.4. Population

Dire woreda is inhabited by total population of 86 341 (43, 429 male and 42, 912 female). Out of the total population of the woreda about 90.3% is rural population. As per the CSA, (1994) population and housing census, the total gross enrolment rate of the woreda is 13.82, where the same in terms of sex is 17.39 for male, and only 9.96 for

female. The total literacy rate for the woreda is also only 8.68%. Only 2.23% of the female in rural areas are literate while 5.83% in the females in the urban area are literate.

2.5. Land use and Economy

The land use pattern of the woreda constitutes 47.5% pastureland; 14.3% arable land out of which about 7.3% is under cultivation. Land under the cover of forest, bush, and shrub accounts for 17.5% of the total land area of the woreda, as indicated in the Oromia BoPED, (2000). Pastoralism is the major economic activity in the study woreda. Out of the total population of the woreda 85 % is engaged in pastoralism while the remaining 15% are agro-pastorals (CARE, 1994). However, according to Oromia BoPED, (2000), only about 59% percent of the population of the woreda are agro-pastorals. The same data has indicated that there were 460,893 cattle, 63,691 sheep 132,780 goats' 12, 777 donkeys, 3,331 horses, 2,785 mules, 44,697 camels, and 27, 253 in the woreda in 1988.

3. RESERCH PROBLEM

3.1. Pastoral Development

Pastoral development, according Sandford, (1983) is, the conscious pursuit of certain objectives with a view to increase welfare through technical, economic, social, and political changes among pastoralist groups. For Stephen Sandford, any sensible pastoral development policy that aims at increasing welfare needs to emphasize deliberate conservation of what he called, “much that is of great value in the existing social structure of pastoral societies [that] is not found, or has been destroyed, elsewhere” (p.4). By these terms, he was denoting pastoral societies’ ecologically adaptive practices; their effective social security systems for supporting the less fortunate; and participatory social organizations.

The pastoral development approaches of the 1970s and 1980s was aimed at improving the productivity of pastoral enterprises through introducing improvements like water development, veterinary services, rangeland management, and genetic up-grading, among

others. However, much of the literature states that, these attempts at pastoral development have done very little to live up to the initial expectations. Pastoral development projects in Eastern Africa initiated with goal of integrating the pastoral economy into the national economy, have caused far more problems than they solved (Helland, 1999)^b.

Pastoral development initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s were strongly influenced by Western models as a result of the western training, technical and financial assistance. Therefore, it was very much like the replication of the American or Australian models of pastoral development. Emphasis on beef production; on commercial ranching; and on specialized stratification of the production process in breeding, growing and finishing enterprises were packages copied from Western concept of pastoral development. As a result, the models were found unfit for particular circumstances of the developing countries. Particularly, the neglect of the peculiar interest of African pastoral societies and the non-existence of the species of domestic livestock on which pastoral development was focused on a significant scale were important reasons for the failure of the initiative (Sandford, 1983).

The pastoral development model of the 1970s and 1980s benefited neither the national economy nor the pastoral sector. Pastoral water supply development, which was the major development intervention by African states, has ended up with major unintended counterproductive consequences on the pastoral enterprise. Therefore, the strategy of development could not result in any net contribution to the national economy. Rather it

has reduced the pastoral societies into liabilities to the national economy and the regular clientele of food aid (Helland, 1999)^b.

3.2. Pastoral Water Supply Development

The development of pastoral water supplies involves not only physical changes in the number, location, output, and type of supplies but also in the way in which existing supplies are used and in the relative advantage, which different people derive from the use, control, and ownership of both new and old supplies. The development of pastoral water supplies is also closely linked with the range management because access to water is the key factor in controlling access to grazing lands (Sanford, 1983).

Pastoral water development impacts strongly on the flexibility and sustainability of pastoralism as a way of life. Availability of water at closer distances to grazing area enables either to water more frequently or to spend less time and energy in walking to water than before. The time saved in walking can be spent on grazing and more frequent watering have a tendency of increasing productivity in terms of milk yield, live weight gain per head, increasing animal appetite, (when feed is available). Better distributed water supplies can reduce the distance that livestock travel and therefore the energy they expend in obtaining water. According to the experimental result reported by Ledger, (1977) which was cited in Sandford, (1983), an energy expenditure of about 4 KJ (kilo joules) of metabolizable energy per kilometer walked per kilogram of live weight of animal. Other data also indicates that, a 300kg live weight animal that has to walk, on an average 5Km per day has a total energy expenditure, for the purpose other than the

production of milk, meat, or fiber, about 15 percent lower than one walking 10Km, or 25–30 percent lower than on walking 15Km as cited.

The most significant effect of water supplies is in opening up of pastoral areas not previously used at all, or only used by certain species of animal because of the distance they can commute, or at certain times of the year before surface pools or temporary springs dry up after rain. Availability of water supplies makes the use of fodder that would otherwise not have been used by domestic livestock at all, possible. As stated by Sandford, (1983) in most of the cases, availability of water does not bring land previously totally unused into use, but it increases the grazing pressure by allowing more and different species of livestock to graze on the land, and it changes the season of use and the length of period in the year during which it is used.

The increase in grazing pressure and changes in the nature of grazing affects the environment (the vegetation, its composition, standing biomass, and ground cover and its productivity) and the size and composition of the wildlife population that uses it. In relation to the contribution of water development on the ‘ecological crisis’ of the Borana rangelands, Helland, (1999)^b, has noted, the likely relation between water development projects initiated some 30 years with the bush encroachments that has already taken up some 40% of the grazing lands.

The system of pastoral permanent water development, use, and up keep indigenously determines the economic interdependence among the pastoral households and

communities, particularly, because of the labor shortage that generally characterizes the labor-intensive pastoral enterprises. Labor demands in livestock watering places a limit on the number of animals of any species that a household can manage with its own labor force. As result wealthy pastoral households are forced to enter into collaborative arrangements in which they exchange food for labor from poor households in the kinsfolk. Thus, the indigenous water development, use, and management system dictate the necessity for sustained reciprocity among them.

Given the intricate nature of water development in pastoral context discussed briefly in the preceding paragraphs, the major reason for the unintended negative effects of the government-led, top-down development efforts were attributed to two broad reasons in general. The first reason was the short sightedness of the specialized government institutions to observe thoroughly the peculiar effects of water development in the pastoral context. The second, and also fundamental to the first one was the neglect of the proven indigenous adaptive ingenuity of the pastoral societies by the development approach. These very thought of the milieu fundamental to the failure of the 1970's and 1980's development effort has produced a renewed interest in the "participatory" approach and a magnified importance to the NGOs sector. One of the critical scholars that noted the scene wrote:

The failure of governments in meeting the modest and legitimate expectations of the society led to the trend of viewing NGOs as alternative vehicle of transformation. Popular disillusionment, fuelled by lack of vision and practical commitment on the part of political regimes, lent momentum to the erosion of the legitimacy of the post-independence African states which in turn, gave currency to the still unproved notion that NGOs could be alternatives in alleviating the plights of the disadvantaged (Kassahun, 2000:5).

Likewise, the contemporary pastoral development thinking and action has changed from the goal of integrating pastoral societies into the national economy to the restoration of indigenous capabilities in order to make them self-reliant. The institutional arrangements presumed more competent to deliver pastoral development were being shifted from government agencies with statutory duty to the NGOs sector. Most important were the mounting advocacy of ‘‘participatory development’’ approach, as panacea in the pastoral development and the assumption that ascribes the NGOs with the best of the competence to operationalize the approach in the genuine sense. As result of these, several international (both secular and non-secular), and national NGOs have started working with the pastoral societies of Ethiopia, particularly, since the 1983/84 droughts.

Borana zone constitutes only one of the 30 pastoral societies in the Ethiopian dry lands that accounts for 10-12% of the Ethiopian population and 40% of the land area of the country (Weeb and Braun, 1994; Helland, 1999). As per the data obtained from DPPC, (December 2001), there were 15 national and international NGOs working with grass-roots programs in Borana zone out of the total 416 NGOs operating in Ethiopia. According to the data obtained from Oromia DPPB in June 2001, there were 13 NGOs working in Borana with 22 projects that covered 34.5% (733,231) of the total population of the Zone. The data obtained form the same source, as of December 2001 (after six months period only) further indicates that, the number of NGOs working in Borana has increased to 15 and undertaking 30 projects in different sectors, with total resource in put of Birr 103,220,998 in cash, and 3,220 MT of goods, and the size of population of the zone covered by the projects has also increased to 39.3% (837,356). Compared to the

scope and intensity of NGOs intervention in Oromia region, 9.5% of the total number of NGOs and 12.6% NGO projects in the region are found in the zone, in December 2001.

Pastoral water supply developments, either as an emergency response and/or as non-relief development intervention was the major activities carried out by the NGOs working with study area pastoral community. As per Oromia WMERDB report, there were 8 (53.3%) national and international NGOs, like CARE-Ethiopia, COOPI, CISP, LVIA, SCF/USA, GTZ, PCAE, EECMY/SES, and AFD working with pastoral water development in the Zone during the year 1993 EC, (2001/2002). This emphasis in water development was driven with the objective of tackling the inexorable water scarcity, which was the major development constraint of the Borana rangelands.

3.3. Indigenous Water Management System

For the Borana water and pasture is the most basic economic resource. Access to pasture is free except for pasture reserve around encampment for *loon-warraa* (lactating cattle and calves). Water supply dictates grazing arrangement of the Borana into wet and dry season grazing land, which is recognized as an important aspect of the pastoral adaptation to the environment. In the wet season *loon-forra* (non-lactating and mature livestock) move out of the permanent water sources to range lands that becomes accessible only by availability of surface water during rainy seasons and grazing lands around permanent water sources are left to regenerate natural pasture (Helland, 1977; Rigby, 1985; Webb and Branu, 1994).

In the context of Borana, water occurs in three forms, viz., *lolaa* (occasional water); *harra* (temporary water); and *eela* (wells). The right to use and the regulation mechanisms vary in each of these forms mainly in relation to the material and labor input required for development and maintenance. *Lolaa*, which is simply flood during rainy season, is free like pasture for every one except where the nearby encampment may be given prior use. *Harra*, is also natural or man upgraded basins or ponds. The *harra* requires up keep, like fencing by thorn-bush enclosure and this makes it subject to some degree of regulations. But the *eela* is a deep well that is the most critical and the only water sources during dry season. As result it is subject to complex system of regulation in development, maintenance and use (Helland, 1977).

The Borana has two types of *eela*: *eela-tuullaa* and *eela-addaadii*. *Eela-tuullaa* is sunk through the rock while *eela-addaadii* is shallower wide shaft deep wells dug out in alluvial like gravel and sand. According to the estimates by Haberland, (1963) the development of new indigenous well or its re-excavation requires the removal of about 2000 cubic meter of sand and earth, cited in Helland, (1977). Therefore, it is a difficult activity that requires careful planning for the mobilization of enormous material and labor resource over extended period. The re-excavation of an old *eela-tuullaa* for example, takes up about 280 heads of cattle for consumption over seven months period.

The wells, both *eela-tuullaa* and *eela-addaadii* belong to a given clan identified by *abba-eela*, (head-man of the well). But the water source is managed by *cora-eela* (well council) that constitutes users of the wells. In the Borana indigenous water management system

cora-eela is an institution with ultimate authority for decisions related to access to water and use regulation. The most important role of the well council is the determination of watering rights. Among the Borana pastorals access to water for livestock depends on the strength of the claimants in presenting and elaboration of his claims citing to the *aaddaa-seerra-boorana*, (the custom and law of Borana). In the well council every member has the right to attend and ‘voice’ his opinion (Helland, 1982)

The daily use (livestock watering every three days) of the wells is overseen by *abba-heriga* or (head-man of the watering order) appointed by well council. Thus, head-man of the watering order, is responsible for arranging continuous and sustained supply of labor to ensure the presence of adequate number of labor in *gogeesa* (a chain of men often as many as 13 to draw a bucket of water) both for livestock watering and human consumption. Access to water for domestic use is culturally the duty of women and can be obtained from any wells. The father of the well also shares supervision of the watering function on the first days of the three-day watering cycle (Helland, 1982).

Indigenous cultural water development, use, up keep, and regulation system provides for the heart of the very wisdom of the Borana survival in the midst of the Borana rangelands ecology. It was through the continuous functioning of this system that, the Borana maintained centuries of ecological adaptive livelihood system. In the modern pastoral development thinking, the indigenous wisdom is generally considered superior by centuries of proven adaptive survival as opposed to the failure of the modern development interventions designed by experts with western trainings (Helland, 1999)^b.

3.4. NGOs Pastoral Water Development: CARE-Ethiopia Water Development Activities

CARE started its first operation in Ethiopia in 1984/85 through relief food distribution. Its non-relief programs were initiated with the “Borana Rangelands Development Project” (BRDP) in 1985 in Borana and “Gursum Land-use Project” in Eastern Hararge in 1986. The BRDP, which was the landmark for its development intervention in country, was the continuation of the Ethiopian Government and International Livestock Center for -Africa (ILCA), ‘Joint Ethiopian Pastoral Systems Study’ (JEPSS) research project initiated in 1981. CARE undertook the JEPSS project in partnership with ILCA, renamed ILRI¹ in 1985, and assumed full responsibility of the project in 1986. In 1985 CARE resumed working on the BRDP in 10 (ten) Pastoral Associations (PA’s) that increased to 16 (sixteen) PA’s in 1991(CARE, 1994).

The basis of CARE-Ethiopia water sector development initiatives in three woredas of Borana zone (Dire, Yabello, and Teltelle) was laid through its emergency relief operations which were also the stimulus for CARE interventions in Ethiopia in general. During the early emergency relief operations of 1985 and in the subsequent years as well, CARE-Ethiopia has gone through several water delivery activities as the important part of the relief operations.

There were four major emergency response operations under taken by CARE-Ethiopia during the 1984/85, 1991/92, 1996/97, and 1999/2000. Various project documents and

¹ International Livestock Research Institute

reports of CARE-Ethiopia reveal that water sector development activities were started since may 1987 as a result of the change in modalities of relief food distribution from free distribution to Food For Work (FFW), now most commonly referred to as "Employment Generating Scheme" (EGS). During the years of 1987 to 1990 activities like pond construction and wells improvement were carried out in 28 PA's in the three woredas through the EGS scheme. Within the subsequent emergency operations also, CARE has undertaken several water development activities not only to respond to the immediate emergency situations, but also to deal with the long-term development constraint produced by water scarcity.

In addition to the emergency relief operations based water sector activities, there are several non-relief development project based water sector development initiatives were undertaken by CARE-Ethiopia in order to respond to the long-term limits imposed by nature on the productivity of the rangelands due to water scarcity. The first non-relief development project by the NGO was the BRDP, which was conceived in 1985 within its first year of intervention in the area.

In the following years, CARE has also undertaken 6 (six) typical development projects: (1) BRDP from 1985 to 1994; (2) Conservation of Borana Rangelands Ecosystem Project (CBREP), which is the continuation of the BRDP from 1994 to June 1997; (3) Borana Dry land Farming Project (DFP) from 1994 to June 1997; (4) Family Planning and HIV/AIDS Prevention Project (FPHPP) during the years of 1995 to march 1999; (5)

Borana Relief and Development Project, (RDP) from April 2000 to March 2001; and (6) Borana Drought Recovery Project (DRP) which is an on going project currently.

In five of the non-relief or development project described above, water supply development component is the most important project activity. But under the Borana Dry Land Farming project that was undertaken in Yabello Worede agro-pastoral areas, no reference has been made about the water development project.

The majority of CARE-Ethiopia program activities in Borana zone are found in Dire Woreda. Dire woreda accounts for 51% of the pastoral water supply development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in the Zone. Out of 41 PA's partnering with CARE-Ethiopia in water supply development activities, 21 of them are in Dire woreda. In terms of the absolute number of involved population also 55% of the population with which CARE-Ethiopia was engaged in water supply development activities until June 1997 were found in the woreda.

Table- 1. Water Development Activities of CARE-Ethiopia in Borana, the Type of Development, Capacity in cubic meter and Size of Population Covered (November 1985-June 1997)

Woreda	Total Population	Type of Water Development Activities										
		Cistern					Boreholes		Wells	Ponds constructed in collaboration with SORDU		
		Qty	Cap city in M ³	Pop covered	Functional	Not functional	Qty	Pop Covered	No improved	Qty	Capacity in M ³	Pop. covered
Dire	94684	168	6658.2	7598	108	60	22	12637	76	47	1004450	41390
Yabello	43584	71	4288.2	3862	58	13	4	6400	7	20	461000	13430
Teltelle	33477	6	600	3,682	6	0	9	12913	11	10	284500	10132
Total	171,745	245	11546.4	15142	172	73	35	31950	94	77	1749950	64952

Source: CARE-APO records

CARE-Ethiopia water supply development activities indicated above show that water cistern constitutes 54.3%, while borehole, indigenous wells improvements and pond construction accounts for 7.8%, 2.08% and 17.07% of the types of water supply scheme

introduced, respectively. Out of all CARE-Ethiopia developed water cisterns in the three woredas, only 70.02%, with an average capacity of 10029.9 cubic meters are functional, while water cisterns with capacity of 1516.5 cubic meters have ceased to be functional.

Table- 2. Water development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in Dire Woreda, the type of development, capacity in M³ and size of population covered (November 1985-June 1997)

Name Of PAs	Total Population	Type of Water Development Activities										
		Cistern					Boreholes		Well	Ponds constructed in collaboration with SORDU		
		Qty	Capacity in M ³	Popn covered	Functional	Not functional	Qty	Pop Covered	No improved	Qty	Capacity in M ³	Pop covered
Madacho	3589	28	814	785	14	14	1	350	7	1	40000	1200
Magado	3882	25	1478	835	25	-	-	-	4	6	120000	1300
Dakolle	3200	24	431	589	19	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
Gorille	4550	10	736	506	10	-	2	1100	10	4	75000	1700
Goyo	4280	8	424	330	8	-	3	820	7	5	85000	2200
Gololicha	3224	6	221	171	6	-	-	-	1	4	75000	1850
Igo	2617	7	115.2	130	1	6	1	530	5	1	20000	1120
Dubuluk	8592	49	883	565	14	35	2	2324	8	4	54950	3320
Arbale	3785	3	300	916	3	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Goraye	3600	1	100	325	1	-	1	2324	6	-	-	-
Dillo	4000	1	100	710	1	-	-	-	6	2	59500	2500
Gabsso	3958	1	100	925	1	-	-	-	4	3	60000	2800
Dasse	6136	-	-	-	-	-	2	643	4	5	80000	3200
Erdir	8200	-	-	-	-	-	4	3426	6	2	45000	3500
Miyo	4202	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20000	2800
Gombissa	6876	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20000	3700
HideBabo	3252	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100000	3252
Soda	2026	5	950	813	5	-	2	430	-	2	20000	550
Chrilicha	3601	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Harahallo	4114	-	-	-	-	-	1	1014	-	3	30000	2100
Melibana	7000	-	-	-	-	-	3	200	-	4	100000	4300
Total		168	6658.2	7598	108	60	22	31950	76		1004450	41390

Source: CARE-APO records

As indicated in table 2, out of all the water development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in the three woredas, 73.8% of the cisterns, and 62.9% of the Boreholes; 80.8% the indigenous wells improvement activities; and 61% of the ponds construction activities were carried out in Dire Woreda in general, until June 1997.

Further more, as indicated in the CARE-Borana Emergency Operation Program performance report, for the period of August-Oct/Nov., 2000, CARE has rehabilitated 93 ponds and 23 indigenous wells in Dire, Yabello and Teltelle woredas of the zone. Out of

these, 42 ponds and 11 wells were rehabilitated in Dire woreda. Through RDP for the period of April 2000 to March 2001, also, CARE-Ethiopia has undertaken the development of 33 water cisterns with total capacity of 3,191 cubic meters and 3 boreholes in the three woredas.

During the last 17 years of grass-roots operation in the study area, CARE-Ethiopia, has introduced several pastoral water supply schemes, briefly described in the preceding paragraphs. However, very little was known whether CARE-Ethiopia's experience with "participatory development" would demonstrate the widely held percept that, the NGOs are utmost competent to promote genuine people's participation in development and to engender enduring positive changes on the livelihood of the partner community or not.

3.5. The State of the Research

There are several research works conducted on and about the Borana. In spite of the practical lessons on the negative consequences of the early pastoral water development projects, however, none of them have attempted to validate the superior competence claimed by NGOs for the practice of development approach that is centered on people's needs and priorities by evaluating the practice of NGO's working with the Borana pastorals.

Some of the published research works by Johan Helland has rendered only a glimpse of the consequences of NGOs practices on the Borana indigenous institutions. The articles published by Helland were important contributions in this direction. But they were

limited to general indications hardly adequate to provide for the comprehensive understanding of the issue and to enlighten action in this direction.

3.6. The Research Issue and Research Questions

3.6.1. The Research Issue

CARE-Ethiopia is one of the biggest international NGOs that are considered best adapted to promote the “participatory development” approach and capable of engendering lasting improvements in the livelihood of partner communities. It remained to be seen, however, whether or not the empirical evidence from the ground supports such claims and assumptions. Therefore, evaluation of CARE-Ethiopia’s experience with the “participatory development” approach among the people of the study area is of critical importance both for students of NGO activities in Ethiopia, as well as for those interested in the practical application of the participatory approach.

3.6.2. Objectives of the Research

The objective of this study is to evaluate CARE-Ethiopia’s experience with the “participatory development” approach in its Borana pastoral water supply development activities undertaken during the last 17 years, as well as possible improvements brought about by its development initiatives in the livelihood of the people of the study area.

3.6.3. Research Questions

The specific objectives of the thesis are stated in terms of the following five research questions:

1. How does CARE-Ethiopia interpret the “participatory development” message?
2. What are the methods of participation applied by CARE-Ethiopia in its water supply development projects?
3. What are the constraints for the participatory pastoral water supply development initiatives by CARE-Ethiopia?
4. What are the effects of the pastoral water supply development initiatives on the local livelihood?
5. What are the consequences of CARE-Ethiopia pastoral water supply development projects on access to productive resources and productivity of the poor?

PART TWO

4. METHODS

4.1. Research Methods

This study has used field research method. In-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions, and personal observation of the researcher were the method used to generate the qualitative data from the community in the study area, from the personnel of CARE-Ethiopia's head office and Area Project Office, as well as the staff of relevant national and regional government institutions.

4.2. Site Selection

This research work was carried out in Gololicha and Dubuluk PAs of Dire woreda. These PAs were selected purposively in order to comprehensively review CARE-Ethiopia's experience with its water development initiatives by considering all projects with water supply development components; all type of pastoral supply schemes introduced; and the whole range of practices along temporal dimensions since its first entry in study area.

Gololicha PA was located at a distance of about 65 Km from Mega town along the major road to Yabello, turning at about 35 KM off the road to the south for some 30 Km. The PA has a total population of 3,222 (1,720 female and 1502 male) consisting of 30 *olla* and six *araddaa* (a clusters of several *olla*), as per the data obtained from the PA council members. The livelihood bases of the Gololicha PA community were indigenous herding with species like cattle, camel, donkey, goat and sheep. The Gololicha plateau, which was one of the mountainous lands of the Borana, was found in this PA. The plateau provides for natural springs that serve the community of the PA as source of indigenous water source.

Gololicha PA was selected for (1) it was one of the project areas of CARE-Ethiopia water development interventions since its first entry into Borana; (2) the PA was the focal operation area of CARE-Ethiopia in all of the relief and non-relief development projects with water supply projects components undertaken in the Borana Zone; and (3) it has continued to be one of the 10 PAs in which CARE-Ethiopia continued to work at present also. Thus, Gololicha PA provided greater opportunity for the comprehensive account of CARE-Ethiopia's operation in the study area both along the type of water supply schemes introduced, (except for the borehole) and the practice of "participatory development" approach through the all years of its presence in the area since 1985.

Dubuluk PA was found at about 35KM from Mega town the capital of Dire woreda on the way to Yabello on the major road to the central regions of the country at the distance of some 630 KM from Addis Ababa City. According to local informants, the village was

emerged from the indigenous wells, which used to serve as meeting place for different pastoral groups spread over wide area. The PA currently consists of about 4,987 (2,540 female and 2,447 male) people, including the newly settled 167 pastoral households removed from the pastoral livelihood by the 2000/2001 droughts, as per the data obtained from the PA administration. The borehole established in 1974 around these wells has further reinforced the importance of the location as a meeting place and for the emergence of the village in its current form. The village was inhabited by Borana Oromo community with indigenous soil roofed housing. The majority of the PA depends on pastoralism augmented by trade and services.

Dubuluk PAs was selected so as to consider the type of water supply scheme, which was not available at Gololicha PA (Borehole); the status of 38 indigenous wells found in the PA; and the newly settled pastorals households; and for the ease of access.

4.3. Field work

The fieldwork was initially arranged to be conducted in three stages, with national and regional relevant government institutions; with CARE-Ethiopia's head office at Addis Ababa and APO; and with the community in the study area. The data at the national and regional government institutions level was generated through discussions with department heads and experts in DPPC, Oromia DPPB, Oromia WMERDB, and Oromia BoPED in Addis Ababa throughout the Month of Feb. 2002. The data collection activity at CARE-Ethiopia's head office was undertaken in six months prior to Feb. 2002 through interview with several junior and senior staff working at the head office. The final part of

the data collection from CARE-Ethiopia's head office was concluded through interview (with the aid of semi-structured interview question) with the deputy country director, Mrs. Holly Solberg, after the data collection from the community in the study area and the APO were completed.

The data required from the APO was collected through interview with the project coordinator and assistant project coordinator, with aid of semi-structured interview questions and unstructured interview with most of the APO staff. Several project documents, files, and reports have also been reviewed during the first three days prior to engaging the data collection at the community level and within the last three days after the data collection at the community level was completed.

The data collection activity at the community level in the study area was scheduled initially, starting from the first week of Feb. 2002 as per the oral agreement with three Canadian academics from three universities who initiated the research under the theme "Participatory Development in Africa Project"(PDAP) and proposed to collaborate in the research process by engaging a Canadian post graduate student together with the funding and facilities. Accordingly, adequate preparations were made and completed towards the middle of January 2002 on the part of the researcher. However, the Canadian academics could not keep up with the arrangements and all what was assumed failed to materialize as expected. Due to the unexpected shortage of funding, transport, and other facilities that have been promised by the project, the actual fieldwork was conducted during the 28th of February to 29th of March 2002 for total of 30 days.

There was an intention to supplement the qualitative data generated from the community in the study area by individual interviews, focus-group discussion, and personal observation with quantitative data by means of a household survey covering 100 households from both PAs, 50 households from each. Likewise, the household survey was conducted in 50 households of Gololicha PA with the aid of trained enumerators. During the fieldwork however, the researcher could not find individuals who can serve as an enumerator except those working for CARE-Ethiopia because of the remoteness of the selected PAs and shortage of logistical support. Thus, the survey was undertaken by employing CARE-Ethiopia development agent in Gololicha PA. However, the responses taken from the households were found extremely unreliable. There were extreme under and over reporting of households' asset possession and household size that proved incorrect latter on during the individual interview and personal observation. The responses taken on the activities of CARE with the community were also found incorrect. There were cases where responses were taken for the activities and services, which the project has never introduced in the PA. Therefore, the responses already gathered from the 50 households in Gololicha PA were rejected and the same intended in Dubuluk PA was also dropped.

One of the adjustments made was enhancing the scope and intensity of the individual interviews and focus-group discussions so as to compensate for the shortcomings encountered in the survey method. The other important and most successful adjustments made by the researcher were separating oneself from the CARE-Ethiopia's staff and

explaining to every one that, the work has no relation with what the NGO is going to do for them. These adjustments have helped to remove the influence of the presence of CARE-Ethiopia's staff during the individual interviews and focus-group discussion sessions and to overcome the chance of collecting erroneous data arising from expectations of some kind of aid.

Therefore, this research was based on the qualitative data generated by interviews, and focus group discussions with the household heads (spouses) in the two PAs' selected purposively on criteria of sex, level of livestock possession, and gender of the household head with the aid of a checklist for the individual interviews and focus-group discussion, and personal observations of the researcher. During the fieldwork in the course of the period of 14 days (March 1-14, 2002) seven focus-group discussions consisting of seven individuals (two male groups, two female groups, two homogeneous groups, and one community elders and indigenous water management system leaders group composed of 12 members) were conducted in Gololicha PA, in the first ten days. Further more, in-depth individual interviews were made with more than 30 household heads (spouses) within the remaining days of the fieldwork in the PA. The researcher has also made as many personal observations as possible regarding the physical environment of the PA, CARE-Ethiopia's staff relation with the community in the actual work and discussions, and the daily interaction and livelihood of the households.

The selection of participants in the individual interviews and focus-group discussion in Gololicha PA, was carried out by asking one or two elders from the six clusters to

identify the richest, the rich, the poor, and the poorest households in the cluster, on the bases of the number of livestock the households possess. The households identified were purposively selected and drawn into focus-group discussion and individual interviews with equal proportion by gender, economic status, and sex of the household head. The participants in the community elders and indigenous water management system leaders group was taken directly for they were known distinctly by any member of the community.

In Dubuluk PA however, only four groups of seven members focus-group discussion (two group from both sex and two heterogeneous group) were drawn into the research process that took place from 16th - 24th of March 2002. In the same way about 25 household heads (spouses) in and around Dubuluk village were involved in the individual interview. The selection of the participants in the individual interviews and focus-group discussion were carried out by the nomination of the water committee members. The water committee members were unable to categorize the community into level of wealth like the elders in Gololicha PA. But they have tried to identify the households whom they considered the richest, the rich, the poor, and the poorest. On the bases of their nomination the household heads (spouses) were distributed among the individual interviews and focus-group discussion groups purposively in a way similar to Gololicha PA. In the Dubuluk PA, no distinct elders and indigenous water management system leaders focus-group discussion was undertaken for much of the time in the fieldwork was taken by personal observation into some of the 38 indigenous *eela* found in the PA.

4.4. Secondary Materials

The secondary data sources used during data collection at the national and regional sectoral institutions include various reports, guidelines, and other published and unpublished documents available with the relevant national, regional, and local government institutions. In the same way various project documents, project reports, project files, and many other unpublished materials found both at CARE-Ethiopia's head offices and APO were used as secondary data sources in this work.

PART THREE

5. THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

5.1.1. Importance of the NGO Sector

The NGO sector is becoming significant both at global and national levels because of three major factors: (1) the scale and pace at which they are multiplying and expanding

both in number and membership; (2) new functions that are being undertaken by old NGOs in addition to their indigenous concern for relief and welfare; and (3) their sophistication (Webs and network) and better organization awareness of their power that enhanced their militancy and mobilization capacities (Cernea, 1988).

The NGOs financial mobilization capacity has increased remarkably particularly since 1970s. According to the data given by Cernea, (1988) the yearly disbursement of about US \$ 0.9 billion by the NGOs for their development activities in the third world in 1970 has increased to 1.4 in 1975, to 3.4 in 1980 and to 4.0 in 1985. The funding source of NGOs generally constitutes private grants and Official Development Assistance (ODA) contributions. Major donor governments of OECD countries are the source of ODA channeled through NGOs. As per the same data source, the major source of NGO funding is from private grants. The private grant amount, which was US \$ 0.9 billion, has increased to US \$ 2.4 billion in 1980 and to US \$ 2.9 billion in 1985. ODA contribution is also an important source of financing for projects operated by NGOs directly or in partnership with other groups. The funding from ODA contributions, which was only US\$ 0.1 billion in 1975, has increased to US \$1.1 billion in 1985 (Cernea, 1988).

The significance of NGO sector is, the organizational capacity that comes to life through them and engages in development action. The ever-growing financial resource channeled to the countries of the south through the intermediary of NGOs is a secondary factor in triggering genuine development. NGOs “put the people first” in their work and as a methodology and as goal first and foremost through emphasis on purposively organizing

the people for reaching common objectives. On the importance of purposively organizing people Cernea wrote,

They organize the people to make better use of own local resources, to promote equity and alleviate poverty, to influence government actions towards these same objectives and to establish new institutional frame work that will sustain people-centered or actor centered development. The Ngo priority on first organizing the people embodies a philosophy that recognizes the centrality of people in development policies and action programs and the importance of self-organization. This is often tantamount to a reversal of the conventional approaches that focus on technology alone, or on financial resources alone, to deal with people virtually as afterthought. Putting people first is a reversal because it means taking a *social-capacity building* the starting point in the very thinking, planning for, and organizing of development activities (Cernea, 1988:8)

Thus, the fundamental strategic importance of the NGOs approach is not only to induce development financially, but also to mobilize people into organizational structures of voluntary group action for self-reliance and self-development (promoting participatory development). The essence of NGOs is the mobilization of voluntarism and amplifying the social energy put in the service of people's self-development (Cernea, 1988; Smillie, 1995).

5.1.2. Classification of the NGOs Sector

The set up of NGOs, the 'third sector' however, encompasses a range of widely differing institutions. David Korten, (1987) has coined four typologies, (generations) of NGO strategies on the bases of the type of their activity, their set up and governance, and their source of funding. The '*first generation*' NGOs strategies he described focus on relief and provision of welfare services. The '*second generation*' NGOs strategies focuses on self-reliant local development envisaged in the community development small scale projects. The '*third generation*' strategies of NGOs were driven by 'sustainable systems development' which was an attempt aimed at influencing macro policy environment

inhabiting sustainability of community based projects. The '*fourth generation*' NGOs strategies were the 'peoples development movement', which was a vision of the development centered on social energy instead of the financially induced development.

On the bases of the accepted or claimed concept of voluntary organizations referred to as the 'third sector' Korten, (1990) has classified the NGOs universe into four categories, Viz. voluntary organizations that pursue a social mission driven by commitment to shared values; public service contractors that function as market oriented non-profit business serving public purposes; peoples organizations that represent their members' interests, that have member-accountable leadership and substantially self-reliant; governmental NGOs which are creations of the government to serve as instruments of public policy.

Another writer Smillie, (1995) has presented the 'John Hopkins University Non-profit Sector Project' definition of NGOs based on studies in Germany, France, Britain, Brazil, India Thailand and others. According to this definition, the NGO sector is defined as, *formal*, institutionalized at least to some extent; *private*, separate from government; *nonprofit-distributing*, the organization may generate financial surplus, but this does not accrue to owners or directors; *self-governing*, able and equipped to control and manage its own activities; and *voluntary*, having meaningful degree of voluntary participation in the conduct or management of the organization.

Likewise, Smillie, (1995) has described the NGOs along three evolutionary stages. These stages are: the '*community-based voluntarism*' stage, which is characterized by high

degree of direct personal involvement of and responsibility for the delivery of humanistic services; the stage of '*institutionalization*' which is an outgrowth of the humanistic services because of increased involvement of people and associations formed to complement service being provided; and the stage of '*professionalization*' that evolved from convenience than from conviction such as by the intensification of the demand for fundraising.

The classification or definition of NGOs rendered in the forerunning parts by no means cut across NGOs into specific category or class. A given NGO most likely display all or some aspect of the category at a time or through time. An NGO that delivers welfare services to specific groups may also support development projects in order to increase production capacities and also focus on the empowerment of the women and the poor at the same time.

5.2. Participatory Development Approach

5.2.1. The Concept of Participatory Development

The notion of 'participatory development' has emerged to be the universally acclaimed thinking in development in the contemporary world (Keogh, 1998). Participatory approach is an outgrowth of the 1960s and 1970s theories of 'participatory democracy' and 'industrial democracy'. The concepts, ideas, and issues visible in the "participatory development" notion have long been the subject of debate in the radical industrial sociologists and political theorists' philosophy of political and work place participation. Therefore, the concept of participatory approach being voiced far and wide as a universal

remedy in third world development is not a new development concept (Yeraswork, 2000).

Participatory approach in development is defined in several different ways. According to the Economic Commission for Latin America, (1973) ‘‘participatory development’’ is a voluntary contribution by the people in one or another of the public programs in order to contribute to the national development. According to the definition adopted by UNDP, (1993) ‘‘participatory development’’ is a necessary response to the irresistible and impatient urge of the people to participate in the decisions affecting them, which otherwise likely to dissolve into social disintegration against the inflexible system. The World Bank ‘working definition’ rendered in Bhatnagar and Williams, (1992) states that ‘‘popular participation’’ is a process by which people, especially the disadvantaged people, influence decisions that affect them.

The world Bank has adopted the term ‘‘participatory development’’ to refer to the material and labor contributions which the people ought to contribute to the development projects, and this position is described as an ‘‘instrumentalist’’ perception. Likewise, ‘‘participatory development’’ is a means to ‘empower’ the poor within the existing social order through the gift of knowledge that the powerless can use as a tool for self-reliance. This understanding of the ‘empowerment’ concept emanates from the perception of power in the society in terms of ‘positive-sum’ (the poor can be empowered without disempowering the already powerful). In practice also, the conception of the fringe advocated by the World Bank and UNDP is a distinct feature of the dominating perspective of ‘‘participatory development’’ thought. Therefore, the perception of these

leading agencies centers in the cost reduction for the public sector, corresponding to ‘neo-liberal’ end to ‘roll-back the state’ (Craig and Mayo, 1995).

For the fringe often identified as the ‘radicals’ the central theme of the concept of “people’s participation” signify the major shift in power from the elite to the people. This shift in power is conceived in terms of the concepts like ‘empowerment’, ‘liberation’, and ‘emancipation’. In their understanding ‘empowerment’ of the poor people, power in the society is conceptualized in terms of ‘zero-sum’ (the poor can only be empowered by disempowering the elite) and the ‘empowerment’ end of participatory approach is a result of the process for the shift of power (but negotiated shift) from the powerful to the powerless (Rahman, 1995)

5.2.2. Interpretations of the Approach

The operational interpretations of “participatory development” approach have strongly been influenced by diversity in its conceptual set up. According to Yeraswork, (2000) the interpretations of “participatory development” idea are set into three ‘models’, viz. the ‘mobilist’, ‘the instrumentalist’, and the ‘radical’ model of “participatory development”.

The ‘levels of participation’, rendered by Narayan, (1995) has the other interpretations from the point of the degree of beneficiary participation. Thus, the first level of participation is simple ‘*information sharing*’, which is a flow of information to the community to facilitate action by the agency. The second level is ‘*consultation*’, which is

a two-way flow of information to get opinion of the community on key issues. The information sharing and consultation levels are often termed as “*minimalist participatory approach*” which parallels with the ‘mobilist model’ of Yeraswork (2000). The third level of Narayan is ‘*decision making*’ level, which is the involvement of the people in decision making either exclusively or jointly with the agency. The last stage is ‘*initiating action*’ level, also corresponds to the ‘radical model’ of Yeraswork is the stage at which the people are enabled to self-initiated actions. According to Narayan, the last two stages are more intense levels of participation capable of capacity building and empowerment.

Participatory development is also subjected to two broad divergent interpretations: people’s participation as a means-to-end; and people’s participation as an end-in-itself). The interpretations of people’s participation as a means to end refers to the harnessing of existing physical, economic and social resources of rural people in order to achieve the objectives of development programs and projects. But the interpretations of people’s participation an end-itself, refers to the understanding of the approach as a process which unfolds overtime and whose purpose is to develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives. Oakley et al, (1995) (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992).

Which specific interpretation is right is an issue that has not been yet settled. Proponents of the ‘radical model’ criticize lesser levels of participatory models being ‘manipulative’ and ‘pseudo-participation’. The ‘radicalist’ interpretation is not also free from the attack of the other group, particularly from practical point. They argue that, an attempt to

mobilize the poor to be organized and challenge the power structure has the risk of conflict with the powerful interest. This conflict leads either reprisal or non-participation by the risk averse poor. The critic of the 'radical model' goes on to tag such an interpretation being equally 'manipulative', a manipulation of the poor towards conflict, which they cannot withstand. (Yoon, 1996)

5.2.3. Major Principles of the Approach

Despite, its growing acceptance, "participatory development" approach has not attained universally acceptable set of conceptual understanding as stated in the earlier parts. As result, the approach has no consistent set of principles to subscribe in the practice.

According to Oakley et al, (1991) the principles relevant for the practice of "participatory development" can be summed up into three major principles. The first major principle states that, participatory approach must be consciously based on people, their needs, their analysis of issues and their discussions: "*the primacy of people*". The "the primacy of people" principle implies that, whatever the conditions of their poverty and oppression, people can progressively transform their reality with the help of, but not domination of external agents. The principle also presumes that, rural people are able to initiate development but the nature of development interventions in practice has denied a practical opportunity for the rural people to initiate development. Therefore, the people have to be helped to move from being 'objects' to 'subjects' of development projects. Similarly, Uphoff, (1992) has stated that, the belief that, even the disadvantaged can

make important contributions to their own development being a source of good ideas, management capacity and intelligent evaluation is important operating assumption essential for the promotion of “participatory development” approach.

The second major principle states that, people’s knowledge is as appropriate as knowledge brought in by professionals as a base of development action: the “*People’s knowledge*” principle. This principle is drawn from the hard facts well documented by Chambers, (1983); Chambers, (1997) which states that, the external forces have not only controlled the means of material production, but also the means of knowledge generation and the power to determine what is valid.

The third principle stated by Oakley et.al, al, (1991) is related to the women’s position as an equal in the mass of rural people and reflects that, the struggle for total human development and authentic social change. The practical relevance of this principle is on the re-orientation of the system for delivery of services in order that, the resources previously only available to men are now made available to women, both as household heads and as a legitimate agricultural producers.

In the mass of the literature reviewed, an attempt to suggest a set of principles for the practice of “participatory development” approach is hardly uncommon. Many of the principles rendered, however, focus on certain central theme of the approach: *the importance of including the disadvantaged group (the poor and the women) and the indigenous people; understanding cultural context and the promotion of indigenous*

institutions and grass roots movements. Emphasis on the cultural context appears to be the most common principle forwarded. (Keogh, 1998; Ditcher, 1992; Huque, 1992; Burkey, (1993). The emphasis on the understanding of cultural context is indispensable when the target group is the disadvantaged sub group of the community, to promote participatory practice set in the principles (Lahiri, 1997).

5.2.4. Arguments for and Against the Approach

In the contemporary development literature reviewed, “participatory development” approach is almost a panacea. All the voices and arguments in favor of the approach, however, have never implied the same operational interpretation (Rahman, 1995).

Despite the difference on the operational understanding, stated earlier, the some support the approach stating that it enables empowerment of the poor and the hitherto marginalized groups; building of the beneficiary capacity; effective development; cost sharing by the people through the mobilization of the hitherto unused resources; more efficient use of developmental resources; expanded coverage of access to resources and opportunity; and sustainability of the impacts of the development interventions (Oakley et al, 1991; Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992).

There are also some arguments against the advantages of “participatory development” approach. These arguments as forwarded by some writers states that, the approach leads

to, premature arousal of expectations; delay in project start-up by negotiations with people; increased number of the staff required to support participation; over involvement of less experienced people; the possibility for the people to oppose a project when consulted; and unpredictable participatory methods (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992).

5.2.5. Methods for the Operationalization of Participatory Development Approach

5.2.5.1. Features of Participatory Projects

Successful participatory projects are often characterized by distinct strategies for the operationalization of participatory development approach. Some of the strategies for the operationalization of the approach visible in successful projects are given in Oakley et al, (1991). The strategies identified by Oakley *et.al*, are:

(i) ***Statement of objectives:*** participatory projects strongly focus on participation as an explicit objective and such clear statement is the fundamental project objectives along which projects achievements can also be measured. However, projects which state clearly participation as the project objectives may also stated it to mean participation in terms of contribution or benefit from the project, or to reflect the development of rural people's skills and abilities to participate (Oakley et al, 1991). In the same way Abed, (1992) has noted that, poor and disadvantaged people like those in Bangladesh need particular attention through making their participation an explicit form during design phase of the project.

(ii) ***The role of local people in the initial situation analysis:*** Participatory projects emphasize initial contact and the nature of interaction with rural people. The

understanding of both the physical characteristics of the area or community and local contexts and the potential for “participatory development” practice is typical features of participatory project strategy. Similarly, the method of researching used by distinct participatory projects is participatory research (Oakley et al, 1991; Spitz, 1992).

(iii) Sequence of project activities: participatory projects see participation as an objective in itself and in the sequence of projects activities. People’s participation is made the starting point to give initial and equal emphasis in the design of activities to strengthen the bases of participation. In organizing the sequence of project activities also priority attention on building up the bases of people’s participation is the dominant feature of participatory projects (Oakley et al, 1991; Bhatnagar, 1992; Abed, 1992; Korten, 1980).

(iv) Time: in most of the cases participatory projects takes more time to achieve meaningful and durable participation though development projects invariably have fixed targets and budgetary time scale and are required to meet the targets in time. “Participatory development” approach demands more time in order to permit rural people to understand the technological variables of the projects and to assume the management responsibility like in water committee (Oakley et al, 1991). Drawing on his experience with Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), Abed, (1992) wrote, participatory projects normally takes more time in the preparatory phases, since small-scale pilot projects must be undertaken to gain a better understanding of the

programs dynamics. However, scaling up can be rapid once the project rest on well founded footings.

(v) *Size of the project*: the size of project, measured in terms of volume of input, number of people involved, complexity of the project organization and people's participation. Large projects are beyond the competence of majority of rural people and such projects leads to the domination of outside professionals while the peoples participation is inevitably reduced to accounted contributions or passively accepted benefits. However, participatory projects are smaller, comprise small team of professionals, function, within limited area or community, and operate on the bases of limited resources. Participatory projects which emphasizes consciously developing people's participation start with smaller size at initial stage of building up participation and eventually linked up and regionalized when established structures of peoples participation is well founded (Oakley et al, 1991; Bhatnagar, 1992; Abed 1992).

5.2.5.2. Elements of Participatory Development Practice

Development projects that seek to develop a sustainable base of “participatory development” need to involve a number of the following elements of the practice of participatory approach in development. Participatory practice constitutes the following basic elements: the external agency, the project agent, project group, organization, education, and resource bases.

External agencies: External agency refers to a project introduced from outside of the concerned community and seeking to promote participation. Successful practices of NGO “‘participatory development’” approach hints that, an external agency is needed to take initiatives, despite the argument that participation should emerge from endogenous initiatives. An external agency usually takes the first initiatives to trigger people’s participation. However, its future nature and direction are strongly influenced by the style and approach of the agency (Esman and Uphoff, 1984). There are two critical issues, which affect the agency’s performance: objectives of the agency for the promotion of ‘‘participatory development’’, and the actual role that agency will have in the process (Oakley et al, 1991).

Objectives of the agency are linked to the agency understanding of the approach, either as mechanism to support the existing plan or, as more to a process of empowering the people. This difference provides for the fundamental distinguishing features between the two broad types of agencies (Oakley et al, 1991). In terms of the role played by external agency, empirical lessons suggest that, the role of the external agency vary between directing, and supporting or facilitating participation. Therefore, the role played by the external agency (consciously or unconsciously), will have a major impact on the evolution of the participatory project and their eventual outcomes (Esman and Uphoff, 1984; Oakley et al, 1991).

The Project agent: refers to agents working for the external agency and to support local groups. According to Esman and Uphoff, (1984) project agents are also called, ‘village

level workers', or 'animators', or 'promoters', or 'facilitators'. The whole efforts and the purpose of projects agents is to bring about organization acting on behalf of the poor. The processes of "participatory development" rarely emerge as a spontaneous event. Thus, a project agent is needed to stimulate, encourage and assist rural people to embark on such process. Thus, external agencies need to have a project agent who works directly and exclusively on developing participatory aspects of a project. The project agent to be entrusted with these activities must be a professional trained in participatory technique and possessing personal qualities that qualify for "participatory development" approach.

The qualities expected of a project agent identified by Tilakaratna, (1987) comprises seven social or behavioral skills, as cited in Oakley *et. al*, (1991). These skills are: a scientific method of social analysis and study; the ability for continuous learning; two-way communication; facilitation; ability to adjust to the life and work styles of rural people; ability to cope with tensions and conflict situations; and ability to make himself or herself redundant to the participation process.

Project Groups: the dominant characteristics of participatory approach is its identification of distinct group of people as the basic social unit for project implementation as opposed to the indiscriminate and aggregate targets in the conventional development projects. In the "participatory development" practice however, formation of groups is the basic method of operation. Participatory approach involves a deliberate act of group identification and formation before the project begins (Abed, 1992)

There are two different approaches of working with groups in “participatory development” practice as identified by Oakley et al, (1992). These approaches are: group as social action and group as receiving mechanisms. Group as social action refers to participatory approach strategy where groups serve to pursue social and economic relation between people and can help to develop the integration and togetherness, which are the bases for group’s taking action. Groups are also used as instrument to overcome the impotence of unaccompanied efforts and to break the isolation that many rural people experience. Where group is used to this end, the process of “participatory development” practice should be the gradual buildup of trust, confidence, structures and leadership for future direction. Where groups are meant to serve as a channel for receiving inputs and technologies the project intends to defuse, groups are established to widen the coverage of specific service or to make resource contribution to the project easier. In this strategy groups are formed by immediate material benefit or by command of officials and, the process of group formation is often rapid (Oakley et al, 1991).

In the projects that see participation more of interms of contributions and benefit, groups are used as a receiving mechanism. In the projects that understand participation as a qualitative process of empowering the people, groups are used for ‘social action’ (Burkey, 1993). As suggested by Unia, (1988) “participatory development” that uses groups as a ‘social action’ has certain common features. These common features cited in Oakley et al, (1991) is indicated in text Box-1.

Text Box-1
A shared analysis of the causes of poverty and shared belief in the necessity of empowerment of the poor;

<p>A shared methodology of theory-practice- action- reflection; Emphasis upon creating awareness and building people's organization; A core group of between 5 and 20 people; and A range of activity which include non-formal education, street theatre, leadership training and para-legal training; Activities centered on putting forward demands for such things as drinking water, loans, tenancy rights, and access to land.</p>

The characteristics of projects that use groups as social action have also been described by Oakley et al, (1991 in terms of three broad approaches. These approaches are: the 'issue based approach', where the focus is based upon one specific activity; the 'struggle based approach', where the struggle is to get access to or defend a particular interest or asset; and 'the 'organization base approach' where the focus of group is placed on building an organizational base to serve for future participation.

Effectiveness of the functioning of group as a social action depends on three key issues. First, that membership of the group need to be based on social and economic homogeneity of group members so as to provide a common base of problems and issues to minimize future divisive contradiction and issues. Secondly the internal structuring of the group must allow development of the bases for the independent action. Thirdly, the group relationship with the external agent need to be based on the development of abilities of the group to participate effectively with minimized group dependence upon external agents contribution (Oakley et al, 1991; Burkey, 1993).

Working with group is an essential part of "participatory development" practice, in order to lay the bases from which the previously excluded people could participate in development (Burkey, 1993). However, group development often comes against

indigenous authority within rural areas with the result being reluctance on the side of the rural people to move outside their indigenous obedience (Esman and Uphoff, 1984). In such, cases some suggests the use of material incentives in the act of initial group formation. But there are strong arguments against the use of material incentives at initial stage. Such incentives destroy the potential for future undeniable participation (ILO, 1984).

Organization: The link between ‘group’ and ‘organization’ often appears confused and also used synonymously. But organization is the permanent form of group evolving from the growth stages of groups to solid organizational bases. An organization is vital as mechanism by which people can relate or gain access to the existing development services. In the practice of “participatory development” approach, organization is an inherent value of the very process of people’s participation. Therefore, it is not simply an ad-hoc arrangement to facilitate project implementation. People’s organization margining out of the participatory projects are identified with some elements of the patterns of indigenous local organization, with organic growth, with member’s self-management, and with emphasis on action to tackle issues and not with passive response for externally identified problems (Sandford, 1983; Esman and Uphoff, 1984).

Education Process: Effective “participatory development” practice need to be developed through educative process for the very reason that participatory approach itself is an educational process. According to Oakley et al, (1991) educational process is interpreted in two distinct ways: educational as information, and education as awareness.

Education as information refers to the classical extension approach, where the educational process is that of informing the people about the project and preparing them to contribute in implementation.

Education as awareness is the basic dynamic of the group and organizational development. Such type of educational process aims at shattering the people's mental solitude emerging from the deeply grounded feelings of inability and inferiority. Education as awareness is also a mechanism for preparing the people to explain things as they see them, to speak out, to analyze, to plan, and carry through a course of planned action. Thus, it is an emancipative pedagogy from the ignorance and barrenness to active engagement in development.

Resource base: The rationale for the building up of the economic base of the people in "participatory development" practice constitutes two types of understanding according to Oakley et al, (1991). In the first understanding, "participatory development" practice is concerned with providing access to economic resources and assets to those previously excluded groups. The second understanding, "participatory development" practices need to build up the economic base of the project participants to help developing the broader participatory process and therefore, the project is set out not only to generate economic benefits but also as a spring board for the broader process of participation. Despite the difference in orientation both practices actively seek to develop the economic base of the project participants.

The development of economic base is a critical aspect of “participatory development” practice for the fact that, (1) the economic base acts as incentives or evidences of the tangible benefits resulting from active participation; (2) there is also strong link between the educational process within participatory and the need for action and this develops resource base, confidence and togetherness among project participants; and (3) awareness creation activities provoke frustration and lack of strength without economic base. As a result, economic aspect is key and tangible dimension of “participatory development” practice.

In practice the development of economic base of the community appear in two forms: externally determined and internally determined. The externally determined economic base is the more dominant approach where projects make resources available to the previously excluded groups, and it is also a radical reform in the resource delivery system. The internally determined economic base are usually designed in a way that increases the resources base of the group as whole and not of a number of individuals as the case was in the conventional community development (Burkey, 1993).

5.2.5.3. The Stages for Participatory Development Practice

Participatory programs are essentially incremental and iterative which requires financing of initial vague projects not conditioned for cost benefit analysis but necessitating firm commitment. Thus, donors/NGOs must be willing to finance a process rather than clearly defined projects (Burkey, 1993). Participation is a process consisting of series of stages.

The methods for the operationalization methodologies of “participatory development” rendered by Korten, (1980) for example has provided three stages in his ‘learning process approach’. These stages are, the stage ‘*learning to be effective*’; the stage of ‘*learning to be efficient*’; and the stage of ‘*learning to expand*’. The first stage of implementation is the stage of familiarization with the community, and trial of the approach supported by external expertise. Error and inefficiency characterize this stage of program development. The second stage builds on the insights gained on the first stage and is a point of the learning process directed at tapping excessive resource inputs through streamlining non-productive activities and developing simplified problem solving techniques. At the second stage additional project components may be undertaken to widen the horizon of the learning process and testing workability of the approach. The final stage is the stage at which the projects are at full swing in large-scale operation with the already institutionalized problem solving capacity through “participatory development” approach.

The methods for the operationalization of “participatory development” approach in development proposed by Chambers, (1987) are, ‘identifying and matching needs and opportunities’; ‘Assessing comparative advantages’; ‘learning and adapting through action’; and ‘having wider impacts of additionality’

There are three typologies of project approaches for the operationalization of participatory approach identified by Galjart, (1987). These typologies of project

approaches as cited in Oakley et al, (1991) are: (1). Projects that follow a conventional project planning cycle and seek to make it more participatory. In these projects the methodology of “participatory development” implementation is obscure, may be for it does not exist. At most, people may only be consulted and it is entirely a top-down process and participation is defined dominantly in terms of benefit. (2) Projects, which methodologically seek to involve the people in the externally managed development projects. In this type of projects, (which are the most common) the methodology of participation is more visible but difficult to differentiate from the conventional project practice. But participation attempts are made to involve the people in some form of organization. Project agents are also used often to promote people’s awareness. The drive behind these projects is to mobilize the people in support of some externally determined policy. The approach has visible stages and the activities undertaken are usually physical in nature. Education aspects of such type projects focus on the knowledge of the project policy and activities. (3) Projects which seek to promote a base for continuing people’s participation. These types of projects display distinct and innovative methods of participation that responds to the different stages of participatory process. Typically, NGOs projects are identified with these types of project approach.

5.2.5.4. Participatory Approach to Water Development

Participatory approach to rural water supply development project calls for quiet different roles by the NGO from the indigenous role of engineering agencies. Participatory approach to water development must satisfy two key requirements according to Narayan, (1996). The first requirement is demand responsive management. Demand responsive

management necessitate client orientation by the development agency, reflected by the capacity to adopt flexible approach responsive to community needs and capacities. The practice of demand responsive management is indicated by willingness to pay, willingness to commit resources, and ability to organize themselves on the side of the community and targeting the poor, capacity to respond to local demands on the part of the agency.

The second requirement is sustainable management of the water systems. Sustainable management of the water system depends on a range of technologies based on organizational, social, cultural, ecological and financial factors. Sustainability of the technology system is contingent on how operation and maintenance is organized at the community level and the linkage of the community with the outside world. Therefore local management capacity to sustain the technology system is the most critical parameter. Level of service desired and local management capacity on the side of the community indicate sustainability of the management system. On the part of the Agency/NGO, its capacity to provide a range of service levels, availability of spare parts for the technology used; and support provided to build local management capacity.

Water development projects, are important direct approach to poverty reduction. It reduces the drudgery and releases more time for engagement in other livelihood sources by the poor and its household members. However, there are cases where water development project makes the poor a loser. According to Chambers, (1983) rural water development project results in a new services accessible to all where both the rural elite

and the poor gain. But the technology with net livelihood displacing effects benefits the elite and makes the poor a loser when the technology introduced breaks the economic interdependence dictated by the prevailing technology in the development, use, and up keep of the water supplies.

Participatory approach in water development projects is often operationalized in the same way to that of the indigenous ‘community development’ programs (Oakley et al, 1991). As noted by Burkey, (1983) the ‘community development’ approaches of the 1950s and 1960s were based on the “harmony model” that assumes the entire members of the village as homogeneous and harmonious groups that can be benefited equally by a given development project delivered to the entire village community. Therefore, the approach does not consider the heterogeneity and differences inhabiting the minority poor and disadvantaged groups within the within the rural villages form benefiting equally out of a development projects. Therefore, Burkey has strongly suggested deliberate targeting or segregation in favor of the minority or poor and the disadvantaged to help them benefit from development projects.

5.2.6. Constraints for the Practice of Participatory Development Approach

The practice of ideal “participatory development” approach is contingent on the national environment to a large extent. The national political, social and economic setting provides strong positive impulses for the practice of “participatory development” approach in general. Out of the World Bank discussion group on how governments can work more efficiently with NGOs to promote “participatory development”, Huque,

(1992) has rendered characteristics of participatory government to be one that, recognizes and provides for basic human rights; supports the plurality of organizations (political group, NGOs, unions, private sector groups, and so on); is accountable; is open with information (especially about development schemas undertaken in the name of the people); enforces the rule of law; and is open to a two way interview with citizen.

Decentralized state structure through which the people are given the way for political and economic participation provides for the very basis of participatory practices and accountability to the public. The attitude of the bureaucratic machinery is also vital constraint if they regard “participatory development” approach impractical (Huque, 1992) and disdain for the capabilities of the poor (Mathur, 1986). To the contrary strong commitment to the cause of the poor and disadvantaged groups, philosophical orientations and belief that the poor and the women can make important contribution to their own development is an opportunity to foster “participatory development” approach.

The economic and political stability within a country is a critical determinant of the practice of participatory approach in development in a country. Stable economy permits participatory practice be it from the capabilities of the people to devote resources and time or self-dependence orientation. In his proposal to the world bank discussion group, Smith Lahiri has explicitly warned the risk of internal unrest and conflict between governments and citizens as a result of the promotion of participatory ideals and

proposed the need for the parallel responsibility the Bank should play to protect the people placed at the risk in this conflict at the international forums (Lahiri, 1992).

The extent to which the national media is engaged in reinforcing participation by creating awareness of the peoples to involve in their development is also important determinant. (Ditcher, 1992) Knowledge and information that give the people an idea of what their rights and responsibilities are also crucial to make participation a continuing activity (Mathur, 1986).

Given these constraints, NGOs have relatively wider opportunities to exploit, for the practice of participatory development approach because of the values indigenously ascribed to them. They are ascribed with better capacity to reach rural poor in the remote areas; to promote local level participation; to operate on low cost; and to innovate and adapt (Cernea, 1982). They are assumed to be an embodiment of popular will and agents of civil society (Agbakoba, 1993). The acceptance of their claims of being, participatory in their approach, work with the poor, empower them, and help them to be self sufficient in a sustainable way; efficient, independent, non-bureaucratic, highly transparent, suitable for local institution building and capable of delivering development (Tegegn, 1994).

The descriptions rendered above imply a favorable image of NGOs that has built over the years and therefore, it is strong opportunity for practicing authentic people's participation. However, NGOs practice of "participatory development" has also been constrained by limited replicability of their activities; limited self-sustainability of NGO

sponsored projects; limited technical capacity emerging from restricted technical feasibility analysis and weak databases of NGOs projects; and lack of broad programming context of NGO projects (Cernea, 1988).

The barriers and opportunities for the promotion of “participatory development” at the local level have long been dealt with in much of the development literature. Mathur, (1986) for example, has stated that the assumption that, the ‘peasants were happy with things around them and they had no aspirations to change their ways’ implying that, participation does not generally fascinate many rural poor. He has however argued against this assumption stating that, lack of interest in participation is a result other local level constraints, viz., past experience with government agencies; circumstances of the poor that makes them feel inadequate to stand with others and preference to seek help from their families, landlords, money lenders, and from any one who may be a friend in need; low level of awareness of the services which exist for them in their village; monopoly of the contacts with outside agents by the elite; and the fear in competing with the powerful for benefits which the contacts bring.

Other writer, Huntington and Nelson, (1982) also have rendered three basic reasons inhabiting participation by the poor, as cited in Mathur, (1986:33). These reasons are: lack of resource (adequate information, appropriate contacts, money, and often time); division by race tribe, religion or language, income status, or place of birth among low income strata; and the tendency to expect request or pressure on their part, whether individual or collective, to be ignored or refused by the authorities for the very

experience that their attempts may provoke governmental repression or prompt reprisals from the private interest threatened by self assertion of the poor. In such a situation those in the margin of subsistence are more vulnerable to the threats from employers, landlords, or creditors.

The existence of local organization is often considered as an important local level opportunity for the practice of participatory development approach, in the sense that the existence of local organization provides the experience to start with and the basis to build on. However, even if local level organization exists, it may not function well to uncover the needs and priorities of the poor in the village. The poor simply lack necessary skill in organizing and managing of their affairs collectively because of the differences, which the powerful can make use of against the organization of the poor when its economic or political interests are threatened (Esman and Uphoff, 1986).

The development of water supplies has been the subject of conflict both at international, national, and at local level. Water resource development cannot be detached from such conflicts in the face of the growing strategic importance of water and the absolute shortage of the stock of fresh water at the disposal human beings. This conflict around the right to access to water supplies fabricates constraints for participatory approach to water development both at national, regional, and village level.

The resource required for water sector development is often immense in the first instance and is also the least recoverable (Serageldin, 1995). Therefore, the initial resource input

that cannot be born by smaller group usually forms other dimensions of the conflict. The effects of development which increase access to water at specific point for specific groups; and physical and social barriers in access to water by other groups also adds onto the constraints for participatory approaches to water development. The question of the set up of the developer also raises the question of the right to develop, the technology of development, and resulting deferential claims create conflicts either an opportunity or a constraint for the development of the water supply.

The nature of constraints and opportunities for the water supply development through participatory approach vary from the area of development, the cultural setting of the partner community, the nature of regulatory agencies, the legal, social, political, and economic context of the country, region, and the community. Therefore, within the same country the ground for the participatory approach to water development may vary significantly over the same time span or political or economic regime (Sandford, 1983).

PART FOUR

6. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6.2. CARE-Ethiopia Experience with the Practice of Participatory Development Approach

6.2.1. Institutional Setup

The institutional setup, which is structure, processes and behavior in the organization employed by CARE-Ethiopia in the pastoral water supplies development, reflects how it was adapted to the ideals of participatory approach in development. As stated in Narayan, (1996), Participatory approaches to rural water development projects requires quite different organizational structure, processes, and behavior from the traditional hierarchal top-down arrangements in engineering agencies. It has to be adapted to the requirements of demand responsive management. An institutional set up best adapted to the requirements of demand responsive management is one with the capacity to adopt flexible approach responsive to community needs and priorities.

CARE-Ethiopia's operation in Borana was implemented through the Area Project Office (APO) in Yabello town, the capital of Yabello Woreda (see Annex. II). An expatriate project coordinator assisted by national assistant Project Coordinator, Project Administrator, and Project Accountant supervises the APO. The project coordinator was responsible for the APO's overall planning and management of the day-to-day operation. The APO manages its human resources in accordance with CARE's detailed personal administration guideline. Similarly, all financial expenditures at the APO were maintained pursuant to CARE's financial policies. At the APO level, financial expenditures of up to US \$ 5000 (equivalent to Birr 42,500) can be made with the discretion of the project coordinator, while disbursements exceeding the stated amount of money need to be approved by the country director. The head office assists the APO through centralized bulk procurement of items like construction materials. The APO

submits monthly financial reports to the head office, which the head office in turn consolidate and pass on to CARE financial head quarters.

According to the data obtained from review of the project documents, project reports and interview with the APO project coordinator, the roles assumed by the APO in the pastoral water supplies development varied on the basis of whether the project was emergency relief operation or non-relief development project. In the emergency relief operations EGS based water development initiatives, much of the important functions were overtaken or shared by Oromia DPPB and its parallel zonal, and woreda institutions. The contact with the community was also made through government extension agents. The APO's project agents called 'Development Facilitators' (DF's) perform functions limited to relief food distribution. It was only in the non-relief development projects based water supply development initiatives that, the APO's structures assume the role of external agency. Thus collaboration with the government structures implies near complete withdrawal by the NGO in the case of emergency relief operations EGS based water development initiatives projects.

According the information obtained from the APO senior executive and the community elders, APO contact with the community BRDP and the subsequent CBREP was implemented through 'Community Representatives' (CR's). The CR's were pooled from the wealthy pastoral households, capable of adopting the technical interventions promoted by the project. The APO used the CR's as a model in order to promote the privately owned water cisterns which the poor households or the entire village members

were not either capable to afford or unwilling to commit their resources and take part in the introduced technical interventions.

Recently, CARE-Ethiopia has introduced some changes in the approaches to collaboration with study area community. It has changed from the CR's to working with the entire village members and, from the cost recovery to the cost sharing; and from the CR's as a model for promoting the technical interventions through the DF's. CARE-Ethiopia has employed 9 DF's with professional trainings living within the community. The DF's were trying to facilitate the APO contact with community instead of the CR's and the "extension supervisors" (annex. ii) oversight activities of the DF's in their respective PA's.

Table-3. CARE-Ethiopia APO Total Number of Staff, Employed and Separated
By nationality (1999-2002)

		Years of operation			
		1999	2000	2001	2002
		APO	APO	APO	APO
Nationality	Ethiopians	57	83	75	42
	Expatriate	-	1	1	1
Current status	Separated ²	-	-	44	-
	Employed	-	27	11	-
Total		57	84	76	43

Source: APO Personnel Records

As per the data obtained from the APO personnel records, 28 of the 43 employees work on support functions and only 6 employees were with qualifications of first degree and above in addition to the project coordinator and his assistant.

An assessment of CARE-Ethiopia's institutional organizational structure, process, and behavior responsiveness to the community needs and priorities show that, the NGO lacks

² Separated because of pension, transfer, dismissal, and resignation

much to being demand responsive and meet the features apparently visible among successful participatory projects. From the out set, the relief and development objectives of CARE-Ethiopia has contributed to much of the weakness in its institutional setup. As stated elaborate in Tegegn, (1994) development is qualitatively different activity from relief and rehabilitation activity. Among other development aims at growth and transformation and, this requires change in the method of understanding, designing and implementing development interventions. The emergency relief operations by the CARE-Ethiopia, that emphasized the distribution of food aid, were important antecedents for formation of unequal relations between ‘the giver’ and ‘the taker’. The unequal relations were in turn important grounds for the establishment of an institutional set up for giving and the mentality of donor on the side of the NGO and sense of inequality on the side of the community. CARE-Ethiopia has employed an institutional set up tailored to the role of giver to assume the roles of a development promoter at the same time. Thus, as noted in Tegegn, (1994) the nature of the institutional set up itself was the basis of the confusion and of role conflict that impaired its capacity to adopt demand responsive management.

As stated earlier, the choice of the development project prior to June 1997 was strongly influenced by ILCA expert research findings. As result, the projects were not responsive to the peculiar needs of a given PA, or an *ollaa* within the PA, regarding aspects discussed and elaborate in the following parts. Furthermore, the participants in the development initiatives of the NGO were also the elites with the experience of obtaining benefits from privileged contacts with the outsiders. Therefore the approach has

conversely discriminated against the poor. The smallness in the amount of money at the discretion of the APO; the inflexible item-budgets system; and the standardized personnel administration guideline with little room for the reward and sanction at the judgment of the APO were the other limiting factors on the flexibility of the approach.

The institutional arrangements employed by CARE-Ethiopia in the aftermath of June 1997 were also with some shortcomings. The functions of the DF's were limited to the facilitation of the APO contact with community. As per the data obtained during brief discussion with two of the DF's working in study area, both of the DF's had little acquaintance with the techniques of participatory approach. None of them feel local organization building, as a primary purpose of their presence with community. They usually engage in supervising the physical water supply development projects, and watching for the local events leading to emergency situations, which they to report to the APO regularly.

As the data given in table 3 show, the APO has terminated employment contract of about 44 (58.7%) and recruited about 11 (14.7%) employees in the year 2001. The data obtained through discussion with the employees and interview with the APO administrator also shows that, the APO has only one senior staff with more than two years of employment life. Almost all of the DF's are newly recruited or recently placed employees. Therefore, the operations of CARE-Ethiopia in the study area were constrained seriously by staff discontinuity. In addition to these, the data obtained from the APO also shows that, poor handling of project records and historical data; inability to

account for PA level NGO resource inputs at the APO level; in adequate allocation of important facilities like vehicle for field operation by project staff were some of the constraints of CARE-Ethiopia's institutional arrangements.

6.1.2. Water Supply Development Activities

Pastoral water supply development activities of CARE-Ethiopia for the last 17 years were meant to create access to economic resources and asset for the community. In the process of participatory approach in development, the building up of the economic base of project participants by an external agency, required for two reasons as noted by Oakley *et.al*, (1991). The first reason is to provide access to economic resources and assets to those previously marginalized households and groups. The second reason is to lay the ground that serve as a springboard for the broader process of participation. Economic base acts as incentives or evidences of the tangible benefits resulting from active participation, confidence, and togetherness among project participants; and the frustration provoked by awareness creation activities without economic base.

The pastoral water supply development activities of CARE-Ethiopia, also indicated in the background part, includes, indigenous wells rehabilitation; pond construction; borehole drilling and rehabilitation; and construction of water cisterns. However, the data obtained from APO records indicate that, the total physical water supply structures introduced by CARE-Ethiopia into the two selected PA's, until June 1997 was 55 private water cisterns (49 in Dubuluk and 6 in Gololicha). Since June 1997 also, CARE-Ethiopia has introduced only 4 (four) communal water cisterns with the capacity of 400 cubic meters

in Gololicha PA. In the Dubuluk PA all what CARE-Ethiopia has introduced during post June 1997 was the rehabilitation of one borehole by providing new pump and some spare, until March 2002 (the data collection period for this study).

The community in the study area indigenously constructs ponds around settlements to harvest surface water during rainy seasons in addition to the deep wells that serve as permanent water sources for the livestock and human consumption. The ponds were used in the dry seasons for brief period and dry up due to percolation and evaporation. These ponds usually silt-up during every rainy season and require de-silting before the next rainy season. They were also open water catchments exposed to contamination.

The water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were improved underground water store intended to overcome the water loss and contamination. The water cisterns (refer annex 5) were cement-lined curricular tanks for harvesting rainwater. According to the project documents reviewed, CARE-Ethiopia has adopted the idea of water cistern construction from people in the neighboring area who were using underground the similar structures for grain-stores during wet seasons. As per the data obtained from the APO terminal report of RDP, CARE, (2001) and informants from SORDU, the water cisterns being promoted by CARE-Ethiopia constitute serious technological shortcomings in the context of the study area. The cisterns need to be kept full of water always, particularly during dry seasons, and otherwise would crack. Given the maintenance capacity left

behind by the NGO and the dearth of water scarcity in dry seasons, in the study area, it seems that the limitation was one of serious threat to sustainability of the schemes.

The water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia has reduced the water loss by percolations and evaporation. However, as stated above the water cisterns were technologically deficient, and could not overcome water contamination. There were incidents where dead and rotten snake and rats were found in the water cisterns unseen. Therefore, some of the community members consider cistern water more contaminated and unhygienic than indigenous ponds.

An assessment of the pastoral water supply development activities of CARE-Ethiopia in the study areas generally show that, the effort has produced neither noticeable difference on the volume of localized water supply nor in the cleanness of the water supplied. Therefore it has created little access to new assets. But what ever accesses created were not by and large, for the poor pastoral households, particularly during the pre 1997 operation in the area.

The other point in the physical pastoral water supply schemes introduced by the NGO, was that the implication of the size of water cisterns. The water cisterns developed in the study area were small in size. This smallness makes it within the resource competence of the community in the study area. These practices imply that, CARE-Ethiopia's water development activity displays an aspect of features in successful participatory projects identified in Oakley et al, (1991). Large projects, (measured in terms of volume of input,

and number of people involved among others) are beyond the competence of the majority of rural people. Large projects leads to the domination of outside professionals and people's participation is inevitably reduced to controlled contributions or passively accepted benefits.

CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water supply development activity has consistently remained the same both in technology and size. As stated earlier also water cisterns with average water holding capacity of about 100 cubic meters were the major form of water supply structures promoted by CARE-Ethiopia during the last 17 years of its operation in the study area. As noted by Abed, (1992) and Bhatnagar, (1992), starting with smaller size at initial stage of building up participation so as to emphasize consciously developing people's participation is the visible feature among successful participatory projects. But these projects eventually scale-up and enlarge the size when an established structure of people's participation is well founded. In the practice of CARE-Ethiopia however, the small size have not served as the starting point for learning by doing. It was started with small size and has remained unchanged.

Furthermore, as per the data obtained from the APO and personnel observations, all the water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia through out the 41 PAs in the Borana zone were an identical engineer design based development. Therefore, the smallness in the size of the water cisterns which apparently reflects the feature of participatory projects were not from conscious understanding of the significance of the size of the project for

promoting people's participation. Rather it seems that the size was determined by shortage of the developmental resources brought in by the NGO into the study area.

6.1.3. Interpretations of Participatory Development Message

The interpretations of the “participatory development” message in the literature generally fall into two broad categories: peoples participation ‘as a-means-to-an-end’ and people’s participation ‘as an-end-in-itself’. The interpretation of “participatory development” message as ‘a-means-to-an-end’ refers to the harnessing of existing physical, economic and social resources of rural people in order to achieve the objectives of development programs and projects. However, the interpretation of the concept as ‘an-end-in-itself’ refers to as a process which unfolds overtime and whose purpose is to develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives.

An NGO interpretation of “participatory development” message is indicated by how the concept is described in the objective statement of the project brought in for implementation. As indicated in Oakley *et.al*, (1991), participatory projects are identified with clear and explicit statement of people’s participation in the objective statements as a fundamental project objective along which projects achievements can also be measured. However, projects which state clearly participation as the project objectives may also stated it to mean either participation in terms of contribution or in benefit from the project, or to reflect the development of rural people’s skills and abilities to participate, (a process to wards the empowerment of the participants).

Therefore, CARE-Ethiopia's understanding of the "participatory development" concept was reflected in how the concept was described in the statement of objectives of the various projects introduced since the last 17 years; in how CARE-Ethiopia's senior executives and experts responsible for the field implementation of the projects understand the concept; and the rationale of the NGO for pursuing the approach.

Review of three project documents among the various projects implemented by CARE-Ethiopia in the study area show that, the statement of objectives described in the project documents vary by the nature of the project. Thus, the range of interpretations of "participatory development message held by CARE-Ethiopia as given both in the non-relief development projects and the emergency relief operations projects with water supply development project components were the following.

ii. Non-relief water supply development project: One of the most important none-relief development project, through which CARE-Ethiopia has introduced pastoral water supply schemes was the "Borana Rangelands Development Project", (April, 1994-June, 1997), latter called "Conservation of Borana Rangelands Ecosystem Project" (CBREP). The statement of objectives of the projects given in the project document (CARE, 1994) contains two objectives relevant for water supply development intervention in the CBREP. The objectives were:

To address the need of the people to continue developing their ability to satisfy their needs by themselves and the need for an organization which can unite the communities within an area so that they can develop the capacity to carry out larger projects and gain access to market outside their area; and to assist the communities to institutionalize the process of community

management and empowering in order that they will be able to continue identifying and solving their problems after CARE has stopped working in the area (CARE,1994: 14)

As stated in the project document, CARE-Ethiopia adopted “participatory approach”, for two reasons. The first reason was the recognition of the ineffectiveness of the EGS as a tool for promoting sustainable development activities from its earlier practices. The second reason was to help communities in the project area to organize themselves in order that they themselves learn to deal with such issues as water supply, scarcity of fodder, lack of grain supply and lack of economic opportunities.

The project document has also provided six stages of the methods for the operationalization of the “participatory development” approach and the instruments employed in the practice of the approach, and these strategies given in the document reflect the emphasis given to the participatory practice in the implementation of the project. Therefore, the objectives of CBREP as written in the project document, have explicit statement of the issue of popular participation in development. It has adequately provided for orderly practice of the approach in the process of the project implementation.

ii. Emergency relief operations stimulated pastoral water supply development activities: Among the emergency relief operation projects of CARE-Ethiopia, the project documents of two most recent projects: "Borana Relief Food Aid Program" (Aug.-Dec. 2000), and "Borana Relief and Development Project", (15th of April, 2000 to March 31st, 2001) were also reviewed to find out how CARE-Ethiopia stated the idea of “participatory development” in the projects.

In the project documents of RFAP, CARE, (2000), which was purely an emergency operation project with a significant pastoral water supply development component, the objectives of CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water supply development intervention was, "to enable draught affected population get access to water and pasture in the long term" (p.14). Thus, the objective statement of the document renders no mention of the "participatory development" approach. However, the 'implementation procedure' part of the project document states that, the community (through PAs councils) participates in the EGS activities generation of ideas, preparation of projects, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation (p.20).

As stated in the project document, the roles of CARE-Ethiopia in the EGS based water supply development activities were limited to: (1) collaborating with the Oromia DPPB in the evaluation of the impact of the relief operation on the food security of the population; (2) providing technical assistance in the design and implementation of EGS activities; (3) distribution of food to the people involved in EGS activities; and (4) tracking the effects of the intervention in collaboration with the counterparts and monthly and final reporting to European Union (EU). But the Woreda Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Committee (DPPC), is the organ responsible for determining the priority needs of the local people, for planning, coordinating, and implementation of the EGS.

In practice however, the community in the study area implemented the "standard EGS" off-the-shelf EGS water development projects prepared by experts and already available at the Woreda Agriculture Office. The roles of the community were limited to the

screening of the households most affected and selecting among the “standard EGS” projects brought to them for implementation. The selected community members, being the most needy and "able bodied" works on the standard EGS activities" for 8 hours of five days per week in return for the payment of 12.5 kg of wheat and 4kg of nutritious food called *fafa* (for children's of less than age of 5) per/person /month to each households based on their family size.

Given the roles of the community and CARE-Ethiopia stated above in the EGS based water development activities, the evaluation report of the program contains a part devoted to the evaluation of participatory dimensions of the project. The extent of self-contradiction and confusion inherent to the operational interpretations of the concept “participatory development” held by the NGO appears visible from the following statement rendered in the report:

The community has acquired lessons on how to organize themselves in order to accomplish the assigned work [through participating in EGS]. They have also practiced time management [taking attendance list] and appreciate women's work burden at home level and shared their responsibility at EGS site [cooking meal on the field]... this also created opportunities to learn to identify problems [selecting among standard EGS project] and prioritize their needs (CARE-Ethiopia, 2000: 15)

The data obtained from the review of the project document show that, in the emergency operations stimulated pastoral water supply development activities; the community has never been given the opportunity to exercise influence. The nature of participation by the people in the EGS based water supply development activities were generally limited to the involvement of the hungry but able to work persons for grain payments. Therefore, it was involuntary engagement by the poor. On top of these, CARE-Ethiopia had no role

instrumental for promoting genuine people's participation in the EGS based water supply development activities.

Thus, it seems that, the term denoting the idea of “peoples participation” both in the implementation procedure of the project document and the evaluation reports was incorporated in order to satisfy the requirement of the government. The guideline for the implementation of NPDPM stipulates the need for active and full participation of the community during the identification and implementation of the EGS projects. However, none of the provisions of the guidelines has restricted CARE-Ethiopia to prepare EGS projects. CARE-Ethiopia has the chance to prepare its own local specific EGS projects prior to the on set of drought with full participation of the people in relation to its early warning systems, and to draw on for implementation during emergency situation perhaps with modest modifications.

The second project document reviewed, RDP, as its name implies comprises both relief operation and non-relief development components in one. The project document of this project contains two set of objectives applicable to pastoral water supply development were:

To provide 165,000 liters of per day of drinking water to the pastorlists in the three woredas in collaboration with Catholic Relief Service (CRS) by means of installation of 3 bore-holes and maintenance of 2 existing bore-holes; capacity building (training) of borehole-operators; and water tankering over an 8 to 11 months periods; and to improve the capacity of 20 additional resource-poor villages to store and use drinking water during dry seasons and drought periods through collaborative EGS schemes in as much as possible(CARE, 2000: 3)

The statement of objectives of this project given in the project document has a manifestation of the elements of the concept of participation by the people. But, the term

‘capacity building’ interpolated to imply skill transfer to the resource poor households during construction and access to asset created to them by ownership of the water cisterns.

Review of the various project documents and reports described above shows that, CARE-Ethiopia’s understanding of the “participatory development” message was significantly inconsistent among the CBREP (non-relief development project); RFAP (in the purely relief based water supply development projects) and RDP, (in the relief and development projects).

In the CBREP, the project document has rendered explicit statement of the people’s participation as an objective of the project that has to be also evaluated as fundamental project objective. Therefore, CARE-Ethiopia’s interpretation of “participatory development” message in the non-relief pastoral water supply development project accords the interpretations of the fringe that understand people’s participation as a fundamental dynamic of the project or ‘as an-end-in-itself’. In the purely relief based, and relief and development, pastoral water supply development projects, however; CARE-Ethiopia’s interpretations of ‘participatory development’ message appears to incline more of towards the ‘cheap labor’ or the ‘mobilist model’ set elaborate in Yeraswork, (2000) also similar to “minimalist” model in Narayan, (1995).

In addition to what was written in the project documents and reports, executives of the NGO, both at the head office and at the APO, have also been interviewed in-depth to find

out how they understand the concept of “participatory development” approach. During the interview at the head quarter in Addis Ababa, the deputy country director, (who joined CARE-Ethiopia about a year-and-half) has stated that, emphasis on the delivery of food donations were the major feature of earlier practices of CARE-Ethiopia. But it has already developed and released a new strategy in 2001. The newly developed strategy incorporates “participatory development” approach. The statement of the Deputy country director, therefore, implies that, CARE-Ethiopia had no institutional inspirations for the promotion of the participatory development approach prior to 2001.

As indicated in the CBREP earlier, however, there was explicit statement of the approach in the objective statement and implementation strategy of the project. The other project documents reviewed also had some words put into them as discussed earlier. Therefore, it seems that, either the directors (both the country director and the deputy country directors) have not noticed the various project document or, their understanding of the “participatory development” has still another interpretation, in addition to all that has been implied in the various project documents reviewed. Thus, the explanations of the deputy country director may add one more dimension in the confusion and the inconsistency in the interpretations of ”participatory development” message or all what has been stated in the various project document of CARE-Ethiopia were introduced by the experts’ own motivation.

Therefore, in spite of references made to the idea of “participatory development” approach in the project documents and reports, CARE-Ethiopia had no one

institutionalized understanding of the “participatory development” message. The various interpretations included in the project documents reviewed seem to have been mere individual expert understandings added to the material, to use one from the contemporary terminologies or were intentionally interpolated jargons to accord the requirement by donors and government regulatory agencies.

On the part of the community in the study area, the understandings of the purpose for their involvement in the development initiatives of CARE-Ethiopia (in both the emergency relief operation based water development activities and in the non-relief development based projects) were much consistent. The opinions of almost all the participants in the individual interviews unanimously show that, they were involved in CARE-Ethiopia initiated activities to get food for their family and relatives. In the non-relief development activities also they were involved to get water out of the project. The participants of the focus-group discussion have also consented on the same understanding. As stated in Oakley et al, (1991), people’s expectations to involve in “participatory development” practice emerges from some kind of immediate benefit and/or to obtain long-term solutions to their poverty. Where participation emerges from material benefits, readily available and reliable incentives are required to sustain people’s participation. Otherwise, participation ceases when incentives are not materialized. This very understanding understandings of the people’s of the study area indicate that, they were brought into the ‘participatory’ water supply development activities with immediate material gains and thus, perceives participation in terms of immediate gains. As result of this, as stated by the APO project coordinator, there were cases were the community

refused to collaborate in the digging of a trench without food grain payment. Therefore, the operational interpretations of “participatory development” message held by CARE-Ethiopia inclines towards the “instrumentalist” stance, despite the inconsistency in the use of the term.

6.5. Operationalization of the Participatory Approach

6.5.1. Community Need Assessment

CARE-Ethiopia’s relation with the community in the study area dates back to nearly two decades of cooperation in water supply development activities, as stated earlier. The collaboration was based on the emergency relief operations of the NGO in the area, since 1983/84. In the emergency relief operations, pastoral water supply activities were part of the emergency operations, and therefore, the assessment of community need and priorities were not required. In the non-relief projects, particularly in the BRDP, CARE-Ethiopia’s interventions were based on ILCA research outputs, as per data obtained through interview with the assistant project coordinator and review of the project files. Thus, CARE-Ethiopia’s earlier non-relief projects water supply development initiatives were also ILCA applied research-fed projects. As stated in Oakley *et al*, (1991) and Spitz, (1992), however, the understanding of both the physical characteristics of the area or community and local contexts, and the potential for promoting people’s participation is critical point for the initiation of participatory project strategy.

For the inception of CBREP, which was an extension of the BRDP however, CARE-Ethiopia has conducted community need assessment, as indicated in the project proposal. It was stated that, the assessment were also made by means of participatory research methods. The data obtained, during individual interviews and group discussions with the selected community elders, it was learnt that, they have not participated in the initial idea of any of the project brought to them by CARE-Ethiopia. CARE-Ethiopia usually comes to discuss with them after the project activity has been identified and funding was made ready for the actual implementation of the project activity, and the same was what was done in the CBREP. During the review of the project files and documents at the head office and APO as well, the researcher could not find a base line-survey of the PAs' that would have laid the basis of the various projects implemented by CARE-Ethiopia. In the RDP terminal report, also the absence of base-line data about the project area PA's was on of the constraints listed.

The data obtained from the community generally show that, all of the private water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia until June 1997 were brought in by the APO staff in consultation with the concerned CR's. The CRs were also swayed to adopt the technical interventions identified by CARE-Ethiopia with the incentive of subsidy in the private water cistern constructed for them. In the Gololicha PA, for example, CARE-Ethiopia has introduced five private water cisterns for those wealthy members of the PA who can afford the cost of the cisterns. By doing so CARE-Ethiopia expected that, the remaining community members would also see and emulate them.

In the pastoral water supply development activities undertaken by CARE-Ethiopia since 1997 also, the practice has remained the same. The data obtained from the community and CARE-Ethiopia's head office and APO indicated that, before the project was funded and made ready for implementation neither CARE-Ethiopia nor the community knew the actual PA in which the water supply schemes to be undertaken. Thus, none of the project documents render name list of project area PAs'. During the field work the researcher could not find name list of the 11 BRDP and CBREP project area PAs in the woreda.

The practice of CARE-Ethiopia described in the forerunning paragraphs generally show that, all of the pastoral water supply development activities were undertaken without community need assessment. The community was consulted to take or leave what was decided and participate in the implementation. It seems that the NGOs overlooked community need assessment because of the acute shortage of water supply in the study area. CARE-Ethiopia considered water demand of the study area non-satiable. This very practice of CARE-Ethiopia also shows that, the 'interactive strategies' given in the CBREP project document, have never been put in practice. Just like the case of Oxfam *walita* water supply development projects that was undertaken with out context analysis and design of the development intervention, discussed in-depth in Tegegn, (1994), CARE-Ethiopia's intervention in pastoral water supply development was a continuation of the emergency operation. By so doing it has also neglected a process fundamental to the NGO approach in rhetoric and the inertia for the resurrection of the indigenous institutions and knowledge system undermined in the earlier practices of pastoral development initiatives by the government.

6.5.2. Planning of the Pastoral Water Supply Development

The planning of the water supply development refers to the activities that involve the choice of the design and technology of development and operation, the location and site of water supply scheme, arrangements for resource inputs, and programming of the construction activity. The practice of CARE-Ethiopia in the planning of pastoral water supply development, as indicated in earlier parts also, was based on the ‘minimalist’ level of participation. Throughout the various projects with pastoral water supply component the community in the study area were not involved in the choice of the design, the technology of development and operation. As standard practice the various projects (both relief and none relief) were formulated at the woreda level. It was only later on that the community members were allowed to discuss the already carted development process, to make them accept and support the construction activities.

As the data obtained from APO shows in all the water cisterns were introduced with standard design except for capacity variation that seem to have occurred from measurement in some of the cases. The community was not given the chance to think critically and suggest changes that may best fit their condition in the design of the water cisterns. The material inputs were also purchased in bulk so as to fit the standard design for all the communities in the three woredas. But the individual households who possessed the privately owned water cisterns and members of the *olla* with communal cisterns have involved in the choice of the point where the cisterns were constructed together with CARE-Ethiopia technical staff.

As per the data obtained from the community in the study area on the practice of the NGO in regards to the arrangement for resource inputs, the planning for resource in put was a matter to be settled between the individual households and CARE-Ethiopia in the construction of private water cistern undertaken prior to June 1997. Since June 1997 also members of the *olla* involved water cistern construction have taken part in the arrangements for the resource input required on their part only. They negotiated as to what to contribute to the water supply scheme and the duration within which the contributions have to be completed.

Therefore, the practice of the NGO in the planning of the water supply development generally show that, participation by the people's was called on latter on to accept and support the construction activity by labor and material contribution. Thus the community in the study area was not given the chance to influence the planning of water supply development of CARE-Ethiopia.

6.5.3. Construction of the Water Supply Scheme

Prior to 1997 where CARE-Ethiopia used to pursue cost recovery approach in water supply development throughout the private cisterns constructed, the individual households were required to pay for all the costs of construction materials supplied to the construction site outside the area. CARE-Ethiopia used to supply construction materials like cement not available in the local market and trucks for the transportation of inputs charged to the households at subsidized cost. The aim of the development was, as stated by the APO project coordinator, to familiarize the individual households with the

masonry skill and the method of building the water cistern so that the entire community learn how to build water cistern. Throughout the private cisterns constructed, each of the households have covered 65% of the cost estimated at 5000 Birr, as per the data obtained from the community and the APO.

During the post June 1997 CARE-Ethiopia collaboration with community however; members of the PAs (whether through the emergency relief EGS based water supply development or non-relief water supply development) were required to contribute labor in (1) excavation of storage tank; (2) collection of sand and stone to be transported to the construction site by a truck provided by CARE-Ethiopia; (3) loading and un-loading of the construction materials; (4) providing water to be used during the construction whenever CARE-Ethiopia was unable to supply; (5) unskilled labor to support of the CARE-Ethiopia contracted mason in mixing and transporting mortars, and curing the structures; (5) clearing and fencing of water harvesting area and related activities like providing shelter for the mason, storage and looking after the proper use of the construction materials, keeping mason equipments and materials. According to the data obtained from the APO, the labor and material contributed by the community in the construction amounts to 35 % of the total cost of the water cisterns constructed.

As the case was in other stages also, participation by the people was limited to labor and material contribution in the water supply scheme construction stages. The community in the study area was given the chance to influence the management of the construction process neither in the private nor in the communal water cisterns.

6.5.4. Monitoring and Evaluation

The type of water supply schemes and the technologies of pastoral water supply development employed by CARE-Ethiopia were with very little complications that call for rigorous monitoring of the implementation process. It was standard activity with standardized solutions. The community, as stated above, keeps watching the use of construction materials and work with the mason continuously up to completion. Thus, the construction of the water cisterns was hardly demanding monitoring neither by the NGO nor jointly.

The evaluation aspect of the water supply development activity was conducted by CARE-Ethiopia's technical staff for the purpose of reporting to donors and the government. The quantitative out comes of the project like number of users, volume of water supplied, and the cost involved were the major items considered in the reports. But, there were cases where the NGO has tried to include participatory aspects of the project in the reports. Through out the reports reviewed, the researcher could not find an evaluation report done by external evaluators. Its own staff with out the involvement of either the community or external evaluator prepared all of the reports. Thus it seems that, CARE-Ethiopia dislikes hearing its strengths and weaknesses from other than its own employees, who for oblivious reasons unable to make objective assessments.

The community members remember no event at which they engaged in the evaluation of the outcomes of the water supply development scheme, or the other and the initiatives in general. The community in the study area was not given the chance to know about the

water supply schemes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia. The responses obtained during interview with the community shows that, they don not know the amount cost incurred and the external sources contributed in the development of their water cisterns, except for their own materials and labor contributions. The community never knew the volume of resources brought in, in their name and how much was used for the purpose. Surprisingly, neither CARE- Ethiopia head office nor the APO also accurately knew the actual monetary cost of a given water supply scheme in any one of the study area PA's, but the aggregated project expenses consolidated at the head office in all the project area. As per the data obtained from the APO a typical 100 cubic meter capacity water cistern costs Birr 46,373.00 equivalent to US\$ 5,582.30, excluding the labor cost contributed by the community. But the data obtained from the head office indicates that, the cost of the same water cistern was about US \$ 2,500.

It appears that the 'problem of transition' given in Tegegn, (1994), can also be drawn on to the practice of CARE-Ethiopia in this regard, put as the problem of confusion arising from the ambivalence in pursuing both relief and development objectives at one and the same time. The mentality of the giver of free-gift among the staff and the work methods of CARE-Ethiopia has influenced its institutional motivation to look after what it has done in the past. CARE-Ethiopia gives the gift, and stops giving once the source of the gift dry up. As a practice, CARE-Ethiopia has done very little to track the success and failure of projects and water supply schemes it had introduced. In the non-water supply development activities also, for example, in the "women's group" once tried to organize,

and in the “restocking” program, CARE-Ethiopia has never made any follow up as to the status of the groups established and the households restocked.

Scheduled field visits by Oromia WMERDB, operations and maintenance department staff and its zonal department also focuses on the quantitative variable of the few boreholes water supply schemes like water discharge in liters per second. By and large, monitoring and evaluation activities of CARE-Ethiopia’s water supply development activities were in the domain of its own technicians whenever made.

6.5.5. Maintenance and Management of the Water Supply Schemes

The technology employed in the development of the water supply scheme dictates the kind of operation and maintenance activity. In the water cisterns the operation activity was done by means of water drawing bucket just like any other shallow wells familiar to the study area. Water cisterns were almost similar to the indigenous *harra* (pond) water source of the local community. The nature of development however incorporates masonry skill in short supply and construction materials, which the community cannot get particularly due transportation problem. As a result the community in the study area indigenous capacities are of little help in the maintenance of the water cisterns promoted by CARE-Ethiopia.

The major difficulties identified by the community in the study area regarding the maintenance of the water cisterns were the shortage of trained masons within the community and the absence of construction materials needed for the maintenance in the

local market. As stated earlier, the technical weakness of the water cisterns amidst the community in the study area with already in short supply of water during dry seasons makes the maintenance of water cisterns a difficult task. As result of this, 15.3% of the water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia up to June 1997 has ceased to be functional, as per the data given table 2.

The boreholes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were operated by motorized pumps with diesel power generators. In the case of Dubuluk where it has rehabilitated the borehole, minor maintenance of the scheme were handled by trained local operator fully employed for the purpose. But CARE-Ethiopia has no contribution in the building up of this local maintenance capacity.

The water supply scheme management system introduced by CARE-Ethiopia varied according to the form of ownership. In the case of private water cisterns, the owning households were responsible for their management. In the communal water cisterns undertaken since June 1997 and a small number of boreholes, however CARE-Ethiopia has introduced group water management system by establishing a water committee. The water committee constitutes five to seven members selected among the elders of in the indigenous water management institutions, and the women. The water committee composed of these groups regulates the daily use by the households in the community. In the communal water cisterns the households were permitted to fetch water once every two days. They lock the water-drawing hole of the cisterns and keep the key in the hands of a committee member in charge of supervising water drawing for the day.

The *abba-heriga* and the women involved in the management of the communal water cisterns hardly consider their responsibility important. This was because of the less importance of the water cisterns compared to the indigenous water sources, which still has far reaching economic and spiritual importance among the community. The water cisterns were used only for human consumption, and were not as such, an important resource among the community in the study area. The essence of the complex system of water management lies on its relevance to the functioning of the major pastoral enterprise: livestock production. The water cisterns were of no relevance to the livestock production in practice. As a result of this, the responsibility for the management of the water cisterns was not considered as an important responsibility.

Therefore, despite their representation in the water committee, the leaders of indigenous water management institution were of little concern on the management of the water cistern. On top of that, the indigenous water sources were as important as they were in the past and much of their concern was preoccupied with the management of the indigenous water sources and the very location of the water sources. Thus, membership of the elders and indigenous institution leaders in the water committee established by CARE-Ethiopia were of little value to command commitment of the indigenous water management ingenuity.

6.5.6. Community Education, Training and Organization

The data generated at the community level on the community education activities of the CARE-Ethiopia, (the theme of education and the frequency of the education sessions) by APO staff or the development facilitator living with them shows that, they had no experience to remember, other than about HIV/AIDS “the killer diseases coming to men through women”(as stated by a young man in Gololicha PA). But they were unable to recall who informed them about HIV/AIDS. On the same theme of interview, informants from the previous residents and members of the newly drought affected settlers in the of Dubuluk PA have also stated that, they remember their contact with CARE-Ethiopia only during food distribution and the case where the impoverished Borana men were given heifers and goats.

During the individual interview with four of the seven Dubuluk PA Water Committee members (three men and one women), on the community education activities of CARE-Ethiopia in their village, in relation to the recent borehole rehabilitation activity, they replied collectively stating that, CARE-Ethiopia has given them a new pump and some spare parts. That was all they had received from CARE-Ethiopia and knew about the organization only in this regard.

With respect to skill trainings provided by the NGO also, Gololicha PA community participated in the interview and focus group discussions has indicated that, CARE-Ethiopia has trained two men from their PA in Para-vet and masonry skill. The man who was trained in masonry skill has also stated that, he has contracted with the APO during the construction of one communal water cistern and shared Birr 3000 with the other man

in other PA, who was also trained by CARE-Ethiopia. In the Dubuluk PA however, the water committee members have stated that CARE-Ethiopia has not given any skill training to a member of their village. But CARE-Ethiopia APO reports show that, the water committee members in Dubuluk PA were given two day training as an aspect of capacity building activity.

Regarding the community organization activity of CARE-Ethiopia, the final report of CBREP, indicates that, it has established 17 women's groups engaged in different development income generating activities. The women's groups were those that only once given food grains so that they sell it to the community in their village at profit and pay back the cost to CARE-Ethiopia through the 'monetization' activity. During the fieldwork, the researcher could not find any of the women's group and the assistant project coordinator has also admitted the truth that there was no women's group. Generally, the data generated from the study area reveals that, there were no project group initiated by CARE-Ethiopia, except for the water committee, which was introduced later on, and none of the non-relief development projects introduced by NGO has positive discrimination in favor of the poor.

Therefore, CARE-Ethiopia has hardly undertaken any community education activity that was capable of awakening the ingenuity of the Borana. There were no effective community organization efforts but a few skill trainings, which the community in the study area can make, use of to keep on the development process once initiated by CARE-Ethiopia.

6.6. Opportunities and Constraints of the Initiatives

As any other NGOs working in Ethiopia the linkage of CARE-Ethiopia with national and regional government institutions were maintained in accordance with the guidelines for the implementation of NPDPM. As per the NPDPM and its directives the Disaster and Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) and respective line departments regulates all NGOs activities in the country. NGO's operation in the country was regulated through two kinds of reports: overall status report, and activity related reports.

Status reports were submitted to the DPPC, annually to give information on NGO resource status. The status report includes reports on fixed assets, resource utilization, and on stock status. Activity reports were made to the regional DDPB and the regional line department, where these institutions communicate the same to their lower level organs. The activity report includes quarterly progress report, terminal report (project end report), and project performance evaluation report.

In relation to its Borana pastoral water development in the study area, CARE-Ethiopia was regulated by Oromia DDPB, Borana Zone DDPD; Woreda DPPC, Oromia MEWRDB and Borana Zone MEWRDD. Oromia DPPB, and Zonal DPPD were the regulatory agencies of NGO operation in the region and the Zone, respectively. But, the woreda DPPC was the most important regulatory agency in relation to CARE-Ethiopia's operation in the study area, particularly in the emergency relief operations. According to some of the reports of CARE-Ethiopia APO, the woreda DPPC influence in the selection

of partnering PAs in the woreda have constrained flexibility of the program. However, as per the information obtained from the project coordinator, the influence was quit minimal and was not a factor worth mentioning. The regional and zonal MEWRD contact with CARE-Ethiopia was only in the course of evaluation of the physical status of the water supply schemes.

The other important institution with which CARE-Ethiopia was linked since it's very presence in the study area was SORDU. SORDU was specialist public institution responsible for pastoral development. CARE-Ethiopia has collaborated with SORDU in the development of ponds and veterinary services to the pastorals in the study area. With regards to its relation with SORDU and other government institutions, CARE-Ethiopia has made no mention of constraints, so far, but smooth and collaborative relations.

With regards to the legal environment, the guidelines for the implementations of NPDPM explicitly stipulate and require NGOs to participate the people in the initial idea of development projects as an obligation. The NGOs working with the grass-roots programs are required to work on the capacity building of the community and to pay due attention to gender issues. To this effect the guideline require the NGOs to ensure full community participation in the design of projects proposals for 'development and development oriented projects'.

CARE-Ethiopia operation in the study area was considered as a "disaster prevention project" in the "disaster prone area", as per the classification of the NGO operation areas

and projects given in the guideline. This classification has enabled CARE-Ethiopia to work with the study area for an extended period of time outside the every 5 (five) years ‘area reassignment obligation’ applicable to NGO projects in other areas.

Participatory approaches in the development, use, and management of rural water supply schemes were well endorsed in the water development strategy of the government. According to the data obtained from the Oromia MEWRDB, both government and NGO funded water development supply projects were required to pursue participatory approach. The Bureau also has a distinct unit named “Community Participation” working on the promotion of people’s participation in the water supply development.

All the water supply development activities by CARE-Ethiopia were those listed in the description of ‘main NGOs activities’ provided by the NPDPM guidelines and were recommended for an NGO to engage. Therefore, the pastoral water supply development initiatives of CARE-Ethiopia in the study area were compatible with the government water sector development strategy.

The opportunities and constraints of CARE-Ethiopia’s pastoral water supply development initiatives on the part of the donor and the local context identified during the interview with the APO project coordinator were in three areas: (1) donor related constraints; (2) the recurrent drought that erodes the resource base of the community every three to four years; and (3) the nature of the economic activity of the community in the study area which necessitates frequent mobility over a very large area. Donor related

constraints were restrictions usually attached with program funding in order to see program results within two to three operation years.

The prevalence of recurrent drought and nomadic lifestyle were mentioned as a constraint by the project director for two reasons. Recurrent droughts that erode resource bases of the community and almost the uninterrupted emergency food aid operations of the NGO have created free gift demanding mentality among the community. As a result of this the community in the study area usually expect food aid for whatever joint engagements. The project director has also mentioned a recent incident in one PA where the community members refused to collaborate for the construction of communal water cistern, in the absence of food aid. The recurrence of the drought was also one of the major constraints that made people's participation a difficult task for the APO. Nomadic lifestyle was also a constraint for the continuous APO staff and community contact and mobilization. Male able-bodied members of the community spread far and wide, that was difficult to track. Thus, the activities of CARE-Ethiopia in the study were constrained by the frequent mobility of the community and the difficulty of maintaining frequent communication.

6.7. Summary and Observations

CARE-Ethiopia's experience with the practice of "participatory development" was observed by looking at, (1) the institutional set up employed for its operation in the study area; (2) the scope and nature of its pastoral water supply development activities; (3) its interpretation of the very concept of "participatory development"; (4) its methods for the operationalization of the participatory approach to pastoral water supply development; and

(5) the opportunities and constraints or environmental factors facilitating or impairing its capacity to realize the values ascribed to the NGOs in theory.

CARE-Ethiopia has used a project area based office since it started working in the study area. The capacity of the institutional set up used by CARE-Ethiopia to adopt demand responsive management was constrained, at least by three plain factors. The first factor was the incompatibility between the relief and rehabilitation and non-relief development objectives and activities. CARE-Ethiopia has used the same systems and staff to do the job of emergency relief operation and development, at the same time and with the same community. But, as discussed in Tegegn, (1994), emergency relief operation and development objectives and activities requires quite different structure and orientation of the institution; method of delivery; nature of relation with community; and mentality of the staff.

The second constraint that impaired the institutional set up of CARE-Ethiopia to adopt demand responsive management was the inability to assume a brake from the traditional relief orientation in the course of development projects, and to limit the scope of its operation area to the limits of its own competence. It continued working with all of its food aid clienteles with out commensurate resource base, empirical lessons on the local context, and institutional preparedness to cope up with the demands of doing development over extended areas.

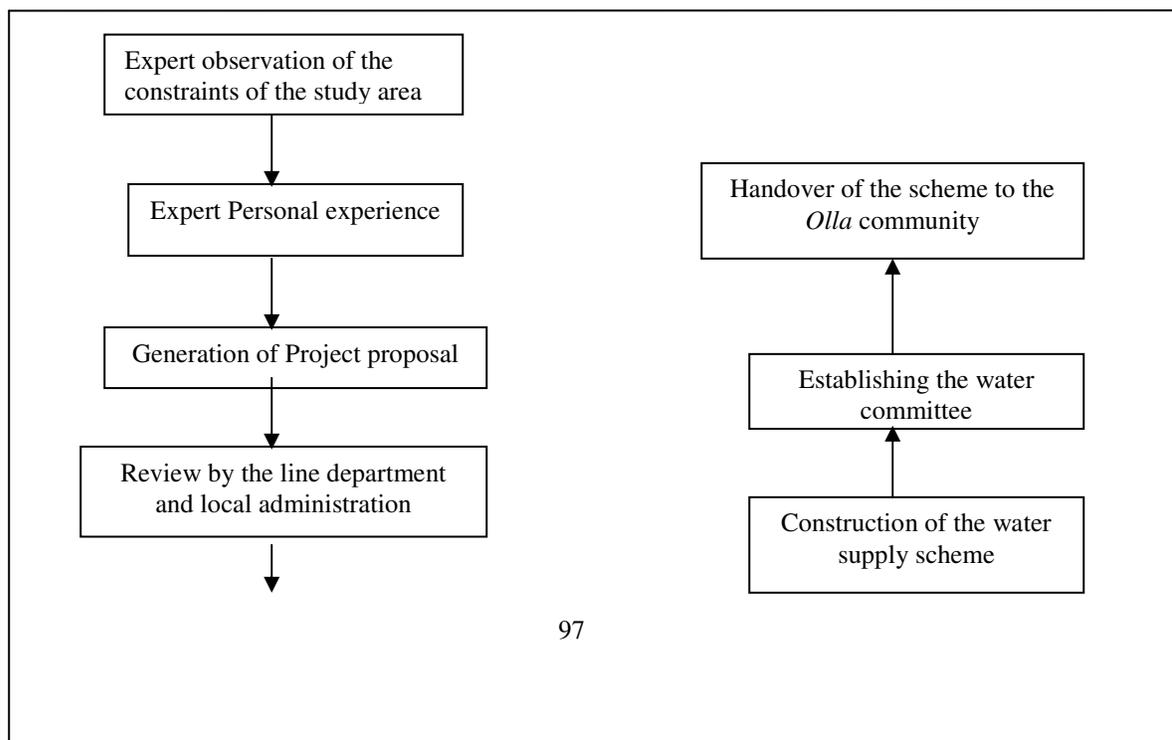
The third and the fundamental reason was that of the very perception of the “participatory development” message held by CARE-Ethiopia. CARE-Ethiopia has no one interpretation of “participatory development” message. The various projects implemented for the last 17 years were with as many interpretations as the number of projects and as many interpretations as the various project documents and reports produced in relation to a given project. The interpretations of the concept by senior executives and experts responsible for the field implementation of development projects also vary by as many as they were. As a result of these inconsistency, confusion, and perhaps deception, as the case was in the so called “interactive strategies” in CBREP project proposal document and in the report on one of the EGS based emergency relief operation based projects cited in the material earlier, CARE- Ethiopia has no institutional inspiration to do development centered on the needs and priorities of the people, in whose name resources were pledged.

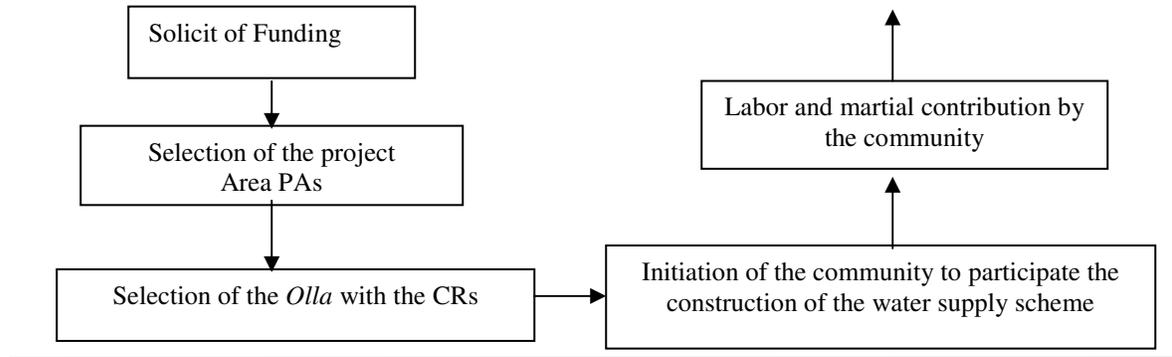
As consequence of the institutional set up dominated by the mentality of the altruism and unequal relations between the giver of free gift (the NGO) and its receiver (the people’s), the methods used by CARE-Ethiopia for the operationalization of the “participatory development” approach was also, incongruent with the features of NGO’s participatory projects known in theory. At the start, CARE-Ethiopia had no empirical experience but money and favorable image built in the high time of drought caused emergency relief operations. The various pastoral water supply development projects introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were envisaged in the absence of participation by the community in the initial idea of the development projects. The planning activity of the pastoral water

supply development projects were also undertaken by CARE-Ethiopia's own insights and experience of local community needs and priorities.

The water cistern, which were the major part of the physical pastoral water supply schemes (53.8% of total type of water supply sources introduced up to June 1977 in the study woreda and 98.3% of total type of water supply sources introduced up to March, 2002 in the two PA's) introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were not capable of creating sensible economic benefit to the community in the study area. The privately owned water cisterns were introduced for the wealthy pastoral households with the experience of benefit from external contact, instead of for the poor pastoral households. Generally stated, participation of the people in the pastoral water supply development process was limited to labor and martial contributions throughout the last 17 years. The major activities of CARE-Ethiopia for the implementation of a typical communal water cistern, indicated in fig. 1, also shows that, participation by the people were an activity assumed later on to make the people accept and support construction of the water supply scheme.

Fig.1. Major Steps in the Communal Water Cistern Development Adopted by CARE-Ethiopia (1999-2002)





Source: Drawn on the bases of the data obtained from the fieldwork

The pastoral water supply development activities were accompanied with meager skill trainings and community education. CARE-Ethiopia showed little interest in the community organization and targeting of the poor in the non-relief development projects. The water supply schemes promoted by CARE-Ethiopia was based on standard design with standard technical solutions in the domain of the technicians. As result, evaluation of the water supply development processes were also carried out by the technical personnel of the NGO, with emphasis on physical quantifiable variables.

An assessment of the environmental factors affecting CARE-Ethiopia’s water development initiatives, like the national and regional water supply development strategy, and relations with government institutions show that, its practice was barely constrained by external factors. The national and regional water supply development strategy suggests “participatory development” approach to rural water supply development. Its relations with the regulatory institutions were smooth and supportive, and the NGO had no mention of any constraints in this regard. The nature of the water supply development activities undertaken by CARE-Ethiopia was also compatible with the type of water supply development activities suggested by the guidelines for the implementation of NPDPM.

Therefore, the participatory pastoral water supply development initiatives in the study area were barely constrained by factors external to the control of CARE-Ethiopia. But, the dearth of a genuine commitment to strive towards attaining goals in practical terms; the inconsistency, and confusion in the operational interpretations of “participatory development” message; and more importantly by the confusion arising from the ambivalence in pursuing both relief and development objectives at one and the same time were the fundamental factors for the impotence of CARE-Ethiopia development effort among the people in the study area.

6.5. The Effects of CARE-Ethiopia Pastoral Water Development Initiatives on the Local Livelihood

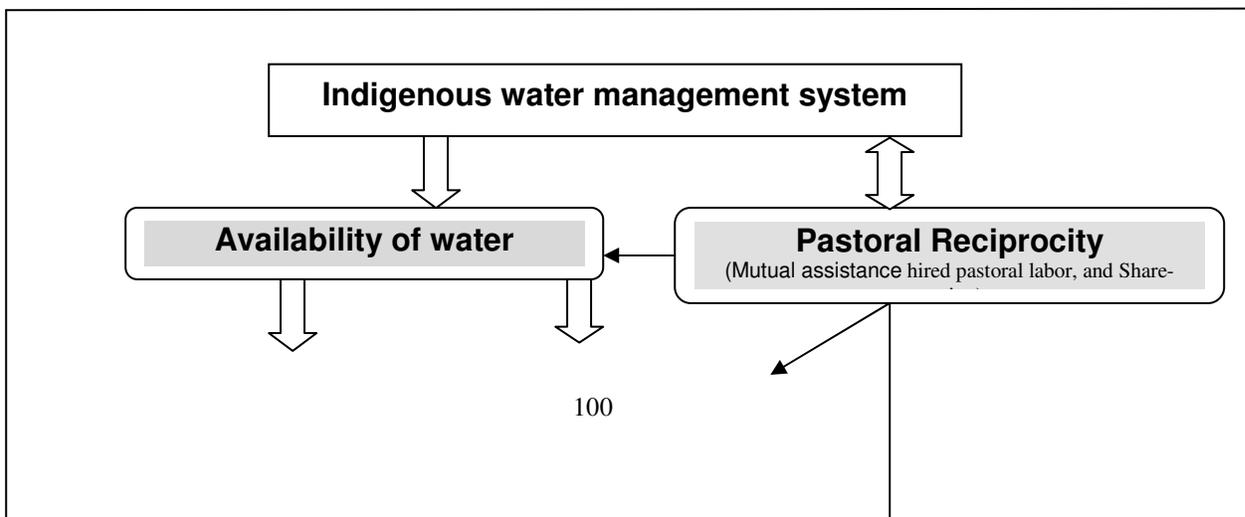
6.5.1. Local Livelihood

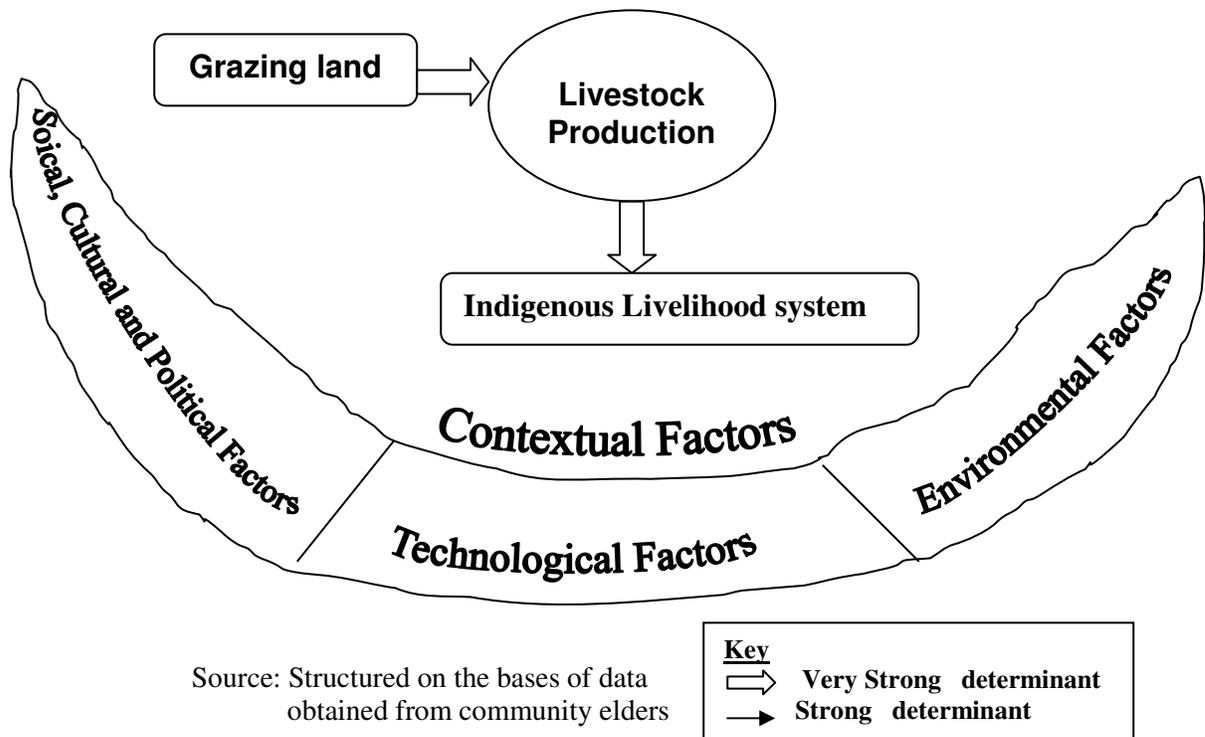
Livestock production provides for the major part of the livelihood of the community in the study area. Livelihood implies, adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs and to support well-being, as defined by Chambers, (9997). As identified by the in-depth interview with the community in the study area, important part of the local livelihood also emerges from the pastoral reciprocity. The indigenous system of reciprocity includes, a system for asset redistribution and mutual assistance, locally known by the name *buusa-gonffaa*; hired labor; and share-rearing. These system of reciprocity, contributes for significant part of the local livelihood. In addition to livestock production and pastoral reciprocity, which were the major sources of local livelihood, livestock trading, selling of fuel-woods, poultry, and hunting on wild animals were some of the sources of the local livelihood. These sources, however, make up for

the very insignificant part of the livelihood of the households in the community in the study area. Through the operation of this system, the poor and the weak among the community were provided with sufficient stocks and flows of food and income.

The functioning of the indigenous means of local livelihood depends on the indigenous water management system. The indigenous water management system demands intensive use of labor, and as stated earlier labor was the most critical determinant of pastoral production system. The demands for labor by households with larger livestock quantity were met either by hired additional labor or by entering into share-rearing arrangements with poor households. Otherwise, they have to destock by selling, and/or by giving to other members of the community. Short of these options, livestock deaths as a consequence of inadequate up keep would naturally lead to reduced livestock quantity. As noted by Asmerom, (1973) and Helland, (1999), and also true to the community in the study area, shortage of labor provided for the ecologically adaptive pastoral productions system, and social and economic interdependence among the poor and wealthy pastoral households. Thus, the operation of these forces determines the livelihood of the community in the study area as represented in fig 2.

Fig. 2. Major Determinants of the Indigenous livelihood System of the community in the study area





As indicated in Fig.2, the indigenous water development, use, and management system best adapted to the nature of physical task environment, determines the availability of water supplies and pastoral reciprocity among the pastoral households. Pastoral reciprocity also determines the continued functioning of the indigenous water management system. Availability of water supplies determines directly the access to grazing land. Availability of water supplies and access to grazing land, jointly determine almost the totality of livestock production. Livestock production directly determines the major part of the livelihood of the community in the study area. Pastoral reciprocity also determines directly the availability of water for the wealthy pastoral households and, the livestock production by the less fortunate households. It also determines important part of the livelihood of the poor households by affecting income from hired labor and direct material assistances in the event of some kind of shocks. Therefore, availability of water

and pastoral reciprocity were the immediate and direct determinant of the community in the study area livelihood.

Whatever changes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia's physical water supply structures and approaches to development to the community in the study area affects the indigenous local livelihood either negatively or positively. Therefore, the effects of CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water supply development initiatives on the indigenous livelihood of the community in the study area was observed by examining the changes introduced into major determinants of the indigenous livelihood system: *availability of water, and pastoral reciprocity*.

6.5.1.1. Availability of Water

The indigenous means for the availability of water for the community in the study area depends on (1) the indigenous technology; and (2) the indigenous forms of ownership, use, and regulation. Therefore, the effect of pastoral water supplies development endeavors of CARE-Ethiopia on the availability of water was assessed by examining what has happened to this indigenous course.

(1) The Technology For Water Development

The community uses indigenous implements for digging the soil and chain of men often as many as 13 to lift an *okolee* (water bucket) and pour on to *fichana* (reservoir) and then to cattle trough. This technology was inefficient and labor-intensive method, which

cannot be maintained by single household in terms of labor, time and resource input. Thus, it imposed the need for overt collaboration based on economic interdependence. A change in the technology of water development and use, therefore, breaks this interdependence.

The water development technologies introduced by CARE-Ethiopia in the course of its water development initiatives vary by the type of water supply scheme. In the boreholes, the mechanical drilling equipment, power driven pumps, and concrete made cattle trough (which does not brake easily and leak water), introduced by CARE-Ethiopia have changed the whole sane of the culturally embedded water development, use, and management system. However, CARE-Ethiopia has introduced few such type of water supply scheme and has stopped its development at present. In the other water supply schemes, like ponds and water cistern however, very little changes were introduced in the technology of development, use, and management. Water cistern was dug by hand often with rudimentary implements. The researcher has witnessed the community in the study area heating a rock by fuel-wood and kerosene to break and dig the ground for water cistern. They used to do the same in the indigenous methods for developing *harra* and the only difference was on the cement lined masonry sidewalls in the water cisterns. In the construction of pond however, all what was done was the same to the indigenous one. As stated in the earlier parts also water cistern was the major form of water supply scheme introduced by CARE-Ethiopia. Therefore, the changes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were almost insignificant.

The important aspect of the technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia was not only on the method of development and management, but also the volume of water available for use. The volume of water made available for use affects the indigenous rangelands management practices. Limited water supply capacity of the indigenous technology was a key factor in the regulation of grazing land. Increased water supply generally removes limits fundamental to the indigenous wet and dry season grazing land classification, which was fundamental to the centuries of ecologically adaptive pastoral production system.

Throughout the all years of its presence in the Gololicha PA, CARE-Ethiopia has introduced, water cisterns with the total capacity of 400M³ or 400,000 liters, (excluding 6 of private cisterns with the total capacity of 221cubic meter). The volume of water that can be supplied by the water cisterns provides a per capita 125.2 liters for the total of 3,194 people after single harvest. On the bases of the 3 liters per day per person water requirement estimate, which the APO also used in determining the minimal homestead per capita water requirement of the community in the project area, these water cisterns can provide each member of the household only for 41.7 days. Thus, the technology of water development introduced by CARE-Ethiopia was relatively insignificant to impact on the stock of water supply. Water was still the most critical constraint of the community. As indicated by the community in the study area, indigenous sources were the only sources for livestock watering, and most part of the homestead water needs. The water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were used only for drinking purpose during some months of the year.

The Borehole rehabilitated by CARE-Ethiopia in the Dubuluk PA has enhanced the stock of water supplies in the area. But, insignificant negative impact was noted due to the very site of the borehole. The borehole was developed in the indigenous water source area that contains about 38 indigenous wells at present. Furthermore, the high price charged for livestock watering has restricted the herders from using the borehole and the subsequent livestock concentration in the surroundings. Therefore, the technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia in the development of the pastoral water supply was scarcely capable of altering the indigenous means for availability of water.

(2). Indigenous Forms of Ownership, Use, and Regulation

The complex of the indigenous forms of ownership, use, and regulation was important condition for the availability of water for the community in the study area. In the indigenous form, water was owned collectively by the community in the village, used by members of the village, and regulated by knowledgeable elders discussed earlier also. For the development of water supply, the *abba-heriga* initiates and communicates to every one concerned to participate in labor and material contribution, be it livestock or money. The *muraa* (contributions and the fines for default) were also fixed through open and transparent discussion with the participation of the *ollaa* members.

All members of the *olla* physically present in the village were required to respond for the initiatives of the elders'. But those who were in the *forra*, away with livestock were not required to come back and attend the excavation or the re-excavation, fencing, and any

other job for which organized labor was initiated. But any of the material and monetary contribution was made irrespective of physical presence in the village. In case of default, the *abba-heriga* takes away a livestock out of the defaulter's hand to let it slaughtered or sold in exchange of grain to be consumed on the water development site. As justified in reference to *aaddaa-seerra-boorana*, and also considered a fair judgment, the "*muraa*", cannot be violated. The informants in Dubuluk PA at *Nura-afata* village have stated that, the Borana cannot refuse to deliver the *muraa*, (which was fine in this case). If it does, it was considered serious abrogation of the law and custom of the Borana and his natural right to water would be removed not only in his *dheeda* (grazing territory) but also in all Borana lands.

In the indigenous system, obedience to the elders and *aaddaa-seerra-boorana*; and collective responsibility for equitable of water resources of the community were some of the norms that all Borana men were required to accord. The functioning of these norms was fundamental for the traditional forms of ownership, use, and regulation. The *jaarssa-gossaa* determines access rights and oversight of the regulation of daily use by *abba-heriga* in reference to the custom and law of the Borana.

In the communal water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia, participation was elicited through relief food aid payments in the emergency relief based water development schemes and ensured by government development agent or CARE-Ethiopia staff taking list of persons attending the labor work. In the non-relief development projects also, participation was predominantly elicited with the expectation of access to external

resource. As indicated in earlier also, the committee who were charged with the responsibility for the management of the water sources lack true sense of ownership, as the case was in the indigenous *eela*. In the communal water cisterns participation was ensured by enforcement of the money fines. But failure to pay the fines entails only exclusion from using the water scheme and has no extra social sanction. In the case of CARE-Ethiopia introduced communally owned water cisterns and managed by a water committee, claims in access right were made to the PA chairman as opposed to the indigenous one, where every such claim was presented to the elders.

The privately owned water cisterns introduced by CARE-Ethiopia, were basically against the indigenous forms of the ownership, use, and regulation. In the indigenous system, there were no privately owned sources of whatever kind. The idea given by the community on the practice of CARE-Ethiopia during this period indicates that, the approach had elicited individualism against the culture of the community that considers water as some thing priceless and communal. A participant in the individual interview at Dubuluk PA, which the researcher found, supervising his two sons plowing the maize farm has said that,

The good thing this organization did was feeding us when we were hungry, but it has also introduced water selling among the Borana men. In our community water is life and life is priceless. Therefore, every body willingly collaborates in water development and all Borana men were given free. Selling water is *safuu* (taboo)³.

Therefore, the forms of ownership, use, and regulation in the water sources introduced by CARE-Ethiopia in the form of ownership, use, and regulation of water supply sources

³ Original message was taken in Oromiffa but translated into English by the writer

were quite different from the indigenous system. Generally considered however, the changes introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were felt very little among the community for four clear reasons. These reasons were: (1) the water cistern was similar to the indigenous *harra*, that has very little significance in the economic, social and spiritual life of the community in the study area; (2) the pastoral water supplies introduced by CARE-Ethiopia were with limited economic value to the community; (3) the management of water cisterns has no important association with influential culturally rooted power structures of the community; and (4) the PA chairmen have very little acquaintance with the written rules and much of the decisions they make were influenced by what was internal to them.

6.5.1.2. Pastoral Reciprocity

The community in the study area has maintained a system of pastoral reciprocity discussed in the earlier parts. Therefore, what has happened to the functioning of this system was observed by examining the changes in the technology they apply in their relation with the physical task environment and the value system of behind the indigenous mutual assistance and concern for one another.

The technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia was not in a position to do away with the backbreaking job of its development and livestock watering, also discussed in the preceding parts. Therefore, the nature of the technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia in its water development initiatives was barely capable of altering the need for economic interdependence between the wealthy and pastoral households.

In regards to the value system behind the indigenous system for mutual assistance and collective responsibility for one another also, much has remained intact. In the indigenous pastoral reciprocity, the less fortunate households were given heifers so as to assist them to remain in the pastoral system. The weak, and unable to engage in the pastoral activities, were provided both material and labor assistance by the members of the community. The *haadha-iyeesa*, (which mean mother of the poor to refer to the widows) were continually supervised by community elders and assisted by members of the *olla*.

As identified in the extended focus-group discussion with the community elders, *wajjin-jirreegna* (living together in harmony) was the central part of the value system of the community in the study area. The indigenous system of asset redistribution mentioned earlier also functions in the context of this value. The ‘living together in harmony’ value connotes the need for mutual assistance. But this very value recognizes the “deserving poor” perception, and the asset redistribution in the *buusa-gonffaa* applies to households who lost their livestock on account of factor beyond their control. In the practice of CARE-Ethiopia water development initiatives the community in the Gololicha PA have raised another experience where CAR-Ethiopia had attempted to learn from the indigenous system and also applied in the “restocking” of the households that lost livestock by drought. CARE-Ethiopia have used the knowledge in the *buusa-gonffaa* system to determine the kind of livestock it has to donate, the households deserving donation, and the follow up mechanisms after donation. Accordingly, it has donated four to five heifers to the households deserving the indigenous mutual assistance, which the

community was unable to do on account of the severity of livestock loss by the time. However, CARE-Ethiopia has not made the follow up activity in the indigenous system.

Therefore, CARE-Ethiopia's approach to water development among the study PA has not affected the indigenous pastoral reciprocity, at least for three reasons. Firstly, the community in the study PAs' strongly relies on the indigenous system, as the only insurance to depend on, in the face of the recurrent drought that eradicated significant part of their livestock. Secondly, the volume of resources mobilized (both external and internal) and the technology promoted by CARE-Ethiopia in the water supply development were negligible either to crack the need for interdependence along indigenous lines, or to achieve complete self-reliance by the households. The private water cisterns have very little to support all the water needs throughout the year and the indigenous mechanisms governing access to water has remained indispensable. Thirdly, CARE-Ethiopia has some activities through which it has patterned along the indigenous lines reinforcing the value systems behind indigenous system of reciprocity, particularly in its "restocking" activity.

As a result of these, the community in the study area has maintained the indigenous system of interdependence. The indigenous system of mutual assistance has contributed for the important part of the livelihood of some households, despite the drought that recurrently eroded their buffer stock. Throughout the last couple of drought years, when every member of the community was in difficult situations also, they used to share whatever means of sustenance obtained, including the food grains they were given

through the EGS. This very act has also been reported as one of the constraints of EGS based relief assistance in the CARE-Ethiopia Borana Emergency Relief Program, 2000 report.

6.5.2. Access to Productive Resources and Productivity of the Poor

In theory, the NGO sector was considered able to create access to productive resources and enhance productivity of the poor and the hitherto marginalized groups. The NGOs create access to productive resources to the poor by creating access to new resources, and facilitating the redistribution of existing resources. They enhance productivity of the poor through awareness education, skill trainings, and organization, which would open up new opportunities to them.

In the same way, as stated in Chambers, (1983), rural water supply development initiatives often result in a new services accessible to both the rural elite and the poor. This access serves as an important direct approach to enhancing productivity of the poor by reducing the drudgery and releasing more time for engagement in other livelihood sources. Some times, however, it can also make the poor a loser when the technology with net livelihood displacing effects is employed.

The changes imparted on the access and productivity of the poor by CARE-Ethiopia water supply development initiatives was assessed by looking at (1) the extent to which the water supply development projects have decreased (optimized) the prevailing drudgery in water development, use, and, up keep; (2) the extent to which the technology

applied had a livelihood displacing effect to the poor; (3) the organizational bases laid through the water development projects and the extent to which organization of the poor were networked, and ‘conscenticized’ to make use of their organization; (4) the skill trainings provided to the poor ;and (5) the direct and indirect economic benefits (from either paid employment, sale of in puts, or providing service) derived by the poor from the water project.

The water supply scheme introduced by CARE-Ethiopia, has contributed very little in creating access to water supply that reduces the drudgery of the activity. On the bases of the 3 liters per day per person water requirement estimate, the stock of water supplies provided by the water cisterns in the Gololicha PA provides each member of the households for 41.7 days in one season harvest and 83. 4 days on an average though out the year, which implies that, every household member has to rely on the traditional sources for the remaining 276.6 days of the year. Thus, the water supply development projects have decreased very little of the drudgery in water development, use, and, up keep which equally affects the poor and the women.

Likewise, as stated already in the preceding parts also, the water development technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia, in the water cisterns and ponds has no labor displacing effects. In the same way none of its water development activities had an aspect of targeting the poor within the village to address the needs and priorities of the poor. Virtually, there was no group organized by CARE-Ethiopia, and the so called “women’s group” were available only in the reports. The water development projects introduced by

CARE-Ethiopia has enabled the poor to get direct income only during the EGS based development projects, if that was considered as direct income. But, a member of the water committee in Dubuluk PA, has reported that, none of the women committee members or any other women her village was earning income from the borehole rehabilitated by CARE-Ethiopia. All the four employees of the water scheme were men, and CARE-Ethiopia has also made no effort to make difference on follow of benefit from the water supply scheme.

6.7. Summary and Observations

The effect of CARE-Ethiopia's physical water supply structures and the approaches to the development of these structures on the indigenous water management system was observed to be relatively insignificant. Compared to the values ascribed to the NGOs, in theory, CARE-Ethiopia has done very little to introduce positive changes that improve the livelihood of the community in the study area. The changes introduced on the technology of water development and use were almost in capable of altering the nature of the technology used in the water development; and the volume of water supply that, the indigenously used instruments were able to generate.

The system of the indigenous pastoral reciprocity maintained by the nature of the technology used in the interface with the physical task environments and the value system of the community has remained intact. The technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia has almost untouched the necessity of interdependence dictated by the nature of traditional technology dictating apparent collaboration. No member of the community in

the study area was liberated from the weakness from solitary effort with aid of the water supply development technology introduced by CARE-Ethiopia. The “living together in harmony” value system of the community fundamental to the indigenous system of mutual assistance was still functional, particularly because of the insufficiency of the intensity of the impact exerted by the development interventions of CARE-Ethiopia.

Likewise, the pastoral water supplies development activities of CARE-Ethiopia were not in a position to create access to productive resources for the poor because of the inadequacy of the external resources brought in; the insignificance of the time released by reducing the work load in the water use related activities; and the absence of effort to organize and awaken the poor to challenge the power structures behind the iniquitous access to resources. CARE- Ethiopia has provided little skill trainings and positive discrimination in favor of the poor and marginalized group so as to promote their capacities and possibilities hitherto tied to low productivity employments.

An assessment of the effect of CARE-Ethiopia’s pastoral water development initiatives generally show that, the indigenous water management system was barely affected by CARE-Ethiopia’s water supply structures and its approaches to development. Therefore, the development interventions brought in by CARE-Ethiopia since the last 17 years, has impacted barely on the indigenous means for livelihood. Similarly, the practice of the NGO has assisted none of the poor and the marginalized groups among the community in the study area to break the bondage of low productivity employment, poverty and inequality.

An observation of the livelihood situation of the community in the study area also confirm that, much of the constraints that laid the bases for the initial CARE-Ethiopia's intervention has remained almost as it were. This very fact was confirmed by the continued relief operation of the NGO that includes water tankering as an item of relief operation recently also. As mentioned repeatedly in the preceding parts of the material, water supply has continued to be the major constraint of the pastoral production and the indigenous water management system and water sources have continued to play decisive role in the livelihood system of the community in the study area.

The very reason behind the prevailing livelihood situation of the community in the study area was not due to the unintended consequences of CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water development, as the case was in the 1970s and 198s state-led pastoral development initiatives. Rather it was due to the inadequacy of the development impact by pastoral water supply structures that were thinly stretched over extended area.

PART FIVE

7. CONCLUSION

An assessment of CARE-Ethiopia's experience with the practice of "participatory development" approach to pastoral water development over the last 17 years among the community in the study area shows that, the very concept of "participatory

development’’ message has never been assimilated uniformly even among the indispensable personnel of CARE-Ethiopia’s head office and senior staff entrusted with the implementation of its projects. Thus, CARE-Ethiopia has no one interpretation of ‘‘participatory development’’ message. As a result of such inconsistency and confusion in the operational interpretation of the approach, the efforts made to promote people’s participation in development has remained quite unsuccessful throughout the last 17 years.

CARE-Ethiopia’s attempt at pursuing the approach was inconsistent from project to project and from time to time. The documented practices of the NGO for last 17 years showed no evidence regarding its commitment to promote participatory approach in the study area. The ‘interactive stages’ and instruments of participation that are explicitly stated in the CBREP project document were not implemented in the actual conduct of pastoral water supply development activities of CARE-Ethiopia.

In the operationalization of ‘‘participatory development’’ approach, the practice of CARE-Ethiopia fits into the category of projects that follow a conventional project planning cycle but seek to appear participatory, as identified by Oakley *et.al*,(1991). In most of the water supply development projects undertaken by the NGO, ‘peoples participation’ has emphasized the ‘‘cheap-labor’’ concept of participation. People were required to participate in the project’s activities by contributing labor and material to support the construction of water supply schemes. More importantly, CARE-Ethiopia’s practice was focused on the delivery of physical structures thinly spread over an area that is too large

to work with. Community education and organization activities were virtually absent and were also the weakest edge of CARE-Ethiopia's experience with the community in the study area.

If there were any positive changes brought about by CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water development initiatives on the livelihood of the people of the study area, they were insignificant. The physical structures of water supply and the approaches to development introduced by CARE-Ethiopia has changed very little of the indigenous means for local livelihood, because of the inadequacy of the impact of the development and the finely stretched resources and staff time over an extended area with which CARE-Ethiopia was not in a position to cop up. Currently, CARE-Ethiopia has reduced the total number of PAs it works with from over 35 to just 10. However, the reduction in the number of PA's was not accompanied with a commensurate institutional re-orientations and preparedness necessary to realize a development approach that is centered on people's needs and priorities.

The pastoral development efforts of the 1970s and 1980s were criticized not only for their inability to make a difference in the livelihoods of the pastoral societies of Africa but also for the unintended negative consequences of their pastoral water development interventions. The development of quite a large number of permanent water sources ('unoptimal' intervention); the introduction of modern technology of water development; in ability to build on the proven indigenous wisdom of the pastoral societies that led to ecologically maladaptive intervention in the context of the pastoral societies and the

breakup of the indigenous social and economic interdependence were the major blames against the government-led pastoral development initiatives of the 1970's and 1980's. In the case of CARE-Ethiopia's Borana pastoral water supply development initiatives during the last 17 years, however, the issue was quite different. Its major shortcomings were the absolute shortage of water created by the inadequate resources and technology of development. As a result of these, the situations that necessitated the NGO sector intervention in 1983/84 have remained as they were and water scarcity has continued to be the major constraint of pastoral enterprise and local livelihood. The productivity of pastoral economy has continued to deteriorate unchecked, and without any meaningful increment in productive resources and productivity that would set off the progressive decline in the livelihood of the pastorlists.

The experience of CARE Ethiopia's "participatory development" with pastoral water supply development among the people of the study area for the last 17 years generally shows that, the agency's practices were hardly capable of engendering enduring and equitable positive changes in the livelihood of the Borana pastoralist. The vocal claims regarding the approach that are made by NGOs and the rhetoric that ascribes to them a virtual monopoly over the practice of a development approach that is centered on people's needs and priorities are not supported by the practice of CARE-Ethiopia's pastoral water supply development initiatives undertaken in the study area. Therefore, empirical evidences from the experience of CARE-Ethiopia, the biggest and oldest international development agency indicate that, the claims made by the NGOs and the

strategic significance ascribed to them by current development rhetoric is unfounded and mere exaggerations.

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1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

2. PD MESSAGE

- 1.1. How many of your projects used participatory approach in pastoral water supply development?
- 1.2. Why you engaged in pastoral water supply development or any other economic activity?
- 1.3. What were your objectives for supporting people’s participation?

2. ORGANIZATION

- 2.1. What are the decisions within the jurisdictions of APO with regards to budget, planning and programming, personnel administration, and procurement of inputs to the project?

3. LINKAGES

- 3.1. On what matters and how you are linked with national, regional, zonal and Woreda levels government structures?
- 3.2. What challenges and favorable external factors have constrained/facilitated your practice of participatory approach?

4. OPERATIONALISATION OF THE APPROACH

- 4.1. How you started your first contact with the community? And what were your first tasks?
- 4.2. How you conceived the project and what are the area or community aspects you considered in the project study?
- 4.3. What are the indigenous knowledge (technical, management and organization) aspects you built on to promote participatory approach to water development?
- 4.4. How you work with the local community to promote and sustain participation? Do you use project agents?
 - 4.4.1. Do you use discreet social project organizations as a basic social unit for the project implementation? Why?
 - 4.4.2. What are the bases of and the process for the formation of project organizations?
 - 4.4.3. What roles you play (resource provisions, training and education) in the process of project organization formation?
 - 4.4.4. How many project organizations you have and what are they?
 - 4.4.5. What was the pace of the organization development, was it slow or rapid?
 - 4.4.6. What are the project organization membership criteria and its composition?
 - 4.4.7. How do you evaluate the relationships of project organizations with your project agents and/or staff? And to what extent the project organizations are free from influence?
 - 4.4.8. Is there a network of project organizations? What is the purpose of networking project organizations?
- 4.5. Do you educate and train the community? Why?
 - 4.5.1. Whom you educate and train?
 - 4.5.2. What are the major elements of your community education and training activities?
 - 4.5.3. How often you engage in community education?
- 4.6. What other activities you have undertaken to improve the resource base of the project organizations?
- 4.7. Why you engage in such economic activities?

PART TWO

CHECKLIST FOR FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE COMMUNITY IN THE STUDY AREA

1. General data about

- The PA
- The physical environment
- Indigenous Local livelihood bases
- Indigenous factors determining local livelihood

2. Processes of participation

- Nature and history of contact with CARE
- The activities undertaken
- When, how, who participated in the water development, use, and management
- Understanding of the idea of "participation in development"

3. Community education, training and organization

- Community education activities by CARE staff
 - Who educates
 - Participation in the education programs
 - The subjects of education
 - Project organization or group formed

4. Performance of the Water System

- Purposes and frequency of use
- Adequacy of supply
- Quality,
- Convenience for use
- Operation and maintenance
- Ownership
- Management systems

5. The Effects of CARE-Ethiopia water development Initiatives

- ° On the indigenous livelihood system
- Access to Productive Resources and productivity for the poor
 - On the productivity of existing resources
 - On access to new resources and opportunities
 - On redistribution of existing resources
- ° Current livelihood situations of the community members

ANNEX II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE APO

