

**INTRAC
For The World Bank**

**Building Capacity in Ethiopia to Strengthen the Participation of Citizens'
Associations in Development:**

A Study of the Organizational Associations of Citizens

**Ann Muir
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**Social Scientist Team – Dr. Kassahun Berhanu, Dr. Ayalew Gebre Chetu, Dr. Tegege Gebre
Egziabher, Dr. Woldeab Teshome, Dr. David Turton.**

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Acronyms

BoCB	Bureau/x of Capacity Building
BoFED	Bureau/x of Finance and Economic Development
CCF	Christian Children's Fund
CSCEP	Civil Society Capacity Building and Empowerment Program
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EOC	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
KDA	Kaffa Development Association
MoCB	Ministry of Capacity Building
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
ODA	Oromiya Development Association
SIDA	Swedish International Development Assistance
SNNP	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' (Region)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study maps the organizations/ institutions that citizens associate with, have access to, and participate in; examines the nature of these organizations/ institutions; analyzes the relationships/levels of interaction; identifies empowerment/capacity building needs of these organizations, and examines their implications for the design of the Civil Society Capacity Building and Empowerment Programme (CSCEP) of the World Bank.

Primary data was collected in nine woredas using extensive and intensive survey instruments (for mapping organizations/ institutions found and the extent of household membership/ association, and for assessing capacity building needs). The woredas were Addis Ketema, Baco Gazer, Dubti, Gimbo, Liben, Mekit, Saesie Tsaedemba, Shinile and Tikur Inchini. Three kebeles were selected as representative of each woreda, and twenty households in each kebele were interviewed, a total of 536 questionnaires completed. In-depth intensive surveys were undertaken of 37 organizations/ institutions of civil society and four kebele cabinets and three woreda administrations – a total of 44.

Key Findings

Nature of associational life

Section
5.3

Mutual assistance is the most important, and significant feature of organizational association at kebele level. This is built upon kin relationships, relationships with neighbours or faith. Common institutional features of mutual assistance groups include mutuality, a pooling of resources; trust, commonly based on a shared identity through kinship, neighbourhood or faith; a high degree of participation, which is compelling because of internally driven peer pressure, social, moral and emotional support, and the presence of penalties and leadership with the authority to apply them.

Meeting economic needs, and providing services is a common feature of many mutual assistance groups, and also of broad-based community organizations. Although for the very poor it is much harder for them to set aside financial contributions, doing so reduces their vulnerability to increased hardship (e.g. in a medical emergency, the impact of a poor harvest). Another significant factor in how and why people organize in community-based organizations is the value of cooperation and collaboration: an organized group of people can achieve more than individual. This is particular the case in burial associations, *iddir*, and rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub*, and cooperatives

Other characteristics of organizational life at kebele level are a predominately male leadership, and the importance of the role of the kebele cabinet and woreda sector offices in supporting community-based organizations.

Households' association with organizations/ institutions is extensive, both in terms of the number and the variety of organizations/ institutions. The household survey found that households associated with between 1 and 24 organizations/ institutions. The modal groups were five and nine, and the median was nine. Examples of the extent of associational life include:

5.4

- *Iddir* membership, which ranged from between 100% in Gimbo and Tikur Inchini to 48% in Saesie Tsaedemba, but tended towards the higher level.
- Agricultural mutual assistance groups, like *iddirs*, are ubiquitous in rural areas, and

households are commonly members of more than one group.

- Rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub*, are very common in some kebeles in some woredas, but do not exist in other kebeles and woredas.
- Service cooperatives were found in all woredas, except for Shinile and membership in the rural areas from ranged from 90% to 20%. In Addis Ketema, only 1% of households were members, but business/ trade groups were found to be ubiquitous, and fulfil some of the functions of service cooperatives
- Women's organizations, including women's savings and credit groups, were found in all woredas, but not necessarily all kebeles.
- Clan/ sub clan/ age group membership is particularly important for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists (in Dubti, Liben and Shinile)

A striking feature is the success of community-based organizations/ institutions in improving the access of the poor to capital, labour, skills and leadership. Organizational capacity and resources are limited, but most of the community-based organizations in the study show considerably flexibility and ingenuity in addressing the economic (livelihood) constraints of their members.

5.6

There is very little evidence of direct social exclusion in the survey material, with the exception of Gimbo where the Menja (and the Mana) peoples are marginalized minorities. While it did not arise in the Mekit survey, blacksmiths in Mekit and other woredas are also a disadvantaged group. More subtle – and widespread - exclusion takes place for women and through economic and educational disadvantage. Very few women were found to be leaders of community-based organizations - only in women's groups/ organizations.

The predominant relationship of organizations/ institutions of civil society was with kebele and woreda administrations/ offices for the following reasons:

5.7

- Kebele cabinets commonly communicate information and make requests for community assistance (e.g. labour), particularly through agricultural work groups and *iddir*.
- Organizations/ institutions at kebele level use kebele cabinets in the enforcement of disciplinary actions, when penalties by group leaders have proved ineffective.
- Woreda sector offices have regulation and financial control responsibilities with respect to cooperatives and credit groups.
- Technical support and service delivery.

These relationships are characterized by:

- Extensive overlap in membership: members of kebele cabinets are also members of *iddir* and other centrally important organizations/ institutions in people's lives.
- A wariness on the part of members/ associates of organizations/ institutions of civil society about the possible nature of government support (when perceived as 'interference' rather than, for example, technical and financial management support).
- A submissive respect for hierarchal authority, which considers challenging public figures to be inappropriate.

Organizational/ institutional capacity building needs

The capacity assessment of organizations/ institutions at kebele and woreda level was based on the capacity building needs identified by members/ associates. Amongst organizations/ institutions of civil society those identified included training/ support in organizational/ institutional strengthening (administration, management, accounting etc.), capital, business and marketing information, participatory approaches, and civic education. With respect to kebele and woreda cabinets and sector offices respondents referred to training/ support for elected representatives in consultation and participatory processes, communications, constituency building, and civic education, and the need for a full compliment of trained staff. 6.2

It was hoped to identify examples of organizations/ institutions widely perceived to be strong or weak, and in particular organizations/ institutions in which ordinary people's participation was meaningful for them. Unfortunately people were reluctant to provide examples, but from the data on the extent of household membership/ association and from the information in the capacity assessments, it is clear that people have more trust in some organizations/ institutions than others, in particular in agricultural work groups, *iqqub* and *iddir*. Strong inter-personal relations and mechanisms of accountability characterize these organizations/ institutions. 6.3

The use of participatory approaches is a very important element of capacity building in community-based organizations/ institutions – and a common feature of NGO programmes. But equally important is strengthening structures and procedures in organizations that enhance transparency and accountability, and which enable people's voices to be heard. This is especially the case in broad-based organizations/institutions, which have a large membership, and which cannot rely on personal relationships and peer pressure for accountability between members, and between members and the leadership.

Strengthening capacity in civil society

Members/ associates of civil society organizations/ institutions; government staff, and the staff of NGOs were asked about how to strengthen citizens' engagement and participation in development. Predominate view were concerned with: 7.1

- Strengthening the capacity of organizations/ institutions to meet the needs of their members/ associates.
- Improving consultation and discussion between government and the organization/ institution to improve responsiveness in government organizations.
- Increasing engagement with government through representation of the organization/ institutions in kebele cabinets or woreda or other appropriate structures.
- Improving understanding of how government works – in order to improve engagement.

In general these illustrate a view on the part of organizations/ institutions of civil society that engagement with, and participation in, local government is low. They also illustrate a view that there is a need for people to understand better how government works, which implies a need for greater transparency in the decision-making process and more effective ways of communicating the business of local government, especially at woreda level, to people. Given the paucity of government resources at woreda and kebele levels, the task is

huge and begs the question about what government can do in terms of building capacity in organizations/ institutions of civil society.

The responses also illustrate the issue for government at kebele and woreda level of balancing the provision of technical support, and its regulatory role with respect to organizations/ institutions of civil society, while being seen to be promoting their independence.

Members/ associates of civil society organizations/ institutions; government staff, and the staff of NGOs were asked for their views on how to strengthen responsiveness and accountability in government organizations and other development actors in the intensive survey of organizations/ institutions. Overall this response was poor: it seems many people were unsure, or did not know how responsiveness and accountability could be improved. This may be because people do not understand sufficiently how government works, and lack confidence, to make suggestions. Predominate views were concerned with:

7.2

- Increasing people's engagement with, and participation in, kebele and woreda government, through the use of participatory processes, consultation and through representation in decision-making bodies.
- Strengthening the capacity of government at woreda and kebele level – in terms of human and financial resources to improve service delivery.
- Strengthening the capacity of broad-based community organizations, in particular cooperatives.
- Raising people's awareness about government (civic education).

Overall the findings of the survey lend weight to a causal formula whereby increased participation leads to increased representation and thereby increased empowerment, which leads to benefits for all and reduced poverty. However this is more clearly the case in the *iddir*, *iqqub*, and agricultural work groups – which are bounded by the specific shared interests of members. The picture is less clear when it comes to broad-based organizations/ institutions in the community – here the crucial challenges are to be found in how to increase participation and representation. The identified capacity building needs provide basic recommendations on the specific types of organizational/ institutional strengthening required for increased participation, representation and accountability.

7.3

Donor and NGO strategies to strengthen capacity in civil society and local government are used in the report to illustrate the practical implications of the findings. These widely found strategies are building local capacity to strengthen civil society, including the use of woreda block grants (for community driven projects); NGO projects, which seek to strengthen community based organizations/ institutions; strengthening capacity in service delivery, and supporting common interest based coalitions which seek to strengthen the role of community based organizations/ institutions.

7.3.1
- 7.3.6

Major implications are:

- The focal level, which is needed for an effective approach to building capacity in civil society, is the kebeles in a woreda.
- The need for a phased approach focusing on geographic areas. A focused 'satellite' approach will facilitate experiential learning within and between NGOs (and other actors) and improve standards of performance and results
- The advantages of a common approach amongst donors.
- The resource, which NGOs present, for civil society capacity building work in woredas

and kebeles.

- The need to ensure the CSCEP is seen by civil society to exist for civil society.
- A need to find mechanisms to address mutual mistrust between NGOs and government (which is more common at the national, than the woreda, level).
- The need for on-the-job, mentoring, training and support for community-based organizations; course based training is a supplement not a substitute for situated learning.

1 RATIONALE AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Study of the Organizational Associations of Citizens (henceforth referred to as ‘the study’) was commissioned as part of a civil society capacity building/ empowerment programme development process of the World Bank. It was one of several analytical pieces of work organized by the World Bank, and it accompanies a Study on Effective Empowerment of Citizens.

During the past few years the Government of Ethiopia (henceforth referred to as the ‘government’) has strengthened its engagement with the World Bank over supporting civil society capacity building /empowerment as a means to contributing to ongoing decentralization and democratization efforts. The World Bank is already supporting the government with a Capacity Building for Decentralized Service Delivery Program, which is focused on the supply side of service delivery. Future lending for a Civil Society Capacity Building and Empowerment Program (CSCEP) will focus on the demand side of decentralized service delivery, development and governance. Building capacity in civil society is intended to strengthen the capacity of individuals and organizations of civil society to prioritize needs and make demands on civil servants and elected representatives, and to ensure that government staff or representatives are equipped to respond to citizen’s demands. At present however it is not clear to what extent citizens call on government organizations to meet their needs, or what the implications are for capacity building. Case studies suggest that in many cases it is not government organizations that satisfy citizen’s livelihood needs. Other forms of non-government organization – some locally evolved or traditional, some externally invoked by non-government organizations or donor activity – also appear to be important to citizens.

This study seeks to:

- i. Map the organizations that Ethiopian citizens associate with, have access to, participate in and use at different times and for different purposes;
- ii. Examine the nature of these organizations and the institutions (formal and informal) which determine citizens access and use of these organizations;
- iii. Analyze the relationships/level of interaction between these organizations, including local level governments (woredas, kebeles, municipalities and regional councils); and
- iv. Identify the empowerment/capacity building needs of these organizations. The objective of capacity building would be two-fold: first, to both improve responsiveness and accountability in service delivery, poverty alleviation and well-being, and governance; and second, to identify the users of these organizations and enhance their ability to effectively participate in and make demands upon governance and service delivery organizations.

2 METHODOLOGY

Literature Review/ Secondary Data Collection including a bibliography of literature in Addis Ababa University (Annex 12).

Selection of Woredas. Twenty woredas were initially identified (in November 2003) for primary data collection, on the basis of diversity and representation in terms of ethnic group, food security/ insecurity, production system and significant cash crop/ employment. They included the nine World Bank benchmark woredas. A final nine was selected with World Bank staff in January 2004. These can be found in Table 5.1. The World Bank sent letters to BoFED and BoCB in each region requesting assistance from woreda administrations and capacity building offices.

Primary Data Collection in the nine woredas comprised of 1) an extensive survey of formal and informal forms of organizations/ institutions found in each of the three kebeles, and more widely in the woreda; b) an extensive survey of 20 households in each of three kebeles in each woreda, a total of 60 per woreda¹, recording the organizations/ institutions people active or passive members or associate with, and 3) an intensive survey of how people organize (associate), focusing on five organizations/ institutions per woreda. The survey instruments can be found in Annexe 13.2.

The kebeles were selected by the social scientists as representative of the different conditions found in each woreda, and the 60 households were selected at regular intervals along a walked transect. Each of the five social scientists was responsible for primary data collection in one or two woredas. In each woreda enumerators were recruited and trained by the social scientists for the household survey.

Raw data from the three surveys included a record of organizations/ institutions found in the three kebeles; extensive data on household membership/ association² with organizations/ institutions, and five organizations/ institutions were subject to an intensive analysis, and an ‘information pack’ was prepared on each. A total of 44 information packs³ were prepared and these can be found in Annex 11. Data on organizations/ institutions found and membership/ association was summarised and can be found in annexes 3, 6 and 7.

Most of the report was prepared in Addis Ababa by the team leader, with regular consultation with the social scientists. This allowed for more analytical discussion on similarities and difference found across the woredas. Preliminary findings were presented by the team leader and three of the social scientists at a workshop held by the MoCB on the 15th and 16th April.

3 CONTEXT: STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ETHIOPIA

3.1 Decentralization and Participation

Since 1991, and the coming to power of the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), Ethiopia has been following a policy of regionalization in building democratic systems of governance. In 1992 nine ethnic-based regional state governments⁴ and two autonomous administrative areas⁵ were established with legislative, executive and judicial functions. Together these comprise the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Regional governments are responsible for the implementation of economic and social development policies and for maintaining public order, including administering a police force, and the federal state is responsible for all powers not delegated to, or shared, with the regions. These two tiers of government are recognized in the federal constitution of 1995: the organization, powers and responsibilities of the

¹ In Mekit, 56 households were interviewed.

² The term “membership” infers formal payment or contribution (cash or in kind) whereas association is a looser term. It was difficult in primary data collection to distinguish between the two, and therefore the terms are used collectively.

³ It proved extremely time consuming to meet with members of organizations/ institutions in Addis Ketema, and information packs were prepared on four, rather than five, organizations/ institutions.

⁴ Afar, Amhara, Benishangul/ Gumuz, Gambella, Harar, Oromiya, Somalia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ (SNNP), Tigray,

⁵ Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.

zonal, woreda and kebele levels are set out in earlier national legislation or subsequent federal legislation, and in regional legislation⁶.

Decentralization is further evolving with the 2001 decision to move sector departments from the zonal to woreda level in the four most populous regions⁷, where over 78% of all woredas are found. Devolution to woreda level in the other regions is to follow. There are over 550 woredas and six special woredas in Ethiopia.

Three elements of government exist at regional, woreda and kebele level, and information on membership and staff of each are presented below by kebele, woreda and region.

Table 3.1: Elements of Regional and Local Government

	Kebele	Woreda	Region
Assembly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All residents make up the kebele association. Association members meet annually – in an assembly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	
Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Composed at each level – kebele, woreda and region - of all about 100 elected representatives. A greater number of women and young people council members are found in the kebeles, than at woreda and regional level. Councils meet between monthly and quarterly. Council members elect and appoint cabinet officials are elected every five years. 		
Cabinet (Also referred to as ‘executive committee’)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cabinet members are government employees. Cabinets are composed of councilors. Chairpersons have full-time posts, and other cabinet posts tend to be part-time. Responsible for preparing kebele plans (with sector offices), and submitting these to the woreda. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cabinets are composed of elected (councilors) and co-opted members (from ministry offices). Co-opted members commonly include members of the administration, judiciary and security. The chairperson/ chief executive is often the woreda or region administrator. Most cabinets have between 7 to 10 members, mostly full-time. Cabinets (through committees with sector offices’ support) prepare budgets and plans for approval by council. 	
Sector departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil servants commonly found are development agents and health post 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All ministries have woreda and regional offices. 	

Although representative structures of government exist at regional, woreda and kebele level, it is widely recognized that a stronger role, and more resources are needed, at woreda and kebele level for decentralization to work better for participatory democracy. The World Bank Woreda Studies (2002) found that decentralization was characterized by a “deconcentration” of the long established hierarchical way of governing rather than by devolving decision-making and accountability to the sub regional level. The findings also suggested that the accountability of service providers to communities could be strengthened through the existing administrative and representative systems, and that the current model of service delivery is resource intensive and rigid, and that communities need to engage as active partners in service delivery⁸.

⁶ Ayenew, Meheret , 2002: 136.

⁷ Amahara, Oromiya, SNNP and Tigray.

⁸ World Bank 2002: 2.

Establishing and maintaining structures for people's participation in local development has been a key feature of development in Ethiopia since the Derg. The Derg came to power in 1974 on the back of a popular upsurge against the centralized monarchy of Haile Sellasie⁹, and it established peasants associations to administer land reform and establish indigenous democracy. These were "genuine representations of peasants interests" until 1979 when they were reorganized as instruments of control of the military government, and later in 1985 of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia¹⁰. Today, as this study will demonstrate, the kebele associations (as the peasants associations are now known as) through the administrative functions of their cabinets, still exist largely to deliver government policy, rather than functioning as associations representing the interests of the people (independently of government policy). At the same time, as with the woredas, they are under-resourced.

There is a considerable literature on people's organizational life at kebele level and also on the role of NGOs in development (see Bibliography and Annex 12). But there is very little literature addressing the organizational strengthening issues, including participation¹¹, when working with community-based organizations to strengthen civil society¹². This literature lies in the NGOs, for example PACT, ACORD and SOS Sahel. There is also an absence of evidence about the extent to which community-based organizations are aware of wider development issues, outside their immediate interests, which are generally service-oriented. Rahmato draws particular attention to the lack of sufficient evidence that ethnic-based self-help and development associations are "conscious of larger public interests" in his study of autonomous voluntary institutions which provide services, and which articulate public interests¹³.

There is a widespread perception, especially amongst critics of decentralization, that government permeates all aspects of organizational/ institutional life, and that civil society is weak. At kebele level, there is considerable overlap in people's membership/ association with different organizations/ institutions¹⁴, and therefore a key issue for this study has been to identify

- i) Civil society, and
- ii) Routes for capacity building initiatives that strengthen civil society and people's engagement with government and participation in local development.

It is also useful to distinguish between participation in local development by civil society and by government, and also between capacity building for stronger organizations of civil society and for stronger engagement with the representative structures and government departments at kebele and woreda levels.. Promoting the use of participatory approaches is a very important very element of

⁹ Zewde, Bahru, 2002: 10.

¹⁰ Pauswang et al, 2002: 5.

¹¹ Participation is defined as "a process of communication among local people and development agents during which local people take the leading role to analyse the current situation and to plan, implement and evaluate development activities". FAO, 2002: 6.

¹² Civil society consists of the groups and organizations, both formal and informal, which act independently of the state and market to promote diverse interests in society.

¹³ Rahmato, Dessalegn, 2002: 104.

¹⁴ Organizations are defined as groups of individuals, bound by a common purpose, involving a defined set of authority relations and dedicated to achieving objectives within particular rules of the game. Institutions are defined as rules of the game. They are both embedded in and surround organizations. Institutions can be: formal, i.e. rules enshrined in legislation, mandates or other documentation. These include constitutional rules, legal rules, organizational rules; or informal, i.e. undocumented. These include codes of conduct, norms of behavior and conventions. World Bank, Terms of Reference for the study.

building capacity in community-based organizations/ institutions. But equally important is strengthening structures and procedures in organizations that enhance transparency and accountability, and which enable people's voice to be heard.

3.2 Donor and NGO Approaches

NGO and donor interest in civil society has been growing against the background of decentralization. For NGOs and donors a stronger civil society is seen as a both a pre-requisite and an indicator of stronger democracy. As donors seek to strengthen the capacity of government through support to the Ministry of Capacity Building (e.g. the World Bank and DFID) and support to regional and zonal offices (e.g. the Royal Netherlands Embassy and SIDA), NGOs are increasingly expected to strengthen community-based organizations.

A key issue for the government, and for donors supporting capacity building in government at national, regional, zonal or woreda level, is how to strengthen civil society. This is a relatively new area of development interest in Ethiopia and therefore there is little experience on which to assess different approaches. The EU has commissioned a study of non-state actors (where the primary focus is on NGOs), and DFID has commissioned for the MoCB technical support in the design of a programme of support to civil society organizations.

4 THE STUDY WOREDAS

The nine woreda were selected for diversity and representation, and were drawn from six regions and Addis Ababa. A brief description of each woreda is presented below. Essential characteristics, including whether the woredas are surplus production or deficit woredas, are presented in Annex 1.

Addis Ketema, (sub city) in Addis Ababa. Addis Ketema is one of the ten sub-cities in Addis Ababa. Found in the heart of central market place (the Merkato), it is a busy small business area. Different types of businesses are carried out in different kebeles. Most of the residents are low income, very poor or destitute and earn their living from low paid work, casual labour or street peddling. Most the housing is of older construction, and is densely packed in with little formal layout. The population of 320,389 is ethnically very mixed.

Baco Gazer Woreda, in SNNP Region. Baco Gazer Woreda is found in South Omo Zone, in the very southwest of Ethiopia. Around 70% of the population is Aari, and nearly 30% is Maale. The Aari live in permanent villages and practice agriculture, using ox drawn ploughs cultivating a variety of cereals, pulses, root crops, coffee and spices (the latter two as cash crops). The Maale practice slash and burn agriculture, and use hoes to till the soil rather than plough – although there is some, and possibly a growing, use of ploughs. They grow cereals, produce honey and keep livestock in the Woito lowlands. The woreda population is 208, 986 - excluding Jinka town, which has an estimated population of 19,520.

Dubti Woreda lies in Zone 1 of Afar Region in the northwest of Ethiopia. Afar Region is predominantly pastoralist, and most of the Afar live in scattered small communities and move with their livestock - goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys and camels following seasonal water sources. Rainfall is very low, and temperatures reach mid 40 degrees centigrade. Other ethnic groups are found in Dubti town and at Tendaho Cotton Farm, which relies on migrant labour. The woreda population is circa 75,000.

Gimbo Woreda is found in the Kaffa Zone of SNNP Region, about 450 km southwest of Addis Ababa. Most the population, which is estimated at 110,879, is Kaffa with small numbers of Menja and Mana. Major crops grown in the area are cereals, pulses, *enset*, sugarcane, coffee and spices. The latter two are grown as cash crops, and the most of the coffee is wild, forest, coffee. Coffee marketing, however, is not as organized as that found in other coffee growing areas, e.g. Sidama. Livestock are important to the farm economy, but production is affected by presence of tsetse fly.

Liben Woreda is found in Guji Zone in the south of Ethiopia, in Oromiya Region. Negelle, the capital of the zone, is 595 km from Addis Ababa. The vast majority of the population, estimated at 137,731 are Oromo (Borana). Most of the woreda is lowland and the Borana practice pastoralism and agro-pastoralism.

Mekit Woreda in North Wollo Zone of Amhara Region is mountainous highland country ranging from 2000 to 3400 metres above sea level. Only 24% of the land area is suitable for cultivation. Major crops grown are cereals, including *teff*, beans and pulses, and people keep livestock. Land degradation (soil erosion) and erratic rainfall constrain production. Almost all the population, estimated at 236,542, is Amharic.

Saesie Tsaadamba Woreda in Eastern Tigray Zone of Tigray lies in the north of Ethiopia. It has a population of 131,456, almost all of who are Tigrayan. Like Mekit Woreda, this is a highland area, ranging from 1800 to 2600 metres above sea level. Major crops grown are cereals, including *teff*, beans and pulses, and people keep livestock

Shinile Woreda in Shinile Zone in Somali Region. Shinile Woreda is situated north of Dire Dawa. Practically all the woreda population, estimated at 115,000, are Somali pastoralists, although some rain-fed cultivation (sorghum and gardens) is practised in four kebeles. Trading in livestock and hides and skins is extensive, and other sources of income include khat and trading in consumer durables (from Somaliland and Djibouti). The collecting and marketing of firewood and charcoal is on the increase. Woreda infrastructure is particularly weak, and the Shinile Zonal office is itself located in Dire Dawa.

Tikur Inchini Woreda in Western Shoa Zone of Oromiya Region is situated about 250 km west of Addis Ababa. The woreda is ecologically classified as highland and is designated as a surplus producing area. Major crops grown in the woreda are cereals, including, *teff*, pluses and beans, and *enset*, and livestock production is a major mainstay of the household economy. The population, which is estimated at 83,468, is Oromiya.

5 ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE STUDY WOREDAS

5.1 Diversity and Representation in the Sample

The nine study woredas were selected, in consultation with the World Bank, for diversity and representation – on the basis of food security status, production system, and the presence of a significant cash crop or employment (Annex 1). Three kebeles in each woreda were selected to represent the woreda at large, and households were selected along a walked transect, and enumerators interviewed households at regular intervals. Twenty households per kebele were interviewed, 60 in a woreda, and 534 survey questionnaires were completed in total. Annex 13 contains a detailed methodology.

Characteristics of the nine woredas, and the organization/ institutions studied are presented in Table 5.1. Organizations/ institutions were selected on the basis of their significance in people's associational life, for diversity and they included government organizations/ institutions.

Table 5.1: Organizations/ Institutions Included in the Study

Woreda,	Organization/ Institution
Addis Ketema,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Addis Ababa Grain Traders' Association 2. CCF Assisted Family Saving and Credit Association 3. 'Tibebe le edeget' Artisan Association 4. Weavers' Service Cooperative
Baco Gazer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agricultural work group. 2. Bokako Bazo <i>Iqqub</i> 3. Jinka Kebele Cabinet 4. Police <i>Iddir</i> 5. Kale Hiwot <i>Iddir</i>
Dubti,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Detahamedo Sub Clan 2. Seganto Forest Conservation Management 3. Mesgide Selam <i>Iddir</i> 4. Youth Red Cross Association 5. Woreda Cabinet
Gimbo,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gogoma <i>Iddir</i> 2. Kaffa Development Association 3. Mitchiti Service Cooperative 4. Teacher's Association 5. Woreda Cabinet
Liben,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bulbul Grazing Group 2. Gottu Fisher's Cooperative 3. Mitchille Sub Clan 4. Oda Roba Irrigation Cooperative 5. Oromiya Development Association
Mekit,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agrit and Tewha Farmers' Service Cooperative 2. Flaqit Kebele Cabinet 3. Kiros Got Grain Bank 4. Mekit Micro Finance Institution (MMFI). 5. Marutie Honey Production and Marketing Cooperative

Saesie-Tsaedemba	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fireweyni Dedebit Credit and Savings Institution 2. Mai Hiwot Farmers' Service Co-operative 3. Fireweyni Kebele Cabinet. 4. Fireweyni Kebele Women's Association 5. Fireweyni Youth Association.
Shinile	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Iskashitu Iskufilen Burial Association 2. Iskashitu Women's Credit Association 3. Traditional Work Group 4. Traditional Water User's Group 5. Woreda Cabinet
Tikur Inchini,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bilo Abey Cattle Group 2. Hine Umbrella <i>Iddir (Modi)</i> 3. Toke Chitu Grain Trade Cooperative 4. Toke Leman Kebele Cabinet 5. Wolde Hine Women's Savings and Credit Association

5.2 Roles and Functions: Types of Organizations/ Institutions

The study developed a typology of organizations/institutions that households are members of/ associate with by roles and functions. Categories or types were initially developed from the experience of the team and literature; they were refined after pre-testing of the survey instruments, and modified after primary data collection, see Table 5.2. Categories are not mutually exclusive, and examples of overlap are presented in the sub-categories.

A distinction is made between membership based and non-membership based organizations/ institutions: the team believed it is analytically useful to distinguish between organizations/ institutions *of people* and those *for people*. A key finding of the study is the importance of community-based membership organizations of the poor. However, although legitimacy and accountability are widely believed to be stronger in organizations of people, this is not necessarily the case¹⁵, and a distinction needs to be made between membership and representation. Membership organizations are not necessarily effective at representing their members' interests, and to be representative an organization need not be membership-based. Representation is discussed in section 6.4.

¹⁵ As evidenced in the poor reputation of some cooperatives.

Table 5.2: Typology of Organizations/ Institutions

Category		
	Sub-category	Membership or not based, role and function
1 Kin-based or neighbourhood-based mutual assistance		Membership based
1.1	Agricultural work groups – <i>dafo, debo, wonfel</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of an organized work force for labour intensive, seasonal and often monotonous tasks. Group labour is available on a rotating basis amongst members and the group works for cash for non-members.
1.2	Livestock (cattle) herding groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the collective rearing and herding of livestock, to share labour freeing time for other task, including school attendance.
1.3	Tree planting groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coordinated provision of labour for the production, sale and planting of seedlings.
1.4	Water users' group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mobilization and organization of labour for water source maintenance and development (often organized by the kebele cabinet). See Annex 11.
1.5	Butter groups, e.g. <i>qib-yidemuji</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of labour on a rotating basis for the production of butter, a labour intensive task.
1.6	Burial associations, <i>iddir</i> and multi-purpose <i>iddir</i> . These can be composed of people from different faith groups, especially in urban areas.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Members contribute to ensure a proper burial for themselves and their relatives, Burial costs are met from a common fund and members also contribute food, drink at funerals, and provide social and religious support to the bereaved family. Multi-purpose <i>iddir</i> provide funds for emergencies, in addition to burials.
1.7	Rotating savings & credit, e.g. <i>iqqub</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of access to large sums of money (for house construction, starting a small business etc.); group members contribute an agreed sum on a regular basis, and in either in rotation or by lottery members can withdraw the total sum. A person winning the lottery cannot win again, until each member has had a win.
1.8	Producers' cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the collective organization of cultivation, fishing or gathering or forest products. In some producers' cooperatives all tasks are shared, and income divided. In others income from the sale of products remains with the individual, and the essential function of the cooperative is the management of resources. Some have a natural resource management function, e.g. in forest user's associations.
1.9	Grain groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of grain to members on low interest loans in months of scarcity,
1.10	Seed banks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of seed on low interest loans during the cultivation season.
1.11	Neighbourhood watch, e.g. <i>qerator/ mozoya</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the protection of property – organized on a rotation basis.

2 Neighbourhood faith based		Membership based
2.1	Burial associations, <i>iddir</i> (found in all faiths, but it could be that membership is restricted to active church members in Protestant <i>iddirs</i>).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As above.
2.2	Rotating feast groups which celebrate a saint's day – <i>mahaber</i> (EOC).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Through celebrating the life of a saint, to strengthen religious life/ relations and to provide economic and social support in times of need (in some <i>mahaber</i>) and for wedding (in some <i>mahaber</i>). A saint's day falls at once a month, sometimes twice. <i>Mahaber</i> may also function as a means of reconciliation between quarrelling members.
2.3	Rotating sabbath day group, which celebrates with beer and bread after church - <i>sembete</i> (EOC).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As above, but through regular celebration after church services.
2.4	Mosque congregation <i>jemma</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lead by the <i>khadi</i> (religious leader), the <i>jemma</i> can raise funds and provide assistance to households in need, and to other <i>jemma</i> for projects.
2.5	Funeral contributions from households, which are made to the mosque - <i>ezen</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This is more of an event than an organization: it functions as an institution in the provision of food for the seven days of a funeral
3 Broad based, which functions in an area larger than a neighbourhood.		Membership based, although in some organizations/ institutions this may be through membership of the clan or sub clan (e.g. in natural resource management). Not all women and youth in the kebeles are members of the women and youth organizations, but these associations are membership-based.
3.1	Umbrella multi-purpose <i>iddir</i> – also know as <i>modi</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the coordination of activities of member <i>iddirs</i>, in particular to allow the flow of resources between <i>iddir</i>, for example if the funds of one <i>iddir</i> have been reduced, the funds of another <i>iddir</i> can be accessed. They also ensure the smooth conduction of burials. Some also have a conflict mediation role.
3.2	Natural resource management organizations/ institutions, e.g. grazing groups, clan and sub-clan based water and pasture management in pastoral and agro-pastoral societies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the management of natural resources, usually in accordance with traditional systems of resource access and use, in particular in pastoral and agro-pastoral production systems. Representative function in some areas, where the clan and sub clan structure actively represents the interests of members, e.g. the <i>Ghada</i>¹⁶ in Borana society (Liben) and amongst the Somali (Shinile) and Afar (Dubti).
3.3	Service cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For the provision of local services – the supply of inputs, agro processing (in particular coffee) and the marketing of produce.

¹⁶ The *Ghada* is an apex traditional organization of the Borana people.

3.4	Kebele association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lowest formal, discrete unit of mass organization: all registered kebele residents are members. • Representative function, although this is often limited to working within given government policy.
3.5	Women's associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the collective organization of women for development projects; • For the representation of women's interests at kebele and woreda level, but not all kebeles have women's associations. • In some area's the women's association structure reaches zonal level, e.g. in Kaffa Zone (Gimbo).
3.6	Youth associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very similar role and function to the women's associations. Not all kebeles have youth associations. • Many have a strong interest in sports and sexual health (HIV/ AIDS).
3.7	Clan sub clan and age group structures.	<p>Clan and sub-clan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For role in natural resource management – see above. • Conflict resolution / peace building mechanisms are particularly strong amongst pastoral and agro-pastoral peoples (Afar, Borana and Somali in Dubti, Liben and Shinile respectively). <p>Age groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Baco Gazer the 'junior' age group has mutual assistance agricultural groups, and the elders perform rituals for the well being of the community. • These provide another a means of settling disputes.
3.8	Business/ trade group	<p>Addis Ketema</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Injera</i> Makers. • Solid Waste Collectors' Association. • Shoe Shiner's Club. • Weaver's Association. • Workers' Association. • Women's home economic. <p>Dubti</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tendaho Cotton Loaders Association • Weaytu Public and Freight Transport Association • Carters' Association - provide cart service to the public
3.8	Professional	<p>Baco Gazer, Gimbo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers' Association – representation.
4 Service providers		<p>Micro finance and service cooperatives are membership based, but most service providers are not. Apart from government, some households reported using private sector health providers.</p>
4.1	Micro finance/ credit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the provision of larger sums of credit, than what is available through <i>iqqub</i>.
4.2	Service cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the provision of local services – the supply of inputs, agro processing (in particular coffee) and the marketing of produce.
4.3	Private sector, in particular health service providers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used in the absence of government services.

5 Government - representation		
5.1	Kebele Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kebele councilors
5.2	Woreda council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woreda councilors.
6 Government – civil service		
6.1	Kebele	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cabinet officials are elected.
6.2	Woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cabinets are composed of elected kebele councilors and co-opted civil servants. • Civil service – administrative and service delivery functions.
7 NGO¹⁷		Some Ethiopian NGOs, in particular ethnic-based development associations are membership based. Most Ethiopian and international NGOs are not membership based.
7.1	Development associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All exist to represent the interests of members, and the largest role is in service delivery.
7.2	Ethiopia NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At kebele and woreda levels roles and function lie predominantly in service delivery.
7.3	International NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At kebele and woreda levels roles and function lie predominantly in service delivery.

5.3 The Organization of Association

The organizational association of citizens at kebele level is shaped by a number of factors. The most significant means of organization is through mutual assistance, built upon kin relationships, relationships with neighbours or faith. Mutual assistance takes the form of both an organization, in terms of a group of people who organize for a specific purpose/s, and an institution. Codes of conduct, norms of behaviour and conventions in agricultural works groups, rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub*, burial associations, *iddir*, and social religious groups demonstrate common institutional features of mutual assistance groups¹⁸. Key amongst these is:

- Mutuality, a pooling of resources (including labour, capital, skills, and leadership) for a mutually agreed purpose/s.
- Trust, commonly based on a shared identity through kinship, neighbourhood or faith.
- A high degree of participation, which is compelling because of internally driven peer pressure.
- Social, moral and emotional support, especially through *iddir*. Members of the *iddir* comfort and provide visible, public, support to the bereaved.
- The presence of penalties and leadership with the authority to apply these when members do not abide with the rules.

Another factor which shapes how and why people organize themselves as they do, is economic, including the need for services. Meeting economic needs, and providing services for members, and to a lesser extent for non-members, is a common feature of many mutual assistance groups, and also of broad-based community organizations. Although for the very poor it is much harder for

¹⁷ In this context this refers to an intermediary organization that works with community based organizations and government administration and sector departments.

¹⁸ See Annexe 3 for mutual assistance organizations/ institutions in the study.

them to set aside financial contributions, doing so reduces their vulnerability to increased hardship (e.g. as a medical emergency, the impact of a poor harvest).

The third significant factor in how and why people organize in community-based organizations is the value of cooperation and collaboration: an organized group of people can achieve more than individual. This is particular the case in burial associations, *iddir*, and rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub*, and cooperatives. *Iddir* and *iqqub* provide access to lump sums of money for sudden necessary expenditure (funerals) and for larger expenditures (such as house construction) respectively. Cooperation shows its value in cooperatives through the availability of farm inputs, processing facilities and access to markets, which in the absence of a fair, effective and reliable private sector link households into the wider market. In Sidamo coffee cooperatives by passed exploitative middlemen¹⁹, and the Oromiya Coffee Farmers' Union, is a major coffee exporter²⁰.

In associational life outside of community-based organizations a factor in the how and the why of associational life is the maintenance of rural – urban continuity. An example is the Kaffa Development Association²¹, which was formed in 1956 by Kaffa people living in Jimma town who wanted to support local development in their home area of Kaffa. There are a number of ethnic-based development associations, and many of these have been established in a similar way.

Other characteristics of the 'how' of organizational life at kebele level are:

- A predominately male leadership: in the study organizations/ institutions women leaders were only found in women's associations or groups, including rotating savings and credit, *iqqub*, and credit associations.
- The importance of the role played by the kebele cabinet and woreda sector offices in supporting community-based organizations, especially when the leaders of organizations are unable to effectively apply penalties, e.g. in the case of credit defaulters. Without this type of 'disciplinary support' such groups would collapse. Taking defaulters to court would also be time consuming and therefore costly to the group.

“One of the problems faced by organizations particularly service cooperatives is an inability to collect arrears from members. This might require the use of the justice system and court procedures. Local government is in a better position to institute enforcement mechanisms for the associations.”²²

5.4 Extent of Households' Associations

Households' association²³ with organizations/ institutions is extensive, both in terms of the number and the variety of organizations/ institutions. The household survey found that households associated themselves with between 1 and 24 organizations/ institutions. The modal groups were five and nine, and the median was nine. Information by kebele and woreda on what organizations/ institutions households' associated with can be found in Annex 6, and information on the extent of membership/ association by household can be found in Annex 7.

¹⁹ Hamer, J, H. 19x:81

²⁰ OCFU exports coffee to the USA, the Netherlands, France, and Uganda. It is a grower/ exporter member of the Speciality Coffee Association of America, and a founding member of the East Africa Fine Coffees Association (EAFCA), which promote East African coffees in East Africa, and in the global market.

²¹ Annex 11.16.

²² Gebre Egziabher, T, Gimbo Woreda Report Annex 10.4:2.

²³ The term 'association' is used to mean relationships or less immediate linkages with organizations/ institutions.

Table 5.4 sets out indicators of associational life in each woreda. All registered resident households, by virtue of their residency, are members of the kebele association. Membership of kebele associations is generally 100%. Where it was less, in Addis Ketema, is due to the transient nature of some households, usually the very poor. Not all residents are members of organizations directly related to the kebele association, for example women and youth associations. In most kebeles, however, these were not functioning, and therefore did not feature in the organizational/ institutional landscape of households. But other women's groups (not directly associated with the kebele association) did feature quite strongly in some woredas e.g. women's savings and credit schemes. Therefore the table below focuses on indicators of associational life with organizations/ institutions of civil society, which exist outside of government.

Table: 5.3: Extent of Associational Life (outside membership of/ association with government organizations)

Woreda	Indicators of the Extent of Association Life
Addis Ketema	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 93% of households were members of a burial association, <i>iddir</i>. • 30% were beneficiaries of a local NGO project, mostly through a credit scheme in kebele 14. • In 15% of households women were members of a women's association. • In 10% of households, someone was a member of a business/ traders group.
Baco Gazer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural kebele membership of a rotating savings and credit group, an <i>iqqub</i>, was extensive, between 90% and 60%. In the provincial urban kebele of Jinka 02 it was higher than in other provincial urban kebeles.
Dubti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • About 73% of households were members of the Issa clan and 66% were members of sub clan based mutual assistance organizations/ institutions. This figure is probably higher in the rural (especially pastoralist areas) where sub-clans have natural resource management responsibilities. • About 63% of households are members of a burial association, <i>iddir</i>. • Amongst the agro-pastoralists of Beyhaile kebele all were members or associated themselves with a farmers association.
Gimbo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost 100 % belong to burial associations, <i>iddir</i>. • 95% of households belong to agricultural work groups. • 30% were involved in NGO projects.
Liben	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All households belonged to a clan, and over 96% of households were members of sub clan based mutual assistance groups. This figure probably accounts for the 70% of households, which belonged to a water users group; these are generally sub clan based. • About 79% of households were members of an agricultural work group. • Just over half were members of a livestock-herding group.
Mekit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost 100% of households were members of an <i>iddir</i>. • Almost 93% were members of a social religious group, <i>mahaber</i> (these also function as agricultural work groups). • Almost 23% were members of a formal credit association. • Just over 19% were members of a cooperative.
Saesie Tsaedemba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In just over 58% of households a women was a member of a women's association/ group. • Just over 56% of households were members of cooperatives. • Just over 48% were involved in a NGO project. • Just over 46% were members of a <i>mahaber</i>.

Shinile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 95% of households are members of an <i>iddir</i>. • Almost 62% of households belong to agricultural work groups. • Almost 100% of households are involved with a NGO project.
Tikur Inchini	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100% of households are members of an <i>iddir</i> (<i>modi</i> structure). • Almost 100% are members of a cattle group. • Just over 93% are members of agricultural work groups. • Just over 78% of households are members of a women's group/ association. • Almost 72% are members of social religious groups, <i>mahaber</i>. • 50% of households are members of rotating savings and credit, <i>iqqub</i>.

Seasonal or temporary organizations/institutions include:

- Agricultural work groups.
- Livestock-herding groups.
- Rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub* (ranging from six weeks to four years).

5.5 Similarities and Differences in the Extent of Associational Life Between and Within Woredas

The findings of the kebele extensive survey and the household extensive survey show similarities and differences across woredas, and by kebele in the same woreda (particularly between rural, provincial urban and city urban kebeles). Below major findings are set out by (sub category) organization/ institution.

Agricultural mutual assistance groups are, like *iddirs*, ubiquitous in rural areas, and households are commonly members of more than one group. The proportion of households, which are members in the rural areas, varies from almost 100% (Gimbo) to just over 38% (Baco Gazer). In the provincial urban kebeles and Addis Ketema these are replaced by business/ traders groups, see below.

Agricultural mutual assistance groups (and *iddir*) were of particular significance to the Menja peoples of Gimbo, whose overall associational life was weaker than that of the Kaffa people.

Burial associations (*iddir* and multi-purpose *iddir*) are ubiquitous in almost all woredas where the proportion of households, which are members, is high varying between 100% in the study kebeles of Gimbo and Tikur Inchini to almost 48% in Saesie Tsaedemba. In Fireweyni and Mai Megelta kebeles of Saesie Tsaedemba membership was high, 75% and 70% respectively, but in Geblen kebele, which is sparsely populated, no *iddir* were found. In Liben, which is also sparsely populated, *iddir* membership was also low, just over 3%.

Iddir are divided into two types, *iddir* and multi-purpose *iddir*. In the study woredas about 81% of households were members of multi-purpose *iddir*, and about 42% were members of *iddir*. It is not uncommon for a household to be member of two *iddir*. More households were members of multi-purpose *iddir* in Gimbo and Tikur Inchini, and more households were members of *iddir*, rather than multi-purpose *iddir*, in Addis Ketema, Mekit and Shinile. The difference between the two is that multi-purpose *iddir* have a variety of broader functions including financial support in medical emergencies and other emergencies (e.g.. medical costs and transport, house construction after a fire), contributions to a member when his/ her ox dies and a loan service for those in serious financial need. In another broadening of their role in

kebele 12 of Addis Ketema, the *iddir* are in the process of forming a union to deal with HIV/AIDS and other social issues. However while the presence of an already existing union in kebele 12 is commonly cited as an example of a 'successful' *iddir* union: this union is in the process of dismantling. In Tikur Inchini a union exists, the umbrella *modi*, of which all *iddir* are members. This is long established umbrella structure - members did not know the date it started, referring to the fact that they inherited it.

In Gimbo the *iddir* of the Menja people were instrumental in the formation of forest protection cooperatives, and the Kaffa Development Association started as an *iddir* in Jimma town in 1958. Another indicator of the social and organizational significance of *iddir* is the presence of networks inside the *iddir*, these include agricultural works groups, and in Dubti 01, a provincial urban kebele, example, some members have their own trade networks – collectively buying goods for sale in their (individual) shops.

Rotating savings and credit groups, *iqqub*, are very common in some kebeles in some woredas, but do not exist in other kebeles and woredas. They were found to be less ubiquitous than expected. In addition the extent to which households are members and the size of the common fund vary considerably. While differences are found between rural and provincial urban kebeles, there were also strong differences between provincial urban and Addis Ketema.

Membership in the rural kebeles of Baco Gazer was 90% and 60% in Shepi and Beneta respectively, and in the provincial urban kebeles of Jinka 02 and Dubti 01 the figure was 30% and 15%.

In Jinka 02 an *iqqub* is likely to have a short cycle and a relatively large common fund compared to those in the rural areas, and it tends to be used for large expenditures. In Beneta and Shepi household contributions were considerably smaller (only Birr 2/ month), but the *iqqub* was an important means of poorer households raising cash for necessary expenditure – thereby reducing vulnerability.

In Addis Ketema only 3% of households were members of an *iqqub*, although a higher number were members of a formal credit association, almost 12%. Most of the residents of Addis Ketema are very poor and low-income households, some destitute, who earn their living from low paid work, casual labour and street peddling. Contributions to a burial association, *iddir*, are prioritized over contributing to an *iqqub*. In kebele 14 where the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) has established a credit and savings scheme, the 220 members of the scheme represent a significant proportion of households in the kebele. Members are required to have a saving capacity, since the amount they deposit determines the size of the loan they have access to²⁴. Therefore joining the scheme or an *iqqub*, is not a practical option for poorer households: their expenditure demands on what cash income they have makes saving ahead impractical.

Just as membership of an *iqqub* was relatively high in the rural areas of Baco Gazer, it was also high in Tikur Inchini (50%). In Mekit it was almost 34% and it was lower in Liben and Gimbo, just over 18% and 10% respectively. However in the rural areas of Dubti, no *iqqub* were reported, and only one was reported in Shinile (less than 1%). Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists use their livestock as a 'savings bank', which accounts for the low figures, although in Liben some households are members of an *iqqub*. In

²⁴ It would be interesting to know if the assistance provided to children in kebele 14 by CCF has increased the saving's capacity of these households.

Gimbo the proportion is low compared to other agricultural areas, and the data does not imply there is any particular reason for this.

Credit associations (including women's savings and credit groups) were found in all woredas. The highest proportion of membership amongst survey households was just over 63% in Saesie Tsaedemba and the lowest was 5% in Liben. Local credit schemes/institutions were found in Addis Ketema, Liben, Gimbo, Mekit, Saesie Tsaedemba, Shinile and Tikur Inchini. None were found in Baco Gazer and Dubti.

Social religious groups, *mahaber*. Household membership ranged from almost 93% in Mekit to about 10% in Addis Ketema. Information is not readily available on the proportion of EOC members who are members of *mahaber*. Mekit and Saesie Tsaedemba are strongholds of the EOC, but the proportion of households, which are members of *mahaber*, varies between 93% in Mekit to just over 46% in Saesie Tsaedemba. In Mekit the *mahaber* also function as agricultural work groups, which is a reason for their preponderance. At the same time the regular expense of *mahaber* was a commonly reported problem, and could be a reason for lower membership than expected in Saesie Tsaedemba.

Service cooperatives were found in all woredas except for Shinile. Membership was highest in Tikur Inchini (90%) and Saesie Tsaedemba (almost 57%). In the rural areas it was lowest in Mekit (almost 20%), and in Addis Ketema it was only 1%. Although in Addis Ketema more households (10%) were members of business/ traders groups providing working space and support (these are not necessarily producer's cooperatives, but they provide a similar service to service cooperatives).

Only Mai Hiwot Service Cooperative in Saesie Tsaedemba and Toke Chitu Grain Cooperative in Tikur Inchini were members of a union. Mitchiti Service Cooperative and other cooperatives in Gimbo are in the process of establishing a union in Kaffa zone. Agrit and Tewha Service and Marutie Honey Production and Marketing cooperatives in Mekit were not members of a union.

Business/ trade groups are ubiquitous in the urban areas for micro entrepreneurs and artisans (and presumably also for larger businesses). In Addis Ketema business/ trade groups included membership organizations of artisans, solid waste collectors, shoe shiners, *injera*²⁵ makers, weavers and tailors. In Dubti they included organizations for cotton loaders, carters and teachers, and a teachers' association was also found in Baco Gazer. In Addis Ketema 10% of households were members of business/ traders groups, and in Dubti 01, a provincial kebele, the figure was 83%. Government assistance has been a driving force in the establishment of business/ trade groups for micro enterprises and small business²⁶.

Clan, sub clan and age groups. The role of the clan and especially the sub clan is strongest in pastoral and agro-pastoralist area, where they are responsible for specific functions (see Table 5.2). In these areas – Dubti, Liben and Shinili – membership is almost 100% amongst Afar, Borana and Somali peoples respectively. In Tikur Inchini

²⁵ Staple food made from fermented grains.

²⁶ Under the Derg many micro enterprise and small business cooperatives were supported by the government. But many respondents pointed to less government support now, forcing small business and cooperatives into stronger competition with larger private sector companies.

almost 100% of households also identified themselves as members of a clan, and almost 62% used the sub clan for mutual assistance in time of hardship.

Women's organizations (including women's savings and credit groups) were found in all woredas, but not necessarily all kebeles. Household membership ranged from just over 78% in Tikur Inchini to about 3% in Shinile. No household members were found in Michiti and Kaykella kebeles of Gimbo, and in Gade and Tome kebeles of Shinile. While a lack of information and interest were cited as reasons for low or no membership in some kebeles, women and youth organizations are widely perceived as appendages of the government/ ruling party, which discourages people from joining.

Youth organizations were found in all woredas, and the proportion of survey households who were members varied from 28% in Tikur Inchini to just over 3% in Addis Ketema. Organizations varied widely from the kebele based youth associations as in Tikur Inchini to youth groups interested in literature, health and HIV/ AIDS, and sports.

5.6 Associational Life – Improving Access

A striking feature is the success of community-based organizations/ institutions in improving the access of the poor to capital, labour, skills and leadership. Organizational capacity and resources are limited, but most of the community-based organizations in the study show considerably flexibility and ingenuity in addressing the economic (livelihood) constraints of their members.

A considerable amount of voluntary (unpaid) effort is invested in these associations for self-interest (in terms of a return on individual contribution) and for social interest (in terms of contributing to fellow members' returns). In general social interest is bounded by the immediate interests of the group. Organizations/ institutions that deliver development for people who are not members included Kaffa Development Association, the Oromiya Development Association and NGOs.

On a number of occasions in primary data collection people referred to the fact that if a household was not a member of, in particular, an agriculture group or an *iddir*, then it was in effect a social outcast. People feel compelled to join for the interest of the community, which then becomes their interest.

“Whereas membership to some associations like the kebeles is mandatory owing to their politico-administrative nature and their stature as units and nuclei of grassroots local government, membership in the majority of other traditional and non-traditional associations is not legally mandatory. However, it should be noted that social norms and attendant practice leave no option for people other than joining some organizations despite their voluntary nature. In the case of the Guji zone in general and Liben Woreda in particular, it is inevitable that individuals/families should be members of traditional associations like the clan/sub-clan mutual help associations. This is due to the fact that such associations are highly useful in addressing people's needs during such instances as death of family members, loss of movable and immovable property, and during times of stress that make survival by making use of own means almost impossible. Given that there are a number of things that individuals cannot perform alone (e.g. burying a deceased family member, negotiating on compensation/blood money with culprits within the same sub-clan or other clans). However much they may be wealthy and in good shape in a number of ways, they opt for membership to such associations. Besides,

in rural areas of Ethiopia like Liben, it is socially unacceptable not to associate with such institutions that are both important in addressing pressing problems and are significant as an important element of the prevalent value system. People can refrain from joining such associations without facing the perils of facing sanctions based on legal and formal legal provisions and other regulations. The reality on the ground, however, is that they will not be in a position to address some problems by themselves that they are likely to encounter. This forces them to enlist as members or associates, and saves them from being social outcasts.“²⁷

Another striking feature is the extent of communication between community-based organizations/ institutions and kebele cabinets. *Iddir* are commonly used as an access point to the community by kebele cabinets. People respond better to calls from the *iddir* for labour, than to calls from the kebele cabinet. Therefore kebele cabinets often use the *iddir* to make requests and announcements. In addition community based organizations/ institutions look to the kebele cabinet, when it is necessary, to support them in dealing with recalcitrant members, particularly credit arrears.

NGOs (Ethiopian and international) were found in all the woredas, with association ranging from almost 100% in Shinile (relief) and Liben (development programs) to 70% in Tikur Inchini (development programs) to about 3% in Mekit (where an NGOs has handed over activities to local community-based organizations/ institutions²⁸). The woredas were not selected on the basis of an NGO presence, and therefore the extent of access to non-government organizations (in the widest sense) was surprising.

There is very little evidence of direct social exclusion in the survey material, with the exception of Gimbo where the Menja (and the Mana) peoples are marginalized minorities. While it did not arise in the Mekit survey, blacksmiths in Mekit and other woredas are also a disadvantaged group²⁹. In Gimbo:

“The Gogoma *iddir* has 24 members encompassing all the villagers. Residency and being a Menja are the major criteria to join the *iddir*. In addition, registration fee of 5 birr and bi-monthly contribution of 25 cents are required of members. It is however mentioned that non-Menjas who might like to join the *iddir* provided that he or she fulfils the residency criteria has also access to the Menja *iddir*. In practice, however, the *iddir* seems to exclusively belong to the Menjas. The *iddir* with 23 males is male dominated and has 20 members or 83 % who cannot read and write. About 15 members have land while about 11 members have livestock. Though membership is voluntary, members however are socially compelled to join the *iddir*. In fact in the focus group discussion it was made clear that if a resident is not a member of the *iddir*, the *iddir* will most likely report to the kebele and the police that the community is not responsible for the person in case something occurs to the person. There does not seem to exist any differentiation in the use of *iddir* since the *iddir* offers the service whenever the need arises which is dictated by circumstances beyond the control of the individual. It is thus difficult to identify who is effectively using and who is not effectively using the *iddir*. The Menja *iddir* however is not used by non-members since this *iddir* entirely belongs to a group with which other groups do not like to mix especially in social function such *iddir*.”³⁰

²⁷ Berhanu, K, Liben Woreda Report, Annex 10.5:2.

²⁸ Including the Mekit Micro Finance Institute.

²⁹ Assefa, Y, 1995:4 and Pratton, D, 1995:17.

³⁰ Gebre Egziabher, T, Gimbo Woreda Report Annex 10.4: 7.

More subtle – and widespread - exclusion takes place for women. Very few women were found to be leaders of community-based organizations – only women’s groups/ associations.

Exclusion also takes place through:

- Economic disadvantage, e.g. in the capacity to have sufficient, albeit very little, regular disposable income to join an *iddir*, especially in addition to an *iqqub*, and in terms of having an adequate size of land to provide collateral in order to join a cooperative in Gimbo. In Mitchiti Service Cooperative members are required to own more than a hectare of land (for loan collateral), which excludes poorer households.
- Educational disadvantage: the leaders of organizations, especially those handling money and keeping accounts, are expected to be literate.

As noted above in section 5.5 people are discouraged from joining an organization existing under the kebele association, which it is not mandatory to join. The perception that women and youth organizations are linked to the government/ party is an obstacle to expanding access.

5.7 Relational Linkages Between Organizations/ Institutions of Civil Society and Government

In the intensive survey information was collected on the three most important relational linkages of the organization/ institutions studied. The predominant relationship was with kebele and woreda cabinets and civil service offices for the following reasons:

- Kebele cabinets commonly communicate information and make requests for community assistance (e.g. labour) in the implementation of development projects, particularly through agricultural work groups and *iddir*.
- Organizations/ institutions at kebele level use kebele cabinets in the enforcement of disciplinary actions, when penalties by group leaders have proved ineffective.
- Woreda level cooperative offices have regulation and financial control responsibilities with respect to cooperatives and credit groups.
- For technical support and service delivery.

A database of relational linkages can be found in Annex 8. Fuller information is available in the information packs on organizations/ institutions in Annex 11.

Linkages between civil service offices and organizations/ institutions of civil society are both extensive and highly pertinent to the interests of community-based organizations. However there was also a concern about interference in community-based organizations.

In Jinka 02 the Kebele Cabinet “often uses the *iddir* to make such announcements and requests. They were wary, however, of government interference in their affairs. The *iddir* was free from government interference at the moment, but the possibility of this was felt to be always present, especially if they were to obtain significant funds for development – from an NGO, for example. Their view was that projects initiated by government or NGOs are unlikely to be ‘owned’ by the people - government and NGOs simply tell you what they are going to do and go about it in their own way, without reference to the affected population.”³¹

³¹ Turton, D, Baco Gazer Woreda Report, Annex 10.1: 4.

On a number of occasions the team learnt of reluctance on the part of people to join *iddir* unions because of concerns that *iddir* unions are subject to government/ political interference and can be used as political instruments.

Another example of ‘interference’ by government, which in this case was believed to restrict the contribution of an organization, came from the Gimbo Teachers Association.

“The association works closely with the office on matters of interest to its members. Teachers’ recruitment, promotion, accommodation, transfer are some of the issues jointly undertaken. The two meet whenever a need arises and not on regular basis. Members commented very negatively regarding the relation between the two. The reason, according to members, is that the woreda education office is not ready to accept the inputs from the association on many issues. In fact the two underscore differences they may have and disperse even after attending joint meetings. It was suggested that in order for the relationship to work better towards the fulfilment of the teachers’ interest, the education office should respect the association and take it seriously as equal partner in the education activity. An example of the lack of joint decisions to uphold members’ interest is the existence of many teachers who did not get their promotion even if they deserve it.”³²

The findings of the survey point to a relationship between organizations/ institutions of civil society at kebele and woreda levels and government organizations, which is characterized by:

- Extensive overlap in membership: members of kebele cabinets are also members of *iddir* and other centrally important organizations/ institutions in people’s lives.
- A wariness on the part of members/ associates of organizations/ institutions of civil society about the possible nature of government support (when perceived as ‘interference’ rather than, for example, technical and financial management support).
- A submissive respect for hierarchal authority, which considers challenging public figures to be inappropriate. This was observed in the reluctance of members/ associates of organizations/ institutions of civil society to present views on how people’s voice, representation and engagement with government could be improved, and how the responsiveness of government could be improved – section 11 in the organization/ institution information packs (Annex 11).

The implications of these for government and donors in strengthening capacity in civil society are discussed in section 7.

Kebele and woreda cabinets, civil service offices, and private service providers were included in the primary data collection to order to illicit information on access and use by individuals and organizations/ institutions of civil society. People are members of kebele associations through residency in the kebele. But people also associate extensively with different elements of infrastructure of government, especially at kebele and woreda levels. See Annex 8.

³² Gebre Egziabher, T, Gimbo Woreda Report Annex 10.4: 10.

6 ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY ASSESSMENT

6.1 Organizations/ Institutions and Local Development

Members/ associates of each of the forty-four organizations/ institutions studied were asked about the contribution of the organization/ institution to local development. The database in Annex 11 includes the comments of members/ associates of organizations of civil society (and government). Members of *iddir*, who contributed their labour and other resources to local projects considered the *iddir* to have a clear role in local development, as did many broad based organizations/ institutions. Some members/ associates claimed their organizations/ institutions contributed little or nothing to local development, these included an *iqqub*, three *iddir*, a cooperative, a branch teachers' association and a branch of one development association. Members/ associates of three others stated that because their organizations were recently established, it was too early comment.

Concepts of contributing to local development were framed by what the organization/ institution did for the local community outside of the immediate (individual) interests of members/ associates and outside of the group (bounded social) interests. Overall, the great majority of members/ associates interviewed talked confidently about the contribution of their organizations/ institutions, but felt they were constrained by capacity issues, and in some instances threatened by government/ party interference. Kebele and woreda cabinets and sector offices were also confident of their role, and like many organizations of civil society were hampered by resource constraints – financial and human.

6.2 Findings of the Capacity Assessments

Table 6.1 presents key elements of building capacity in civil society by organizational/ institutional category. Against each element of capacity building the major findings are presented of the capacity assessments for the thirty-seven organizations/ institutions of civil society. Respondents' comments on capacity issues for building organizations of civil society are presented in fuller detail in the database in Annex 9.

Where the terms 'training' and 'support' are used together, as in training/ support, this implies that there is a need both for training and for on-the-job, mentoring, support. Situated learning, on-the-job, is a more effective way of learning, which a training course supplements. Attending a training course is not a substitute for situated learning.

Table 6.1: Findings of the Capacity Assessments by Civil Society Organizational/ Institutional Category

Elements of organizational / institutional capacity	Summary of Capacity Needs
1 Kin-based or neighbourhood-based mutual assistance 2 Neighbourhood faith based	
a) To strengthen administrative and financial functions, and management.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training/ support in organizational management. • Training/ support in book keeping, accounting – including developing and maintaining financial control systems. • Training/ support in developing and maintaining record keeping systems. • Training/ support in developing administrative systems, which can be understood and questioned by illiterate people. • Training/ support in strengthening credit administration procedures, including procedures for dealing with loan defaulters. • Developing faster and more effective recovery mechanisms with the kebele social court and woreda administration and offices. • Training in property management.
b) For stronger participation and governance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civic education. • Empowerment training such as ‘Training for transformation’. • Literacy classes. • Leadership training, including skills in running meetings, team building and communication.
c) For effective relational linkages at kebele and woreda levels.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training/ support in participatory approaches to local planning to strengthen actual engagement in planning, and to support people’s confidence in communicating their own knowledge.
d) For effective wider networking.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment/ strengthening of interest-based interactive learning networks at zonal and nationally level, which facilitate horizontal interaction/ learning across organizations/ institutions.
3 Broad based mutual assistance 4 Service providers	
a) to d) above	
e) For the development of cooperative businesses and credit associations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training/ support in cooperative organization and management (including the above administrative and financial functions) • Advisory services in product markets and business planning (particularly with respect to what is commercially and organizationally viable given the financial basis and size of membership). • Marketing information (markets and prices). • Secondary cooperatives - unions for economies of scale. • Loans for cooperative businesses – working capital. • Training/ support in the development of credit schemes for members.
f) To meet other specific technical needs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training of trainers in a variety of livelihood related skills, e.g. agro-forestry; community animal health, crop production and cattle breeding.

The NGOs in the study are not representative of the wider NGO community. But on the basis of the information in the capacity assessments, which indirectly focused on the work of NGOs in the woredas (not the NGOs on which capacity information was collected), and the wider experience of the team, a few observations can be made.

- Many NGO programmes, especially those dependent on donors for funding, come and go. Therefore capacity building training/ support is not necessarily followed through to the degree needed by a community-based organization/ institution. Capacity building takes time, and Oxfam GB for example has learnt from its long experience to plan on the basis of 15 years in its pastoral programme³³. This programme has a large element of strengthening community-based organizations. Oxfam GB, however, has substantial unrestricted income. Such long-term planning is not possible for most NGOs without commensurable long-term funding commitment from donors.
- Organizational/ institutional development as a sector is still at a relatively young stage in the NGO sector as a whole³⁴, and tends to be done as part of a technical support project, and not from a broader community development standpoint.
- Very few NGOs work with the representative structures of government per se³⁵. Most NGOs work with the representative and administration structures in as much as is needed to delivery project activities, e.g. in natural resource management. There is a need for a focus (by government, donors and NGOs) on strengthening the consultation and participatory processes in local government as a broad developmental approach. A key finding in Table 6.2 below is the reported need to strengthen the representation of the people function of kebele councils and woreda councils.

Respondents' comments on the capacity of seven organizations/ institutions of government are summarized below. Respondents' fuller comments are presented in the database in Annex 9.

³³ In Ethiopia, this programme works in Afar, Somali and Borana areas. The regional pastoral programme, which the Ethiopian programme is a part of, works in Somaliland, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

³⁴ An important exception is the NGO strengthening programme of PACT: to date over 80 local NGOs have been supported.

³⁵ Those that do include ACORD and PACT Ethiopia.

Table 6.2: Findings of the Capacity Assessments by Government Organizational/ Institutional Category

Elements of organizational / institutional capacity	Summary of Capacity Needs
5 Government – representation	
<p>To strengthen citizen’s confidence in elected representatives.</p> <p>To strengthen understanding of, and increase confidence in the value of distinguishing between people’ representative structures in government, the civil service and political parties.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training/ support for elected representatives in; constituency building; consultation processes and communications. • Civic education for councilors at kebele, woreda and regional levels. • Kebele councils need to control a budget, which will deliver tangible demand-led projects, so as the council is seen to be responding to local needs by kebele association members. This could for example be a community fund³⁶, which the kebele has to decide has to use. • As with kebele councils, woreda councils are also under-resourced to meet the development expenditure needs. They also need to deliver tangible demand-led projects, so as the council is seen to be responding to local needs by the woreda citizens. This could be a woreda community fund, to which kebeles submit proposals.
6 Government – civil service	
<p>For effective relational linkages at kebele and woreda levels</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full compliment of professionally trained staff. • Training in participatory approaches for development agents at kebele and woreda levels. • Training/ support in organizing and running inter-sector committees, and in team building.
<p>To strengthen understanding of, and increase confidence in the value of distinguishing between people’ representative structures in government, the civil service and political parties.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civic education for administrative and sector staff at all levels.

In seeking to identify capacity building needs the study distinguished between the representative/ council and civil service elements of government at kebele and woreda level. It was not possible during the woreda visits to meet with councils themselves, but seven cabinets were included – four kebele and three woreda – in the intensive survey of organizations/ institutions. At kebele level cabinets are composed of elected councilors, and at woreda level they are composed of councilors and co-opted civil servants (see Table 3.1). It proved very difficult to separate out the representative and civil service aspects of government. Overall the findings point to people tending to see the representative and civil service elements as one amorphous whole. This is perhaps, to some extent inevitable when woreda cabinets are composed of councillors and co-opted civil servants. Related to this, and an almost impossible issue to separate out, is the role of the EPRDF – the party is a strong force in councils and the civil service³⁷. When people talk about government/ party interference they do so in general – not specific terms – which is inevitable when they may be talking about the actions of a neighbour or relative. There is a common perception that councils tend to follow the advice of the civil service and/ or party. Hence the need, which was identified a

³⁶ SOS Sahel introduced woreda managed community funds in Meket.

³⁷ In Liben all members of ODA, the Oromiya wing of the EPRDF, are government employees, and the membership of 86 accounts for the vast majority of government employees in the woreda. This examples also demonstrates blurred boundaries between some development associations, NGOs, and the party.

number of times, for civic education on the role and responsibilities of government – of council members, civil servants, and political party members.

The study sought people’s views on the effectiveness of government in supporting broad-based community organizations/ institutions, but discussion (and therefore findings) kept coming back to capacity issues (especially manpower/ human resources). Views tended to be expressed in terms of what government did for community-based organizations/ institutions or not: in other words, practical things and not judgements. Here the kebele tribunals/ courts and woreda cooperative offices ‘scored’ well. See section 5.7.

All the woredas complained of unfilled posts, particularly in sector offices. In Gimbo the overall vacancy rate was reported to be 54% (Table 6.3). This figure is higher than the average found in eight woredas of The World Bank Woreda Studies, which found an average vacancy rate in agricultural, education, health, administrative and finance offices of 17% in 2000. However some of the woreda sector offices in the Woreda Studies reported high vacancy rates of 41% (administration and finance) and 39% (agriculture)³⁸, which are comparable with the high rates in these sectors in Gimbo.

Table 6.3: Manpower Situation of Gimbo Woreda

Offices	Manpower		Vacancies	
	Required	In post	No.	%
Administration office				
Support services	25	18	7	28%
Rural development office				
Professionals	119	28	91	76%
Support service workers	29	22	7	24%
Economy and finance office				
Degree holders	3	1	2	66%
Diploma holders	2	-	2	100%
Technical school	2	-	2	100%
Accountants	13	9	4	31%
Support service workers	8	8		0
Information office				
Professionals support service workers	7	3	4	57%
Peoples organization and social affairs				
Professional +support service workers	16	2	14	88%
Capacity building				
Educational office (professional)	13	7	6	46%
Education office (support workers)	27	24	3	11%
Health office (professional + support services)	14	5	9	57%
Total	278	127	151	54%

The overwhelming, and unsurprising, finding of the capacity assessment, is the extent and the depth of capacity building needs in organizations/ institutions of civil society and in government. There are over 550 woredas and six special woredas in Ethiopia, and on the basis of the findings from the nine survey woredas, the financial capacities of government and donors to address these needs are relatively limited.

³⁸ World Bank Ethiopia 2000: Table 9.1.

There are two key issues for government and donors in the ‘how’ of building capacity in organizations/ institutions:

- How to work within the limits of government in strengthening civil society (in terms of capacity), and how to avoid a conflict of interests when engaged in capacity building of organizations/ institutions of civil society.
- How to achieve a balance between the scale of need (in government and civil society organizations/ institutions) and the amount of investment needed in each woreda in each region. Funding strategies (target geographical areas and entry points – for example what type of organizations/ institutions to focus on) become crucial issues for government and donors alike. This is further discussed in section 7.

6.3 Empowerment, Participation and Representation

The capacity assessment in the intensive survey focused on identifying capacity building needs. At the same time the survey asked members/ associates about the contribution of the organization/ institution to development, and in the household survey people were asked about the qualities of strong/ effective and weak/ ineffective organizations. It was hoped through the latter to identify examples of organizations/ institutions widely perceived to be strong or weak, and in particular organizations/ institutions in which ordinary people’s participation was meaningful for them. Unfortunately people were reluctant to provide examples, but from the data on the extent of household membership/ association and from the information in the capacity assessments, it is clear that people have more trust in some organizations/ institutions than others, in particular in agricultural work groups, *iqqub* and *iddir*. Strong inter-personal relations and mechanisms of accountability characterize these organizations/ institutions, and in the survey were perceived by people as subject to less or no ‘interference’ by government/ party.

The use of participatory approaches is a very important element of building capacity in community-based organizations/ institutions – and a common feature of NGO programmes. But equally important is strengthening structures and procedures in organizations that enhance transparency and accountability, and which enable people’s voice to be heard. This is especially the case in broad-based organizations/institutions, which have a large membership, and which cannot rely on personal relationships and peer pressure for accountability between members, and between members and the leadership. For example the general reputation of cooperatives has suffered over the years. When cooperatives were introduced originally by the Derg in 1978 rural farming households were obliged to join, and reluctant memberships provided opportunities for embezzlement. Since 1991 membership has been optional, and although there has been a re-emergence of cooperatives³⁹, concerns about management capacity and financial accountability between leaders and membership remain common. In the view of the team the issue is more about how money is used, the decision-making process, rather than misappropriation.

³⁹ For example in Mekit and Tikur Inchini, in the survey.

7 STRENGTHENING CAPACITY IN CIVIL SOCIETY

7.1 Strengthening Citizens' Engagement and Participation in Development

Members/ associates of civil society organizations/ institutions; government staff, and the staff of NGOs were asked for their views on how to strengthen citizens' engagement and participation in development in the intensive survey of organizations/ institutions. The bullet points below present a summary of views, and detailed responses can be found in the information packs in Annex 11.

- Almost all of the responses from members of the 36 citizens' organizations about supporting citizens' empowerment referred to organizational development/ strengthening needs – strengthening the capacity of organizations/ institutions to meet the needs of their members/ associates. See section 6.
- In twelve (33%) of the 36 intensive surveys of citizen's organizations/ institutions members/ associates referred to a need for greater consultation and discussion between government and the organization/ institution to improve responsiveness in government organizations. In another two, NGO staff made the same observation.
- Eleven responses (30%) from citizens organizations/ institutions referred to increasing engagement with government through representation of the organization/ institutions in kebele cabinets or woreda or other appropriate structures. In an additional intensive survey, NGO staff made the same observation, and in another government representatives referred to a need for a coordinated forum (for credit providers) to improve the engagement of credit providers with local government⁴⁰. One organization/ institution reported that it was a member of a kebele committee⁴¹ and a reported a close working relationship was reported between the kebeles and clans and sub clans in Liben⁴² and Shinile⁴³.
- Government representatives in ten intensive surveys (23%) commented⁴⁴ on the need for people to understand better how government works – in order to improve engagement. Several NGOs made the same point, and referred to a need for people to have more information on their legal entitlements and responsibilities.
- Responses from members of four woreda or regional organizations of civil society (11%) complained that government departments do not listen to the views of organizations/ institutions of civil society. There is an implicit perception in these responses that government departments (at woreda and regional levels) are not listening organizations. However this view has to be balanced against whether evidence of 'being heard' is considered to be tangible support, which when government resources are limited, is not always possible.
- Respondents from four organizations/ institutions of civil society (11%) referred to 'interference' from government or being used as an instrument of government⁴⁵. But conversely in the case of a service cooperative in Gimbo, government representatives considered it important that cooperative members understand that the cooperative is not a "government instrument", although the same cooperative is dependent on the woreda for practical support,

⁴⁰ Saseie Tsaedemba Firewenyi Credit and Savings Institution, Annex 11.30:6.

⁴¹ Addis Ketema Weavers' Service Cooperative, Annex 11.4:5.

⁴² Liben Mitchille Sub Clan, Annex 11.22:3.

⁴³ Shinile Dire Traditional Water Users' Group, Annex 11.35:9 and Shinile Iskashitu Iskufilen Burial Association, Annex 11.38:6.

⁴⁴ Some government representatives commented in general about the organizations/ institutions included from their kebele or woreda, for example in Addis Ketema and Mekit.

⁴⁵ More broadly the team heard of *iddir* commonly being used as an entry point to the community, and cooperatives still tend to be viewed by many people as instruments of government policy. Whether accurate or not, this view has prevailed since the Derg years.

especially in financial management and on the kebele cabinet for buildings⁴⁶. This case study illustrates a concern about the lack of capacity in the cooperative to exist independently. A similar point about a lack of autonomy and independence in a service cooperative was made in Mekit⁴⁷.

- In Mekit respondents from two cooperatives referred to the need for coordinated activities between cooperatives, and a union. Mekit⁴⁸. Unions were found in Saesie Tsaedemba and Tikur Inchini – where they have a representation function, although information was not collected on this in the capacity assessment. A union is in the process of being established in Gimbo. The presence of a union, however, does not imply the existence of relational linkages between cooperatives in a woreda, for example in Tikur Inchini. In Tikur Inchini it is suggested that a woreda level union would strengthen the bargaining power of service cooperatives.⁴⁹

In eight intensive surveys members/ associates of organizations/ institutions of civil society (out of a total of 36) did not offer views or suggestions on how people's representation and engagement with government could be improved.

In general the views illustrate a view on the part of organizations/ institutions of civil society that engagement with, and participation in, local government is low. They also illustrate a view that there is a need for people to understand better how government works, which implies a need for greater transparency in the decision-making process and more effective ways of communicating the business of local government, especially at woreda level, to people. Given the paucity of government resources at woreda and kebele levels, the task is huge and begs the question about what government can do in terms of building capacity in organizations/ institutions of civil society.

In Somali Region where woreda level government is not necessarily based in the woreda, usually for want of suitable premises and accommodation, and where kebele cabinet members may not reside in the kebele, this presents an additional obstacle to improving engagement and participation in local government.

The responses also illustrate the issue for government of balancing the provision of technical support, and its regulatory role with respect to organizations/ institutions of civil society, while being seen to be promoting their independence.

7.2 Strengthening Responsiveness in Government and Other Development Actors

Members/ associates of civil society organizations/ institutions; government staff, and the staff of NGOs were asked for their views on how to strengthen responsiveness and accountability in government organizations and other development actors in the intensive survey of organizations/ institutions. Overall this response was poor: it seems many people were unsure, or did not know how responsiveness and accountability could be improved. This may be because people do not understand sufficiently how government works, and lack confidence, to make suggestions. The bullet points below present a summary of views, and the responses can be found in the information packs in Annex 11.

⁴⁶ Gimbo Mitchiti Cooperative, Annex 11.17:7.

⁴⁷ Mekit Agrit and Tewha Farmers' Service Cooperative, Annex 11.25:8.

⁴⁸ Mekit Agrit and Tewha Farmers' Service Cooperative, Annex 11.25:8 and Mekit Marutie Honey Production and Marketing Cooperative Annex 11.28:8.

⁴⁹ Tikur Inchini Woreda Report, Annex 10.9.

- Respondents in eight intensive surveys pointed to increasing people's engagement with, and participation in, government as key to improving responsiveness and accountability – through the use of participatory processes, consultation and through representation in decision-making bodies.
- Strengthening the capacity of government at woreda and kebele level – in terms of human and financial resources to improve service delivery also featured strongly in the responses of both government staff and members/ associates of organizations/ institutions of civil society. As did strengthening broad-based community organizations, in particular cooperatives.
- Raising people's awareness about government (civic education) featured in the responses of government staff and NGOs.
- Kebele level budgets for local development projects, was suggested in Mekit (where a precedent has been set with a fund established by an NGO for woreda development projects).

Improving responsiveness and accountability of government and other development actors requires a fundamental shift from a predominantly upward system of accountability to addressing multiple accountabilities, especially downward accountability - to people in the community⁵⁰.

7.3 Empowerment and Capacity Building Needs - Implications

Overall the findings of the survey lend weight to a causal formula whereby increased participation leads to increased representation and thereby increased empowerment, which leads to benefits for all and reduced poverty⁵¹. However this is more clearly the case in the *iddir*, *iqqub*, and agricultural work groups – which are bounded by the specific shared interests of members. The picture is less clear when it comes to broad-based organizations/ institutions in the community – here the crucial challenges are to be found in how to increase participation and representation. The identified capacity building needs (in section 6) provide recommendations on the specific types of organizational/ institutional strengthening required in increasing participation, representation and accountability

The implications of the findings for the World Bank's Civil Society Capacity Building and Empowerment Programme (CSCEP) can be more clearly discussed when they are rooted in the practical issues of programme design. Moreover at time of writing the MoCB was in the process of designing the Civil Society Organizations' Capacity Building Programme (CSO-CBP)⁵², and several practical issues faced by the design team are pertinent for this report – the sheer size of the task and how the MoCB and donors can make 'building civil society' happen, and roll this out across the country⁵³. To help inform the design of the World Bank's CSCEP, which will focus on the demand side of decentralized service delivery, development and governance, this report will discuss the implications of the survey findings in general terms of donor and NGO strategies to strengthen capacity in civil society and local government. These headings are not mutually exclusive.

Reaching a meaningful scale of civil society capacity building requires a trade-off between depth, and quality of results, and spread. Therefore the suggestions below start from the existing programmes of the World Bank, other donors and NGOs, and using these as 'satellites', suggest a move into neighbouring woredas.

⁵⁰ See for example Dubti Woreda Administration, Annex 11.13:7; Tikur Inchini Toke Leman Kebele Cabinet, Annex 11.43:8.

⁵¹ Blair, Harry, 2000: 23.

⁵² Programme design was due to be completed by the 31st May 2004.

⁵³ Pers com Trish Silken.

7.3.1 Building local capacity to strengthen civil society, including the use of kebele and woreda grants for community driven projects

There is considerable debate amongst development actors in Ethiopia at the moment about the role of government in building civil society. One view – which is widely held amongst organizations/ institutions of civil society - is that it is not the role of government to *do* the building of civil society: rather it is the role of government to ensure that there is an enabling environment for civil society to thrive in. This applies equally at national, regional and woreda levels. The widely accepted understanding of civil society is that civil society consists of the groups and organizations, both formal and informal, which act independently of the state and market to promote diverse interests in society⁵⁴. Concomitantly therefore if government takes on a doing role in building civil society (for example through the provision of technical support and funding) there is a potential conflict of interests. Given in the past many organizations/ institutions of civil society were co-opted by the Derg, it will take concerted action by organizations/ institutions of civil society and government to shake off suspicions of one another.

The term 'building civil society' is problematic - because it places an emphasis on building by another organization/ institution. An externally applied term, it essentially detracts from the internal and more organic 'self-built' efforts of communities. There is also a risk that when government staff, consultants etc. refer to building civil society at woreda level that the woreda authorities, by design or default, take the lead. This in turn can give rise to real or perceived conflicts of interest.

Concerted action needs to be informed by a mutually understood clear assignation of the roles and responsibilities of government and civil society. Kebele and woreda levels are the most important places for this distinction to be clear - for here the most common organizations/ institutions of the citizenry are found. Regardless of the accuracy or not of claims and counter-claims about government interference in community-based organizations/ institutions, the more important issue is about supporting the confidence of community-based organizations/ institutions to participate in development, and the confidence of local government staff and elected representatives to support these organizations/ institutions.

Therefore the first important implication of the study for CSCEP is the entry point for supporting community-based organizations/ institutions in the kebeles. In practical terms for capacity building initiatives this is a woreda wide focus: the MoCB has an office at woreda level and NGOs, which are building capacity in organizations of civil society are likely to be working in at least several kebeles in a woreda. The woreda wide focus is also crucial because a key aspect of building capacity is strengthening engagement between kebele level organizations/ institutions and the woreda councils and ministry offices – supporting decentralisation.

The second implication is the need to ensure CSCEP is seen by civil society to exist for civil society, and delivered by civil society. It is unclear to the study team to what extent, if any, the lending mechanisms of the World Bank, can accommodate this. But for the above reasons the team believes that the most appropriate resources and expertise for organizational/ institutional strengthening in civil society lie outside government. Concomitantly the most important role for kebele and woreda cabinets and woreda sector offices is in providing an enabling environment and supporting organizations/ institutions of civil society at kebele and woreda level with technical support. Kebele cabinets in particular are an important entry point for civic education, and for

⁵⁴ Definition used by the World Bank

strengthening social accountability in the community and beyond. They are in effect what could be called the ‘middle ground’ between organizations/ institutions of civil society and government: kebele cabinet members are members of both at the same time.

In order to focus on the practical, and how this could be done in selected woredas/ kebeles, some elements of a possible design are set out below.

- Public information briefing to launch the initiative in the woredas – a briefing providing a clear understanding of the roles and responsibilities of government and organizations of civil society. If the MoCB does not already have briefing information available in public form, then such briefings would be needed. These do not need to be lengthy legal type documents, but plain-speaking briefings about roles and responsibilities in general.
- ‘Ball park’ capacity needs assessment of organizations/ institutions of civil society in selected woredas/ kebeles, councils and relevant government departments – to establish a budget and develop an implementation plan.
- CSCEP steering committee with representatives from the difference constituencies found in selected woredas/ kebeles – councils, government departments, NGOs and community-based organizations representing different social groups, including the private sector.
- Preparation of invitations to tender – by World Bank staff and the steering committee - for the capacity building work. Given the shortage of organizational/ institutional strengthening skills in Ethiopia, this process may have to extend outside Ethiopia.
- Kebele and woreda development grants to which community based organizations, including kebele cabinets, can apply to for funding for a local development project, along with organizational/ institutional strengthening support.

7.3.2 NGO projects, which seek to strengthen community based organizations/ institutions.

Another important implication of the findings is the resource, which NGOs present for civil society capacity building work in woredas⁵⁵. Inevitably the quality of organizational/ institutional strengthening work will vary considerable across NGOs, and very few specialize in this area of work. Therefore if donors are to expect NGOs to do more civil society capacity building work, then funds need to be available to support NGOs develop the necessary skills and experience. Funds also need to be available for longer-term support in woredas, for example for up to 10 years.

It is important that demand for organizational/ institutional strengthening support comes from community-based organization/ institutions. There is a risk of donor funding leading the development of new programmes, and therefore it is suggested that NGOs be supported first in existing programmes – to develop skills and expertise.

Another implication of the findings, and also an implication arising out of the design process of the MoCB’s CSO-CBP, is a need to find mechanisms to address mutual mistrust between NGOs and government. Although in the experience of the study team, mistrust is more common at national level, and less common at kebele/ woreda level. At kebele/ woreda level the mechanisms could include stakeholder steering committees, and at regional and national levels they could include annual joint presentations by NGOs and local government of successful capacity building work.

⁵⁵ Although the number of NGOs is small in Ethiopia compared to other countries.

7.3.3 Service delivery

Strengthening capacity in community-based service delivery organizations (for example, water user groups, service cooperatives, parent-teacher committees and health committees etc) has two aspects – organizational/ institutional strengthening for local development (which could be addressed as set out in 7.3.1) and the strengthening of collective action within a sector, in the first instance at woreda level. For natural resource management groups and service cooperatives the boundaries of their interest will probably extend outside the woreda, for example in terms of access to grazing, water and in the case of cooperatives, to unions). It would seem appropriate therefore that donors and NGOs working in these sectors are expected to provide capacity building support, for example as set out in 7.3.2.

Service delivery for mobile populations (e.g. in Dubti, Liben and Shinile) has special implications – and therefore civil society capacity building support to pastoralist and agro-pastoralist areas has to be informed by the specific needs of mobile populations. This could mean, for example support to community-based mobile human and livestock health services, and education.

7.3.4 Common interest based coalitions of government, NGOs and the private sector, which seek to strengthen the role of community based organizations/ institutions.

The above two points are directed at strengthening organizational/ institutions in woredas/ kebeles, largely through existing programmes of the World Bank, donors and NGOs. It is equally as important to reach across woredas to facilitate horizontal linkages and inter-woreda learning. Key entry points to this are common interest groups of stakeholders working in a region – for example in health, education, natural resource management and micro-finance and business. It is unclear to the study team to what extent such groups already exist. Assuming they do not exist, the donors of sector based programmes in a region could, for example, organize an annual meeting of the type described in 7.3.2, at which NGOs and local government present examples of successful capacity building work.

7.3.5 Resource delivery or facilitating resourcefulness?⁵⁶

The last group of implications is concerned with the ‘how’ of delivering capacity building support. In the view of the study team it is important that scaling up – reaching more woredas/ kebeles - be demand-led by communities. Mechanisms are needed, therefore, to facilitate resourcefulness in organizations/ institutions of civil society. In practical terms this could be through reaching new woredas, neighbouring those in which capacity building programmes already exist, and therefore where a precedent has been set. Kebele and woreda development grants in new woredas could be used to attract applications from community-based organizations/ institutions, which are required to seek out and assess sources of training/ mentoring support for their capacity building needs.

However good quality organizational/ institutional support is informed by a participatory capacity assessment⁵⁷, and it is unlikely that the expertise to do this can be found locally for new woredas/ kebeles. Even when participatory capacity assessments are being undertaken in the focal woredas/ kebeles (7.3.1) and NGO woredas/ kebeles (7.3.2), this expertise cannot be expected to extend to the use of kebele and woreda development grants in neighbouring woredas. It would be prudent to

⁵⁶ Kaplan, Allan 1999.

⁵⁷ By the organization/ institution itself, and a support organization.

assume it would simply be too much work. Therefore it is suggested that kebele and woreda development grants in other woredas have smaller grants and a slightly different purpose – to kindle interest and demand from community-based organizations/ institutions. But the longer-term provision of capacity building support requires ongoing commitment to building capacity in the new woredas.

7.3.6 Approaches and methodologies

This section is intended to draw attention to the need for on-the-job, mentoring, training and support for organizations/ institutions of civil society in the community. Course-based training has its advantages – in terms of introducing concepts, different ways of working and meeting people from other organizations – but it cannot replace supporting people in the application of doing things differently. Moreover busy members of the community, especially women, do not have time to attend away-courses. The organizational/ institutional strengthening needs in section 6 are best addressed through experiential support, situated learning.

The larger issue is strengthening capacity in organizations in a position to deliver capacity building support: woreda departments, NGOs and the private sector (catalysts/ providers). With respect to woreda departments, this is discussed in 7.1. It is not clear to the study team to what extent organizational/ institutional strengthening skills for the not-for-profit sector are found in the private sector in Ethiopia, but the absence of known examples probably means there is little experience. Donor funding would encourage the development of such skills, but in the meantime, NGOs are sitting on the opportunity.

It should not be assumed, however, that all NGOs necessarily have the skills for civil society capacity building. Hence this report argues for broad agreement amongst donors about funding mechanisms (for example being demand led by communities) and a phased approach focusing on geographic areas. A focused ‘satellite’ approach will facilitate experiential learning within and between NGOs (and other actors) and improve standards of performance and results.

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