

**Poverty Alleviation Through Community Development: The
Case of PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia**

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The crest of the University of Stellenbosch is centered behind the text. It features a shield with various symbols, topped with a crown and a banner. The colors are primarily red, blue, and gold.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

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Abstract

Misunderstanding of poverty and lack of sound poverty alleviating strategy, among others, are problems of some of the few NGOs existing in Ethiopia. There is a problem of understanding their roles in relation to the State and other stakeholders. The principles they apply in their intervention are other problems. These are the issues that were researched in the PRO PRIDE case study.

The legitimacy of PRO PRIDE as a poverty-alleviating programme in view of global and Ethiopian poverty and the consequent policy focuses is justified.

The principles of PRO PRIDE – community participation, gender equity, inter-sectoral collaboration, appropriate technology, focus on prevention, participatory management, cost effectiveness and sustainability of programmes – are sound principles. Reviewing the practices of PRO PRIDE as guided by the aforementioned principles it is understood that the community development principles – human orientation, public participation, empowerment, ownership, release, social learning, adaptiveness and simplicity – are commendably achieved.

PRO PRIDE well dealt with understanding poverty and its interwoven nature. Issues such as the deprivation trap that the poor are entangled in; the general explanation of poverty that are given by different authors; vicious cycles of poverty and social, economic and political causes of poverty which are operating at local, national and international levels; and the rural-urban dynamics that work in exacerbating the urban poverty are covered in its socio-economic study. The study of the programme areas shows that they depict a dismal picture as a result of the operation of these poverty dynamics.

Regarding the integrated rural-urban poverty alleviation strategy, the State has made favourable policies and itself dwelled on rural poverty due to lack of financial capacity to cover both rural and urban areas. The State's rural focus is accepted to impact on the urban poverty through changing the migration pattern. PRO PRIDE is operating in the urban setting to connect the nexus – the rural-urban strategy. PRO PRIDE is operating with an integrated urban development strategy encompassing income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS prevention and control and environmental sanitation. Through integrating these areas of intervention PRO PRIDE is improving the quality of life, promoting sustainable urban economic

growth, creating income and employment generating opportunities, giving people access to resources and opportunities, improving the distribution of income and welfare, and applying sound developmental principles.

The functioning of PRO PRIDE is proven to be in a well compliance with the requirement for organisations alike. It is functioning in collaboration and participation with the popular sector – the people themselves and their community leaders. It operates with the agreement of the State bodies such as FRDCB and with other line bureaus such as Health, Education, Environmental Development, and Labour and Social Affairs. It collaborates with donors the major being ActionAid – Ethiopia (AAE). Internal components of PRO PRIDE such as the Board and the staff as well as its organisational development influence its operation. All the programmes and the projects are managed through PRO PRIDE's interaction with its internal and external stakeholders.

PRO PRIDE as an agent of development has played as a catalyst to initiate development, focused on empowerment and using the people's latent potential, materialised capacity building and facilitation. These are basically the requirements that the current NGOs should fulfill, which PRO PRIDE commendably did.

The study has indicated that although PRO PRIDE is an organisation of overall success, there are some areas of future focus both by the State and PRO PRIDE. Recommendations are made as to what both parties should do in their future focuses.

Opsomming

Wanopvatting oor armoede en die gebrek aan gesonde strategieë vir die verligting van armoede, onder andere, is swakhede van sommige van die paar bestaande NGO's in Ethiopië. Verder ondervind hulle ook probleme om hulle rol met betrekking tot die Staat en ander deelhouers te verstaan; ook die beginsels wat hulle by intervensie beoefen, is problematies. Hierdie is die kwessies wat deur die PRO PRIDE gevallestudie ondersoek word.

Die legitimiteit van PROPRIDE as 'n armoede-verliggende program, gesien in die lig van die globale en Ethiopiese armoede en die voortspruitende beleidsfokusse, word geregverdig.

Die beginsels van PRO PRIDE - gemeenskapsdeelname, geslagsgelykheid, intersektorale samewerking, geskikte tegnologie, fokus op voorkoming, deelnemende bestuur, koste-effektiwiteit en die volhoubaarheid van programme - is gesonde beginsels. Oorweging van die praktyke van PRO PRIDE aan die hand van voorgenoemde beginsels toon dat die beginsels van gemeenskapsontwikkeling - menslike oriëntasie, openbare deelname, bemagtiging, eienaarskap, bevryding, sosiale leer, aanpasbaarheid en eenvoudigheid - noemenswaardig verwesenlik is.

PRO PRIDE het goed daarin geslaag om armoede en die verweefde aard daarvan te verstaan. Kwessies soos die ontberingsvalstrik waarin die armes vasgevang is; die algemene verklarings vir armoede deur verskillende skrywers; die bouse kringloop van armoede en die sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke oorsake van armoede, aangetref op plaaslike, nasionale en internasionale vlakke; asook die landelik-stedelike dinamika wat meewerk tot die verergering van stedelike armoede word gedek in die sosio-ekonomiese studie. Die bestudering van die programareas verbeeld 'n droewige prentjie te wyte aan die operering van hierdie armoede- dinamiek.

Betreffende die geïntegreerde landelik-stedelike armoede-verligtingstrategie, het die Staat gunstige beleide gemaak en oorheersend gefokus op landelike armoede vanweë 'n gebrek aan finansiële kapasiteit vir die aanspreking van die probleem in beide landelike en stedelike gebiede. Die Staat se landelike fokus is aanneemlik gevind vir die impak wat dit op stedelike armoede kon hê deur verandering van die migrasiepatroon. PRO PRIDE opereer vanuit 'n stedelike omgewing om die verbinding,

landelik-stedelike strategie, te bewerkstellig. Dit opereer binne 'n geïntegreerde stedelike ontwikkelingstrategie behelsende inkomstegenerering, basiese opvoeding, primêre gesondheidsorg, VIGS-voorkoming en -beheer, asook omgewingsanitasie. Deur integrering van hierdie tussenkomsgebiede verbeter PRO PRIDE lewenskwaliteit, bevorder dit volhoubare stedelike ekonomiese groei, genereer dit inkomste- en indiensnemingsgeleenthede, maak dit hulpbronne en geleenthede toeganklik vir mense, verbeter dit die distribusie van inkomste en welvaart en pas dit gesonde ontwikkelingsbeginsels toe.

Die funksionering van PRO PRIDE is bewys te voldoen aan die vereistes gestel vir ooreenstemmende organisasies. Dit funksioneer met die samewerking en deelname van die volksektor - die mense en hulle gemeenskapsleiers. Dit opereer met die instemming van Staatsorgane soos FRDCB en ander lynstaatsinstansies soos dié van Gesondheid, Opvoeding, Omgewingsontwikkeling en Arbeid en Sosiale Aangeleenthede. PRO PRIDE werk ook saam met donateurs van wie die vernaamste ActionAid-Ethiopië (AAE) is. Interne komponente soos die Raad en personeel, asook die organisatoriese ontwikkeling van PRO PRIDE beïnvloed die operering daarvan. Alle programme en projekte word bestuur deur PRO PRIDE se interaksie met sy interne en eksterne deelhouers. PRO PRIDE as 'n ontwikkelingsagent het as 'n katalisator opgetree om ontwikkeling te inisieer, het gefokus op bemagtiging en gebruik van die mense se latente potensiaal en het kapasiteitsbou en fasilitering bewerkstellig. Hierdie basiese vereistes waaraan NGO's behoort te voldoen is noemenswaardig deur PRO PRIDE gerealiseer.

Die studie het getoon dat hoewel PRO PRIDE in die geheel geslaag het as organisasie, daar tog sommige gebiede is wat toekomstige aandag van beide die Staat en PRO PRIDE verdien. Aanbevelings word gemaak oor wat beide partye in hul toekomstige fokus behoort te onderneem.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and orientation

1.1. Introduction

A review of poverty alleviation through community development with reference to PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia will be made. In the developing world where governments' financial capacity is limited the roles of NGOs in poverty alleviation is expanding. Their areas of intervention are also increasingly changing. It varies from specific social problems to interwoven social, political and economic issues.

In reality most of the Ethiopian NGOs are focused on service delivery. Organisations meant for development are very few in number and practice.

PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia is an NGO operating as a poverty alleviation programme in Addis Ababa through empowering the poor. Sustainable development of the poor through using their own latent potential is the main motto of the organisation.

For a poverty alleviating NGO to be successful, it should understand what poverty is and its interwoven nature. The strategy for poverty alleviation should be considered based on the objective reality of the nature of poverty. NGOs should have knowledge about the existence of other responsible actors, and their functioning should be in coexistence and collaboration with all actors. Sound development principles are guidelines against which a community development intervention can be controlled.

This study assumes that inter alia the above conditions should be fulfilled, and PRO PRIDE as an NGO for poverty alleviation through community development should be evaluated in this regard.

1.2. Problem statement

Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries of the world. The situation of underdevelopment and poverty is a typical feature of both rural and urban areas of the country though the rural areas are worse.

The country is trying to address poverty and the international community is channelling funds to assist the country's effort in this regard. NGOs, as medium

through which the funds from the international sources flow, are important in the process of alleviating poverty in general and urban poverty in particular.

It is a short history that NGOs have in Ethiopia and their history is controversial. While they should have concentrated on developmental issues to alleviate poverty in a sustainable manner, many are not developmental or sustainable. The main problem is that the few developmental NGOs do not impact on the lives of the people. Either they lack exploring poverty itself or they lack proper poverty alleviation strategy. Some do not clarify their roles in community development as opposed to that of the State and their relationship or partnership with the State. They want to claim independence and freedom from the State. This approach causes uncoordinated operation of NGOs with apparently less or no impact on the poor.

NGOs sometimes create more dependency by introducing mere relief and handout programmes. They don't use sound development principles and people centred development approach.

The question is, does PRO PRIDE know about the poverty of the programme areas as an urban poverty alleviation programme through community development? Does it have sound strategy to alleviate poverty? Does it know its roles in poverty alleviation as opposed to that of the State and its relationship with the State in the intervention process? Does PRO PRIDE apply community development principles in order to empower the poor to reach sustainable development?

This study will consider answers for these questions.

1.3. Research hypothesis

The poverty alleviation process needs a thorough understanding of the dynamics of poverty itself and its causes. There are strategies that a country at large and specifically NGOs in urban settings should follow in order to alleviate poverty. Any intervention to alleviate poverty should understand this complex dynamics.

NGOs have important roles to fulfil in the process of alleviating poverty. In order to live up to expectations, they have to formulate clear roles including their relationship with the State and other stakeholders.

A poverty alleviation intervention through community development needs to follow certain community development principles. These principles as De Beer and

Swanepoel (1998) state, developed through a long thematic evolution in searching for appropriate strategies and methodologies. The application of the principles of community development is vital issue if poverty alleviation through community development is to be successful.

If PRO PRIDE, through its operational strategy and projects, fails to comply with the above-mentioned issues, it will not be successful in alleviating poverty through its community development.

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.1. Overall objective

The aim of this study is to determine whether PRO PRIDE, as a poverty alleviating NGO through a community development strategy, is operating according to the requirements for such an organisation.

1.4.2. Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To review whether PRO PRIDE has made an appropriate analysis of poverty in its programmes areas and whether it has defined a specific strategy for alleviating poverty;
- b) To determine whether PRO PRIDE understands its role as an agent of development and facilitation of development;
- c) To review whether PRO PRIDE fulfils the modern-day community development principles that evolved through the history of community development and
- d) To suggest practical recommendations with the view of improving PRO PRIDE's future operation in general.

1.5. Methodology

1.5.1. Literature review

- ***Conducting a comparative reference check:*** Review of the previous relevant works is made as indicated in Bless and Higson-Smith (2000: 20-21). This is

made in consultation with the desk for Public Management in the JS Gericke library. Reviews are made by accessing SABINET and South African Nexus Data Base System (National Research Foundation). The purposes of this search process were two fold: first, to understand what have been done in the field of NGOs' urban community development intervention in general, which had an important lesson for this research; the second, to assess if this issue was dealt with before. This search has shown that this study is new for the case study organisation and that the research finding will be an important learning experience for the organisation in specific and for other organisations alike.

- ***Comparative literature survey on the subject matter:*** To establish the notion of poverty and poverty analysis, strategy for alleviating urban poverty, the role of NGOs and community development principles, a comparative literature survey is made. When so doing, purposes such as indicated in Bless and Higson-Smith (2000: 20), are taken care of. Inter alia, the theoretical framework of the research is deepened and sharpened, the researcher is familiarised with the latest developments in the area of research as well as in related areas, determined what has already been done and what is yet to be studied or improved, and identified variables that must be considered in the research.

Books and journals are the main sources; other sources such as policy documents and newspaper articles are consulted, as indicated in the bibliography.

Scrutiny of the available literature on the research topic involved the mind mapping method as referred to by Brynard and Hanekom (1997: 50) (see Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000: 21).

- ***Participatory observation:*** The researcher's observation through exposure and experience of several years in related field is used.

1.5.2. Data collection

Textual data from different PRO PRIDE documents are used. The organisation's programme proposal, a document of review of the organisation's intervention for the period 1995-1998, another abridged report on accomplishment of the organisation, and a strategy document for the period 2001-2005 are thoroughly examined. The

organisation's understanding of poverty and its strategy for alleviation, its roles as an NGO and the principles it uses are presented by extracting from the aforementioned documents.

1.5.3. Data analysis and synthesis

The data presented as indicated in para. 1.5.2 are integrated with the literature. In so doing the literature is briefly reflected and then what the organisation has done are discussed critically in terms of the literature.

1.6. Definition of key concepts

The following explanations are given to reach clarity regarding concepts used in the research process.

Poverty: Two broadly defined forms of poverty can be distinguished: **Case poverty** and **community poverty** (De Beer, 2000: 2). The first kind is found in more affluent societies where the individual or an individual family suffers poverty. Community poverty, on the other hand, manifests itself where almost everyone in a community suffers poverty. Poverty in this research is considered as community poverty.

Poverty can also be classified according to the level of disadvantage experienced: namely **absolute** and **relative** (De Beer, 2000: 2). Absolute poverty is a situation where incomes are so low that even a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter and personal necessity cannot be maintained. The concept relative poverty refers to people whose basic needs are met, but who, in terms of their social environment, still experience some disadvantages. Poverty in this research means absolute poverty.

NGOs: NGOs can be defined as autonomous, privately set up, non-profit making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development action (Liebenberg, 2000: 109).

Community: As a concept in development theory, refers to a specific, functionally related population, settled in a particular geographic area at a given time (Burkey, 1993: 40-43).

Community development: This term has been an evolving concept. Through the years it has been termed "community participation", "people's participation", "popular participation", "people-centred development", etc. Swanepoel (1997: 26)

sees community development as a process whereby people are fed by information, knowledge and experience, which leads to confidence in their own abilities. Community development is a process of empowering people to strengthen their own capacities.

1.7. Structure and sequence of the study

The study is divided into 7 chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory and orientation chapter, which outlines the purpose and methodology.

The literature review is covered in chapter 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2 reviews the development challenge in general and that of Ethiopia and urban Ethiopia in particular. The chapter focuses on the nature of poverty and the strategy of poverty alleviation. In chapter 3, the role of NGOs as development agents and their relationship with the State is presented. Chapter 4 deals with the role of NGOs as facilitators of development and the community development principles that developmental NGOs such as PRO PRIDE should follow. Programme and project management in NGOs is also presented in this chapter.

The case of PRO PRIDE is presented in chapter 5. The rationale for existence, origin and evolution, visions and missions, principles, programme area selection and poverty analysis and objectives are presented. The intervention strategy of PRO PRIDE is explained. The type of organisation and management of PRO PRIDE is presented, whereby its classification as an NGO. The functioning of PRO PRIDE in its relationship with the State and other stakeholders as well as its management of the organisation are dealt with.. Achievements and encountered problems with the subsequent future strategy of PRO PRIDE are evaluated.

Chapter 6 is the synthesis of the study. The important features of PRO PRIDE as presented in chapter 5 are compared with the literature review. Legitimacy of PRO PRIDE's focus on poverty in view of the global and the Ethiopian national policy focus is presented. The urban focus of PRO PRIDE is examined, as well as beliefs, values, visions and missions. Application of community development principles is synthesised. The specific programme areas' selection and poverty analysis is evaluated. The intervention strategy followed by type of organisation and management are synthesised.

In chapter 7, a conclusion and suggested practical recommendations are given.

Chapter 2

Developmental challenges - Context

2.1. Introduction

The developmental challenges of Ethiopia in general and urban Ethiopia in particular are nothing but challenges of poverty alleviation. To comprehend the poverty context of Ethiopia, first of all the context of poverty in general and its possible causes and consequences must be evaluated.

As urban poverty is inconceivable in separation from rural poverty, it is important that the rural-urban dynamics that aggravate urban poverty should be examined.

This chapter will start by presenting the general context of poverty, which is characterised by the deprivation trap that the poor, in general, are exposed to. Additional causal relationships of poverty such as the general explanations of causes of poverty and vicious cycles depicting social, economic and political causes of poverty will be explained. An aspect of causes of poverty that operate on local, national and international levels will be presented. The rural-urban dynamics that operate to exacerbate urban poverty will be examined.

The Ethiopian reality will be dealt with, which will cover the physical environment and challenges related to population and socio-economic issues. An explanation of urban poverty in Ethiopia will be given, after which a strategy for poverty alleviation will be presented, followed by the summary of the chapter.

2.2. General context of poverty

Poverty is a global problem to the extent that it has been able to rally world attention (Sowetan, 18 Oct. 1999). According to The Daily News's (14 Apr. 2000) argument, half the world's population of three billion people survive in conditions of extreme poverty, which led to a global call for eliminating poverty as a top priority. Ethiopia is the best example of a poverty-stricken country, needing an overall poverty alleviation intervention.

But what are the nature and causes of poverty? An answer to this question is important for successful intervention to alleviate poverty. The following discussion will be focused on finding an answer.

2.2.1. The deprivation trap

Economists and social scientists have evolved concept of deprivation, which can be taken into account alongside the various objective definitions (Khusro, 1999: 49). Wuyts (1992: 13-39) recognises deficiencies in the needs of the poor as deprivation and tries to find a way for successful social action to solve it.

Visualising the nature of poverty, Chambers (1983: 111) explains that the poor are in a cycle of poverty, which he calls “the deprivation trap”. The elements in the trap, according to him, are clusters of disadvantages that the poor have and are in their negative forms interlocked, one causing and supporting the other, leaving the poor entangled in poverty. These are: poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness.

Let us briefly look at them one by one so that clarity will be established regarding the nature of the poverty trap that the poor are engulfed in. Despite some peculiarities in the types and magnitude of rural and urban poverty, it is the researcher’s belief that the deprivation trap and poverty causal relationships can be applicable to both rural and urban areas. De Beer (2000: 7) argues that there is an overlap of causes, results and influences between rural and urban poverty. Burkey (1993: 3-25) confirms this.

The following discussion is based on Chambers (1983: 108-114) and De Beer (2000: 9-13).

2.2.1.1. The household is poor

While the majority of families are poor, in dual societies rich families are also found. The poor becomes poorer and the rich richer. However, money that is distributed back to the community should not be given in the form of handouts, since this encourages dependency. Simon (1986: 8) recognises the disincentive effects of handouts.

The researcher’s participatory and professional observation in some northern parts of Ethiopia where droughts are frequent, confirm that handout as a response to this problem led to laziness and carelessness amongst the people during the normal production seasons, i.e. exacerbating poverty.

2.2.1.2. The household is physically weak

Families are large with many young children, as well as old and disabled individuals who cause a dependency burden. A great deal of food is needed to feed these many mouths, but the poor family do not have sufficient income to provide for this basic need. The poor quality and low nutritional value of the food results in under nourishment and malnutrition. Malnutrition causes low birth weight, a disadvantage to start with in life, and it also contributes to poor performance at school, and lower labour output.

2.2.1.3. The household is isolated

This refers to exclusion from communication, which is a problem both in rural and peripheral urban ghettos. People are far removed from social infrastructure such as schools and medical care; employment opportunities are scarce and spread over a large area (see Swanepoel and De Beer, 1996: 16). Alcock (1997: 6) recognises social exclusion as an aspect of poverty that refers to circumstances of deprivation and disadvantage that extends beyond the lack of material resources. The isolation of poor families, aggravated by a lack of reliable transport, contributes to a high rate of illiteracy and worsening of life. Lack of reliable transport further aggravates isolation.

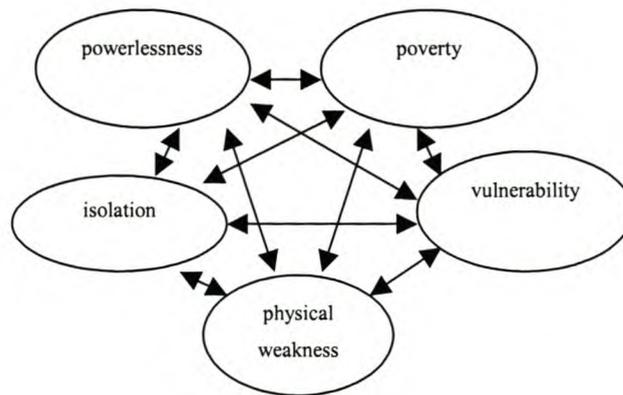
2.2.1.4. The household is vulnerable

The poor are vulnerable because of their dependence on the landlords and traditional authorities. They live from hand to mouth, with little hope of survival if the father dies. The mother must then go to work, most often in the city, and the children are left in the care of aged relatives or without care at all.

2.2.1.5. The household is powerless

The rural poor are intimidated by the practices of the rich on whom they are dependent for their livelihood. Moreover, because of their remoteness, the poor have little, if any access to politicians and opinion leaders, and can therefore not influence policies to their benefit. The World Bank (2000a: 12) concurs that poverty is more than inadequate income or inadequate human development – it is also lack of voice, power, and representation. These people have low status in the eyes of society.

Figure 2.1: The deprivation trap



Source: Chambers (1983: 112) and De Beer (2000: 11)

The causal relationships of the above elements of the deprivation trap according to Chambers (1983: 112-114) and De Beer (2000: 12-13) are as follows, i.e.

- **Poverty** leads to all the other elements in the way that it contributes to physical weakness through lack of food; contributes to isolation, for the poor is unable to pay the cost of schooling, to buy a radio, and so on; contributes to vulnerability through lack of assets to pay large expenses or to meet contingencies; contributes to powerlessness because low status goes with lack of wealth; keeps the poor without a voice (see Galbraith, 1979: 23).
- **Physical weakness** leads to poverty because of the low productivity of weak labour (weak application of labour will result in low output); the inability to cultivate larger agricultural areas; the lower wages paid to women and to those who are weak; and the withdrawal of labour through illness.

It also results in isolation due to the lack of time or energy to make use of communication mediums such as meetings. It adds to vulnerability by jeopardising the ability to resolve a crisis through harder work and it contributes to powerlessness through lack of time and energy for participation.

- **Isolation** of the poor leads to the continuation of their poverty, for social services do not reach those who are living in remote areas. Isolation of the poor is always interrelated with their physical weakness: remote (isolated) households often have a high level of migration of the able-bodied people to towns or other better-off rural areas. The vulnerability of the poor is

aggravated by their isolation: marginal areas are more liable to suffer crop failures, and they are provided with fewer services to accommodate contingencies like famine or sickness. Little contact with political leaders can also ensue from isolation of the poor, thus enhancing their powerlessness.

- **Vulnerability** also relates to physical weakness: in order to accommodate contingencies, time and energy have to be substituted for money. The vulnerable family is more isolated. Being left to the mercy of the pawnbroker, moneylender or landlord, they have to find another means of income, and may also be socially isolated because of their predicament. Vulnerable people are powerless, for they are dependent on the patrons who support them.
- **Powerlessness** adds to poverty through limiting or preventing access to resources and because there is a lack of legal redress for abuses. It also enhances the weakness of the poor in negotiating the terms of distress sales: time and energy that could have been used to strengthen the household's position in society have to be devoted to make labour available for household production or other earnings; food supplies may never be obtained because people are powerless to demand that which has been intended for their consumption.

Powerlessness enhances isolation of the poor because of their inability to attract government attention; powerlessness also makes them vulnerable to sudden demands for the repayment of loans.

2.2.2. Additional causal relationships of poverty

The deprivation trap is explained by Burkey (1993: 6-25) in another form. He discusses the general explanations of causes of poverty in the Third World. Burkey maintains that the general explanations are partial due to limited motivations of the writers concerning, inter alia, ideology, education and training and class prejudice. He analyses poverty from a symptom versus cause or primary versus secondary cause perspective and constructs vicious cycles of poverty. In the vicious cycles it is shown how one cause results in another until it gets back to the starting point. These vicious cycles depict how elements of poverty are interwoven. Burkey (1993: 14-20) explains that these causes can be social, political and or economic in nature operating on local, national and international levels. Any intervention to eradicate poverty should identify

which is the root cause (the primary cause) and which the secondary cause. It also calls for a holistic approach.

2.2.2.1. The general explanations of causes of poverty

According to Burkey (1993: 6), there are almost as many theories explaining the causes of poverty in the Third World, as there are development theorists. The following five headings can fairly group the explanations.

- ***Lack of modernisation tendencies:*** this is explained as the poor's lack of modern technology and outlook. Lack of technology is described as lack of modern equipment and other inputs and the inability of the poor to use these techniques. Lack of modern outlook is ascribed to the poor's resistance to change.
- ***Physical limitation:*** this refers among others to the argument that most areas of the Third World are subject to long periods of drought. Population pressures also intensify this problem. The physical conditions of the poor resulting from their destitute condition create new barriers to development.

Though drought is a reality in Ethiopia, it is not a major cause of poverty. It is the government's lack of capacity to respond to the problem that is the major problem. Initiatives such as those implemented by PRO PRIDE could raise the capacity of people to resist drought.

- ***Bureaucratic stifling of development:*** non-government organisations attribute to the Third Worlds' overgrown bureaucracies and over-centralisation of development problems. Over-centralisation leads to decisions and programmes, which are not only unrelated, but also often detrimental, to the real interest of the people. The lack of representative and bottom-up, participatory local government prevents the emergence of local initiatives. Government bureaucracies and politicians are often elitist and not interested in or, even worse, antagonistic to the needs of the poor.
- ***Dependency of Third World countries:*** Third World countries are politically, economically and technologically, dependent on developed countries for capital, technology and market. The West dictates the Third World. Unfair or immoral practice, to eliminate competition in the market is a mechanism of

economic control. Development assistance is considered as a source of Third World dependence, and development becomes an exploitation strategy.

Although international assistance is an important element in Ethiopian development, its dominance in all aspects that are indicated above is evident. For a country to be freed from poverty, it is the researcher's opinion that international assistance should be based on the recipient countries own realities. The imposition of First World ideologies and development philosophies could impede local initiatives.

- ***Exploitation of the poor***: it is maintained that the immediate causes of poverty lie in the domination of poor people and their resultant dependence on powerful local elites. The poor are unable to accumulate their own savings or obtain reasonable loans from established credit institutions, and have to borrow from moneylenders at unfavourable terms; they are obliged to sell their products for a low price; they are paid minimal wages, etc.

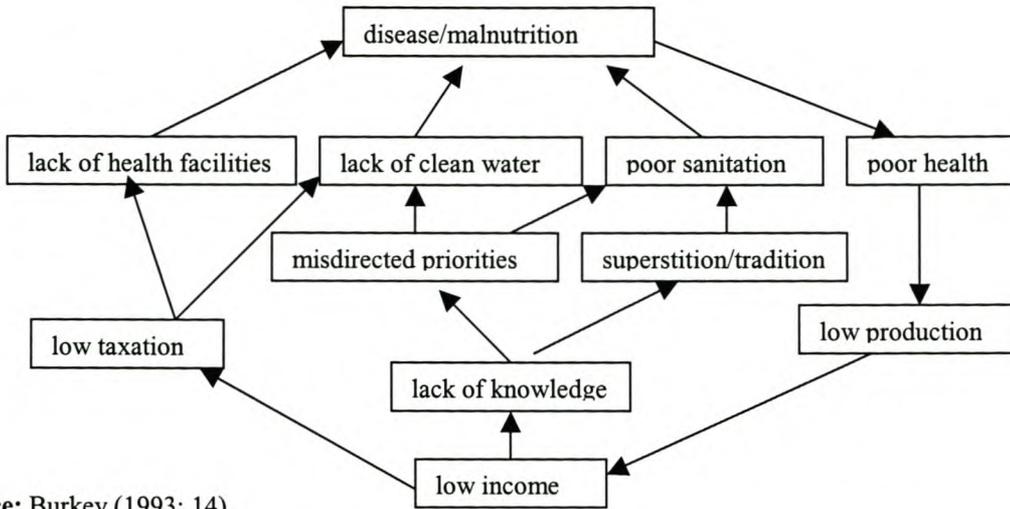
It is the researcher's opinion that any strategy for development, if it is to be sustainable, must act upon the factors that create exploitation, vulnerability and dependency.

Theorists accept the above causes differently. Technocrats and practitioners argue that a lack of modernisation, physical limitation and bureaucratic stifling are more important while academics and leftists emphasise dependency and exploitation. In order to solve these partiality problems, Burkey discusses the causes of poverty using vicious cycles and the causes operating at local, national and international levels.

2.2.2.2. Examples of vicious cycles

In order to solve the above-mentioned problems, Burkey (1993: 11-17) constructs vicious cycles to explain causal relationships of poverty leading to multiple and integrated solutions.

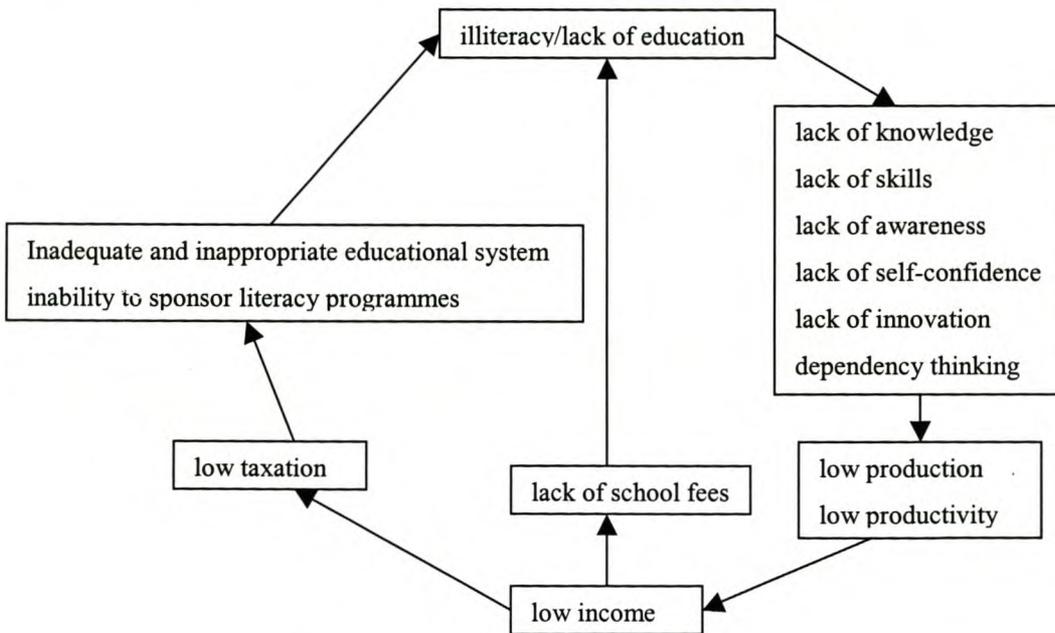
Figure 2.2: A vicious cycle of disease and malnutrition as a cause of poverty



Source: Burkey (1993: 14)

The above vicious circle can also be extended to depict more causal relationships.

Figure 2.3: A vicious cycle of illiteracy and lack of education as a cause of poverty

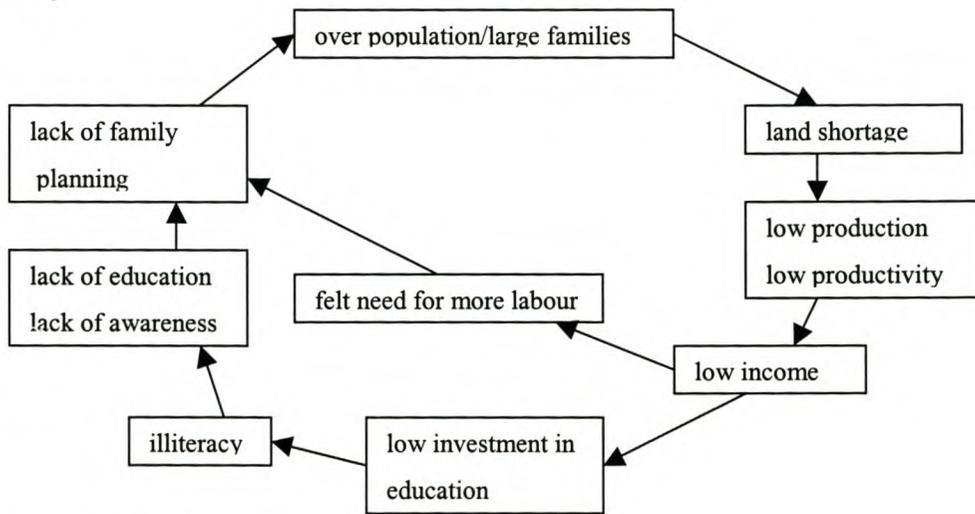


Source: Burkey (1993: 15)

Figure 2.4 is pertinent to elaborate on poverty. While its population is the first and foremost wealth of a nation, over-population, causing large families and burdens are causes of poverty. The high rate of birth, a characteristics of least developed countries (LDC), leads inter alia to high economic dependency burdens i.e. non-productive members of the society (Todaro, 1989: 37-8). Children in poor societies are seen

partially as economic investment goods in that there is an “expected return” in the form of both child labour and the provision of financial support for parents in old age. Though over-population, according to the researcher, is not the primary cause of poverty in Ethiopia where there is untapped resource potential, it is evident that the belief of children being an economic investment is a major characteristic. This aggravates poverty in the country.

Figure 2.4: The vicious cycle of over population and large families as a cause of poverty

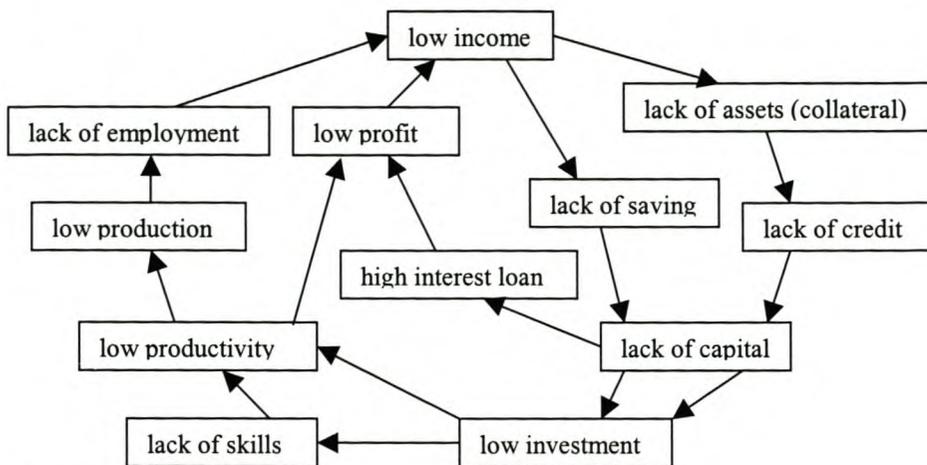


Source: Burkey (1993: 16)

In all of the vicious cycles illustrated above there are several common elements: low income, low production, lack of knowledge, and lack of awareness. Two of these are economic and two are social constraints to development.

Figure 2.5 is a vicious cycle of economic constraints. These are so important to development efforts that they need to be looked at more closely.

Figure 2.5: The vicious cycle of economic constraints as causes of poverty



Source: Burkey (1993: 16)

It is important to understand that the above vicious cycles of poverty are caused by multiple problems at local, national and international levels, that they are multi-dimensional in nature and comprehending them can only be done by using a multi-disciplinary and holistic approach.

2.2.2.3. Local, national and international causes of poverty

Burkey (1993: 17-20) explains the interlinked social, political and economic causes operate on local, national and international levels. Since a local initiative is more powerful on local causes the division between local, national and international causes of poverty helps to identify the problems on which local initiatives can focus.

- **Social causes of poverty**

Table 2.1: Social causes of poverty

Local	National	International
Lack of knowledge	Ethnic differences/conflicts	Neo-colonialism
Lack of skills	Corruption	Racial prejudice
Lack of awareness	Mismanagement	North-South differences
Dependency thinking	Legacies of colonialism	
Large families	Lack of family planning programmes	
Corruption	Poor social services	

Source: Adapted from Burkey (1993: 18)

Explaining the legacies of colonialism and neo-colonialism as national and international social causes respectively, Burkey (1993: 18) argues that many politicians and intellectuals in Uganda say, “Colonialism is the root cause of our poverty”. This notion is seconded by Harrison (1987: 47-60) who argues that the roots of poverty are related to the influence of the Western culture or imitation of the Western style by the elites who when taking power, ignored the local cultures and values. Galbraith (1979: 18) agrees and states that the legacies of colonialism destroyed self-confidence and created a habit of dependency.

What is known to be a *soft state* i.e. a State that excessively controls development endeavours, although it professes to promote development, is inter alia a character of the Third World development policies (Kotze and Kotze, 1997: 72). According to Swanepoel (2000: 89), an external colonial authority imposed a *soft state*, especially in Africa, and it did not evolve over a historical period of time. As a result the *soft state* has to exercise hard-line coercive means to implement its decisions and maintain its authority. This will, among others, imply a political cause of poverty.

- ***Political causes of poverty***

For poverty eradication, the political structures, which make authorities responsible to the broad wishes and needs of the people, must exist (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989: 132). Galbraith (1979: 5) argues that one of the most commonly offered explanations of poverty and well-being invokes among other things the nature of State. IMF (2000a: 37) argues that reasons for poverty are complex and different from country to country. Common and often mutually reinforcing causes found in many cases include misguided economic policies, weak institutions, political instability, and recurrent civil unrest and armed conflicts. External factors often contribute through frequent negative terms-of-trade shocks.

Table 2.2: Political causes of poverty

Local	National	International
Lack of local government institutions	Political instability	Neo-colonialism
Sectarianism	Civil war	Fluctuating commodity prices
Nepotism and favouritism	Lack of democratic decision-making	Tariffs and quotas
Lack of law and order	Lack of political will	Unfair trade practices
Corruption	Lack of interest in poor people	External debt
Lack of local participation	Legacies of colonialism	
Lack of political education	Corruption and nepotism	
	Lack of good administration	
	Breakdown of legal system	

Source: Adapted from Burkey (1993: 19)

The division between local and national causes of poverty is arbitrary with national conditions dominating and affecting local conditions (Burkey, 1993: 19). Political causes of poverty at the national level should be resolved in order to direct the local situation to a favourable state of poverty eradication.

- ***Economic causes of poverty***

A major cause of poverty, besides social and political, is economic. According to Galbraith (1979: 10), a country is said to be poor because it lacks capital for development. Savings for investment accrue only when there is a surplus beyond that is required for immediate consumption. Similarly, it is said that the country is poor because it lacks trained, educated, or experienced technical and administrative talent (Galbraith, 1979: 11).

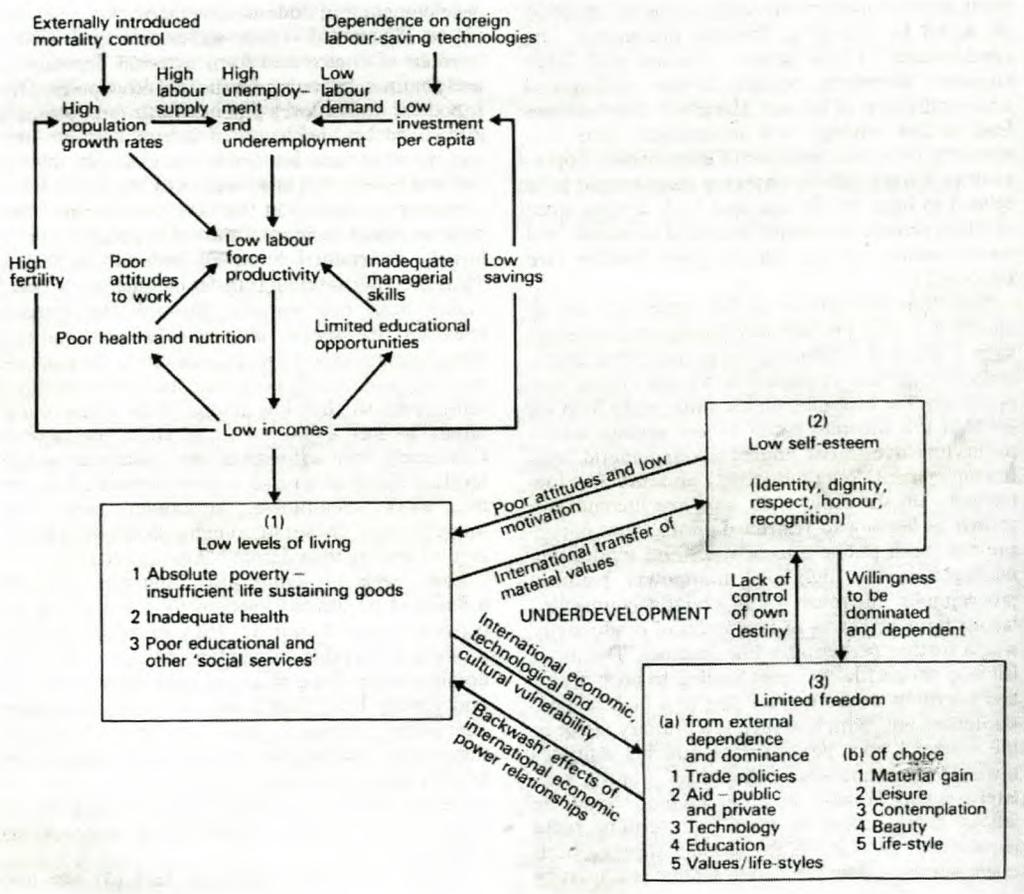
Table 2.3: Economic causes of poverty

Local	National	International
Lack of capital	Inflation	Neo-colonialism
Lack of savings	Central marketing	Fluctuating commodity prices
Lack of credit	Inefficient parastatal industries	Tariffs and quotas
Lack of skilled labour	Lack of effective demand	Unfair trade practices
Lack of management skills	Lack of transport and communication	External debt

Source: Adapted from Burkey (1993: 20)

Todaro (1982: 98-100) summarises the issues hitherto discussed in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6: Poverty: a multidimensional schematic framework



Source: Adapted from Todaro (1982: 100)

According to Todaro (1982: 98-9), the primary components of underdevelopment – low levels of living (life-sustenance), low self-esteem and limited freedom – are depicted as three rectangular boxes with arrows indicating general lines of causation.

The arrows in the upper left side of Figure 2.6 (the productivity-income relationship) form a series of continuous loops indicating that a process of circular causation or a “vicious cycle” is in operation. The causes of underdevelopment (poverty) are generally economic and non-economic and they affect one another in a “circular cumulative causation” (a vicious cycle). Todaro recognises the local-national-international dynamics in Figure 2.6.

PRO PRIDE as a local NGO working at micro level is therefore expected to deal, within its area of interest, with the challenges that are operating at the local level.

In the above discussions an attempt is made to show the linkages between causes of poverty. The above mainly rural-oriented explanations and analyses is due to the fact that while the analyses are comprehensive, they are, in general, also applicable to urban poverty. It is impossible to perceive urban poverty without understanding rural poverty as one system, a point De Beer and Swanepoel (2000: 18-30) confirm.

2.2.3. Rural-urban dynamics

As migration, among others, is a key determinant of urban employment, the migration issue must be investigated in order to comprehend the nature and cause of urban unemployment (Todaro, 1994: 262).

Based on the reality that rural and urban povertys are interrelated, two issues, among others, are outstanding especially from the viewpoint of exacerbating urban poverty. These are migration and urban bias. The rural poor migrate to urban areas to flee from rural deprivation. This consequently boosts and worsens the urban poverty. Development inputs in urban areas encourage cityward migration. In the following discussion, these dynamics will be presented.

2.2.3.1. Migration

Rural deprivation and poverty “push” people towards cities. Too little land for income generation, too few job opportunities, and the fact that schools and clinics are few and far removed, all contribute towards the hardship experienced by rural inhabitants. The insufficient supply of the above “forces” people into deciding to find a better alternative (De Beer, 2000: 7). For Theron and Graaff (1987: 18-21), people are pushed from rural areas for the following combination of related reasons:

- **Economic.** Significant is the prominence of economically-based factors, i.e. the pursuit of higher individual and household income. According to Todaro (1981: 18) and (Gugler, 1992: 66-7), although migration arises from numerous factors, the financial motive mostly dominates.
- **Non-economic quality of life factors or “enhancement needs”.** These relate to the need for education and medical facilities; upward social mobility; recognition and prestige; self-respect; individual freedom; achievement opportunities; access to housing; and the presence of family, friends and social networks etc.
- **Household tension and conflict (system avoidance).** This, inter alia, results from:
 - a) accusation of witchcraft;
 - b) youthful revolt against parental and avuncular authority;
 - c) traditional marriage customs, like compulsory and prescribed marriage;
 - d) traditional discipline relating to the showing of respect and punishment;
 - e) customary obligations like caring for the elderly, distribution of income, and certain debt obligations and
 - f) customary hereditary rules which may exclude certain household members from wealth and status.
- **The lure of “bright light” and “the great unknown”.** Rural migrants are pushed away by the monotony of home-life, the excitement of the “new world” and the status attached to migrant returnees.

Rural migrants believe that what they are deprived of in rural areas they will get in the cities. Urban areas seem to hold much promise and therefore “pull” people towards them (De Beer, 2000: 7-8). De Jong and Fawcett (1981: 20) acknowledge the social and economic causes of migration with an implicit “push-pull” perspective. While accepting the general tendency of migration towards cities, Theron and Graaff (1987: 5) recognise that not only do rural areas “push” and urban areas “pull” migrants but also the vice versa is true sometimes. There are four primary pressures, first of which acts to attract (or pull) migrants to cities, the second to push labour off the land, the

third to draw migrants back to the land, and the fourth, actively to push them out of urban areas. In Ethiopia it is not a small number of migrants who are pushed back to their rural areas due to failure of life in the cities.

It does not, however, mean that migration towards rural areas offsets that towards cities. According to Todaro (1981: 16), the net migration accounts for between one-third and three-fourth of the urban population growth. Population flow is greater towards urban areas (De Jong and Gardner, 1981: xi).

According to Todaro (1994: 261), rural-urban migration is in excess of urban job opportunities and urban social services. When the rural poor are attracted by urban opportunities, urban poverty is intensified. De Jong and Gardner (1981: 1) argue that the shift of the internal population growth pattern from natural increase to migration exacerbated the already serious problem of urban poverty.

The above-mentioned tendency of migration towards cities and migration motives as well as the consequent results of poverty are common to Third World countries. Analysing the main reason for these problems lead, among others, to the issue of urban bias, which will be explored next.

2.2.3.2. Urban bias

Todaro (1981: 13) links urban bias and rural neglect. He argues that there is a general belief that rural enterprises cannot supply enough capital for a long-range, ongoing program of development. Urban workers, however, could afford to save, and government could then use such moneys to invest in various development projects. Therefore, a society could accumulate capital to continuously expand its output only as long as the urban sector in general, and heavy industry in particular, kept growing.

According to De Beer (2000: 8) urban bias is due to the fact that Third World governments tend to make more capital investment in roads, schools, hospitals and airfields in urban areas, which are, after all, where the ruling elites mostly find themselves. Cities are centres of power and privilege (Gugler, 1992: 64), but not only that, as Todaro (1981: 15) argues, the value given to cities and concentration of decision-makers and bureaucrats in the largest cities has induced producers of goods and services to locate there.

When deciding between policies on investment in urban and rural areas, cities get preferential treatment. Not only do politicians and the privileged in cities benefit from urban development, but also they are able to appease a large number of political voters (De Beer, 2000: 8).

The solution to urban poverty lies not only in improving the necessary services for urban areas but also in government's attention to creating a balanced rural-urban development policy in view of avoiding urban bias. Todaro (1994: 247) argues that a promising attack on employment problems in developing countries is in efforts to redress the present urban bias in development strategies (See Lipton in Gilbert, 1992a: 222).

It is the researcher's belief that Ethiopian urban poverty in general and that of the capital, Addis Ababa, in particular can only be alleviated when there is an integrated rural-urban development effort.

The focus so far was to explain the general poverty context and the interwoven nature of causes of poverty. The purpose for the discussion of the broader context was to create a clear background for the presentation of the context of poverty in Ethiopia in general and urban Ethiopia in particular.

2.3. The general context of poverty in Ethiopia

In general, poverty in Ethiopia depicts the whole spectrum of hitherto discussed natures of poverty. The deprivation trap is apparent both in rural and urban areas. The vicious cycles of poverty portraying related socio-economic and political problems are apparent, as well as the importance of local, national and international causes of poverty. The rural-urban dynamics, which perpetuate urban poverty, among others, is a major character of Ethiopia.

In presenting the context of poverty in Ethiopian, the physical environment will be presented, through which the untapped endowments of the country will be shown. Population composition and problems related to it will be discussed. Then socio-economic features of poverty will be dealt with.

2.3.1. Physical environment

Ethiopia covers 1, 133,380 sq.km of land space (Europa Publications, 2001: 494) and has got abundant natural resources (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 6). According to PRO

PRIDE (2000a: 6), the government's Master Land Use Plan (MLUP) indicates that 63 % of the area is cultivable of which only 23 % is currently being utilised. In addition to this resource, the country has varied agro-ecological zones that are suitable for different fauna and flora. This diversity corresponds to the altitudinal challenges and has strong influence on human settlement, economic activity, the way of life and on human and livestock health.

In terms of livestock population, Ethiopia ranks first in Africa and ninth in the world. The country also has 14 major rivers with a total runoff of about 102 billion cubic metres of water. In both cases, due to a multitude of factors the resources have not been well utilised until now. For instance, it is only an insignificant part of the water resource, which is currently put into use for purposes of irrigation, hydroelectric power and other human needs. Similarly, even though the country has a huge livestock resource, both in type and number, the average annual growth rate of major livestock food commodities has never increased since the mid 70s and falls behind those of many sub-Saharan countries (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 6).

2.3.2. Population composition

According to World of Information (2000: 111), Ethiopia is the third most populous country in Africa. The population of the country according to 1996 statistics is 61.6 million (Europa Publications, 2001: 494 and United Nations, 2000: 2). PRO PRIDE (2000a: 6) details the population statistics further: males constitute 50.3 % and females 49.7 %. The preponderant percentage of the population (86.3 %) is rural (see United Nations, 2000: 45), and though the size of the urban population will continue to increase in absolute terms, the distribution between rural and urban will show little change for some time to come (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 6).

The average birth rate per 1000 between 1990-95 was 46.5 with a death rate of 19.2 (Europa Publications, 2001: 494). The infant mortality rate was 109 per 1000 live births and approximately 48 % of children were under weight during the period 1990-98 (World of Information, 2000: 111).

The overall dependency burden amounts to about half of the population of the less developed nations as compared to one-third of the populations for developed countries. This is, among others, an important problem that needs to be addressed in developing countries (Todaro, 1989: 37-8 and 1994: 48-9).

Ethiopia depicts an example of a high dependency burden. In terms of age structure, 46 % of the population is less than 15, while those of 60 and above amount only 4.8 % (World of Information, 2000: 111). The economically-active age population, which is between 15-59, comprises 51.2 % of the total population. Based on the International Labour Office (ILO) (2000: 9), the actual economically-active population from different age groups is 49.7 %. The percentage of the population below 15 years has been decreasing over the past 15 years from 48.4 % and this will further decline to 40.3 % by the year 2015. The proportion of population above 59 years has declined from 7 % in 1984 to 4.8 % in 1998, and it will further decrease to 4.7 % fifteen years from now (Befekadu and Berhane in PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 6).

According to Europa Publications (2001: 294), life expectancy at birth for 1990-95 was 45.2 with the distribution for males 43.9 and females 46.7 years (see United Nations, 2000: 85). The World of Information (2000: 111) estimates that the population will double by 2015.

The population issues is an important factor in the overall development of the country at large and in poverty eradication specific. The State has also taken the issue abreast in its development agenda and has formulated a policy that has the objectives of, among others, matching the population growth rate with that of resources, reduction of rural to urban migration and empowering women to play pivotal roles in development (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 8).

It is the researcher's belief that unchecked population growth will have implications for poverty eradication. One of the implications of the current population growth is that with the dominance of the young age group in the population structure, investments in the areas of education and health will remain important for future development. This inter alia implies that, with the current growth rate and prevailing poverty, the role of the voluntary sector in availing these services will remain crucial in addition to state intervention.

2.3.3. The socio-economic context of poverty

According to Jeppe (1985: 10), Ethiopia's rural population comprises more than 80 % of the total population. Simon (1986: 3) explains that agriculture constitutes the largest sector of the economy in terms of employment, share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and foreign exchange earning (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 9). Saving and

investment are too low to push economic development forward and unfavourable terms of trade, the growing debt burden and high dependence on foreign aid are still major features of the Ethiopian economy.

Burkey (1993: 4) explains the Ethiopian context from the general wealth of nations perspective as defined by Gross National Product (GNP). According to him, GNP is usually presented in terms of per capita figures, in which Ethiopia has one of the lowest in the world. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2000b: 14), Ethiopia's per capita GNP is one-fourth of the average for sub-Saharan Africa and is just about the lowest in the world. For Taye (1999: 482), Ethiopia is one of the least developed African countries.

The growth rate of real GDP was high for the years 1992 to 1996, but then declined drastically in the next two years (World of Information, 2000: 109). The average growth rate since 1991/92 had been 4.7 % (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 9), while according to Yedder (2001: 203), the average growth rate for GNP per capita on the 1998 figure was 2.6 %. The variation from one year to another, according to PRO PRIDE (2000a: 9), is strongly linked to the performance of the agricultural sector, whose share of GDP since 1991/92 has been on average 51.4 %, and above all whose performance is closely tied to the frequency and intensity of rain. In the same period industry grew by 8.7 % while that of the services sector had been 8.4 %. As stated above, structure wise, the Ethiopian economy is predominantly agrarian and the share of industry (both manufacturing and construction) has never exceeded 12 % of the GDP since 1991/92. On the other hand, growth has been observed in the services sector, which was 38 % of the GDP for the same period.

Regardless of the fact that agriculture is the dominant contributing economic sector, and accountable for the livelihood of 86.3 % of the countries population (Yedder, 2001: 202), its performance over the past eight years was poor except for the year 1992/93 and 1995/96 (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 9). With 96 % of cultivable land falling under smallholdings of peasants that produce 94 % of the food crop, the sector is characterised by subsistence agriculture, which is vulnerable to recurrent drought and famine (The World Bank, 2000b). World of Information (2000: 108-9) concurs with the fact that the rain-fed agriculture and paucity of irrigation pushes Ethiopia to the vulnerability of drought.

According to Europa Publications (2001: 493), acute food shortages remain the most immediate and protracted economic problem confronting the majority of Ethiopians. Ethiopia has never escaped food insecurity as major national concern for some decades in the past. Even at this time an estimated 50-60 % of the population is food insecure and the number of drought-affected people has grown from 2.53 million in 1981 to nearly 8 million in 2000 (Mulat Demeke and Recent Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) figures in PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 9).

It would not be amiss to wonder why Ethiopia, which has abundant agricultural resources and with 86.3 % of its population in rural areas, has failed to feed itself. The question whether the country can pull itself out of this quagmire is crucial. Problems that choke the growth and better performance of Ethiopian agriculture are deep-rooted. Some are related to State policies, backward means and methods of production, which has also aggravated natural resource degradation. Exclusion of peasants from important decision-making processes, poorly-designed policies of surplus extraction from the sector, a high population growth rate, which is partly accountable for decreasing household plot size and the land tenure system, are among the major factors that are worth mentioning.

As the World of Information (2000: 112) explains, the country's industrial sector contributes 6.7 % to GDP and employs 7 % of the workforce. It is primarily based on the processing of agricultural raw materials. Principal among these is food processing, but textile, handcraft, and leather production are significant. Handcrafts and the small manufacturing industry contribute over 10 % of GDP. In general manufacturing forms only a minor part of the Ethiopian economy (The World Bank, 2000c: 1). Growth is constrained by a lack of raw materials, outdated machinery and techniques and the need for imports throughout the sector.

Ethiopia is one of the least-industrialised countries of the world where the share of industry to the total GDP is low in comparison to agriculture and services (The World Bank, 2000b). The sector has its own problems that need to be tackled, and these include, among others, poor interlinkage between large-scale industries and small-scale industries, under utilisation of capacity of large-scale industries, lack of markets for small-scale industries and low level of productivity. In the Ethiopian context, the industrial sector has a long way to go to absorb surplus labour from rural areas and to generate foreign currency in the competitive global market. Policies pursued by the

previous regime had not only been less conducive to promoting meaningful contribution of the private sector to the industrial sector, but they had also been highly restrictive.

Regarding the services sector, the World Bank's African Development Indicators 1998/99 show that this sector, which comprises financial, education, health and other institutions, observed a decline of 4.8 % of growth in 1992 and an increase of 16 % in 1993; otherwise, the sector's growth as from 1994 has been steady (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 10).

The country is plagued by an extremely low income level and poor social indicators (high rates of infant, under-five, and maternal mortality; poor nutritional status; low rates of school enrolment, and retention). Given that over 50 % of the population is estimated to live in poverty, it is difficult for a household and communities to provide their children with adequate nutrition and care (The World Bank, 2000d)

According to Yedder (2001: 203), the percentage of the population with access to health care in 1998 was 55, sanitation 10 and safe water 27. For PRO PRIDE (2000a: 10) the health service coverage, which stood at 45 %, has not changed since 1995. Further the country's health professional population ratio is by far lower than that of the WHO standard, for instance, the physician to population ratio is 1: 38,619 while the WHO standard is 1: 10,000; similarly, the nurse to population ratio of Ethiopia is 1: 13920 compared to 1: 5000 according to WHO's standard. Regarding the health institution population ratio, the hospital population ratio is 1: 658,305 while it is 1: 222,850 and 1: 27,456 for health centres and health stations respectively. Again there is wide gap between the WHO standard and the current health institution population ratio (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 10).

It is worth noting that there is a disparity between rural and urban areas in terms of health service coverage. The recent review of the Ethiopian economy by the Ethiopian Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation (MEDaC) shows that distribution is very skewed and on average 30 % of all hospital beds, 62 % of doctors and 46 % of the nurses, are located in Addis Ababa (MEDaC in PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 10). This shows an urban bias, which existed during the past regimes. It is however the researcher's view that the current private investment concentration in Addis

Ababa in this sector must be assisted and facilitated by State policies to reach the rural areas.

According to Yedder (2001: 203), in 1998 the population registrations for primary, secondary and tertiary education were 31%, 11% and 1 % respectively. Regarding education, enrolment at all levels of education is one of the lowest in absolute terms compared to other sub-Saharan countries. The primary school enrolment ratio was 29 % of the gross enrolment ratio in 1996/97. It has been estimated by Oxfam that 21 % of children age 6-11 will enrol for school by 2015 (World of Information, 2000: 111). Regarding secondary education the gross enrolment ratio at junior secondary and senior secondary levels were 19 % and 9 % respectively for the same period (PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 10).

From the outset the Ethiopian government has given due consideration to improve the sector by increasing expenditure on education and by developing a new educational policy. The development of the new training and education policy has by itself been a step forward since it attempts to address such important issues as universal primary education, focusing on skill formation, instructional media and redefining the role of education as a supportive tool for developing technology.

Regarding the budgetary expenditure increase on education, Europa Publications (2001: 496) shows that there had been substantial growth from 1995/96 up to 1997/98, i.e. from Birr* (Ethiopian currency) 1,382.9 million in 1995/96 to Birr 1,563.6 million in 1997/98. According to PRO PRIDE (2000a: 11), expenditure on education out of the total State expenditure had grown from 10.1 % in 1986/87 to 19.7 % in 1997/98. Other notable actions to improve the sector were the construction of primary schools, salary adjustment for teachers, establishment of career hierarchy and decentralising the administration.

* 1 Birr is equivalent to R 1.08.

Regardless of the fact that there is a growing commitment on the side of the present State to improve the performance of the education sector, the age-old problems are as crucial as before. These problems, according to Economic Focus 2/5 in PRO PRIDE (2000a: 11), could be categorised into three major areas namely access, equity and equality. In terms of access and equity, major issues are low enrolment rate, high gender and rural/urban disparity while in the quality side the curriculum, quality of manpower and availability of adequate learning materials are issues that come to the fore. Moreover, literacy had declined from 27 % to 24.3 % between 1984 and 1994 (Economic Focus 2/5 in PRO PRIDE, 2000a: 11).

Social and economic infrastructure including roads, electricity, water supplies, schools and hospitals are in poor condition. The United Nations Human Development Index ranks Ethiopia as one of the low human development countries.

As stated earlier, the Ethiopian economy is characterised by low domestic savings and low investment.

The aim of this study is to explain the context of poverty in urban Ethiopia leading to an evaluation of PRO PRIDE's intervention. The general poverty context of Ethiopia gives a background to the complex nature of the development challenge.

2.4. Poverty in urban Ethiopia

The focus here will be on the general nature of poverty in urban Ethiopia followed by the disparity regarding poverty among the major urban centres.

2.4.1. Poverty in general

The poverty context of Urban Ethiopia will be presented based on PRO PRIDE (2000a: 15-17).

Urbanisation is a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia that started in the 19th century especially during the reign of emperor Menelik (1885-1913). According to the Ethiopian Central Statistics Authority (CSA) urban centres are those with a population size of 2000 and above. There are about 925 centres through out the country that fall in this category.

As compared to the rapid growth of cities in developing countries (Todaro, 1994: 248 and Gilbert 1992b: 7), the urbanisation scale in Ethiopia is low. In 1984 for example,

the urban population of the country comprised only 11.4 % of the total population and remained substantially low up to 1999 (only 14-17 %) (see United Nations, 2000: 45). The change in the first quarter of the first century in the second millennium, i.e. in 2030 will remain low and the urban population will comprise less than 25 % of the population.

Poverty in urban Ethiopia is usually reported as less severe when compared to rural areas. This statement should not underestimate the fact that poverty in urban centres, especially in the capital is steadily growing to dehumanising proportions. Urban poverty cannot be understood in separation of the poverty situation of the country in general, which directly affects the lives of millions of people that live in rural areas. This reflects how urban problems inter alia are direct consequences of rural problems (see para. 2.2.3 for rural-urban dynamics). The solution is an urban-rural integrated approach to development planning.

Urban poverty in Ethiopia can be best explained by features such as an uncertainty of income source and low household income; an alarming rate of unemployment among the economically active age population; a rising numbers of street dwellers, sub-standard dwellings and poor living environment; prostitution and drug addiction; the total hopelessness of the poor amidst the existence of social services such as schools, financial institutions, health institutions; the widening income gap between the haves and the have-nots and others.

The CSA report on welfare shows that 34.4 % of children in urban areas in 1996 were underweight, 58.4 % of the children were stunted and 23.7 % of those who reported that they had illnesses had not gone to health institutions because the services are expensive.

Access to potable water is low. The CSA shows that of the total urban households only 14.8 % have their own tap, while 51.4 % used public taps. This holds true for access to such facilities as source of energy and human waste disposals. In the former case, the percentage of households that had a private electricity line for lighting in 1996 was only 27.8 % and those who shared with others were 29.6 % of the urban households; also nearly 42 % of the urban households did not have proper latrine facilities.

Gilbert (1992a: 243-4) explains how the rural socio-economic situations directly reflect on urban poverty. Policies that transform the rural economy also affect urban conditions (see De Beer, 2000: 8).

As stated earlier, poverty in the urban areas is closely tied to the poverty situation in the rural areas. The deterioration of the living condition in rural areas also hits the urban poor very hard. Most of the migrants from rural areas to urban centres are usually rural destitute and this usually over-burdens the limited number of social services in urban areas. Recent macro-economic policy reforms such as liberalisation of the market, public expenditure reductions and subsidies are also important factors, which aggravate poverty in urban centres.

According to Gilbert, (1992b: 12), the pattern and process of urban development are those of an unequal world. There is no way in which the process of urban development can be understood in isolation from the process that generates inequality. Though inequalities exist at the international level, there are also important inequalities in income within Third World countries. Ethiopia is a good example of this reality.

Income disparity in urban Ethiopia is high. According to Bigsten and Mekonnen in PRO PRIDE (2000a: 16), the bottom 40 % of all households received only about 7 % of the total income, while the top 20 % received nearly 60 % of both income per household and income per consumption unit.

2.4.2. Disparity among urban centres

In terms of regional distribution of urban centres, Oromia holds the largest population (40 %) followed by Amhara (22.5 %). This holds true for the percentage distribution of urban population.

A report on the 1994 socio-economic survey of major urban centres in Ethiopia indicates that there is variation among urban centres in terms of income and expenditure at the household level and asset holdings. This variation is further reflected in the state of poverty in the urban areas.

The poverty situation in urban areas has not shown marked decline in the past eight years. Incidence of total poverty has increased in Dire Dawa, Bahir Dar and Jima. On

the other hand, a decline was observed in Awassa and Mekele. Still in absolute terms, Addis Ababa holds the largest percentage of people falling under the poverty line.

In terms of some basic household asset holdings Mekele and Dessie are the towns where lowest holding is observed.

Given the above poverty problems, it is necessary to explore the strategies available to deal with the problems, which will be done next.

2.5. Strategy for poverty alleviation

Galbraith (1979: 3) states that the most common explanation of mass poverty, one that is offered at all levels of professional sophistication everyday, is that the community is poor because it is poor.

Chambers (1983: 111) argues that one can go further than saying people are poor because they are poor, and do something meaningful to alleviate the problems. According to Korten (1986: 22-23), the time has come to devote to explicit strategies for democratic structural changes that will enable people to liberate themselves from oppressive social structures, which perpetuate their dependency and their powerlessness.

It must however be made clear that rural and urban poverty cannot be viewed in isolation (De Beer, 2000: 7). According to De Beer, of the 1 billion absolutely poor in the world, 85 % still live in rural areas. When some manage to escape they mainly migrate to cities, resulting in the densification of urban poverty (De Beer, 2000: 7). This heavy influx in turn may eventually create problems of labour shortages in rural areas (Todaro, 1989: 282).

2.5.1. Strategy for rural-urban poverty alleviation

According to Rakolojane (2000: 18), one of the main problems of Third World development is the struggle between the interest of urban and rural areas. The question was always one of either/or; either the urban areas must be developed for the best long lasting economic results, or the rural areas must receive more attention because poverty is more visible. He then argues that the question is not one of either/or, especially for two reasons. Firstly, poverty is bad in both urban and rural areas – the poor in both these areas need drastic steps to be freed from the poverty trap. Secondly, people who at the same time belong to rural and urban households,

have social and economic ties that are impossible to sever. These ties link rural and urban areas and poverty, together. Theron and Graaff (1987: 24-5) argue that there is a family- and village-based network of social ties between urban and rural environments that keep them in one interrelated social system.

The either/or approach has led to urban bias, which has harmed the rural areas and their inhabitants. At the same time, however, the either/or approach has failed to benefit the urban areas because of the greater movement to urban areas it has triggered. This is due to urban areas being part of one system with the rural areas and thus they cannot escape the harm done through urban bias. Certain basic things must therefore be done regarding both the urban and rural areas to address the larger issue of poverty (Rakolojane, 2000: 18-19).

When policies and measures for combating poverty are considered, it is clear that rural and urban poverty must be dealt with in an integrated approach (De Beer, 2000: 7).

Theron and Graaffs' (1987: 37-43) suggestions regarding management of rural migration are important policy options to consider. For them, to control migration, first, there must be transferring of information to, and changing attitudes of, migrants. Secondly, policies relating to the manipulation of incentives and constraints on migrant mobility can be used. These programmes include among others, stopping the flow of migrants at its sources in rural areas by means of rural development schemes (see De Beer, 2000: 9).

Randinelli (1988: 29-50) and Rakolojane (2000: 25-6) suggest seven policy options that address urban and rural poverty simultaneously in a balanced way. These options are as follows:

(a) Policies that expand direct State provision of urban services by building municipal government capacity: strengthen the authority of municipal governments to raise adequate revenues to meet rising needs for urban services (also in rural and peri urban areas); help municipal governments to strengthen their technical, administrative and organisational capacity to deliver urban services.

(b) Policies that use "market surrogates" to increase the organisational efficiency and responsiveness of service providing public agencies: encourage direct competition

among public service institutions; encourage the active marketing of State services; use performance agreements for public service delivery.

(c) Policies that lower the cost of providing services through changes in regulations and methods of delivery: adopt urban development and service delivery regulations that are tailored to the conditions of developing economies and that are more appropriate to the needs of the poor; control urban and rural land uses, land prices and speculation practices that tend to have a strong influence on service delivery costs and on the access of the poor to services and to land; design service extension and delivery programmes for multiple purposes and to local standards.

(d) Policies that actively support self-help and service improvements by the poor: support programmes that assist community and neighbourhood groups to improve their own housing conditions through site-and-services, core housing and shelter upgrading projects; provide minimal services or essential preconditions to allow self-help programmes to operate effectively.

(e) Policies that promote public-private cooperation and private sector participation in service delivery: encourage administrative practices and organisational arrangements that allow voluntary and community groups to participate effectively in improving services in poor neighbourhoods and rural areas; design service extension programmes so that they create opportunities for private sector participation or so that market mechanisms can be used to provide services and facilities where appropriate. Regarding this matter Khusro (1999: 23) argues that a market economy is a basic condition for stimulating growth, expanding employment and poverty eradication. Thus the first recommendation for poverty eradication for Khusro (1999: 23-4) is to launch all possible efforts to establish or re-establish the market economy where it has been superseded by other systems and to strengthen it where it is weak. According to Khusro what has to be picked up from the socialist experiment for a universal effort for poverty reduction is the will of the state - to which has to be added the wills of the society - to launch programmes of sustainable literacy, education, health, housing and employment.

(f) Policies that increase the effective demand of the poor for services, empowerment and income generation programmes: design service improvement programmes to generate as much employment as possible for the beneficiaries of those services;

develop programmes that increase the capacity of the informal sector to provide appropriate services and to strengthen the sector as a source of employment (see Todaro, 1981: 27); provide services and assistance to encourage small-scale enterprises in and near slum and squatter communities as a source of employment and income.

(g) Policies that change population distribution: channel migration to intermediate and small cities or service towns.

Chambers in Burkey (1993: 11) also contests the limited nature of explanations by professionals and practitioners and argues for the need for pluralism - recognising multiple causations, multiple objectives and multiple interventions.

2.5.2. Strategy for urban poverty alleviation

Since PRO PRIDE is an urban poverty alleviation intervention, it is worth mentioning strategies for alleviating urban poverty in specific.

Regarding urban poverty alleviation issues, Coetzee and Oliver (1989: 279-280) give, *inter alia*, the following issues to be dealt with holistically and in an integrated manner, *i.e.*

- a) Improving the quality of life of people in urban areas;
- b) Promoting sustainable urban economic growth and development;
- c) Creating new income and employment generating opportunities for disadvantaged people in urban areas;
- d) Giving people access to resources and opportunities;
- e) Improving the distribution of income and welfare in urban areas and
- f) Applying sound economic, financial and developmental principles.

According to Rondinelli (1988: 19), increasing the access of the poor to urban services is not only likely to become a crucial problem by the end of the twentieth century, but also its solution will require a combination of innovative approaches. Governments and NGOs, which deal with urban poverty, should understand these issues and adjust their intervention policies accordingly.

Of PRO PRIDE, as an urban poverty alleviation programme, is also expected that its strategies should be based on a due understanding and conviction of the above

interrelated issues. Recognition of the above-mentioned Chamber's multiple causations, multiple objectives and multiple interventions is also expected of PRO PRIDE.

2.6. Summary

In the deprivation trap it is argued that the poor are to be found in clusters of disadvantages such as poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. These elements in the trap are interlinked, one causing and exacerbating the other, leaving the poor entangled in the trap.

The deprivation trap is further elaborated using the general explanation whereby poverty is viewed as a result of the lack of modernisation, the existence of physical limitations, bureaucratic stifling of development, dependency on First World countries and exploitation of the poor. Whereas the list of causes seems acceptable, the fact that all theorists don't agree in full on the list makes their explanation limited and narrow. Vicious cycles and local-national-international causations of poverty are discussed to solve the problem in the general explanation.

The vicious cycles portrayed, once again, how one cause or consequence of poverty caused the other, until one gets back to the starting point. It is argued that the causes in the vicious cycles are economic, social and political. Closer scrutiny of the causes showed that these economic, social and political problems operate at local, national and international levels.

The general direction of the argument made is to link urban poverty with rural deprivation. When the rural poor are pushed by their conglomerate of problems such as socio-economic and cultural problems, they migrate to the urban areas where they expect to get the things that they lacked in their rural villages. The better urban facilities which develop due, among others, to urban bias of the policy-makers pull the people to cities. Since cityward migration leads to a growth of unemployment in the cities, an urban poverty is aggravated due to migration.

It is argued that Ethiopian urban poverty in general and that of the capital, Addis Ababa, can only be alleviated, when there is an integrated rural-urban development intervention.

Ethiopia covers an area of 1,133,380 sq.km. It is known to be the third most populous country in Africa with a population of 61.6 million. It is expected that by 2015 the population will double. It stands first in Africa and ninth in the world on livestock resource; 63 % of the land is arable though only 23 % is cultivated in a rain fed agriculture. There are 14 major rivers of which 102 billion cubic meters of water runoff is recorded per annum. Livestock and water resources are not yet satisfactorily tapped.

The human well-being indicators portray a dismal picture. Ethiopia has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world (109/1000) and a life expectancy at birth of 45.2 years. Only 55 % of the population has access to health services and only 18 % to safe drinking water while 38 % of all under-fives are malnourished. The primary school enrolment ratio is 29 %, which is one of the lowest in the world. Social and economic infrastructure including roads, electricity, water supplies, schools and hospitals are in poor condition. The United Nations Human Development Index ranks Ethiopia as one of the low human development countries. The situation of urban Ethiopia reflects the same picture of the country though it is relatively better than the rural areas. In absolute terms the capital, Addis Ababa, is worse off in comparison to other Ethiopian urban areas.

Regarding intervention strategies, it is argued that rural-urban integrated approaches must be followed. Urban poverty is enhanced due, mainly, to rural migration, which is also disastrous for rural poverty through drainage of the productive workforce. To minimise migration such policy options as transferring of information to and changing attitudes of migrants, and the manipulation of incentives and constraints on migrant mobility through rural development are proposed. Seven other policy options are given in view of integrated rural-urban strategy of poverty alleviation. Also issues of urban poverty, which need an integrated intervention, are identified.

PRO PRIDE is expected to understand the context of poverty as discussed in this chapter. It should analyse poverty in the programme areas and follow an intervention strategy, which can integrate the wider aspects of the life of the urban poor as indicated in para. 2.5.2. Its understanding of the need of an integrated rural-urban strategy is required, in which its urban development intervention is a complement to the State's rural focus.

The role of NGOs as development agents and their relationship with the State and other stakeholders in the process of poverty alleviation is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

The role of NGOs as agents of development

3.1. Introduction

Given the realities of poverty and the need to tackle them, the next logical question is who is responsible to alleviate these problems? While keeping in mind that people need assistance in dealing with their own problems, the State is first and foremost responsible, followed by non-government organisations (NGOs) and others (De Beer, 1997: 22).

Since the aim of this study is to evaluate an NGO, the emphasis is on investigating the role of NGOs as development agents. The role of the State in general and in the operation of NGOs in particular will be presented. The history and nature of Ethiopian NGOs will be explained, which will be followed by the summary of the chapter.

3.2. The role of NGOs in poverty alleviation

First a definition of NGOs will be presented and then the classification of NGOs, the functioning of NGOs and the weaknesses of NGOs will be dealt with.

3.2.1. Definition of NGOs

According to Kane in Liebenberg (2000: 108-109), the concept of an NGO may vary from “charity in the noble and /or religious sense of the term, to political associations, and local and popular development initiatives”, which make a definition difficult. De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 39) concur on the conceptual diversity when they say: “Many vastly different types of organisations fall into this category, making it very difficult to generalise”. For Molobi (1995: 191), the term NGOs embraces a broad range of diverse scale and character. NGOs do not comprise a tight community of similar organisations, but rather a broad spectrum – too broad, for connotating a concise meaning to the term (Clark, 1990: 34).

Despite the problematic nature, Liebenberg (2000: 109) identifies three criteria that could assist with the definition:

- It should be privately set up (as opposed to being set up by the State), structured, and sufficiently autonomous in its activity and financing. This, above all, is what ensures its non-governmental character;
- It should be a non-profit-making institution to ensure its “voluntary” or “benevolent” character and
- It should support development. This is what ensures its “public interest” character, even if States have introduced legislation to limit the areas in which “public interest” can be exercised. This criterion Thomas (1992: 122-3) calls narrow in definition, because it restricts NGOs to be only developmental in nature. It is the researcher’s view, however, that NGOs should be developmental, as this is the only way to empower the people and achieve sustainable development.

Clark in Smillie (1994: 13) concurs with the idea that NGOs support development. He states that inter alia poverty alleviation, eradication of hunger, protecting the environment and grassroots development are priorities, but these are the areas where the official agencies have limited experience and operational difficulties. Thus, official agencies seek the collaboration of NGOs.

In essence, NGOs can be defined as autonomous, privately set up, non-profit-making institutions that support, manage or facilitate development action (Liebenberg, 2000: 109).

3.2.2. Classification of NGOs

Liebenberg (2000: 110) gives the following levels of classification to clear the issue:

- ***Evolutionary classification:*** Korten (1990: 115-124) and Liebenberg (2000: 110-111) identify four generations or stages that NGOs proceed through. They are:

First generation: Relief and welfare organisations are organisations defined in terms of their primary commitment to relief and welfare.

Second generation: Small-scale self-reliant local development organisations are organisations that satisfy the basic needs of a community by utilising local resources.

Third generation: Sustainable systems development organisations are organisations that seek to maximise decision-making power and control by the local population of the macro-processes that concern themselves, by focusing on sustainable system development.

Fourth generation: Public conscientisation organisations aim to raise public awareness and change policies through development education.

Thomas (1992: 129-30) states that in practice the generations not necessarily follow each other, in other words, it may be the case that one organisation could run a programme that includes all the various generations.

The aim of this study is to argue that PRO PRIDE should foster both second, third and fourth generation functions in order to assist the case study community towards sustainable development.

- ***Organisational classification:*** In Korten (1992: 74-76) and Liebenberg (2000: 111) four types of NGOs are identified according to their organisational characteristics:

Voluntary organisations: Organisations created and maintained out of a true sense of commitment to shared values.

Public service contractors: Non-profit organisations that serve public purpose. According to Korten (1992: 74) they are highly attuned to available funding sources.

People's organisations: Organisations that represent the interests of self-reliant social groups.

Governmental and non-governmental organisations (GONGO): NGOs which, according to Korten (1992: 74), are created by State as an extension of State authority to serve State's agenda and, by implication, the agenda of those who control the instruments of State power.

It is the researcher's view that a community development initiative such as PRO PRIDE should integrate the natures of voluntary organisations and people's organisations. Public contractors is characterised by attuning NGOs to the interest of funding organisations, which is defying the freedom of NGOs to focus on the

objective problems that they want to deal with. If this problem is overcome, public service contractors constitute also an important entity for sharing.

- **Functional classification:** According to Bowden (1990: 141), any analysis of NGO's functions requires that a working categorisation be developed. He gives four classifications of NGOs according to their functions (see Liebenberg, 2000: 112):

Specialised NGOs: These NGOs engage in human and physical development activities by focusing on technical training, adult literacy, housing, agriculture, etc.

Welfare NGOs: These NGOs provide assistance to the needy, including *relief* services in time of emergency.

Developmental NGOs: These work with poorer communities in providing a range of developmental services and in building self-help capacity.

Advocacy NGOs: These NGOs provide communities and individuals with specialised facilitation or consultation services.

These functional categories are not mutually exclusive in terms of a holistic development approach (Bowden, 1990: 142 and Liebenberg, 2000: 113). According to Bowden (1990: 142), the emphasis is on developmental NGOs as these types of NGOs work directly with poorer communities in capacity building to manage their own developmental efforts. Such NGOs, according to him, hold the key to enhancing equity and sustainability in developmental projects. The aim of this study is to argue that capacity building is the pivotal function that PRO PRIDE should promote.

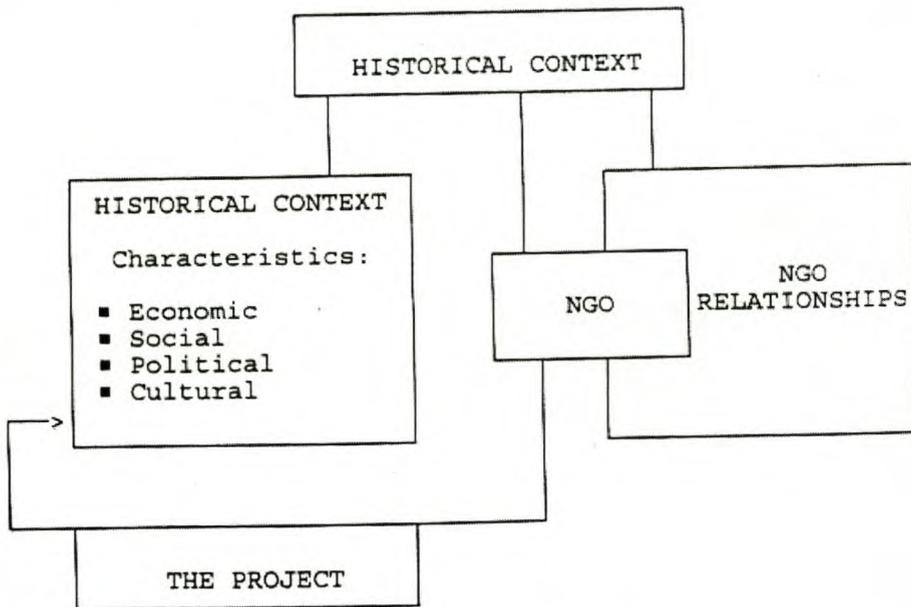
- **Geographical classification:** According to Liebenberg (2000: 113), there are NGOs, which can be categorised, as international, regional, national, and local (see Thomas, 1992: 123-130).
- **Membership classification:** According to Korten (1992: 75), Thomas (1992: 122) and Liebenberg (2000: 113), these organisations exist to serve their members. They have member-accountable leaders, and are largely self-reliant in their generation of resources (Korten, 1992: 75). They are the most important of all institutional sectors in people-centred development and include, co-operatives, saving clubs and unions (Liebenberg, 2000: 113).

3.2.3. Functioning of NGOs

According to Pardon (1987: 71) and Liebenberg (2000: 114) there are four interrelated dimensions for NGO's functioning (See Figure 3.1). They are:

- ***The popular sector and the historical context:*** NGOs exist by establishing a working relationship with the popular sector, which also functions within a historical context.
- ***Institutional relationships of NGOs:*** NGOs engage in a mutual beneficial relationship with other agents of change, which are active in the same area.
- ***The internal dynamics of the NGO:*** NGOs are influenced by their internal dynamics, institutional development and characteristics.
- ***The project itself:*** All the above-mentioned dynamics determine the way in which NGOs projects are to be implemented.

Figure 3.1. Context within which NGOs function



Source: Liebenberg (1996: 74 and 2000: 116)

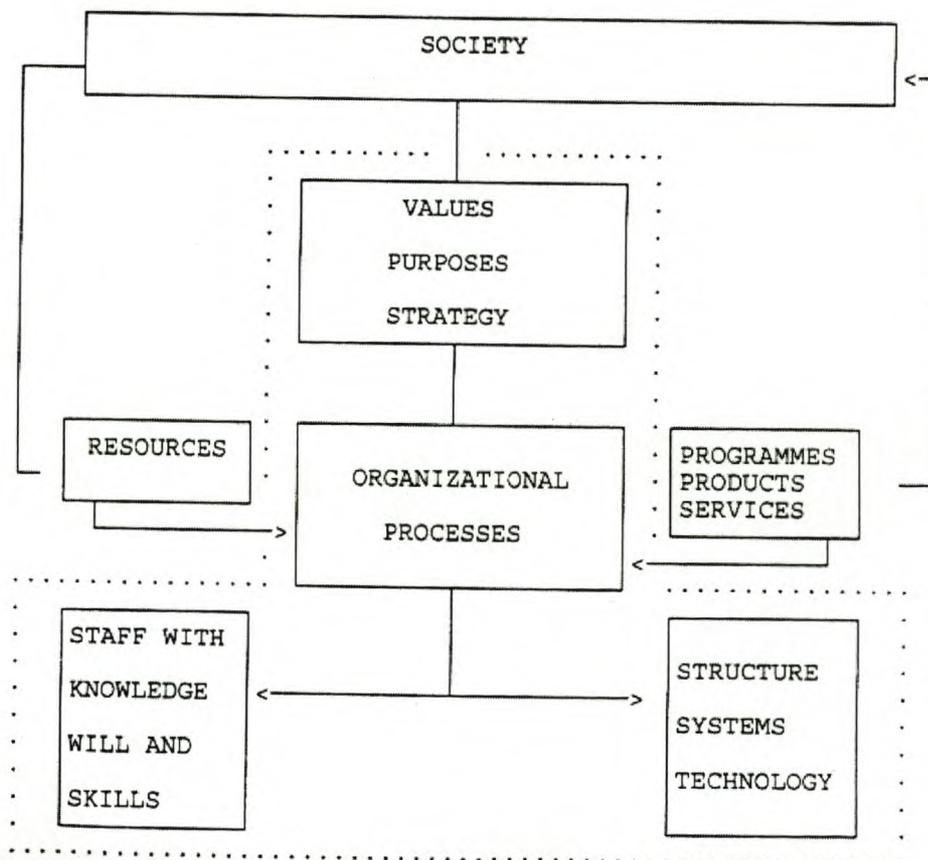
Salem and Eve in Liebenberg (2000: 115) argue that NGO project stages such as analysis of development issues, project identification, project design, project financing, project implementation and monitoring and finance operate in interaction with all the four dimensions mentioned above. This assumption is supported by Liebenberg (1996: 75) as illustrated in Figure 3.2.

This means that an NGO has as its function the transformation of resources, which it receives from society, into programmes, projects, products and services for a particular target group of people. In essence, the NGO is dependent on and part of the society at both community and all other levels of abstract society (Merington, cited in Liebenberg, 2000: 115).

Merington in Liebenberg (2000: 115) argues that for an NGO to function efficiently

- it must possess a well – trained and motivated staff,
- it needs an appropriate organisational structure, and
- its vision must be accepted by all the important stakeholders in a given community.

Figure 3.2. Basic NGOs model



Source: Liebenberg (1996: 75 and 2000: 116) and Pardon (1987: 72)

Pardon (1987: 73) argues that when all these dimensions are recognised in terms of a holistic view, it leads to a definition of the role of an NGO beyond the mere implementation of concrete development projects. In order to give a more detailed

perspective of the NGO as an agent of development, it is necessary to analyse the functions of an NGO in terms of the process of development.

NGOs serve as catalysts for the implementation of the development process. This is on account of the fact that the development process seldom begins spontaneously (Burkey, 1993: 60, 75) and as a result it has to be initiated by leadership with an external mission (Burkey, 1993: 60). The provision, training and support of the external change agents are roles that should be natural for development agencies (Burkey, 1993: 73).

Training for community development can be directed at project staff or community workers, at trainers, at communities or at a combination of these. Senior officials or policy-makers also need to be exposed to the same type of input as lower level officials and community members (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 89-90).

The primary objective of development is to initiate a process of “awareness building, of education, of people forming their own organisations to define and create demand for what they need for leading a decent life” (Bhasin in Liebenberg, 2000: 117).

There are a number of reasons why most communities are unable to initiate such a development process by themselves that the NGOs should consider.

- They lack the necessary resources required for the initiation and maintenance of the development effort,
- They lack organisational structures that are able to cope with initiatives that do emerge from the community, and
- Because of various historical factors most of these communities are trapped in a dependency relationship, which hampers spontaneous development activities (Erasmus in Liebenberg, 2000: 117).

In the light of participation, empowerment and sustainability, it is important to note that the role of a development catalyst that is fulfilled by an NGO is a temporary one. The catalysing functions of an NGO should aim at producing participation, empowerment and sustainability in terms of the development process.

NGOs can also function as expressions of a given civil society’s capacity for free organisation that is not controlled by or localised as expression or mechanism of political or economic domination. By functioning as instruments that facilitate the

creation of civil society, NGOs are enabling communities to “articulate” their development needs, and develop their own strategies based on these articulated needs.

The fact that the functioning of NGOs is instrumental in the creation of civil society and participation, implies that in terms of the interrelated nature of the development process, NGOs should also function as agents of empowerment.

In spite of the above endowment, it is also important to note that there are certain factors that can inhibit the attainment of this particular state of development.

3.2.4. Weaknesses of NGOs

De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 40) and Liebenberg (2000: 118) enlist the following weaknesses of NGOs, which PRO PRIDE should know and guard itself from. They are:

- Inadequate planning, organisation and management,
- Inadequate staff training,
- Inability to replicate projects and ensure sustainability,
- Inability to collaborate with other role-players effectively,
- A lack of co-ordination of the efforts of individual NGOs, and
- Little attention to leadership and management training (see Clark, 1990: 57).

Lack of attention to leadership and management training is aggravated by the fact that leadership in NGOs tend to be charismatic, and once such a leader disappears from the scene there is nobody to take the place, thus creating a leadership vacuum (Liebenberg, 2000: 119). Clark (1990: 58) argues that under charismatic leadership of NGOs employees are recruited on the basis of their obedience to leaders, which leads to the fact that staffs often have a weak position.

3.3. The relationship between NGOs and the State

According to Clark (1990: 65-6), an NGO explores ways of injecting lessons from its successful project approaches into official development programmes. In particular it may seek to project its positive experiences of popular participation into efforts to democratise the institutions and development processes of the State itself. As these

strengths extend the horizons of NGOs' vision and explore ways of using their influence, they have three choices. They are:

- ***Opposing the State:*** It means using whatever channels are available to frustrate any government plan, which is negative to the poor. Connoting to this role of NGOs, Steyn (1992: 64) argues that although a strong State is necessary to have, an active civil society is a check and balance on the State. An NGO can oppose the State directly or through various pressure groups in an effort to engage the State with regard to its policies, which the NGO and the community might feel, are adversely affecting them.
- ***Complementing the State:*** It means evolving the NGO's own programme so that it fills the gaps in the State's services in such a way as to make those services more relevant to the poor. The NGO therefore becomes an instrument of state policy implementation (Liebenberg, 2000: 120).
- ***Reforming the State:*** It would mean more deliberate collaboration with State departments with a view to helping those departments improve the services they provide. It would also challenge the State to implement policies that are beneficial to the poor.

According to Liebenberg (2000: 120-121), if the State is not able to provide all the services required in the fields of welfare, development, local government and economic growth, it should utilise NGOs to fulfil these functions. NGOs therefore have a very important role to play as partners of the State in the development process. The importance of NGOs as development agents is increasingly acknowledged by multilateral development agencies. These agencies are channelling substantial amounts of development funds through NGOs (Van der Kooy, 1992: 11)

Because NGOs could play an important role in the States development delivery systems, most States would like to monitor the functioning of NGOs closely. This creates conflict between NGOs and the State, since NGOs might interpret such actions as interference on the part of the State in their actions.

The fact that the NGOs do play an important role in development does not mean that the State should abandon its development role and pour huge amounts of money into the NGO sector, leaving the responsibility of development to NGOs. NGOs cannot function like States and States cannot function like NGOs.

One cannot look at the role of NGOs without taking the role of the State into consideration. It should be clear that the State's attitude and policies and the actions flowing from that can limit NGOs action and can even eliminate most of the advantages of the NGO system (Swanepoel, 1992a: 17).

It is therefore important that the State and NGOs complement and assist each other in the process of development (Liebenberg, 2000: 121). Thomas (1992: 128) argues that it is important for NGOs to work with the State and to help improve State services rather than setting up an alternative in competition with the State.

In the case of Ethiopia, while challenging the unfavourable policies of the State is important, it is, however, necessary that NGOs work complementary to the State. Notwithstanding that State policies are important for the smooth operation of NGOs and for making an impact on the poor, the focus of NGOs should be to empower the poor through direct economic and human development interventions.

According to Cernea (1988: 11; 21), at the local development level, the areas in which NGOs could make their strongest contribution are specifically the areas in which either local government intervention is weak or nonexistent, or is present but exercised in a manner that dissatisfies the local population.

Given the above suggestion that NGOs should operate in collaboration with the State, the State should also play the following important roles in general and for NGOs smooth operation in particular.

- ***Commitment to development:*** States should shape their national socio-economic policies to focus on the aim of development, and see to it that there exists committed bureaucracy (Swanepoel, 2000: 87 and Kotze and Kotze, 1997: 73).
- ***Formulate policies:*** Policies must be based on the actual needs of the people and be formulated through people-participation and interaction (Swanepoel, 2000: 89). Policies should deal with problems associated with the development of both urban and rural regions (Rothblatt, 1974: 370). (See chapter two on the nature of policies as strategy for poverty alleviation).
- ***Policy implementation:*** States must act as the vehicle and disseminator of development, not as self-serving and egocentric (Esman in Swanepoel, 2000:

91). They must act in the interest of the general public rather than of a small political, economic and administrative elite. They must have a culture of delegating (McCurdy in Swanepoel, 2000: 91) and avoid the Western type of top-down control administration.

- ***Supporting development:*** The initiator and owner of development should be the people themselves. This means, according to Swanepoel (2000: 93), that development should be localised. As development planning, development decisions and development financing cannot be the same for the whole country, local circumstances will determine local development. Thus the local people should take the responsibility, make the decision and plan. The State, then, should support their initiative through enabling policies. Local institutions as medium of public participation should be strengthened and capacitated (De Coning in Swanepoel, 2000: 93 and Kotze and Kotze, 1997: 74).

Among others, NGOs can complement the public and private market sectors by serving as articulators of needs and interests, which are relevant to development. They assist development and bring much needed balance to public private and voluntary participation (De Coning in Swanepoel, 2000: 93).

According to Monaheng in Swanepoel (2000: 94), the State should treat participatory structures as instruments of empowerment and not as mechanisms of political control. To this end the State should respect the autonomy of these structures, and not impose either political functionaries or traditional leaders on them.

The above presentation on the nature of NGOs is to create a backdrop against which one can understand the nature of the Ethiopian NGOs, and to eventually evaluate PRO PRIDE as an NGO.

3.4. History and nature of Ethiopian NGOs

The general picture of Ethiopian NGOs will be presented here. Since the focus of this topic is to show the lack of pertinent NGOs in the capital, Addis Ababa, NGOs in Addis Ababa will be dealt with. The presentation is based on the study made by PRO PRIDE (2000a: 19-20).

3.4.1. The general picture of Ethiopian NGOs

NGOs began to appear in Ethiopia somewhere in the mid 20th century, but growth in terms of scope and number was observed in the period following the famines. This growth was tied to the recurrent outbreak of drought and famine in the country, particularly when the 1973/74 and 1984/85 famines claimed the attentions of many international NGOs primarily concerned with humanitarian services.

Following 1991 (the beginning of the term of the current government), local NGOs began to show relative growth in terms of numbers though most of them were newly established. These include the Para government national or ethnic based associations, whose mandates are geographically limited to the ethnic groups or particular region that they are committed for.

Currently there are 270 NGOs, to be divided in four categories, operating in the country. They are NGOs that are local and secular (47 %), local and religious (6 %), international and secular (28 %), and international and religious (19 %). The percentage of local and international NGOs is close to 53 % and 47 % respectively. One of the differentiating characteristics of the two categories is access to resources and information. The international NGOs have better access to both resources and information than the indigenous ones. Further, the financial basis of national NGOs is weak, not to mention their inexperience. They have limited access to trained manpower and information. Even though the indigenous NGOs have advantage over the international NGOs in terms of direct involvement in implementation, their sustainability cannot be guaranteed, largely because of their limited resources, which always remain one of the main setbacks to fully engross themselves in long term development plans.

Regardless of their category, they are all involved in similar development activities ranging from emergency aid and resettlement of refugees to advocacy of the right of children and women; from rehabilitating HIV victims to rehabilitating the environment; from advocacy for good governance and democracy to assisting nomad pastorals; and from training and education to building schools and hospitals.

The numbers of NGOs that operate in rural areas are relatively few (23 %), less than those that work in urban areas (36 %), which confirms the urban bias that is discussed in chapter two. The rest (41 %) shuttle between urban and rural areas.

Regarding their regional distribution, 40 % of the NGOs are concentrated in the south (Oromia and SNNPR) while 16 % are operating solely in the north (Amhara and Tigray). Only 9 % of the total NGOs are operating in the peripheries such as Afar, Somalia and Benishangul and Gumuz. The rest of the NGOs operate in more than one area of the country at the same time.

3.4.2. NGOs in the capital, Addis Ababa

A total of 87 NGOs operate in Addis Ababa of which 56 are indigenous and 31 international. Over 87 % of these NGOs (70 of them) are engaged in social services that mainly include health, education and sanitation, whereas 12.6 % (11) are implementing integrated urban development programmes comprising a variety of social and economic services. The number of developmental NGOs is very low compared to the need. Two NGOs are undertaking basic infrastructure development activities such as road, drainage and housing construction. There are also NGOs implementing income generating activities in the city.

3.5. Summary

To understand the role of NGOs it is necessary to explain their classifications, for their roles are found in their classification. Categorically, it is seen that they are classified according to their evolutionary stages, type of organisation, their function, geographical mandate and membership.

It is argued that if the state is not able to provide all the services required in the field of welfare, development, local government and economic growth, it should utilise NGOs to fulfil these functions or work in partnership with them.

The emphasis of this study is on developmental NGOs, as these types of NGOs work directly with poorer communities in building the capacity of the communities to manage their own developmental effort. Such NGOs hold the key to enhance capacity and sustainability.

Based on the current emphasis on developmental NGOs, it was explained that Ethiopia has a very limited number of developmental NGOs operating in the country in general and in the capital city, Addis Ababa, in particular.

While people and communities are responsible for and owners of their own development, NGOs are recognised as catalysts to initiate and implement

development processes. Their roles are to train, support and create awareness through participation, empowerment and sustainability.

The State should focus on community development and NGOs should complement it. Thus the State should create a conducive atmosphere for development in general and for NGOs in specific by taking important steps such as committing itself to development, formulating favourable policies, implementing them and supporting development.

PRO PRIDE as an NGO is expected to function in this general context of complementing the State by facilitating capacity building. There are community development principles that PRO PRIDE as a community development intervention NGOs should understand and follow. Understanding the nature of NGOs' management is vital for PRO PRIDE to succeed. The following chapter is designed to present these concepts.

Chapter 4

NGOs in community development: Principles, facilitating roles and management

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters the poverty context in general and the Ethiopian poverty specifically have been explained. This led to a discussion indicating the role of NGOs as agents of development and their relationship with the State in terms of alleviating poverty. It is stated that NGOs are agents of development with a complementary intervention by the State in the process of policy implementation.

When NGOs introduce community development interventions, there are principles that they must follow in order to be successful.

These community development principles will be presented in this chapter. In this regard an important issue concerning the role of NGOs – their facilitating role – needs to be explained.

Since NGOs implement their objectives through programmes and projects, programme and project management will be explained followed by summary of the chapter.

4.2. The principles of community development

Following the evolution of community development thinking and in line with the people-centred paradigm, different themes have developed, which are generically summarised into eight (8) principles.

These principles, according to Swanepoel (1997: 2-12) are: the principle of human orientation, the principle of participation, the principle of empowerment, the principle of ownership, the principle of release, the principle of learning, the principle of adaptiveness, and the principle of simplicity.

4.2.1. The principle of human orientation

Holscher and Romm (1989: 108) states, inter alia, that development is conceptualised as the humanisation of the world. Swanepoel (1997: 2-4) argues that community

development, if it is to be human orientated, should give emphasis to issues such as basic needs, a holistic approach to development and environmental sustainability.

4.2.1.1. The basic needs approach

According to De Beer (1997: 26), the basic needs approach came as a second variation in the theme of community development in the mid seventies.

According to Keeton (1986: 143), the basic needs approach represents a broad outlook on development, focusing on eradicating poverty and raising the productivity of the poorest sections of the population, particularly in Third World communities.

Burkey (1993: 31) agrees with Keeton when he states that this thinking arose when it was discovered that economic growth alone did not necessarily eliminate poverty. According to Hoogvelt (1982: 8), the basic needs approach came during the 1970s to focus on household needs in addition to economic growth in the aggregate. The objective of this shift in emphasis is to improve the standard of living of the poorest 40 percent of the people in developing countries (Hoogvelt, 1982: 9).

As Sandbrook (1982: 7) explains, with this shift in emphasis came a broader concern to eradicate poverty. Ruttan (1984: 397) states that with this shift to the basic needs approach, the emphasis is on the end (the people) rather than preoccupation with the means (economic growth). According to Liebenberg and Theron (1997), the aim of development is to fulfil the basic needs of the masses of the people within the parameters of participatory development.

Todaro (cited in Keeton, 1986: 142) maintains, “all people have certain basic needs without which life would be impossible. When any of these is absent or in critically short supply, we may state, without reservation, that a condition of ‘absolute underdevelopment’ exists”. Swanepoel (1997: 3) argues in the same line as Todaro, but he adds that people have also abstract needs (e.g., dignity). According to him, developers should respect people’s abstract needs as well as their physical need.

This study argues that PRO PRIDE’s empowerment and capacity building strategy will be expected to address the basic needs of the people.

4.2.1.2. A holistic approach

According to Kotze and Kotze (1997: 66), in development, the fragmented approach in which one or a few variables are changed, is inappropriate. The all-encompassing

nature of underdevelopment means that strategies aimed at addressing underdevelopment must also be all encompassing. In other words, development must be holistic. A holistic approach to development implies an understanding of local people's meaning-giving context (Kotze and Kotze, 1997: 67), and understanding the role of structure-determined action (Kotze and Kotze, 1997: 66).

What development practitioners need to understand is that local people will not participate in development unless the development initiative has positive meaning within their social context. As Kotze and Kotze (1997: 69) point out, people-centred development is meaningless unless it relates to the local people's meaning giving context.

4.2.2. The principle of participation

In contrast to the system-maintaining mode of participation, which was undertaken in a blueprint and top-down fashion, Wisner (1988: 14) gives a strong interpretation of participation from self-reliant grassroots organisation. This interpretation of participation "...advocated a new style of development which was radically participatory and in which land reform, asset redistribution and other necessary preconditions set the stage for the poor to take control of their own development, usually through grassroots organisations". Development as a process of increasing people's capacity to determine their future means that people need to be included in the process – they need to participate (Bryant and White 1982: 205).

According to De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 23), the true meaning of participation is that beneficiaries of community development participate as main players and decision-makers. Rahman in Liebenberg and Theron (1997: 125) defines popular participation as, "an active process in which the participant takes initiative and takes action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert effective control". Swanepoel (1997: 4-5) expresses that through participation a solid local knowledge base is used for development, and equity ensured.

4.2.2.1. Participation as strengthening the value of local knowledge

Korten and Alfonso (1983: 179) state that many government efforts to address the problems of rural and urban poverty seem to carry the assumption that the poor can do very little on their own behalf and require both handouts and expert direction

from the State if they are to improve their lot. According to them, too little is done to build on the knowledge and resources, which the poor already control, with the too frequent result being to reinforce dependence and undermine self-reliance.

People, who, for years, have lived in deprivation, surviving the hardships of poverty, have something outsiders do not. Their “common sense” knowledge of the political, - social, - economical, cultural- and natural environmental dynamics can be of value to development efforts. Developers who do not use this knowledge base to the full are missing valuable opportunities (Swanepoel, 1997: 4-5). For Kotze and Kellerman (1997: 37) no success can be realised without applying local meaning giving knowledge.

Treurnicht (1997: 94) argues that indigenous knowledge, as the reflection of the culture of a community should occupy an important place in development. He further argues that indigenous technical knowledge, like scientific knowledge, should be regarded in the first instance as something, which became possible as a result of a more general intellectual process of creating order out of disorder, and not simply as a response to practical human needs such as sustenance and health.

Swanepoel (1997: 5) maintains that the problem of sustaining development and maintaining facilities instituted by development is resolved if the affected people participate, knowing that they have a stake in the effort and the result.

4.2.2.2. Participation as a means of equity

Mikkelsen (1995: 63) explains that participation is an instrument in the promotion of development goals, inter alia equity. Burkey argues that the poor must be permitted to participate in the development process in order to ensure equity (Burkey, 1993: 33). Monaheng (2000: 134) relates equity creation with empowerment, which is a direct result of participation.

Gran (1983: 2) argues that often, the poorest of the poor do not get their fair share of the fruits of development. Therefore participation should include them. The current status of participatory development is reflected in what has been known as ‘people-centred development’, a paradigm that stresses the participation of the majority of the people (especially the previously excluded components such as women, youth and the illiterate) in the process of development. This involvement is considered the

bottom-line for the successful implementation of any project or programme (Roodt, 1996: 317) (see Korten, 1990).

4.2.3. The principle of empowerment

For Swanepoel (1997: 6) people must not be regarded merely as source of information and their participation as only advisory to planners. Power for people is the most important and the most neglected in development (Korten, 1987: 157).

De Beer (1994: 70-72) identifies the following as the most important characteristics of the concept empowerment:

- Empowerment addresses both concrete and abstract human needs. Needs must be specific and must be translated into concrete objectives. Abstract needs such as human dignity, self-esteem and autonomy form the basis of empowering development.
- Empowerment is a learning process. A problem-solving approach to development is a prerequisite for the learning process to take place, it must be qualified, and the community accepts the responsibility of identifying the problems. The underlying assumption is that people are empowered when they participate in problem-identification, finding possible solutions to the identified problems, as well as in the evolution of the possible solutions.
- Empowerment is a collective action in the sense that people sharing a mutual interest or concern, act together and in concert. According to Clark (1991: 102-103) the key word is “collective”: collective action which may lead to small successes: “but such minor success can instil great confidence in the poor, confidence which if skilfully channelled quickly leads to ambitions of tackling much bigger problems through their new-found weapon of collective action”.
- Empowerment is action at grassroots level. This kind of action is achieved primarily through community-based organisations operating at the grassroots level.
- Empowerment creates self-awareness, which in turn addresses abstract development needs. “This awareness itself in terms of objectives is one of

the greatest strengths a community can enjoy, because it does not see itself as only a suffering entity, but also as an active, doing entity, and an entity that has the ability to change its environment” (see Swanepoel, 1992b)

Empowerment, for Swanepoel (1997: 6) is participation with power and also the recognition that the beneficiaries should make decision of their affairs and plan for their own futures (see Liebenberg and Theron, 1997: 125).

Gran (1983: 146), explaining the nature of empowerment, argues that development should advance by means of education, in the broadest sense a process through which communities carry out three tasks: the communities must move from a position as subject to one as actor who defines the goal; communities must control the resources; and communities must direct the processes affecting their lives.

Berger and Neuhaus (1984: 256) argue that human beings, whoever they are, understand their own needs better than anyone else; the important thing is to aim at empowering the poor and help them to have control over their own lives.

Swanepoel (1997: 7) concludes that, in the purest form, empowerment means the acquisition of power and the ability to give it effect.

4.2.4. The principle of ownership

The vital issue about the principle of ownership, for Swanepoel (1997: 7), is that it seeks to entrench the ownership of development where it belongs, with the community. Community development projects do not belong to the initiating NGOs or government departments. They act as facilitators for the people who run their own projects (Swanepoel, 1997: 7).

Burkey (1993: 111) argues that people must feel and believe that it is their own effort that is driving the development process. According to Burkey (1993: 111), developers must follow a strategy to make people think of the projects as anything but their own. According to Gran (1983: 169) development cannot and should not be externally managed. More properly, development should be lightly guided.

4.2.5. The Principle of release

According to Swanepoel (1997: 8-9) and Rakolojane (2000: 22), the concept of release means that development should target eradication of poverty, through a

holistic approach and giving more emphasis to self-sustaining development rather than temporary relief works. Self-reliance through total transformation is also a concern of Burkey (1993: 33).

4.2.5.1. Self-reliance

Groenewald (1989: 257) enlists examples of the definition of community development, among which “the enabling of communities to become increasingly self-reliant”. Local self-reliance as a development strategy involves giving first priority to the creation of conditions that enable people to meet their own needs using local resources under local control (Korten, 1984: 307)

According to Burkey (1993: 40), the problems of the poor in the final instance cannot be solved by anyone but themselves, and all solidarity efforts must be aimed at strengthening their own capacity for independent action.

According to Jeppe (1985: 29), community development placed emphasis on the efforts of the people themselves, upon their own resources of labour, materials and cash supported and supplemented by the State and private aid. Community development thus has to be executed at the practical level in a community by the people themselves aided by a community development worker of the State and possibly voluntary assistance. The motto is to stimulate and motivate the people of a community to help themselves to achieve betterment of needs felt by the community.

For Burkey (1993: 50-51), self-reliance means: people themselves reaching self-reliance and outsiders only assisting them; people feeling that they themselves are contributing the maximum of their own human, financial and material resources; people requiring a wide variety of knowledge and skill to form and manage their own organisations. Thus they build confidence in their own knowledge and skills to identify local problems and solutions. People should make independent decisions individually or collectively. Decisions and actions taken at all levels based on self-confidence and self-determination is true self-reliance.

4.2.5.2. Self sustaining development

Development, according to Gran (1983: 327), should be a “self-sustaining process to engage free men and women in activities that meet their basic human needs...”

Weaver, Rock and Kusterer (1997: 191) argue that individual human well-being and freedom are central to the definition of broad-based sustainable development.

According to Chambers (1997: 11), one of the themes that emerged regarding emphasis on people in development is that development must be sustainable. For Chambers, sustainability means that long-term perspectives should apply to all policies and actions, with sustainable well-being and sustainable livelihoods as objectives for present and future generations (see Liebenberg and Theron, 1997: 126).

Treurnicht (1997: 90) argues that empowerment and local capacity building is important because it promotes grassroots action for sustainable development. To achieve a greater measure of economic sustainability one should pay more attention to environmental sustainability (Treurnicht, 1997: 87 and Wu and Flynn, 1995: 1).

Interaction between people and the environment is inevitable during people-centred development. People-centred development should therefore include the protection of the natural environment.

For Treurnicht (1997: 87) the issue of environmental sustainability is also an issue of respecting the right of other forms of life than man to share the earth, quite apart from the issue of interdependence of species. This consideration will help to protect people-centred development from issues whether human-centred development is not being taken too far (Treurnicht, 1997: 87).

In the economics of environmental sustainability, according to Adil Khan (1995: 64), it is important to note that the consumption rate of renewable resources must be kept within regeneration limits. The impact on non-renewable resources needs to be considered, and it may well be asked whether too much of a chance is taken by relying on technology to come to the rescue (see Naess, 1995: 122). Waste emission should be controlled in such a way that it is kept within the assimilative capacity of the environment without impairing it (Goodland in Adil Khan, 1995: 65).

According to Swanepoel (1997: 9), to release people from the deprivation trap, a transforming policy approach must be carried out by focusing on total transformation of the life of the poor.

4.2.6. The principle of social learning

The basic idea of this principle, according to Swanepoel (1997: 9) is that people learn by continuously striving to fulfil their needs, and that social learning should include all involved in the development process. Social learning should be a bottom-up approach (see De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 7), emanating from the coming together of the community worker and the community. Developers should not feel vulnerable by a bottom-up learning reality (Swanepoel, 1997: 10). Participatory partnerships is the order of the day.

According to Thomas's (1985: 13-26) argument, people-centred development is a mechanism to reorient bureaucracy where social knowledge is derived from social realities and from the value commitments of both the developers and the client through a social learning process in which creation of knowledge and social action take place simultaneously. For Korten (1980: 484) the social learning process approach aims to meet the need for a flexible, sustained, experimental, action-based capacity-building style of assistance and development partnerships.

Bawden (1994: 258) argues that a learning organisation must co-evolve in its relationships with the dynamic and complex environments in which it exists. Learning is the only process by which such a coevolving relationship can be established and subsequently sustained.

Learning organisations are collectives or communities of individuals who share experiences and understanding through cooperative learning and genuine participation in those events, which affect them. For any organisation or community to learn, individuals must not only themselves be active learners, but they must also be committed to sharing that learning in ways which allow consensual understanding or meaning to be reached (Bawden, 1994: 259). According to Korten (1984: 260), this is the essence of the participative process through which "people-centred development" is made possible through "social learning concepts and methods".

Chambers (1994: 264) argues that an environment should be created where people learn to learn and learn to help others learn. Also to unlearn previous ideas.

According to Thomas (1985: 16), the planner no longer depends only on professional expertise but collaborates actively with clients in the formulation of plans in order to effect the social learning imperative of people-centred development. The subject of

research, the client of the planner/manager, is no longer a passive bureaucratic object required only to contribute neutral data but rather is recognised as an expert capable of and expected to participate actively in choices about future life styles (Thomas, 1985: 16-17).

Theron and Barnard (1997: 38) argue that the development-planning process should, *inter alia*, involve social learning. Development and planning development for people is a process of human consciousness and if self-reliance of the poor is need, the poor must be part and parcel in the process of development and planning development. The poor must manage and control their own development process, gain self-confidence and through social learning learn and unlearn to have faith in their own abilities (Theron and Barnard, 1997: 37). According to Gran (1983: 345), the success story of the social learning process approach has proved that “people can lead their own change processes. They can be the actors not merely the subjects of change”.

A more successful learning process approach starts by first appreciating the knowledge of the grass roots people (Chambers, 1983: 211). Korten (1980: 497), analysing five Asian rural development success stories concludes that: “...these five programs were not designed and implemented – rather they emerged out of a learning process in which villagers and program personnel shared their knowledge and resources to create a program which achieved a fit between needs and capacities of the beneficiaries and those of the outsiders who were providing the assistance. Leadership and teamwork, rather than blueprints, were the key elements.”

4.2.7. The principle of adaptiveness

For Swanepoel (1997: 10-11), this principle is the same as the social learning principle discussed above, which is in direct contrast to the top-down (blueprint) planning. In general, for Swanepoel (1997: 11), the demands of the principle of adaptiveness are that: development planning should be bottom-up; a change of mindset is needed where learning is recognised as one go forward, even failing forward; the pertinent mindset embraces errors as the media of learning; the pertinent mindset leads to a complete organisational and procedural change where management should be fluid, changeable and adaptable; the initiating organisation should allow its field workers greater freedom of action with responsibility and for this reason field workers need excellent training.

Kotze and Kellerman (1997: 46) agree with the above characters of adaptiveness when they say: “ adaptiveness includes a number of related elements, namely bottom-up decision making, social learning process approach and participation in development. Adaptive organisation is highly decentralised and it acknowledges the uniqueness of each development problem”.

According to Rondinelli (1983: 124-126), adaptiveness is related to responsiveness and, therefore, among others, decision-making should be based on the mutual exchange of advice and information, instead of enforcing obedience to authority. Recognising and using the knowledge of the local population is important. Rewarding personnel for efficient and responsive work performance rather than for blind obedience is desirable.

To change the strict discipline imposed on personnel by hierarchic organisation to a discipline brought about by their voluntary acceptance of greater responsibility is needed (Kotze and Kellerman, 1997: 47). Burkey (1993: 108) argues that adaptive development should give freedom to the field workers so that the decisions will reflect the real field situations. The situations of treating field workers as children and imposing decision must be reversed (Burkey, 1993: 108).

According to Kotze and Kellerman (1997: 46), though adaptive administration is usually used in relation to State agencies, it could equally apply to non-governmental organisations and project management.

Development should be responsive to the needs of the people that it is meant for. Effective development should recognise decision of the people on their own needs, for people know what they want. Since needs differ from one community to another, the failure to appreciate this in deciding on needs will impede adaptability of development projects (Korten, 1983: 182-183).

4.2.8. The principle of simplicity

According to Gran (1983: 284-285), size of projects is one of the important issues that need to be addressed in order for participatory development to flourish.

For Gran (1983: 288) large projects violate every premise of participatory development. They result in top-down blueprints where people cannot act and are conducive opportunities for elites to siphon off large resources. They create new

dependency on large-scale technology and reproduce further social and economic inequalities. Large projects are many people's responsibility so they are no one's.

Though Tandler (1975: 85) and Chambers (1974:150-151) discuss in some detail the organisational economy of large projects, Chambers (1974: 154) and Burkey (1993: 28) assert the importance of simple projects in development process. Simple projects resolve the problems that are associated with large projects as indicated above. They are better means of public participation whereby people can learn from their imperfections and inaccuracies at the beginning.

Swanepoel (1997: 12) advises that organisations involved in development should not let the volume of needs blind them to the need for simplicity.

PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviation programme through a community development intervention, is expected to fulfil the above eight principles, 4.2.1-4.2.8, in general and the issues raised under each principle in specific.

A successful application of the above principles will mean playing the facilitation role whereby the poor will be the main actors of their own development and organisations will assist their efforts.

4.3. NGOs as facilitators of development

The notion of facilitation is central to the concept of empowerment, which is related to passing power to those who have none (Pearce, 1997: 83). The principle of empowerment is one of the requisites for a modern-day community development intervention, so is the necessity of facilitation.

Facilitation means creating the necessary ground and making the environment conducive to people to take care of their own development. This is the ultimate stage where NGOs should conclude their role as agents of development.

De Beer (1997: 30) argues that in a people-centred or empowerment strategy, institutions, as in the past, play important but different role. Their role should change from "giver of good things" to enabler. The development organisation that wishes to be responsive must have as its main aim the facilitation of self-determination of the people among whom it operates (De Beer and Swaneol, 1998: 50). For Korten (1990: 124), NGOs are increasingly becoming more important as facilitators of people development (see Swanepoel, 1997: 7). Following Korten's view Borraine

(1992: 68) argues that development is primarily about building individuals, building their organisations and so, through this process, building communities. In other words, building the capacity of people, their organisations and their communities to struggle for a more equitable distribution of its resources. The assumption is that poor communities should not be given resources by any State or any NGO. People will always have to continue to struggle for resources and they need help to do so.

Boraine (1992: 68-9) distinguishes among three notions, which the State or NGO should consider in the facilitation process. These are community consultation, community participation and people-centred or community-centred development.

- ***Community consultation***: this is a process whereby an external agency – State department, private developer, NGO or a donor agency – attempts to mobilise, persuade or gain community support for particular projects or programmes, usually by gaining the support of the current community leadership. According to Boraine, this is an important action but it should be authentic consultation. It should not be tokenistic and ritualistic. It should be considered as a means of involving people to decide on the relevance and importance of a project or a programme.
- ***Community participation***: this entails a process whereby organisations in a community are encouraged to be part of a development process; from the planning stage until the monitoring process once the development project or programme is implemented. Consultation and participation are important. The importance of civic or community based organisations as medium of people participation is acknowledged.
- ***People-centred or community-centred development***: this is the strengthening of the ability of representative and accountable community based organisations to initiate and control the process of development. Community control means turning the whole process of development around. It means reversing the conventional relationship between developers and those to be developed. In other words, the people that the development intervention is meant for should participate in their own development programme, not in someone else's. Chambers (1997: 106)

argues that development should empower lowers – women, minorities, the poor, the weak and the vulnerable – and make power reversal real.

Regarding the fact that NGOs need strong civil society and popular organisations to succeed in their facilitation role, Pearce (1997: 84-5) argues that substantively enfranchised citizen and groups should exist. Constructing civil society, however, cannot be essentially about building up intermediary development organisations to represent the “poor”: it must be about empowering the poor and enabling them to fight for their own rights as citizens. If a country or a community lacks a strong civil society, the role of NGOs can extend to the extent, among other things, of reconstructing or constructing civil society (Pearce, 1997: 83). The importance of civil society is also emphasised from the viewpoint of self-reliance that Burkey (1993: 50-55) explains. Strong civil societies lead to self-awareness whereby the people build up self-confidence to solve their own problems.

The roles of the partnerships between – NGOs and the community and NGOs and the State – is important in the facilitation process of NGOs.

According to Pearce (1997: 86), the objective of development “from below” is surely that the poor and powerless identify their own needs and interests, and gain means to shape policies affecting them. For NGOs to contribute to the process of social change at grassroots, there must be evidence that the men and women they work with are increasingly able to effect change in their own lives, by own efforts (see Burkey, 1993: 41-70).

The NGOs must avoid gender-blindness, the hierarchical nature of decision-making within them and the tendency to institutionalise themselves rather than building the capacity of the poor to run their own affairs. According to Bawden (1994: 258), the challenge of development is to create a different kind of institutional organisation, which has the capacity to retain its abilities to facilitate, as well as respond to, change.

Political transformation in this regard is as important as ever. The State, on top of its direct hand in the process of community development, must also support the NGOs by creating a conducive atmosphere for their facilitative roles.

The Ethiopian government is in support of strong civil society as it is buttressed by constitutional entrenchments, but there are practically no strong and institutionalised

civil societies to take the lead in development. This shows that the facilitation role of NGOs will be hindered. The role of PRO PRIDE will, therefore, be expected to take the form of creating civil society besides the role of facilitation. It is the argument of the researcher that creating or recreating popular organisations will be a step forward in the process of empowering people at grassroots, as these institutionalised organisations can represent the interest of the community.

4.4. Development management in NGOs

4.4.1. Strategies of NGOs' management

Development means increasing the capacity of people to influence their future. It means that projects and programmes not only need to accomplish physical and concrete changes, but need to do so in such a way that people have greater capacity to choose and respond to these changes. It means that planned change has to be concerned with the potential of individuals and with the inviolability of their persons (Bryant and White in Fitnum, 1992: 114).

In view of fulfilling the above characters, NGOs' management pass through four generations as indicated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Strategies of development oriented NGOs: Four generations

	FIRST Relief and Welfare	SECOND Community Development	THIRD Sustainable Systems Development	FOURTH People's Movements
Problem Definition	Shortage	Local Inertia	Institutional and Policy Constraints	Inadequate Mobilizing Vision
Time Frame	Immediate	Project Life	Ten to Twenty Years	Indefinite Future
Scope	Individual or Family	Neighbourhood or Village	Region or Nation	National or Global
Chief Actors	NGO	NGO plus Community	All Relevant Public and Private Institutions	Loosely Defined Networks of People & Organizations
NGO Role	Doer	Mobilizer	Catalyst	Activist/Educator
Management Orientation	Logistics Management	Project Management	Strategic Management	Coalescing and Energizing Self-Managing Networks
Development Education	Starving Children	Community Self-Help	Constraining Policies and Institutions	Spaceship Earth

Source: Fitnum (1992: 114)

It is important to understand the above stages of generation in order to make proper management planning possible. The first generation is difficult to separate from all

the generations especially in areas where PRO PRIDE is operating. It might not be necessarily in the form of food, clothes and blankets, but the first generation needs manifest in some other distinct manners. NGOs such as PRO PRIDE are obliged to deal with first generation activities to succeed in their operations in the other generations.

The above generations are managed essentially through programmes and projects.

4.4.2. Programme management

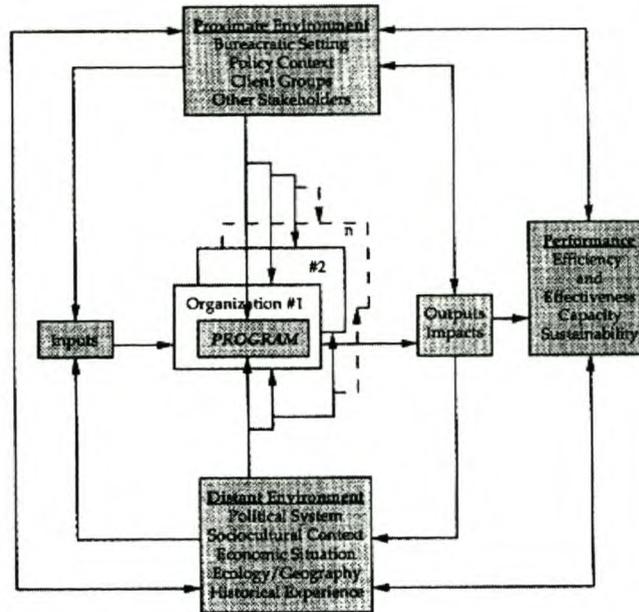
Following Brinkerhoff's (1991: 8-11) explanation, programmes have the following features, which imply the nature of their management.

- programmes are linked to existing public and/or private organisations in the country;
- programmes continue overtime;
- programmes integrate a wide variety of production and service delivery;
- programmes operate in multiple settings and
- programmes are the product of policy choices by various groups in the country at national, regional and/or local levels.

While the above characteristics have wide and specific implications, because of the limit of this study, a model of programme management (Figure 4.1) is considered sufficient to specify what kind of issues managers need to look at to make programmes successful.

The model describes the hypothesis that programme performance, the dependent variable, is influenced by two sets of independent variables: (a) "outside" or external factors, those that make up the programme's environment or context, and (b) "inside" or internal factors, i.e., the programme's structure, its modes of operating (systems and processes), and its human resource. Depending upon the particulars of a given situation, programme managers can direct their attentions and efforts to have an impact on various combinations of factors from these two sets to improve performance.

Figure 4.1: A conceptual framework for development programme managers



Source: Brinkerhoff (1991: 14)

Managers assess programmes environments, they evaluate programmes and implementing units, and they look ahead to outputs and performance. Programmes are operationalised through projects.

4.4.3. Project management

Community development invariably takes place through projects (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 49). Because their sponsors regard them as manageable sets of activities, projects are likely to remain the primary means of translating development policies into action (Rondinelli, 1983: 4).

For community development purposes the organisation involved in project management must have the attitude and the capacity of a learning organisation in Korten's (1980: 498) terminology. It must have the capacity for responsive and anticipatory adaptation, must embrace error, must plan with the people and link knowledge building with action (see Chambers 1997: 106).

The responsive organisation or adaptive institution needs skilled people who can act as catalysts and mobilising those whose support or commitment is needed. It needs administrators who can respond quickly and creatively to change (Rondinelli, 1983: 148).

De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 51) argue that project management consists in major of planning, implementation, evaluation and control. Need identification is important for planning.

According to De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 51), conceptions like “getting acquainted”, ala King and “making contact” ala Swanepoel, are important activities, which precede needs identification. The period of “getting acquainted” or “making contact” is a good opportunity for the community to learn to identify its needs.

The need identification process, according to Wileden (1970: 278) consists of four steps: starts with a problem; understand the problem; develop a concern for doing something about the problem; and express solutions in terms of felt needs.

The process of project management – planning, implementation, evaluation and control, then, continue after identification of community needs.

Planning should be a participatory process through which people gain greater control over their environment. Peoples’ control implies that planning is a conscious process (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 52 and Theron and Barnard, 1997: 37). Participation is an essential part of human growth (Burkey, 1993: 56).

Action follows after planning and it is manifested in implementation. Planning and implementation should not be separate. The practice of top-down (blueprint) planning should give way to participatory bottom-up planning especially when people and their needs and interests are at stake (Theron and Barnard, 1997: 46). The argument is that people must be part of a learning process (Friedman, 1984: 189).

In any type of community programme it is essential to know where the programme stands at a given time and to make sure periodically that it is moving in the direction of the desired objectives. By assessment or surveying, interim and ex post stages a development project is evaluated in a participatory manner (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998: 54-5). Evaluation should lead to a vision of new direction.

The purpose of control is therefore the reaction to evaluation and is integral to the process of planning, implementation and evaluation. It is therefore an essential part of the learning process and completes the cycle of experimentation. It is obvious that the community must take part in this function to the same extent as in other project management activities and planning steps.

4.5. Summary

There are certain community development principles that grew through history, which any community development programmes and project should fulfil. These principles are: the principles of human orientation, the principles of participation, the principle of empowerment, the principle of ownership, the principle of release, the principle of learning, the principle of adaptiveness and the principle of simplicity.

To be of human orientation, a development effort needs to recognise the concrete and abstract needs of the target people, as a holistic approach on dealing with the issue. Environmental sustainability is also a concern.

It is argued that participation is a tool for fostering local knowledge, which is central to capacity building and self-reliance. It is also a means for wealth distribution and for equity. True participation leads to empowering people to decide on the issues of their own development.

Empowerment also addresses both concrete and abstract human needs; it is collective action in the sense that people sharing a mutual interest or concern, act together and in concert; it is action at grassroots level; and it creates self-awareness, which in turn addresses abstract development needs.

Development efforts should recognise ownership by the people of development projects, and they should use all means to lead people to the feeling of ownership and concern. Development efforts to fulfil the principle of release should focus on poverty alleviation and self-reliance, whereby development can be self-sustaining.

It is argued that development programmes and projects must create learning by all involved. Only the situation should be the teacher. Learning should be bottom-up. The key elements in the learning process are leadership and teamwork, rather than blueprints. The learning process will lead to a situation where development efforts will be adaptive to the local situation and the local people.

It is argued that though big projects have some economic advantages, simple projects should be preferred to foster learning and sustainability.

The notion of facilitation is central to the concept of empowerment. The principle of empowerment is one of the requisites for a modern-day community development intervention, so is the necessity of facilitation. Facilitation needs community

consultation, community participation and people-centred or community-centred development.

An argument is made that for a facilitating role to be successful it needs a strong civil society. Since Ethiopia does not have a properly institutionalised civil society it is maintained that PRO PRIDE must play a role in constructing and reconstructing civil society in addition to its facilitating role.

NGOs' managers should understand the generation of their NGO in view of the nature of management needed. In all management generations, however, NGOs are invariably managed through programmes and projects. It is argued that programme performance is dependent upon the programme's external environment and internal factors, which need the manager to make appropriate decisions. Managers need to assess programme environments, they evaluate programmes and implementing units, and they look ahead to outputs and performance.

It is argued that programmes are operationalised through projects. For community development purposes the organisation involved in project management must have the attitude and the capacity of a learning organisation. For learning to take place projects must have participatory project planning, implementation, evaluation and control stages. Programmes should also foster a learning organisation through proper public participation.

PRO PRIDE is expected to fulfil the above community development principles. The facilitating role in its intervention is an important parameter of measurement. It is expected that PRO PRIDE comply with the requirements of programme and project management.

Chapter 5

The case of PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters it is made clear that poverty is a global problem, which drew global attention for its alleviation and eradication. The nature and causal relationships of poverty are presented, which demonstrated the intricated and the interwoven characteristics of poverty, leaving the poor in an interlock of a deprivation trap. The poverty context in Ethiopia in general and in urban Ethiopia in particular are analysed portraying that both represent a dismal picture. It is explained that while NGOs are different in their areas of intervention, they should perpetuate their strategy as developmental and facilitating agents, in order to capacitate and empower the people to fight poverty. Principles that a community development intervention should fulfil are identified.

In general, the attempt made in the previous chapters is to find the backdrop against which to measure and evaluate PRO PRIDE's intervention.

PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia is a local NGO that came on the scene as an empowerment programme to alleviating poverty in a specific part of Addis Ababa. This chapter is designed to present what PRO PRIDE has done against the above-mentioned background.

Issues such as rationale for PRO PRIDE's establishment and further existence, its origin and evolution, beliefs leading to its organisational vision and mission, principles, programme area selection and poverty analysis, intervention strategy, achievements of the intervention, challenges encountered, and future strategy will be covered. A summary of the chapter will be given.

The presentation is based on a comparative study of PRO PRIDE's Programme Proposal, (1994), a document of review of the organisation's intervention for the period 1995-1998 – "PRO PRIDE from Where to Where" (1999), an abridged report on accomplishment of the organisation – "Programme Panorama" (2000b) and PRO PRIDE's strategy paper 2001-2005 (2000a).

5.2. Rationale for PRO PRIDE's establishment and further existence

PRO PRIDE is justified to exist due mainly to the areas' socio-economic situation, the State's lack of financial capacity and lack of NGOs addressing the problem.

5.2.1. The socio-economic context of the programme area

Addis Ababa is the biggest and the only metropolitan area in the country. It is one of 14 Regions governed by a municipal administration. Administratively it is divided into six Zones, 28 Weredas (municipal local governments) and 303 Kebeles (the lower level in the administrative structure). Ever since its establishment over a century ago the city has grown at a very rapid speed. It grows at an average rate of 5-6 %. Reason for urbanisation that led to the exodus of people from rural areas could be classified into environmental, economic, social and political. The lure of town life and the ease of comfort anticipated thereby have also contributed to the internal migration. However, as the population increased the economic system that attracted the rural community failed to sustain new migrants.

Addis Ababa is a city with an estimated population of 3.5 million people out of which 1 million is expected to be unemployed. Most people do not have living quarters. Most of the houses are dilapidated. Over 30 % of the population does not have any toilet. Some people get water from springs and 32 % draw water from public taps. Poor environmental and personal hygiene are the main causes of health problems. Health services, though better than in the rural area, are far below the required level. Many school going children are deprived of their basic educational right.

The programme area – **Wereda Five** – is one of the four Weredas of Zone One in Addis Ababa. Wereda Five is the heart of the town and the centre of the famous African Open Market – **Merkato**. The Wereda is sub-divided into 13 Kebeles, the smallest government administrative unit. Its inhabitants could be classified into two major categories – the residents (over 100,000) and the non-residents. The merchants could be grouped as stationed and mobile traders. Several sex workers also inhabit the Wereda. Table 5.1 shows the classification of the Wereda on the bases of the aforementioned categorisations.

Table 5.1: Classification of Kebeles by types of residents

Kebele	Population	Rank in traders	Rank in residents	Rank in sex-workers
05	5000	9	6	2
06	7000	1	10	3
07	13000	5	5	4
12	7000	3	10	1
15	11000	12	2	-
16	11000	11	3	-
17	5000	8	6	7
18	6000	4	9	6
19	7000	2	10	5
20	11000	13	1	-
21	12500	10	4	9
22	9000	6	7	8
23	6000	7	8	10
Total	109600			

Source: PRO PRIDE (1994: 11 and 1999: 13)

The four Kebeles (05, 06, 07 and 12) in 1994 hosted a sizeable number of commercial sex-workers and street girls. At the same time, they were major commercial centres, followed by Kebele 19 and 18. Kebeles inhabited predominantly by residents were 15, 16, 20 and 21.

There were eight Kebeles (12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22 and 23) without any educational facilities whatsoever. Only one Day-Care Centre, two elementary and three elementary plus junior high schools were found in Kebeles 05, 06, 07, 18 and 21. There was only one public health station in Wereda 3, which was supposed to serve two Weredas. Waste disposal facility was at the lowest level in the Wereda and sewerage was almost unknown in all the residential areas.

The residential areas were Kebele 15, 16, 20 and 21, normally called **Addis Ketema** (New Town). These Kebeles were among the most densely populated and rapidly growing parts of the town. The Kebeles were estimated to host a population of well

over 70000 people. All the Kebeles were highly congested, most of the people living in rented rooms. All the houses were made of wood, mud and roofed with tin sheeting. Serving generation after generation without getting maintained, almost all the houses were anything but houses, and most houses did not have latrine. Water was available only through few standpoints. It was, indeed, the slum of Addis Ababa.

All the inhabitants were migrants from different rural areas of the country, attracted by urban opportunities, mainly petty trading, hotel and tearoom catering. The whole community was relatively new to the area, two-three generations old, but which lost contact with its rural origin and did not see any bright future in the new urban environment either.

The Entoto programme area was found to depict similar socio-economic problems to the extent that 75 % of the residents of the programme area were under the poverty line, while this was 81 % for Addis Ketema (see para. 5.3 for Entoto programme).

5.2.2. The State's lack of financial capacity

The seventeen years of Marxist military dictatorship (1974-1991), which ruled the country before the current government, was characterised by an atrocious civil war, highly centralised economic system and high economic mismanagement.

Economic management over the past two decades has been characterised by fiscal imbalances, recourse to extra-budgetary expenditure and excessive use of central bank accommodation of the deficit coupled with weak to non-existent expenditure controls. The consequence has, among other things, been a major weakening of the balance of payments position and deterioration of the physical and social infrastructures.

The external imbalance was additionally aggravated by adverse terms of trade following the fall in coffee prices and the rise in the prices of petroleum, while economic growth was further hampered by crop harvest failures due to drought during the years 1998/99 and 1999/2000 (IMF, 2000c: 7).

The downward spiral caused by mounting payments arrears and macro-economic imbalances continued in varying degrees of severity until 1992 when the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) implemented a series of far reaching macro-economic reforms.

The repatriation and rehabilitation of displaced people from Eritrea and some other parts of the country had an impact on the financial priority of the State.

The present State's socio-economic development policy is Agricultural Development – Led Industrialisation (ADLI) shifting priority from urban to rural areas (IMF, 2000c: 3-5).

Defence expenditure due to the war with Eritrea made the State more vulnerable. As consequence of the war the gap on the fiscal and balance of payments fronts widened markedly with deficits of 8.8 and 8.7 % of GDP in 1998/1999 and 1999/2000 respectively. Money supply increased at an average rate of 10.4 %.

In general the State has a very limited capacity (1.1 billion Pound Sterling of a total annual capital and recurrent budget for the whole country) to overcome the interwoven socio-economic problems.

The overview above portrays that while the State is in full recognition of urban poverty (IMF, 2000c: 3), it could not reach the urban poor due to lack of financial capacity.

5.2.3. Lack of sufficient NGOs

Of the 270 NGOs existing in the country 53 % are indigenous, of which 41 % operate both in urban and rural setting. Those that are operational exclusively in urban areas are 36 %. Their distribution in the city is uneven with few NGOs in central and periphery Weredas (3, 5, 6, 7, 18, 19, 20, 24, 26 and 28), and relatively higher concentration in Weredas 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, and 27. Most of them, 30 in number, run child focused programmes. Equally big number is engaged in child education or health or both. Very few are involved in integrated poverty alleviation programmes.

While the programme area reflects all problems of poverty as indicated above, there is no any NGO dealing with the problem.

5.3. Origin and evolution

After a thorough study of the grounds that demand for the existence of an organisation to fight poverty, PRO PRIDE was established as an indigenous voluntary organisation for empowering the poor to fight poverty. The first step was taken in December 1994

by submitting an Integrated Urban Development Programme proposal to ActionAid – Ethiopia (AAE), which was subsequently accepted by the donor in June 1995.

After constituting the Board of Trustees, approving the Memorandum of Association and the Programme Proposal, the process for formal registration started and approvals were secured from all government administrative levels (Wereda, Zonal and Regional offices). PRO PRIDE was formally registered as an indigenous NGO with the then Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), effective May 1995.

A requirement for registration with the RRC was to submit one or more project proposals on the activity to be undertaken to the concerned bodies, and that they should be approved by concerned line bureaus before implementation. Based on the requirements, PRO PRIDE submitted its 1995 plan and budget to Region 14 (Addis Ababa) Relief and Rehabilitation Bureau (RRB) – Foreign Relations and Development Cooperation Bureau (FRDCB). The project being that of organising poor people in savings and credit groups, the bureau recommended that the project be implemented in collaboration with Region 14 Labour and Social Affairs Bureau (LSAB). Accordingly the first tripartite agreement was signed between RRB, LSAB and PRO PRIDE on October 1995. According to a State circular concerning organisations alike, PRO PRIDE registered with the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) in June 1998. PRO PRIDE also signed an Operational Agreement with the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) on August 1998, for another three years.

Side by side with the organisational foundation, the programme area increased from 5 Kebeles to 19 including the Entoto Programme area.

PRO PRIDE was asked by DPPC to take over the AAE funded component of Development and Aid to You (DAY) programme in the Entoto area (Wereda 11), which it received in October 1996. This was because DAY was running similar programme components as PRO PRIDE in the AAE funded areas. The arrangement was accepted by the FRDCB, clearing the way for PRO PRIDE to immediately start operation. In November and December, in addition to office establishment, basic education and livelihood promotion programmes were made operational. The most tangible beneficiary related activity accomplished during that year, however, was the resumption of the education component for a total of 714 students.

In the year 1997 the Entoto Programme takeover was finalised, which, by reactivating all the other programme components, automatically brought forth two full-fledged development areas.

5.4. Values of PRO PRIDE

The organisation believes that every human being is equal by nature and is capable of sustaining itself. However, due to opportunities it is divided into haves and have-nots. It also believes that there is nothing worse than poverty that erodes the dignity of humankind. These points of departure have determined its values, visions and missions.

5.4.1. Value

PRO PRIDE's cardinal values determine the very existence of the organisation, its relationship with others, the operating systems of the organisation and its effectiveness. They are classified as justice and empathy with the poor, integrity and mutual respect, teamwork and excellence and efficiency and effectiveness.

5.4.2. Vision

PRO PRIDE believes that while the universe is endowed with immense resources deposited for utilisation by human beings without racial, national and religious discrimination, wealth is concentrated in the hands of few. A large majority of the world population leads a dismal life. According to PRO PRIDE, it is an irony too, that every human being has an inner potential to be self-reliant.

PRO PRIDE also believes that every human being, by nature, is endowed with compassion, benevolence and self-sacrificing capacity that it enjoys practicing it when and where ever there is a genuine cause and chance. Unfortunately, however, many people with this capacity do not have an easy access to quench their deep desire.

A realisation of these facts and a united effort to assist the disadvantaged individuals, communities and societies through a viable institution can change this situation.

Hence PRO PRIDE envisages being a strong urban poverty alleviating NGO and aspires to see a society, created by a united effort of its people, free from absolute poverty where every individual attains food, shelter, clothing and self-esteem in a sustained manner.

5.4.3. Mission of PRO PRIDE

PRO PRIDE stands for empowering disadvantaged individuals, families and communities, in urban settings, to eradicate absolute poverty by helping them actualise their latent potential through integrated urban development programme.

5.4.4. Why the name PRO PRIDE?

This organisation is named PRO PRIDE in the belief that the very name of the agency would encourage people to realise their latent energy and will confidently work to determine their fate, which of course lies in their hands. It would unleash their power and avoid the development of a dependency syndrome.

5.5. Development principles of PRO PRIDE

Following the aforementioned belief, value, vision and missions PRO PRIDE developed its principles, on the bases of which its operation is going to be governed. Community participation is on the top of the list. Such other principles as gender equity, inter-sectoral collaboration, appropriate technology, focus on prevention, participatory management, cost effectiveness and sustainability of programmes are also emphasised.

5.6. Programme area selection and poverty analysis

5.6.1. Programme area selection

A discussion with community leaders and state officials based on the socio-economic situation revealed that the residential and prostitute areas were the most poverty stricken parts of the Wereda. Consequently, the community leaders and local government officials recommended that the agency should start its operation in some of the residential and sex-worker centres.

It was thus recommended that PRO PRIDE should start its operation in Kebeles 05, 15, 16, 20 and 21 – Addis Ketema – and expands gradually.

The Entoto programme was started at the later stage by government decision as explained in para. 5.3. Thus, poverty analysis at the initial programme area will be presented next.

5.6.2. Poverty analysis at the initial programme area

The organisation made a thorough poverty analysis of the initial programme area – Addis Ketema. This helped to identify the real causes of poverty and enabled decision-making on the priority of intervention.

Poverty in this community manifests itself in different forms. Its highest forms are malnutrition, high morbidity and mortality rates caused by inadequate dietary intake and disease. Illiteracy, prostitution, streetism, HIV/AIDS, crime, population explosion and gender discrimination are the other latent features of poverty. The underlying causes are insufficient household food security, inadequate maternal and childcare, insufficient health services, and an unhealthy environment.

5.6.2.1. Food insecurity

Food security in this community is very precarious, and it is, more often than not, based on daily chances. According to community leaders, food insecurity faced by poor families in these Kebeles was mainly caused by lack of regular income.

Different categories of people: former-soldiers, graduate youth, school drop-outs, female households, bankrupt merchants, sex-workers, street children, old and disabled people were not productively employed. Full time employment, particularly for women and youth was difficult to obtain. Due to lack of either of the factors of production (space, capital or know-how), people are either fully unemployed or under-employed. Hence, most people are forced to live below the poverty line.

5.6.2.2. Ill health

The programme area hosts all kinds of health hazards. Major health problems recorded in the health centres are accidents, diarrhoea, pneumonia, bronchitis, urinary tracks infection, and intestinal worms. Morbidity and mortality that exacerbate poverty are the highest in the country.

The causes are, among others, too many people living together, insufficient water supply, unclean houses in dirty environs, no protection from weather change, no or few latrines or very unhygienic latrines, lack of easy access to the health centres, non existence of safety standards in work areas, and the problem of disseminating health education due to illiteracy. The fact that Merkato and the biggest road transport terminal are in the programme area makes the area the melting pot of all migrants.

The area is the centre of the floating population, which also perpetuates the area's being an epidemic eruption point of the town.

5.6.2.3. Prostitution

In 1990, it was estimated that over 7 % of Addis Ababa's adult female population were involved in prostitution. The programme area depicts even worst picture. The majority of these sex-workers – bar ladies, streetwalkers, call girls, and bar owners – are independent migrants who are forced to use prostitution as a means of ensuring subsistence and independence. A survey showed that their problems are identified, inter alia, to be irregular income, fear of AIDS (which is also a cause for low income), share of their meagre income with their landladies, the stigma attached to the work, waiting for customers in the cold, lack of education, ill health and fear of pregnancy.

Another informal survey conducted by the Wereda shows that most of the sex-workers are young; with a mean age of 25, and by and large victims of the socio-economic and political crisis of the country. None of them are interested to stay in this business as long as they get assistance for alternative means of subsistence.

5.6.2.4. Street children

Street children of the poor are another widespread problem of the area. The children on the street are no doubt from poor families. A study shows that 75 % of them are living with their families, while 20 % maintained tenuous links with their families. Only 5 % live and work on the street. The first two groups are supporting their families from the income they earn by shoe shining; working in parking lots and washing cars; carrying luggage and shopping; selling vegetables, chewing gums and sweets. On the criminal fringe, they also earn income from theft and the sex industry.

The children are victims of disadvantages compounded by poverty at birth: they had no access to basic education and health services, and none at all to a decent living.

5.6.2.5. Population problem

There is virtually no corner in Addis Ababa whose population growth rate is as alarming as that of the programme area. Net migration in 1994 was more responsible for this than was the high fertility rate. This has caused very high congestion in the area, making social service requirements extremely important. Area per capita was the

least in the town, with a family of five living in a house with a total area of 9-12 square meters.

5.6.2.6. AIDS

There is a limitation of data on AIDS specific to the area, but being the centre of the sex industry, bars and hotels, it could naturally be anything but an AIDS free area. The low levels of education of the inhabitants and low access to information compound the problem.

5.6.2.7. Gender discrimination

No salient features of gender discrimination can be attributed to the area. However, it is a centre where one could find women with no access to employment or to low skill requiring jobs, no access to credit, women with very little or no income whatsoever, low level of education and more vulnerable to health risks. They are the ones who are suffering most under this unhealthy and poverty stricken environment.

5.6.2.8. Environmental sanitation

If there is anything that strikes a visitor to the area, it is the number of children on the roads, and the poignant smell hanging over the place. As there is no sewerage system in place and very few toilets, most excreta are disposed right in front of the living quarters. Waste is also dumped near or in the backyards of the houses, creating a best breeding ground for all kinds of diseases. Most houses, particularly those of the poor people, are dilapidated. Ground space is the scarcest resource in the area. This picture will remain for some time to come.

The causes and effects of poverty that are presented so far are summarised in Table 5.2. In this table, causes of poverty are distinguished as economic, social and political; general lists of effects are made; and the general areas of intervention identified.

Table 5.2: Causes and effects of poverty

Causes	Effects	Programme intervention
Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of factors of production • Unemployment • Under-employment • Old age • Disability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maladministration • Globalisation • Lack of means of subsistence • Crime • Unproductiveness • Streetism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Savings and credit • Skill development • Advocacy of space • Social welfare • Health education • Clinical services • Environmental sanitation
Social <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disease • Death • Unfavourable culture • HIV/STD • Illiteracy • Large and extended family • Gender inequality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostitution • Stagnation • Ill health/death • Dependency • AIDS • Illiteracy • Extravagance • Sharing resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slum upgrading • IEC, condom distribution • Patient support • Basic education • Awareness creation • Family planning • Civic education • Party politics
Political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malgovernance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Injustice • Inequity • Unfavourable policies • Negative balance of trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Mature conservation

Source: PRO PRIDE (1999: 19)

See Annex 1 for factors of poverty as perceived by PRO PRIDE.

5.7. Objectives of PRO PRIDE

Based on the above explanation of the poverty context, PRO PRIDE defined objectives, which it should pursue in the course of its intervention to improve the quality of life in the areas. These are:

- Promoting income generation at an individual and household level,
- Facilitating non-school going children to attain basic education (reading, writing and arithmetic),

- Advance primary health care with special emphasis on maternal and child health care,
- Enhancing reproductive right and family planning supported by access to a safe abortion facility,
- Rehabilitating sex-workers,
- Curtailing the expansion of HIV/AIDS,
- Discouraging streetism and crime, and
- Promoting health education regarding environmental sanitation.

So far a focus was given to lay the foundation for a intervention strategy. The intervention strategy will be presented next.

5.8. Intervention strategy

Based on the mentioned realities and poverty causal relationships, a problem solution matrix, Table 5.3, was compiled to determine the nature of intervention strategy.

Table 5.3: Problem solution matrix

Solution	Problems								
	FI	IH	SC	HIV	POP	ILLIT	GD	PROS.	CRIM
IG	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
BE	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
IEC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
PHC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Note: FI – Food Insecurity SC – Street Children ILLIT – Illiteracy
 IH – Ill Health POP – Population GD – Gender Discrimination
 IG – Income Generation BE – Basic Education PHC – Primary Health Care
 IEC – Information, Education and Communication

Source: PRO PRIDE (1994: 18 and 1999: 20)

The above matrix shows that there is no single solution for any of the problems in the community. Besides, it is learnt that one programme intervention could have a direct

or indirect impact on all the other problems. It is also perceived that under such a situation, adapting one strategy and neglecting the rest could hardly enable the organisation to attain its objectives.

Hence, it is decided that PRO PRIDE would pursue an **integrated urban development** strategy throughout its programme. Its areas of intervention include:

- Income generation,
- Prostitute rehabilitation,
- Child and adult education,
- Primary health care,
- HIV/AIDS prevention and control,
- Environmental sanitation, and
- Gender equity.

5.8.1. Income generation

This activity is designed to address livelihood problems of the poor in the area. Its strategy would be a contingency approach, where it would try to fill the missing gaps in the economic activity. Efforts would be made to address all the problems of factors of production – space, capital and know-how. Skills development for women would be given due consideration.

5.8.2. Prostitute rehabilitation

In order to mitigate the problems of prostitution, interested sex-workers would be organised in groups and would be assisted to develop alternative income sources. Those interested to pursue education and would like to rejoin their parents, would be encouraged and assisted.

5.8.3. Basic education

The programme will assist non-school going children to attain basic education. It will adopt a non-formal education system. In order to discourage the flow of school age children to the street, they will be facilitated with places to read.

5.8.4. Primary health care

Preventive health care will be the major area of intervention in this programme. Particular attention will be given to personal hygiene and environmental sanitation. Necessary curative health service will also be rendered as long as it enhances the preventive aspect. Community health agents will be trained if it is compatible with the urban setting.

The health component will also address population issues, particularly reproductive health education and family planning supported by safe abortion.

5.8.5. HIV/AIDS prevention and control

Promotion of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) will be the major strategy to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS. IEC centres will be opened, condoms will be distributed, peer education will be introduced, media campaign will be enhanced and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) service based prevention will be employed.

5.8.6. Streetism, crime prevention and control

There is no intention of launching a full-scale streetism and crime alleviation programme at this stage. However, the agency will earmark street children that could fall under the non-formal education and income generation programmes to assist them.

5.8.7. Gender equity

Incorporating women in all the programmes will combat gender discrimination, and positive discrimination towards women would be practiced whenever needed and possible. Gender sensitive development projects will be implemented.

5.8.8. Environmental sanitation

Slum upgrading will be considered depending upon the financial capacity of the organisation.

5.8.9. Organisation growth phases

Even though PRO PRIDE's strategy is an integrated urban development programme, it, however pursued its strategy through stages/phases, following the principle of

moving from one stage to the next, only after proving success in the preceding ones. Thus, it started operation with the most pressing need of the community - income generation - and incorporated other components in their order of importance to the community as shown in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4: Intervention growth phases

Activities	Phases				
	1	2	3	4	5
	IG	IG	IG	IG	IG
		BE	BE	BE	BE
			PHC	PHC	PHC
				AIDS	AIDS
					ES

Source: PRO PRIDE (1994: 21 and 1999: 22)

It was therefore decided that the entry point activity would be organising self-help groups, through savings and credit groups in Kebele 05, 15, 16, 20, and 21 – Addis Ketema.

The aforementioned appropriate area identification and poverty analysis were tools for convincing the donors.

5.8.10. Donors and donors' expectations

5.8.10.1. Donors

Though PRO PRIDE solicits funds from different institutions, the major donor remained to be ActionAid – Ethiopia (AAE).

Of the five strategies of AAE for the years 1994-1998 – growth, diversification, institution building, advocacy and human resource development – the Institution Building Strategy stated that, “ActionAid has a firm commitment to promoting the growth of NGOs in Ethiopia. The number of active NGOs was limited and restricted to certain areas of the country. ActionAid – Ethiopia is intent on promoting the growth of NGOs both in terms of overall numbers and spread through a systematic

process of capacity building". It was this opportunity that was exploited in establishing the organisation.

This strategic partner - AAE - is strong in terms of commitment to poverty eradication and shares many of the values, visions and missions of PRO PRIDE. Its area of focus is, however, rural, which will have a limitation for PRO PRIDE's need for permanent source of fund.

5.8.10.2. Donors' expectations

Based on their visions and missions there are some expectations of AAE and other donors that PRO PRIDE should fulfil in order to secure funds. These are:

- They want the resources they channel through PRO PRIDE to bring about observable change in the life of the poor;
- They expect PRO PRIDE to focus more on human development programmes which empower the disadvantaged people;
- The donors want PRO PRIDE to have strong governance, to maintain accountability, effectiveness and transparency;
- They expect PRO PRIDE to have a clear phase out and sustainability strategy for its programme from the outset; and
- The donors also expect PRO PRIDE to diversify its resource base.

The above-mentioned expectations of the donors have strong implications for PRO PRIDE. Visible improvement in the life of the poor is important to encourage the donors. Strong governance, effectiveness and transparency are areas where failure could lead the donors to withdraw their support. To escape from a self-serving organisation that has no commitment to empowering the poor, PRO PRIDE needs to work out a phase out or a sustainability strategy. As part of sustainability PRO PRIDE should diversify its resource base and decrease its dependency on foreign sources.

5.9. Type of organisation and management

PRO PRIDE as an NGO can be described in terms of its type of organisation and management. Its functioning with other stakeholders in order to accomplish its visions and missions are also important.

5.9.1. Type of organisation

5.9.1.1. Classification of PRO PRIDE (see para. 3.2.2)

- **Evolutionary classification.** PRO PRIDE integrates the characters of the second generation such as aiming at the basic needs of people, the third generation such as sustainable system development, and the fourth generation in trying to raise public awareness.
- **Organisational classification.** As it is created and maintained out of a true sense of commitment to shared values, and that it represents the interests of self-reliance of the poor, PRO PRIDE integrates the natures of voluntary organisations and people's organisations.
- **Functional classification.** Categorically, PRO PRIDE is a developmental NGO, as it works with poorer communities in providing a range of developmental services and in building self-help capacity.
- **Geographical classification.** PRO PRIDE is a local NGO dealing with local people to empower them to fight poverty.

5.9.1.2. Functioning of PRO PRIDE (see para. 3.2.3)

PRO PRIDE is functioning in collaboration with the popular sectors – the people themselves and their community leaders. With the State, it operates in agreement with FRDCB, which is a regional State counter part in all NGOs related activities, and with other line bureaus such as Health, Education, Environmental Development and Labour and Social Affairs. It also works with donors and fellow actors in relevant fields.

PRO PRIDE is also guided and influenced by its internal dynamics such as organisational development, the Board and the staff.

Implementation of programmes and projects are effected through PRO PRIDE's interaction with the other concerned stakeholders. As a development agent PRO PRIDE made its role clear i.e. it empowers the poor through building their capacities. For this, participation of the poor is emphasised, believing that it is only through their own interactive and proactive involvement that sustainable development can be reached.

In general, PRO PRIDE's functioning in relation with the other stakeholders and within many interrelated dimensions has resulted in mixed states of strength and weaknesses of the organisation (see para. 5.11 for problems encountered and para. 5.12.4 for SWOT analysis).

5.9.1.3. Organisational structure and resources management

- **Organisational structure:** PRO PRIDE designed and developed a structure that ensures efficiency and accountability. It has a general assembly, the supreme body of the organisation, with a Board of Trustees, further strengthened over the years. The secretariat was organised with a clear division of labour, decentralisation and authority delegation (see Annex 2 for the organigram).

In the long run, however, assigning six sector coordinators for income generation, health, education, human resource development, finance, and construction will ensure programme implementation.

- **Manpower:** In order to ensure sustainability and effectiveness, PRO PRIDE is utilising three categories of manpower. These are community volunteers, regular and contractual professionals and casual labour. It gives priority to female youth from poor families, residing in the programme areas. In line with this policy PRO PRIDE started its operation by recruiting five volunteers and two contractual and one regular professional. Through the years, the number increased to 91 youth volunteers, 57 regular and 10 contractual staff with a sex composition of 104 female and 54 male.

Staff remuneration was based on organisational capacity, macro-economic compatibility and minimum cost of living. Staff development is given priority in the organisation with every staff member receiving one or another form of training and a further six staff members (3 male and 3 female) receiving management training abroad.

The organisation has capable and committed multi professional staff members with good organisational culture, reliable systems and procedures. A Human Resource Policy was designed in 1997 and implemented in 1998.

The leadership aimed at influencing staff to adhere to the philosophical tenets of the organisation, and creating a conducive working environment, so as to have a highly motivated staff. To this effect management committee, programme committee meeting, and general assemblies are held. Identity and organisational culture development workshops have been organised with the help of external facilitators and resource consultants.

- **Material:** Material resources development included office establishment and provision of office equipment, office furniture, and office supplies and transport facilities. The principle, which guides PRO PRIDE in this area, is to create a conducive working environment for every staff member.
- **Office establishment:** In order to ensure effectiveness, sustainability and compatibility, two office-establishment policies are adopted. The first is to use public premises for frontline staff with local furniture. The second is rented coordination offices with modest furniture. PRO PRIDE started its operation in five Kebele offices and increased the offices when the programme expanded. Coordination offices were rented when the Kebele offices failed to accommodate the staff member engaged in coordination office. By the end of 1998 PRO PRIDE had 19 Kebeles in which it operates, 3 coordination offices, and two medium level clinics.
- **Office equipment and supplies:** All the offices are equipped and supplied with the necessary modern machines and work materials. In order to increase efficiency all managers, (sector and programme) were supplied with the latest computers.
- **Transport facility:** PRO PRIDE's policy with regard to transport is to use public transport facilities, as much as possible and minimise vehicle ownership. Accordingly, each programme is supplied with one vehicle and when absolutely needed they borrow additional ones.
- **Finance:** As envisaged above, AAE remained the major donor throughout the years. Long-term sponsorship agreements are signed between the two parties, for the two programme areas. Funds from sponsorship constituted the major annual budget of the organisation. However, loan repayments and specific project funds were also utilised to run programmes.

5.9.2. Programme and project management

5.9.2.1. Programme management

PRO PRIDE is a programme established to alleviate poverty in collaboration with the State. It is operating with different line bureaus such as Education, Health, Labour and Social Affairs and Environmental Development on areas concerning each of them.

Its objectives of empowering the poor through building their capacities need a long-term persistent operation. Sustainable development can only be materialised through the poor's gradual learning from their practices of leadership and decision-making. Appreciating people's knowledge about their affairs, the full tapping of this potential needs an integration of modern knowledge and practice, which is a long-term result.

As a programme, PRO PRIDE integrates wide areas of intervention such as income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and environmental sanitation. These programmes are implemented in multiple setting in the two programme areas.

In view of improving its performance PRO PRIDE has designed a strategy whereby internal and external relevant factors affecting the organisation's operation are evaluated. The strengths and weaknesses of the organisation are reviewed, and opportunities and threats are envisaged (see para. 5.12 for the strategy).

As a programme managed through strategy, the organisation has a compatible organisational structure and future organisational development plan.

PRO PRIDE is operationalising its programme objectives through managing discrete projects.

5.9.2.2. Project management

Through the course of its history, PRO PRIDE has designed and implemented several projects, to attain its objectives. The project called "Wereda Five Livelihood Promotion Project" was basically an introduction of an urban credit programme, as it was expanded subsequently. Displaced Families Capacity Building, HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD) prevention in Wereda five, and Non-Formal Education for Non-School Going Children were projects that were launched in the initial programme area.

All projects were strictly in line with the organisational growth strategy. The growth strategy was to start with income generation, followed by education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and environmental sanitation. The only exception to this order was the launching of HIV/AIDS programme. This was because it was impossible to include the commercial sex-workers in the credit groups, as they were working under income sharing arrangements without owning any house. They are tenants that could be evicted at will by their landlords, and it was impossible to avert this situation. Hence, the sex-workers, together with their landlords, were asked to propose a programme that could assist the sex-workers. Consensus was reached to launch HIV/AIDS and STD prevention and control programme that focuses on the sex worker. This was how the HIV/AIDS component was introduced before the originally planned growth strategy.

In the new programme area – Entoto – PRO PRIDE is running the Entoto Livelihood Promotion Programme, Entoto Community Based Health Project, and Entoto Basic Education Programme.

There was not any project designed but not implemented.

The planning and implementation functions are explicit and part of project management. Evaluation of the intervention is conducted whereby achievements and obstacles are identified to fulfil the nature of project management. Though it was never that simple to set efficient and effective systems from the outset, PRO PRIDE has tried to introduce modern management control functions at its infant stage. Budgetary control was exercised through annual plan and budgets. Human Resource Development, Accounting, Store Management and Vehicle Policies are drafted and implemented. It has introduced Management Information Systems that ensure transparency, accountability, and proper utilisation of resources. Quarterly and annual computerised reports have been produced on a regular basis and distributed to all stakeholders. Internal and external auditors examined PRO PRIDE's accounts regularly and have never qualified the accounts.

5.10. Achievements

For PRO PRIDE, half a decade (mid 1995-mid 2000) was characterised by three differentiating features – organisational establishment, a period of exploration of the terrain of the poverty battlefield and experimentation of the war against poverty.

Though not yet on absolute firm ground, one can tell that PRO PRIDE is successfully established as an indigenous voluntary organisation for empowering the poor to fight poverty. Today PRO PRIDE is a legally registered NGO with capable and committed multi professional staff members with good organisational culture; reliable systems and procedures; and some material resources. Clear accountability and transparency systems are also in place.

The poverty battlefield exploration on the other hand, has revealed that poverty is a very complex phenomenon, which is a function of several endogenous and exogenous factors. Its width/coverage is so vast that it is beyond the capacity of any one organisation to bring about tangible results in the fight against poverty. The role of PRO PRIDE is to set models, orient the community to those models and leave the actual work to the most concerned stakeholder – the poor themselves.

The ground level experimentation showed that poverty could be defeated if, and only if; all concerned stakeholders attack it from all sides in a concerted manner. The ground level work shows that savings and credit, community based primary health care, entrepreneurship development and attitudinal together with behavioural change of the stakeholders are reliable tools to fight poverty. An enabling environment created by good policies and procedures and their proper implementation is mandatory to reduce poverty. Protecting the poor against outside forces is also essential. However, these are by no means the only tools to fight poverty. PRO PRIDE is expected to explore more from its future endeavour and lessons learnt from others.

Side by side with the organisational foundation, the organisation's programme area increased from five Kebeles to 19 Kebeles, a total of 6000 people have been organised in savings and credit groups, first by PRO PRIDE and then by Gasha Micro Financial Share Company. A total of Birr (Ethiopian currency) 7, 255, 626 loan has been disbursed and Birr 1, 259, 525 savings have been collected by the aforementioned organisations. Under this programme, there are model people who have managed to lift themselves above absolute poverty, whose number is, of course desired to improve. The spectacular achievement in this sector is the establishment of Gasha Micro Financing Share Company owned by 763 shareholders from and among the beneficiaries, out of which 92 % are women. Starting from 1998 the organisation introduced micro enterprise development training programme for micro producers. A

total of 507 people took part in the training and, according to PRO PRIDE, some said that it has helped them to improve their business.

The second line of achievement is in providing basic education in a cost effective method and exposing parents to the importance of education. Over 3000 pupils have attended the non-formal basic and pre-school education and some of them have successfully completed their basic education requirements. Few have managed to join formal education. Had it not been for lack of space in the formal schools, all non-formal school graduates could have continued their education. Pre-school education started in 1997 and gained a high acceptance where enrolment is increasing from year to year. PRO PRIDE started adult literacy programmes during the first year. However, later it was found more feasible to work with government run adult education centres. PRO PRIDE is supporting such centres financially. PRO PRIDE has also given financial support of Birr 210,177 to different formal schools in the programme area, for primary schools maintenance and desk supply.

The community based primary health care programme has rendered both curative and preventive health services to over 200,000 people. The major activities of the preventive section include reproductive health, environmental sanitation, HIV/AIDS prevention, control and care. Each major activity has several sub activities. For instance the environmental sanitation comprises of latrine construction and emptying, and access road and drainage construction. Similarly reproductive health contains several Maternal and Child Health (MCH) activities. The observable results that came about as a result of these interventions are children dietary improvement, childbirth spacing, avoiding certain harmful traditional practices, AIDS patient care and environmental sanitation. The curative section, on the other hand, rendered consultation, minor treatment, laboratory and essential drug dispensing services.

Recognising culture as one of the major factors of poverty, PRO PRIDE initiated a cultural promotion programme through stage productions, publications, film production, public rallies, group discussions and support to HIV/AIDS clubs. Over 300,000 people took part in these programmes.

The organisation's relationship with donors and fellow actors has increased in the last five years. Although it started with one donor – AAE – in 1995, PRO PRIDE has solicited funds also from others. Through this time PRO PRIDE has become a full

member of the Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA) and an executive committee member of Basic Education Network.

PRO PRIDE started with a budget of Birr 387,668 in 1995, and budget utilisation has constantly increased from year to year. It utilised a total budget of Birr 4, 439,847 in 1999 with unqualified audit reports. It operates with an administrative cost of less than 5 % of the total budget.

However, the achievements were made not without facing constraints.

5.11. Problems encountered

PRO PRIDE encountered several problems in its initial stage and during its operation. The major problems faced by the organisation, which still persist to exist and hamper progress, are a long registration process, project agreement delays, inactive Board, inexperience and high turnover of officials, inconsistent and uncoordinated guidelines, and wrong perceptions/attitudes of both the beneficiaries and officials.

5.11.1. Long registration process

Starting from its establishment, PRO PRIDE has experienced lengthy and tiresome registration processes. This was not unique to PRO PRIDE. It was a problem faced by all NGOs in the country.

When the current Ethiopian government came to power, the then Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) was mandated to register all NGOs, and all other line bureaus were barred from such activities. The RRC was licensing NGOs by signing a general agreement for three years. Before approaching the RRC, all administrative organs (at Kebele, Wereda, Zonal and Regional level) had to approve a programme. This consumed too long time. After signing the agreement, government offices never distributed the copies of the agreement to their respective agencies. The agencies rather demanded the NGOs to bring the copies whenever they miss their previous copies or when a new one replaces an official.

In the middle of 1995, this working arrangement was changed, and NGOs were asked to register and re-register with the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) for one year and sign operation agreements with the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) for three years. The requirements of MOJ were not identical with that of

RRC. Some of the procedures were stiffened and new ones added, further consuming much of the programme time.

5.11.2. Inactive Board

Though the Board has fulfilled its legal and formal requirements, it has not lived up to the expectation and requirements of the organisation. As a body responsible to ensure accountability, it had not spent enough time to follow-up the organisation, as it ought to. Consequently, the organisation remained management led for the whole of its life.

5.11.3. Project agreement procrastination

After signing the General Agreement, at least one project proposal had to be submitted to the Foreign Relation and Development Cooperation Bureau (FRDCB), the agency which sends the document to line bureaus who then comment and return it to FRDCB, who again sends it back to the line bureaus for signature. These back and forth exchange of documents among institutions with minimal transportation and reliable information exchange system, practically killed staff moral and organisational efficiency. Projects remained unsigned for more than a year, though implementation continued with a high degree of uncertainty.

5.11.4. Inconsistent and uncoordinated guidelines

Government agencies at grassroots level never receive copies of agreements signed at higher levels. Consequently, they give uncoordinated and at times conflicting guidelines to their subordinates, creating confusion among stakeholders, sometimes even undermining implementation of programmes.

5.11.5. Inexperience and turnover of officials

With all due respect to people's governance, it can be said that putting totally inexperienced people at decision-making levels often harms social, economic and political development. Such inexperienced people at different bureaucratic levels lacked the capability to coordinate beneficiaries towards the intended goals. As they are prisoners of nepotism and illegal practices, the turnover of such people remained high throughout the years. Though its advantages outweighed its disadvantages, it nevertheless, created an information gap between the programmes and the administration.

5.11.6. Problem of perception

Ethiopia, being a country with a short and controversial NGO history, the State attitude towards NGOs has, almost always, been negative, with some people making blanket accusations against all NGOs in Ethiopia who, they say, are corrupt, self enriching and, at times, subversive in nature. The accusation not only led to the closing of some NGOs but also negatively affected the existing NGOs' relationship with all concerned bodies. Project implementation was severely hampered by this negative working environment. The State perception of NGOs as gap fillers, has also been, and still is, another cause of this misunderstanding between NGOs and other concerned parties.

PRO PRIDE, too, has not been immune to this cloud of suspicion and public scepticism. As one of the pioneers of integrated urban development programme, it lacked the required experience to bring about a change in public perception. Hence, the relationship between the community and PRO PRIDE and among savings and credit members was shrouded in suspicion. This problem was further compounded by managerial weaknesses exhibited by certain staff members.

5.12. The future strategy

Based on its hitherto exploration of the poverty battlefield and experimentation of poverty alleviation, PRO PRIDE has designed a strategic plan for the next five years, 2001-2005, which will further enhance its performance in its operation and will impact on poverty.

5.12.1. Political and socio-economic situations

PRO PRIDE has assessed the country's political and socio-economic environment as well as the poverty situation of both the country in general and the programme areas in specific. The Ethiopian economy has made no structural change and neither did the poverty situation in general. Few NGOs are involved in integrated poverty alleviation programmes.

5.12.2. Stakeholder analysis

A stakeholder analysis is made whereby the expectation of each is identified with its resultant implication for the focus of attention in the organisation's future operation. The major stakeholders are identified to be the community and community leaders,

local government administration, FRDCB and line bureaus, donors, the Board of PRO PRIDE and the staff. The stakeholder analysis showed that there is the possibility of working together with different organisations to attain the goals of the organisation.

5.12.3. Strategic goals and objectives

On the basis of its visions and missions and as well as the expectations of the stakeholders, PRO PRIDE has formulated strategic goals and objectives. The strategic goals are:

- To assist poor people to be able to ensure their survival, to meet their basic needs and to realise their social justices and equity;
- To establish pro-poor institutions which ensure the sustainability of poverty eradication initiatives;
- To be a centre of excellence in all its intervention, organisational culture, accountability, transparency, and credibility and thereby play an exemplary role to NGOS;
- To enhance PRO PRIDE's financial capacity;
- To be one of the leading urban poverty eradication NGOs in the country;
- To play an effective policy advocacy role and
- To reduce the dependency syndrome and ensure sustainability of the organisation's programmes.

Specific activities are identified, and targets are set. The areas of intervention are strengthening the previously started general areas and introducing new ones.

The values, visions and missions of the organisation remained substantially the same.

5.12.4. SWOT analysis

Against the above strategic goals and objectives, the organisation made an analysis of its organisational strengths and weaknesses and as well as the opportunities and threats to its operation.

The strengths and weaknesses analysis included those of programme components such as livelihood promotion, health and HIV/AIDS, education, the environmental and cultural programmes; community participation and training; sustainability and

phase out strategy; monitoring and evaluation strategy; change orientedness and communication; pioneering and networking; governance and organisational promotion; human resources; and resource mobilisation and utilisation. The weaknesses are further elaborated by identifying critical issues that have strategic implications on the future of PRO PRIDE.

5.12.5. Strategies

In terms of poverty eradication, PRO PRIDE maintained the existing strategy of the integrated urban poverty alleviation programme.

In order to overcome the weaknesses and the critical issues in implementing the integrated urban development, PRO PRIDE has designed the following strategies.

- Growth of organisational capacity and expansion of programmes as well as components,
- Development of self-sustaining institutions and utilisation of indigenous organisations,
- Strengthening the networking capacity of PRO PRIDE and utilisation of the already established ones,
- Incorporating culture in programmes and projects formulation and implementation, and promotion of a development oriented culture,
- Diversification of the resource base, and
- Developing a monitoring and evaluation system.

The human resource implication is that over 124 new staff will be needed to implement the strategy effectively. Human resource development will need high attention.

The financial requirement, which is over fifty eight million Birr, is beyond the current capacity of the organisation. Efforts have to be made to raise funds from different sources – local and international.

5.13. Summary

PRO PRIDE – Ethiopia is an indigenous NGO, which is operating as a poverty alleviation programme through empowering and capacitating the poor. The

programme areas are Wereda Five – Merkato - of Zone one and Wereda 11 – Entoto – of Zone Four in Addis Ababa – Ethiopia.

The profile of the programme areas depicts nothing but a dismal picture of poverty, where 75 % and 81 % of Entoto and Merkato residents live below the poverty line respectively. The State is unable to address these poverty problems due to lack of financial capacity which results both from the poor being of the country and internal and external factors, affecting the budgetary priority and financial capacity. NGOs that are operating exclusively in urban areas are less, and very few are involved in integrated poverty alleviation programmes.

Once PRO PRIDE got the legitimacy for establishment and existence from the above-mentioned problems, it defined its values with the consequent definitions of visions and missions. Whereas the values and visions reflect in the same principles, the mission is that PRO PRIDE stands for empowering disadvantaged individuals, families and communities, in urban settings, to eradicate absolute poverty by helping them actualise their latent potential through integrated urban development. The organisation also defined its principles in clear terms. Community participation, gender equity, inter-sectoral collaboration, appropriate technology, focus on prevention, participatory management, cost effectiveness, and sustainability are the major principles governing its operation.

Before intervention PRO PRIDE made a thorough analysis of poverty especially in the initial programme area – Addis Ketema. Poverty in this community manifests itself in different forms, its prominent forms being malnutrition, high morbidity and mortality rates caused by inadequate dietary intake and disease. Illiteracy, prostitution, streetism, HIV/AIDS, crime, population explosion and gender discrimination were the other latent features of poverty. The underlying causes are absence of household food security, inadequate maternal and childcare and insufficient health services and an unhealthy environment.

Hence, food insecurity, ill health, illiteracy, prostitution, streetism, high population growth, AIDS, gender discrimination and environmental sanitation, were the major areas that came to the forefront in the programme design.

The poverty features were further analysed in the cause and effect matrix. The matrix clarified that there is no single solution for any of the problems in the community.

Besides, it was learnt that one programme intervention could have a direct or indirect impact on all the other problems. It was perceived that under such a situation, adapting one strategy and neglecting the rest could hardly enable the organisation to attain its objectives.

To address these integrated problems, it was decided that PRO PRIDE would pursue an Integrated Urban Development Strategy consisting of income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and environmental sanitation. Though it is an integrated urban development strategy, the principle of pursuing the programmes through stages/phases, and moving from one stage to the next after proving success in the preceding ones was followed.

Despite that PRO PRIDE solicits funds from different institutions the major donor is AAE. This strategic partner is explained to be strong in terms of commitment to poverty eradication and it shares the many values, visions and missions of the organisation.

As an NGO PRO PRIDE is integrating the characters of the second, third and the fourth generation NGOs regarding evolutionary classification; is a voluntary organisation and people's organisation in terms of organisational classification; functionally, it is a developmental NGO; and geographically, it is an indigenous local initiative. Regarding its functioning, it collaborates with the people themselves and their community leaders; FRDCB; line bureaus such as Health, Education, Environmental Development; Labour and Social Affairs; and donors and fellow actors. Internally, the Board and the staff have an influence on the organisation's operation.

It has an organisational structure with a general assembly, as the supreme body, and a Board of Trustees. Secretariats headed by a Director execute the functions of the organisation. The organisation has 91 youth volunteers, 57 regular and 10 contractual staff with a sex composition of 104 female and 54 male.

PRO PRIDE uses a programme and project management approach. In programme management it manages through strategic planning with a commensurate organisational structure. PRO PRIDE operationalises the programmes through discrete projects. The planning and implementation functions are explicit as part of project management. Evaluation of intervention is conducted whereby achievements

and obstacles are identified. There is also a management control system – control on the basis of a plan.

Regarding the achievements, three issues – organisational establishment, exploration of the terrain of the poverty battlefield and experimentation of the war against poverty, are presented. It is explained that the organisation is successfully established as an indigenous voluntary organisation for empowering the poor to fight poverty. Exploration of the poverty battlefield revealed that poverty is very complex that one organisation cannot bring about tangible results in fighting poverty. The role of PRO PRIDE is setting models and orient beneficiaries to the models so that they carry out the actual work. Regarding achievements, it is explained that PRO PRIDE performed more than the targets in all the programmes launched. The spectacular achievement is the establishment of Gasha Micro Financial Share Company owned by 763 beneficiaries, out of which 92 % are women.

The problems encountered by PRO PRIDE were a long registration process, project agreement procrastination, an inactive Board, inexperienced and high turnover of officials, inconsistent and uncoordinated guidelines, and wrong perception/attitude of both the beneficiaries and the officials.

Based on previous operations and the resultant achievements and negative encounters, PRO PRIDE designed its future strategy, which will further enhance its performance in its operation and impact on poverty. Values, visions and missions of PRO PRIDE remained substantially the same – empower the poor – but have been further elaborated. The stakeholder analysis shows a possibility of working together with different organisations to attain the visions and missions. The strategies designed are means to enable the organisation to address the weaknesses and the critical issues, in order to achieve its goals and objectives. Regarding the poverty alleviation programme, the Integrated Urban Development Strategy is once again ordained officially as the organisation's strategy.

Chapter 6

Synthesis of the study: The features of PRO PRIDE

6.1. Introduction

This study is aimed at evaluating PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviation programme through community development intervention.

Theoretical frameworks are established whereby a presentation is made on what poverty is and its causes. The perspective of poverty in Ethiopia is dealt with. Strategies for poverty alleviation in a country in general and urban poverty in particular are identified. While the State is first and foremost responsible for poverty alleviation, NGOs, among others, are found to be responsible bodies in this regard. Consequently, their role as development agents is presented. Further, their classifications, their functioning, their weaknesses, and their normative relationship with the State are explained.

The NGOs' facilitation role, their management and the principles that they have to be governed by in their community development intervention are discussed.

Provided the above theoretical background, PRO PRIDE as an indigenous empowerment NGO is presented. Its establishment and its visions and missions, its intervention strategy and accomplishment as well as encountered problems and future strategies are presented.

In this chapter a synthesis will be made. PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviation programme will be evaluated against the literature on related topics.

PRO PRIDE's perspective on poverty from global and Ethiopian national levels will be presented. Visions and missions followed by application of eight community development principles will be assessed. The selection of the programme areas and poverty analysis will be evaluated, as well as the intervention strategy. Type of organisation and management, which will cover its classifications as an NGO and its functioning, programme and project management and organisational structure will be presented. A summary of the chapter will be given.

6.2. Legitimacy of PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviation programme

Before looking at other aspects, it is the researcher's belief that the focus on poverty must be legitimised from the viewpoint of global and Ethiopian national policy focuses.

6.2.1. The global focus on poverty alleviation

Poverty is a global problem. According to The World Bank (2001: 1), at the start of the new century, poverty remains a global problem of huge proportions. Eradicating poverty in the global arena is the main priority whereby the interaction of market, State institutions, and civil societies should harness the forces of economic integration and technological change to serve the interests of poor people and increase their share of society's prosperity.

The International Monetary Fund's (IMF) loan motive to the Third World is directed at eradicating poverty. If Third World countries are to be successful in securing funds from the IMF they are supposed to show a poverty alleviation strategy. According to the IMF (2001: 1), the conditions for lending to poor countries were broadened to include an explicit focus on poverty reduction in the context of a growth-oriented strategy. They should integrate the objectives of poverty reduction and growth so that every step taken for growth should directly impact on the life of the poor.

Ethiopia, as the poorest of the poor countries, is in no doubt that its strategy for economic development should be that of poverty reduction.

6.2.2. The Ethiopian focus on poverty reduction

Ethiopia prepared a macro economic development policy in 2000, which is focused on poverty reduction. The initiative of poverty reduction strategy taken by the international funding institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF implies for Ethiopia both continuing and sharpening the focus on poverty of the previous years. According to the poverty reduction strategy document of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (2000; 8), reduction of poverty will continue to be the core of the agenda of the country's development, which consists of four building blocks, namely, Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation (ADLI); Judiciary and civil service reform; decentralisation and empowerment; and capacity building in the public and private sectors.

The above facts portray that the State is restructuring in such a way that it can be able to make an impact on poverty. International assistance in this regard is also called upon, which means that an organised initiative to fight poverty a priority.

6.2.3. PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviation programme

Given the global and Ethiopian national focus on poverty, the legitimacy of PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviating organisation is unquestionable. The Ethiopian focus is empowerment of the local people so that they can initiate and decide on their own development. Issue such as gender discrimination has received attention in order to alleviate poverty. The need of capacity building is emphasised by the State.

PRO PRIDE is fostering empowerment of the poor to do their own development. The concern of empowerment is a declared and practically demonstrated reality. PRO PRIDE, after evaluating its intervention, made sure that the main actors should be the people themselves, and by developing models it trains the beneficiaries to manage their own development. Capacity building is one of the major issues for PRO PRIDE.

PRO PRIDE established an understanding of global poverty and the general nature that Ethiopia shares. The enhancement of social integration, particularly of the more disadvantaged and marginalised groups; alleviation and reduction of poverty; and expansion of productive employment are the development issues that Ethiopia shares with the international community. PRO PRIDE is established with the belief that such efforts could bear fruits only if channelled through organised bodies.

PRO PRIDE is an organisation through which international assistance is channelled to the country. Provided the nature of poverty in Ethiopia and the poverty alleviating strategy, the country desperately needs international assistance. A NGO which could stand for the cause of the people in poverty and which can win the support of international funding institutions is important. PRO PRIDE plays this role.

6.3. Vision and mission

The vision of PRO PRIDE is to see absolute poverty eradicated in the urban setting through applying the latent potential of the poor and allowing them to participate in their own development. It believes that every human being has an inner potential to be self-reliant. These beliefs are basic to improve the life of the poor in a sustainable manner. Sustainability can come from the use of local knowledge (latent potential)

and the belief that people can become self-reliant; not anybody makes them self-reliant. The organisation believes that using a viable institution for the development of communities can lead to solutions for the disadvantaged.

The mission of PRO PRIDE is empowering the poor through integrated urban development. Empowerment is the vital issue for sustainable community development. An integrated urban development strategy must be holistic in nature.

6.4. The principles of PRO PRIDE

The community development principles are human orientation, participation, empowerment, ownership, release, social learning, adaptiveness, and simplicity. The following explanation will be made on the position of PRO PRIDE regarding materialising these principles.

6.4.1. The principle of human orientation

A community development intervention should follow a basic needs approach, a holistic approach and aim at environmental sustainability.

The basic needs approach focuses on alleviating poverty and raising the productivity of the poorest section of the population. It is about impacting on the life of the poor rather than viewing growth in terms of improving GDP and per capita income. PRO PRIDE is a poverty alleviation programme working directly with the poor people to impact on their life. Local enterprise development training and human resource development in the core programme areas are schemes to improve the productivity of the poor.

Regarding the holistic approach, the organisation dealt with the socio-economic aspects of the life of the poor through its income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and environmental sanitation programmes and projects. To fulfil a holistic requirement, PRO PRIDE should make practical its political advocacy role. The major aspect, as part of a holistic approach, is to capture the local peoples' meaning giving context. Though the general public did not participate in identifying their development needs, the community leaders did as their representatives. As part of structure-determined action, beneficiaries' reactions to the interventions of the organisation can change from time to time depending upon the meaning the beneficiaries give to the performance of the organisation. The organisation tried to

assess the views of the people about its intervention and used that knowledge for future strategy. However, a full-fledged and comprehensive impact assessment and search for views of the public must be conducted to direct future operation.

The environmental impacts of the organisation's interventions are positive. Programmes like income generation, basic education, primary health care, prostitute rehabilitation, HIV/AIDS prevention and environmental sanitation have direct or indirect positive impacts on the environment.

6.4.2. The principle of public participation

The basic ideas that are identified about public participation are that, among others, the poor should: take initiative in identifying their problems, participate as the main actors in the development process, make decision on their own development, control their own development and gain the capacity to determine their own future. It is identified that by participation the value of local knowledge is strengthened and equity is created.

The community leaders came in during problem identification to establish PRO PRIDE. Different committees that are elected from the community are working with the organisation in implementing the programmes. Through the community leaders and the implementation committees, people participate in the decision making process and manage their own development. Participation is effected through recruiting youth volunteers to the organisation from the community. Local enterprise development training is another means for participation. Saving and credit is a scheme designed for poor people to change their lives by their own effort. Since the programme is that of empowerment and capacity building, the effort of PRO PRIDE is to enable the poor people to have the skill and the financial power to fully control their own development. The fact that public participation at all stages of the project cycle needs improvement is an apparent recognition of the organisation.

Participation of the public particularly in the credit scheme is a direct measure of equity creation since this scheme focuses more on the poor women.

The organisation, by its beliefs and practices, appreciates the values of local knowledge and works to empower the people to enable them to utilise their latent potential. Participation is one of the principles that PRO PRIDE declared to foster.

6.4.3. The principle of empowerment

The most important characteristics of empowerment identified in the literature are that: empowerment addresses both concrete and abstract human needs; empowerment is a learning process; empowerment is collective action in the sense that people sharing a mutual interest or concern, act together and in concert; empowerment is action at grassroots level; and empowerment creates self-awareness, which in turn addresses abstract development needs. An empowerment programmes should advance by means of education in which the communities carry out tasks as actors, control the resources and direct the processes affecting their lives.

PRO PRIDE, through its saving and credit scheme is addressing the concrete needs of the poor directly. Through the other programmes, including the saving and credit programme, it is dealing with the abstract needs of the poor. PRO PRIDE has sound training programmes. This is commendable as empowerment is a learning process. However it has to state that the viable organisation that it seeks to be in the future should also be built by learning from the peoples' experience and knowledge. This calls for a participatory, bottom-up approach.

PRO PRIDE is action at the grassroots level. The need that it should be a collective action is fulfilled as far as participation of the poor is concerned. The poor are actively participating in saving and credit as well as in other aspects of PRO PRIDE's intervention. However, there is a necessity that some effort should be made by the organisation to improve the perception of beneficiaries and local officials about its objectives. Considering PRO PRIDE as a "relief organisation" by beneficiaries and as "infrastructure builder" by local officials should change, and both local officials and beneficiaries should harness their efforts to enable PRO PRIDE achieve its empowering and capacity building objectives.

In the saving and the credit scheme the poor can see themselves not as a suffering entity but as an active party, and entities that have the ability to change their situation. The people who own the Gasha Micro Financial Share Company realise that they have the capacity to change their situation. This is what creating self-awareness through empowerment programmes mean.

In general, however, the end result of the empowerment programmes is the creation of environment for the poor to control their own development in a sustainable way. This emphasises public participation.

6.4.4. The principle of ownership

This principle shows that development projects belong not to the NGOs, which initiate them, but to the community. People must feel ownership of these projects. Development should be implemented through an incremental approach.

Through the general framework of integrated urban development, the main implementation mechanism is that PRO PRIDE sets models for the people themselves to participate in. This is commendable as it fits with the ideal that development should be incremental. However, the organisation should take care that the opportunity should not be hijacked by few local elites.

6.4.5. The principle of release

This principle demands that development should target eradication of poverty, through self-sustaining development rather than temporary relief works. Self-reliance is the main principle.

Self-reliance is effected when people meet their own needs using local resource under local control. The ideas underlying self-reliance are that: people make themselves self-reliant and outsiders assist them, people contribute the necessary resources, people rely on their own knowledge and skills to identify their problems and solutions, people make independent decisions individually or collectively and accept the interdependence between people and communities.

PRO PRIDE has made clear in its values that people have a potential for self-reliance and that it assists the poor to use this potential. The organisation accepts that the unjust practice of the world deprived the poor of resources and thus it is assisting them, through its income generation programmes, to be able to have access to resources. The human resource development schemes and local enterprise development training are enabling the beneficiaries to gain knowledge and skills for future self-reliant actions. These schemes are expected to give them self-confidence and self-determination.

For self-reliance, beneficiaries must not only expect things from PRO PRIDE. They must know how to interact with others and diversify their resources. PRO PRIDE should also train beneficiaries in this regard.

Sustainability means engaging free men and women in activities that meet their basic human needs. Peoples' sustainable well-being is a function of their active engagement out of their own conviction and free mind. The interventions must be viewed from long-term perspectives. PRO PRIDE has indicated sustainability as one of its principles.

The scheme of using voluntary labour from the programme areas will boost sustainability. Human development and the local enterprise development schemes are to train the poor how they can use their potential and integrate it with modern practices so that they can run sustainable development. Gasha Micro Financial Share Company is a structure that is owned and run by the beneficiaries. It is accepted as a releasing and a transforming achievement.

6.4.6. The principle of social learning

The ideas characterising social learning, inter alia, are that: people learn by continuously striving to fulfil their needs, and that learning should include all involved in the development process; learning should be bottom-up; knowledge is derived from social realities and the value commitments of both developers and the clients; learning emanates from a flexible, sustained, experimental, action-based capacity building style of assistance; needs an institution that is ready to co-evolve in its relationships with the dynamic and complex environments in which it exists; learning organisations are collectives or communities who share experience and understanding through cooperative learning and participation in those events, which affect them; learning embraces errors; and planners collaborate actively with clients in the formulation of plans.

The fact that the beneficiaries, through their involvement in the interventions of PRO PRIDE, will learn is unquestioned. The need that PRO PRIDE must learn from the people to have a viable institution is already mentioned. The bureaucracy should also learn in this process so that they can initiate and implement development in the absence of such organisations. PRO PRIDE started by learning from people or their representatives about their problems, which makes the learning bottom-up. The fact

that knowledge emanates from social realities is accepted and thus implemented by studying social realities of the community before starting the interventions.

Flexibility in the intervention was observed when the organisation decided to start the HIV/AIDS programme earlier than the planned time, based on learning from the situations. The programmes are sustained learning opportunities where the poor and the staff of the organisation as well as the local government officials learn through their experiment in their practical action. To strengthen learning from experimentation of the poor and to build the capacity of the poor through learning from their own experimentation PRO PRIDE has to emphasise on public participation more.

The fact that the principle of learning requires development institutions to co-evolve by their learning from people is already mentioned. In this regard it is said that PRO PRIDE has to make a clear statement about its understanding and commitment to this reality.

Effective learning comes from a cooperative learning and participation by the poor and all relevant stakeholders. This needs a proper understanding by all stakeholders about the organisation. PRO PRIDE has to create awareness among the stakeholders.

People are saving and benefiting from the credit opportunities. They are, however, in doubt about the organisation due to a controversial history of NGOs in Ethiopia (see para. 5.11.6). PRO PRIDE has to be able to change this situation.

The fact that PRO PRIDE, after its experimentation on poverty, decided to set models and let the people themselves act to fight poverty is a conviction on the side of PRO PRIDE that people can learn from their mistakes. People can learn and gain the capacity in the process of planning and implementation with the slight guidance of outsiders. PRO PRIDE should, thus, give guidance and participate at that level.

6.4.7. The principle of adaptiveness

This principle is the same as the social learning principle. The major idea is that development should be planned from the bottom-up and that it should embrace errors as a medium of learning. The mindset needs to be that management should be fluid, changeable and adaptable. There must be freedom for field workers. The interventions must fit each environment. It should be responsive to decision-making by the poor,

using the knowledge of the local people and rewarding personnel for efficient performance rather than for blind obedience.

PRO PRIDE utilises coordination offices in each Kebele, which is covered in the intervention. These are formed according to the specific situations of each Kebele. There is high decentralisation and delegation for development workers.

All the intervention programmes are selected based on a general study of the country and the specific natures of the poor in the programme areas. The intervention areas of PRO PRIDE are commendable regarding their relevance to the situation of the poor. Its responsiveness for the need of decision-making by the poor is fostered when PRO PRIDE decided to set models and the actual work to be done by the people themselves.

Personnel are properly encouraged to have their own creativity and discretion, adhering to the philosophical tenets of the organisation. The organisation has created a conducive working atmosphere for this.

6.4.8. The principle of simplicity

The advantages of simple projects are identified to be favourable, inter alia, for public participation, bottom-up action and learning, controlling the local elites from siphoning off resources, minimising dependencies and further social inequalities, and for specific ownership. Large projects oppose all these important learning opportunities initially though they are the ends of development interventions.

PRO PRIDE has identified appropriate technology as one of its principles to foster through out its intervention. The cost effectiveness principle of the organisation is an idea of keeping operational cost less for the simple projects and programmes it is implementing.

All the programmes are simple for beneficiaries' understanding and participation that they are implemented with the local people. The front line workers are in most case, youth volunteers who are gaining experiences for the programmes' sustainability. In the human development and local enterprise development schemes people easily learn about the programmes, so that the programmes can sustain in the absence of the organisation. While the projects are simple and convenient for specific ownership, the public trust must be strengthened for the ownership feeling to grow.

In general, the principles of community development are applied, but the organisation should restate its principles so that the eight principles are officially recognised and used accordingly.

6.5. Area selection and poverty analysis

6.5.1. Area selection

The strategy for alleviating urban poverty is an integrated rural-urban strategy. The State focus is on rural poverty reduction. This is expected to positively influence urban poverty in general and that of Addis Ababa and the programme areas in particular. In Ethiopia it is rural poverty that hits the urban poor most; the alarming rate of population growth in the programme area – Addis Ketema – is attributed to the net migration rather than the fertility rate. The State focus on the rural areas will play a vital role in checking this migration. This is, however, a long-term effect on the poverty of the programme areas.

The urban problems in general and that of Addis Ababa and the programme areas in specific need a simultaneous direct intervention if there is the capacity. The State's lack of financial capacity to include urban poverty is explained. This needs an organisation such as PRO PRIDE, which can work by targeting urban poverty alleviation through empowerment programmes for sustainable development. The focus of PRO PRIDE on the urban problem is justified.

Selection of the programme area – Addis Ketema – is based on a rigorous study of the socio-economic and political situations of the country in general and the urban areas in particular. Though more NGOs are found in Addis Ababa, their areas of intervention is not targeted at sustainable avoidance of the dependency of the poor; nor does the programme areas have any NGOs which are operating in integrated urban development.

The Entoto programme area is added to PRO PRIDE by the State interest. The researcher believes that similar programmes can be integrated to avoid unnecessary duplications. Integration of similar programmes can minimise operating cost. However, integration could result in a big organisation, which limits public participation due to sophistication. It is the researcher's suggestion that integration should be made after ensuring that the organisation that must incorporate others is

standing on a firm ground for itself. It should be on the basis of evaluating and analysing the strength of the recipient organisation. A top-down decision for expansion could hamper an appropriate growth of organisations.

The challenge of PRO PRIDE emanates, among others, from its focus on urban areas, which is not the focus of the major funding institution, AAE. AAE is rural focused, which implies unreliability of the fund of PRO PRIDE.

6.5.2. Poverty analysis

In the literature review issues such as the deprivation trap that the poor are disentangled in; the general explanations of poverty that are given by different authors; vicious cycles of poverty and social, economic and political causes of poverty which are operating at local, national and international levels; and the rural-urban dynamics that work in exacerbating the urban poverty are discussed.

PRO PRIDE appreciates the aforementioned dimensions of poverty and its socio-economic reality. The programme areas in specific show that Ethiopia depicts these realities.

PRO PRIDE dealt with the problems that characterise the deprivation trap. The poor nature of the household; the physical weakness of the households which is, in major, caused by large families and malnutrition; isolation of the poor; vulnerability of the poor which emanates from lack of assets; and lack of power for political bargaining are recognised. The interlock among the factors of the deprivation trap are understood and indicated. Programmes such as income generation, prostitute rehabilitation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS prevention and control, streetism and crime prevention and control, gender equity and environmental sanitation are comprehensively planned and implemented to break the deprivation trap. While it is the researcher's belief that the already implemented programmes can contribute to the gaining of power by the poor for their political bargaining, PRO PRIDE should, in the future, accommodate political education.

The general explanations of causes of poverty such as lack of modernisation tendencies, physical limitation, bureaucratic stifling, dependency of Third World countries on the First World, and exploitation of the poor are covered by PRO PRIDE in one way or another. Whereas PRO PRIDE appreciates lack of appropriate technology, the idea that the poor resist change is challenged in its statement of belief

that the poor are merely hindered by lack of opportunities to face their poverty. The physical limitation, which is characterised by drought and famine, population pressure, and, the destitute condition of the poor is dealt with when PRO PRIDE studied the poverty context. PRO PRIDE experiences bureaucratic stifling through inexperienced local officials and through high turn over of officials. The decentralisation of the State is commendably accounted as a favourable ground for local development. The unfavourable terms of trade and the weak position of the country in this regard is considered as a contributor to poverty. Exploitation of the poor and their dependency on the local elites is taken note of and a necessary plan is made to tackle it.

The vicious cycle nature of poverty is understood in the poverty analysis of PRO PRIDE. The vicious cycle nature is described especially in the problem solution matrix (see Table 5.3) where solutions such as income generation; basic education; information, education and communication; and primary health care are affecting all the poverty components such as food insecurity, ill health, street children, HIV, population, illiteracy, gender discrimination, prostitution and crime. PRO PRIDE apprehends the social, economic and political nature of poverty and the strategy pursued emanates from such detail analysis (see Table 5.2. for causes and effect of poverty). The local, national, and international causes that operate to perpetuate poverty are understood. In general, PRO PRIDE has understood the low levels of living, low self-esteem, and limited freedom of the country due, inter alia, to external dependency and dominance as well as lack of choice. The intervention strategies and programme priorities are set based on a cause and effect analysis. Focuses are made on the root causes to alleviate poverty.

The rural-urban dynamics, which aggravates the urban poverty, is understood. The lure of the town life and the ease of comfort anticipated thereby contributed to internal migration. The rural economic and non-economic push factors are examined. It is explained in general that such urbanisation factors as environmental, economic, social and political led to the exodus of people to towns in general and to Addis Ababa and to the programme areas in particular. Urban poverty is enhanced as the economic system that attracted rural people failed to sustain new migrants. Urban bias is a customary phenomenon in the Third World. Ethiopia is not special in this regard. What strengthens it is the tendency of the NGOs focusing on the urban areas. Of the

total NGOs that are available in the country those, which are operating in rural areas, are 23 % while those of urban areas are 36 %. 32 % of the NGOs in Ethiopia are operating in Addis Ababa, which is unbalanced distribution. PRO PRIDE should, however, not be considered as part of this bias. Very few NGOs are involved in integrated urban development, and there is none in the programme areas, which justifies the establishment of PRO PRIDE to fill this gap.

6.6. Intervention strategy of PRO PRIDE

6.6.1. Integrated rural-urban poverty alleviation strategy

Through the rural focus of the State, the rural poverty that is pushing people to Addis Ababa in general and to the programme areas in particular will reduce. The State, through its empowerment programme, built up municipal governments to lay the ground for local initiatives both for rural and urban areas. It encourages the active marketing of State services and uses deregulation and changing regulations of service delivery, which lowers the cost of services to the poor. In this regard, the urban land use policy for business is a detriment together with policies relating to the freedom of the informal sector. Attention is given to private sector participation in availing services for the public. The State has recognition for self-help initiatives and facilitates their operation. The State's supports for private and self-help initiatives are in terms of providing land and making favourable policies. In its policies the State favours empowerment and income generation programmes. These are generally the rural-urban strategies that need to be implemented.

These State tendencies encourage empowerment programmes such as PRO PRIDE. While the State's focus on the rural areas is correct, it is commendable that local initiatives such as PRO PRIDE should work in the urban setting to assist the State and to fill the gap regarding rural-urban development strategies.

6.6.2. Integrated urban development strategy

Regarding integrated urban development such issues as improving the quality of life, promoting sustainable urban economic growth, creating income and employment generating opportunities, giving people access to resources and opportunities, improving the distribution of income and welfare and applying sound economic, financial and developmental principles are identified in literature.

Programmes such as income generation through credit schemes; basic education, primary health care and environmental sanitation are directly related to the quality of life of the poor. The success of PRO PRIDE in these fields of intervention has led to improvement of life of the poor.

Sustainability is directly a function of people using their latent potential and the commitment of an organisation to encourage the use of this potential. The empowerment strategy of PRO PRIDE is directly aimed at using the potential of the poor for their own development. This needs participation of the poor in all aspects of the development process, which ranges from needs identification up to ex post evaluation.

Public participation, which is a vital means for sustainability, is appreciated by the organisation though it is the organisation's apparent recognition that public participation should improve more.

Gasha Micro Financial Share Company is an example of sustainability achievement. The focus on empowerment strategy and the subsequent focus on local human resource development for core programmes at the grassroots level augments sustainability.

The creation of income and employment creating has, among others, been the main objective of PRO PRIDE. Lack of income and unemployment are understood by the organisation to be the most contributing factors to the poverty of the poor. The number of people who are organised in savings and credit groups shows that the organisation is focusing on income generating activities. The formation of Gasha Micro Financial Share Company owned by 763 beneficiaries is a result of income and employment generating measures. The micro enterprise development training that is offered by the organisation is an example of assisting the poor to focus on income and employment generating.

Giving people access to resources and opportunities is an affair of local government, but NGOs such as PRO PRIDE can, through their empowerment programmes, make the poor powerful to compete for the available resources and opportunities. In this regard, PRO PRIDE can be considered as an example of enabling the poor to gain capacity to compete for resources and opportunities.

PRO PRIDE's sustainable income generation strategy for the poor is a means for improving the distribution of income and welfare. Income and welfare are redistributed among people mainly through empowering the disadvantaged people and through building their capacity for more income. While the broader sense of improving the distribution of income and welfare is an affair of the State, actions at the grassroots level such as PRO PRIDE can assist in this regard. The empowering and capacity building strategy of PRO PRIDE is so designed to enable the improvement of distribution of income and welfare.

Applying sound development principles is another feature of integrated urban development strategy. PRO PRIDE's position in applying community development principles is evaluated in para. 6.4, but in general terms, PRO PRIDE has defined principles which are compatible to the vision and mission of empowering the poor to come out of the dependency syndrome and gain self-reliance. Principles such as community participation, gender equity, inter-sectoral collaboration, appropriate technology, focus on prevention, participatory management, cost effectiveness and sustainability are declared to be the guiding principles in the process of intervention. These principles can be broadly integrated into the discussed eight principles and are sound as they are properly implemented.

6.7. Type of organisation and management

6.7.1. Type of organisation

Two issues were identified in the literature and in the case study. They are classification of NGOs and their functioning.

6.7.1.1. Classifications

Classifications of NGOs such as the evolutionary classification, organisational classification, functional classification and geographic classifications are identified.

In the evolutionary classification, it is explained that the organisation integrates the characteristics of second, third and fourth generations. As an element of the second generation it is aiming at basic needs of the people and materialising it through community development. The basic needs approach and using community development are best practices of the day, which PRO PRIDE is implementing. As

part of the third generation PRO PRIDE is working to create sustainable systems development. Sustainable systems development is a vital step in community development for poverty eradication. It is commendable that PRO PRIDE is committed to this objective. The fourth generation is about raising public awareness, which, though PRO PRIDE is committed for, needs to improve public awareness.

Regarding organisational classification, PRO PRIDE is classified as voluntary on the basis of the fact that it is created and maintained out of a true sense of commitment and shared values. It shares from people's organisations, as PRO PRIDE is committed to self-reliance. Both characteristics are important that the current-day community development NGOs should contain.

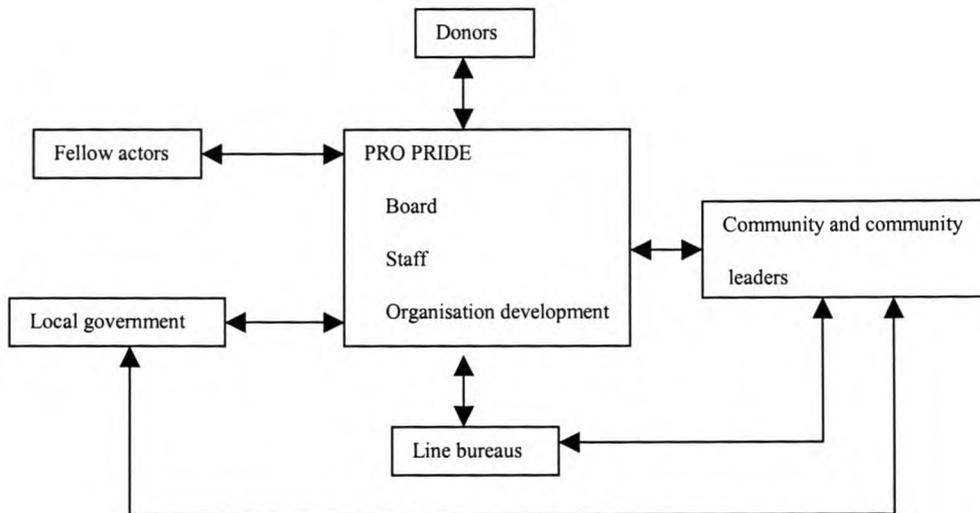
Functionally PRO PRIDE is a developmental NGO as it is working with poorer communities. It is the demand of the current experience that NGOs such as PRO PRIDE should be providing developmental services and build self-help capacity simultaneously. PRO PRIDE is doing this successfully. Geographically, PRO PRIDE is a local initiative. As an empowerment programme, it is proper to function at local level, for empowerment, among other, demands action at grassroots level.

6.7.1.2. Functioning of PRO PRIDE

Four interrelated dimensions of context for NGO's operation are discussed. They are the popular sector and the historical context, institutional relationships of NGOs, the internal dynamics of NGOs, and the project itself.

PRO PRIDE is functioning in collaboration with the popular sector – the people themselves and their community leaders. It operates with the agreement of FRDCB and with other line bureaus such as Health, Education, Environmental Development, and Labour and Social Affairs. It also works in collaboration with donors and fellow actors. Internal bodies such as the Board and the staff as well as its organisational development influence its operation.

PRO PRIDE's programme and project identification and design, implementation and financing, and monitoring and evaluation operate in its interaction with its broad environment as it is depicted in Figure 6.1. Its successful interaction and management of its environment enabled PRO PRIDE to have an accomplishment and an achievement.

Figure 6.1: The interaction of PRO PRIDE in its functioning

As an agent of development, PRO PRIDE has served as a catalyst to mobilise people for their own causes. As development cannot start haphazardly, PRO PRIDE successfully played a catalyst role for the initiation and implementation of the development process.

As the catalysing functions of an NGO should aim at producing participation, empowerment and sustainability in terms of the development process, PRO PRIDE complied with these requirements by aiming at empowerment. To ensure sustainable development through participation of the poor is appreciated.

Through the functioning of NGOs civil societies can be created and itself can serve as an expression of a given civil society's capacity for free organisation. PRO PRIDE has been instrumental to the creation of civil societies such as Gasha Micro Financial Share Company owned by the previously poor people. Organising sex-workers and others in an anti AIDS club and information dissemination group such as the drama group are achievements in contributing to strengthening civil society. PRO PRIDE itself is an expression of civil society, for it is representing the interest of a specific group of the society.

PRO PRIDE is playing a facilitator role by deciding to set models and letting the people work for themselves. As facilitation is central to empowerment, PRO PRIDE is justified to focus on setting models and following up their implementations. This will help the freedom of people for self-determination, which is one character of

facilitation. By focusing on models and letting the people act PRO PRIDE is going beyond consultation, and this will improve participation. This will also strengthen the ability of representatives and the people themselves to initiate and control the process of development.

Weaknesses of NGOs such as inadequate planning, organisation and management; inadequate staff and management training; inability to collaborate with other role-players effectively, are well recognised by the organisation. The organisation is working with a properly designed strategy with a commensurate organisational development and management plan. Staff and management training is given due attention. It is working in collaboration with fellow actors. Replication of projects for sustainability is well thought about and planned for.

6.7.2. Management of PRO PRIDE

Project and programme management and organisational structure are the issues.

6.7.2.1. Programme management

The vital idea in programme management is that it should start with strategy and structures must reflect this strategy. Strategy preparation covers a careful study of the needs of the organisation and the internal and external environments that are affecting the operation of the organisation.

PRO PRIDE has a strategic plan whereby all internal and external stakeholders are analysed. Strengths and weaknesses of the organisation are identified, and opportunities and threats are dealt with. Strategic goals are set and strategies to solve the weaknesses and to attain the set goals are formulated. PRO PRIDE in this respect is performing exemplary work. The next step is to implement the strategy efficiently through projects and monitor the process to come up with achievements.

6.7.2.2. Project management

Projects work on discrete problems at a specific time. They embrace participatory planning, implementation, evaluation and control.

PRO PRIDE operationalises its programmes through discrete projects. In the projects people participate through their community leaders, through direct participation in

implementation committees such as for health and adult literacy. Youth volunteers are also a means of participation.

The project approach of operationalising PRO PRIDE is in proper compliance with the normative requirements. Impact of the projects and impression of the beneficiaries must, however, be assessed.

6.7.2.3. Organisational structure

PRO PRIDE has an organisational structure, which is compatible with the strategy. Decentralisation and delegation is the feature of the organisation. The human and material resources are utilised in a cost effective way whereby the organisation is using an administrative cost of 5 % of the total budget. There is an organisation development plan, which is compatible to the strategy of the organisation.

6.8. Summary

PRO PRIDE's focus on poverty is justified from the viewpoint of the global and Ethiopian national policy focus. A problem in this regard is that the urban focus of PRO PRIDE is outside the State's and the donor's focus, which is rural.

PRO PRIDE fulfils the community development principles such as a human orientation, participation, empowerment, ownership, release, social learning, adaptiveness and simplicity. Such shortcomings as the insufficiency of public participation at each stage of the project cycle, minimal political education to empower the poor, less public views and no impact assessment, less clarity about the organisation's learning from the poor, less awareness creation amongst the poor and local officials for collective action, less training of people with outside relationship for self-reliance, and less learning by the bureaucracy to fulfil learning by all involved in development.

The selection of a specific programme area within the urban setting is based on a broad poverty analysis of the Ethiopian and urban areas in general and Addis Ababa and the programme area in particular. While it is correct to integrate similar programmes, the expansion of programmes such as Entoto should be by own decision rather than by State imposition.

The poverty analysis is comprehensive including the notion of the deprivation trap; the general explanation; the vicious cycle; the social, economic and political causal

relationships; and the local, and national and international levels of poverty operations. The rural-urban dynamics operating to aggravate poverty are well comprehended.

For the integrated rural-urban poverty alleviation strategy, the Ethiopian State doesn't have financial capacity, so it focused on rural areas. This will assist urban poverty through its impact on migration and through improving the agricultural product, which have impact on the urban poor. Though PRO PRIDE can experience such problems as State support due to the difference in area of focus, it is an advantage to have PRO PRIDE operating in an urban area. It will assist to complete the nexus of the integrated rural-urban strategy that the State couldn't cover due to lack of financial capacity. Integrated urban development that consists of income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS and environmental sanitation is a comprehensive strategy that deals with the root causes of poverty.

By classification PRO PRIDE integrates the second, third and fourth generations regarding its evolutionary stage. From second generation, PRO PRIDE is focusing on basic needs through community development. From the third generation it is sharing the creation of sustainable system development. The element it shares from the fourth generation is awareness creation. All are necessary characters, which an empowerment organisation should fulfil. Organisationally it integrates voluntary and people's organisations. Both need to grow in the process of poverty alleviation through community development. Functionally PRO PRIDE is developmental. Geographically it is a local initiative, in both cases the characteristics are vital for community development and empowerment.

The functioning of PRO PRIDE takes place in its interaction with the people and their representatives, the relevant line bureaus, fellow actors and donors, the internal bodies such as the Board, the staff and its organisational development.

As an agent of development PRO PRIDE has served as a catalyst by initiating development. Its aim, as agent of development is to empowering the poor to reach sustainable development through their participation. PRO PRIDE has been instrumental in the creation of a civil society. It facilitates development of the poor through empowerment by setting models leaves the actual work for the people. This

encourages more participation and self-determination, which are the characteristics of facilitation.

PRO PRIDE alleviated the common weaknesses of NGOs. It designed a strategy with a commensurate organisational plan, which embraces staff and managerial development and other resources. Replication of projects for sustainability is well thought of and planned for.

PRO PRIDE as a programme has a strategy. The organisation assessed the internal and external environments, weaknesses and strengths of the organisation and threats and opportunities surrounding the organisations. Goals are set and strategies are designed to attain the goals. The goals are operationalised through projects, which are planned, implemented, evaluated and controlled through a participatory approach. There is a compatible organisational structure and other human and material resources to implement the strategy.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and recommendations

7.1. Introduction

Based on the status of PRO PRIDE as it is presented in chapter six, conclusions are made and recommendations are given.

This chapter is designed to present the conclusions and the recommendations.

Conclusions are presented in the form of explaining the strengths that PRO PRIDE demonstrated in the process of its operation, and areas that need improvement in future operation. Issues that need to be addressed are presented distinguishing them between those that are the organisation's responsibilities and those of the State.

Recommendations are given to improve the aforementioned issues in the form of addressing each issue following the same sequence and distinguishing between those concerning the organisation and the State.

7.2. Conclusions

7.2.1. Strengths

At this point it is possible to conclude, on the basis of the visions and missions and as well as the practical steps that PRO PRIDE has taken, that PRO PRIDE as a development organisation fulfils what is expected of it.

At this time of the global and Ethiopian national poverty and the consequent global and Ethiopian national policy focus on poverty, an organisation such as PRO PRIDE that is focusing on poverty alleviations is an opportunity for the country. PRO PRIDE, as an empowerment and capacity building organisation, is an opportunity for the country, as many international funding institutions need committed and developmental focused NGOs to channel their funds through.

PRO PRIDE's values, visions and missions are inspired towards the cause of the poor and finding a means to satisfy their concrete and abstract needs through sustainable community development. This is what is expected of modern-day developmental NGOs such as PRO PRIDE, which it fulfilled.

PRO PRIDE has materialised the principles that a community development intervention should fulfil. Such principles as human orientation, public participation, empowerment, ownership release, social learning, adaptiveness and simplicity are found to be characterising PRO PRIDE.

The basic needs and poverty alleviation approaches through a holistic intervention characterised its human orientation. Its human orientation is also reflected in all interventions being environment friendly and improving environmental problems.

Public participation in the organisation is encouraging. Through participating more women it has been instrumental to create equity.

The model setting approach, local enterprise development and other training schemes of PRO PRIDE are mechanisms to shift the power to the main stakeholder – the people. Through the aforementioned empowering steps the public will eventually experience an ownership feeling.

PRO PRIDE is focusing on alleviating poverty to release people from the deprivation trap. Through all the programmes self-reliance of the poor is augmented, which is a key for sustainable development.

The social learning imperatives of a modern-day community development intervention are implemented at PRO PRIDE. Learning to be bottom-up; learning from social realities and the value commitments of both developers and the client; a flexible, sustained, experimental, action-based capacity building style of assistance; institution being ready for participation; embracing errors, among others, are practical in PRO PRIDE. Social learning is central to an empowerment objective such as that of PRO PRIDE and all steps of the organisation are portraying this pivotal component.

For its adaptiveness, among other, intervention programmes and projects are tailored to the environment. Responsiveness for decision-making by the poor is achieved through the decision to set models and leaving the work for the people. In saving and credit programme people directly decide for themselves. They also manage Gasha Micro Financial Share Company where they use their latent potential.

Simplicity of programmes and projects enabled public participation, bottom-up action and learning, controlling exploitation of elites, minimising dependencies and further social inequalities, and specific ownership.

Regarding area selection there are two important issues – selection between rural and urban settings and selection of the specific programme areas from Addis Ababa.

The State through ADLI is focusing on the rural areas. This is mainly because of lack of capacity to cover both areas – the rural and the urban – at the same time. The rural focus of the State is not contestable due to the fact that 86.3 % of the people are living in the rural areas and the poverty situation there is worse.

Though it is accepted that the change in rural areas will positively affect urban poverty, this is a long-term effect. A direct intervention to alleviate the urban poverty is equally important. Though the urban population is relatively less, the poverty situation is distinct and severe. Thus PRO PRIDE as an organisation who has an urban poverty focus is important and appropriate.

Selection of the initial specific programme area – Addis Ketema – is on the basis of a rigorous socio-economic study of the country at large and the programme area in specific. This has shown that the programme area – Addis Ketema – is the area that is worse off. The depth of the poverty analysis has not only shown the nature of poverty in the programme areas but also has been an instrument for convincing the donor, AAE, to fund PRO PRIDE while the donor is rural focused.

The intervention strategy for poverty alleviation must be an integrated rural-urban strategy. Whereas the State is rural focused, it has laid the necessary ground for local initiatives through the devolution of power. Besides the local empowerment programme of the State, local initiatives such as PRO PRIDE are encouraged to assist the State in the areas of its focus or in areas, which the State couldn't reach because of lack of capacity. The integrated rural-urban strategy that should take place as an official government policy is lacking, but an initiative such as PRO PRIDE is connecting the nexus.

Regarding the specific urban intervention strategy, PRO PRIDE fulfils the requirement. Such issues in integrated urban poverty alleviation, improving the quality of life, promoting sustainable urban economic growth, crating income and employment generation opportunities, giving people access to resources and opportunities, improving the distribution of income and welfare and applying sound developmental principles, are fulfilled. The income generation, basic education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS prevention and environmental sanitation programmes

of PRO PRIDE are so designed to impact on all aspects of life of the poor. Thus the strategy fulfils what it should as integrated urban development.

PRO PRIDE as a poverty alleviating organisation through community development interventions is characterised by such necessary feature as focusing on the basic needs of the people and dealing with them through community development approach rather than free handouts. The sustainable system development feature of PRO PRIDE is a lesson for organisations alike, as this is the vital step for releasing the poor from their deprivation trap. That it is an organisation, which works to create awareness in the people of their latent potential and to encourage them to harness this potential for development, is an important aspect of community development. It is a voluntary organisation that is created and maintained out of a true sense of commitment and shared values. These commitment and shared values are to realise the inherent self-reliance of the people through self-awareness creation and guidance. This is an important area of lesson from PRO PRIDE. It is such a commitment to work with the poor communities and building self-help capacities of the poor that can lead to sustainable development.

PRO PRIDE is successfully interacting with pertinent stakeholders, which enabled it to have spectacular achievements and accomplishments. Inside the organisation, teamwork and excellence is fostered. The organisation has appropriate policies and procedures for its financial, material and human resources management.

The programme management approach of PRO PRIDE, which is characterised by a clear strategic planning and a commensurate organisational structure, is a model for organisations alike. The participatory project management approach of operationalising the programme's strategy is instrumental in its encouraging achievements in changing the life of the poor.

PRO PRIDE in general is a successful organisation in terms of understanding the nature of poverty. It has a sound poverty alleviation strategy with a commendable understanding of its role as a development agent and facilitating development. It fulfils the community development principles. There are areas, however, which must be improved for future operation and success.

7.2.2. Areas needing focus

- a) Though PRO PRIDE's focus on urban poverty is justified, this is out of the major donor's area of focus – the rural area. This will have an implication for the reliability of source of fund.
- b) Public participation on each stage of the project cycle is less, which will negatively affect many important objectives of the organisation such as empowerment and sustainable development of the poor.
- c) There is less awareness creation on the poor and the local government officials. This will negatively impact on cooperative learning and collective action, which are critical for social learning and empowerment. Participation – the key for an empowerment strategy – will also be hampered if there is lack of awareness. Lack of political education is another detriment to awareness.
- d) While appreciating the short period of operation, there is lack of programme evaluation and impact assessment as well as a search for views of the poor. These will impede social learning, which is critical for empowerment and sustainability.
- e) In model setting and letting the work done by the poor, the benefit might be hijacked by local elites. This can defeat the goals of PRO PRIDE.
- f) While proper organisation development is acceptable for successful coordination of the empowerment efforts, focus on organisation might contradict the need for more focus on capacity building of the poor.
- g) Though the organisation applied the eight community development principles, it lacks official recognition of the eight principles.

Some areas, which are affairs of the State, are negatively reflected in the operation of PRO PRIDE.

- a) The State's top-down decision that the Entoto programme be amalgamated with PRO PRIDE can lead to untimely expansion and hence to inefficiency and ineffectiveness.
- b) The urban bias tending more towards Addis Ababa is seen in the distribution of NGOs in the country. This will have implications for PRO PRIDE as an NGO.

- c) Long NGOs registration process, project agreement procrastination, uncoordinated guidelines and inexperience and turnover of officials are affecting NGOs such as PRO PRIDE.
- d) Policies concerning urban land and the informal sector freedom have implications for PRO PRIDE. Due to the urban land policy and the discouragement of the informal sectors more poor and dependent people are created.

7.3. Recommendations

The following recommendations can address the aforementioned issues so that PRO PRIDE could achieve its empowerment objectives and quench its interest of realising a released and self-reliant society.

7.3.1. For areas at PRO PRIDE level

- a) As a programme operating in an area, which is out of the major donor's area of focus, PRO PRIDE is expected to diversify its resource base. Besides its earning from credit to the poor, PRO PRIDE is expected to design another income generating mechanism. It is also possible to look for funds at local and international levels.
- b) Public participation at all stages of the programme and project cycles is important. At the four summarised stages such as planning, implementation, evaluation and control, the poor can participate at levels ranging from information supplying and final decision-making. Since the second one is the major objective of the organisation public participation at all stages at decision-making level is important. At need identification level, people must be comprehensively represented in expressing their needs. At the implementation level as many sub committees as possible can be set up, and committees can be alternated. At the evaluation level, people can be information suppliers, data collectors and coordinators at the grassroots level. Community leaders and people's representatives can participate in the final decision-making. Control is steering in a certain direction based on the evaluation results. This involves decision-making, which should involve the people. The new direction is going to affect their life. They need to participate

in this important decision. Participation is the key for all important goals set by PRO PRIDE.

- c) Awareness creation can address several problems. It is an important issue for collective action, which is vital for empowerment. For collective action to take place both the poor and the local officials must be fully aware of the objective of the organisation. The controversial issues of the nature of previous NGOs and the confusion of the people and the officials in this regard must be neutralised. This is the only way to influence both parties. The people must be trained towards interacting and negotiating with outsiders in order for them to gain self-reliance in the future. Youth volunteers must also be trained at managerial levels, not only on the frontline. Adequate information dissemination can bring change in attitude at PRO PRIDE that will eventually lead to reducing unrealistic community expectations. In all these steps learning will take place, which will lead to empowerment and sustainability. There should also be political education for the poor to complete the awareness making task.
- d) Spectacular achievements are recorded in the short period of PRO PRIDE's operation, but comprehensive programme evaluation and impact assessment as well as search for public views must be made. Programme review and search for public opinion can be incorporated in the process of programme implementation.
- e) Exploitation by elites is an apparent practice. While appreciating the will and the courage of PRO PRIDE to reduce its role at the level of setting models and letting the people do the work, there must be a close follow up by PRO PRIDE in the short-run. The aforementioned programme review and public opinion should be emphasised in this regard. Projects must be simple in size and operations must be transparent to easily identify and trace resources.
- f) The role of NGOs is temporary. The end is capacitating the poor so that they can take over the lead of their own development. The organisation should foster operating on few competent manpower and material resources. The organisation should understand the risk of unchecked organisational growth.

- g) The organisation should restate its principles and officially recognise the eight principles and apply them accordingly.

7.3.2. For areas at the State level

- a) Integration of similar activities is unquestionable, as it will minimise duplication and running cost. But infant organisations such as PRO PRIDE should first be given the chance to stand on firm ground for themselves. Amalgamation should be effected based on evaluating the internal capacity and space for accommodation of growth. The State, in its future relationship with such organisations, should not adopt imposition before full consensus of the receiving organisation.
- b) The NGOs concentrating in Addis Ababa are spoiling the image of important organisations such as PRO PRIDE. The State must be critical in the areas of NGOs. While appreciating the freedom of NGO's operation, the State should at times review and assess their contribution from the modern-day requirement of developmental orientation of NGOs. An equitable distribution of NGOs in the country must be considered.
- c) The problems of delay in NGOs registration and project agreement procrastination can be solved by giving the function to one relevant organisation and have clear guidelines on such a process. Designing a fast information system to communicate with the concerned bodies in the process of NGOs registration is important. Turnover of officials is associated, among others, with corruption, which the State must be aware of and design mechanisms to halt it.
- d) The urban land policy is not pro-poor. The high rent for urban land is evicting people from their previous holdings. This is increasing the number of poor, which is contradictory to poverty reduction focus of the State's development policy. The land tenure policy must accommodate the need that the poor people can start from the scratch and improve their lives; it should not promote dependency. The informal economic sector where the bulk of the urban poor are engaged is disfavoured by the State. This should improve and the State should study and provide areas where this sector can play a role in the

economy. Due to these policy issues the poor in PRO PRIDE's programme areas are increasing, needing more effort.

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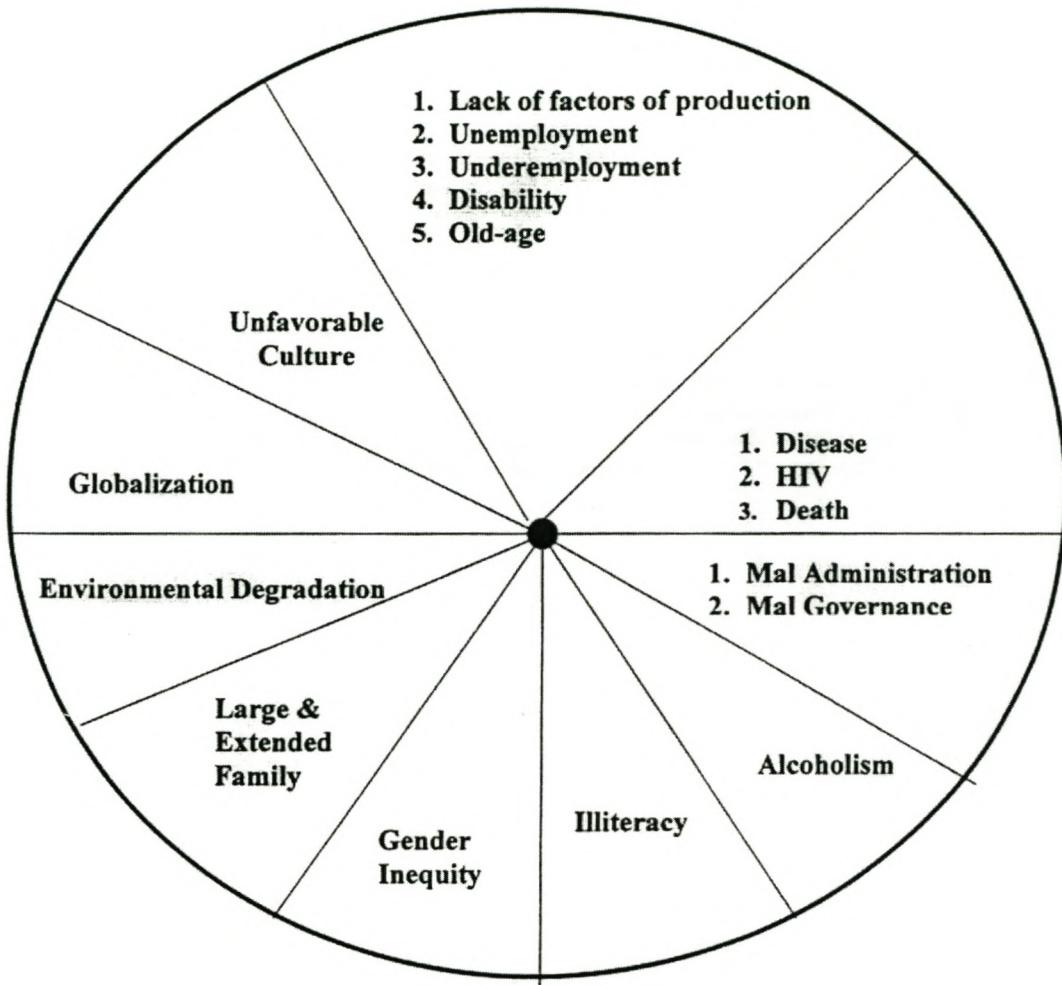
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