Research-inspired Policy and Practice Learning in Ethiopia and the Nile region

Literature review:

Governance and planning theme

Contributions by
Patrick Moriarty (IRC)
Martine Jeths (IRC)
Cor Dietvorst (IRC)
Workneh Negatu (IDR/AAU)
Nicolas Dickinson (IRC)

May 2008

Research-inspired Policy and Practice Learning in Ethiopia and the Nile region (RiPPLE) is a five-year research programme consortium funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). It aims to advance evidence-based learning on water supply and sanitation (WSS) focusing specifically on issues of planning, financing, delivery and sustainability and the links between sector improvements and pro-poor economic growth.

RIPPLE Literature reviews present a background of a topic or concept by reviewing existing literature.

RiPPLE Office, c/o WaterAid Ethiopia, Kirkos Sub-city, Kebele 04, House no 620, Debrezeit Road, PO Box 4812, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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List of Acronyms

BoFED	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
CSOs	civil society organisations
DEPSA	Development Projects Studies Authority
EMPOWERS	Euro-Med Participatory Water Resources Scenarios programme
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
EVDSA	Ethiopian Valleys Development Studies Authority
EWWCA	Ethiopian Water Works Construction Agency
GaP	Governance and Planning
IDD	Irrigation Development Department
LoGoLink	Learning Initiative on Citizen Participation and Local Governance
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MWR	Ministry of Water Resources
NGO	non-governmental organisations
NWRC	National Water Resources Commission
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty

PSCAP	Public Sector Capacity Building Programme
PSP	private sector partnership
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's region
SSIP	Sector Strategic Investment Plan
UAP	Universal Access Plan
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WRDA	Water Resource Development Agency
WSS	Woreda Support Service
WSSA	Water Supply and Sewage Authority
WWDA	Water Well Drilling Agency

1 Introduction

This literature review has been developed to support RiPPLE's Governance and Planning (GaP) theme. Its objective is to provide conceptual underpinning to the first stages of research undertaken by the GaP theme. As such it is concerned primarily with establishing a framework of key concepts and issues in which to anchor the action research of the GaP theme. The focus is on the core areas of: decentralisation, and decentralised service delivery; governance and specifically water governance; and participation, especially in planning.

The GaP literature review is supported by a partially annotated bibliography in annex 1. Both the bibliography and literature review are intended as living documents that will be updated as the action research progresses. The next major update of this literature review is envisaged to take place in December 2008.

The literature review is divided into several main sections, as follows:

Section 1 – Introduction and context

Section 2 – Decentralisation of service provision

Section 3 – Governance and planning of services and resources

Section 4 – Participation in water governance and service delivery

Section 5 – Trends in water sector development in Ethiopia

Section 6 – Global experiences: useful projects, experiences and toolkits

Section 7 – Conclusions

1.1 The context of the Governance and Planning theme

In order to help frame this literature review, this section sketches the general context of the GaP theme, specifically, governance of the water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) sector in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is committed through its Universal Access Plan (UAP) to reaching full coverage in WASH services by 2012. This will be achieved in parallel with, and based upon a process of *decentralisation* of a range of state provided services, a decentralisation process based in part upon its federal nature, and in part a desire to make *service delivery more equitable, efficient and effective*. The twin pressures of decentralisation and the ambitious targets of UAP are resulting in a range of pressing challenges for stakeholders at all levels and scales – from the region down to the local level, the *Kebele*.

At its simplest, *water governance* is about how decisions are made about managing water resources, and providing water and sanitation services.[1] Understanding local governance implies understanding local institutions and actors and the relationships between them. Strengthening local governance implies strengthening the processes and mechanisms that underlie it, including their *transparency, accountability and effectiveness*.

Planning, especially strategic (as opposed to operational) planning lies at the heart of governance. In its broadest sense, strategic planning provides the *framework and process* by which a problem domain

1 Please see section 3 for a more detailed definition and discussion.

is understood, possible solutions identified and prioritised, actions undertaken, impacts assessed, and lessons learned. Planning is ideally cyclical, with lessons learned feeding back into further decision making. *Participation* in planning is believed to be important if service users are to feel a sense of ownership over services, particularly if they are expected to finance and manage their upkeep as in rural Ethiopia. Participation by empowered and aware citizens is also important if governance is to be truly decentralised, and if the desired benefits of decentralisation are to be achieved.

The central challenge for the RiPPLE GaP theme is to work with stakeholders at the national, regional, zonal, woreda (district) and kebele levels to identify appropriate and scalable approaches to *strengthening local water governance and planning* in the context of Ethiopia's UAP for water and sanitation services. A particular focus within this will be on mechanisms for ensuring *effective and efficient participation* by water users; that leads to improved access to services by the poor. To meet this challenge, RiPPLE will identify key requirements, as well as bottlenecks to effective governance and planning at kebele, woreda, zonal and regional level, primarily through action research working with local authorities.

2 Decentralisation processes

Decentralisation is a process that has been ongoing in its current phase in Africa since the late 1980s, and in Ethiopia since the current federal system was inaugurated in 1995. It is one of the boundary conditions for the GaP theme – the decentralised provision of WASH services is central to current Ethiopian policy. This section provides a short analysis of decentralisation processes and discusses some key areas of interest for the GaP theme. It briefly introduces decentralisation as a concept, before moving on to identifying the three primary areas of interest for the GaP theme namely: understanding the different drivers to decentralisation; identifying requirements and challenges for decentralisation; and, discussing links between decentralisation and poverty reduction.

2.1 What is decentralised service provision?

There are many definitions of decentralisation. Faguet (2003) refers to it as 'the devolution by central government of specific functions, with all of the administrative, political and economic attributes that these entail, to local governments that are independent of the centre within a legally delimited geographic and functional domain'. A conceptual differentiation can be made between degrees and forms of the decentralisation of service provision. According to Turner (1996 sited in LoGoLink, 2002), there are three principal processes, namely devolution, deconcentration and privatisation, which are described in more detail in the box below. However, many authors argue that privatisation is not true decentralisation (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1: Dissecting decentralisation[2]

Political or democratic decentralisation

This occurs when powers and resources are transferred to authorities representative of and downwardly accountable to the local level. Democratic decentralisation aims to increase public participation in local decision making. Democratic decentralisation is in effect an institutionalized form of the participatory approach, it is a "strong" form of decentralisation from which theory indicates the greatest benefits can be derived.

Deconcentration or administrative decentralisation

This concerns transfers of power to local branches of the central state, such as préfets, administrators, or local technical line ministry agents. Deconcentration is a "weak" form of decentralisation because the downward accountability relations from which many benefits are expected are not as well established as in democratic or political forms of decentralisation.

Fiscal decentralisation

This is the decentralisation of fiscal resources and revenue-generating powers. It is also often identified by many analysts as a separate form of decentralisation. While fiscal transfers are important, they constitute a cross-cutting element of deconcentration and political decentralisation, rather than a separate category.

Privatization

This is the permanent transfer of powers to any non-state entity, including individuals, corporations, NGOs and so on. Privatization, although often carried out in the name of decentralisation, is not a form of decentralisation. It operates on an exclusive logic, rather than on the inclusive public logic of decentralisation.

2 Adapted from Ribot 2002 (p ii-iii)

In addition to these two or three processes, fiscal decentralisation is either an important form of decentralisation in its own right, or at least a critical enabler of devolution or democratic decentralisation. Democratic decentralisation is the devolution of power and resources to lower levels of authority, which in turn are representative of and accountable to citizens. Ethiopian decentralisation process is a mixture of these different flavours, as is the case in many places.

Decentralisation within the WASH sector is further complicated as it usually needs to be understood within the context of the decentralisation of a whole range of previously centralised services such as irrigation, as well as health, education and natural resource management. The next sections will deal with these issues.

2.2 Drivers to decentralisation

> *"Most decentralisation efforts have both explicit and implicit objectives. Those objectives likely to appeal to the general public, such as local empowerment and administrative efficiency, are generally explicitly stated, while less popular ones, such as increasing central control and "passing the buck", are unlikely to be voiced."*
>
> (Diana Conyers, 2000:9, quoted in Ribot, 2002)

The current wave of decentralisation has been ongoing in Africa (and the developing world more broadly) since the late 1980s, and has developed considerable momentum, to the extent that it is now essentially unquestioned as a driving concept or paradigm for governance (Ribot, 2002). This is also the case in Ethiopia. The debate is not about *whether* decentralisation is good or bad per-se, rather it is about *how* to make it effective, particularly in delivering pro-poor outcomes. Several authors have commented that this widespread acceptance has occurred in spite of the lack of any notable evidence that decentralisation is delivering stated objectives (Ribot, 2002; Manor, 2003).[3]

However, before looking at the question of how to make decentralisation deliver, it is worth examining what lies behind the acceptance: what are the common assumptions that lead to decentralisation, and how do they differ between different actors? Conyers (2007) identifies three different and (at least partially incompatible) drivers to decentralisation, namely (i) improved service delivery; (ii) democracy and participation; and, (iii) reduction in central government expenditures, which some others rearrange into just two: 'pragmatic' and 'political'. (Schönwalder, 1997 and Heller, 2001 sited in LogoLink, 2002). Table 2.1 summarises and synthesises these different perspectives.

Pragmatists tend to look at decentralisation through the window of impacting poverty through service provision, assuming that the transfer of decision-making and finances from central to local government will lead to better delivery of services (Helmsing, 2002). The logic behind this approach is that decentralised service provision is better able to address local specificities, is more responsive to local needs, and will therefore be more sustainable (see for example World Bank 2004a, p. 19). A second (and arguably more cynical) strand of the pragmatic approach is that central governments are not able to shoulder the responsibility of service provision, and hence

3 Several assessments have found that decentralized service delivery has not been effective in many developing countries, for multiple reasons that include absence of countervailing pressure from civil societies, centralization of power, and weak structure of accountability. (e.g. Robinson, 2007; Conyers, 2007)

decentralisation is primarily about displacing responsibilities, financial and otherwise, to the local level, the private sector, and/or local users. Donors of all complexions also subscribe to pragmatic versions of decentralisation, focusing on the need to 'get the job done' – where the job is typically interpreted as bringing new services to poor people.

On the political (or perhaps idealistic side), decentralisation tends to be couched in the language of 'good governance', with a strong focus on empowerment of people for its own sake, and of movement towards government that is closer, more responsive and more accountable to citizens.

Table 2.1: Drivers for decentralisation

Motives	Perspective	Typical subscribers	Comments
• Poverty reduction, • Improved services	Pragmatic	donors, CSOs, central government	
• Reduced central government expenditures • Devolved responsibility of service provision from the central government to other actors	Pragmatic	central government, private sector, multilateral development banks	These drivers are sometimes used as an alibi to reduce the accountability of the central government for failed service provision and thereby reduce political liability.
• Increased democratic representation • Local empowerment	Political	CSOs, local governments	

All of these interpretations are of course simplifications, and with decentralisation a widely accepted paradigm, the very language of decentralisation can be co-opted into maintaining the status-quo. Indeed discussing decentralisation as if it were just one more mechanism for achieving 'effectiveness and efficiency' in the same way as an improved drilling rig or financing mechanisms seems to largely miss the point. Decentralisation is, essentially, a political process with multiple actors pursuing multiple agendas within it. In this sense, decentralisation is, as Conyers (2007) argues, simply part of the gradual improvement of governance and state-building: which to be effective, in terms of pro-poor outcomes, relies on a whole range of factors including the type of the public service, details of the designs of decentralisation, ways of implementation, capacity of involved stakeholders and agencies, and the wider economic, social and political environment.

In recent work, James Manor (2005) has shown that decentralisation has often come as a result of either pressure from donors or as a 'top-down' initiative of governments rather than pressure 'from below'. It is important to look at the motives that may lie behind the decision to decentralise. Such motives may include attempts by governments to:

- Further political power at local level
- Capture local support
- Channel money or patronage to particular sections of society
- Build political alliances
- Smooth out regional differences
- Dump responsibilities and costs for the provision of services

2.2.1 Decentralisation and the role of the private sector

As mentioned earlier, most commentators agree that privatisation is not directly a form of decentralisation – primarily because it lacks the legitimacy and inclusiveness of either democratic or governmental oversight and does not in itself guarantee less centralised service provision. Part of the confusion may result from the observation that decentralisation can be linked to the so-called 'Washington consensus'[4] processes that aim to reduce the size of centralised states in the developing world, exemplified by the structural adjustment in the 1980s and 1990s, which include a move towards privatised service provision.

Large-scale privatisation may have lost some of its allure in the eyes of one of the main proponents of large-scale privatisation, the World Bank.[5] Rather, the current focus for the WASH sector is generally directed towards including the private sector as one of many potential actors in service provision that is ultimately led by government. This typically takes the form of what is known as either private sector participation (PSP) or Sector Strategic Investment Plan (SSIP) in especially informal service provision to both rural and urban areas. The World Bank and Government of Ethiopia's WASH programmes of private sector Woreda Support Service (WSS) providers falls clearly into the SSIP model of privatisation (see section 5).

2.3 Decentralisation and effects or impacts on poor

A key focus of many decentralisation initiatives, especially from the pragmatic point of view is increased equity and pro-poor service delivery. The theory on why decentralisation should lead to more pro-poor outcomes is clear: by giving the poor a voice through the mechanisms of well functioning democratic decentralisation, accountability and responsiveness can be engendered in service providers.

However, as with other aspects of decentralisation, there is a marked lack of evidence relating to the achievement of this particular objective (e.g. Manor 2005). There are several reasons for this. The most cited are elite capture (e.g. Manor, 2005; Ribot 2002) and, arguably the same thing, increased scope for corruption (Shordt et al. 2007). In both cases the argument is that rather than making services more accountable and responsive to the needs of the poor, decentralisation simply allows a new set of actors to divert resources to their own uses. Manor makes the point that decentralisation is often more effective at reducing inequalities between decentralised administrative units than it is at addressing inequalities within units. Central governments often adopt relatively transparent and easily policed formulas for distributing resources between decentralised units, with resources subsequently becoming lost within local complexity.

Platteau and Gaspart (2005) make the point that until the rural poor are sufficiently empowered to effectively participate in decision-making and claim their rightful dues, the elite capture problem is

4 Washington Consensus, a term coined by the Economist John Williamson in 1990 while he worked for the World Bank. (Williamson 1990) It refers to the lowest common denominator of policy advice being addressed by the Washington-based institutions to Latin American countries as of 1989. These policies were: fiscal discipline; redirection of public expenditure priorities toward fields offering both high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution; tax reform; interest rate liberalisation; competitive exchange rate; trade liberalisation; liberalisation of inflows of foreign direct investment; privatization; deregulation and secure property rights. Some authors argue that in fact the level of consensus is very low. (CID 2003)

5 For example, see comments on privatisation by Jamal Saghir, made in during the world water forum in Mexico, 2006 - http://www.waterintegritynetwork.net/page/198

likely to continue to undermine efforts to achieve poverty reduction through decentralisation or community based development.

Nevertheless, there remains considerable buy in to the idea that where democratic decentralisation is implemented well, it can have positive outcomes for the poor (see for example Manor 2005). However, a number of baseline conditions are required for this to happen. When absent, or where there are significant weaknesses in them, these baseline conditions are often also identified as causes of the failure of decentralisation. The list below is adapted primarily from Hadingham (2003), but elements of it are found in the work of many other authors (e.g. Manor 2005; Ribot 2002; Ahmad, J. and Devarajan. S 2005).

- Elite capture: Decentralisation processes are intended to lead to more equitable outcomes, yet local elites frequently capture the benefits of decentralisation and are no more automatically pro-poor than national elites;
- Revenue: Fiscal decentralisation often lags administrative and democratic decentralisation. Local government frequently has limitations on its capacity to mobilize local financial resources;
- Corruption: More people have political influence under decentralisation and consequently the risks of corruption may be higher, this is particularly true for infrastructure projects;
- Administrative and management systems: The transfer of responsibilities and resources to local government requires effective and efficient administrative and management systems, which will take time to develop at the local level;
- Participation: Creating legal and policy space for participation (either direct or through democratic representation) is an essential element of democratic decentralisation, yet the decentralisation of resources and authority will not automatically result in more participatory and inclusive processes and top-down approaches to development may continue regardless; and
- Capacity and human resources: Decentralisation assumes that the necessary human resources for service delivery exist at decentralised levels, yet professional staff are often unwilling to live and work in remote areas. Staff that are available are often poorly trained, lacking in motivation and have low levels of capacity.

There is some debate over which of these is most important in terms of enabling or blocking decentralisation, and by extension, its potential pro-poor impact. Manor (2005) cites the unwillingness of many governments to devolve adequate powers and resources to local bodies, while Ahmad & Devarajan (2005) suggest that it is rather the lack of administrative capacity and human resources to implement decentralisation.

3 Governance

A commonly used definition of governance is that of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), namely that governance is:

> *"The exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels. Governance comprises the complex mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences, and exercise their legal rights and obligations."*

(UNDP 1997)

Green (2007) makes the point that governance is essentially what would once have been called politics, but that the term is more acceptable given the generally low regard within which both politics and politicians are held. Some other definitions from the same source are included in the box.

Box 3.1: Alternative definitions of governance[6]

"Urban governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public or private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of cities."
(UN-Habitat 2003). Cited Moretto 2005

Harpham and Boateng define as notion of civil society "public life of individuals and institutions outside the control of the state. Government, on the other hand, is said to consist of those agencies that make and implement laws."

OED "the act or manner of governing, of exercising control or authority over the actions of subjects: a system of regulations."

World Bank (1992): "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development."

Paproski (1993): "a system of socio-cultural, political and economic interaction among the various actors of the public and private institutions of civil society. The character of the system varies and changes through processes involving the exercise of power and authority with the inherent aim of enforcing the legitimacy of the existing power and authority structures, particularly through selective delivery and distribution of goods and services to the individual and collective groups in civil society."

"Governance, on the other hand, is the sphere of public debate, partnership, interaction, dialogue and conflict entered into by local citizens and organisations and by local government." (Evans et al. 2005).

"Governance refers to the patterns of interaction between civil society and government" (Allison 2002).

"Governance as an arrangement of governing-beyond-the-state (but often with the explicit inclusion of parts

6 Box taken from Green, C. (2007) Mapping the field: the landscapes of governance, unpublished literature review, SWITCH project

of the state apparatus) is defined in the context of this paper as the socially innovative institutional arrangements of governance that are organised as horizontal associational networks of private (market), civil society (usually NGO) and state actors" (Swyngedouw 2005).

"Governance is a method/mechanism for dealing with a broad range of problems/conflicts in which actors regularly arrive at mutually satisfactory and binding decisions by negotiating with each other and co-operating in the implementation of these decisions" (Schmitter 2002 cited Swyngedouw 2005)

"The newly emerging models of action result from the concerted combination of social actors coming from diverse milieus (private, public, civic) with the objective to influence systems of action in the direction of their interests" (Paquet 2001 cited Swyngedouw 2005)

Local governance is nothing more (or less) than the exercise of governance functions at the local level, typically understood to refer to either the grassroots (community) level or the intermediate (meso) level. The latter is of particular importance within discussions of both decentralisation and local governance as it is typically the lowest level at which branches of government are found. Within the context of decentralisation one of the main features of local governance is that it relates to decision making that was decentralised from the central state apparatus (LogoLink, 2002). Even at local level governance, decentralisation can have many different forms ranging from shifting of power from the central state to local level government to more democratic or participatory forms with space for direct citizen involvement.

3.1 Water governance

As with governance itself, "water governance" is subject to a range of subtly different definitions. The most commonly cited definition in sector literature is that of the Global Water Partnership. *Water governance refers to the range of political, social, economic and administrative systems that are in place to develop and manage water resources, and the delivery of water services, at different levels of society*. More recently, the term *distributed governance* has been proposed by the Global Water Partnership to describe the combination of formal and informal institutions typically found in water governance systems in practice. (Rogers and Hall, 2003)

An even simpler definition is provided by Moench et al. (2003) who see water governance as the way in which decisions about water are made, how, by who and under what conditions.

Within the context of the RiPPLE GaP theme the term "water governance" is broadly understood as the entire set of processes by which policy makers and other actors manage their water resources, their water supply, and sanitation services. This includes who is involved in the decision-making processes, how the decisions are made (who has decision making power), and the way they are implemented.

3.2 Good water governance

Many authors speak in terms of improving or improved/good water governance, however what is meant by improved depends strongly on the point of view of the proposer. Moriarty et al (2007) point out that while definitions of governance are relatively uncontroversial, descriptions of what

good governance should look like are more contested. Green (2007) suggests that different groups promote different visions of 'good governance' based on ideological reference points. For example, neo-liberals define good governance as being achieved primarily by removing constraints to the smooth operation of the market and minimising the role of government, and bad governance in terms of inadequate markets and excessive government. Others, from a "social democratic" perspective, define good governance with reference to addressing a democratic deficit, in terms of transparency, accountability and subsidiarity (see Merrey et al. 2005, Moriarty et al. 2007)

Green (2007) emphasises that while water governance is primarily about making choices, that good water governance is primarily about making the right choice, and that there is inevitably a process of negotiation and trade-off involved, as the right choice will always vary depending on point of view. Moriarty et al. (2007), while describing the EMPOWERS approach to water governance, emphasises that because of this political and negotiated aspect of water management, the process by which decisions are arrived at is as important as the decisions themselves in establishing legitimacy. They challenge a more traditional understanding of water governance that assumes there is a right or 'optimum' decision, however defined.

At the heart of many discussions of water governance are of course the issues of equity, efficiency and effectiveness. As with the discussion above about decentralisation; different actors with different interests interpret the aims of improved governance in the water sector from different perspectives on desired outcomes. How can resources (water, financial, human) be used in the most efficient way possible to provide effective services in an equitable manner? Green (2003a) identifies the following list of 'moral principles' that have been proposed as the basis of 'equitable' decisions regarding the provision and allocation of goods, and the allocation of the costs of provision. These include:

- Benefits being distributed on the basis of the contribution of the individual to the provision of the good or of their wider contribution or importance to the group.
- Benefits should be distributed according to the relative need of the individual or group (Farmer and Tiefenthaler 1995).
- Benefits should be shared equally between individuals.
- Costs should be borne according the value of the resource to the individual or group ('user pays principle').
- Costs should be borne according to ability of the individual or group to pay.
- Polluters ought to pay according to their contribution to the problem (the 'polluter pays principle').

Once again, the key point is that there is no single 'correct' answer – how equity is defined is a political decision. Merely stating that governance should be 'equitable' solves nothing, it is crucial to first come to an agreed decision as to what combination of the above moral principles are being used in defining equity.

A de-facto principal for outcome equity that seems to have been adopted by many within the WASH sector is that of 'some for all before more for some' (Koppen et al, 2006). In Ethiopia this is reflected within the Universal Access Program – which clearly sets a minimum level of service for all and in the mechanisms for budget disbursement of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of Ethiopia – whose formula based system nominally ensures that those areas that are

least developed receive more state funding. Rogers and Hall (2003) proposed another alternative list of 'principles' for effective water governance found in Box 3.

Box 3.2: Principles of effective water governance[7]

Approaches

Open and Transparent: Water institutions should work in an open and transparent manner, using language understandable to the general public. Water policy decisions should be transparent, particularly regarding financial transactions.

Inclusive and communicative: Wide participation should be ensured throughout the water project management cycle, from visioning to implementation and evaluation. Key stakeholders should maintain a dialogue both horizontally (at the same level of governance) and vertically, between levels.

Coherent and integrative: Coherence requires political leadership and a strong responsibility taken by institutions at different levels. Water institutions should consider all potential water users and potential externalities when planning and implementing projects and programmes.

Equitable and ethical: Equity between and among various stakeholders and user groups should be carefully monitored throughout the policy development and implementation process. Particular attention should be given to the rights and specific needs of women and of poor or marginalised social groups. Penalties for corrupt behaviour or sharp practices should be applied equitably. Water governance systems must be based on the ethical principles of the society in which it functions and on the rule of law.

Performance and operation

Accountable: The rules of the game, as well as legislative roles and executive processes should be clear. Each water-related institution must explain and take responsibility for its actions. Penalties for violating the rules and arbitration-enforcing mechanisms should exist to ensure that satisfactory solutions to water issues can be reached.

Efficient: Concepts of political, social, and environmental efficiency related to water resources must be balanced against simple economic efficiency. Governmental systems should not impede needed actions.

Responsive and sustainable: Demand for water, evaluation of future impact and past experience should be the basis for water policy. Policies should be implemented and decisions made at the most appropriate level. Water policies should be incentive-based, to ensure clear social or economic gain if the policy is followed. Long-term sustainability of water resources should be the guiding principle.

7 Box after Rogers and Hall, 2003, reproduced in Moriarty et al, 2007

4 Participation in governance and decentralised service provision

"Water projects are only sustainable if local communities are actively involved in the planning, ownership and management of their own water facilities."

DFID, 2007

Participation is an important aspect of both democratic decentralisation and improved water governance. Estrella (2001) identifies participation as one of the five key aspects of local governance along with new styles of leadership, accountability and transparency, capable public management, and respect for law and human rights.

4.1 Participatory planning, monitoring and implementing (models)

Participation is a broad concept which ranges from informing actors involved or targeted in a development process, to having the actors identifying problems themselves and taking active part in the whole planning process. Participation is never a one-shot deal and may come in varying intensities. Effective participation means that citizens deepen involvement to the extent that demands are translated into tangible outputs and outcomes (e.g. improved service delivery, redress of grievances, new policies). Participation, thus, cannot be divorced from citizens' engagement with government structures and processes. Several analysts of participation have described it as a 'ladder' with several different kinds of engagement that represent different intensities of participation. One well known example of such a ladder is shown below.

Table 4.1: The participation ladder[8]

1. Passive Participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals
2. Participation in Information Giving	People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.
3. Participation by Consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external people listen to views. These external professionals define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4. Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much on-farm research falls into this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation of the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, but people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.

8 From Pretty et al.

5. Functional Participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.
6. Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7. Self-Mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.

4.2 Participatory planning

Planning, in the broadest sense, lies at the heart of governance and decentralisation. As previously mentioned, this is particularly true of strategic planning, arguably less of operational planning. As Manor (2005) notes, the planning process is one of the arenas in which bottom up empowerment and participation of citizens can take place. In this review we refer to planning in its broadest sense as covering the whole planning (or management) 'cycle' – from vision development, option evaluation and decision making to developing and implementing action plans, their evaluation, and the use of lessons in further iterations of the cycle.

Planning links the formulation of policies (a formal expression of vision development) with the means for their enactment. A formal planning process is an expression by government of how it sees decisions being made, priorities set, and the extent of participation. This planning links the formulation of policies, a formal expression of vision development, with the means for their enactment.

In international development, 'participatory planning' often refers to a specific approach to planning that has predominantly grown out of the experiences of NGOs and their efforts to involve recipients of development programmes in their conceptualisation, with the explicit aims of improving ownership, equity and sustainability (see for example Vijayanand, 2008). However, recently differences between participation in formal governmental planning processes and participatory planning are blurring with approaches from the latter being adopted within the former. Thus, participation in planning is reflecting an attempt to bring citizens closer to the formal planning processes and is part of wider governance reforms and the movement towards decentralisation.

De Roux (1998 cited in LogoLink, 2002), states that participatory planning should be regarded as 'a negotiated social process', with as much focus on the establishment of 'spaces for dialogue' between different stakeholders as on constructing a plan. It should create room for expressing different visions on local problems and how to handle these. This is also the approach adopted by the EMPOWERS approach to water governance (Moriarty et al, 2007) and is of importance to RiPPLE.

A number of challenges exist to increase participation in planning, which can be encapsulated by the metaphor of ensuring that the 'three legs of the stool' are in place (Mukherjee 1996; Bur *et al.* 1999;and Lingayah *et al.* 1999 in LoGoLink, 2002), where the three legs are:

- **Clear governance objectives** (balancing efficiency, effectiveness or accountability)
- **Knowledge of local circumstances** (resources and constraints), and
- **Understanding of the technique** (including appropriateness).

The first of these has already been discussed in previous sections. Knowledge of local circumstances and understanding the technique(s) are both essential elements in successful participation. In particular, ensuring that the approaches and techniques used are appropriate to local realities and are adapted to the multiple barriers faced by the poor is essential.

5 Trends in Water Sector development in Ethiopia

This section reviews experiences and practices of general governmental planning as well as water governance in Ethiopia during the last two decades.

5.1 Achieving universal coverage by 2012

The dominant overarching policy for the WASH sector in Ethiopia is the 2004 UAP for Rural and Urban Water Supply and Sanitation services. It was developed based on assessments of what is needed to reach the Millennium Development Goal 7 (MDG) targets for water and sanitation, as well as on the Government of Ethiopia's political commitment to end poverty as set out in a Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP).

The Universal Access Program is designed to be implemented within seven years (2005-11). The goal of the program in urban areas is to raise water coverage from 80.6% in 2005 to 100% by 2012 and raise sanitation coverage from 57% in 2005 to 100% by 2012. For rural water supply and sanitation services the targets are set to extend water supply to 98% and sanitation services to 100% of the beneficiary people by 2012. To enable this ambitious target to be met, the Ministry of Water Resources took the strategic decision to relax service standards. The standard for towns is reliable access of 20 L/person/day of water within 0.5 km; and for rural areas reliable access of 15 L/person/day of water within 1.5 km.

In order to reach these targets, WSS service provision in Ethiopia is to be decentralised within this timeframe by helping to build capacity for planning and management of systems. Capacity building activities will be undertaken in order to enable Woredas to effectively manage their rural water supply and sanitation program, communities to effectively manage their water supply and sanitation facilities, as well as ensure that well functioning water supply schemes are in place. At the end of this process, the primary responsibility for implementation of rural water supply and sanitation improvements will rest with the Woredas and local communities.

This decentralisation process has been adopted in the Regional Strategic Plans, which are the translation of the UAP to the specific contexts of the different regions and are prepared by the regions themselves, often in consultation with NGO's and/or external consultants.

5.2 Ethiopian history of water sector planning and management

Ethiopia is endowed with vast water resources even though only a small proportion of these resources has been utilized (Ayele 1986). The tiny proportion of fresh water in use is neither evenly distributed nor consistently used, ranging from regions where water resources are abundant and properly utilized to some areas where they are wasted and/or polluted, while in other regions, water resources management is scarce or completely lacking (Gebre-Emanual 1977).

Modern water development schemes are a relatively recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. The Imperial government took the first initiatives in water resource development in the second half of the 1950s. Large-scale water projects for agricultural purposes and power generation were constructed and concentrated in the Awash valley as part of the agro-industrial enterprises that were expanding in that area. These developments subsequently spread to the Rift Valley and the Wabe Shebelli basin. Essentially, the Ethiopian government focused almost entirely on large-scale and high technology water projects: hydro-power dams, irrigation schemes, and water supply projects for Addis Ababa

and other major towns. Significantly, all large-scale schemes in the country have been constructed at the initiative of the government, and managed by state or parastatal enterprises (MWR 1996).

Ethiopia has been trying to supply potable water to its population, without great success, for more than a century. While water for agricultural use has attracted high levels of investment, water resource management for domestic supply has been relatively neglected, especially before the post-imperial period. Even today, rural water supply programs, which affect the majority of the country's population, have not been given sufficient attention (Rahmato 1999).

The water distribution systems in the country are generally inadequate. The problem is associated partly with unfavourable topography, seasonal fluctuation of the water reservoirs, low capital investment and lack of efficient water governance among concerned authorities (Getachew 2002; Tesfaye 1985). However, there is a general agreement that governance, which also involves planning as an important instrument for appropriate governance, is one of the most crucial determinants of success or failure of water supply service. Quite frequently Ethiopian planners emphasize the agronomic, engineering or technical aspects of water projects, while giving less attention to governance and participation of stakeholders.

More often, where 'participatory' approaches have been tried, it entailed farmers following rules and frameworks laid down by the authorities (or NGOs and donors) and/or locals providing labour for rural projects for free or in a food-for-work programme. Although current guidelines require farmers to set up user bodies and elect officials for the management of water resources, in practice, local institutions often have little say in project management. In brief, such practices have proved counter-productive and have contributed to the failure of many water schemes. For example, four costly dams that were constructed in the 1980s had to be abandoned. Several irrigation schemes became unusable due to poor planning and the authoritarian approach to policy formulation and implementation that was characteristic of the government at the time (MWR 1997).

Rahmato (1999) observed that among the main reasons given for the slow progress in water supply services in the 1980s (but still relevant today) are:

- the lack of comprehensive water legislation;
- inadequate investment resources;
- the lack of a national water tariff policy.

Moreover, there has been a strong urban bias in water supply programmes and the rural areas have suffered as a result. On the other hand, the main reason for the poor record of the sustainability of existing water supply schemes in the rural areas is the absence of beneficiary participation and community management.

Institutional development in the water sector

Until the early 1990s numerous public agencies were involved in the water sector including the National Water Resources Commission (NWRC), Water Resource Development Agency (WRDA), Ethiopian Water Works Construction Agency (EWWCA), Ethiopian Valleys Development Studies Authority (EVDSA), Development Projects Studies Authority (DEPSA), Water Supply and Sewerage Authority (WSSA), Water Well Drilling Agency (WWDA), and Irrigation Development Department (IDD) within the Ministry of Agriculture.

All irrigation was the responsibility of NWRC, and the construction of all water project infrastructures was undertaken by EWWCA or international contractors. WRDA was mainly responsible for the design, implementation and operation of large and medium-scale irrigation projects. In all cases, the end user was the Ministry of State Farms. IDD was entrusted with the planning and construction of small-scale irrigation, which were mostly utilised by agricultural co-operatives. Feasibility studies and planning of irrigation schemes were undertaken by EVDSA (which took over from VADA, Valleys Development Agency) and DEPSA.

WSSA's responsibility was water supply services for urban and rural settlements. There was often much duplication of effort among these myriad, autonomous and semi-autonomous agencies and wastage of resources. In the early 1990s, all these agencies were placed under Ministry of Natural Resource Development and Environmental Protection (MNRDEP), which ended up making the Ministry a gargantuan monster (Rahmato 1999). With the creation in 1994 of Ministry of Water Resources (MWR) there is now a unified public agency responsible for water development. However, as observed by Rahmato (1999) there is still considerable confusion and uncertainty regarding the Ministry's precise responsibilities and spheres of activity as well as its relationship with the regional authorities. The current decentralisation policy of water development, may serve as a viable alternative to the system in the past, but must be based on a clear(er) division of responsibility between MWR and the relevant authorities in the regional administration.

Major capacity constraints exist at all levels of the Ethiopian government in the sector. Institutions are weak, afflicted with insufficient and inadequate equipment, staff/skills shortages, poorly motivated staff and a general lack of funds. The Ministry of Water Resources and Ministry of Health have lost many of their professional staff to the private sector, donor agencies and NGOs, and the low salaries have reduced its ability to attract new competent professional staff. While the staffing levels are better for the 4 biggest regions – Oromiya, SNNPR, Amhara and Tigray – the situation in the other emerging regions (Afar, Somali, Benishangul, and Gambella) is much worse. This state of affairs implies, apart from investments in water supply and sanitation scheme development, there is need for major human resources capacity building at the regional level and the local level so that the Woreda Water Desks and Health Desks can effectively discharge their responsibilities. Furthermore, the capacity of rural communities in planning, operation and maintenance of the services and in financial management needs significant strengthening.

5.2.1 History of planning, participation and sustainability

Ayele (1986) reports that in the 1980s, water planning by Water Supply and Sanitation Authority (WSSA) and Ethiopian Waterworks and Construction Authority (EWWCA) for rural water supply schemes were done in the head offices of the authority based on the perspective (decade) plan without sufficient information from regional offices and local areas. Inadequate considerations of the capacity and availability of manpower, equipments, materials and financial sources were taken into account during the planning exercises.

As observed by Getachew (2002), communities usually depend on government and development agencies to provide all or a large proportion of the cost of any water supply project. Because so much is supplied from outside the community, the water users may not feel the responsibility to maintain the system and, instead, become dependent on outside help.

In the same line, Ayele (1986) shared his observation that the common experience in the 1980s was that many of the first drinking water schemes came through the influence of the district (village leaders). Peasants from within those areas were called to a meeting and informed that they were eligible to make a request for a drinking water system by sending a letter to the project. Although, a given water service which is established on behalf of a community should have a local authority which can regulate it and ensure the maintenance of a reliable service for the target community, in most rural areas of Ethiopia such organisations were absent. This resulted in a poorly functioning or dysfunctional service. One of the lessons learned from these experiences was that user participation should be institutionalised.

Currently in Ethiopia, as in the rest of Africa, many water projects have proved to be unsustainable. Yonnas (2006) showed that water-related organisations involved in water programs do not have sufficient technical facilities, equipment and manpower to provide all the necessary services for water service delivery, including planning, designing, advising, maintaining etc. As a result, plans remain unimplemented or water services remain suboptimal. In this regard, Kerr (1989) has observed that from ten water supplies constructed in rural areas of developing countries, seven are no longer operating after 3 years. Such failures are associated with the absence of community participation in the planning process, high operation cost/lacking finance, and a lack of technical skills in the locality to sustain the system.

In Ethiopia, surviving projects incur heavy losses and are maintained only because of large state subsidies. The lack of sustainability, especially in government sponsored small-scale projects in Ethiopia, has been attributed to many causes. However, in 1993, the Ministry of Agriculture recognised that projects have been unsustainable mainly because of insufficient participation of beneficiaries in the planning and implementation of the water schemes. (MoA 1993)

Tesfaye (1985) has articulated the issue of unsustainability and challenges associated with many water schemes in Ethiopia that were undertaken jointly by an international or bilateral aid agency with a recipient government water department or authority. He observed beneficiaries would enjoy the benefits of these schemes with little concept of the value of the investment made on their behalf. All would go well for a few years. New machinery required little attention beyond routine maintenance and even when unmaintained and unlubricated, the machinery survived for some time. But sooner or later the equipment would begin to deteriorate and a few weeks or months after that there would be a major break down and the water point would cease to supply water.

Ayele (1986) has also observed in his study that government in Ethiopia often prefers to construct water schemes and then transfer a completed supply system to rural community councils or some other local authorities in order to strengthen the sense of responsibility at community level. However, at times, the local community representatives are inadequately prepared and equipped to accept the responsibility.

Water collection in rural Ethiopia is traditionally women's work with the assistance of children, particularly girls. In spite of this, women have been consistently excluded from all dialogue about the priority of improved water supply, the possible improvement measures, the implementation, and arrangements for operation and maintenance. If women are not included in the planning and implementation of the improved water sources, their motivation to use and maintain the new sources will be small. The training of women in all areas of water service is essential in this regard.

Additionally, training will help combat the notion in Ethiopia that the failure of schemes is because the scheme is run by women (Getachew 2002).

5.2.2 Monitoring and evaluation in the sector

Planning and evaluation is often undertaken by senior experts and consultants at the federal level, together with some regional, zonal and Woreda experts. Most of the evaluations are undertaken with limited involvement of targeted beneficiaries and kebele water communities according to Getachew (2002). He also observed that community involvement in water supply management seems to be relatively higher in areas where there are no alternative traditional water sources.

It is widely accepted that rural water supply development is a field requiring the combined technologies of many disciplines (e.g. hydrologists, civil engineering, sanitary engineers, mechanical engineers, electrical engineers, surveyors, geology assistants, draftsmen, construction foreman, drillers, mechanics, welders and electricians, sociologists and economists). However, rural water supply development suffers in Ethiopia from the chronic problem of a shortage of skilled technical manpower to monitor and evaluate the technical, managerial, and social aspects of water supply services. Moreover, monitoring and evaluation of water schemes are often not executed in a timely or adequate fashion (Getachew 2002; Ayele, 1986; Tesfaye, 1985).

5.3 The new Planning System in Ethiopia

Approximately 15 years ago, Ethiopia adopted an economic strategy based on market principles while at the same time introducing a federal government structure for planning and governance influenced by a market-oriented and decentralised approach. The fact that this new planning framework is only one and a half decades old explains why many of the institutions are still maturing and therefore cannot be regarded as fixed structures.

Under this new approach, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) is responsible for drawing the guidelines and procedures for the government planning and implementation framework. These newly issued guidelines of 2007 outline the system of planning and implementation of various services, including water supply, at the three administrative levels: federal, regional and woreda level (MoFED 2007). These procedures and guidelines take their legitimacy from the constitution of Ethiopia, where Article 51 sub-article 2 states that that *the federal government shall formulate and implement the country's policies, strategies and plans in respect of overall economic, social and development matters*.

The objectives of this new planning framework are:

- to consolidate and harmonise the basic socio-economic needs of regions, woredas and communities into a coherent programme;
- to do so with the participation of all stakeholders from federal government down to the woredas and from design up to implementation;
- to ensure that sectoral plans are integrated, coordinated and implemented from lower levels of administration to the federal level in a coherent manner;
- to assist in forging a balanced nation-wide economic space and inter-dependence and provide a framework for achieving long-term development goals and objectives of the country.

(MoFED 2005a; 2005b)

Plans in general are assumed to take into account existing governmental structures, institutional organisation, decentralized administration, peoples' participation and the available resource base to facilitate integrated planning and implementation. In the planning and implementation process, the information and communication network is given strong attention, for it is instrumental to facilitating interconnection and integration of development plans implemented by government, civil society, private businesses and investors.

In sum, the planning system aims to be market-friendly, decentralised, and participatory, while remaining adaptive, flexible and responsive to needs on the ground and the local contexts. In order to keep the process participatory, feedback loops are built in at the different stages of the planning process. Feedback is fostered by multi-stakeholder platforms at different administrative levels.

Elements of the guidelines have been in use over the last few years, although the procedures in their entirety have yet to be fully implemented. The underlying assumption behind the implementation of the new approach is that the procedures will be refined based on practice and experience as time goes on.

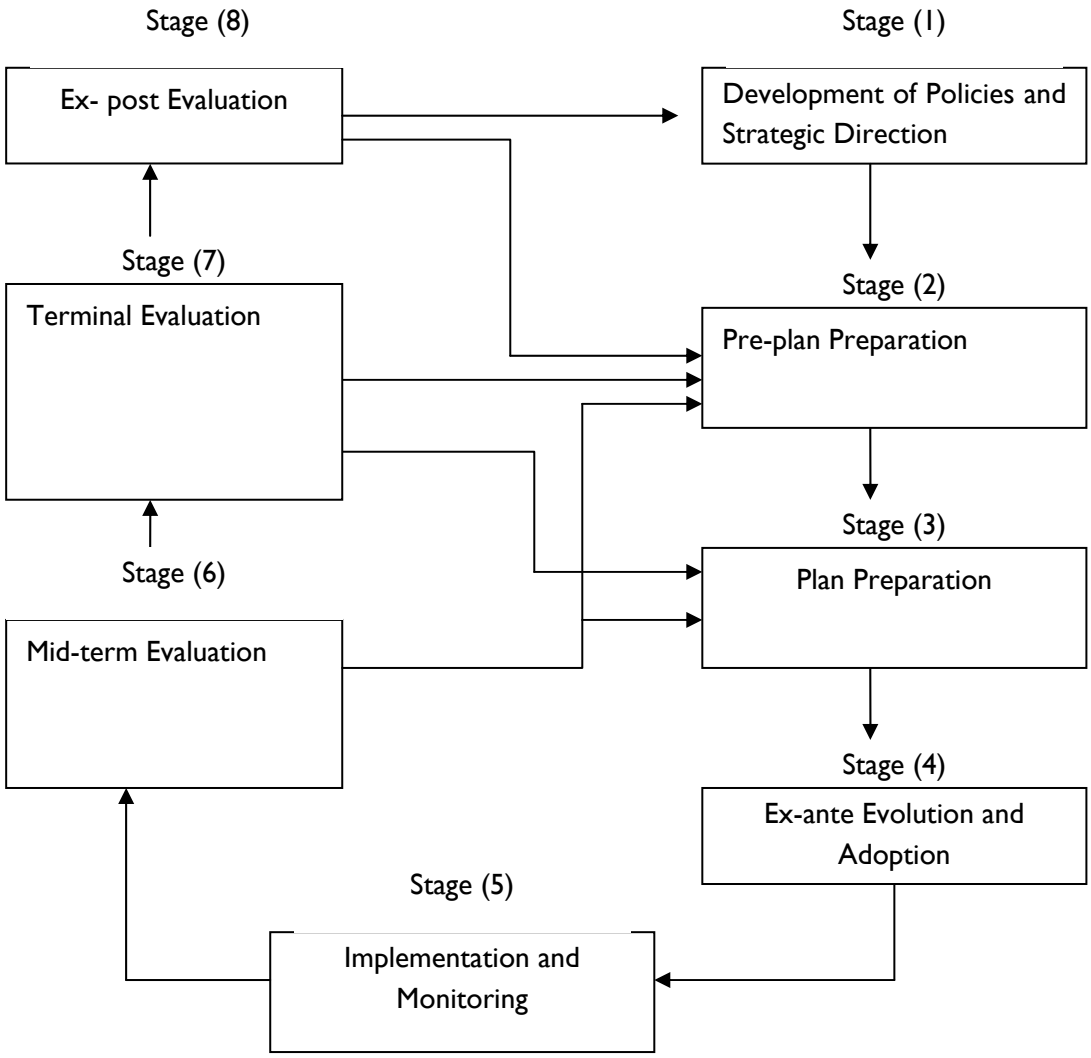
5.3.1 Details of the new development planning system

Three different kinds of development planning are distinguished within the Ethiopian framework: long (10 years), medium (5 years) and short (annual) term development planning. In addition to these time frames, spatial development plans exist as cross-cutting plans in order to reduce spatial inequalities and bring intersectoral coordination.

The participatory planning guidelines identify eight stages in the planning process, which is summarised in figure 1:

1. Development of policy and strategies
2. Pre-plan preparation
3. Preparation of plans
4. Pre-implementation evaluation and approval
5. Implementation and monitoring
6. Midterm evaluation
7. Terminal evaluation
8. Ex-post evaluation

Figure 5.1: Schematic overview of the 8 Stages of the Development Plan Cycle and their linkages (MoFED 2005a)



The national and regional economic, social and development policy are the responsibility of the federal and the regional governments, respectively, as stipulated in the Ethiopian constitution (Article 50 and Article 51).

In the pre-plan preparation stage, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development prepares guidelines, timeframes and ex-ante plan evaluation and approval procedures along with guidelines for plan preparation and pass them to regional bureaus of Finance and Economic Development (BOFED) and to federal implementing agencies. BOFED, in turn, passes adapted guidelines to the woredas, which are further adapted by the woreda for implementation.

In the planning stage, short, medium, and long term plans are prepared at national, regional and woreda levels. The development plans reflect the general situation and the sector conditions and are prepared by the implementing agencies together with the ministry – bureau - office of finance and

economic development and participation from civil society, farmers, private businesses/investors and NGOs.

The ex-ante evaluation and approval activity is intended to be carried out by a technical committee consisting of experts from the finance and economic development bureau or office and the implementing agencies.

This stage is followed by implementation and monitoring. The task of monitoring is to follow up on whether the program is implemented according to the plan, to identify the cause of problems that hamper implementation and report to the concerned body for immediate correction.

The mid-term evaluation stage begins in the third year of implementation. The aim of the mid-term evaluation is to evaluate whether there have been gaps in plan preparation, implementation conditions and problems that need correction for the remaining planned period. It is also useful for gathering feedbacks for the next five years plan, and to gather lessons for the terminal evaluation. The responsible body for the midterm evaluation consists of members from the finance and economic development (coordinator) and implementing agencies.

The terminal evaluation cycle is a stage at which the implementation of the five years plan is evaluated and feedbacks and lessons are generated for the next five years plan (long-term plan) and as input for ex-post evaluation.

Ex-Post evaluation is carried out only when the government regards this as necessary. The outcome from this exercise is information about the impacts, which would be useful to improve policies and subsequent five years plan.

The whole process of planning and implementation is assumed to be participatory involving all relevant stakeholders at the respective administrative level. The procedure emphasizes that plan preparation and implementation is to be carried out on the basis of a dual bottom-up and top-down iterative process and in a participatory manner.

Plan preparation involves wide participation: the public and private sectors, civil societies and donors. However the Council of Peoples' Representatives makes the final decision on approving the Development Plan Preparation, Approval and Execution System. The National Development Council (which is not yet formed) is envisaged as a forum that will negotiate and reach decisions on the development planning system and development plans.

5.3.2 Sector planning

The participation of private businesses, NGOs and civil society in the development of sector development plans is essential and the above described national planning framework forms the basis for sector development plans. Agreement on the sector development framework has to be reached among the regional and woreda finance and economic development bureau/office, the national sector development implementing agencies (line bureaus) and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. MOFED is responsible for the integration of the the sector plans at the national level and for monitoring its implementation by the implementing agency (e.g. water bureau). Links and integration of the sector with other sectors is an essential consideration in preparing a unified sector plan.

Under the Ethiopian context, the implementation phase of the sector plans is a challenging and crucial stage in the planning system. After preparing the plan, it needs to be translated into action

programs to be executed by government implementing agencies. Participatory monitoring mechanisms are installed in the system in order to monitor whether the implementation process is undergoing according to the action program. MOFED is responsible at federal level to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the plan as detailed in the action program and requires quarterly reports from the concerned sector agencies. In addition, the sector plan implementing agencies are required to conduct monitoring and evaluation with the participation of relevant stakeholders and forward the reports to MOFED.

Similarly, at regional and city level, the BOFED is responsible and at the woreda and urban municipality level OFED is responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation process as measured against outcomes envisaged in the action program.

5.3.3 Ethiopian Water Sector Strategy

The Ministry of Water Resources is the main public body charged with the preparation of studies, plans and guidelines, as well as the formulation of policies and strategies for the allocation and utilisation of trans-regional and trans-boundary water resources in the country. Regional administrations are responsible for the implementation of these plans, policies and strategies within their jurisdiction. There are also a number of public sector agencies, which are in one way or another concerned with water resources issues and activities.

According to the Ethiopian Water Sector Strategy of MoWR (2001):

> *The overall goal of the national water resources management policy is: to enhance and promote all national efforts towards the efficient, equitable, and optimum utilisation of the available water resources of Ethiopia for significant socio-economic development on sustainable basis.*

Five major water management policy objectives were stated by the government which will contribute to reaching the above mentioned overall goal:

1. Development of the water resources of the country for economic and social benefits of the people, on an equitable and sustainable basis.
2. Allocation and apportionment of water resources based on comprehensive and integrated plans and optimum allocation principles that incorporate efficiency of use, equity of access, and sustainability of the resource.
3. Managing and combating drought as well as other associated slow on-set disasters through, *inter-alia*, efficient allocation, redistribution, transfer, storage, and efficient use of water resources.
4. Combating and regulating floods through sustainable mitigation, prevention, rehabilitation and other practical measures.
5. Conserving, protecting and enhancing water resources and the overall aquatic environment on sustainable basis.

In order to translate the national water resources management policy into action, the water resources strategy was developed. The strategy aims to contribute to the broader national development objectives of poverty alleviation and sustainable human resources development. Translated into objectives of the sector, it wants to contribute to:

1. Improving the living standard and general socio-economic well being of the Ethiopian people.
2. Realising food self-sufficiency and food security in the country.
3. Extending water supply and sanitation coverage to large segments of the society, thus achieving improved environmental health conditions.
4. Generating additional hydro-power.

5. Enhancing the contribution of water resources in attaining national development priorities.
6. Promoting the principles of integrated water resources management.

For each of these 6 objectives, specific sub-sector strategies are developed. For the water supply and sanitation sub-sector strategy, the principal objective is *'to secure basis for the provision of sustainable, efficient, reliable, affordable and users-acceptable WSS services to the Ethiopian people, including livestock watering, in line with the goals and objectives of relevant national and regional development policies'*.

At present, most of the population does not have adequate and safe access to water supply and sanitation (WSS) facilities. Improving the performance of this subsector by providing access to clean and adequate WSS facilities directly reduces the morbidity and mortality rates of the population as well as increases the productive capacity of the economically active population, who otherwise, under conditions of scarcity, compromise their health and have to pay disproportionately high prices for water, thus perpetuating the poverty cycle.

The main elements which are addressed by the Water Supply and Sanitation Strategy are:

- Technical and Engineering Aspects
- Financial and Economic Aspects
- Institutional Aspects
- Capacity Building Aspects
- Social Aspects
- Environmental Aspects

It is stressed in both the plans that achieving the objectives is an ongoing process, which will be strengthened over time.

5.4 Donor initiatives

Many donors are working in the water sector within Ethiopia and play an important role in policy making, planning as well implementation within the water sector in Ethiopia. Some of the larger donors are the European Union, the World Bank, UNICEF, AFD, FINIDA, UNDP and DFID. In addition, donors are contributing to the Government of Ethiopia's national WASH programme including DFID, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, UNICEF and NGOs (DFID 2007a). Significantly, DFID will contribute £75 million (~US$150 million), and the World Bank will contribute US$120 million.

5.4.1 The DFID programme

DFID is contributing to the Government of Ethiopia's WASH programme, with the objective of improving water supply infrastructure through the construction of an additional 7,000 rural water supply schemes and 37 small town schemes. The overall target is to bring improved services to an estimated 3.2 million people. The programme will also improve sanitation in homes, schools and health centres and promote hygiene education through the training of community health workers.

DFID is committed to achieving this through support to Ethiopia's decentralised and community based service delivery model. (DFID 2007a)

Additionally, DFID is also supporting the Government of Ethiopia's Public Sector Capacity Building Programme (PSCAP) to the tune of £25 million. PSCAP's objective is to improve the Government of Ethiopia's capacity for effective and responsive public service delivery, as well as contributing to citizens' empowerment to participate more effectively in shaping their own development, and to improve governance through developing accountability. One of the six areas, in which DFID is supporting is district level decentralisation, aims to "*deepen devolution of power to local government. This includes promoting grassroots participation in decisionmaking and improving transparency, accountability, and service delivery.*" (DFID 2007b)

5.4.2 The World Bank programme

The objective of the World Banks US$120 million Water Supply and Sanitation Project for Ethiopia is increased access to sustainable water supply and sanitation services for rural and urban users, through improved capacity of stakeholders in the sector. There are three project components.

- Component 1 provides funding (i) to increase the capacity of participating Woredas to effectively manage their rural water supply and sanitation programs, (ii) to increase the capacity of participating communities to effectively manage their water supply and sanitation facilities, and (iii) to ensure that well functioning water supply schemes are in place in participating communities.
- Component 2 provides funding (i) to increase the capacity of participating water board committees and operators to effectively manage their water supply and sanitation facilities, and (ii) to ensure that well functioning and properly utilized urban water supply systems and improved sanitation are in place in participating towns and cities.
- Component 3 is designed to support improvements to monitoring and management of water resources management at the federal and regional levels.

(World Bank 2004b)

In order to facilitate capacity building, Woreda Support Groups and Town Support Groups have been created and some woreda are selected as target sites, ofteb referred to as World Bank Woredas, reflecting the influence of the project.

5.4.3 NGOs

Many NGOs are involved in rural water supply and sanitation, peri-urban service provision, training and policy development. The establishment of WASHCo is strongly promoted by NGO's and often even a condition for a water supply and sanitation implementation project.

The NGO's have been responsible for many rural water supplies and sanitation facilities, and spending between ETB 50 and 75 million annually on water supply and sanitation activities (World Bank, 2005). Such involvement of NGOs is needed to support government agencies to increase water and sanitation coverage.

6 Global experiences that can help

Part of the enabling environment, which is needed for good governance, is the creation and facilitation of efforts to change the traditional centralised planning and management processes. In order to change the traditional top-down management styles training and capacity building is needed in participatory planning and local governance to enable institutional change. Local governments especially will require awareness raising, training and capacity building for their new mandates and roles.

Many different tools and training materials have already been developed and assessed within different project all over the world. The GaP theme is not going to (re)invent these tools, however some might be adopted to the local context. Some of these tools and initiatives for participatory planning and local governance are listed in this section and an ongoing effort will be made during the project to assess more tools and methods.

6.1 LogoLink project

The Learning Initiative on Citizen Participation and Local Governance (LogoLink) is a global network of practitioners from civil society organisations, research institutions and governments. The network aims to deepen democracy through greater citizen participation in local governance. It advocates participatory planning in order to improve the relationships between "those who govern and those who are governed", so that governments become more responsive and accountable towards the needs and concerns of citizens. It also provides background papers and case studies on approaches to decentralised service delivery.

Different tools are assessed and developed in the Participatory Planning Topic Pack, some of which are Participatory Learning and Action, PRA, Planning for Real, Community buses, Citizen Panels, Citizen Juries, focus groups, Stakeholder Fora, and Youth Parliaments (Bur et al. 1999:28, Goetz & Gaventa 2001, IIED 2001, and Nierras et al. 2002 in LoGoLink, 2002).

LoGoLink (2002) conclude that to get participatory techniques right, the 'three legs of the stool' must be in place as mentioned in section 4.2. These legs are that governance objectives must be clear, the local circumstances should be understood, and the last is is to assess and have a clear understanding of the participatory techniques (e.g. is it appropriate?).

6.2 EMPOWERS toolkit

The EMPOWERS project started in 2004 and ended in 2007 and was focused on the Middle East region. The goal of the project was to improve long-term access to water by local communities by promoting stakeholder-led activities to empower local people in integrated water resources management and development.

Outputs of this project are an approach and guidelines for local water governance, based on twin pillars of stakeholder dialogue and strategic planning.

More information is available at http://www.empowers.info/.

6.3 SWITCH

SWITCH is an EU funded programme (2006-2011) working in nine cities worldwide with the stated aim of achieving a paradigm shift in Integrated Urban Water Management. Part of the project is the promotion of Learning Alliances for urban water management. Even though it has a focus on urban water, while RiPPLE has a rural focus, it can great learning opportunities for RiPPLE.

More information is available at http://www.switchurbanwater.eu/.

6.4 Other initiatives

Other case studies on how local governments have developed initiatives in order to improve water managements are for documented in the GWP Toolbox (http://www.gwptoolbox.org/en/listofcasesFrame_en.html) and the ICLEI case study series (http://www.iclei.org/index.php?id=1139).

7 Conclusions

7.1 Decentralisation and improved governance

Decentralisation is the dominant paradigm for governance reform and service delivery in most of the developing world and specifically in Africa and Ethiopia. Despite a lack of evidence that decentralisation leads to markedly improved outcomes in terms of access to services or poverty reduction compared to centralised systems, proponents of decentralisation see it as a pragmatic response to failures in service provision. This failure is less clear from the point of view of those who see decentralisation as an essentially political process, one which Conyers (2007) has argued is essentially part of the gradual creation of democratic states.

Within this broader debate, it is important to understand that different actors come to the decentralisation table with different objectives. Broadly speaking these can be divided between pragmatic and political, with the former focusing primarily on improving how services are provided to citizens (often with a strong pro-poor focus) and the latter looking more broadly at issues of empowerment and the functioning of democratic states.

Given that democratic decentralisation, however imperfectly implemented in practice, is the dominant development paradigm, the focus for most practitioners is on how to make it work to the benefit of citizens, service-users, and the poor. Within this discussion a number of widely identified barriers or challenges to decentralisation are found. These included:

- **Deconcentration rather than decentralisation** centralised states attempt to hold onto power while adopting the language of decentralisation
- **Corruption and elite capture:** local elites and service providers capture an inequitable share of the benefits for themselves by using patronage and corruption
- **Decentralisation of responsibility without sufficient means:** the responsibility for service provision is decentralised but is not followed up with fiscal decentralisation, human resources, and appropriate administrative and management systems
- **Democratic deficit:** responsibility for service provision is devolved to lower levels of government, but these are not made accountable to citizens. Thus, the means for participation do not exist.

Against this background, a number of clear challenges can be identified with respect to making governance and decentralisation deliver for citizens (be it the pragmatic benefits of improved access to services or the political benefits of being more empowered citizens). These include:

- The need for a legally defined arena and mechanisms for citizens (including CSOs) and local government to interact in governance and planning.
- The need for adequate capacity (financial, human, physical) within local government – and other intermediate level actors.
- The tension between integrated and sectoral planning at the decentralised level
- The need to identify incentives and levels for the involvement of different stakeholders, and to improve accountability

7.2 Challenges to WASH service delivery and governance in Ethiopia

In summary, after a long period in which larger political considerations together with sector fragmentation meant that little real progress was made in expanding water services for the rural poor, a new political motivation exists to radically improve the situation. This political will is expressed in a number of new documents, most important of which is the UAP and reflected by the donors in the contribution of very substantial funds to support it.

Universal access is intended to be achieved through a model for decentralised service provision based on community management and woreda support. This is underpinned by a new structure for integrated and sectoral development planning.

At the same time, a number of significant challenges face the sector and its ambitious policies. These include:

- A heavy and complex planning model with unnecessary red-tape leading to plans that are not executed on time and projects which take much too long to implement.
- Severe lack of capacity and technical competence on the part of implementing agencies.
- New policies that address a previous shortcomings remain poorly known outside of inner circles of government – this includes the UAP. Significant ambiguities remain within policy and guidelines, particularly regarding roles and responsibilities.
- The government has frequently used a top-down approach and has not made any efforts to win the confidence of the direct stakeholders. Indeed, the strong-arm methods used at the time of the Derg and the damaging rural programs that frequently accompanied water development such as confiscating community water sources for use by co-operatives were responsible for alienating peasant communities. Many of these bad practices are still with us today.
- The new planning framework claims to follow a participatory approach. However, it is not clearly defined what is meant with participation, who is participating and at which stage, as well as how participation is to be operationalised. It seems that participation refers to stage 3 in the planning cycle and consists mostly of the participation of all the different administrative levels of government.
- It is clear that the planning framework is still in its infant stage and needs more time to mature. It is a kind of 'living' document which will be adapted in due course.
- How exactly monitoring and evaluation is going to work, will become clear in the future and can also be an indication for accountability and transparency mechanisms. However as stated in the plan, monitoring and evaluation will only take place if the government deems it to be necessary, instead of having monitoring and evaluation as standard rule. So, there exists the risk that there is no critical review of procedures and one can question if decentralisation and participation are going to be effective.

7.3 Final remarks

As mentioned before the literature review is an ongoing activity and will be updated during the course of RiPPLE. In the next version(s) the Ethiopian policy environment will receive more attention as well as the assessment of the different (global) initiatives on (local) water governance.

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