

**ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION -
MAKING PEOPLE AND THEIR HUMANITY THE FOCUS OF
DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EVALUATION**

by

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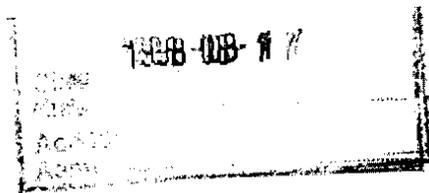
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ABSTRACT

ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION - MAKING PEOPLE AND THEIR HUMANITY THE FOCUS OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EVALUATION

The need for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation stems from the inability of development theory and praxis, which has informed the past Development Decades, to ameliorate abject poverty experienced by most people throughout the world. Emanating from a hermeneutical-interpretist epistemology the fundamental argument of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is that people and the crucial aspects of their humanity should be the central focus in development and evaluation processes. Thus, taking the people-centred approach to development as its starting point, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation draws attention to the marginalised, particularly the poor, the rural poor, resource-poor primary producers, women and their households.

An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation also argues for an actor-orientation to Development Evaluation to emphasise the situational, yet individual behaviour, of people. Alongside such an approach, lies the significance of culture and people's knowledge for development, as well as the limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities people face as a consequence of their humanity. These may influence the extent to which they participate in spontaneous or imposed development initiatives.

An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation then comparatively assesses three sets of similar, yet different, methodologies using people and aspects of their humanity described above as the focus for that assessment. The methodologies assessed include Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools. The purpose of doing so is to obtain a suitable medium through which to test the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting.

The testing of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting is done first by providing an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of aspects of life of

people living in the community of Nyanyadu in KwaZulu-Natal. Social Impact Assessments using the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation are then made of two development initiatives in respect of the people of Nyanyadu. These two initiatives are a nutrition and social development programme and the national land reforms. The purpose of all these evaluations is to examine the extent to which people and their humanity are seen to be crucial in development processes.

Key terms:

People; Poverty; Development Evaluation; People-centred; the Marginalised; the Poor; the Rural Poor; Resource-poor primary producers; Women; Actor-oriented; Culture; Indigenous knowledge; Limitations; Risk; Uncertainty; Vulnerability; Participation; Action Research; Community Self Survey; Participatory Action Research; Social Impact Assessment; Complementary Rural Development Field Tools; Farming Systems Research; Agro-ecosystems Analysis; Farmer Participatory Research; Rapid Rural Appraisal; Participatory Rural Appraisal; Nutrition; Social development; Land reform; Basic Needs Approach.

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ad majorem Dei gloriam

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I declare that ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION - MAKING PEOPLE AND THEIR HUMANITY THE FOCUS OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EVALUATION is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Mark Trevor Marais

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NOTES

In accordance with the principle of placing ‘people first’ without discrimination, the researcher of this thesis prefers to acknowledge the contribution of **all** authors and not merely the first mentioned to the works cited. This practice of acknowledging all the authors will be evident in the footnotes. In the text where this practice would be unwieldy the researcher uses the *et al* abbreviation after the first mentioned author.

The word ‘must’ in this thesis is used in the functional, rather than the mandatory, sense.

CHAPTER 1: WHY AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION ?

1.1. PEOPLE AND POVERTY

[a] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is an exercise which attempts to engage with the world drama: *the fundamental issue which prompts the postulation of this thesis is the fact that the absolute majority of people living in the world suffer deprivation and poverty at the turn of the twenty-first century.* The ravages of war attract the journalists of the world media to Rwanda, Bosnia and the Democratic Republic of Congo¹. Yet, like the people in those parts, the majority of people living in Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Chad, Bolivia, El Salvador, Honduras and Tibet², amongst many other countries in the world, also live lives of destitution. This happens in the context of a world which allows some people to communicate right across its extremes with the latest technology - if not in person through supersonic space flight, certainly more than in spirit through the electronic media.

[b] While deprivation and poverty have also characterised the lives of people through the world in previous centuries, it has been during the last forty to fifty years of this century, largely through the advances made in technology that a concerted effort has been made somewhat across the world to address the poverty which people face. Among others, three efforts have resulted through this development industry³. The **first** to be mentioned is that of the Decades of Development which have been advocated by the United Nations Organisation (UN). The **second** is the writing of a vast literature on development theory

¹formerly known as Zaire.

²Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone and Chad, ranked in that order, had the lowest human development indices in 1990 (Human Development Report 1990: 128) (just prior to the research towards this thesis being undertaken). Bolivia, El Salvador, Honduras and Tibet are countries known to be characterised by the abject poverty and gross infringement of basic human rights suffered by people living within their borders. Sierra Leone has since then also suffered the consequences of a coup d'état.

³Hancock 1991: 41-5.

and practice. The **third** has been the emergence of the evaluation of development to assess the effectiveness of programmes, projects and other measures to ameliorate poverty world wide and improve the quality of life for people. While these efforts have resulted in the training of numerous specialists on the one hand, the impact upon the poverty people face has not been that significant on the other. Analysis of these efforts⁴ show that:

- the intentions of the past four decades or so have not always been matched by appropriate anti-poverty and development strategies. On the whole, most commentators⁵ are critical of the outcome of the Decades of Development. Arguing *mostly* from a macro-perspective, they contend that while there may have been some benefits, most of the countries of the South have declined, socio-economically, during these self same Decades of Development.
- the theoretical underpinnings of the Decades of Development are flawed to such an extent that there is a definite **gap** between development *theory* and *practice*⁶.
- the gap between development theory and practice results from an inadequate evaluation of development in general.

[c] In adopting a hermeneutical-interpretist epistemology for analytical purposes, the researcher of this thesis *deems it necessary to gain an understanding of the dynamics of the past Decades of Development*. The need for this understanding is twofold:

- ▶ *firstly*, there is the need to understand how the philosophies and policies of these Decades of Development have impacted upon human life; and
- ▶ *secondly*, there is the need to understand why these Decades of Development have fallen short of facilitating the opportunity for people throughout the world to possess and retain their full humanity through an improved livelihood.

⁴See Chapter 2, Sections 2.1., 2.2. and 2.3..

⁵Baum & Tolbert 1985: 19; Achebe, Okeyo, Hyden & Magadza 1990: 3-4; South Commission 1990: 25-70; Verhelst 1990: 9-14; Hewitt 1992: 224-36; Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 1, 17-20.

⁶Mouzelis 1988: 23-40; Mathur 1989: 463-72; Slater 1992: 283; Booth 1993: 49-52; Leys 1996: 26-7, 191-6.

This is done in chapter 2. It is in response to this understanding of the past Decades of Development and the extent to which people throughout the world continue to live lives of poverty that this thesis of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is postulated. The **fundamental** argument of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is that *people, particularly those who suffer privation the most, and the crucial aspects of the humanity of people should be the central focus of all development and evaluation*. The main tenets of this argument will be introduced in Sections 1.2. and 1.3. and then expounded in the thesis as a whole.

[d] The hermeneutical-interpretist epistemology is a critique of the strident claims of the old style positivist epistemology. One of those claims is that reality may be viewed objectively. From this perspective positivism is accused by the hermeneutical-interpretist position of analysing out those features which make social life a distinctively *human* product and thereby reducing them to the interaction of variables⁷. As essentially emanating from a hermeneutical-interpretist epistemology an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation should be viewed as such. However, of greater importance than the appropriate epistemology is the concern that people should possess and retain their humanity as fully as possible, particularly through the amelioration of poverty for those who are poor.

1.2. PEOPLE AND DEVELOPMENT

[a] One positive response to the privation and poverty faced by people which emerged during the 1980s was Korten's **people-centred approach**⁸ to development. This approach attempted to break development theory and practice out of the technicist mould which characterised numerous development and anti-poverty measures during the past forty years plus. It did so by attempting to focus development upon the *people themselves* rather than

⁷Hughes 1990: 94.

⁸Korten 1980: 495-501; 1984a: 300; 1984b: 342; 1987: 145-6; 1990: 4. See also Chapter 3, Sections 3.1.[b] and 3.2.,

upon *production* which was intended to contribute towards the development of people⁹.

[b] While the people-centred approach has contributed to the change brought about in the development debate, it is contended here that the approach did not go far enough. Rather than to merely redirect development in thought and practice away from technology and to emphasise the need for people to be at the centre of all development, the approach should have drawn attention to the fact that people are not just people, but also human beings. As such, people and their humanity have certain consequences which will impact upon any attempt to ameliorate poverty and/or to bring about development, either spontaneously or imposed.

[c] In response to their status as people and as human beings *a principal purpose of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is to state why it is so fundamentally important that people should be at the centre of all development and how that could be done both in theory and in practice*. This is done at the beginning of chapter 3. Thereafter *another (ie second) purpose of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is to attempt to go beyond a mere people-centred approach to development*. It does this by examining development theory and practice in respect of those who suffer privation the most. Thus an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation makes a special case for *the poor*, and in particular *the rural poor* and *resource-poor primary producers*. It also points out the extent to which *women* are relegated in development processes. Therefore, it makes a special case for them and for those *in relationship* with them, namely those in their *households*. Beyond this emphasis on those who suffer privation and poverty the most, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's analysis is also centred on **human life** as a whole, as suggested above. Noting that people exist in different situations and exercise different choices in respect of their situations, this thesis advocates an **actor-oriented analysis** in order to understand some of the dynamics of that humanity. Thus an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation notes that people as human beings have certain *requisites* and *consequences* in respect of their humanity and therefore argues for cognisance of these as well. The requisites for humanity include *culture* and *knowledge*

⁹See Foot note 8 above.

which are intrinsic to development processes. The consequences of humanity result from people having *limitations*, and therefore face *risks*, *uncertainties* and *vulnerabilities* as they live out their lives. One key attribute people have which is both a requisite and a consequence of their humanity, is their need to fully *participate* in all matters which touch their lives. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation contends that one reason participation has not been easily achieved in development initiatives is because of the failure to recognise it as both a requisite and consequence of peoples' humanity, particularly in the context of the other requisites and consequences of that humanity. All this is propounded in most of the remainder of chapter 3.

1.3. PEOPLE, DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION

[a] A *third purpose of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is to place people and their humanity at the heart of development and its evaluation*. This it does at the end of chapter 3 by adopting people and the features of their humanity described above as its central focus. By juxtaposing people and their humanity as described above with the six basic determiners¹⁰, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation provides a framework to ascertain the extent to which people and their humanity are given consideration in development and evaluation. This thesis does so on the understanding that by '*evaluation*' it means the sense in which the word is used in the art and science of evaluation¹¹ and not in the pejorative sense as found in much of the development literature. Briefly, it suffices to suggest that over four generations the art and science of evaluation has 'come of age'¹². Therefore, *evaluation* in this thesis is normally used in the fourth generation *responsive constructivist* and *hermeneutical* sense, rather than as a form of measurement, description and/or judgement as used in the previous first, second and third generations, respectively.

¹⁰See Chapter 3, Section 3.7.[e].

¹¹See Guba & Lincoln 1989 and Marais 1992: 50-91, amongst others, for an exposition of the art and science of evaluation, as the singleness of purpose and space prohibit such an exposition to be given here.

¹²Guba & Lincoln 1989: 21-48.

[b] A *fourth purpose of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is to formulate an appropriate methodology which may be used for the evaluation of development*. The thesis does this in chapter 4 by examining and comparing three sets of methodologies which emanate from a similar epistemology as does an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. The methodologies concerned are Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools. The intention of examining and comparing these methodologies is to identify the extent to which people and their humanity are central to them. The purpose of this exercise is to formulate an appropriate medium through which to evaluate development in a practice setting from an anthropocentric perspective.

[c] A *fifth purpose of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is to evaluate development in a practice setting*, as stated above. After providing an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of aspects of life in the rural community of Nyanyadu in chapter 5, this thesis further provides a Social Impact Assessment of two development interventions upon this community. People and their humanity and the methodologies listed above will form the basis of this exercise. Its purpose is two fold: first it will examine the impacts in respect of people and their humanity; secondly, it will test the appropriateness of using an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting.

[d] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation engages in this process of focusing on people and their humanity, and testing methodologies and development impacts as part of a further response. That response is its call for the establishment of a distinct school of Development Evaluation. The need for such a school arises from the failure of the past three Development Decades (1960 - 1990) to ameliorate the abject poverty experienced by most people throughout the world, the hiatus which exists between development theory and practice, the faulty evaluation of development in the past and the myopia often found among development specialists who have failed to concentrate on people and the features of their humanity as **the** basis for development. The purpose of such a school should be:

- ▶ to transform the evaluation of development into Development Evaluation, that is, from a mere **process** used in Development Administration and Studies, especially

in programmes and projects, into a distinct art and science which independently and critically **examines development theory and practice**;

- ▶ to formulate extra-economic criteria for development evaluation purposes;
- ▶ to ensure that people have access to development evaluation methodologies;
- ▶ to ensure that development evaluation is extended beyond the blue print/project cycle approach; and
- ▶ to conduct a full-scale evaluation of development theory and practice.

[e] The *crux of the matter* in this thesis then is **how to bring people and the totality of their humanity into focus as the central issue in development and its evaluation**. Despite the perspective of the people-centred approach there remains the need for people and their humanity to gain even greater priority in development and its evaluation. Therefore, restated as precisely as possible, the particular **research problems** which this thesis will address are:

the need for people and their humanity to be the central focus of development and its evaluation; and

the need for an appropriate Development Evaluation methodology which provides a foundation for people and their humanity to be the central focus of development and its evaluation.

1.4. SOME ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

[a] Apart from its people-centred roots the notion of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is an original one. One model which may be considered to have similarities with an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is the Human Ecological Model¹³. This

¹³Bubolz, Eicher & Sontag 1979: 28-31.

model is composed of a 'Human Environed Unit'¹⁴ which interacts with three environments: the Natural, the Human Behavioural and the Human Constructed Environments. The three environments interact with each other as well. Apart from some common traits in the Human Behavioural and Constructed Environments, the Human Ecological Model does not resemble an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in any way. Nor has it contributed in any particular way in the formulation of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. While the Human Ecological Model has been applied to the concept of quality of life¹⁵, it has neither given any attention to development nor to its evaluation.

[b] Another model which also has some similarities with an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is the Development Impact Assessment model¹⁶. While this model draws attention to gender analysis, culture and local knowledge, and participation, it has not emerged from the people-centred approach to development, nor does it make a case which gives particular consideration to the marginalised and the actor-oriented approach. Nevertheless, it also emerged too late to have any influence on the formation of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, which is developed in this thesis. What it does is to affirm the value and validity of postulating an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

[c] The term 'Anthropocentric' is used in this thesis in the original sense of the word, that is, centred or based upon humankind. This usage should not be confused with the pejorative sense which has been equated with westernisation which grew into ethnocentrism¹⁷ over time. Further, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation ought not to be seen to be in conflict with the biocentric school of thought within the sustainable development debate. People are essential to the biocentric approach which is concerned about

¹⁴The 'Human Environed Unit' can be either a person, a group of people, a neighbourhood, village, city or state provided there are feelings of unity and a common identity (Bubolz, Eicher & Sontag 1979: 29).

¹⁵Bubolz, Eicher, Evers & Sontag 1980: 107-9.

¹⁶Jiggins 1995: 265-7. The Development Impact Assessment Model is a new method which has developed out of the Impact Assessment movement. See the compendium edited by Vanclay and Bronstein (1995).

¹⁷See Watson 1983, Naess 1984, Skolimowski 1984, Wittebecker 1986 and Katz & Oechli 1993 for the lively deep ecology debate over this issue and Panikkar 1984: 43 for his comment concerning culture.

environmental care. By concentrating on people, though seeing them in their broader context, this thesis is attempting to work within realistic boundaries. Simultaneously, this thesis wishes to draw attention to *components* of the wider development debate which are mostly *overlooked*, if not frequently *ignored*, that is **people** and the need for **development evaluation** as a distinct entity.

[d] As in the case of the dissertation towards his Master's degree¹⁸, the researcher of this thesis remains committed to the continent of Africa and her people, and continues to seek for the transformation of African well-being, through an improved quality of life. Therefore, while this thesis should be viewed in the widest possible context, examples will be drawn mainly from Africa in order that the African experience can learn from the successes and failures in the rest of the world.

¹⁸Marais 1992: 1-2.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEVELOPMENT LACUNAE AND THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine the past Decades of Development. This is in order to show that the efforts during this period have generally failed to provide the means of improving the quality of life for people, particularly in the South. This chapter then discusses two of the variety of reasons which have been used to explain this failure. These are the gap which exists between development theory and practice **and** the current state of evaluating development in general.

2.1. FOUR DECADES OF GOOD INTENTIONS

[a] Ghana¹⁹ suffices as a suitable African example of the evidence accumulated to support the claim that the Development Decades, as advocated by the United Nations (UN) Organisation, have failed to attain their main objectives. Ghana is a country which since independence, has been heavily influenced by a number of development theories and strategies current at the time and since then as well²⁰. Since 1983 Ghana has engaged in an Economic Recovery (or structural adjustment²¹) Programme (ERP) in order to secure International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans and World Bank assistance. While one year after the second phase of the ERP, Gould²² preferred to reserve judgement, three years later, Pearce²³ contended that the economic reforms over the past 35 years, including the ERP, have yielded short-term benefits only. As a result, Ghanaian citizens are generally much

¹⁹In the practice of using African examples, Ghana is chosen in this instance because it was the first black African country to gain political independence, which took place in 1957.

²⁰Asibuo 1992: 283; Skalnik 1992: 67; Amin 1994: 329; Griffiths 1994: 142-3; Mongula 1994: 90; Wamba-dia-Wamba 1994: 252.

²¹See Section 2.1.[f] where an exposition is given in respect of *structural adjustment*.

²²1990: 224.

²³1992: 40.

worse off than they were before²⁴.

[b] From an economic point of view, a combination of the Lewis two-sector model²⁵ and Rostow's²⁶ stages of growth were fundamental for the First Development Decade (1960-1970). The focus of the First Development Decade was upon fostering the economic growth of the independent countries of the South, through large-scale industrialisation²⁷. Unfortunately the industrialisation which took place happened at a differential pace in different regions. Latin American countries which were able to build on an industrial policy implemented in the 1930s took advantage of the resources which became available through this development decade. In Africa, there was no such base on which to build²⁸ and hence countries found it more difficult to 'take off'²⁹.

[c] Sociologically, the views of Rostow and Lewis (referred to above) were supported by Parsonian structural functionalism which maintained that development would result from the social equilibrium brought about by the integrative role of societal structures³⁰. This largely ethnocentric approach, based on a unilinear view of reality, was particularly insensitive to the plight of the majority of the poor in the subsistence and agricultural sectors of many local economies³¹. Further, as dependency theory has pointed out, the amelioration of poverty in the South is not simply a matter of modernising local economies. Rather, the exploitation of the economies of the South by those of the North

²⁴Gillis, Perkins, Roemer & Snodgrass 1992: 429; Berry 1995: 367; Winchester 1995: 354.

²⁵Todaro 1989: 69.

²⁶Rostow 1960: 3.

²⁷Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 17.

²⁸Hewitt 1992: 226-7.

²⁹Rostow 1960: 3. See Frank's (1967: 36-45) critique of Rostow's (1960) *Stages of Economic Growth*. The difficulty Frank has with the model is that its stages do not correspond with the economic history of underdeveloped countries. Further, it is difficult to associate a particular country with a particular 'stage'.

³⁰Hyden 1994: 315.

³¹Verhelst 1990: 10-1.

and the concomitant core-periphery dependency relationship which resulted was at the root of the problem³².

[d] Towards the end of the 1960s, and the First Development Decade, the inability of the 'trickle down effect'³³, based on the Lewis/Rostow model of growth, to 'produce the goods' in participating Southern countries became apparent to the Decade's planners. What also became clear to these planners was that the contrasting radical Chinese model of restructuring asset ownership through collectivisation was not creating adequate resources for industrial development as expected³⁴. Thus the emphasis during the Second Decade of Development (1970-1980) fell on the middle road of redistribution with growth (RWG)³⁵. RWG sought to invest in 'human resources' rather than capital and thus improving the education, health and social security of target groups became the salient approach of this new Decade³⁶. Alongside RWG other strategies with similar objectives, but with different processes became added means through which the intentions of the second Decade were hoped to be realised³⁷. Such strategies include the Basic Needs Approach³⁸ as advocated by the International Labour Organisation and the World Bank in the 1970s and Integrated Rural Development³⁹.

[e] Parallel to the planning of the Second Development Decade (1970-80) at least two

³²Frank 1966: 21-2; 1969: 3-14; Verhelst 1990: 13. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.[e] for a critique of the theoretical underpinnings of the core-periphery relationship.

³³Hicks & Streeten 1979: 567; Todaro 1989: 87; Spalding 1990: 96, 110. Palmer 1977: 97 poignantly refers to the 'trickle-down effect' as having an 'oil stain' effect.

³⁴Gillis, Perkins, Roemer & Snodgrass 1992: 95-6; Kilmester 1992: 245.

³⁵Bell 1974: 53-65; Ahluwalia & Chenery 1974: 38-47; Gillis, Perkins, Roemer & Snodgrass 1992: 96-7.

³⁶Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 17; Chambers 1993: 107-8.

³⁷Rondinelli 1993: 63-70.

³⁸Lisk 1977: 185; Palmer 1977: 97; Streeten 1977: 8-9; Streeten & Burki 1978: 411; Burki 1980: 18-9; Streeten 1980: 167, 169; Ligthelm 1981: 313-4; Keeton 1984: 279; Weigel 1986: 1424; Spalding 1990: 90-1; Stewart 1991: 178.

³⁹See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1.1.[c] and Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2.[a].

important events happened which were to prevent the intended benefits of this decade materialising. The *first* was the de-linking of the US dollar from gold at the fixed exchange rate during 1971. The *second* was the oil 'crisis' which began with the sharp oil price increase raised by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973. Subsequently the savings made by the OPEC were mostly deposited with the Northern commercial banks. This in turn led to a rash of borrowing by countries of the South, due to 'attractive' interest rates offered by these banks. As a result the finances which were supposed to stimulate local economies, the products of which would then be redistributed, effectively flowed out of those economies through interest payments into the coffers of the OPEC⁴⁰. Simultaneously, though apart from this in a neo-Fabian fashion, many of the bureaucracies of the South were enlarged in order to assist with the targeting and redistribution processes⁴¹. In the final analysis the Second Development Decade gave rise, on the one hand, to the redistribution of the resources of the South amongst the countries of the North **and** on the other the costly over-staffed bureaucracies of the South which stifled development. On a more positive side, however, it must be noted that it was particularly during this Second Development Decade that the intrinsic worth of women to the development process began to be acknowledged more and more by development academics and practitioners⁴².

[f] The inability of the Second Development Decade to respond totally to the idiosyncrasies of the 1970s gave rise to the Third Development Decade's (1980-1990) neo-liberal policies which called for efficiency in the general market-place, resulting from the rational choice of individual actors⁴³. Thus, with an emphasis on the short term, governments in the South focused their attention in the early 1980s on trade, energy and external finance. Simultaneously, the World Bank, amongst other international finance agencies, shifted their assistance strategies from income and productivity programmes to improve the

⁴⁰Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 17-8; Hewitt 1992: 230-1.

⁴¹Chambers 1993: 108.

⁴²Hewitt 1992: 229. See also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2..

⁴³Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 17; Chambers 1993: 108; Hyden 1994: 317.

quality of life of the poor to programmes of macroeconomic restructuring⁴⁴. Structural adjustment programmes⁴⁵ came to be seen as a 'panacea for balance of payments problems, budget deficits, inflation, unemployment, external debt and various other distortions in the domestic economy(ies of the South)⁴⁶'. However, being mere 'adaptation(s) of the (basic human needs) and redistribution with growth ideas to fit the circumstances of the 1980s, especially in sub-Saharan Africa⁴⁷', structural adjustment programmes did not facilitate appropriate external financial support to ensure that adjustment could happen without stifling growth⁴⁸. High interest rates, combined with declining commercial bank lending, resulted in substantial net outflows of capital from the countries of the South. Growing protectionism in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries mitigated against exports from the South, while the price of non-oil products fell dramatically⁴⁹. In essence, structural adjustment programmes are none other than growth-centred strategies which had come back into vogue. Such strategies which help the rich gain that wealth which should be used to improve the quality of life for the

⁴⁴Rondinelli 1993: 82-3.

⁴⁵The 'structural adjustment' set of policies of the World Bank (WB) (or stabilisation in the case of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are implemented by countries, as a condition for receiving financial aid from these institutions (WB and IMF) to 're-adjust' their down-turned economies. Most of those economies, are in countries of the 'South', which did not undergo structural change, when the world economy changed dramatically in the 1970s as a result of international markets becoming more competitive. Because the livelihoods of many people within 'adjusting' economies are at risk, as a result of governments manipulating their country's economy to ensure that it performs better, attempts are made to select the most appropriate package of reforms. However, that selection can be based on spurious assumptions which produce results contrary to those anticipated. While some economies have responded positively to 'structural adjustment', the general trend has been negative, resulting in attempts to look for alternatives. Further, on the administration front, adjustment programmes frequently demand a review of bureaucratic structures along the lines of the 'soft state' (Myrdal 1970: 211-51; Hyden 1983: 60-3) principle. This is threatening to many Southern governments as it suggests that they are no longer in control of their own countries (Clark & Davies 1991: 5-18; Harriss & Crow 1992: 211-26; Messkoub 1992: 175-86; Onimode 1992: 7-166; World Bank 1994: 17-220; Brown 1995: 65-82, 175-81, 191-3, 267-70). See also the compendiums of Cornia, Jolly & Stewart 1987a, Duncan & Howell 1992a, Husain & Faruqee 1994, and, Van der Geest 1994.

⁴⁶Mensah 1993:72. See also Bigsten & Ndung'u 1992: 55; Chambers 1993: 108-9; Coetzee & Jahed 1993: 80; Cromwell 1992: 117; De Coninck & Tinguiri 1992: 164-5; Pearce 1992: 16; Rondinelli 1993: 84 and Section 2.1.[a].

⁴⁷Gillis, Perkins, Roemer & Snodgrass 1992: 99.

⁴⁸South Commission 1990: 67.

⁴⁹Hewitt 1992: 232. Today, the role of the OECD has mostly been overtaken by the European Economic Union.

poor⁵⁰ are no less than ‘adjustment *without*⁵¹ a human face⁵²’.

[g] The 1980s have been described as the ‘Lost Decade’⁵³. Korten⁵⁴ points out that three interrelated global crises of poverty, environmental failure and social violence in particular pervaded the human consciousness during this decade. Rather than to confront these issues directly, ‘solutions were sought in self-serving and politically palatable actions that often as not exacerbated the real problem⁵⁵’. Using realistic indicators of poverty such as food security and economic and environmental refugees, Korten⁵⁶ cogently shows that the level of world poverty significantly increased during the eighties. This is not surprising as a pattern of food dumping by the countries of the North, to the detriment of the markets of Southern countries, was amongst other things inscribed upon this decade⁵⁷. On the environmental front, the ‘green house effect’ and the negative impact of the increase in the growth of population were experienced throughout the world. Palliatives such as population control and ‘controlled’ waste disposal were offered as the ‘appropriate’ action⁵⁸. Mere increased security spending was the general response made to communal and social violence which is directly related to increased drug abuse and trafficking⁵⁹, particularly in South America. However, in contrast to these the eighties

⁵⁰Korten 1990: 19.

⁵¹Own emphasis.

⁵²Chambers 1993: 108. Refer to Cornia, Jolly & Stewart 1987b: 2.

⁵³Hewitt 1992: 231; South Commission 1990: 61.

⁵⁴1990: 11-6.

⁵⁵Korten 1990: 19.

⁵⁶1990: 12-3.

⁵⁷Korten 1990: 19-20.

⁵⁸Korten 1990: 21-2.

⁵⁹Korten 1990: 22-3.

did provide the world with some new opportunities⁶⁰. Nevertheless, the world crises and related denials made through the palliatives mentioned above obviated against the Decade improving the quality life of people as a whole, let alone ameliorating the poverty experienced by the poorest.

[h] Maintaining the pattern of denial, the 1990s began with a dramatic shift in attention away from the failures of the 1980s. With the demilitarisation of the two superpowers (the United States of America and the Soviet Union) and the proposed reforms to take place in the Soviet Union through Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* (openness in the flow of information) and *perestroika* (political and economic restructuring) international optimism focused upon resultant events transpiring in the Soviet Union. The Gorbachev reforms were a response to the ailing Stalinist model of development. Economically, the Stalinist model had effectively drawn on capital and labour in its early days for industrial development but it began failing with the passage of time. The new demand for technological development brought about by *glasnost* also threatened the model politically since there needed to be an openness toward the technology of the capitalist West⁶¹. Given the political and economic intricacies facing the Soviet Union it is no real surprise that events took place as quickly as they did, leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union⁶².

2.2. THE GAP BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE

[a] The collapse of the Soviet Union and the birth of the new Soviet Commonwealth may have brought some hope to the people who live within its bounds. How the republics respond to the new Commonwealth may either perpetuate that hope, or reduce it to despair. Beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union, however, the demise of the

⁶⁰These include bringing an end to the Cold War, with concomitant East-West co-operation, a new environmental consciousness, (some) people power and information-based technologies (Korten 1990: 25-9).

⁶¹Kilmester 1992: 246.

⁶²See Bourne 1992: 432-9 for a description of the events that followed.

Union symbolises, for certain critics, the demise of socialism and its related development theories, be they Marxism, neo-Marxism or post Marxism⁶³. This is a tenuous argument! To be true theory, theory must be validated in practice. However, when practice which has supported that theory changes, the theory is not invalidated, as the past history validates it. However, the theory may need to undergo a metamorphosis in order to accommodate the change in practice⁶⁴. Himmelstrand, Kinyanjui and Mburugu are therefore correct when they suggest that those who take the line that the demise of the Soviet Union results in the demise of socialism ‘are confused⁶⁵’.

[b] Using the same ‘logic’ that the collapse of the Soviet Union is coterminous with the demise of socialism and related Marxist theories, one could equally argue that since the UN Development Decades have largely failed to meet their respective objectives⁶⁶, then growth-related theories, including modernisation⁶⁷ and capitalism⁶⁸, upon which the Decades were based, are no longer tenable as well. There is ample discontent with the modernisation school⁶⁹ to support that view. Briefly, Norgaard⁷⁰ argues strongly that modernism is a betrayal and an illusion of human progress because it has been ‘leading us into, preventing us from seeing, and keeping us from addressing interwoven environmental, organisational, and cultural problems⁷¹’.

⁶³Himmelstrand, Kinyanjui & Mburugu 1994b: 9; Kinyanjui 1994: 285; Wamba-dia-wamba 1994: 255.

⁶⁴See also [d] below.

⁶⁵Himmelstrand, Kinyanjui and Mburugu 1994b: 10.

⁶⁶Superficially, the experience of the newly industrialised countries of the Far East may refute this claim. However, while some have shown enormous growth, there are questions concerning the extent to which they have improved the quality of life of their people (Hettne 1995 : 126-9).

⁶⁷Lerner 1958: 43-75; Horowitz 1966; Berger 1974: 27-9; Hoogvelt 1978: 52-60; Webster 1984: 41-56; Coetzee 1987c, 1989c: 17-34; Barnett 1988: 25-7; Hettne 1995: 49-54; Leys 1996: 9-11, 65-6.

⁶⁸Weber 1976: 47-78; Lummis 1991: 31-6; Berger 1992: 48-64; Thomas & Potter 1992: 124-33.

⁶⁹Bernstein 1971: 146-9; Grant 1973: 43-4; Berger 1974: 49-83; Webster 1984: 56-62; Barnett 1988: 34-6; Coetzee 1987c, 1989c: 34-6; Marais 1992: 22-5; Hettne 1995: 61-6; Leys 1996: 11, 111-3.

⁷⁰1994: 1-2, 49-51.

⁷¹Norgaard 1994: 2.

[c] Given the above, ideologically both capitalism and socialism lose their credibility. The alternative to this stalemate is for the protagonists of the respective theories to acknowledge that capitalism, socialism and the theories which underlie and to a certain extent perpetuate them are flawed⁷². Given the general assumption by most participants in the development debate that they represent rival disciplines⁷³ this may not be the politically-correct thing to do - such would betray their ideology and acknowledge weakness. But as Schuurman⁷⁴ points out the shortcomings of both Marxist/neo-Marxist theories *and* modernisation theories have led to the prevailing theoretical vacuum in the development debate which arose during the 1980s. Modernisation has contributed considerably to this present state because of its assumption of 'imitation'⁷⁵. Marxist/neo-Marxist theory has gone no further, for like modernisation, it has placed undue emphasis on a single normative condition for development (communism) to take place, that is, 'revolution'⁷⁶. Because both schools of thought proceed from a macro to a micro perspective, their analytical frameworks are undermined⁷⁷.

[d] Despite both bodies of theory having their shortcomings and there being an impasse, Graaff⁷⁸, drawing on the writings of Kuhn and Popper, argues rightly that theoretical paradigms cannot simply be demolished, for it is impossible to verify or falsify them since their real roots of conviction are to a large extent ideological or emotional. For Erasmus⁷⁹ this ideological content of development theory is understandable given the

⁷²Berger (1974: 11) asserts that capitalism and socialism are myths - 'any set of ideas that infuses transcendent meaning into the lives of men' (ibid: 32), while Chambua (1994: 37) suggests that development theory is in a state of bankruptcy. See also Escobar 1995: 218.

⁷³Erasmus 1992: 16.

⁷⁴1993b: 9.

⁷⁵Lewis 1955: 17, 31. That is, expecting the 'pre-capitalist' societies to 'imitate' their capitalist counterparts.

⁷⁶Marx 1967a: 204; Erasmus 1992: 19.

⁷⁷See Frank's (1967: 36-45) argument that Rostow's (1960: 1, 4-16) 'stages of growth' cannot be traced in any particular country and that there is great difficulty in linking a country to a particular 'stage'.

⁷⁸1989: 126.

⁷⁹1992: 21.

normative element within conceptualisations of what 'development' encompasses. However, in a bid to move away from the exclusivity found in theoretical paradigms⁸⁰, Leys⁸¹ urges dependency theorists to rid themselves of their ideological handicap. Leys is supported by Himmelstrand, Kinyanjui and Mburugu⁸² who contend that socialism as a political system and Marxism as a theoretical tradition need to be seen as separate entities. They make the valid point that socialism as experienced in certain quarters of the world is/was not everything that Marx advocated. The case of Mozambique suffices as a good example for while ideologically the country's leadership remain committed to Marx' writings economic reforms away from a pure socialist economy have been permitted⁸³.

[e] The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the claims spurred on by the collapse of the Soviet Union, in tandem with the 'good' intentions of the different Development Decades, is that there is a definite **gap** between development *theory* and *practice*⁸⁴. Alongside the theoretical defects and ideological motivations, described above, *gap theory* as formulated in market research provides a reasonable explanation for the disparity between development theory and practice. McInnes, Busch and Houston⁸⁵ contend that space, time, perception/information, ownership and values are different forms of separation (*gap*) which prevent commodities of producers reaching consumers. The manifestations of the chasm between development theory and practice as pointed out by Schuurman⁸⁶ are also manifestations of those forms of separation which prevent the narrowing of the chasm. For Schuurman, the gap between rich and poor countries which continues to widen; the catastrophic effect economic growth is having on the environment world-wide; the dominance of the world market over that of nation-states; the fact that countries of the

⁸⁰Berger 1992: 3.

⁸¹1980: 109.

⁸²1994b: 10.

⁸³See Wisner 1985: 263-80 for an economic review of Mozambique before the reforms were introduced.

⁸⁴Mouzelis 1988: 23-40; Mathur 1989: 463-72; Slater 1992: 283; Booth 1993: 49-52; Leys 1996: 26-7, 191-6.

⁸⁵McInnes 1964: 57-9; Busch and Houston 1985: 15-6.

⁸⁶1993b: 10-11.

South no longer 'fit' global theories of development assuming homogenous entities such as 'First' or 'Third' World; and, the advancement of post-modernism over and above the old constructs of capitalism, socialism, communism ... are all evidence that the gap between development theory and practice is a reality.

[f] The further reality which goes with the reality of the gap between development theory and practice is the fact that particularly countries of the South continue to experience poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and the like. Thus, given the plight of these countries, Nicholson & Connerley⁸⁷ rightly contend that this gap is a matter of grave concern. Clearly for them the present theoretical paradigms have reached their limits. Beyond that, the time had arisen for the South Commission 'for finding a path of development that will lead the countries of the South out of the current crisis, into a future of equitable and sustained development'⁸⁸.

2.3. THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT

2.3.1. INADEQUACIES IN THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT

[a] The gap between development theory and practice is due not only to the inability of the advocates of development theories in general, and their related ideological positions, to determine effective parameters for practice, but also to the constant failure of development academics and practitioners to adequately evaluate development theory and practice. This is an intensification of a point made elsewhere⁸⁹ that the role of evaluation in the development process has not been fully appreciated. This point was made particularly in respect of the practice of development. On reflection this should be broadened to include theory as well. The reason for wanting to do so is twofold: first there is some

⁸⁷1989: 385-7.

⁸⁸South Commission 1990: 79.

⁸⁹Marais 1992: 3.

precedence in the literature for evaluating development theory; the second is because the current practice of criticising development theory has not significantly addressed the gap between development theory and practice. One precedent for evaluating development theory may be found in Berger's⁹⁰ *Pyramids of sacrifice*. There, despite providing 'critiques' of growth and revolution, what Berger⁹¹ essentially does in the process of producing his 'twenty-five theses'⁹² is to *evaluate* the *theories* of capitalism and socialism using human and social cost as the criteria for that evaluation. Another precedent is also provided by Goulet⁹³ who contends that the reasons for the shaky performance of industrial growth models include the attempt to plant them in 'uncongenial' environments and the fact that 'they are vitiating *in radice*'⁹⁴. Goulet's remarks clearly result from an ethical evaluation of development theory. However, as the notion of *evaluating* development theory has not been tested more widely in the literature and demands a massive paradigm shift which cannot be addressed here without being a distraction, attention is turned toward the current state of *criticising* development theory, evaluating development practice and assessing development theory *vis-à-vis* development in practice.

[b] Most critiques of theory (invariably from an alternative theoretical perspective) have essentially been destructive, point-scoring exercises contributing little to the general debate concerned with the plight of the poor. While there are numerous examples, Rostow's⁹⁵ critique of communism at the end of his stages of growth theory, suffices to show the futility of undermining a theory merely because its author(s) failed to take cognisance of certain variables or to adequately explain them. The fact that the conventional growth approach was jettisoned by the UN at the end of the First Development Decade speaks volumes of its own inadequacies. Such is the folly of being emotionally and ideologically

⁹⁰1974.

⁹¹1974: 49-83, 91-125.

⁹²Berger 1974: 11-15.

⁹³1995: 184.

⁹⁴'in their roots'.

⁹⁵1960: 158-60.

charged over a theoretical perspective. Too frequently the opportunity for making a positive contribution to development theory is missed. The similarities between the 'stages of growth' and communism drawn by Rostow⁹⁶ could well have been the beginning of the lasting strength of both had he used those similarities to link the two bodies of theories rather than to then distinguish them in terms of their differences⁹⁷.

[c] At the nexus of theory and practice, the 'auditors of development'⁹⁸ have been imperialistically conditioned to see their task of assessing development interventions from within the theoretical perspective and upon the premises on which those interventions were planned. Compared to what have become the standard rules of theoretical criticism, pointed out immediately above, this seems to be an apparent contradiction. In other words, when criticising pure theory it is permissible to do so from an alternative theoretical perspective but when assessing theory *vis-à-vis* practice then there is an expectation that theoretical lines should not be crossed. Nevertheless, this attitude of a unitary theoretical perspective for the evaluation of practice, to some extent explains three conditions. These are:

- ▶ the embedding of the evaluation of development within the *blue print/project cycle* approach to development⁹⁹;
- ▶ the failure of the evaluation of development in its present form and style to significantly contribute to the *learning process* of development¹⁰⁰; and
- ▶ the limiting of the evaluation of development to the use of *economic*¹⁰¹ criteria to evaluate development.

⁹⁶1960: 148.

⁹⁷Rostow 1960: 159-64.

⁹⁸Hyden 1994: 308. For Hyden the principal 'auditors of development' are academics.

⁹⁹Marais 1992: 47.

¹⁰⁰Cracknell 1984: 17-8.

¹⁰¹Adams 1993: 211.

[d] The *blue print/project cycle* approach was first introduced into the literature by Baum¹⁰² who was reporting on the World Bank's four (*sic*) stage model - identification, preparation, appraisal, (and) negotiation, and, supervision - used for development programme and project funding since the 1960s. The movement in economic planning in many countries of the South, at about this time, from a macro-level to a project orientation was spurred on by the inefficiency of development aid programmes both within non-governmental organisations (World Bank, UN) and donor agencies¹⁰³. By the mid-seventies the World Bank had modified its project cycle to six stages, the last being evaluation¹⁰⁴. Since then the blue print/project cycle has undergone various adaptations¹⁰⁵. Simultaneously, the appraisal and evaluation components have also been refined¹⁰⁶. The outcome has been a whole host of appraisals and evaluations of projects. Credit must be given to the blue print/ project cycle approach for providing this point of entry for the evaluation of development and for being the means of vital planning for development¹⁰⁷. Despite this commendation however, the blue print/project cycle approach has increasingly been seen to be a mechanistic, monist and technicist approach, and thus an obstacle to development¹⁰⁸. Korten¹⁰⁹, for example, contends that the blue print/project cycle approach, in spite of its evaluative content, made only an incidental contribution to five Asian development initiatives¹¹⁰. Further, given the particular focus of the blue print/project cycle approach there has been no real attempt to go beyond the

¹⁰²1970: 3.

¹⁰³Christensen & Vidal 1990: 230.

¹⁰⁴Baum 1978: 11.

¹⁰⁵See Marais (1992: 45-7) for a summary of the contributions made by Thahane (1974: 456-9), Rondinelli (1979: 49) and Johnson (1984: 119-31). The World Bank has subsequently also developed and propagated the use of the project cycle (Baum & Tolbert 1985: 334-88).

¹⁰⁶See Casley & Kumar (1987: 118-53) for their improvement on Casley & Lury (1982: 20-9).

¹⁰⁷Marais 1992: 45-7.

¹⁰⁸Hyden 1983: 63-7. See also comments below (Sections 2.3.[e]-[g]) on the learning approach to development.

¹⁰⁹1980: 497, 1981a: 5.

¹¹⁰This can without doubt apply to the African situation as well.

evaluation of programmes and projects and to evaluate the related development process or processes involved, from either a meso- and/or a macro-perspective. As a consequence the evaluation of development has been seen to be concerned primarily with the evaluation of development **practice** and not development **theory**. A framework provided elsewhere¹¹¹ shows that while types of evaluation are usually characterised as ‘formative’, such as appraisal or ‘summative’ evaluations which take place at the completion of a project, there are also diachronic evaluations which essentially do not need to be part of an unfolding procedure. Taking place throughout each phase of an intervention or even randomly diachronic evaluations could be most appropriate in helping the ‘auditors of development’ to extend the use of evaluation to much broader development applications. Doing so would be an important contribution to development given the hiatus that exists between theory and practice.

[e] Since the mid 1970s the *learning process* approach to development as elaborated by Korten, Johnson and Clark, Chambers and Rondinelli¹¹² amongst others has become a preferred alternative to the blue print/project cycle approach. For the proponents of the learning process approach:

- evaluations should be fundamentally re-oriented to become learning experiences for all involved in the evaluation process;
- their purpose should be developmental rather than judgemental;
- evaluations should be process-oriented, rather than product-oriented, and thus not be seen as separate discrete activities;
- they should pervade the process of development itself and become an integral part of the continuous re-orientation and internal examination of objectives required of process projects; and
- they should also be participatory¹¹³.

¹¹¹Marais 1992: 71-90.

¹¹²Korten 1980: 497-501, 1981a: 5-6; Johnson & Clark 1982: 239-40; Chambers 1987: 12-4; Rondinelli 1993: 166-9.

¹¹³Kalyalya, Mhlanga, Seidman & Semboja 1988: 61; Charyulu & Seetharam 1990: 393; Marsden & Oakley 1990b: 7.

Process Documentation and Social Impact Assessment are examples of learning process evaluations which can inform development events and/or interventions. As such they are part of the new paradigm research approach which assumes a hermeneutical methodology¹¹⁴. Process Documentation is a blend of data obtained through participant observation, key informants and local organisations¹¹⁵. In its attempt to bring agency and client learning agendas together Social Impact Assessments uses various social science research methods¹¹⁶.

The 'hard'/goal-oriented/optimising/ontological and the 'soft'/learning/appreciative/epistemological systems of administrative science parallel the blue print/project cycle and learning process approaches to development. Despite the negative criticism of the blue print/project cycle approach, the current reasonable attitude in 'management science' should, however, inform the relationship between the blue print/project cycle and learning process approaches to development, given that the blue print/project cycle approach continues to enjoy an existence. For Checkland¹¹⁷ the 'hard' and 'soft' systems are not mutually exclusive, but rather 'two sets of ideas, which anyone can use'. Although there has been a movement from the blue print/project cycle approach to the learning process approach, it remains pertinent to examine what modifications can be brought to the blue print/project cycle approach to ensure that some lessons are learnt. Without any guarantees, the following modifications are therefore suggested as some possibilities:

- > that preparations for summative evaluations are built into the blue print or project plan, and that questions regarding evaluation are not left until the end of the implementation phase before being raised¹¹⁸ - in other words, evaluations must be 'debugged'¹¹⁹;

¹¹⁴Rowan & Reason 1981: 113.

¹¹⁵De los Reyes 1984: 108; Volante 1984: 122-30.

¹¹⁶Reilly 1985: 33. See Chapter 4, Section 4.3. for a detailed analysis of this methodology.

¹¹⁷1985: 764.

¹¹⁸Cracknell 1984: 19.

¹¹⁹Goodman & Love 1980: 218.

- > that careful attention is given to evaluation feedback¹²⁰;
- > that the training of planning, management and evaluation personnel includes an analysis of project contexts, rather than focusing exclusively on techniques and methodologies¹²¹; and
- > that groups involved in project identification, evaluation and redesign, include prospective project beneficiaries and/or a trained participant-observer, such as an anthropologist¹²².

[f] While commentators, like Berger¹²³, may argue that development should be understood in an *economic* sense, this premise, too frequently leads in theory and practice to ignorance of the essential 'extra-economic' dimensions of development. Lewis¹²⁴ for instance, values community development for its ability to cut 'extravagance in capital expenditure' and not because it may potentially contribute to an improved quality of life for people. Lewis is hereby **severely** criticised for valuing capital expenditure more than people.

Cost-benefit analysis (CBA), the most prolific of economic evaluation instruments currently in use, having its roots in the 'welfare economics' of A C Pigou¹²⁵, is no exception to ignoring the 'extra-economic' dimensions. Since 'values are slippery¹²⁶', market prices are used as an automatic mechanism for setting values. Where markets do not price commodities, surrogate or shadow prices are used¹²⁷. Another problem facing

¹²⁰Cracknell 1993: 78.

¹²¹Hulme 1989: 13.

¹²²Hulme 1989: 14; Pottier 1993c: 17-20; Seddon 1993: 72.

¹²³1992: 6-7.

¹²⁴1955: 59, 395.

¹²⁵Pigou 1932.

¹²⁶Donahue 1980b: 3.

¹²⁷Tisdell 1986: 67-70.

CBA is that costs are usually easier to assess than benefits and thus CBA becomes in reality an assessment of *costs*¹²⁸, thereby losing sight of its impact on **people**. Also, on the one hand, not all costs and benefits are always taken into account¹²⁹, while, on the other, there is ample room for dubious costs and benefits to be included¹³⁰. Social cost-benefit analysis (SCBA)¹³¹ being a variation on CBA, designed to assess the social profitability of programmes and projects in general to the national economy, relies on economic projections¹³² based on net present value (NPV), cost-benefit ratio (CBR) and internal rate of return (IRR)¹³³, ignoring therefore the **real social costs** and benefits of development interventions. Thus for Kabeer¹³⁴, CBA is like any other evaluative methodology which carries with it an implicit set of goals which define and constrain its field of applicability. Hence, out of her (Kabeer's) experience, CBA would perform best in interventionist projects with single objectives, preferably related to efficiency rather than in participatory projects with multiple or equity-related objectives. This understanding of CBA does not, however, alleviate the frustration experienced by Johnson and Whitlam¹³⁵ who contend that despite the plethora of economic-based evaluations, the literature offers few guidelines on the practical issues which are faced when comparing 'formative' and 'summative' analyses in an integrated framework. Nor does it deal with

¹²⁸Tolchin 1987: 260.

¹²⁹The cotton dust standard (Tolchin 1987: 251-8) is a classic case. It is also a classic case of how politicians can attempt to manipulate CBA.

¹³⁰Tisdell 1985: 17.

¹³¹See Bell, Hazell & Slade 1982: 189-220 for a SCBA of an irrigation project in North west Malaysia.

¹³²Goodman & Love 1980: 94-5.

¹³³A high IRR may suggest that a project will be an efficient converter of financial resources into benefits, but IRR cannot suggest whether a project may achieve other important ends, nor whether in the longer term a project will be sustainable (Porter, Allen & Thompson 1991: 123). Further, when the social discounting rates (used to calculate IRR) of a country (Nepal) vary from 15% to 100% (Phillips 1986: 19), the practical use of IRR becomes questionable. See also Chambers 1997: 44-5.

¹³⁴1992: 133.

¹³⁵1988: 219.

Norgaard's¹³⁶ contentions that CBA has a questionable theoretical basis and as a result of its economic bias is at the heart of the problem of why development has been unsustainable. Further, it does not deal with Hoogvelt's¹³⁷ contention that (after Weber and Parsons) economic rationality (the desire to maximise benefits over costs) is the definitive characteristic of capitalism and hence part of the process of cultural domination of countries of the North over those of the South¹³⁸.

A serious consequence of the premise that development should be viewed in economic terms and hence the economic bias prevailing in development and its evaluation is that people and people-related issues have largely been side-lined to the extent that Mexican peasants, for example, view development as an aversion and as a threat¹³⁹. The Marxist and neo-Marxist emphasis on social class (and the class struggle)¹⁴⁰ is part of this misdirection in development for such is an illusory economic classification of society. People and society, *ie* men, women, girls and boys, cannot be reduced to economic units¹⁴¹. They are more than that.

2.3.2. ATTEMPTS AT AN IMPROVED EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT

[a] While community organisation and development and social development have roots that go back to the 1920s¹⁴² and these may have gained added impetus with such initiatives as the 1948 Cambridge Conference on African Administration, and, India's Etawah

¹³⁶1994: 18.

¹³⁷1978: 45.

¹³⁸Tisdell 1985: 17.

¹³⁹Esteva 1987: 135.

¹⁴⁰Amin 1976: 18-26, 195-7, 351-64; Marx 1967b: 491-4; Marx & Engels 1967: 411-3, 438-40, 446-7, 454-60.

¹⁴¹Esteva 1987: 146.

¹⁴²Korten 1980: 481; Cornwell 1986: 4.

project¹⁴³, they certainly have not achieved the sort of profile that economic development has. Similarly, while attempts at the evaluation of these more human forms of development go back probably to Kurt Lewin's¹⁴⁴ Action Research¹⁴⁵, CBA has certainly dominated the evaluation of development to such an extent that it has been contended elsewhere that the general lack of a more appropriate evaluative framework in the theory and practice of community development¹⁴⁶ has contributed to its demise¹⁴⁷. This point is a reference to and reinforces the initial contention made concerning the impasse between development theory, practice and evaluation. In other words, the failure to adequately evaluate development theory and practice is a contributory factor to the impasse that exists between development theory and practice. The apparent difference between broad development theory and practice and community development theory and practice, however, is that the economic bias of the former forces a rescue operation while the latter's emphasis on communities is not sufficient cause. Despite its demise community development has something of value to offer development theory and practice, that is, through its emphasis on communities it introduces the notion of a people-centredness. However, its emphasis on 'community' is not people-centred enough.

[b] Without undermining the labours of those who have over the last seventy to eighty years attempted to bring a focus upon people within development thought, the most significant effort is as recent as the post-impasse theory¹⁴⁸ which approaches development from a people-centred perspective. Its premise is that it is people who matter in development and that people are the means by which development is achieved rather than

¹⁴³Batten 1957: 1; Korten 1980: 481; Ruttan 1984: 393-4; Swanepoel 1985: 359; Van Willigen 1986: 94.

¹⁴⁴1946: 35-6.

¹⁴⁵See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1.2.[a].

¹⁴⁶Voth 1979: 156-72.

¹⁴⁷Marais 1992: 9.

¹⁴⁸which is the continuation and development of the debate begun by Booth (1985: 761-77) over the impasse in neo-Marxist development theories (Schuurman 1993b: 16). For Schuurman (1993b: 16-29) the theory includes the Regulation School, the actor-oriented approach, post-imperialism, gender studies, post-modernism and post-Marxism.

by broad approaches and formulae planned and implemented by temporary sojourners who have no real commitment to the long-term outcome of their 'findings'¹⁴⁹. This 'people-centred approach' has appeared in development literature under such titles as 'Rural development: putting the last first'¹⁵⁰, 'People-centred development'¹⁵¹, 'Putting people first'¹⁵², 'Development is for people'¹⁵³, 'Farmer first'¹⁵⁴, 'People-centred agricultural improvement'¹⁵⁵ and, 'People first'¹⁵⁶. Building on the call for greater participation in development by beneficiary stakeholders, as advocated by Arnstein¹⁵⁷, amongst others, this new-found 'people-first' principle stresses the need for people to be involved in their own development, from conception of initiatives, during the implementation period, to deriving the intended benefits. Hence, the strong case that is made in the literature for a contribution from the social sciences¹⁵⁸. Such is necessary, given that people who suffer impoverishment usually lack the resources and/or linkages to bring about an improved quality of life. However, in being true to the people-centred approach, social scientists have a professional responsibility to ensure that the advocacy of their form of development expertise does not move centre stage at the expense of people seeking a better quality of life.

[c] As in the case of the people-centred approach to development, there is currently a real effort being made to enhance the evaluation of development from a people's point of view.

¹⁴⁹See Chambers' (1983: 10-2) notion of rural development tourism.

¹⁵⁰Chambers 1983.

¹⁵¹Korten & Klauss 1984.

¹⁵²Cernea 1985, 1991a.

¹⁵³Coetzee 1987a, 1989a.

¹⁵⁴Chambers, Pacey & Thrupp 1989a.

¹⁵⁵Bunch 1991.

¹⁵⁶Burkey 1993.

¹⁵⁷1969: 216.

¹⁵⁸Cernea 1991d: 5-12; Dyson-Hudson 1991: 252-4.

Two particular initiatives are those of Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)¹⁵⁹:

‘PAR, while emphasizing a rigorous search for knowledge, is an open-ended process of life and work - or *vivencia* - a progressive evolution toward an overall, structural transformation of society and culture, a process that requires ever renewed commitment, an ethical stand, self-critique and persistence at all levels. In short, it is a philosophy of life as much as a method¹⁶⁰’.

For Chambers, PRA, on the other hand, is part of the methodological revolution which has taken place in rural research and action where there ‘has been a shift in modes of learning, from extractive survey questionnaires to participatory appraisal and analysis¹⁶¹’. ‘PRA has increasingly *shifted the initiative from outsider to villager*¹⁶²’. No doubt both these and other recent attempts of peoples’ evaluation of development, are building as much on past experience, as on the people-centred approach to development, which is currently emerging in the literature, as shown above. Nevertheless, there is ample room for improvement. One particular issue which demands attention is that of placing the determination of both evaluation criteria and tools in the hands of the intended beneficiaries of development. Shah¹⁶³, for instance, has opened up this area of research by showing that the economic classification of communities is possible using locally generated criteria.

¹⁵⁹See Chapter 4, Sections 4.2.3. and 4.4.4.2. respectively.

¹⁶⁰Rahman & Fals-Borda 1991: 29.

¹⁶¹Chambers 1992a: 6.

¹⁶²Chambers 1992a: 8. *Emphasis in the original.*

¹⁶³1990: 25. Respondents used the following criteria: Health of the family members; Education of their children; Asset ownership; Credit worthiness; Bank balance; Land ownership; Part time job if any; Number of dependents in the family; and, Size of the house. See Chandramouli 1991: 29-32 and Kanté & Defoer 1994: 4-9 for other cases.

2.3.3. A DISTINCT SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION?

[a] Flowing out of the inadequate evaluation of development theory and the blinkered approaches of social scientists in general to the evaluation of development practice *vis-à-vis* development theory is the fact that the evaluation of development as a distinct school of theory and practice has not been firmly established in its own right within the parameters of development¹⁶⁴. Hence the postulating of this thesis. While Van Sant refers to ‘development evaluation’ and even states its goal, that is, ‘to provide systematic, reliable, and valid confirmation on the implementation, impact, and effectiveness of projects, programs, and policies¹⁶⁵’, Development Evaluation as a distinct school does not exist¹⁶⁶. The paucity of theoretical perspectives¹⁶⁷ which primarily results from the constant borrowing from the ‘purer’ disciplines is at the root of preventing such a necessity from happening. As a result, the evaluation of development has become a slave rather than a partner, or even a servant, to development be it in theory or in practice. In other words, evaluation of development has largely been devalued **and** dehumanised. The tendency to follow trends in development theory and practice without question instead of obviating some of the obstacles to development through a more critical assessment of theory and practice is evidence of the bondage of the evaluation of development.

[b] Given the current state of both the theory and practice of development and the evaluation of development described above, there is a clear need for the evaluation of development to be transformed into Development Evaluation¹⁶⁸ to independently and critically examine development theory and practice and thereby to respond to the present crises. Just as Development Administration emerged to focus attention more acutely on development issues, and by implication on the poorest of the poor, Development

¹⁶⁴This explains to some extent why terms like appraisal, assessment and evaluation have been used too glibly and loosely by commentators on development.

¹⁶⁵Van Sant 1989: 257.

¹⁶⁶As discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.[d].

¹⁶⁷Cracknell 1988: 75.

¹⁶⁸See Chapter 1, Section 1.3.[d].

Evaluation needs to emerge to stimulate the theoretical and practical advancement of the evaluation of those development concerns. The modifications that need to be brought to the evaluation of development suggested above, including the evaluation of theory, the extension of evaluation to broader applications outside of the blue print/project cycle approach, the inclusion of extra-economic criteria, placing tools in the hands of beneficiaries and the transformation of the evaluation of development into Development Evaluation, will only become a reality once a school of Development Evaluation is in place.

2.4. QUO VADIS?

[a] Although the need for the establishment of a distinct school of Development Evaluation have been clearly expounded¹⁶⁹ the tasks set are somewhat beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis. In an attempt to be pragmatic, while simultaneously wishing to make a contribution toward the establishment of such a school, the attention of this thesis will be focused in the following way:

first, taking people-centred development as a point of departure, the thesis will show why it is necessary for people, particularly the marginalised and disadvantaged, to gain priority in all development activity. However, it will also show that merely focusing on people themselves is not enough. Therefore the thesis will point out crucial aspects of the humanity of people which are often ignored in development activity. What this process of showing the need for people and their humanity to gain priority in development activity does is to make people and their humanity the essential focus of Development Evaluation.

Having provided the rationale of the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation this thesis will in the *second*¹⁷⁰ instance, *critically evaluate a range of research and development methodologies which mutatis mutandis proceed from a similar interpretivist epistemology.* Hence, Social Impact Assessment, Participatory Action Research and

¹⁶⁹See Chapter 1, Section 1.3.[d], and Section 2.3.3. above.

¹⁷⁰See Chapter 4.

Participatory Rural Appraisal already mentioned, in the context of other methodologies, will be tested and compared with an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Doing so will indicate both the need and usefulness of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation and the need for the development of those methodologies in order that they may serve the interests of people better.

An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, *will*, in the *third*¹⁷¹ instance, *be applied in a development setting*. It goes almost without saying that in the process of developing and expounding an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation and in engaging with related methodologies, development theory and practice in general will be critically analysed. Thereby the contribution which an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation can make toward the improved quality of life and development for people can be appreciated. However, by applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to a development setting the opportunity is provided for testing its value in respect of development practice. The development setting is that of the Nyanyadu community in KwaZulu-Natal. Between 1993 and 1995 this community was visited by the field workers of the Dundee Community Project who started nutrition and social development projects. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is used to assess the impact of the work of the Dundee Community Project on the quality of life for people of Nyanyadu. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is also used to assess the consequences of an intervention which is certain to affect the lives of people in Nyanyadu in the near future. That intervention is tenure reform.

Despite the precedence set by Berger and Goulet¹⁷², albeit unwittingly, to evaluate development theory, this thesis acknowledges that this postulation has not been tested in the literature. Further, as it may be presumptuous to think that the required paradigm shift to accept this postulation will be made by those who come across it for the first time, this thesis provides in the *fourth* instance, but by way of an appendix¹⁷³, an Anthropocentric

¹⁷¹See Chapter 5.

¹⁷²1974: 49-83, 91-125 and 1995: 184, respectively. See also Section 2.3.[a] above.

¹⁷³Appendix 1.

Development Evaluation of a practice theory, namely, the **Basic Needs Approach**. Of all the development theories and practice theories, the **Basic Needs Approach** was selected as it was a specific attempt introduced by the International Labour Organisation and shortly thereafter by the World Bank to draw the world's attention to the plight of the poor through relevant research and to use this information in strategies to ameliorate world poverty¹⁷⁴. As the poor should be at the centre of development¹⁷⁵, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of this approach is a pertinent exercise. Pertinent because it will show that people and their humanity are not always at the heart of development theories. Pertinent as well because it will therefore show the need to evaluate development theories.

[b] In summary, in response to the three development problems of the failure of the three Decades of Development to improve the quality of life for people, the gap between development theory and practice, and the failure by development academics and practitioners to adequately evaluate development theory **and** practice this thesis proposes the establishment of a school of Development Evaluation¹⁷⁶ which makes people and their humanity **the** priority in development and its evaluation. Of the five requirements for a school of Development Evaluation, the thesis will focus upon four of them, through an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. The four are:

- the inclusion of extra-economic criteria;
- the placing of methodologies or field tools in the hands of people;
- the extension of evaluation to broader applications outside the blue print/project cycle approach; and
- the evaluation of aspects of development theory.

The thesis will do so by:

- formulating an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation;

¹⁷⁴Lisk 1977: 185; Palmer 1977: 97; Streeten 1977: 8-9; Streeten & Burki 1978: 411; Burki 1980: 18-9; Streeten 1980: 167, 169; Ligthelm 1981: 313-4; Keeton 1984: 279; Weigel 1986: 1424; Spalding 1990: 90-1; Stewart 1991: 178.

¹⁷⁵See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1..

¹⁷⁶See Chapter 1, Section 1.3.[d].

- testing methodologies which encourage beneficiary participation;
- applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to a dynamic development setting; and
- separately, but distinctly, providing an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Basic Needs Approach.

The fifth requirement for a school of Development Evaluation, that is, *the transformation of evaluation of development into Development Evaluation* as a distinct art and science as explained above will, hopefully, be stimulated by the postulating of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Therefore, this last mentioned task will receive attention by trying to provide an environment in which it can be fostered.

CHAPTER 3: AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

3.1. AN OVERVIEW

[a] The purpose of this chapter is to expound the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. The **essential** focus of an **Anthropocentric Development Evaluation** derived from its epistemological perspectives includes:

- (1) a people-centredness;
- (2) a special focus on the marginalised, particularly
 - (i) the poor, especially the rural poor and resource-poor primary producers, and,
 - (ii) women, and those in relationship with them, those in their households;
- (3) an actor-orientedness. (In other words, seeing people as actors in their particular and wider contexts, and giving due consideration to exceptions to the norm);
- (4) a consideration of the cultural and knowledge milieus in which people exist;
- (5) a consideration of the limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities people face as they attempt to live; and
- (6) the need people have to participate in all matters which impact upon their lives.

[b] As discussed above in Chapter 1¹⁷⁷ an *Anthropocentric Development Evaluation*, has two main pillars - *development* and *evaluation*¹⁷⁸. However, more important is the intention of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. That is, that both development

¹⁷⁷Sections 1.1.-1.3..

¹⁷⁸As suggested earlier in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.[a] 'evaluation' is used in this thesis in the sense of the art and science of evaluation, that is in the fourth generation *responsive constructivist* and *hermeneutical* sense, rather than as a form of measurement, description and/or judgement.

and evaluation, in their own right and in their interaction with one another, have a *greater concern for people and the conditions people face into as a consequence of being human beings* than has been the general practice in the past. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, therefore, affirms the **people-centred approach**¹⁷⁹ to development. However, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will argue that the people-centred approach has not gone far enough. For instance, when the track record of development and its evaluation to date are examined, some people have been neglected, missed out, and even avoided. Thus development and its evaluation must go beyond people-centredness and place special emphasis on **people** in the broad, holistic sense of the word. From the perspectives which have influenced this thesis, that special emphasis for the moment should be focused on:

- ⇒ the *marginalised*, or disadvantaged, particularly,
- the *poor*, especially the *rural poor* and *resource-poor primary producers*, and,
- *women*, and with them those in their households.

Should the quality of life of the above-mentioned people improve, and/or, a strong case be made for other people who are marginalised, then the face of that special emphasis must change accordingly. Thus, *all* people must find inclusion and not exclusion as a consequence of that special emphasis.

[c] Being people-centred, and placing special emphasis on marginalised people, however, is still not enough. Development and its evaluation also needs to be **actor-oriented**¹⁸⁰. By this is meant the need to see individuals, as unique actors, in their broader context of society, and, in their differences as people. This demands that the *requisites and consequences of people being human*¹⁸¹ are examined. The requisites include *culture, knowledge*, while *risks and obstacles* are consequences. Another element of people being human is *participation* which is both a requisite and a consequence of that humanity.

¹⁷⁹Korten 1984a: 300; 1984b: 342; 1987: 145-6. With its three principles of justice, sustainability and inclusiveness (Korten 1990: 4), the people-centred approach attempts to reverse (Chambers 1988: 50) the *production-centred* nature of development practice. See Section 3.2..

¹⁸⁰Long 1977: 187. See Section 3.5..

¹⁸¹See Section 3.6..

While participation has not received enough attention in the development and evaluation debates, it is contended here that it is only once a process of going beyond both people-centredness **and** actor-orientation to focus on the above-mentioned people, and the requisites and consequences of human existence, that the realm of participation can be fully engaged in and achieved. When all of the above emphases have at least been considered then it could be deemed that development and its evaluation is beginning to be anthropocentric.

[d] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is essentially *an evaluation of development theory and practice* as well as *the art and science of evaluation*¹⁸². In drawing the two dimensions of development and evaluation together it provides a framework for Development Evaluation. Such a framework emphasises the need for people to be at the heart of development and evaluation. This emphasis emerges through criticisms of development which contend that the human dimension has, at worst been missing, and/or at least been down played, in the development debate. In the case of evaluation, apart from a mere suggestion of participation by people, the human dimension is almost totally lacking. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation therefore attempts to reverse this trend in both development and evaluation.

[e] The essence of the argument which follows is twofold. In the **first** instance, the argument reinforces the importance of people to be the centre of all development and its evaluation, in the manner suggested above. In the **second**, the process of formulating the parameters of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is begun. This is done by developing the argument that people are intrinsic to development and its evaluation. Using that focus the next chapter takes the parameters of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation further by providing a critique of different evaluation *methodologies*. The purpose is to identify those methodologies which are or have a propensity toward enabling people to be central to development and evaluation.

¹⁸²While the art and science of evaluation has come of age (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 21) there remains a need for its further transformation to emphasise people and their humanity. The task of directly contributing to that transformation must for the sake of the task at hand happen elsewhere.

3.2. A PEOPLE-CENTRED APPROACH

[a] Intrinsic to an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is the people-centred approach to development. That development should be people-centred is to state both the *obvious* and a *paradox*. The fact that development is the development of people, with the intention of unleashing the human potential in improving their quality of life¹⁸³ and that human development is the ultimate objective of economic development¹⁸⁴ is the *obvious*. The *paradox* lies in the fact that:

- * millions of individuals are still indicated as being materially and spiritually in distress - facing absolute poverty, unemployment or underemployment, and inequality¹⁸⁵;
- * despite the human cost of contemporary development¹⁸⁶, little optimism exists for a solution to the African tragedy¹⁸⁷;
- * the progress gained in technological advancement, particularly the case of the Green Revolution, is not commensurate with the resultant failure - in most cases leaving people worse off than they were before¹⁸⁸;
- * humanity is facing different conditions in the post-industrial era compared with

¹⁸³Obaidullah Khan 1980: 57; Gran 1983: 2; Swanepoel 1989: 35.

¹⁸⁴Griffin & McKinley 1994: 1.

¹⁸⁵Coetzee 1987b: 1.

¹⁸⁶Elliott 1994: 22.

¹⁸⁷Leys 1996: 188.

¹⁸⁸Wade: 1974: 1093; Cohen 1975: 347; Ruttan 1977: 20; Trainer 1989: 107-8; Carmen 1996: 43. Some people may argue that the Green Revolution was a success in respect of its improvement of seeds and yields. However, it did not have any significant impact on mass poverty. Section 4.4.1.[a] in Chapter 4 points out that Farming Systems Research emerged as an attempt to address the failure of technology transfer to resource-poor farmers in remote communities, farming under adverse conditions.

those in the industrial era¹⁸⁹;

- * industrialism as the epitome of economic theory¹⁹⁰ in particular, and modern development in general, has failed dismally to bring about a sustainable, equitable development¹⁹¹;
- * chrematistics¹⁹², as rationalised by neo-liberalism, and not *oikonomia*¹⁹³ prevails in policy decisions¹⁹⁴, to such an extent that even people are considered to be capital and thus disposable, resulting in the destruction of people-in-community¹⁹⁵;
- * the defects of 'normal' bureaucracy prevail¹⁹⁶;
- * there has been the need for a particular 'people-centred' approach to emerge in the development debate, and there is still a need to stress the vital importance of a

¹⁸⁹Korten 1984a: 299.

¹⁹⁰Henderson 1994: 78.

¹⁹¹Brock 1994: 10-4; Carmen 1994: 60-1; Harcourt 1994b: 11-6.

¹⁹²the manipulation of capital for short-term monetary gains.

¹⁹³the management of an entity to increase its long-term use value for all stakeholders.

¹⁹⁴Daly & Cobb 1990: 138; Leys 1996: vi.

¹⁹⁵Ekins, Hillman & Hutchinson 1992: 20, 22, 54. The two major famines in the Sudan (a structurally grain surplus country) in 1888/9 and 1984/5 are a case in point. They were the result of failure by the government to care for food security of the people: failure to organise and encourage production, failure to store, and failure to distribute to the destitute (Shepherd 1988: 36).

¹⁹⁶For Chambers (1988: 51-2) there are two. The first is the notorious tendency for officials to neglect poor areas and poor people. Often the very design of programmes is ill-fitted to the poorer people who lack the knowledge, access or resources to benefit. The second is also serious, but less recognised, and that is the contradiction between the tendency towards bureaucratic centralisation, standardisation and simplification programmes compared with the diversity of local needs and conditions.

people-centred development¹⁹⁷;

* the people-centred approach emerged only as late as the 1980s¹⁹⁸.

[b] Given the existence of the above-mentioned paradox, the objectives of a people-centred development must therefore:

ensure that the problem of development relates to *the* people involved in all its possible respects, making people the priority by increasing their capacities to lead full and satisfying lives¹⁹⁹. This requires a reversal of the relationship between people and production²⁰⁰, and demanding a rejection of expansionism²⁰¹;

make social organisation an explicit concern of development policies and constructing projects around people and their consequences, through a critical examination of the social dialectics of development²⁰². Hence,

- (1) the satisfaction of human needs;
- (2) the generation of growing levels of self reliance and autonomy; and,
- (3) the establishing of organic linkages between
 - (a) people and (i) their social context;
 - (ii) nature; and
 - (iii) technology; and

¹⁹⁷Cernea 1991b: xii. The concept of sustainable development embodies a belief that people should be able to alter and improve their lives in accordance with criteria which take account of the needs of others and which protect the planet and future generations (Sharp 1992: 40). This means that there is still a need to strike a balance between individualism and people in community (Daly & Cobb 1990: 159). Failure to do so will enhance the number of cases 'when people do not come first' (Kottak 1991: 431).

¹⁹⁸Korten 1984b: 342.

¹⁹⁹Coetzee 1987b: 1.

²⁰⁰Korten 1984a: 300; Griffin & McKinley 1994: xi, 1.

²⁰¹Coetzee 1987b: 2-4.

²⁰²Coetzee 1987b: 2; Cernea 1991c: xiv; Pretty, Guijt, Scoones & Thompson 1992: 104.

(b) civil society and the state; and

(c) global processes²⁰³

become particular foci for action. The constant consideration of alternatives²⁰⁴ is a key to this action becoming reality; and

shift the meaning of development to focus wholly on people. This implies a shift from macro to micro levels of thinking about development²⁰⁵ where peoples' own priorities come first²⁰⁶.

[c] While people-centred development is increasingly recognised as *the* crucial prerequisite to induce accelerated development²⁰⁷, development for people will happen only if the causes of the paradox in the history of development are dealt with. As all causes can only be dealt with if they are known, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation tenders the focus *and* level of analysis in development theory as *the* probable cause (while recognising the possibility of others).

[d] There have been a number of attempts to trace the evolutionary progression of development theory. Leys²⁰⁸ is probably the most recent. What is striking from the accounts of such attempts is that there are hardly any references to people, and where there are, these refer to the leading academic figures who have postulated theories on the basis of their reflection of human history²⁰⁹. The focus never seems to be on people as they exist in reality immediately in front of these 'people's' eyes. What appears to be the

²⁰³Korten & Carner 1984: 205; Max-Neef, Elizalde & Hopenhayn 1989: 13; Griffin & McKinley 1994: 6, 27-30.

²⁰⁴Coetzee 1987b: 11.

²⁰⁵Coetzee 1987b: 4-6.

²⁰⁶Chambers 1987: 14.

²⁰⁷Cernea 1991b: xii.

²⁰⁸1996: 3-44.

²⁰⁹Leys 1996: 4.

case is that these academic giants, including Kant, Hegel, Marx, Weber and many beyond them, have been more concerned about legitimising and articulating their analytical constructs than really understanding people as they engage in social, economic and other behaviour and thereby to postulate appropriate action for development. While it is not permissible to say that development theorists or development studies academics do not focus on people at all²¹⁰, what is true is that people have tended to be taken up and lost in analytical categories. Examine Hoselitz'²¹¹ contention, for instance, that the relationship between social change and economic development has been recognised in development theory. For Hoselitz this has happened in two ways: first, in general, by economists, ever since they concerned themselves with economic progress; secondly, in particular, when Marx stated that the capitalist mode of production was a consequence of the transformation of society giving rise to the bourgeoisie becoming the leading social class. Notice that Hoselitz gives attention to only those caught up in the relationship between social change and economic development and the bourgeoisie. He pays no attention to people outside the social change - economic development and those in other social strata. Further, consider that even Dudley Seers²¹², whom Van Zyl and Beukes²¹³ commend for being a leading figure in shifting 'development' from economic growth to 'a broader society-wide concept' is guilty of locating people in such states or descriptors as 'poverty', 'unemployment' and 'inequality'. Over the years development discourse has produced a whole range of similar categories. In the case of classical development theory it was in classes, in modernisation it was in countries, while dependency theory ranged from localities to regions to the world system²¹⁴. It is only now, with the emergence of

²¹⁰There are some notable exceptions, eg modernisationists like Lerner (1958: 50) and Bauer (1981: 41, 100). Homans with his interactionist approach to exchange theory was concerned with 'bringing men back in' (Schlemmer 1980: 2). Schumacher (1974) with his economics where people matter and Webster (1984) are other good examples of people-mindedness.

²¹¹1960: 53.

²¹²1979a: 12.

²¹³1993: 122.

²¹⁴De Kadt 1974: 3. Braun (1991: 75) puts it aptly by saying, 'Underdevelopment' defines people not in terms of what they are and would like to be, but in terms of what they do not have and what others think they should become'.

alternative development approaches as a result of the odd crisis, here or there, that greater attention is being paid to people.

[e] The problem with abstract concepts in general, like ‘an expanding capitalist world-economy’ or ‘the incorporation of the periphery within the world economy’ is not any uneasiness they may engender when confronted²¹⁵, but rather,

- they are historical constructs. As such they are imposed with the same limitations as history itself which, as Kierkegaard²¹⁶ put it, can only understand life backwards, when life, in fact, is lived forwards.
- Secondly, they are somewhat elusive, essentially because they are myths²¹⁷. Foster-Carter²¹⁸ laments that Frank’s concepts of ‘metropolis’ and ‘satellite’²¹⁹ are as elusive as Rostow’s²²⁰ ‘stages of growth’; while Amin²²¹ acknowledges that none of the modes of production have ever existed as pure states in reality.
- Thirdly, because these concepts are articulated at the level of abstraction, blockages or voids are created when attempting to transpose the dialectics of that interaction back to the reality of people. Thus, these macro level analytical concepts have not served the development of people. Rather, they have served the industry of Sociology and Economics. For an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation therefore, they may well be at the heart of a top-down approach to development.

²¹⁵Bundy 1988: 59.

²¹⁶Quoted in Ayer & O’Grady (1992: 235). Also in Lewis (1976: 32).

²¹⁷Frank 1969: 221-42; Wallerstein 1974: 389; March & Olsen 1989: 40-1.

²¹⁸1978: 49.

²¹⁹Frank 1969: 8.

²²⁰1960: 1.

²²¹1976: 16.

- Fourthly, they are selective and discriminatory for the majority of people. For Max-Neef²²² they embrace only those people whose activities are adjusted and conform to what their quantifiers can measure. Thus they frequently fail to take cognisance of the poor, particularly those who are women.
- Fifthly, they assume that development is equated with material and/or technological advancement²²³ and not with an improved quality of life.

[f] Broad sociological inquiry, which should have been a corrective to this *status quo*, has not done so. Neo-evolutionism, which emerged in the 1960s replaced ‘people’ and ‘humanity’ with abstract concepts like ‘culture’ and ‘society’²²⁴. Since then sociological theory has become a detached industry of abstract problems tangentially removed from people who should be its locus of inquiry and the locus for development. Needless to say, this direction has resulted in the ‘crisis’ which prevails in Sociology, namely, that the practice of Sociology is as much a part of the society it claims to discover, analyse, administer and/or reform²²⁵. The problem for Sociology is that its ‘crisis’ cannot be resolved through empirical observation at all²²⁶. A manifestation of this crisis is the construct of *homo sociologicus*, which for Stehr²²⁷ is as problematic as the *homo oeconomicus*²²⁸ of economic theory. While there is a real problem of reductionism in Psychology and Anthropology, the crisis in Sociology may have been averted should there have been an emulation of the focus on people as in the other two disciplines. There is

²²²1992: 34.

²²³Wallman 1977b: 5.

²²⁴Hoogvelt 1978: 12.

²²⁵O’Neill 1986: 21-2.

²²⁶Wardell & Turner 1986b: 11.

²²⁷1986: 39.

²²⁸Weigel 1986: 1425. *Homo oeconomicus* is also an obstacle to a gender conscious development (Carmen 1994: 63). Such a gender conscious development is essential from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation perspective. See also Section 3.3.2.1.

no doubt concerning the place of Maslow's²²⁹ hierarchy of human needs in alerting development theory to people and their condition. The 1974 Cocoyoc Declaration²³⁰, the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report²³¹ and the Basic Needs Approach²³² would be empty shells without that contribution.

[g] As a result of a lack of focus upon people themselves, development theory in the 1950s and onwards has concentrated on the manner in which the economies of the former colonies in the South could be transformed and made more productive²³³. Thus, despite the limitations of the world's capital resources²³⁴, industrial expansion, particularly manufacturing, has been and continues to be seen to be critical for the structural transformation of most of the sub-Saharan (African) economies, despite the economic crisis experienced in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s²³⁵. What such a mind-set fails to recognise is that throughout their livelihoods, people engage in a variety of activities - production, consumption, and organisational - within communities and in society at large. These activities exist within both complementary and competitive relationships. To emphasise any one would be self-defeating²³⁶. To some extent this truth has been realised in the growing distance in the correlation between economic growth and development²³⁷. Development is more than just economic growth, though it does encompass it²³⁸. The result, on the one hand, has been a softening of economics in

²²⁹1954: 98.

²³⁰1974: 91.

²³¹1975: 13.

²³²Allen & Anzalone 1981: 213; Afrentiou 1990: 244. See also Appendix 1.

²³³Leys 1996: 5.

²³⁴Schumacher 1974: 11.

²³⁵Lall 1992: 105; Stewart, Lall & Wangwe 1992b: 14.

²³⁶Johnston & Clark 1982: 225.

²³⁷Seers 1979b: 711.

²³⁸See Chapter 2, Section 2.1.[d], where was this begun to be realised.

development strategies such as ‘humanistic economics²³⁹’ which attempts to restore people to economics in their fullness and wholeness. On the other hand, there have been definite calls for a people-centred development. The maturing of the sustainable agriculture debate to the point where sustainable livelihoods²⁴⁰ have become *the* important issue is one manifestation that some of these calls are being heeded.

[h] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, however, believes that the people-centred approach to development has not gone far enough. There is a need to go beyond it in order to maintain the focus on people and to provide checks upon variations to the theme. The South African Government of National Unity’s Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a case in point. The RDP White Paper²⁴¹ as well as the African National Congress²⁴² policy document which gave rise to the RDP both speak of a ‘people-driven’ process. Whether this is mere semantics or a loop-hole should the programme not achieve its objectives in the long-term only time will tell. Nevertheless, there is a need for caution. As part of that caution as an end in itself, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation takes a people-centred development forward in two ways: the **first** is to focus on those people who have been marginalised and the **second** is by considering people as a whole as actors in particular contexts. This is intended to give greater substance to the people-centred approach.

²³⁹Lutz & Lux 1988: 18.

²⁴⁰Chambers, Pacey & Thrupp 1989b: xvii.

²⁴¹South African Government 1994: 6.

²⁴²1994: 5.

3.3. FOCUS ON THE MARGINALISED

3.3.1. THE POOR

[a] There are several good reasons why the development debate and the evaluation of development should focus on the poor and the poverty they suffer:

- ▷ First, there is the sheer number of people who are poor. The Human Development Report 1990²⁴³ indicated that of a world population then of five billion people, one billion were living beneath the poverty datum line in the countries of the South²⁴⁴. What is more staggering than this comparison of world population and the extent of poverty in the South is the *growth* of poverty, particularly in Africa which was expected to rise from 270 million people living in absolute poverty in 1985 to 400 million people in 1995²⁴⁵.
- ▷ Beyond the numbers, poverty inflicts severe consequences upon those individuals who must endure it. Poverty is known to have a strong influence on the prevalence of diseases worldwide. However, the type of diseases suffered are not only indicators of the need for biomedical and health care, but more so are symptoms of the prevailing underdevelopment of the South.
- ▷ The presence of the poor are also a manifestation of great inequalities which makes human community impossible.
- ▷ The poor also represent a deeper malaise - their continuous confrontation with the

²⁴³on pages 25 and 22, respectively.

²⁴⁴Using the 'woefully inadequate poverty line (Burkett 1990: 25, 1991: 474)' of a per capita annual income of US\$370 and US\$275 respectively, the World Bank's (1990: 29) World Development Report shows that there were 1,116 billion people of the South living in poverty in 1990 and of those 680 million were living in extreme poverty.

²⁴⁵The Human Development Report 1990: 22.

rich, who have what they do not.

- ▷ Further, through its sheer inefficiency poverty places huge costs on those economies, where it is endemic²⁴⁶.

[b] One of the major obstacles facing the improvement of the quality of life for the poor, is that poverty and its amelioration has tended to go through various phases of *focus*. Currently, however, it is not in vogue²⁴⁷. In the 1970s the essential theme of development was the elimination of poverty, social inequality and unemployment. Thus began the search for 'Another Development' - development conceived to be *more* than economic growth²⁴⁸. Interest in the problems of inequality and poverty waned in the 1970s and almost disappeared in the 'adjustment decade' of the 1980s. Ostensibly, the reason for this diminished interest is not that these problems have been solved but that they have been eclipsed by seemingly more pressing ones - the debt crisis in Latin America and the general crisis in sub-Saharan Africa²⁴⁹. Yet it could be argued that there is a direct relationship between structural adjustment and the process of global impoverishment²⁵⁰. For Van der Hoeven²⁵¹, the increasing demand for poverty statistics in recent years from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme is often a reaction to the stagnant economic situations in Africa and Latin America. To call for a renewed focus on longer-term issues of development, *inter alia*, poverty alleviation in the 1990s as Kanbur²⁵² proposes, does not effectively deal with the problem. Until such time as the improving of the well-being of the poor becomes the continuous, unrelenting focus of development and its evaluation poverty will persist as it has done in the past.

²⁴⁶Nattrass 1979: 58; Van Wyk 1982: 145-6; Wilson and Ramphela 1989: 4; Wilson 1992: 43, 45-6.

²⁴⁷Waxman 1983: ix.

²⁴⁸Yadav 1980: 85.

²⁴⁹Gillis, Perkins, Roemer & Snodgrass 1992: 72.

²⁵⁰Chossudovsky 1991: 2527; Stryker & Ndegwa 1995: 388-9.

²⁵¹1994: 115.

²⁵²1994: 84.

[c] A lack of effective action to deal with poverty by those in authority stems from its over-analysis. Glewwe and Van der Gaag²⁵³ suggest that each definition of poverty gives rise to its own particular strategy. Fields'²⁵⁴ definition, for example, demands a Basic Needs Approach. While a Basic Needs Approach may be the effective tool in the particular context from whence that definition has been derived, it suffers from two ailments. **First**, it more than likely represents an outsider's perception no different to the urbanisation research priorities in South Africa achieved by a panel of academics and practitioners using the Delphi method²⁵⁵. **Secondly**, poverty as it prevails in a particular context will change over time, demanding a different approach.

[d] The problem of both definition and approach impacts as a constraint on any country's response to the existence of the poor within its borders. Louw²⁵⁶ and others express dismay, along the lines of Myrdal's²⁵⁷ 'soft state', at the Second Carnegie Inquiry's inclusion of the state to deal with aspects of poverty in South Africa²⁵⁸. This largely negates the state's responsibility toward the poor. Nevertheless, *even* where a state's responsibility towards its citizens obviates bureaucratic obstacles²⁵⁹, the dynamics of poverty hinder the most appropriate action. For Wilson and Ramphela 'poverty is like illness. It shows itself in different ways in different historical situations, and it has diverse causes. Treatment generally requires careful diagnosis²⁶⁰'. Further, the inexperience of many practitioners and academics frequently also hampers that process²⁶¹.

²⁵³1988: 2.

²⁵⁴1994: 3.

²⁵⁵Saayman, Phillips & Kok 1991: 12-18.

²⁵⁶1989: 27, 32.

²⁵⁷1970: 211; Hyden 1983: 60-3.

²⁵⁸Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 335; Wilson 1990: 229.

²⁵⁹See Kleemeier (1984: 171-94) who makes a case against the Tanzanian Government in this regard. Their inappropriate action resulted in the continued impoverishment of most Tanzanian citizens.

²⁶⁰Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 14.

²⁶¹Cernea 1991d: 3.

[e] Given the complex nature of poverty and the difficulty experienced by governments of making in-roads into it²⁶², it is not surprising that attempts to deal with it have been side-tracked, while symptoms or associated problems are often the main focus and area of attention. These include the issues of inequality, deprivation, the environment, health, and productivity amongst others²⁶³.

3.3.1.1. The rural poor

[a] The tenuous nature of an urban-rural dichotomy²⁶⁴ obviates against a clear distinction between the urban and rural poor. However, the concentration of poor people in the rural parts of countries of the South²⁶⁵ justifies due attention upon the 'rural poor' as a considered focus in a people-centred development approach.

[b] To varying degrees, most countries show a *gap* between urban and rural livelihoods²⁶⁶. In cases where such a gap is not prevalent, a shadowing of the incidence of the rural poor in the context of the poor for the country as a whole, that is, a statistical effect, is the normal explanation²⁶⁷. What the gap represents in real terms is a multiplicity of residual (being left out) and relational (eg social structural) problems which restrict or even prevent the rural poor gaining access to food, health, literacy, credit, technology and/or other resources of their choice²⁶⁸.

²⁶²Møller 1989a: 1.

²⁶³Ahtuwalia 1976: 308; Schlemmer, Møller & Stopforth 1980: 4-5; Hardiman & Midgley 1982: 32-48; World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 29-30; Human Development Report 1990: 22; Ekins, Hillman & Hutchinson 1992: 33.

²⁶⁴Lipton 1976: 57.

²⁶⁵Human Development Report 1990: 22.

²⁶⁶Mayer 1979: 59.

²⁶⁷Griffin & Khan 1978: 296; Bernstein 1992a: 5.

²⁶⁸Chambers 1983: 103-4; Bernstein 1992b: 24.

[c] Despite this persistence of rural poverty the normal beneficiaries of macro-development programmes are people across the wealth spectrum though biased towards the more affluent living in cities. The rationale for this state of affairs is that cities are the linkage points where development spending is centred and from where goods or services are relocated. Further, the starting point of many development initiatives is not so much in the localities where the rural poor reside but in the offices of bureaucrats, leaders and planners in cities²⁶⁹. Needless to say much development focused upon the rural poor has not borne its intended fruit. The classic case is the so-called *integrated rural development* approach which was portrayed as the quick-fix for rural poverty²⁷⁰, despite its own particular idiosyncrasies. These include:

- ◆ that it was a response to the failure of other approaches in the 1950s and 60s such as community development and the Green Revolution²⁷¹;
- ◆ that it lacked conceptual clarity and thus an adequate theoretical base thereby diminishing the impact it could have had²⁷²;
- ◆ that in itself the notion of 'integration' is questionable²⁷³;
- ◆ that the complexity and technical sophistication of the approach excludes the target population from participating in project formulation²⁷⁴; and
- ◆ that the expectations it carried with itself were enormous²⁷⁵.

²⁶⁹Black 1991: 152, 160.

²⁷⁰Honadle & Van Sant 1985: 3-4; Chambers 1997: 17.

²⁷¹Ruttan 1975: 9; 1984: 393-7; Coombs 1980b: 1; Abasiokong 1982: 22; Bryant & White 1984: 4; Richards 1985: 38-9.

²⁷²Ahmad 1975: 119; Livingstone 1979: 49; Cohen 1980: 195; Moris 1981: 11; Lacroix 1985: 15; Cohen 1987: 23-4, 26; Zoomers & Geurten 1991: 195.

²⁷³Yudelman 1976: 312; Ruthenberg 1981: 9; Bryant & White 1982: 290.

²⁷⁴Lacroix 1985: 17; Brinkerhoff 1988: 66.

²⁷⁵Leupolt 1977: 14-5; Weitz 1979: 8; Coombs 1980b: 16-21.

[d] Rather than grandiose approaches, a first step in the amelioration of poverty for the rural poor is 'to get to know them'²⁷⁶. Numerous attempts have been made to define the 'rural poor', such as that by Duncan and Howell²⁷⁷, or to provide characteristics of the poorest in general terms, such as O'Connor²⁷⁸, or in particular localities such as Pearce for Ghana, Harwitz, and Bigsten and Ndung'u for Kenya, Hewitt for Madagascar and, De Coninck and Tinguiri for Niger²⁷⁹.

[e] Other authors have attempted to examine and analyse the causes of poverty across sectors and localities, such as Burkey²⁸⁰, or to suggest the types of biases which obviate against improving life for the poor - spatial, project, person, season, diplomatic, professional²⁸¹.

[f] In general terms, what can be concluded from these attempts is nothing more than what has been stated already by Castro, Hakansson and Brokensha, and others²⁸², and that is that the rural poor *are* in fact a very diverse group who are disproportionately located in different areas, with considerable inequality amongst households, albeit, at very low income levels which are derived mostly from agricultural and associated activities.

[g] More specifically, these above-mentioned characteristics obviate against the rural poor gaining access to and exercising the option of whether or not to use input packages²⁸³

²⁷⁶Coombs 1980b: 12.

²⁷⁷1992b: 6.

²⁷⁸1991: 23-30.

²⁷⁹Pearce 1992: 29-32; Harwitz 1978: 66; Bigsten and Ndung'u 1992: 66-75; Hewitt 1992: 106-8; De Coninck and Tinguiri 1992: 171-6.

²⁸⁰1993: 6-25.

²⁸¹Chambers 1980: 12-28; 1983: 13-22; Chambers, Longhurst, Bradley & Feachem 1984: 130.

²⁸²Castro, Hakansson & Brokensha 1981: 401; Johnston & Clark 1982: 10; May 1987: 1; Todaro 1989: 162; Gillis, Perkins, Roemer and Snodgrass 1992: 77.

²⁸³Pretty, Guijt, Scoones & Thompson 1992: 91.

and against development teams reaching those who are really poor²⁸⁴. This demands a deliberate attempt by the 'development community' to promote the improvement of life for the poor people in location specific terms. This conclusion reinforces the need for a people-centred approach to development and serves as a warning to national economies to guard against treating people as mere statistics or in aggregate categories.

3.3.1.2. Resource-poor primary producers

[a] Another way in which people are disadvantaged, apart from their geographical setting, is through their means and mode of production. Just as the rural poor are a significant group of people whose incidence is shadowed in the context of the poor of any country²⁸⁵, so are those people who may be described as resource-poor and/or marginalised primary producers²⁸⁶. Resource-poor/marginalised primary producers are overshadowed by other primary producers who have wealth, power and operate in environments conducive to their operations. Resource-poor/marginalised primary producers include those people who engage in pastoral, agricultural, forestry and fishery enterprises mainly to achieve food-security, though this occurs mostly at a sub-subsistence level. Also included amongst these would be those people who engage in mining operations - panning or scavenging for precious metals and stones or mining in disused mines, usually closed down due to the non-profitability for large-scale entrepreneurs²⁸⁷. These activities are usually conducted in harsh environments, on limited entitlements and with minimal resources. Probably the most significant characteristics which cut across these categories of resource-poor/marginalised primary producers are two-fold. The first of the two over-arching characteristics is that these primary producers are poor. The

²⁸⁴Burkey 1993: 117.

²⁸⁵See Section 3.3.1.1.[b].

²⁸⁶Gupta (1991: 17) makes the pertinent point that it may be inappropriate to refer to 'knowledge-rich' 'peasants' as 'resource-poor'.

²⁸⁷See Appendix 3 for a case study of marginal mining as the paucity of literature prevents in-depth discussion here.

wealth of (or, the lack of it for) these resource-poor/marginalised primary producers affects almost every aspect of their production. While it may be an overstatement, it has been suggested that research in rural areas, for instance, often ignores wealth differences and is usually focused so as to benefit export producers to the exclusion of resource-poor/marginalised primary producers²⁸⁸. The second characteristic is that they are subject to excessive personal risk in the pursuit of their enterprises²⁸⁹. Given these characteristics an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation deems that resource-poor/marginalised primary producers to receive a particular focus, as well. As each type of resource-poor/marginalised primary producer mentioned above deserves a more in-depth analysis of the circumstances they face, unique characteristics are provided below, beginning with pastoralists.

[b] Pastoralists in Africa as the whole, have some of the following characteristics:

- they make use of arid and semi-arid regions with varying climatic conditions where natural resources are highly variable in space and time;
- their main assets (livestock) are mobile and not permanent;
- land use is large-scale without fixed boundaries and incorporates wet- and dry-season grazing and reserve areas;
- land tenure tends toward common property rights over resources rather than demarcated holdings for individual use;
- resources are used simultaneously, during and across seasons by other stakeholders for both pastoral and agricultural pursuits and therefore the use and improvement of such resources must be negotiated;
- households or informal collectivities of households are the basic decision-making units which allow for mobility and flexibility;
- their systems are highly productive, given their complex objectives²⁹⁰.

These characteristics are also true of pastoralists in Latin America and Asia.

²⁸⁸Curtis, Hubbard & Shepherd 1988: 182; Grandin 1988: 3; 1994: 22.

²⁸⁹Ortiz 1976: 152; Long 1977: 50.

²⁹⁰Waters-Bayer, Bayer & Von Lossau 1995: 1-3.

[c] Amongst agriculturalists there tends to be a distinction between those who use dryland/rainfed systems and those who use irrigation. Dryland agriculture often takes place in harsher environments, normally in rain shadow areas, where the risk of relying on rain is great and the agricultural potential of the land itself tends to be low. Holdings vary in size, though are generally small - ranging from one to four hectares. In some cases, such as Kosi Bay where there is no apparent shortage of land, other factors such as infertile soil, erratic rainfall and the inability to mobilise a sufficient labour force mitigate against production. Access to inputs tends to be minimised by relative distance and the unavailability of suitable transport. These constraints also present problems when marketing produce, that is, *if* sufficient produce is obtained. Apart from subsistence needs, crops are vulnerable to attack from a variety of enemies, human and natural. In some cases, these primary producers may be relatively dispersed one from another, resulting in their own vulnerability²⁹¹. While irrigators may be better off, by virtue of their potential access to water they need to be engaged in a number of critical tasks, which impact upon the productivity of their enterprise. These tasks include: water acquisition, water allocation, system maintenance, resource mobilisation and utilisation, and conflict management²⁹². One factor that does not know the distinction between dryland and irrigation producers is illiteracy²⁹³.

[d] In respect of those resource-poor primary producers who depend upon marginal forests for their livelihood Colchester²⁹⁴ from his experience of the forest communities of South and South-East Asia, highlights the following traits. Generally the communities are politically and/or culturally marginalised from people who live outside the forest. They tend to be ridiculed by members of other strata as 'indigenous' or 'tribal'. Further they are often engaged in a continuous battle to secure freehold title over their ancestral lands.

²⁹¹Derman 1981: 17-9; Webster 1988: 21-8; Erasmus & Hough 1994: 112.

²⁹²Coward 1991: 49.

²⁹³Erasmus and Hough 1994: 112.

²⁹⁴1994: 71-9.

[e] When it comes to fishery activities, Pollnac²⁹⁵ is decidedly firm in distinguishing aquaculture from capture fishing. The two have very little in common apart from the product they seek - fish. With capture fishing the product is not contained demanding that capture fishers be mobile, thus placing them at risk because of that mobility, which is costly to them. Alternatively, they must live in relative isolation, resulting in the usual consequences of social *anomie*. Harvest, in different localities, on a small-scale can take place with relatively low capital investment. Aquaculture has a more predictable product as the aqua-culturalist knows where the fish are and when harvesting should take place. Risks are related to larger capital investment. Such systems involve both cultivation and harvesting which is dependent on the construction and maintenance of ponds, maintenance of water quality, and feeding of fish - all requiring a trained and motivated labour force²⁹⁶.

[f] A number of mistaken assumptions have prevailed in past development investments in resource-poor/marginalised producers resulting in little success compared with objectives set²⁹⁷. Bunch²⁹⁸ highlights two of these. The first is that development programmes should teach resource-poor/marginalised primary producers a set of techniques that will increase their productivity, and that, having adopted these practices, they will continue indefinitely to achieve higher levels of productivity. The second assumption is that these resource-poor/marginalised primary producers are incapable of inventing, developing and adapting new technologies and thereby cannot carry on the development process by themselves. The fallacy of the first assumption is that most systems operating under marginal conditions require a constantly changing mix of techniques and inputs, while in the second, mounting evidence exists to the contrary.

[g] Recently, there has been somewhat of a turnabout with regard to the above

²⁹⁵1991: 260.

²⁹⁶Pollnac 1991: 260-7.

²⁹⁷Water-Bayer, Bayer & Von Lossau 1995: 1.

²⁹⁸1989: 55-6.

assumptions. These have been manifest in a number of approaches which attempt to give priority to resource-poor/marginalised primary producers, though it is apparent that those who are farmers have gained higher stakes than other primary producers. Some of the names under which these approaches go include farmer-back-to-farmer, farmer-first-and-last, Farmer Participatory Research and Approach Development²⁹⁹. For Chambers all these approaches

‘share reversals of the normal in analysis³⁰⁰, in the identification of priorities, in the location of experiments, and by implication of the roles of scientists and extensioners, who become convenors, catalysts, consultants and colleagues instead of generators and transferrers of technology³⁰¹’.

In the case of experimentation, the emphasis has been placed on small-scale experimentation [that is, with a portion of the usual crop(s)] at village level. This has achieved the following advantages in that it:

- # is attainable by the poorest farmers because the small-scale reduces the cost of technology adoption;
- # reduces indebtedness and enhances loan repayments where loan services are provided and the loans applied for will be lower than those for large-scale experimentation;
- # reduces the level of risk;
- # allows farmers to learn much more than when experimenting with their entire crop;
- # allows for comparison of technologies;
- # allows extensioners to preserve their credibility and prestige;
- # allows extensioners to learn from the farmers the consequences of their technologies under different conditions;
- # enhances the self-worth of farmers;
- # enhances communication;

²⁹⁹See Chapter 4, Section 4.4..

³⁰⁰For Chambers (1988: 51-2) there are generally two ‘normals’ in analysis: the first is to neglect poor people; and, the second is overlook the diversity of local needs and conditions.

³⁰¹Chambers 1988: 54.

- # avoids bias in the selection of farmers to experiment;
- # enhances the value of indigenous technical knowledge; and
- # allows farmers to pose the questions and thereby make a contribution to science³⁰².

[h] Part of the process of changing assumptions involved the transformation that took place within Farming Systems Research through the transition of Rapid Rural Appraisal to Participatory Rural Appraisal³⁰³. What this transformation has emphasised is the need to guard against methodological complacency. By this is meant that pertinent methodological questions will need to be asked by researchers - one for Richards³⁰⁴ is the question of performance; and, methodology will be extended above its current focus on households, yet retaining the style that has been achieved - innovative and bottom-up enabling the poor to share their perceptions on issues.

[i] While there has been this turnabout, resource-poor/marginalised primary producers as well as the rural poor still deserve a special focus in the people-centred approach to development, after the general poor. The continued existence of the rural poor, particularly as resource-poor/marginalised primary producers, is indicative that the full benefits of the turnabout have not accrued to them as yet. Further, as has been pointed out, the bulk of what benefit there has been has reached those engaged in agriculture and not all resource-poor/marginalised primary producers identified at the outset of this section.

3.3.2. WOMEN

[a] The important role that women play in development processes throughout the world

³⁰²Bunch 1989: 58; Gupta 1989: 25; IDS Workshop 1989a: 31, 33; Maurya 1989: 14; Rhoades 1989: 3.

³⁰³Chambers 1988: 53-4; Box 1989: 67; Conway 1989: 77-8; Gupta & IDS Workshop 1989: 87; IDS Workshop 1989c: 100; Lamug 1989: 74; Lightfoot, De Guia, Aliman & Ocado 1989: 100; Mathema & Galt 1989: 68; Rocheleau, Wachira, Malaret, & Wanjohi 1989: 17; Gatter 1993: 153-4; Abramovitz 1994: 208. See also Chapter 4, Section 4.4..

³⁰⁴1989: 39.

is widely recognised and established in development jargon. There is a plethora of literature dealing with the role of women in development and the range of issues they consider important at various levels and in different localities. After the poor, however, women need to gain special attention in the people-centred approach. Reasons for this need are set out below. However, at this juncture, the alternative view put forward by Apffel-Marglin and Simon³⁰⁵ amongst others, that women have been 'discovered' by development rhetoric for its own particular ends must be acknowledged. Despite such a worthwhile debate being tangential to this thesis, it is a reminder to those engaged in the development debate to continuously re-examine basic assumptions that have been made.

[b] Nonetheless, from point of view of development, **women** *are* often missing from development in very real terms³⁰⁶. A case in point is a Madran agricultural extension programme where a significant proportion of farmers were not considered because the programme did not make direct contact with women farmers³⁰⁷. Malawi presents a similar case³⁰⁸. As women frequently constitute the largest section of the working population in particularly the rural communities of developing areas³⁰⁹, development can only take place if women at the grassroots level are drawn to the centre of the arena³¹⁰, and their concerns recognised and used as the starting point³¹¹.

[c] Further, an awareness of women and gender has still not been translated into planning

³⁰⁵1994: 32.

³⁰⁶Griffin & McKinley 1994: 12-3.

³⁰⁷Casey 1993: 130.

³⁰⁸Ekins, Hillman & Hutchinson 1992: 18.

³⁰⁹Ekins, Hillman & Hutchinson 1992: 18; Ellis 1993: 171; Haramata 1994: 13.

³¹⁰This includes women becoming central to decision-making. Male out-migration in the Sahel as a whole (David 1995b: 12-3; Haramata 1995: 14) and in the Sudan in particular (Myers, David, Akrat & Hamid 1995a: 151; 1995b: 17) has left women with the burden and responsibility of work without shifting power and authority to them. Braimoh (1995: 130-1) discusses the merits of using participatory research to 'integrate' women into rural development.

³¹¹Tadesse 1984: 65; Mfono 1989: 495.

practice³¹². There is still some doubt whether or not women and gender have become part of policy in some localities³¹³. Women must become part of the continuum from grassroots action to national policy and planning in their own right and not because certain key indicators, such as stagnating levels of food production, declining nutritional levels and the destruction of rural communities³¹⁴, have drawn attention to them³¹⁵. Further, while consultation is important, empowerment of women does not result from mere consultation during the planning process³¹⁶.

3.3.2.1. Male bias

[a] There are a number of key obstacles which obviate against women gaining their rightful place in planning and policy practice. **First**, most authorities are often male dominated and gender blind³¹⁷. 'Male bias is at the very core of the *homo oeconomicus* androcentric concept of society and of his global project³¹⁸'. The truth of this contention is seen in a cross-section of Sri Lankan development programmes which have the end result of being gender specific for they generally make a greater contribution to increasing male income than they do to increasing female income³¹⁹. Ironically, male bias is contradictory in that while it preserves the subordination of women to men, it also has costs for society considered as a whole³²⁰. Much of the literature on gender differences,

³¹²Moser 1989: 1799.

³¹³Nelson 1981: 47; Budlender 1992: 28.

³¹⁴See Cross, Nzama & Dlamini (1988: 160f) who describe how a natural disaster, that is, floods, brought some attention to marginalised women.

³¹⁵Tshatsinde 1993: 63.

³¹⁶MIDNET PRA Interest Group 1994: 49.

³¹⁷Moser 1989: 1800.

³¹⁸Carmen 1994: 63.

³¹⁹Stoeckel & Sirisena 1988: 40.

³²⁰Elson 1991b: 6.

for example, assumes that there are typical 'female' and 'male' behaviours such as sex roles whereas competence should be the prevailing norm³²¹.

[b] In response to male bias, Nelson³²² holds that women must use their knowledge to sensitise those in positions of power in government to the special problems of women in development. Another response is to revisit some environments of subordination, while another is to be aware of the negative human costs of addressing women's subordination in their particular localities. These may begin to address the issue of the bench mark against which bias in development outcomes is to be judged which for Elson³²³ is the first point that must be tackled.

[ci] Dey³²⁴ cogently shows the consequences of the impact of colonialism and Islam on the Madinka farming system (in The Gambia) for women. According to her sources of information the reciprocal rights and duties in the Madinka farming system were fairly allocated between men and women in the pre-colonial period. However, there are three reasons why men have moved into a more advantageous position during the nineteenth century. Firstly, groundnut production expanded rapidly after 1830 as the colonial powers sought to suppress the Atlantic slave trade, making it more profitable for chiefs and larger farmers to purchase the slaves and exploit their labour in groundnut production. Secondly, the development policies of the colonial government from the end of the nineteenth century onwards were designed to promote cash crop production. Thirdly, the spread of Islam in the second half of the nineteenth century led to, and then reinforced, female subordination to male social and economic controls. As a result by 1965, the year of The Gambia's independence, women had become economically disadvantaged relative to men.

[cii] Madinka women still have some important rights to their own land and crops, and

³²¹Walker & Fennell 1986: 255-71.

³²²1981: 49.

³²³1991b: 4.

³²⁴1981: 110-22.

therefore some economic independence which they need to defend. For this reason, planners need to be aware of the conflicting interests between men and women within the household and the ways in which men sometimes take advantage of women's social and economic dependence on them. There are three main areas in which Madinka women are vulnerable to exploitation by men, areas in which development projects should aim to protect women's rights: women's rights to land, their own crops, and adequate nutrition. By failing to take into account the complexities of the existing farming system and concentrating on men to the exclusion of women, irrigated rice projects, will for example, lose in the technical sense as valuable available female expertise will be wasted. Furthermore, the need for massive investment focused on relatively expensive capital intensive irrigation schemes could be obviated by a few simple improvements in women's production of rainfed and swamp rice which could produce striking results. Finally, by excluding women, the projects will increase women's economic dependence on men who now control an additional food and cash crop, and thereby heighten their vulnerability in an increasingly unstable and changing rural economy³²⁵.

[d] For Sharp & Spiegel³²⁶ male domination over women needs to be analysed at the local level in terms of historical and other factors and at the macro-level in terms of 'processes of capitalist expansion'. This is congruent with Charlton's³²⁷ conceptualisation of the relative powerlessness of women in development decision-making in which women are described as being caught in a triad of dependency at the local, national, and international levels. Further, this helps to recognise that the discriminations suffered by rural women in particular are not merely additive, but compound each other. If this is not acknowledged, programmes can all too easily advance men and urban women resulting in rural women being no better off than they were before³²⁸.

³²⁵Dey 1981: 122.

³²⁶1990: 527.

³²⁷1984: 23.

³²⁸Budlender 1992: 27.

[e] In their comparative analysis of the Matatiele and Qwaqwa districts of South Africa, Sharp & Spiegel³²⁹, for example, find that there are significant differences between the two districts with respect to gender relationships. In both areas, however, women are overwhelming dependent on remittances sent home by absentee partners who are engaged in migratory labour. Prominent amongst the numerous other factors which modify the impact of this dependence in each instance are the different forms of forced removal which had been experienced in the two areas. From her perspective of rural women in Africa, Tadesse³³⁰ concurs that gender is not the only limitation to development for women: other factors such as class and location have to be taken into account. In her opinion, the problem of unequal channelling of resources has hurt entire populations, for it substantially lowers agricultural productivity. While that may be true, Tadesse does not substantiate her claim through a micro level example.

[f] Longhurst³³¹ in his analysis of gender issues in Hausa villages in Northern Nigeria is acutely aware of the effect of the seclusion on women. The practice of seclusion tends to put a floor under the position of women, below which they cannot drop. The availability of land, for example, means that there is no landless class, and thus secluded women are maintained. But seclusion also puts a ceiling on opportunities and horizons available to women. Projects which attempt to raise the ceiling on options are also likely to lower the floor and that should be incorporated into such projects. As the class positions of families do affect the ability of women to engage in income-generating activities and the return to those activities there could be serious implications for any project designed to provide the secluded women with employment.

3.3.2.2. Feminist methodology

[a] A **second** obstacle preventing women securing their rightful places in planning and

³²⁹1990: 528-9.

³³⁰1984: 70.

³³¹1984: 120.

policy decision-making processes is because feminist writing mainly focuses on the complexities of the gender division and not on how these complexities can be simplified to enable methodological development³³². Further, academic feminism has often neglected to investigate its own premises. As a result of these shortcomings women end up occupying social categories which have not been transformed when gender ranking is transversed³³³.

[b] Douma, Van den Hombergh and Wieberdink³³⁴ propose an inter-disciplinary approach to research which positively allows women to examine reality and make a contribution to the amelioration of negative situations such as the conditions faced by the poor. By this inter-disciplinary approach Douma, Van den Hombergh and Wieberdink mean that each participating discipline presents its own particular viewpoint, yet acknowledges its weaknesses. They warn against a feminist perspective, for such tends to see 'natural science practice as culturally and socio-politically inimical to feminist aims' and therefore creates a blockage to securing sustainable development. Townsend³³⁵, on the other hand, calls for both extensive (which looks at the common properties and general patterns of a population as a whole) and intensive research (which examines some causal processes in a limited number of cases).

[c] Benería and Bryson³³⁶ have a greater concern for the quality of data collected with regard to women. Benería reviews the methodological progress made towards achieving more accurate statistics of women's economic activities. Included are country level revisions which have been made to capture women's labour force participation, particularly in terms of household production. Bryson is concerned about data on the importance of women's role in agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa. The social structures

³³²Moser 1989: 1800.

³³³Lazreg 1988: 82.

³³⁴1994: 181.

³³⁵1993: 170.

³³⁶Benería 1992: 1547-60; Bryson 1981: 29.

supporting the women's role would clarify for her what the interaction between the production and social systems is like.

3.3.2.3. Entrenched planning

[a] A **third** obstacle women face is the difficulty of 'grafting' gender into existing planning practices³³⁷. Budlender³³⁸ contends that it may be easy to describe the disabilities women face, but less easy to formulate concrete plans, or even proposals, as ways to remove them. Barrig³³⁹ sees the problems as having a much deeper dimension with her contention that while women have become important social actors, their demands have seldom shown a clear gender content and they lack a new development paradigm. She³⁴⁰ elaborates this further by suggesting that most efforts have been focused more on alleviating women's conditions, than at changing the social position of women as the subordinate gender. Goetz and Kandiyoti³⁴¹ level similar accusations against those engaged in mainstream Women-in-Development (WID) research and policy formulation. They contend that WID researchers have closely followed, reflected and responded to changing international priorities in matters of development assistance, but have seldom clarified the basic WID premises or spelt out the political implications of stated WID objectives. As a result, project and policy proposals for rural women as they appear in WID research frequently suffer from severe shortcomings: they tend to ignore, de-emphasise or conceal the broader development context in which women-specific projects are inscribed and thus make it more difficult to discern who the ultimate beneficiaries of women's projects will be. Further, there is considerable ambiguity over the broader

³³⁷ Moser 1989: 1800.

³³⁸ 1992: 28.

³³⁹ 1990: 377.

³⁴⁰ Barrig 1990: 382.

³⁴¹ Goetz 1988: 478; Kandiyoti 1990: 7.

redistribution issues in respect of assisting poor rural women³⁴². For Goetz³⁴³ this essentially liberal feminist strategy of 'integrating' women in development shares with development institutions a general reluctance to situate the problems of women as members of rural populations within a general context of social relations and systemic change. As a result, 'integration' has come to mean compartmentalisation within development programmes and the continued absence of women from the concerns of priority development projects. Thus calls for an 'integrated' approach to development for women, such as Dhamija³⁴⁴ makes, can be without results.

[b] For Caplan and Kandiyoti³⁴⁵ the assumptions often made by policy makers, project designers and development researchers need to be challenged. These assumptions include:

1. Women are *de facto* food producers and active participants in the agrarian sectors of the Third World.
2. Some of the main constraints on women's productivity are related to the labour time involved in daily household maintenance tasks.
3. A reduction or freeing of labour time from household tasks implies its possible diversion to income-generating activities.
4. Women's access to income is more likely to pay welfare dividends for the community at large (especially for children) than men's incomes.
5. Women's productivity and potential for income-generation may be raised with minimal capital outlays³⁴⁶.

Challenging these assumptions would for Caplan and Kandiyoti ensure that the correct perspective concerning women in their particular localities are arrived at.

³⁴²Kandiyoti 1990: 19.

³⁴³1988: 482.

³⁴⁴1984: 78.

³⁴⁵Caplan 1981: 98; Kandiyoti 1990: 7.

³⁴⁶Kandiyoti 1990: 7-8.

3.3.2.4. A variety of issues

[a] Another significant obstacle that women face in policy and planning contexts is the variation in emphasis placed on pertinent issues. What the relevant issues for women are, change from place to place and over time³⁴⁷. The transition exemplified by the change in the debate on women, (sustainable) development and environment from Women in Development (WID) to Women, Environment and Development (WED) to Development with Women for a New Era (DAWN)³⁴⁸ is indicative of this variation in issues. Essentially what this variation does in practical terms is to erroneously suggest that women cannot agree amongst themselves as to what the key issues are. Further, it perpetuates many of the myths concerning women and their development³⁴⁹. Instead, the variations should be used as the unique key to addressing the range of issues and needs which women face. Even in situations where that is the case and a composite group of issues and needs can be narrowed down and consensus achieved on particular ones, there still remains a range of options in achieving those. Further, there yet may be a range of obstacles to doing so and a further range of options in response to those. McIntosh and Friedman³⁵⁰ highlight these sort of problems in their paper. In general practice, however, the issues and needs can unfortunately be gathered in broad categories only. Nevertheless, Molyneux³⁵¹ distinction between *practical* and *strategic gender needs* is useful³⁵².

³⁴⁷See Appendix 2 at the end of this thesis for a short list of different issues women deem pertinent to be addressed.

³⁴⁸See Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 77-90.

³⁴⁹See Fortmann & Rocheleau 1985: 254 concerning myths in respect of agro-forestry.

³⁵⁰1989: 438-52.

³⁵¹1985: 232-33; Moser 1989: 1802-4.

³⁵²*Practical gender needs* are those formulated from the concrete conditions of women's experience, whereas *strategic gender needs* are needs formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men. To these Johnson (1992: 155) adds *gender-related* and *gender-specific issues*. Gender-related issues are issues that affect practical and strategic gender needs and interests but are not specifically directed to them. Examples might be an improvement in community health services or access to piped water. Gender-specific issues are issues which directly concern the practical and strategic gender needs and interests of women. Examples might be improvements in maternity care or equality in wage rates.

[b] Despite the obstacles that exist and the powerlessness experienced by women, initiatives for their development must come from women themselves. Lapido³⁵³ gives an excellent example of two groups of Yoruba women who tried to organise themselves along modern cooperative lines. The first tried to adhere to government regulations; the second moulded its own rules. Cohesion, personal development, and financial growth were found to be greater in the self-regulating group. Similarly, Davison³⁵⁴ shows that failure to be sensitive to existing relations of production was the key contributing factor in the failure of externally-inspired income-generating projects in southern Malawi.

3.3.2.5. Women in relationship

[a] One key to enabling women to initiate relevant development for themselves lies in the need to see women in relationship with others. That is in relationship with each other, with men, with children and youth, in households, families and beyond. 'Gender'³⁵⁵ refers to and describes these social relationships³⁵⁶. Although described as a reductionist, essentialist, term by the post-modern critique³⁵⁷, gender is the channel through which women can and should transform their quality of life. The importance of gender cannot be emphasised enough. Foster³⁵⁸, for example, shows that domestic development cycles are directly related to several basic population processes (eg fertility, child spacing, migration) and provide a direct link between these demographic processes and many other processes. Thus there is a need to grasp the complementary roles of male and female household members amongst other relationships women have. For Pottier³⁵⁹ this is a

³⁵³1981: 123-35.

³⁵⁴1992: 72.

³⁵⁵in its original and not pejorative sense.

³⁵⁶Pearson 1992: 292.

³⁵⁷Townsend 1993: 170.

³⁵⁸1978: 415.

³⁵⁹1993b: 9.

prerequisite for project design and is demonstrated in Casey's³⁶⁰ review of the tubewell irrigation project in Madura. Sadie³⁶¹ makes a strong case for affirmative action in post-Apartheid South Africa to be gender based while in its neighbouring Namibia this necessity has been enshrined in the Constitution³⁶². Rasaldo³⁶³ proposes the examination of asymmetries within cultural settings as means of investigating and understanding social relations between men and women.

[b] One relationship that women are born into is that of the family or household. While families and households have moved from a neglected aspect in 1980³⁶⁴ to a 'critical unit of analysis'³⁶⁵ for development in 1988, greater consideration must be given to this 'unit of analysis'. While development has been castigated for not explicitly reforming Latin American and Caribbean *campesino* patriarchal structures³⁶⁶, the family is the basis of social organisation³⁶⁷ and thus the means to education, health care and general well-being for most people³⁶⁸. Further, the variety of roles which women play in the context of family-life may be seen in the different anthropological familial categories which have a reference to women. These include 'matrifocal'³⁶⁹ and 'female-linked'³⁷⁰ families and suggest that many occidental assumptions made about families must be reviewed.

³⁶⁰1993: 129-37.

³⁶¹1995: 182-4.

³⁶²See the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, Articles 10 and 23.

³⁶³1974: 18-41.

³⁶⁴Safilios-Rothschild 1980: 311.

³⁶⁵Thomas 1988: 401.

³⁶⁶Cebotarev 1988: 193-4.

³⁶⁷Safilios-Rothschild 1980: 313.

³⁶⁸Safilios-Rothschild 1980: 317; 1984: 51.

³⁶⁹Smith 1956, quoted in Preston-Whyte 1978: 55.

³⁷⁰Preston-Whyte 1978: 59.

[c] A relationship which women have in both family and community contexts and which also gains only a very superficial treatment in development literature, is with children and young people. This relationship deserves far greater attention as women interact with, and in real terms, are responsible for children and young people more so than men. The probable reasons for the limited space given to this concern is because gender material overwhelming deals with women and there is a general paucity of development literature on the role of children and young people in development³⁷¹. Nevertheless, what is clear in the literature is the paradox which children and young people face: the adult imposed incompetence and inferiority³⁷² on the one hand, and the exploitation of children and young people for purposes other than their own development, on the other³⁷³. While Holt³⁷⁴ may take an extreme view in terms of children's rights the need to ascribe to children their true worth³⁷⁵ is essential to a people-centred development³⁷⁶. While the challenge, opportunity and task is enormous, the commitment by adults, particularly national leaders, is even more so³⁷⁷.

3.4. INCLUSIVITY OF ALL PEOPLE

[a] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation affirms the people-centred approach to development. Development must be available to *all people* regardless of who they are and

³⁷¹Of course, literature, with an emphasis on children and young people, emerging from the disciplines of education and psychology abounds. Compare this with a library search conducted for this thesis in June 1995. Using the key words of 'youth' and 'development', the search produced the titles of ten books and five articles.

³⁷²Nandy 1987: 57; Hughes 1988: 78-9.

³⁷³Nwosu & Igben 1986: 208-9; Badu & Parker 1994: 28; Stein 1995: 60-6.

³⁷⁴1974: 16.

³⁷⁵Timberlake and Thomas 1990: 226; Guijt, Fuglesang & Kisadha 1994: 4.

³⁷⁶Save the Children 1995: 10.

³⁷⁷World Summit for Children 1990: 174-6.

how other people may categorise them because development is the development of people³⁷⁸. Nevertheless, because of the failures of development in the past and despite the call for a people-centred approach, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation deems it an absolute necessity that development and its evaluation should focus upon the poor and women in their relationships. In focusing on the poor and women in relationship, it must not be misconstrued that an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is adopting a sectoral approach or position. The very suggestion of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation suggests to the contrary. In other words, where possible *all people* in essence, if not in practice, should be part of a people-centred development and evaluation. As the above shows, the poor and women have largely been on the shortest end of the development stick and therefore they are in need and deserve a special focus. Their inclusion in projects or programmes does not mean the exclusion of any other people, such as those living within the urban fringe. Sunter³⁷⁹, for instance, would like economic models to more adequately reflect the day to day situations faced by entrepreneurs. Goudzwaard and De Lange³⁸⁰ also make a good case for future generations of people as well.

[b] With respect to the inclusion of all people, Batchelor³⁸¹ makes the philanthropic suggestion that ‘while focusing on those most in need it is important not to exclude others, especially if they are an important link in the amelioration of the lot of the poor’. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation on the other hand, suggests that all people must be included in development intentions regardless of how they may facilitate the improvement of the lot of the poor. What must be borne in mind is that regardless of a special focus on individuals or any other development intention, because of their unique circumstances, people will always follow their own vested interests³⁸². What this highlights is the need for an Actor-oriented Approach to be intrinsic to development and

³⁷⁸See Section 3.2.[a].

³⁷⁹1994: 34.

³⁸⁰1995: 76-7.

³⁸¹1981: 3.

³⁸²Keeton 1984: 283.

its evaluation.

3.5. THE ACTOR-ORIENTED APPROACH

[a] The Actor-oriented Approach adopted by an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation emerged through social anthropological methodology which gained currency in the early 1960s. In order to more fully understand the processes which people living together in a cultural setting engage in, Max Gluckman³⁸³ proposed the idea of an extended-case method. By this he meant that a series of connected cases of the same social setting would be collected and analysed. This analysis ought then lead to the understanding of those processes.

[b] It was Van Velsen³⁸⁴ who introduced the notion of people in such settings as being actors in particular situations and thereby re-dubbed the method 'situational analysis'. For Van Velsen, records of actual behaviour within (a) particular situation(s) were to be included into the analysis as a constituent part and not as mere illustrations. The importance of this was to show the contradictory position that people frequently find themselves to be in, namely their actual behaviour being different to the professed norms that they accept as conditioning life. Further, it is this paradox which informs the choices people make³⁸⁵. Thus Van Velsen³⁸⁶ concluded that the norms of society are not consistent and do not form a coherent whole. This would therefore be a necessary assumption for situational analysis, which in turn would focus on norms in conflict with human behaviour.

[c] It was in attempting to take situational analysis beyond the mere demonstration of how

³⁸³1961: 13.

³⁸⁴1964: xxv-xxvi; 1967: 129.

³⁸⁵Van Velsen 1967: 143.

³⁸⁶1967: 146.

people handle their structural conditioning through the exercising of choice within particular situations that Norman Long³⁸⁷ began a whole transformation of the extended - case method - *cum* - situational analysis - *cum* - actor-oriented approach beginning in the late 1960s. Initially, Long

‘used case material to generate hypotheses about the relations between various factors and how these influence the patterns of behaviour and decisions made by actors in situations of similar type. Some of these hypotheses (were) then tested out over a wider body of data and given some quantitative form. This enable(d him) to generalize (his) conclusions so as to arrive at statements about the kinds of components, or sets of relationships, involved in certain types of social situations and how these are interrelated. Moreover, since the analysis concentrate(d) primarily on situations which depict most clearly the operation and influence of new factors, this procedure allow(ed him) to make generalizations about the sociological implications of socio-economic change³⁸⁸’.

This transformation renders the Actor-oriented Approach and its outcome as a useful and necessary tool and focus, respectively, for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

[d] By the late 1970s Long³⁸⁹ contended that the main achievement of actor-oriented research was that it was able to discern a variety of responses by different social entities to broadly the same external circumstances. It was also able to demonstrate how local economies are articulated within wider systems through different broker activities. Thereby the Actor-oriented Approach could begin to appreciate the structural and ideological constraints facing the poor. Also the particular way in which individuals and groups deal with their changing environment could be begun to be understood. Thus the Approach emphasised the need for (economic) development and change to be viewed from

³⁸⁷As a tribute to the contribution Norman Long has made, his material is judiciously quoted as fully as possible.

³⁸⁸Long 1968: 10-11.

³⁸⁹1977: 187-9.

the actors' or recipients' perspectives, that is, from 'below' rather than 'above'. Long obviated the criticism of reductionism being levelled at the approach by:

- *stressing* the need for analyses to consider social groups within regional contexts and beyond, and not merely local ones³⁹⁰, and,
- combining these analyses with systematic historical and structural accounts of those contexts, including the changes brought to organisational and exchange relations under new circumstances.

[e] In the late 1980s and up to the present Long and Van der Ploeg amongst others, using an Actor-oriented Approach have viewed interventions³⁹¹ as 'multiple realities.' 'Multiple realities' are grounded in the everyday life experiences and understandings of men and women, be they poor peasants, entrepreneurs, government bureaucrats.... *They are thereby constituted with the different perceptions, interests and ongoing social and political struggles of those actors involved and the 'internal' and 'external' factors which impinge upon them*³⁹². Thus, interventions must be 'de-constructed' in order that their real intentions and potential for success may be recognised by *all people* involved³⁹³. By virtue of the Approach being actor-oriented and thereby ranging from transactional and decision-making models to symbolic interactionist and phenomenological analyses³⁹⁴ it is equipped for such a task.

[f] Another new venture within the Approach has been to view commodities in their different social contexts as providing 'methodological entry points' to examine complex and diverse human relationships. This has led to the conclusion that an Actor-oriented

³⁹⁰It is interesting to note that such 'situational analyses' of women and children precede 'new' UNICEF programmes (Jespersen 1994: 165).

³⁹¹This mostly refers to government initiated schemes though is inclusive of interventions which are spontaneously initiated by people themselves.

³⁹²Long & Van der Ploeg 1989: 226; Long 1992a: 4-5.

³⁹³Long & Van der Ploeg 1989: 227.

³⁹⁴Long 1990: 6-7; 1992b: 21.

Analysis does not necessarily have to begin with **people per se** but rather with a consideration of **social goods**³⁹⁵. While this may be an interesting perspective, it nevertheless **detracts** from what has been achieved by the Approach so far, namely that *individuals and social groups must be seen as unique actors exercising choices in differing situations in response to a multiplicity of factors*. This achievement, together with its emphasis on the poor and particularly resource-poor primary producers³⁹⁶ and its adoption in gender studies³⁹⁷ enables a necessary focus to be brought to the **people-centred** approach to development.

[g] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, however, deems it necessary to go beyond this point of the achievements of an Actor-oriented Approach to include other requisites and consequences of people being human, namely culture, knowledge, risks, limitations and participation. While culture and cultural patterns have been part of the Actor-oriented considerations³⁹⁸, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation contends that since it is such a significant aspect of human life it deserves its own attention in this thesis. Further, while participation has had a sufficiently protracted audience in development thought an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation suggests that part of the problem of the inability to unleash its potential is a result of insufficient attention having been given in the literature to people and their humanity as they seek for a better future. Thus in essence an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation advocates that development and its evaluation should focus upon people as actors in the context of their cultural and knowledge environments and thereby to recognise the constraints they face. This is necessary to understand how people engage with the intended benefits of any development intervention be those imposed or self-directed. Thereby a better understanding of the essential development-related processes which take place can be achieved.

³⁹⁵Long 1992: 147-8.

³⁹⁶or 'peasants' (Long 1977: 188) to use a questionable term.

³⁹⁷Villarreal 1992: 248; Douma, Van den Hombergh & Wieberdink 1994: 180.

³⁹⁸Gluckman 1961: 10.

3.6. REQUISITES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PEOPLE BEING HUMAN

People are separated from the rest of the created order by virtue of their humanity. That humanity stems from the fact that people formulate and develop culture by being able to process knowledge. Thus in order to be human beings people need to have culture and knowledge. That knowledge helps them engage with their wider environment. However, because human beings are finite and mortal beings, their humanity has limitations and therefore people are susceptible to risk, vulnerability and weaknesses. As these requisites and consequences of their humanity are so intrinsic to people being human they have significant consequences for the personal and wider development of people. It is for that reason that they are examined below.

3.6.1. CULTURE AND KNOWLEDGE: REQUISITES OF PEOPLE BEING HUMAN

While the boundary between culture and knowledge cannot easily be distinguished in reality, for analytical reasons they are treated separately here.

3.6.1.1. Culture

[a] Culture is understood by an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation as the manner in which people live in, intellectualise and attempt to control their environment, including people within that environment and the economic, historical, natural, political, social, and other features thereof. It is both a product of and produces human behaviour within the three levels at which people operate: the *formal*, *informal* and *technical*. Within that symbiotic process both uniformities and variations in human behaviour occur. The uniformities take the form of norms, mores and traditions, while the variations reflect the choices people make in the context of particular constraints and/or opportunities that exist. Further, the interrelationship and dynamics of those similarities and differences are intrinsic to culture as well. Within that interrelationship the similarities function to give

people a common identity in pursuit of a common destiny. Depending on the intensity of the differences, those differences result in either one of two consequences or a blending of the two. With a low intensity the differences merely function to enable individual people to determine and/or to perpetuate their own personal identity. With a stronger intensity new common identities and destinies are formed. Clearly, **people** are at the heart of culture³⁹⁹.

[b] While anthropologists usually accept a broad definition of culture but generally disagree in respect of its detail⁴⁰⁰, the definition postulated here has been influenced by many close allies. These include Schapera, Hall, Verhelst and Carrithers⁴⁰¹ amongst others⁴⁰². One of the features of culture which Hall and Carmen⁴⁰³ accentuate is its relationship with communication. As part of human behaviour, communication which includes verbal and non-verbal messages and language, is both a product and a means of transmitting culture. The subtle way in which culture engages with communication is taken forward by Schapera, Hall, Ortiz, Carrithers, Fairbairn-Dunlop and Hettne⁴⁰⁴ who together, though in short, suggest that: culture does not easily manifest itself and in particular to its own participants; that conflict between cultures provides the rare

³⁹⁹This point stands in opposition to neo-evolutionary theory which emphasised 'culture' and 'society' to the exclusion of people as the locus of progress and change (Hoogvelt 1978: 12).

⁴⁰⁰Hall 1959: 31.

⁴⁰¹Schapera 1938: 29; Hall 1959: 45, 169-70; Verhelst 1990: 17; Carrithers 1992: 7.

⁴⁰²Obviously, these and others have influenced an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's perception of culture. This may be seen in their discussion in part or as a whole of the different features of culture focused on above, either as features of culture in general or in particular cultural settings. For example, culture being the ways in which people engage with their environment is dealt with by Weber 1930, 1976, Schapera (1938: 29), Hall (1959: 31, 169-70), Ortner (1974: 69-71), Nerfin (1988: 2), Shepherd (1988: 59-60), Verhelst (1990: 17), Hettne (1995: 201), Karp (1995: 218-21). Culture as a product of and producer of human behaviour has received attention from Verhelst (1990: 24) and Carrithers (1992: 7). The idea of the three levels at which people operate belongs to Hall (1959: 37, 66-91, 169). The uniformities of culture are discussed by Cowen (1994: 48-55) and Karp (1995: 212-5); the variations by Ortiz (1976: 153), Ghirotti (1992: 43), Cowen (1994: 55-8) and Karp (1995: 215-8) - ethnicity and its consequences being a manifestation of those variations by Osaghae (1994: 137-49) and Sithole (1994: 152-63); and, the interrelationship of the two by Carrithers (1992: 7), Deng (1994: 465) and Hettne (1995: 201-4).

⁴⁰³Hall 1959: 37-8, 41, 93-8, 169; Carmen 1994: 63.

⁴⁰⁴Schapera 1938: 29; Hall 1959: 39; Ortiz 1976: 153; Carrithers 1992: 9-10; Fairbairn-Dunlop 1993: 212; Hettne 1995: 201-2.

opportunity for cultural manifestation; that special attention has to be given to the whole range of individual ramifications of culture; and, that culture cannot be approached and/or appreciated from an ethnocentric point of view.

[c] The significance of the 'culture - communication' relationship for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, together with its own understanding of culture, is that they provide a mechanism to address various myths which appertain in respect of particular cultures. At the centre of myths relating to culture is a focus upon the artefacts and institutions of cultures, instead of the people who give rise to particular cultures or the particular culture in question. For example, from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation point of view, Leistner errs with his uncritical acceptance of Lewis'⁴⁰⁵ observation when he asserts 'that African cultures were more readily overwhelmed by European influences than those of Asia'⁴⁰⁶. What Lewis and Leistner may be attempting to say and would be far more acceptable from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's stance on these matters is that Africa has assimilated (through the legacy of colonialism) a wider range of institutions from Europe than from Asia. Further, it may be contended that the so-called debt-crisis experienced in African countries results from the non-acceptance by African economies of the premises and assumptions made in respect of international borrowing. Thus, from a cultural point of view the debt-crisis would manifest a rejection of the European way of managing the African environment. In this case, therefore, it cannot be suggested that European culture has influenced African culture. Further still, compare Lewis' and Leistner's views with Serpa's⁴⁰⁷ on 'the African acceptance of Islam (which) was facilitated by that religion's ability to adapt to local conditions'. The 'image of appeal', the 'similarities between the African and Arab mentalities' and the fact that 'Islam did not oblige its converts to change their way of life, or even their religious concepts'⁴⁰⁸, all point to the extent to which Islam as a culture

⁴⁰⁵1969: 75.

⁴⁰⁶Leistner 1994: 224.

⁴⁰⁷1992: 239.

⁴⁰⁸Serpa 1992: 237-9.

has been able to learn *the* African 'language', that is, that which is important in Africa⁴⁰⁹. Thus, to quote another errant case, if Gule⁴¹⁰ really wants Swaziland to do something about its high population growth and fertility rates, then he has to help his country to find those particular African idioms which will allow it to do so. The problem with the 'culture - communication' relationship is that, as has been suggested above, it does not easily reveal what those points of entry are.

[d] An attitude current in the development literature which is less of a problem, but still of concern to an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, is one which calls for a particular cultural transformation usually associated with a markedly negative experience in a certain environment. Examples include: Stavenhagen's call for 'ethno-development'⁴¹¹; Mhlaba's call for 'the resistance or revolutionary cultures' which were intrinsic to the liberation struggle to give way to 'a development-oriented culture'⁴¹² to enable socio-economic development in Zimbabwe; and, FitzGerald's call for 'a culture of opposition' and 'resistance' to give way to 'a culture of responsible governance' and 'development'⁴¹³ in South Africa. While these may be done with the best of intentions, they ignore the 'culture - communication' equation, which strongly warns against attempts at external cultural manipulations. Culture, despite being evolutionary, adapts spontaneously when its secluded configurations are sensitised.

[e] To state them more positively, what the above intentions (from Lewis to FitzGerald) do from a cultural perspective is to enunciate the dilemmas of 'cultural indeterminacy' and

⁴⁰⁹There is a certain resonance here with Chabal's (1995: 2) 'hope of making sense of what is happening in post-colonial Africa'. This requires a study of the particular, 'that is what is "African" in African politics' and a grounding of 'political analysis of contemporary events in the deep history of Africa - that is, the history which re-connects the present with the pre-colonial and colonial past'. See also Chachage 1994: 51-4.

⁴¹⁰1993: 240.

⁴¹¹Stavenhagen 1986: 92.

⁴¹²Mhlaba 1991: 210.

⁴¹³FitzGerald 1992: 62.

‘cultural relativity’⁴¹⁴. However, from a development point of view, what they do is to express a confidence in seeking cultural solutions to the development problem. The relevance of culture for development has been stressed for some time. For Goulet⁴¹⁵ two factors are at play: the one is that people in developing countries still find their cultural and cultural institutions as meaningful expressions of and for life; the second is that conventional development wisdom is being challenged. This provides the opportunity for cultural solutions for development to be considered. For Nerfin and Lèye⁴¹⁶ culture which ought to be a permanent aspect of international relations, but is so lacking, should receive a greater focus rather the temporary dimensions of trade, debt and aid which currently largely constitute the South-North agenda. Marsden and Oakley⁴¹⁷ draw attention to the fact that development projects have specific cultural contexts which must be considered, while Deng⁴¹⁸ promotes cultural analysis in cases of conflict which certainly occur in development contexts. Ki-Zerbo, Verhelst, PRATEC and Rahman⁴¹⁹, all quote cases of the promotion of the cognisance of culture in development considerations. However, Verhelst’s caveat against simplicity in this area, where he suggests that ‘such an approach is well-meaning but ambiguous for it is an invitation to manipulation’⁴²⁰, must be heeded.

[f] The search for cultural solutions to the development problem must be seen in the context of numerous efforts which have disregarded cultural and social factors at both the theoretical and praxis levels⁴²¹. In his comparative analysis of sixty-eight World Bank

⁴¹⁴Hall 1959: 107, 111-3.

⁴¹⁵1980: 482, 484.

⁴¹⁶Nerfin 1988: 2; Lèye 1993: 4.

⁴¹⁷1990b: 8.

⁴¹⁸1994: 465.

⁴¹⁹Ki-Zerbo 1989: 1; Verhelst 1990: 19; Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas (PRATEC) 1991: 95; Rahman 1993: 147.

⁴²⁰Verhelst 1990: 85.

⁴²¹Cochrane 1979a: 131; Conlin 1986: 215.

rural development projects, Kottak⁴²² found that the majority suffered from ‘the fallacy of over-innovation’ in stressing technical and financial issues at the expense of socio-cultural ones. Yet in comparison, the culturally compatible projects scored a higher economic rate of return than the less culturally compatible projects (19% and 9%, respectively). At a more macro level of analysis, Rogers, Colletta & Mbindyo⁴²³ hold that development efforts which concentrate on the manipulation of economic variables such as the investment rate (and do not effectively build upon existing cultural patterns) do not always meet their stated objectives because they deprive the poor of culturally embedded forms of ‘risk insurance’ and themselves of the successful adoption of introduced change.

[g] At the root of development efforts which are insensitive to or disregard cultural dimensions are certain key assumptions:

- ‘1. A *Eurocentric view* of the colonial heritage, which assumes that homogenous nation-states and appropriate modern public administrations were created during the colonial period. All that is needed is to manage them well.
2. A *technological approach* to institutional development and management, which assumes that Western methods and techniques of management are the only road to modernization.
3. A *mechanistic and linear conception of history* and ‘development’, which assumes that every society must go through the same stages before it can achieve development.
4. An *ethnocentric approach* to culture, which assumes that any society has the same basic values and goals that characterize the ‘developed’ countries, that is, spirit of enterprise, profit motive, material security, and self-interest. Countries not exhibiting such values and goals are viewed as

⁴²²1990: 723.

⁴²³1980: 251.

primitive and underdeveloped⁴²⁴.

These are compounded by the relative gap that exists 'between those who study culture and those who make and manage development policy⁴²⁵'. Klitgaard⁴²⁶ cites the 'cultural differences' between anthropologists and economists; the fear of over-simplification and discrimination when attempting to take culture into account; the scientific difficulty of determining an appropriate, culturally based policy; and, a misguided notion of policy itself as causes of this professional chasm. These and the assumptions highlighted above are not insurmountable given a whole plethora of suggestions as to how culture may be taken into account.

[h] Depending on where the starting point is fixed basically determines the approach in the culture - development debate. Goulet⁴²⁷ terms his approach non-instrumental, which holds that culture contains a latent dynamism which can serve as a basis to identify development goals from within. Apthorpe's⁴²⁸ semiotic approach is similar, though dependent on anthropologists or trained personnel, like Mouton's⁴²⁹ endogenous researchers, to read the signs within cultural institutions, discourse and communication. Carrither's⁴³⁰ mutualist view requires a process of 'engaged learning' to enable the intricacies, subtleties, peculiarities and sometimes uncertainties of the cultural setting in question to be understood. Being mutualist it also requires that the culture 'under examination' learns about the culture from which the 'engaged learner' comes.

⁴²⁴Dia 1994: 166-7. See Goulet 1980: 483; Conlin 1986: 215; and Kottak 1990: 726 for additional ethnocentric and Eurocentric examples.

⁴²⁵Klitgaard 1994: 87.

⁴²⁶1994: 87.

⁴²⁷1980: 484-5.

⁴²⁸1985: 88, 91-2.

⁴²⁹1989: 400.

⁴³⁰1992: 11, 148.

[i] The opposite to these views, while upholding culture, views it from without. Cochrane⁴³¹ begins by advocating a 'national inventory of cultural resources', including particulars of social groups, their social organisation, belief systems, wealth forms, patterns of mobility and access to basic needs. Such information is collected 'professionally' where project managers are not equipped to do so. Projects are then designed, but consideration is also given to the context, incremental change, participation, spread effects, motivation, timing, benefit incidence, communication and learning, extension and use of local management⁴³². During implementation, additional cultural concerns include behaviour, proximity between project events and implementors, goal achievement and articulation of cultural aspects of the project⁴³³. Rogers, Colletta & Mbindyo⁴³⁴ also focus on cultural forms, including leadership roles, communication systems, organisational forms, knowledge systems, and etiology. The difference is that such cultural forms may be positive, neutral, or negative, *vis-à-vis* development programmes. Therefore there needs to be a process of selection. Juxtaposed to this position is Kottak's⁴³⁵, who despite his pertinent contribution to the culture debate, disappointingly relegates to planners the task of drawing on cross-cultural knowledge, paying attention to cultural diversity and compatibility, eliciting locally perceived needs, harnessing existing institutions and involving potential beneficiaries. He, however, attempts to rescue himself by suggesting that development should be spontaneous, relying on people-generated ideas in a learning process.

[j] Klitgaard⁴³⁶ takes up his position somewhat in between the two above-mentioned stances. He has encouraged the taking of culture into account by adapting policies to culture and environments and by adapting cultures to fit policies and environments. This

⁴³¹1979a: 21.

⁴³²Cochrane 1979a: 46.

⁴³³Cochrane 1979a: 71; 1979b: 74.

⁴³⁴1980: 253-61.

⁴³⁵1990: 730.

⁴³⁶1994: 78-100.

requires understanding 'cultural dimensions' and 'cultural diversity', highlighting misunderstandings and the consequences of misdiagnosing cultures and avoiding over-simplification or presumption in respect of cultural nuances. It also involves giving a critique of one's own culture and ideas about development and preferences, capabilities, values, assumptions, ends and means. Methods to accomplish this include listening to people and determining cultural interlocutors which may involve using specialists in 'culture' such as anthropologists.

[k] Being convinced that the question of culture as a key consideration in terms of development is not a fresh realisation but an afterthought, Van Nieuwenhuijze⁴³⁷ calls for a genuine reorientation in the matter. This does not begin by considering appropriate cultural contact points which facilitate development but rather by beginning to determine perceptions of what development is in different cultural settings and from there to discover development goals and strategies. This is an interesting perception which parallels Shepherd's⁴³⁸ popular perceptions or life stories of the causes of famine. It is possibly also the direction that many who are interested in the question of gender, culture and development would like the debate to go⁴³⁹.

3.6.1.2. Knowledge

[a] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation understands culture to be the way in which people live in, intellectualise and attempt to control their environment. One of the processes of that human activity is **knowledge**. People in their interaction with one another and the reality around them interpret their experience(s). Such interaction and interpretation are conditioned by the cultural milieu⁴⁴⁰ in which people are located⁴⁴¹.

⁴³⁷1986: 107.

⁴³⁸1988: 59-60.

⁴³⁹Ortner 1974: 68-86; Leach 1992: 76; Fairbairn-Dunlop 1993: 212; Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 68f; Harcourt 1994b: 18-20; Martín 1994: 158-71; Wacker 1994: 128f.

⁴⁴⁰including the stated and unstated assumptions of that cultural setting (Lazreg 1988: 82).

Successive interpretations of their experience(s) culminate in a knowledge about themselves as people and about their environment. The manner in which people use and disseminate that knowledge is also culture-bound. Thus knowledge is inextricably linked to culture⁴⁴².

[b] Given the dynamics of culture and knowledge and the relationship between them, an understanding of social interfaces is equally important for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Long and Villarreal,

‘define a social interface as a critical point of intersection between different social systems, fields or levels of social order where structural discontinuities, based upon differences of normative value and social interest, are most likely to be found⁴⁴³’.

In other words, social interfaces are important because they explain the conflict that exists in development intentions when knowledge from a particular perspective is applied to another cultural setting without due consideration being given to the question of cultural fit⁴⁴⁴. When social interfaces are understood to be multifaceted⁴⁴⁵, a greater appreciation results as to why imposed ‘development’ at best fails, or at worst oppresses the intended beneficiaries. To state this more positively, social interfaces draw attention to the complexities of knowledge and the way people value and use their knowledge.

[c] While social interfaces are characterised as points of contact between discontinuities, they also give people opportunities for the mutual recognition of similarities. That is

⁴⁴¹Matose & Mukamuri 1994: 71.

⁴⁴²Salas 1994: 57; Korten 1981b: 612-4.

⁴⁴³Long and Villarreal 1994: 43.

⁴⁴⁴Honadle & Van Sant (1985: 77) describe the social interface around the word ‘co-operative’. Generally, co-operatives are assumed to be controlled by villagers. However, in Tanzania, the Swahili word, ‘*serikali*’ is used for ‘co-operative’. *Serikali* is also used for ‘government’ implying that co-operatives in Tanzania are seen to be an arm of the central government and not controlled by local people.

⁴⁴⁵Long and Villarreal 1994: 44.

provided differences of context are acknowledged⁴⁴⁶ and obstructive constructs overcome⁴⁴⁷. When those are achieved there is then the further opportunity for mutual exploration of possibilities that may exist⁴⁴⁸. Two positive consequences of people engaging with each other at social interfaces, in respect of knowledge, have emerged in the literature on development. The **first** is that development and its evaluation is both an iterative and a learning process⁴⁴⁹. The **second** is the value of indigenous knowledge⁴⁵⁰. Both these steps forward in the development debate are most fully appreciated from an Actor-oriented Approach⁴⁵¹. What the iterative/learning approach to development reinforces is that, in essence, the pursuit of human development is in tandem with the pursuit of knowledge and the two need to be in harmony for people to benefit from either or both. Further, it acknowledges that the sources of knowledge for development are multiple and that a range of perceptions and interpretations centre on particular circumstances and hence a variety of interests and options prevail⁴⁵². Thus, development must be continuously negotiated⁴⁵³. The value that has embellished indigenous technical knowledge emphasises that one form or style of knowledge does not take precedence over

⁴⁴⁶Stevens & Date-Bah 1984: 23; Goetz 1988: 483; Abramovitz 1994: 209.

⁴⁴⁷Code 1988: 187; Marglin & Mishra 1992: 23.

⁴⁴⁸This is the short answer to Salas' (1994: 57) question: 'can Western science understand Andean knowledge.... without distorting it?'

⁴⁴⁹Uphoff, Cohen & Goldsmith 1979: 28-30; Korten 1980: 497; Kalyalya, Mhlanga, Seidman & Semboja 1988: 23; Edwards 1989: 119-20; Farrington & Martin 1990: 31; Marsden & Oakley 1990b: 7; Ramphela 1990: 2; Garber & Jenden 1993: 53; Iyun & Oke 1993: 73; Griffin & McKinley 1994: 23-7; Stolzenbach 1994: 159.

⁴⁵⁰Johannes 1978: 349; Barker 1979: 37; Belshaw 1979: 24; Richards 1979: 30; Swift 1979: 41, 43; Richards 1985: 144-9; Finsterbusch & Van Wicklin 1987: 9; Bentley 1989: 25; Rau 1991: 147-95; Eyzaguirre 1992: 11; Pretty, Guijt, Scoones & Thompson 1992: 99; Rahman 1993: 45-6; Elliott 1994: 70; Freudenberg 1994: 124; Scoones & Thompson 1994b: 29; Waites 1994: 4-5; Alcorn 1995: 1; Pretty 1995: 180. Howes (1979: 12) and Howes and Chambers (1979: 6) consider indigenous knowledge of a lesser value than what they attribute to science. Pottier (1989: 461) and Toulmin, Scoones and Bishop (1992: 245-53) discuss some constraints placed on indigenous knowledge in particular contexts.

⁴⁵¹Long & Villarreal 1994: 48.

⁴⁵²Griffith 1993: 138-9.

⁴⁵³Scoones 1995b: 7.

another⁴⁵⁴. This is so even in cases where it appears that people, under certain conditions, may not possess appropriate knowledge. With the appropriate methodology such knowledge may be unleashed⁴⁵⁵. All knowledge systems are equally sophisticated and despite the advances in one or the other, there is a constant need for interfacing of knowledge systems to ensure the advantage for people in the particular localities in which they exist. Together, development as an iterative/learning process and the value of indigenous knowledge, serve to remind people that knowledge is power⁴⁵⁶. However, knowledge is only true power when it empowers all, particularly the poorest and weakest, to control their own destinies. This requires those who use and disseminate knowledge to obviate against particular knowledge systems gaining control over or negatively impacting upon others⁴⁵⁷. Achieving this mind-set permits the transition from knowledge to development. In essence development includes knowledge and power⁴⁵⁸: it depends on an accumulation of processed data which is then circumspectly applied in a particular context by those in that context. When the application of that knowledge improves life for those people in their context then empowerment has taken place.

3.6.2. LIMITATIONS, RISK, UNCERTAINTY AND VULNERABILITY: CONSEQUENCES OF PEOPLE BEING HUMAN

[a] As human beings people are limited entities. People cannot exist on their own and remain human. Even recluses and hermits have some contact with other people. People are dependent upon others for their livelihood in all its dimensions - physiological,

⁴⁵⁴Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa (1994: 29-34) from a feminist point of view attribute the present crisis in development to the proliferation of Enlightenment-based ideas of scientific and technological progress.

⁴⁵⁵Salazar 1991: 56.

⁴⁵⁶D'Souza 1994: 91

⁴⁵⁷Salas 1994: 57; Swantz 1994: 89.

⁴⁵⁸Harcourt 1994b: 16-8; Escobar 1995: 223.

psychological and social amongst others⁴⁵⁹. Despite this interdependence people are vulnerable to risks and uncertainties due to their limitations. Limitations, vulnerability, uncertainty and risk are all interlinked. This may be seen in Chambers⁴⁶⁰ analysis of the constraints that face the poor and which trap them into the clusters of deprivation as he calls them - poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. This may also be seen in Maskrey's⁴⁶¹ definition of risk, which is vulnerability plus hazard.

[b] To some extent this phenomenon of limitations and the consequences for human existence has been recognised in the development literature⁴⁶² as a negative impact and obstacle to change. The problem is that this analysis has mostly been couched in esoteric language such as economic formulae, or focused upon at a macro-level or directed to or by 'decision-makers'⁴⁶³. Although there is a trend which is beginning to look at the particular circumstances people face, the main stream of thought remains at a level above people themselves. While a macro, 'objective' level of analysis is necessary for national governments in respect of their planning for disaster mitigation and relief, it does not help people on a day-to-day basis who are experiencing the negative consequences of their humanity. Analysis remains at the level above people, however, because assumptions are made by experts about the causes of these negative consequences of human life and the expectations of those who are suffering from them instead of gaining a perspective from the people themselves.

⁴⁵⁹Maslow 1954: 80-92.

⁴⁶⁰1983: 103, 109-14.

⁴⁶¹1989: 1.

⁴⁶²For Honadle & Klaus (1979b: 206) the specification of uncertainties is one of three essential aspects in implementation analysis. The other two are behavioural focus and a collaborative approach to project development. For Analric (1994: 227) the concept of sustainability emphasises the limitations imposed by the biosphere on people. Given the current emphasis on sustainable development attention needs to be drawn to the importance of the consequences of people being human.

⁴⁶³Ruddle & Rondinelli 1983: 70; Tomlinson 1986: 134; Daly 1987: 323; Curtis, Hubbard & Shepherd 1988: 23; Craven 1992; Hirschleifer & Riley 1992: 13-163; Curry & Weiss 1993: 187-98.

[c] An example of the macro - objective level analysis is given by Maskrey⁴⁶⁴ who contends that there are two main approaches to examining vulnerability to disaster - the 'dominant' approach and the 'political economy' approach. For Maskrey the 'dominant' approach holds that disasters are a characteristic of natural hazards, while the 'political economy' approach suggests that disasters are characteristic of socio-economic and political structures and processes. Starr and Wildavsky⁴⁶⁵ present similar views of vulnerability in respect of development. What none of these views do is to bring their analysis down to the situations which people face. Unlike them, Mearns *et al*⁴⁶⁶ have shown that the transformation of the Mongolian command economy to a market economy has meant that the production risks previously borne by co-operatives, and hence the state, have been shifted to the individual herding households. Similarly Scoones and Perrier⁴⁶⁷ argue cogently that in the case of dryland ecosystems⁴⁶⁸, pastoralists are often blamed for creating most of the risks they must avoid whereas in reality environmental factors such as large shifts in rainfall together with the behaviour of pastoralist are the cause of those risks. The extent to which Scoones and Perrier describe the management of those complex ecosystems by pastoralists using adaptive approaches to vulnerability shows that their analysis significantly takes the people involved in account. From an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation point of view it is this latter type of analysis that needs to be carried out in order to understand the local situation people face in terms of their wider environment and *vice versa*, especially in the context of limitations, vulnerability and risk. Gupta's⁴⁶⁹ 'four S model' which links Space, Season, Sector and Social stratification could therefore be regarded as a useful analytical tool.

⁴⁶⁴1989: 2-3.

⁴⁶⁵Starr 1987: 29; Wildavsky 1987: 4.

⁴⁶⁶Mearns, Shombodon, Narangerel, Turul, Enkhangalan, Myagmarzhav, Bayanjargal and Berhsuren 1992: 29-30.

⁴⁶⁷Scoones 1995b: ix, 1995c: 5-8; Perrier 1995: 53-7.

⁴⁶⁸These ecosystems are characterised by high levels of temporal and spatial variability in biomass production.

⁴⁶⁹1995: 408.

[d] The generalised assumptions that are made in the literature in respect of people who bear the negative human consequences of limitation, risk, uncertainty and vulnerability are epitomised by those that have found a home with some rural development practitioners. For example, Batchelor⁴⁷⁰ contends that field staff assume that small farmers want to maximise their production but the truth is that their priority is to avoid risk in order to survive.

[e] In attempting to understand vulnerability, uncertainty and risks it is necessary to do so at the local level⁴⁷¹. It is impossible to grasp the real-life problems of people unless the multitude of constraints, imperfections and emotions that shape their actions are fully understood⁴⁷². However, the 1989 IDS Workshop⁴⁷³ on 'Farmers and Agricultural Research' and Morgan and Henrion⁴⁷⁴ warn against the cognitive heuristic procedures all people use in judgement of such phenomena. At best they are only approximates and thus can lead to biased outcomes, or even outright errors. While they are meaningful for the livelihood of a family or community they can be limited where socio-economic pressures are rapidly emerging. They would certainly be irrelevant in cases of environmental catastrophe or war. In such cases, new technologies may be needed but technologies developed with the aid of conventional science may also pose a threat. Provided the people involved are central to the analysis, the broad, yet adequate, general rules given by Reichardt and Gollob⁴⁷⁵ are a useful guideline in respect of the uncertainties people face:

⇒ focus on the size of effects rather than their direction or the significance of their existence;

⇒ estimate the size of the effects within a range of estimates;

⁴⁷⁰1981: 6.

⁴⁷¹Ortiz 1976: 152.

⁴⁷²Edwards 1989: 121.

⁴⁷³IDS Workshop 1989b: 49.

⁴⁷⁴Morgan and Henrion 1990: 102.

⁴⁷⁵1987: 7-8.

- ⇒ take into account both random and non-random sources of the effects;
- ⇒ report the likelihood that a given range of estimates contain the sizes of the effects.

Drawing on dryland experience in Africa, Sylla suggests the following organisational strategies⁴⁷⁶:

- ▶ use *ad hoc* organisations - membership must be flexible;
- ▶ support bottom-up and top-down approaches;
- ▶ support small organisations;
- ▶ support weaker groups;
- ▶ take into account traditional systems;
- ▶ do not focus on one strategy or group in isolation;
- ▶ planning must be flexible;
- ▶ treat both privatisation and collectivisation with caution;
- ▶ support decentralised authority⁴⁷⁷.

[f] The important contribution that Scoones and Perrier, the 1989 IDS Workshop, Morgan and Hention, Reichardt and Gollob, and Sylla make is to deliberately show that it is possible to focus in analysis on the limitations, risks vulnerabilities and weaknesses people face as they live out their lives. This perspective is just as important as the more macro level analysis, such as provided by Maskrey's 'dominant' and 'political economy' approaches.

3.6.3. PARTICIPATION: REQUISITE AND CONSEQUENCE OF PEOPLE BEING HUMAN

[a] If *culture* is the way in which people attempt to control their environment as this thesis

⁴⁷⁶For other strategies and responses in different settings and sectors, see Gersovitz & Waterbury 1987b: 2; Bassett 1988: 147; Toulmin 1988: 177; Daramola 1989: 227; Rau 1991: 166-9; Pretty, Subramanian, Kempu Chetty, Ananthakrishnan, Jayanthi, Muralikrishnasamy & Renganayaki 1992: 39; Toulmin 1995: 112-3.

⁴⁷⁷Sylla 1995: 149-52.

assumes⁴⁷⁸, then *participation* is the means to that end⁴⁷⁹. People, as actors, need to be involved in the process of attempting to control their environment in order to live. Given the obvious necessity of such behaviour, participation, like and with culture, is also a requisite for people to be human. As such 'participation' should be a redundant term in development literature⁴⁸⁰, much like culture has been in the past, for it should be reasonable to assume that people are engaging in what should be normal behaviour. However, it is not. The currency of the term in the literature manifests the fact that the clear majority of the world's poor have not participated in sharing in the benefits of the majority of development efforts⁴⁸¹. Participation, or rather the difficulty to accomplish it, has attracted literary attention if nothing else since the 1960s -Burke⁴⁸² and Arnstein⁴⁸³ amongst others providing it with the formal opportunity of emergence. Since then there have been a whole host of attempts to describe and analyse it in observational, practical, strategic, theoretical and other terms. Uphoff, Cohen and Goldsmith⁴⁸⁴ offered the idea that participation is a *rubric* rather than a concept. Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin⁴⁸⁵ used a set of 52 development aid cases to show that participation is critical for development project success. The 1990 Arusha Conference on Popular Participation⁴⁸⁶ drew up its Charter promoting participation in the development process. More recently the intrinsic worth of participation to a number of development efforts, including

⁴⁷⁸See Section 3.6.1.1.[a].

⁴⁷⁹While 'Participation' has been described as both a **means** and an **end** (Nelson & Wright 1995b: 1), it is rooted in culture (Fals-Borda 1991: 5), and therefore the desire for it is spontaneous (Rahman 1993: 152).

⁴⁸⁰Hasan 1991: 100.

⁴⁸¹Burkey 1993: 56.

⁴⁸²1968.

⁴⁸³Arnstein 1969.

⁴⁸⁴1979: 301-2.

⁴⁸⁵1987: 18-21; 1989: 573-591.

⁴⁸⁶Arusha Conference on Popular Participation 1990: 13-33; Weekly Review 1990: 32, 34; 1991: 35.

social forestry⁴⁸⁷, has been broadcast. Participation has even been negatively criticised for its faddish appearance and some of its divergent views and ambiguity⁴⁸⁸.

[b] From an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation perspective what the call for participation manifests is the extent of limitations imposed upon people, principally by others and by institutions, preventing them from controlling their environment⁴⁸⁹. Refugees are concrete evidence of this fact. Beyond them, the limitations placed by people on each other may also be seen in the definition of participation given by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) as 'the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups or movements of those hitherto excluded from such control⁴⁹⁰'. This definition remarkably encapsulates within participation the notion that it is both a requisite and a negative consequence of being human and that people who desire it or are denied it bear the brunt of the tension created by this contradiction. At the root of the problem of non- or pseudo-participation are the relationships of domination, manipulation and oppression which lock people into association with each other, whether at the personal or the more complex national level, or somewhere in between. People on the suffering side of such relationships are disempowered from controlling their environment through themselves being controlled, be that in labour contracting, in the market place and/or in residence. The extent of the literature on participation provides scope for the thought that frequently 'participation' is used as a palliative in order to manipulate and gain advantage from the poor and alienated. The stoic philosophy which tends to prevail amongst the poor and alienated encourages such probability to occur. Stiefel and Wolfe⁴⁹¹ describe such anti-participation as experienced in Thailand, where powerful élites attempt to resist the participation of the generally poorer sectors of the population in both national and local

⁴⁸⁷Guggenheim & Spears 1991: 305; Apichatvullop 1993: 38-9.

⁴⁸⁸Economic Commission for Latin America 1973: 77; Long 1975: 71; Cohen & Uphoff 1980: 214.

⁴⁸⁹Lisk 1981: 6-7.

⁴⁹⁰Stiefel & Wolfe 1994: 5.

⁴⁹¹1994: 68.

decision-making processes.

[c] The irony of the matter is that those who are excluded from participating in their own development have their status as such enhanced by some of the very advocates of participation. Edwards⁴⁹² points out the anti-participatory behaviour of researchers who prevent their subjects from really participating in research 'pertinent' to the subjects' environment and that of development agencies who 'conduct' development in a similar fashion despite championing the cause for participation. For instance, there is a need to move away from the typology of researcher is to farmer as formal is to informal research in Farmer Participatory Research⁴⁹³. The dilemma of 're-presenting' people faced by Townsend⁴⁹⁴ may be intrinsic to that transition. Haverkort⁴⁹⁵ also highlights numerous obstacles 'the excluded'⁴⁹⁶ have to overcome in order to participate. These include:

- local government agencies and other bureaucratic forces, who despite their rhetoric of support, have reasons to fear local participation and may contain this threat by diversion or incorporation; and,
- the special obstacles faced by the majority of the rural population, particularly women, who are marginalised on grounds of their race, tribe or religion through the deliberate efforts of dominant groups.

Hence, Rahman's⁴⁹⁷ contention that the process of formally defining 'participation' has been the occupation of educated élites limited by their own perceptions, comes as no surprise. The reason for this anathema is that participation in **real** terms demands shifts in power at a multiplicity of levels⁴⁹⁸. However, this is not a simple matter as the

⁴⁹²1989: 123.

⁴⁹³Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 3.

⁴⁹⁴1995: 95.

⁴⁹⁵1991: 6.

⁴⁹⁶His term for people who are prevented from participating in what should be democratic processes.

⁴⁹⁷1993: 32.

⁴⁹⁸Anon 1992: 14; Nelson & Wright 1995b: 1.

empowerment of the excluded must take place in the complex and shifting political arrangements people and institutions engage in⁴⁹⁹. Nonetheless, certain agencies such as trade unions⁵⁰⁰, have been effective, in restricted parameters, in facilitating the process.

[d] To some extent the limitations that people impose upon each other and the other risks and vulnerabilities people face in seeking to participate are somewhat recognised in the literature. Nturibi's and Gow and Van Sant's⁵⁰¹ principles of participatory development draw attention to the need for the alienated to take control over their own destinies. On the other hand, however, Swanepoel's⁵⁰² four reasons for the necessity of participation, particularly the reasons of being a requisite for equitable development and being part of democratisation, have a greater appreciation for the root causes of the call for this necessity than the above principles. The call to include participation in planning procedures⁵⁰³ also manifests the uncertainty and risks involved in engaging in development projects.

[e] To obviate the blockages to participation there must be a genuine commitment by people to encourage participation in all aspects of life and particularly at all levels of development work⁵⁰⁴. However, central to such a commitment must be the understanding that externally promoted participation tends to create dependence in one form or another⁵⁰⁵ which is a catalyst for non-participation. At the micro or personal level, reversal of the power relations between upper and lowers⁵⁰⁶ may begin by enabling the

⁴⁹⁹Peattie 1990: 19-20.

⁵⁰⁰Maree 1989: 274-7; Stiefel & Wolfe 1994: 86.

⁵⁰¹Nturibi 1982: 108; Gow & Van Sant 1983: 432-40.

⁵⁰²1989: 39-40.

⁵⁰³Dunbar & Morris 1984: 178-9.

⁵⁰⁴Burkey 1993: 56.

⁵⁰⁵Rahman 1993: 152.

⁵⁰⁶Chambers 1995: 33-5.

'lowers' to recognise the difference between what they do and do not control and to use what they do as the opportunity to begin to control something greater within their environment. This thought is in tandem with Maslow's⁵⁰⁷ contention that self-esteem, which is a sense of control, is *en route* to self-actualisation, or to put it another way, participation. At the meso-level variations with a greater sensitivity to people such as Okafor's⁵⁰⁸ five steps to participation, may be relevant. In the context of research the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme in west India provides a good precedent of involving villagers in the collection, analysis and use of data, and as facilitators of participatory appraisals and in the planning process⁵⁰⁹. At the macro or national level the state may ensure that facilities are so provided to enable the poor and alienated to gain access to skills training and basic education and other amenities which stimulate a desire for a better quality of life. While it depends on those using such opportunities to turn them into greater control of their own destinies the track record thus far shows that it is mostly after instances of mass organisation⁵¹⁰ and revolution⁵¹¹ that people begin to reap the fruits. The democratisation of South Africa in the last few years is a good example of this. Efforts at participation at these levels of engagement are necessary to realise the necessary attitude changes⁵¹² toward achieving world peace alongside food security. However,

⁵⁰⁷1954: 90-2.

⁵⁰⁸1982: 136-7. The five steps include:

- building an awareness of the need for development
- analysing of rural problems
- training project leaders
- organising and educating people, and
- building solidarity through support groups.

⁵⁰⁹Shah 1995: 83.

⁵¹⁰Murphy 1990: 51-3.

⁵¹¹Luciak 1988: 35.

⁵¹²The International Commission on Peace and Food deems the following attitude changes as necessary:

* From a competitive, egocentric, state-centred attitude toward national security, that seeks to enhance security for some nations at the expense of the rest of the world, to an attitude of true global co-operation for collective human security.

* From demanding that other nations grant democratic rights to their people to a willingness to extend democratic principles to the governance of international institutions.

* From preoccupation with problems and limitations to an appreciation of the opportunities for more rapid development.

* From wanting to meet people's minimum needs to wanting to help them realize their maximum

such will only become a reality once the minimums experienced by the poor and excluded are dealt with. Then a transition can be made to realising their full potential as fully participating people.

3.7. COMPLEXITY AND DIVERSITY IN PEOPLE BEING HUMAN

[a] The nature of the foregoing sections has been to highlight the extreme complexity and diversity which people experience whether as individuals or as homogenous or heterogenous corporate groups. Human life, regardless of the context in which it is found and the extent of the endowment of resources needed to support it, is not a simple matter. Thus when people examine the complexity and diversity of their being there is no easy path for them to follow. Any development and development evaluation initiative which is simplistic in its assumptions, analyses and implementation in respect of people is therefore reckless and a hazard to them.

[b] Within the development and evaluation debates there have been numerous calls for various strategies which are seen as the key to the development of people:

- > the empowerment of people⁵¹³, particularly the marginalised;
- > the necessity for adaptive approaches and planning;
- > the involvement of people in what are termed stakeholder-based evaluations.

Empowerment as a strategy for development has mostly emerged from the debates on women⁵¹⁴ and participation⁵¹⁵ in development, while the call for adaptive approaches

potentials.

* From the attitude that everything is determined by external constraints - money, other nations, political leaders, the general public - to the attitude that everything is determined by our inner resourcefulness and that there are no limits to what it can accomplish.

* From viewing the developing world as a problem or a burden to viewing it as a vast untapped potential for global progress.

* From feeling that those who cannot find jobs must be paid social welfare to the attitude that everyone must be offered opportunities for gainful employment (Swaminathan 1994: 178)*.

⁵¹³Griffin & McKinley 1994: 9.

⁵¹⁴Moser 1989: 1815; Kandiyoti 1990: 14; Johnson 1992: 148; Jahan 1995: 7.

to development has taken its cue from planning and farming systems in rural development⁵¹⁶. Stakeholder-based evaluations are the result of a metamorphosis which has taken place in evaluation science particularly from the mid 1980s⁵¹⁷. These calls are indicative of an awareness and to some extent an acknowledgement within the development and evaluation debates of the complexity and diversity of human life and therefore the constraints and obstacles people face in bringing about their own development. However, in this thesis two relevant arguments have been made: the need for **people**, particularly the marginalised, to be seen as central to their own development; and the need for an awareness of people as actors in the context of the requisites and consequences of being human. This emphasises the need for people to be *the* essential focus for development and its evaluation.

[c] Viewing **people** as *central* to development and its evaluation is therefore not a teleological plea which sees people as the ultimate purpose of all life, for that would rekindle arguments against anthropocentrism. Rather, it is an attempt to give people the prominence which is their due in development and in the evaluation of that development. That is to ensure that the deplorable conditions of human life are done away with giving rise to support for efforts to ensure a better quality of life for people, particularly for those who live in such conditions. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation does this by making people and all the requisites and consequences of their humanity the basis for the assumptions, analysis and implementation of all development and development evaluation activity. While such activity (development theory for example) must be launched from the basis of people it must also return to that base in order to determine whether its sojourn reflects the reality of human being.

[d] In respect of the above, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's three tiered

⁵¹⁵Uphoff, Cohen & Goldsmith 1979: 325; Finsterbusch & Van Wicklin 1987: 3; Rahman 1991: 16; Burkey 1993: 58-9; Nelson & Wright 1995b: 1.

⁵¹⁶Long 1975: 73-4; Gran 1983: 146-8; Chambers 1988: 53; Scoones 1995c: 6.

⁵¹⁷Ayers 1987: 263; Greene 1987: 379; Lawrence 1989: 247-8.

matrix of human being is presented as a useful conceptual framework⁵¹⁸. In this matrix:

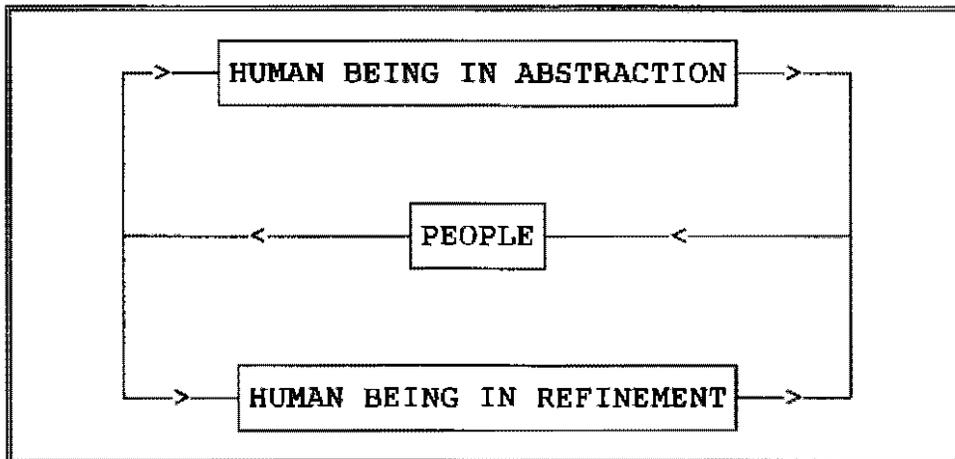


Figure 3.1: An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's Three Tiered Matrix of Human Being

people are the locus of enquiry in the middle tier. Human being in abstraction (eg development theory, culture...) occupies the top tier while human being in refinement (for example, risk management, differential responses to change...) occupies the lower tier. Strong linkages interconnect the three tiers such that all activity (for example, analysis) proceeding away from the central tier in either direction is drawn back to the central tier on completion for evaluation and implementation. Analysis, for example, either in abstraction, or in refinement, should not remain at those levels of abstraction or refinement but should return to the locus of analysis. That is, **People**.

[e] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation also attempts to ensure that people remain the focus of any activity such as analysis, development or its evaluation by juxtaposing the major components of the foregoing section (that is, people-centredness, the poor, including the rural poor and marginalised and resource-poor primary producers, women in relationship, people as actors, the requisites and consequences of human being, including culture, knowledge, limitations, risk, uncertainty, vulnerability and participation)

⁵¹⁸See Figure 3.1.

with the six basic determiners of how? what? when? where? who? and why? The analysis of an activity or instance using these determiners in relation to the anthropocentric themes determines the extent to which that entity is focused upon people in their entirety. In the chapters which follows, this Anthropocentric Development Evaluation framework is used as the base for the assessment of methodologies and development interventions.

3.8. PEOPLE AND THEIR HUMANITY: THE FOCUS OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

[a] In conclusion, this chapter has shown why it is necessary to restate that the central purpose of development is the development of people with the intention of improving the quality of life for people. While human development has been the ultimate objective of development the paradox of the matter is that most people remain in states of poverty and privation at the turn of twentieth century. The need for people, particularly those who suffer privation the most, to be central to any development and/or evaluation activity has therefore been emphasised in this chapter. In doing so, something of the manner in which the poor, particularly the rural poor and resource-poor primary producers, and women are marginalised, even by the best intended development initiatives, has been shown.

[b] Alongside this need for people to be the central focus of development and its evaluation stands the equal importance of the humanity of people. Using the Actor-oriented Approach to analysis it was reiterated in this chapter that people live in unique situations thereby demanding differential opportunities for and responses to their development. Further the chapter also pointed out that, as human beings, people have certain requisites and consequences in respect of their humanity, including culture and knowledge, limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities as well as the need to participate in their own development. All these point to the complexity of people and their humanity and therefore to the appropriate response which their development and the evaluation thereof demands. That response is one which is fully cognisant of people and their humanity in all respects.

CHAPTER 4: AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION IN RELATION TO OTHER METHODOLOGIES

4.1. TESTING SIMILAR, YET DIFFERENT, METHODOLOGIES

[a] The purpose of this fourth chapter is to assess some methodologies using the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, namely, people and features of their humanity. These methodologies include:

- * **Action Research**
- * **Social Impact Assessment**
- * **The Complementary Rural Development Field Tools**

The underlying intention of this exercise has been to find an appropriate medium through which the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation could be applied in an empirical setting. Such a medium was sought to prevent this exercise being reduced to mere analysis.

[b] In the process of selecting appropriate methodologies it was decided that these had to meet three basic criteria. They had to:

- ▶ be people oriented at least
- ▶ proceed from an hermeneutical or interpretist epistemology
- ▶ have wide field experience.

[c] In respect of the people-oriented criteria above, it was recognised that a single selected methodology would not necessarily be totally congruent with the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Finding a methodology which did, would negate the need to postulate an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. The task would then rather be one of adding critical support to such a methodology particularly in respect of development and its evaluation. Be that as it may, **all** the methodologies selected are at least people oriented, though in different settings. These settings will be made clear as each methodology is critically analysed.

[d] All of the three methodologies are essentially interpretist/hermeneutical in their epistemological perspective. While the relevant detail will be provided in each analysis, it suffices to briefly describe the epistemology of each methodology here. Action Research has proceeded from this stance since its inception. The development of Participatory Action Research has had a preference for a critical epistemology, largely as a result of the social and political environment in which it has developed. However, that process has not seen the rejection of the interpretist/hermeneutical perspective. Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools both originally proceeded from a positivist setting but during the course of their development have transformed their view of reality to an interpretivist/hermeneutical one. Their origins in natural phenomena which are largely broad environmental issues in the case of Social Impact Assessment and agricultural systems for the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools explains their positivist roots.

[e] All three methodologies have vast empirical experience. Their fields and locality of study are broad, as will be seen in each analysis. Therefore in testing them, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is exposed to a wide ranging experience. However, it is also true that it is mostly Participatory Action Research and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools which have 'development' experience rather than application in broad human environments.

4.2. ACTION RESEARCH

Action Research, the Community Self Survey, and Participatory Action Research are all names given to what is essentially the same methodology. What these different names portray is merely variations in the form in which the methodology has been used due to changing circumstances, including the theoretical premises of the users. The following sketch attempts to show how they are interrelated, yet are different in their own way.

4.2.1. THE ORIGINAL SCHOOL

4.2.1.1. The varieties of Action Research

Four varieties of **Action Research** have been described in the literature⁵¹⁹:

- + **diagnostic**;
- + **participant**;
- + **empirical**; and
- + **experimental**.

Diagnostic Action Research is designed to lead to action. Research is conducted to diagnose the situation in a community of people. This diagnosis is then used as a basis for the formulation of appropriate action.

Participant Action Research grew out of the failure of the diagnostic type: diagnoses does not always lead to action, especially, where there is no community participation. *Participant Action Research* assumes that those who must take action should also conduct the research.

Empirical Action Research attempts to monitor different Action Research settings as a learning process. Essentially, it makes a record of the events and procedures followed, which are then analysed and patterns are discerned.

Experimental Action Research, on the other hand, attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of various action techniques.

⁵¹⁹Chen, Cook & Harding 1948: 45-8; Marrow 1969: 197-8.

4.2.1.2. The people in Action Research

[a] Action Research⁵²⁰ has its origins in the work of Ronald Lippitt and Ralph White at the University of Iowa from 1938 onwards. Under the influence and direction of Kurt Lewin⁵²¹, Lippitt and White⁵²² conducted experiments (circa 1938) to compare autocratic and democratic leadership in children's groups. Their method was premised on Lewin's view that in order to understand a process it is necessary to create a change in that process and then to observe the variable effects and new dynamics of that change⁵²³. Lewin dubbed this cyclical, three phase model (planning, action, fact-finding), '**action research**⁵²⁴'.

[b] Despite Action Research being one of Lewin's important models, he did not write much about it. Peters and Robinson⁵²⁵ severely criticise him for his limited publication⁵²⁶ in this area. Rather than to write about Action Research, Lewin used it extensively in his vast number of publications⁵²⁷ on the other pillar of his psychology - social dynamics⁵²⁸. Thereby Lewin provided his many and varied colleagues with an opportunity to describe, formulate and develop the model⁵²⁹. For example, John Collier⁵³⁰

⁵²⁰the experimental use of social science to advance the democratic process (Marrow 1969: 128)'.

⁵²¹Lewin (1890-1947), a psychologist with strong philosophical leanings, was a Jew and a 'refugee' from Germany who took up a research appointment at the University of Iowa from 1935-1944.

⁵²²Lewin, Lippitt & White 1939: 271-6; Lippitt 1940; Lippitt & White 1960: 1-128.

⁵²³Marrow 1969: 235; Sanford 1970: 4.

⁵²⁴Lewin 1946: 36-8.

⁵²⁵1984: 114.

⁵²⁶Lewin 1946: 35; 1947b: 150-2; 1947c 333-4.

⁵²⁷See Marrow's (1969: 238-43) bibliography of Lewin's works.

⁵²⁸Being interested in the practical and social use of psychological research, Lewin approached social problems, such as racial prejudice, during the 1930s and 40s, from this quasi-hermeneutical-interpretist perspective. In doing so he hoped to achieve two goals: to solve practical social problems and to discover 'general laws of group life' (Lewin 1946: 36-7; 1947a: 5-41; Peters & Robinson 1984: 114-5).

⁵²⁹Sommer 1987: 185.

promoted Action Research in the US Indian Administration, thereby bringing together researcher, practitioner and client in order to solve problems. On the other hand, Lippitt and Radke⁵³¹ did much for the development of the content of Action Research procedure. Since the demise of Lewin, both personal and influential, further developments have been brought to Action Research by Gardner, Cunningham, Susman, Evered and McTaggart⁵³².

[c] Apart from the children of the Lippitt and White studies of autocracy and democracy, there have been other interesting groups of people who have been the subjects of Action Research. According to Marrow⁵³³, an industrial setting provided Lewin with the opportunity to use Action Research to help workers from rural areas to achieve adequate levels of production. In another study on frustration and regression, children were also the subjects⁵³⁴. Minorities received attention from Lewin⁵³⁵ while those who suffer as a result of prejudice gained the attention of Lippitt and Radke⁵³⁶. The American people, in respect of their food habits and cultural setting, were subjects of another study⁵³⁷. More recently, Action Research has been used in the classroom to help teachers deal with the everyday problems of teaching⁵³⁸.

⁵³⁰1945: 275-6.

⁵³¹1946: 172-5.

⁵³²Gardner 1974: 107-13; Cunningham 1976: 216-9; Susman & Evered 1978: 588-94; McTaggart 1991: 25-31.

⁵³³1969: 141-3.

⁵³⁴Barker, Dembo & Lewin (1941); Marrow 1969: 120-3.

⁵³⁵1946: 39-46.

⁵³⁶1946: 167-72.

⁵³⁷Lewin 1947b: 144-5; 1947c: 330-2; 1952: 174-7.

⁵³⁸Elliott 1978: 356; McTaggart 1991: 10-3.

4.2.1.3. The four Action Research streams.

[a] Action Research gained usage and development from and through four academic streams, namely, the Group Dynamics; the Tavistock Human Relations; Operation Research; and, Applied Anthropology streams⁵³⁹. The Group Dynamics stream had two major applied research institutes, namely, the Commission on Community Interrelations (CCI) of the American Jewish Congress in New York and, the Research Centre for Group Dynamics (RCGD), which was originally housed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (circa 1945), and then later moved to the University of Michigan (circa 1950). Commensurate with its close links to experimental psychology, Group Dynamics emphasised individual and small group processes. Together with the Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations of the State of Connecticut, the CCI and the RCGD used Action Research to test certain hypotheses with regard to the effect of individual, as against group, settings⁵⁴⁰.

[b] The work of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London, in the 1940s, focused mostly on the treatment and rehabilitation of those who bore the physical and/or psychological consequences of the Second World War. Here, emphasis was placed on fostering collaboration of group members in order to solve their own problems. Thus, Action Research was seen not only as a means to ascertain and attain reality, but also as a means to altering or removing unsatisfactory conditions experienced by the group. Thus the Tavistock stream, in comparison with Group Dynamics, focused on the interaction of the individual with larger scale social systems⁵⁴¹.

[c] The Operation Research stream started out with a multi-disciplinary mix of mathematics, physics and engineering. From the 1960s the social sciences were increasingly resorted to in order to include human parameters in their models. The consequences for Action Research have included the methodological input of numeracy

⁵³⁹Rapoport 1970: 499-503; Foster 1972: 532-3.

⁵⁴⁰Lewin 1946: 39-44; Rapoport 1970: 501; Foster 1972: 533; Peters & Robinson 1984: 114.

⁵⁴¹Curle 1949: 269; Rapoport 1970: 500.

into a largely clinical approach and the introduction of larger scale concepts such ‘multi-organizations⁵⁴²’ into the research conducted by them.

[d] The Applied Anthropology stream, on the other hand, has emphasised Action Research in respect of cultural change. It has also made contact with the Operation Research stream through the relationship between work organisation and productivity. However, it is at this point that the two streams have been diametrically opposed, for some Applied Anthropologists, such as Argyris⁵⁴³, have regarded Action Research as a major alternative to the conventional ‘positivist’ approach to research⁵⁴⁴.

[e] Despite these above-mentioned contributions to Action Research, it is true, as Foster contends that the

‘history of action research is not characterized by a process of steadily advancing knowledge. On the contrary, the picture is more of fits and starts with developments taking place in different parts of the field. Too often, it seems that the originators are unaware of the work of others and fail to make use of it, which lends weight to the suspicion that action researchers are short on reading⁵⁴⁵’.

This to some extent explains why Sanford’s paper is entitled, ‘*What ever happened to Action Research?*’⁵⁴⁶, while Peters and Robinson⁵⁴⁷ use their paper to prop up Action Research, in an attempt to resuscitate it. It is paradoxical therefore that Action Research has impacted upon a number of sectors - social and community action⁵⁴⁸, organisational

⁵⁴²Rapoport 1970: 500-1; Foster 1972: 533.

⁵⁴³1980; 1982: 472-3.

⁵⁴⁴Peters & Robinson 1984: 117.

⁵⁴⁵Foster 1972: 529.

⁵⁴⁶Sanford 1970.

⁵⁴⁷1984: 116-20.

⁵⁴⁸Rapoport 1970.

development⁵⁴⁹, training⁵⁵⁰ and education⁵⁵¹. It also explains why contributions to Action Research have come from outside the four main streams and why those contributors themselves have had little to do with them.

4.2.1.4. The method and process in Action Research

[a] The usual pattern in which Action Research comes into being is where a group of people have a common need to establish some facts for a particular purpose. An 'Action Researcher' is usually brought in to guide the group to determine clear parameters of their action questions. The 'Action Researcher' then helps in the process of constructing the appropriate research instruments and the members of the group may receive training in the administration of those instruments. The 'Action Researcher' then supervises the data collection to ensure that the data collected reflects the group's need and that alternatives are found when the data collection does not give effect to that need. Once the data collection phase is complete, the group of people together with the 'Action Researcher' interpret the information. On the basis of the emerging 'facts' the people then take the appropriate action. Sharing information in respect of all this activity with other groups of people, using oral or written reports, either sums up the exercise, or serves as the first step to a new one⁵⁵². This procedure is outlined in Figure 4.1 on the opposite page.

⁵⁴⁹Foster 1972; French & Bell 1978: 88-98.

⁵⁵⁰Gardner 1974: 107.

⁵⁵¹Corey 1953; Sanford 1970: 11-8; Elliott 1978: 356; Sanford 1981: 180-1; McTaggart 1991: 10-3.

⁵⁵²Lippitt and Radke 1947: 172-5.

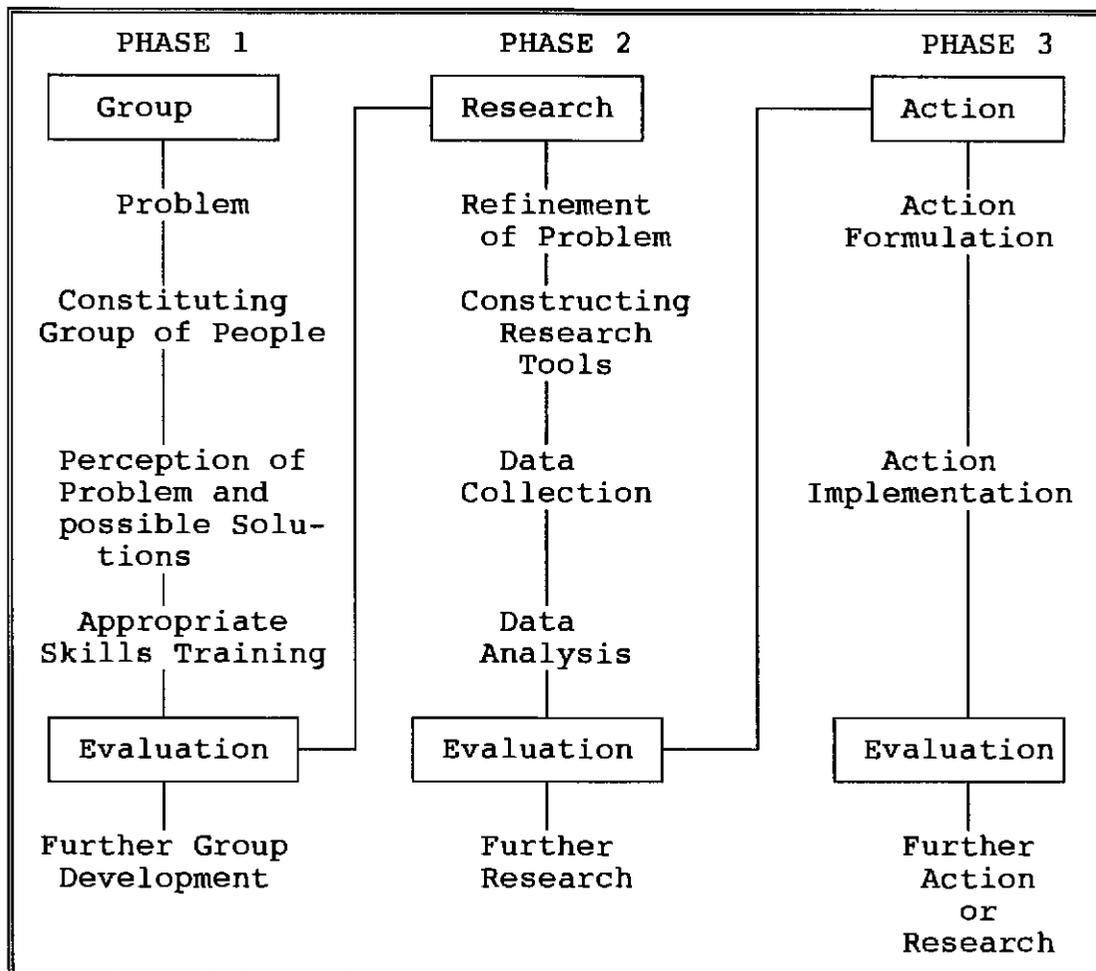


Figure 4.1: Action Research Method

Note: Phase 1 is concerned with the Group's formation around a particular problem and equipping the Group adequately that it may analyse the problem and take appropriate Action.

Phase 2 is subsequently concerned with the actual Research conducted by the Group under the supervision of the Action Researcher.

Phase 3 is then concerned with formulating and implementing the Action best decided upon in terms of the Research.

All phases include an Evaluation to enable decisions to be made in respect of what is to be done next.

[b] The basic premise guiding Action Research is that if any society is to survive, the people who constitute that society must operate the mechanisms of its survival⁵⁵³. Thus,

⁵⁵³Curle 1949: 270.

Action Research in the **first** instance, places emphasis on the group of people who have identified a common need for information for the purposes of a desired change to take responsibility for the research. In the **second**, they are duly assisted by an outside 'Action Researcher' but less so in *Participant Action Research*. Thereby Action Research also aims:

- to contribute to the practical problems and concerns of people;
- to develop their personal ability to cope with problems of common interest;
and by so doing
- to improve their prospects in the future; and
- to simultaneously advance social scientific knowledge.

[c] Should an 'Action Researcher' be brought in to assist the aims in respect of the people are achieved by the 'Action Researcher' examining only those specific problems identified by the group of people themselves and not any others that the 'Action Researcher' may find interest in. Further, the 'Action Researcher examines those specific problems from the peoples' points of view and attempts to assist them to more adequately diagnose their situation through understanding it better. This process requires close collaboration between the people and the 'Action Researcher'. Thus, the 'Action Researcher' should maintain continuous contact with the people and provide them with regular feedback on progress⁵⁵⁴.

[d] In respect of advancing social scientific knowledge, Action Research generates theory which is grounded in an action setting. Such theory is agnostic and situational, in that it emanates from previous action and is subject to re-examination and reformulation in each new situation as demonstrated in Figure 4.2 on the opposite page. As such, it acts as a guide to determine the parameters of the inquiry and to generate a range of possible action steps which the interest group of people may use to deal with their particular problem. Action Research thereby provides a correction to the methodology of positivist approaches

⁵⁵⁴Chen, Cook & Harding 1948: 44-5; Rapoport 1970: 499; Cunningham 1976: 216-8; Elliott 1978: 356; Susman & Evered 1978: 587-8; Phillips, Palfrey & Thomas 1994: 38.

which lack an understanding of action and its effects⁵⁵⁵.

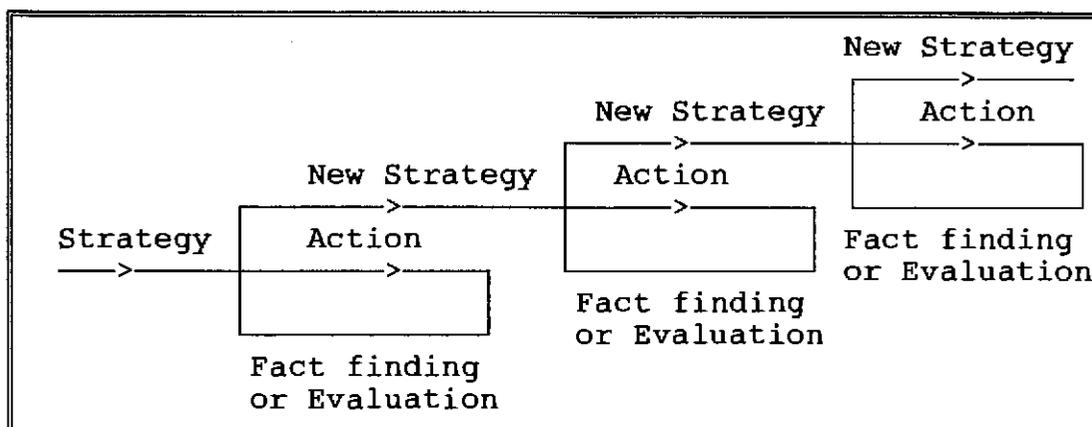


Figure 4.2: Action Research Process

Note: A Strategy based on information obtained through Action Research is implemented as Action. Through Evaluation of that Action, or further Fact finding, a New Strategy is devised and implemented, which may prospectively lead to further Evaluations or Fact finding, New Strategies and Actions.

The hallmark of Action Research may be clearly seen in its ability to convert research into action for people instead of merely incorporating people in the research process.

4.2.2. THE COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY

[a] The Community Self Survey was also developed by Kurt Lewin and his associates within the Commission on Community Interrelations during the 1940s. According to Marrow⁵⁵⁶, the context which gave rise to this new approach, propagated by the Commission, was the discriminatory practices experienced by minorities in the USA. Believing that self re-education, involving a period of discovery and training, would encourage people to play a more constructive role in rooting out discriminatory practices in their communities, what Lewin sought

⁵⁵⁵French & Bell 1978: 90; Susman & Evered 1978: 588-99.

⁵⁵⁶1969: 214-5.

'was a method that would:

1. Uncover the facts.
2. Show areas of greatest discrimination where counter measures could be most effectively applied.
3. Provide an accurate measure of discrimination so that future surveys could indicate what progress had been made.
4. Cost little.
5. Get the kind of information that would enable discussion of what to do and how to do it.
6. Get community involvement so that action would follow fact finding. Residents would take seriously the facts that they themselves uncovered. Their findings should lead them to press for action because of their own energetic involvement⁵⁵⁷.

In other words, Lewin wanted a cost-effective and efficient method of research which would both establish the exact nature of discriminatory practices and serve to rooting them out.

[b] While the Community Self Survey emerged out of the Action Research paradigm, its terms are technically different. With Action Research a client requests professional assistance in conducting research, yet the client and the professional researcher remain involved for the entirety of the research. In a Community Self Survey, the community or group designs and undertakes a survey without necessarily professional assistance⁵⁵⁸. Figure 4.3 on the page opposite attempts to show the difference schematically:

⁵⁵⁷Marrow 1969: 215.

⁵⁵⁸Sommer 1987: 187.

<p>Client -> PROFESSIONAL -> Survey = Professional Survey</p> <p>CLIENT - PROFESSIONAL -> Survey = Action Research</p> <p>CLIENT -> Survey = Community Self Survey</p>
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Figure 4.3: Differences between Action Research and the Community Self Survey

Figure 4.3 shows that normally a client presents a professional researcher with a problem. The researcher designs, conducts and produces the results of a survey which the client then has to decide whether or not to act upon. This is a professional survey. In Action Research the client and researcher are partners in all aspects of the research. In the Community Self Survey, the Community is both the client and the researcher who conducts all aspects of the research and then acts upon the results.

[c] The *Community Self Survey* may be compared with the variety of Action Research called *Participant Action Research*⁵⁵⁹. However, in the literature the terms 'Action Research' and 'Community Self Survey' are frequently used interchangeably. Lees and Lund⁵⁶⁰ refer to Community Self Surveys where either a professional researcher or a qualified practitioner have been directly involved in initiating the research. Larsen provides a framework for a Community Self Survey that given a community's strict adherence to the detail, it is likely to produce results which are acceptable from a professional point of view⁵⁶¹. What is apparent in the literature in this regard is the reluctance on the part of particularly academic researchers to encourage truly democratic processes to get under way. The probable fear of becoming redundant as a result of such a Community Self Survey process may be the issue.

⁵⁵⁹Marrow 1969: 198. See Section 4.2.1.3..

⁵⁶⁰Lees 1975: 675; Lund 1982: 18-45.

⁵⁶¹Larsen 1963: 5-19. Because of its usefulness it is, reproduced as Box 4.1.

[d] What is clearly evident in Larsen's framework alongside is that people are empowered to conduct their own Self Survey. While a professional researcher may facilitate the process or provide the technical expertise, the emphasis is upon the people from within a community taking the initiative, conducting the survey, tabulating, interpreting and most importantly acting upon the results. The emphasis on publicity is a mere attempt to ensure that the more powerful people within a community do not exercise any advantage over the less powerful.

[e] An important question in respect of the Community Self Survey is the issue of validity. However, this is not a major problem for as Chein puts it:

‘one manifest advantage of the self-survey making for accuracy of findings is the number and variety of potential critics and ‘special interests’ that have to be satisfied with the procedures⁵⁶².

Thus, Wormser and Selltiz⁵⁶³ criticism of the Community Self Survey suggesting that it has not been subject to adequate evaluation is somewhat ironic.

[f] The Community Self Survey has distinct advantages in respect of action: for Larsen, ‘when citizens do jobs for themselves a number of things frequently

1. Planning the self survey
 - a. setting objectives
 - b. time scheduling
2. Organising the self-survey
 - a. type of organisation
 - b. choosing workers
 - c. use of outside resources
3. Building the questionnaire
 - a. types of questions
 - b. formulating questions
 - c. testing the questionnaire
4. Selecting the sample
5. Collecting the data
 - a. training interviewers
 - b. interviews
 - c. questionnaires
6. Tabulating the results
7. Interpreting the findings
8. The use of findings

Note

 - a. the citizens decide
 - b. technical help may be needed
 - c. deadlines
 - d. use as many people as possible
 - e. publicity
beginning and end

Box 4.1: A summary of Larsen's Community Self Survey

⁵⁶²Chein 1949: 56.

⁵⁶³1954: 614.

happen:

- i) They become more aware of and concerned about the community and its problems.
- ii) They develop enthusiasm for helping the community.
- iii) The facts they collect become more meaningful to them.
- iv) The community's problem becomes their problem and they assume responsibility for doing something about it.

A self-survey should not be a substitute for action, nor an end in itself. It is a tool for getting needed information and for stimulating citizen interest in community affairs⁵⁶⁴.

For Lees when a group of people conduct a survey:

- as many people as they see fit can be engaged in the survey;
- they can ask the questions **they** want to ask rather than have the questions of an *outsider* being asked;
- they retain the results of the survey as their own property and can use those as they think fit⁵⁶⁵.

Therefore, ownership of both the research process and the results remain firmly in the hands of the community.

[g] Good examples of Community Self Surveys include:

- the action taken by the Committee on Civil Rights against restaurants practising discrimination in East Manhattan;
- the action taken by a group of Saskatchewan men to deal with an inadequate motor vehicle road system; and,
- the action taken by the Lamontville Christian Community of Youth Trust to formulate goals in order to procure funding for youth related projects⁵⁶⁶.

These surveys were undertaken in different cultural milieus and have mixed results.

⁵⁶⁴Larsen 1963: 5.

⁵⁶⁵Lees 1975: 675.

⁵⁶⁶These examples come from Selltitz (1955: 19-25), Larsen (1963: 5-6) and Lund (1982: 18-25).

Nevertheless, they clearly demonstrate the validity and appropriateness of the Community Self Survey for empowering people through their own research.

4.2.3. PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

4.2.3.1. Action Research and Participatory Action Research

[a] There is no doubt about the link between Action Research, which grew out of the Lewinian Group Dynamics and related experience, and Participatory Action Research (PAR), which currently gains much more popular attention in the literature. In an early paper, Orlando Fals Borda⁵⁶⁷, one of the major champions of PAR, makes but only a very oblique reference to Lewin, yet the content of his paper⁵⁶⁸ has a strong identity with the philosophy of Kurt Lewin in title and in content. Indeed, the content of PAR as a whole, with its anti-positivist⁵⁶⁹ emphasis on grassroots initiative and self-reliance, is decidedly similar to Action Research, particularly *Participant Action Research* and/or the *Community Self Survey*. Nevertheless, judging by the language and spirit in which it has been utilised PAR represents a clear break away in revolutionary terms from Action Research and its allied techniques. This split is manifest in PAR:

- gaining expression mostly amongst the poor in countries of the South (in Africa, Latin America and South-east Asia)⁵⁷⁰, and,

⁵⁶⁷1979: 54.

⁵⁶⁸*Investigating reality in order to transform it: the Colombian experience* which attempted to deal with 'the problem of linking knowledge and action - theory and practice (Fals Borda 1979: 34).

⁵⁶⁹Fals Borda 1979: 38. See Sections 4.2.1.3.[d] and 4.2.1.4.[d] in respect of the question of anti-positivism of Action Research.

⁵⁷⁰De Silva, Mehta, Rahman & Wignaraja 1979: 22-40; Fals Borda 1979: 34, 53; 1982: 31; 1987: 329-31; Edwards 1989: 127; Rahman 1993: 32-50, 52-61, 62-3, 75-82, 85, 95-113, 118-34, 143-7, 182.

- having taken on a Marxist analysis⁵⁷¹.

[b] A comparison of the key words of Action Research and Participatory Action Research is provided below in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Comparison of the key words of Action and Participatory Action Research

Action Research	Participatory Action Research
re-education	conscientisation, popular knowledge
problem oriented in homogenous communities	development oriented in marginalised communities
researcher, action group	activist, cadre
any group who have identified a common need for information in respect of a particular situation	the poor
problem, research, action, evaluation	analysis, action, reflection

This clearly demonstrates the break away by Participatory Action Research from Action Research.

[c] Clearly, while Participatory Action Research has its methodological roots in Action Research, giving form and structure to its method, the socio-political context in which Participatory Action Research was applied in its formative days resulted in the paradigm shift demonstrated above. The function of Action Research being re-education is reformulated in Participatory Action Research to conscientisation of the people based on their own popular knowledge. Similar shifts in the locus, the handler and target groups of the research as well as the perception of the tasks at hand are also clearly demonstrated. In the text which follows the unique characteristics of PAR are assessed.

⁵⁷¹Fals Borda 1982: 31-2; Rahman 1993: 187-94; Brock 1994: 21-2.

4.2.3.2. The essence of Participatory Action Research⁵⁷²

The Participatory Action Research (PAR) literature contends that PAR is directed towards understanding both the historical and social circumstances of *poor people* (particularly ‘peasant’ farmers and workers) who have been ‘subjected to the impact of capitalistic expansion⁵⁷³’. The intention of gaining this understanding, through research conducted by professionals committed to study action, or by local cadres, is to return this knowledge to the poor. Poor people know that their lack of knowledge about the capitalist economic system and the economy as a whole prevents them from developing themselves, and while they remain in a state of ‘non-development’ they are taken advantage of by those who are more wealthier and more powerful than they are. Poor people also know that their own culture and science is threatened with the rapid growth of capitalist technology. Thus PAR, advocating peoples’ knowledge and praxis, is also concerned with the transformation of the power relations within society. The constructive, non-violent *analysis, action, reflection* awareness-building process of PAR engaged in by the poor is something that is not new to them but rather is a strategy which has been used by them for centuries. What is new is the additional analyses that have come with the formalisation of PAR.

4.2.3.3. Influences upon the development of Participatory Action Research

[a] The PAR notion of learning to interact is based on the concept of *vivencia* (or experience) proposed by the Spanish existentialist José Ortega y Gasset. Gasset held that by experiencing something one intuitively comes to understand its essence. For Fals Borda⁵⁷⁴ this experience is complemented by the Marxist concept of *authentic commitment* - not being content with just explaining the world, but trying to transform it. Authentic commitment assumes an analysis of the class struggle.

⁵⁷²Fals Borda 1982: 36; 1987: 329; Edwards 1989: 127; Rahman 1991: 16; Burkey 1993: 61-4; Brock 1994: 21-3; Shanahan & Ward 1995: 75.

⁵⁷³Fals Borda 1979: 34.

⁵⁷⁴1987: 332.

[b] Linked into its Marxist influence are the additional influences of liberation theology and the theories of dependency. Liberation theology in cross-fertilisation with neo-Marxist thought had the impact within PAR of a strong rejection of things **done for** the poor. Dependency theory attempts to alert the poor to accept that there is a direct causal relationship between the wealth of those countries which their 'poor' countries are expected to emulate and their own poverty. Further, the development of 'poor' countries does **not** depend on mere material inputs⁵⁷⁵.

[c] Another influence that has been borne upon PAR is that of *adult education*, particularly in the sense of **conscientisation**⁵⁷⁶. This ties in with the basic ideology of PAR which holds that a self-conscious people, despite being poor and oppressed, will progressively transform their circumstances by their own praxis⁵⁷⁷. Needless to say Paulo Freire who popularised **conscientisation** is hailed as a legend in PAR. Freire's concepts of conscientisation and the corollary of **dialogue**⁵⁷⁸ are critically challenged by Rahnema⁵⁷⁹ and by Manzo⁵⁸⁰ who castigates the PAR theorists for their heavy dependence upon Freire. Nevertheless, Freire's⁵⁸¹ description of the *action - reflection* dialectic brings with it the useful caveat that a *sacrifice of action = verbalism*, while a *sacrifice of reflection = activism*.

[d] Formidable as the above influences of Gasset, Marx and Freire, amongst others, have been on PAR, their influence has not been great enough to obviate the extent to which

⁵⁷⁵Brock 1994: 22-3.

⁵⁷⁶'learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire 1972: 15)'. See also Freire 1973: 17-20 for his distinction between **semi-intransitive** and **transitive** consciousness.

⁵⁷⁷Fals Borda 1991: 3; Rahman 1991: 13; Rahman & Fals Borda 1991: 25; Burkey 1993: 60; Manzo 1995: 247.

⁵⁷⁸Freire 1972: 60; Burkey 1993: 62.

⁵⁷⁹Rahnema (1990: 205) asks, 'can free and genuine dialogue truly raise consciousness?'

⁵⁸⁰1991: 29.

⁵⁸¹1972: 60-1.

PAR has been appropriated by dominant organisations and people. This applies particularly to those researchers whose new mission (sic) it is to ‘help’ with the development of the poor⁵⁸². There is thus a need for PAR activists and theorists to become more acutely aware of the economic, political and social forces in which this methodology operates in order to ensure that it withstands appropriation.

4.2.3.4. Participatory Action Research techniques⁵⁸³

[a] *Collective research*, also known as *dialogical research* is the systematic collection, verification and use of experiential and/or objective knowledge by a group of oppressed people. Any external researcher must internalise her/himself to obviate inhibitions on the part of those people, thereby preventing responses, reminiscences and reflections from emerging. Essential questions focus on the poverty and oppression of the poor, while the regional class structure is analysed in order to identify which groups play a fundamental role. Unlike the conventional methods of research, *collective research* does not have the validation problem as ‘facts’ are spontaneously socially verified by the group of oppressed people⁵⁸⁴. As it functions with adult education and political action, *collective research* serves to raise awareness as well as to determine appropriate action.

[b] *Critical recovery of history* is the selective collection of historical detail which has proved useful in the past in defending the interests of the exploited. Given the relationship of power and knowledge in the process of empowering the oppressed, *the critical recovery of history* serves to encourage the exploited to believe and find strength in previous pursuits and in their own knowledge base. Great value is placed on cultivating ‘**people’s praxis**⁵⁸⁵’ - a progressive action-reflection rhythm. Further, the process is used to seek

⁵⁸²Rahnema 1990: 200-3; Manzo 1991: 29; Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler & Wieringa 1994: 113.

⁵⁸³De Silva, Mehta, Rahman & Wignaraja 1979: 3-4; Fals Borda 1987: 338-345; 1991: 3-4; Burkey 1993: 131-4; Rahman 1993: 79-80, 147-8; Brock 1994: 24-5; Carmen 1994: 70; Helme 1995: 77.

⁵⁸⁴Compare with Community Self Survey at Section 4.2.2.[c].

⁵⁸⁵Rahman 1993: 67.

out the historical roots of the contradictions that generate and embody the class struggle in their region.

[c] *Valuing and applying folk culture* is a method of mobilising the exploited masses by engaging them in a process of recognising and identifying with their essential cultural practices, traits and values. With a renewed vigour for their culture as a whole, people have a greater sense of self-worth and therefore a greater ability to achieve self-reliance and then actualisation. There is therefore a close relationship with oral history, or as PAR has termed it, the recovery of history.

[d] *Production and diffusion of new knowledge* is critical to the whole PAR process. The knowledge collected using the above methods must be fed back to and evaluated by members of all the relevant groups of oppressed people. Sharing knowledge with each other is intrinsic to the process, as well as an attitude of assertion in respect of their knowledge. Further, as people gain experience in mobilising for action, they are encouraged to stimulate other oppressed people to start similar action. Dependence by oppressed people is supposed to cease through the generation and development of local leadership and skills⁵⁸⁶.

4.2.4. AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION OF ACTION RESEARCH, THE COMMUNITY SELF SURVEY, AND PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

4.2.4.1. People-centredness

[a] Action Research coming out of the Lewinian tradition has a dual interest: people **and** the development of social science⁵⁸⁷. In respect of the ‘people’ interest, those particular

⁵⁸⁶Compare with Community Self Survey at Section 4.2.2.[f].

⁵⁸⁷Rapoport 1970: 499.

people who are to take action are expected by the Action Research and Community Self Survey methods to be as wholly involved in the research from the beginning⁵⁸⁸. Further, these methods look at a problem from the point of view of those involved⁵⁸⁹. To the above dual interest, Susman & Evered⁵⁹⁰ added a third in the 1970s: using the research or survey in respect of both process and outcome to enhance the self-help capabilities of people.

[b] The role of the 'Action Researcher' features strongly. In the earlier literature the researcher was seen as an absolute necessity compared with Larsen's⁵⁹¹ Community Self Survey which advocates a minimal role, if that at all. Citizens, communities and groups (categories used to define people) are nonetheless central to Action Research and Community Self Surveys.

[c] Action Research becomes a bit depersonalised when it is introduced to organisational development. French and Bell⁵⁹² give more attention to Action Research as a process and as an approach to organisational development rather than showing how Action Research may improve an organisation by improving the well-being or abilities of the people who make up organisations. Despite this detractor, Action Research and the Community Self Survey may be described as having a fairly positive people orientation in the broad sense.

[d] In Participatory Action Research (PAR) people in general, and their development and liberation in particular, are the major foci. The action researcher takes the role of activist, motivating and encouraging people to use their popular knowledge toward achieving their liberation. The activist working alongside the people has to become part of them to share

⁵⁸⁸Chen, Cook & Harding 1948: 46-7; Larsen 1963: 4,7; Lees 1975: 675.

⁵⁸⁹Elliott 1978: 356.

⁵⁹⁰1978: 587.

⁵⁹¹1963: 7-19.

⁵⁹²1978: 88-94.

their reality in order to understand it. While PAR remains research, the academic interest in PAR is certainly down-played⁵⁹³. In short, there is a greater reference to **people as people** and wholesomeness in PAR, compared with Action Research, though not with the Community Self Survey. In PAR, people are both subjects and objects of analysis, action and reflection. For example Fals Borda⁵⁹⁴ refers to people as groups of ‘workers’, ‘farmers’ and ‘Indian peoples’ compared with *ad hoc* people in Action Research who have identified a common need for information in order to determine appropriate action in terms of that information.

4.2.4.2. The marginalised

[a] Although Action Research is cast in examining cases of social *anomie*, such as minority problems and prejudice, there seems to be little concern for the marginalised. Action Research tends to place the emphasis on people in groups or communities who have a problem and/or issue they want researched.

[b] The marginalised, as the poor, the rural poor, poor farmers, the exploited, and the oppressed gain greater attention in PAR. Poverty, and the need to address poverty square-on, is at the root of PAR. Many of the movements associated with PAR, such as the Bhoomi Sena⁵⁹⁵ of India, have the single cause of dealing substantially with the poverty of their members.

4.2.4.3. Women and their households

[a] Women as a particular focus gain neither real attention in Action Research nor in PAR. The limited attention given to poor women’s development training and organisations

⁵⁹³Gianotten & De Wit 1991: 65-6; Rahman & Fals Borda 1991: 25; Burkey 1993: 61.

⁵⁹⁴1979: 34.

⁵⁹⁵De Silva, Mehta, Rahman & Wignaraja 1979: 22-40; Rahman 1993: 32-50.

by Burkey and Rahman⁵⁹⁶ and a few other tangential references are hardly worth mentioning. Both Action Research and PAR must be severely criticised for this serious omission.

[b] Children, as those in relationship with women, gained some initial attention in Action Research⁵⁹⁷. However, there is a sense that Lewin, Lippitt and White⁵⁹⁸ were more concerned about patterns of autocratic and democratic behaviour rather than about the children who are both the victims and the beneficiaries of political systems. Nevertheless, children still gain more attention in Action Research, even though for the wrong reasons from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation point of view, than in PAR, where it is almost nil. This is extremely surprising for the children of slums and remote rural areas⁵⁹⁹ are amongst those people who are most deprived. Given this phenomenon, taken together with that of women, one has to be bold enough to suggest that Action Research and PAR are looking at less than a quarter of the issue.

4.2.4.4. Actor-orientation

In both Action Research and Participatory Action Research (PAR) it is essential that people analyse their own situations in order to equip themselves to take appropriate action. On the other side of this issue, both Action Research and PAR, though particularly PAR, have a real sense of people being actors in a particular context⁶⁰⁰. However, from there the emphasis tends to be on the (proposed) action and not on the unique and different character of people as they act out life in those contexts. In other words, both Action Research and PAR emphasise what is the norm, rather than variations from the norm.

⁵⁹⁶Burkey 1993: 100-1; Rahman 1993: 66.

⁵⁹⁷See Section 4.2.1.2.[a].

⁵⁹⁸Lewin, Lippitt & White 1939: 271-6; Lippitt 1940; Lippitt & White 1960: 1-128.

⁵⁹⁹These areas being of major focus in PAR.

⁶⁰⁰Fals Borda 1987: 330; 1991: 3; Rahman 1991: 13.

4.2.4.5. Culture

Culture gains consideration in Action Research only through the Applied Anthropology stream. The strong influence in this regard is most certainly Margaret Mead⁶⁰¹. On the whole however, culture is not an issue but rather the negative situations which people face that needs changing. Culture is more prominent in PAR, especially as it is linked to popular knowledge⁶⁰² and the need for that to be developed and utilised as part of the process of people being liberated and developed. The knowledge held by people in their groups and communities in Action Research is also important but it is there to help solve a problem rather than being given its intrinsic worth of contributing to peoples' development.

4.2.4.5. Limitations, risk, uncertainty and vulnerability

There are some indirect references to limitation and vulnerability in PAR in respect of the lack of knowledge poor people possess which leads to their exploitation and oppression⁶⁰³. However, neither Action Research nor PAR address these issues squarely. This is surprising given the roots of Action Research and the environments in which PAR came to the fore.

4.2.4.6. Participation

Participation is intrinsic to both Action Research and PAR. Thus, the 'participatory' reference to PAR is really a double emphasis. PAR cannot claim to be more participatory than Action Research. In some Action Research cases the Action Researcher may have a more prominent role but it is the participation of people in both types that give them

⁶⁰¹Marrow 1969: 128-31.

⁶⁰²Fals Borda 1982: 36; 1987: 337; Burkey 1993: 45, 63.

⁶⁰³Burkey 1993: 63.

their validity and credibility.

4.2.4.6. Summary

If Action Research, the Community Self Survey and Participatory Action Research (PAR) are taken together, there is a historical development from a social science methodology to a fairly substantial Anthropocentric Development Evaluation one. While Action Research has become more people-centred there is still a tendency to emphasise the scientific and the professional. Rather more attention should be given to the marginalised, women in relationship, an actor-orientation, culture, and limitations, risks, uncertainty and vulnerability. PAR, with its greater sense of people, however, must also address the issues of women and children, an actor-orientation and limitations, risks, uncertainty and vulnerability to ensure that the anthropocentric trend continues.

4.3. SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

4.3.1. THE RATIONALE FOR SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT AND ITS ROOTS

[a] Social Impact Assessment (SIA)⁶⁰⁴ is the human endeavour to ascertain by some measure the extent to which both natural and artificial phenomena influence peoples' lives. As such, SIAs have been made by people since time immemorial. SIAs are necessary exercises, particularly in the public arena, where there is a need to ascertain whether resource commitments are made for the common good.

[b] Academic studies of social impacts have been pursued in the social sciences since their inception, particularly in the disciplines of Anthropology and Sociology⁶⁰⁵. However,

⁶⁰⁴'Assessment' and 'analysis' are used interchangeably in the literature without discussion.

⁶⁰⁵Wolf 1983: 16; Burdge & Vanclay 1995: 35.

it is as recent as 1969 that the formal opportunity was paved for the rise of SIA. Section 102 of the US National Environment Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 provides that all agencies of the Federal Government:

‘shall utilize a systematic, interdisciplinary approach which will ensure that the integrated use of the natural and social sciences and the environmental design arts in planning and in decision making which may have an impact on man’s environment’.

Subsection C of this Act requires that Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) be prepared for ‘every major federal action significantly affecting the quality of the human environment’. The President’s Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), which is charged with overseeing the implementation of the Act promulgated regulation 1508.8 which holds that EISs are to consider all relevant

‘ecological ... aesthetic, historic, cultural, economic, social or health’ effects, whether they are ‘direct, indirect or cumulative’.

In 1973, the Canadian Environment Assessment and Review Process (EARP) provided similar legislation for that country⁶⁰⁶.

[c] While almost 12000 EISs were completed in the United States of America and about 10% of these were contested in court in the first ten years after NEPA, the social dimensions of impacts were rarely included in much detail in these earlier reports. The term ‘Social Impact Assessment’ was probably used formally for the first time in 1973 in the United States in the study of the impact of an oil pipeline on Inuit culture and in Europe in the study of the then-proposed Channel tunnel⁶⁰⁷.

[d] The task of establishing procedures for early Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) was left mostly to social scientists employed in the various tiers of the US Government and private consultant architects and engineers. As a result, the record of SIA was unimpress-

⁶⁰⁶Wilke & Cain 1977: 105; Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 508; Soderstrom 1981: 4-6; Freudenberg & Keating 1982: 71-2; Howell 1983: 346; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 2; Dominek 1986: 29-30; Van Willigen 1986: 156-9; Dietz 1987: 55; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 81-2; Bronfman 1991: 69; Pinho & Pires 1991: 2; Gramling 1992: 219; Burdge & Vanclay 1995: 34; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 11-5; Taylor, Goodrich & Bryan 1995: 142.

⁶⁰⁷Freudenburg & Keating 1982: 72; Burdge & Vanclay 1995: 34; Taylor, Goodrich & Bryan 1995: 142-3.

ive and the instrument treated with suspicion⁶⁰⁸:

- few bore any reference to social and cultural change⁶⁰⁹ - consisting mostly of raw demographic data; and
- the requirement of public involvement by the environmental legislation being limited to mere submissions was frequently confused with social assessment.

Attempts to address these proved to be either too simple⁶¹⁰ not reflecting the complexity of impact consequences for people⁶¹¹, or to be overly complex⁶¹² proving to be too onerous a task. Nevertheless during these early formative years some basic procedures and guidelines were produced⁶¹³:

- ▶ There are at least three distinct phases in SIAs: *scoping*, *projecting* and *assessment*⁶¹⁴;
- ▶ There is a need to distinguish which social units are to be impacted upon as such will determine the appropriate methodology⁶¹⁵;

⁶⁰⁸Wilke & Cain 1977: 105; Howell 1983: 247; Burdge & Vanclay 1995: 34; Taylor, Goodrich & Bryan 1995: 143.

⁶⁰⁹Wilke & Cain 1977: 107; Van Willigen 1986: 161. A good example is Jacobs 1977: Part I, concerning 'Preliminary social and cultural profiles of the human communities in the Springer-Sangamon impact zones' which states on pages 20 and 23:

'Since culture is being defined as lifestyle, very little data concerning this topic has been found to date. Most of this information will be gathered in future phases of the project.'

However, it is fair to point out that a more concerted effort to highlight cultural traits is made in Jacobs 1977: Part III: 4-23 - this time in respect of people affected by the San Juan-Chama Project.

⁶¹⁰See Wolf's (1974: 11) attempt to schematise the interactive effects of impacts.

⁶¹¹Bowles 1981: 7.

⁶¹²See Finsterbusch's (1977a: 3-4) elements of SIAs.

⁶¹³Stage I: Pre-fieldwork preparation; Stage II: (i) Secondary data review, (ii) collection of primary data; Stage III: Construct Community Profile; Stage IV: Add any new data; Stage V: Construct quantitative and qualitative models showing probable outcomes of impact; Stage VI: (i) Feedback to the community (ii) Adjust draft report where appropriate, and (iii) Produce final report (Jacobs 1977: Part II: 21-3).

⁶¹⁴Finsterbusch & Wolf 1977: 153-313. See these in the context of the development of SIA at Section 4.3.2.[d], where they are defined.

⁶¹⁵Finsterbusch distinguishes between impacts upon the quality of life of individuals (1977b: 13-6); on organisations (1977b: 16-8); and on communities (1977b: 18-20). Singh (1977: 91) makes the point that both macro and micro levels of analysis should be intrinsic to SIAs.

- ▶ There are some basic rules for analysts to keep in mind when conducting SIAs⁶¹⁶.

4.3.2. TRANSFORMATION AND CONSOLIDATION

[a] The 1980s became years of immense transformation and consolidation for Social Impact Assessment (SIA)⁶¹⁷:

Positive definitions of Social Impact Assessment began to emerge, in some case drawing on the (lack of) experience of the 1970s. A good working definition for Cramer, Dietz and Johnston was that of the consultants, Duncan and Jones:

‘ A social impact assessment... is the identification, analysis⁶¹⁸ and evaluation of a social impact resulting from a particular event’ where a social impact is defined as a ‘significant improvement or deterioration in people’s well-being or a significant change in an aspect of community concern⁶¹⁹’.

The usefulness of this definition for Cramer, Dietz and Johnston⁶²⁰ lies in the following features:

- it is focused on people rather than institutions;
- it includes matters of community concern; and
- it breaks the assessment process up into distinct steps.

⁶¹⁶Be transparent, honest, seek opinions, do not make subjective judgements about what people tell you and experience the local situation as much as possible (Jacobs 1977: Part II: 10).

⁶¹⁷Taylor, Goodrich & Bryan 1995: 143-5.

⁶¹⁸‘Prediction’ is often substituted for ‘analysis’ because it is a more accurate representation of that part of the process.

⁶¹⁹Cramer, Dietz and Johnston 1980: 64.

⁶²⁰1980: 64.

The questionable aspects of this definition for them⁶²¹ is that:

- ← the two criteria of ‘people’s well-being’ and ‘community concerns’ can be inconsistent;
- ← uncertainty exists with respect to the inclusion of ‘people’ and ‘communities’;
- ← external factors may distort the impact; and
- ← depending on a person’s view-point, a single impact may be either an improvement, a deterioration, or both, in different respects.

[bi] Some state of the art exercises placed SIA in the context of other types of policy research and impact assessment, thereby giving SIA a clearer identity. Meidinger and Schnaiberg⁶²² attempted to distinguish Social Impact Assessment (SIA) from the *wider* Evaluation Research (ER) method. For Meidinger and Schnaiberg, SIA and ER both participate in a movement to make public policy more scientific. While they share the central problem facing applied social science, that is, the description of the causes of social change, ER tends to benefit from better-defined questions which relate to formulated goals. Despite this SIA for Meidinger and Schnaiberg⁶²³ goes beyond ER in two significant ways. The first is *structural*. SIA is concerned with **both** *public* and *private* interventions which impact upon public life while ER is essentially concerned with public interventions only. The second is *methodological*, as the majority of SIAs have been applied to interventions which take place in the future only. However, the researcher of this thesis would challenge the perception which goes with this second assertion. That is that SIA is an instrument to analyse prospective interventions. The basis for challenging that perception is his elaboration of the types of evaluation elsewhere⁶²⁴ where Impact Assessment in general is included amongst the *diachronic* type of evaluation as impacts could be past, present or future. Nevertheless, Meidinger and Schnaiberg must be commended for their attempt to give SIA some substance during its formative years.

⁶²¹Cramer, Dietz & Johnston 1980: 68-72.

⁶²²1980: 509-32.

⁶²³1980: 510-1.

⁶²⁴including formative, summative and diachronic (Marais 1992: 65-90).

[bii] Finsterbusch⁶²⁵ engages in a similar exercise by setting SIA in the context of four other basic types of policy research in a quasi-project cycle⁶²⁶ beginning with *problem identification* which is then followed by *policy development*, *impact assessment*, *programme evaluation* and *programme improvement*. While this is a simplistic framework, for just as the project cycle literature shows that too often reality proves different, the framework nevertheless firmly establishes SIA's place in the milieu in which it operates. Finsterbusch⁶²⁷ then describes what for him are the main fields of SIA, namely *new technologies*, *constructed facilities*, *environment use plans*, *environmental designs* and *development projects in the third world*. Again, reality presents a variety of challenges and therefore many other types of SIA can be added to these mentioned, but they are nevertheless a guide for first time users. The methodology for SIA that Finsterbusch approves of due to its definitive and thorough nature is that of C P Wolf⁶²⁸ which is described in Section [d] below.

[biii] Murdock, Leistriz and Hamm⁶²⁹, in their attempt to contextualise Social Impact Assessment (SIA), separated *social impacts* out from a whole series of impacts which the literature has incorporated as being part of the field of *socio-economic impact assessment*. Such other *socio-economic* impacts include economic, demographic, administrative and fiscal impacts. In doing so they have not produced a mere list of impacts. In each case they raise pertinent issues that should be raised for that particular type of impact. In the case of *social impacts* this could be done by asking the following questions:

'(1) Do large-scale projects alter the social interaction patterns and social structural compositions of rural communities?

(2) Do such projects lead to major disruptions in social control mechanisms

⁶²⁵1985: 194-6.

⁶²⁶Thahane 1974: 456-9; Rondinelli 1979: 49; Johnson 1984: 111-31; Baum & Tolbert 1985: 334-5; Marais 1992: 45-9. See also Chapter 2, Section 2.3.[d].

⁶²⁷1985: 197-8.

⁶²⁸Wolf 1983: 17-32; Finsterbusch 1985: 199-201.

⁶²⁹1986: 101-111.

in rural areas, and thus result in increased rates of crime, delinquency, marital dissolution, etc?

(3) What groups are most positively and which are most negatively impacted by such projects (eg the elderly, the poor, the young)?

(4) What levels of psychological stress are placed on persons living in the siting areas of large-scale projects, and, if stress is included, does it have temporary or permanent effects on area residents?

(5) Overall, do rural residents perceive large-scale projects as having had positive or negative impacts on their communities, and which aspects do they believe have been most positively and negatively impacted?⁶³⁰

Of course there are many other pertinent issues or questions which may be asked. Box 4.2 overleaf encapsulates what for Van Willigen⁶³¹ are important factors influencing SIAs. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will add its own as well⁶³². The point is that Murdock, Leistriz, Hamm and Van Willigen have significantly contributed to the development of Social Impact Assessment by building upon the foundational work begun in the 1970s.

[c] In view of the foregoing, Social Impact Assessment has emerged as a specialist field, for the impact of interventions upon the human and social dimensions require a focused attention. However, the broad range of issues which influence a Social Impact Assessment demand that its specialists cannot afford to isolate themselves from other disciplines as human life is dependent upon other life forms and has consequences beyond itself.

[d] As a result of the clearer identity that began to come to SIA, new and refined methodological approaches began to emerge in the 1980s⁶³³ which built on some of this

⁶³⁰ Murdock, Leistriz & Hamm 1986: 109.

⁶³¹ 1986: 162.

⁶³² See Section 4.3.4..

⁶³³ Wolf 1983: 17-32.

Project Factors

Project types (dams, channelisation, canals, reservoirs, irrigation systems, etc)

Project scale

Project use (flood control, domestic water, irrigation, water quality improvement, recreation)

Community Factors

Population density

Culture and cultural diversity

Residential stability and community cohesion

Uniformity of impact

Community knowledge of project

Administrative Factors

Lead agency

Existence and nature of guidelines

Case law

Researcher Factors

Knowledge of laws and SIA practices

Availability of time and personnel

Quality of secondary data and its availability

Political Factors

Level of community value consensus on the project, for or against

Openness of planning process

Level of organisation of resistance or advocacy

Methodological Factors

State of the art

Box 4.2: Factors influencing Social Impact Assessments

(Source: Van Willigen 1986: 162)

point in time kind of work begun in the late 1970s. In general, the basic steps toward a SIA at this came to include scoping, problem identification, formulation of alternatives, profiling, projection, assessment, evaluation, mitigation, monitoring and management as logical steps to follow⁶³⁴.

Scoping attempts to determine the **extent** and **level** of the intended impact, in time and space, which may take the form of a policy, programme or project. In determining those boundaries demographic and ethnographic factors may need to be considered amongst

⁶³⁴Compare this with the three steps of the 1970s: scoping, projecting and assessment. See Section 4.3.1.[d].

other factors that capture the essence of the impact⁶³⁵.

Problem identification attempts to ascertain the **cause** or **forces** which give rise to the impact. Perceptions may play a significant role in this regard⁶³⁶.

Formulation of alternatives seeks to arrive at a **reasonable course of action**. Factors such as change agents, instruments and types of system, and secondary impacts may be the subject for interviews, workshops and other research techniques⁶³⁷.

Profiling is the endeavour to discover exactly **who** has, is, or will be affected by the impact. This requires that select impact categories are given dimensions or described using indicators. This facilitates drawing up a social profile of the impact. Site specific primary data is necessary for this task⁶³⁸.

Projection predicts what the impact will **do** in specific and general terms. The kind of impact and its extent must feature in these profiles. Existing trends are important in terms of their interaction with the impact. Total system dynamics should be taken in account. Scenarios, forecasting, and simulation are different means of showing the possibilities that may occur in reality⁶³⁹. For Meidinger and Schnaiberg, Kotler provides a comprehensive typology which can be used as an important framework for making projections:

- '(1) what people say (ie, surveys asking people what they would do in a given situation);
- (2) what people do (ie, controlled studies along the lines just discussed - the main problem being to control for the influences of other variables);

⁶³⁵Wolf 1983: 17-9; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁶³⁶Wolf 1983: 17, 20-1; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁶³⁷Wolf 1983: 17, 22-3; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁶³⁸Wolf 1983: 17, 23-5; Finsterbusch 1985: 205-6; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁶³⁹Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 518-25; Bowles 1981: 15-24; Soderstrom 1981: 14-7; Wolf 1983: 17, 25-6; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 169-72; Dominek 1986: 36.

(3) what people have done (ie, past trends and relationships)⁶⁴⁰.

Assessment is the step that estimates the difference the impact makes. Comparisons with an element of measurement against all the options including a no action option need to be made⁶⁴¹.

Evaluation ranks the impact according the public's need and the possible alternatives. Trade-offs between the impact and its alternatives are considered. Ultimately preferences of those to be impacted upon should take precedence in the matter⁶⁴².

Mitigation reviews the unavoidable negative impacts and identifies possible means of limiting those adverse affects and/or modifying the impact. The assumption that great uncertainty prevails with regard to such impacts ensures that the broadest spectrum of mitigating avenues are explored including a reconsideration of the desirability of the impact⁶⁴³.

Monitoring measures the actual impact as it occurs with any predictions that were made. Reporting back to the people involved or impacted upon is essential. General preferences are reconsidered along with possible revisions⁶⁴⁴.

Management comprises the drawing up of a management plan to ensure that the impact continues to conform to criteria determined by those people impacted upon. This means drawing up policy as well as beginning to consider alternative impacts again⁶⁴⁵.

⁶⁴⁰Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 519-20.

⁶⁴¹Wolf 1983: 17, 27-8; Finsterbusch 1985: 208; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁶⁴²Wolf 1983: 17, 28-9; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁶⁴³Freudenburg & Keating 1982: 75; Wolf 1983: 17, 29-30; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁶⁴⁴Wolf 1983: 18, 30-1; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁶⁴⁵Wolf 1983: 18; Dominek 1986: 37.

These steps ensure that a social impact in question is adequately assessed, that appropriate action is formulated to mitigate against any negative effects and that the impact as a whole is adequately managed before and/or after it occurs.

[e] Some clear guidelines were provided by agencies such as the US Forest Service:

- Focus should be restricted to the major social concerns revealed in the scoping process.
- Social effects should be sought in an analytical rather than encyclopedic manner.
- Before collecting new data, all existing databases should be utilised. The idea is not to gather as much data as possible, but to gather as little as necessary for the task at hand.
- There should be explicit recognition that social effects may be positive or negative depending on the way they are viewed.
- Both direct and indirect social effects should be addressed.
- No one method or approach for data gathering should be recommended. Rather it is recognised that the appropriate methods and approaches for social analysis will vary with the kinds of impacts anticipated.
- The area for the assessment might vary with the proposed action and the effects being investigated.
- The format of reporting of social effects will depend on what is found.
- It should be recognised that individual social effects sometimes may be subtle and defy precise interpretation, but cumulatively these effects may be very large⁶⁴⁶.

These guidelines have been formulated as a result of practical experience. They should, therefore, be heeded when conducting Social Impact Assessments especially since they provide suggestions which are supplementary to the basic steps of SIAs.

⁶⁴⁶Taylor, Goodrich and Bryan 1995: 143-4.

4.3.3. RECENT MOVEMENTS WITHIN SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

The 1990s have witnessed major developments in Social Impact Assessment (SIA). These become more poignant when seen in the context of the life of SIA over the last twenty-five years or so. First, there has been a double movement from the meso level of culture and tradition (i) to the micro level of people as individuals and as actors in a particular context (neighbourhoods, environments, etc) and (ii) to the macro, broader context. The relationship SIA has had with Environmental Impact Statements in the USA has played a part in this. Parallel to this there has been the second movement in SIA from being a national instrument to one gaining international recognition and use.

4.3.3.1. From culture and tradition

One of the significant changes that the 1980s brought to SIA was through an awareness of the relationship between impacts and the cultural milieus in which people operate⁶⁴⁷. Thus culture became incorporated as an essential dimension of SIAs⁶⁴⁸. To this end cultural anthropologists have been employed to conduct SIAs⁶⁴⁹ and the use of Cochran's⁶⁵⁰ *Cultural Appraisal* has been promoted⁶⁵¹. The result of this effort has produced some SIAs⁶⁵² which show why it is necessary to take cognisance of the relationship between culture and impacts. Despite this emphasis, however, other SIAs⁶⁵³ have

⁶⁴⁷De'Ath 1982: 449; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 3; Schoeffel 1995: 155.

⁶⁴⁸Soderstrom 1981: v; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 63; Conyers & Hills 1984: 141; Gramling & Freudenburg 1992: 218, 220-1; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 11, 19, 27.

⁶⁴⁹Van Willigen 1986: 155.

⁶⁵⁰1979a: 86.

⁶⁵¹Conyers & Hills 1984: 143.

⁶⁵²Schwartz & Eckhardt 1985: 77-81; Gilder 1995: 180.

⁶⁵³Howell 1983: 347; Taylor & Bryan 1990: 40-1.

failed to address this issue adequately while some ignore it entirely⁶⁵⁴. Nevertheless, the general development within SIA suggests that the attention given to the relationship between culture and impacts has been adequate and that other issues can be explored.

4.3.3.1.1. to people

While people have been at the very heart of SIA from its inception, that concern has been expressed in broad terms. 'Social effects', 'human and social well-being' and people being referred to in terms of 'community' are particular examples⁶⁵⁵. Parallel to the developments in respect of culture, a movement closer to people has emerged in SIA:

- people as the measures of impacts;
- the precise relationship between people and impacts; and
- microanalysis of the above,

have become important issues⁶⁵⁶.

4.3.3.1.2. to the broader context

Ironically, the movement from culture to people spurred off demands for SIAs to take cognisance of the broader contexts in which impacts happen as well. This, however, was more than a statement of the fact that social impacts should include a variety of effects - sociological, psychological, cultural, political, economic, as the emphasis fell on the processes pertaining to impacts⁶⁵⁷. Needless to say, the fact that SIA has its roots in an

⁶⁵⁴Rickson, Burdge, Hundloe & McDonald 1990: 235.

⁶⁵⁵Cramer, Dietz & Johnston 1980: 64; Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 509; Bowles 1981: 3, 7; De'Ath 1982: 445; Freudenburg & Keating 1982: 73; Schwartz & Eckhardt 1985: 78; Freudenburg 1986: 471; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 83-4.

⁶⁵⁶Freudenburg & Olsen 1983: 67-8; Reilly 1985: 33; Sarr 1985: 67, 69; Schwartz & Eckhardt 1985: 79, 81; Van Willigen 1986: 155; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 83; Derman 1990: 107; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 4; Taylor & Bryan 1990: 44-5; Howitt 1993: 127; Gilder 1995: 182; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 11.

⁶⁵⁷Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 520-1; Bowles 1981: 8-9, De'Ath 1982: 445; Wisner 1985: 262; Van Willigen 1986: 170; Derman 1990: 111; Pinho & Pires 1991: 4; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 14-7.

environmental background and has constantly engaged with its roots, facilitated the need for SIA to establish and maintain links with the multiplicity of processes which interface with impacts.

4.3.3.2. From national requisite to international instrument

[a] The spread of SIA to other countries throughout the world has been fairly rapid. SIA has come to be established in a number of 'developed' countries from the 1970s onwards⁶⁵⁸. Like its American counterpart, the establishment in some cases has taken the similar route of environmental legislation. However, in most cases it has been the implicit requirement that has accelerated the use of the instrument. A case in point is New Zealand where SIA work was begun in the mid-1970s, but the real impetus came with the 'think big' strategy of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This energy-based strategy aimed to achieve growth and to deal with unemployment, a shortage of foreign exchange, low productivity and inflation⁶⁵⁹.

[b] The use of SIA in 'developing' countries or countries 'of the South' has been fostered by the general failure of development and the need to deal with resulting problems⁶⁶⁰. Agricultural projects, health programmes, political systems and soil and water conservation programmes have therefore been the focus of some SIAs in those parts of the world⁶⁶¹.

⁶⁵⁸ Australia: Howitt 1989: 153. Finland: Juslén 1995: 163-4. New Zealand: Taylor & Bryan 1990: 38-9; Cocklin & Kelly 1992: 41-2; Taylor, Goodrich & Bryan 1995: 144. South Africa: Barendse & Visser 1995: 178n. United Kingdom: Houghton 1988: 21.

⁶⁵⁹ See the New Zealand references above. For other cases see Bowles 1981: 1; Pinho & Pires 1991: 3; Dewulf & Becker 1993: 225; Gagnon, Hirsch & Howitt 1993: 229; Howitt 1993: 127-8; Seidman 1993: 14-5; Sutton, Devlin & Simmons 1993: 255.

⁶⁶⁰ Sarr 1985: 67; Burdge 1990: 125; Henry 1990: 91-2; Hindmarsh 1990: 196-7.

⁶⁶¹ Sarr 1985: 69; Stock 1985: 219; Wisner 1985: 262-3; Atampugre 1993: 34-162; Hinchcliffe, Guijt, Pretty & Shah 1995: 3.

4.3.3.3. Further movements

The consequence of the above-mentioned double movement, from culture to people on the one hand, and to the broader context on the other, has led to further movements:

- Away from sterile impact statements⁶⁶² to enlightenment of decision-making⁶⁶³;
- Away from SIA been seen as anticipatory⁶⁶⁴ dealing with future impacts only to a more diachronic⁶⁶⁵ mode dealing with past and present impacts as well;
- Away from an emphasis on the role of the analyst exercising a science⁶⁶⁶ toward participatory development⁶⁶⁷ which requires and permits a greater role for the people concerned; and
- A change from the old style positivistic⁶⁶⁸ to hermeneutical⁶⁶⁹ methodology.

The cumulative effect of these movements has resulted in the refining of this method of social analysis. The extent to which it may be appropriate to evaluate development impacts from an anthropocentric perspective is examined below.

⁶⁶²Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 8; Pinho & Pires 1991: 4.

⁶⁶³Carley & Bustelo 1984: 39, 83; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 83; Derman 1990: 111; Rickson, Burdge, Hundloe & McDonald 1990: 234; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 3, 9.

⁶⁶⁴Soderstrom 1981: vi; Freudenburg 1986: 451; Taylor & Bryan 1990: 44.

⁶⁶⁵Bowles 1981: 10-11; Geisler 1993: 328.

⁶⁶⁶Van Willigen 1986: 170; Dietz 1987: 58-61; Bronfman 1991: 69.

⁶⁶⁷Bowles 1981: 101-2; De'Ath 1982: 445; Freudenburg & Olsen 1983: 77; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 83-5; Sarr 1985: 67, 69, 74; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 85; Derman 1990: 107; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 3-4; Dale & Lane 1994: 253.

⁶⁶⁸Cramer, Dietz & Johnson 1980: 72-6; Soderstrom 1981: 17-29; Finsterbusch 1985: 205-11; Van Willigen 1986: 167-70.

⁶⁶⁹Finsterbusch 1985: 211; Pinho & Pires 1991: 4; Gilder 1995: 183-8; Hinchcliffe, Guijt, Pretty & Shan 1995: 6.

4.3.4. AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION OF SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

4.3.4.1. People-centredness

While SIA may be highly commended for the extent of its people-centredness⁶⁷⁰, it is in the Anthropocentric Development Evaluation area of the poor to be a special focus where this methodology is sadly lacking. Schwartz and Eckhardt⁶⁷¹ comment that it is more explicitly in the social sciences in general, rather than SIA, that the 'poor majority,' that is, the rural poor in developing nations, gain attention. While it is true as they continue to say that SIA can easily embrace a focus on 'the poor' SIA needs to take up that challenge in order to deal with its present track record⁶⁷².

4.3.4.2. Actor-orientation

SIA, being concerned with impacts, is essentially action-oriented⁶⁷³. Rickson, Western and Burdge⁶⁷⁴ nevertheless urge that SIA should take cognisance of the social actors involved and the critical processes which happen in association with the relationships between those actors. However, it is De'ath who has the greatest sense of an actor-oriented analysis by suggesting that SIA should be able to 'tease out internal ideological

⁶⁷⁰See Section 4.3.3.1.1. above.

⁶⁷¹1985: 78-9.

⁶⁷²For references in respect of the poor and vulnerable, see: Jacobs 1977: Part IV: 2-3; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 204; Henry 1990: 92, women: Carley & Bustelo 1984: 212-3 and, children and youth: Carley & Bustelo 1984: 212-3; Seyfrit & Sadler-Hammer 1988: 58-9.

⁶⁷³Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 509; Soderstrom 1981: 14-9; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 19; Reilly 1985: 33; Interorganizational Committee: 1995: 11.

⁶⁷⁴1990: 3.

differences and monitor (the) local situation⁶⁷⁵.

4.3.4.3. Culture and knowledge

In addition to the growing awareness of the relationship between culture and impacts⁶⁷⁶, SIA has increasingly also placed special emphasis on the importance of local knowledge⁶⁷⁷. The need for SIAs to be a learning and iterative process⁶⁷⁸ for the people involved, as well as those conducting the assessments, has also been stressed. Informing people of the results of SIAs has been taken to be a matter of course⁶⁷⁹.

4.3.4.4. Limitations, risk, uncertainty and vulnerability

SIA places significant emphasis on this dimension of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation⁶⁸⁰. Essentially, this stems from the fact that before impacts are assessed and implemented, their extent and the risks involved are not certain. SIA, by virtue of its mitigation process⁶⁸¹, attempts to limit impacts as much as possible, particularly for those who are most vulnerable to the negative consequences. The anticipatory nature of SIA⁶⁸² is inextricably linked to this concern of SIA.

⁶⁷⁵De'Ath 1982: 445.

⁶⁷⁶See Section 4.3.3.1. above.

⁶⁷⁷Van Willigen 1986: 112; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 83; Derman 1990: 111-2.

⁶⁷⁸Cramer, Dietz & Johnston 1980: 61; Reilly 1985: 33; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 6; Rickson, Burdge, Hundloe & McDonald 1990: 234.

⁶⁷⁹De'Ath 1982: 445; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 109-13; Rickson, Western & Burdge 1990: 3.

⁶⁸⁰Soderstrom 1981: 2; Freudenburg & Olsen 1983: 70; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 175-9; Finsterbusch 1985: 211; Freudenburg 1986: 451-2, 472-3; Dietz 1987: 54; Rickson, Burdge, Hundloe & McDonald 1990: 234; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 37.

⁶⁸¹See Section 4.3.2.[d].

⁶⁸²See Section 4.3.2.[bi].

4.3.4.5. Participation

SIA's earlier emphasis of incorporating people into assessments took the form of 'public involvement'⁶⁸³. While this was more a case of 'mere' involvement, a turn around making assessments significantly more participatory has happened in due course⁶⁸⁴. The prime motivation for this is that the people concerned need to implement the outcome of SIAs and therefore their participation is intrinsic to the process.

4.3.4.6. Reforming Social Impact Assessment

[a] As this analysis has made clear, SIA needs to begin to focus more on the marginalised. It is reasonable to assume, given the literature, that those who have been consulted with, involved and who have participated in SIAs have been powerful, wealthy, western and/or male. Parallel to this is the need to develop further the actor-oriented sense that SIA has begun to appreciate.

[b] There is also a need to continue the learning process in SIAs. This should happen on a double front - (i) Analysts to learn from the people about their environment (economic, natural, national, physical, political, social) and the people's perceptions of the intended impact. (ii) Analysts to inform the people about their understanding of the impact from theoretical and praxis perspectives.

[c] The participatory trend should be strengthened to:

- include the people in the total process;
- emphasise the corporate decision-making process parallel to individual choices made.

⁶⁸³Freudenburg & Olsen 1983: 67-9; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 7; Burdge & Robertson 1990: 81, 84-7; Interorganizational Committee 1995: 25.

⁶⁸⁴See Section 4.3.3.3..

[d] Develop the cultural emphasis to continue:

- to uncover hidden cultural traits, given the subtle nature of culture;
- to emphasise the intrinsic nature of culture to impacts and their consequences.

[e] Attempts should be made to unshackle SIA from its environmental roots to give it room to manoeuvre. SIA needs to develop its humanness. However, the connection with environment is useful *vis-à-vis* the current sustainability debate in development literature.

4.4. THE COMPLEMENTARY RURAL DEVELOPMENT FIELD TOOLS

Rural Development in the South has focused attention mostly on bringing about change in order to ameliorate poverty. This challenge is compounded by the constant interaction between physical, biological and socio-economic phenomena as people attempt to maintain their livelihoods through the production of agriculturally related products in adverse environments. To some extent the interaction between these phenomena explain the variety of research methods that have emerged through Rural Development practice. This variety of methods includes both conventional research methods, including laboratory and research station trials, and what the researcher of this thesis describes as Complementary Field Tools. The Complementary Field Tools include Farming Systems Research, Agro-ecological Analysis, Farmer Participatory Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal. The use of these methods is determined mostly by:

- available funding and/or the extent to which they find acceptance by funding organisations;
- the extent to which 'participation' and indigenous knowledge is valued.

While these methods exist, each in their own right, there has been significant borrowing and interaction between them. This process of borrowing and interaction is likely to contribute to their continued survival.

4.4.1. FARMING SYSTEMS RESEARCH

[a] The view that increased agricultural production would be a pragmatic response to the poverty of many countries of the South was current in the 1960s and 1970s. While the Green Revolution facilitated improving crop varieties and yields, transferring this new technology to farmers, particularly those in **difficult**⁶⁸⁵ or **complex, diverse and risk prone**⁶⁸⁶ areas proved unsuccessful. Critics of this failure contended that technology transfer programming, despite promoting inappropriate technology, failed to appreciate the ecological and socio-economic milieus farmers operate in precisely because they did not collaborate with the farmers themselves⁶⁸⁷. Nevertheless, this provided the initial incentive⁶⁸⁸ for Farming Systems Research (FSR)⁶⁸⁹.

[b] FSR views farming enterprises holistically. Each farm is a system. FSR focuses on the relationship between those interdependent entities controlled by the farm household and those entities which are not. Thus factors such as environmental characteristics, farm family goals and perceptions, resource availability, enterprise choice and management styles are important to FSR. Thereby FSR emphasises the need for:

- location specific technology where choice and development is influenced by farmers and,
- farmers' needs and problems to determine research agendas⁶⁹⁰.

⁶⁸⁵Farrington 1988: 270.

⁶⁸⁶Chambers, Pacey & Thrupp 1989b: xiii.

⁶⁸⁷Altieri 1984: 45.

⁶⁸⁸Collinson 1987: 365; Byerlee & Tripp 1988: 138; Lightfoot, De Guja & Ocado 1988: 302; Hilderbrand, Singh, Bellows, Campbell & Jama 1993: 220; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 30.

⁶⁸⁹Farming Systems Research which emerged in the 1970s (De Walt 1985: 106; Heinemann & Biggs 1985: 59) has also been referred to as Farming Systems Adaptive Research (FSAR) (Collinson 1987: 365) and Farming Systems Research and Extension (FSR&E) (Norman, Frakenberger & Hilderbrand 1994: 124; Mc Corkle & Mc Clure 1995: 325). See those authors and Hilderbrand, Singh, Bellows, Campbell & Jama (1993: 219) for the nuances they stress by their particular nomenclature.

⁶⁹⁰Shaner, Phillipp & Schmehl 1982: 13; De Walt 1985: 106; Tripp 1985: 115; Collinson 1988: 8; Kishindo 1988: 102; Sumberg & Okali 1989: 110.

The **farmer-back-to-farmer**⁶⁹¹ and **farmer-first-and-last**⁶⁹² models epitomise FSR. The holistic approach to farming systems has had at least three results:

- Related issues such as health, nutrition, socio-cultural factors, women, poverty, sustainability, agro-forestry and participation have been given due consideration⁶⁹³;
- FSR is growing into an interdisciplinary form of research⁶⁹⁴;
- A critical tension exists between the field tool and its users⁶⁹⁵.

[c] FSR procedures include: target grouping; diagnosis; planning; experimentation and assessment; and, recommendation and extension⁶⁹⁶. Hilderbrand's⁶⁹⁷ Sondeo using mixed teams of agricultural and social scientists may be described as an early form of FSR, while Fresco & Westphal's⁶⁹⁸ hierarchial system using ecological and socio-economic factors to rank farm systems is a more recent contribution. A slight variation on FSR is On Farm Research (OFR). While OFR also emphasises locally appropriate technology, it focuses on a limited number of enterprises on farms. However, it maintains its farming systems approach by taking the interaction between those selected enterprises and the rest of the system into account. Its research procedures are similar to those of

⁶⁹¹Rhoades & Booth 1982: 132-6.

⁶⁹²Chambers & Ghildyal 1985: 13-27.

⁶⁹³Maxwell 1984b: 34; De Walt 1985: 106; Tripp 1985: 115; Lightfoot, De Guia & Ocado 1988: 302; Edwards, Grove, Harwood & Colfer 1993: 112-8; Hilderbrand, Singh, Bellows, Campbell & Jama 1993: 223-35; Biggs 1995: 161; Bimbao, Lopez & Lightfoot 1995: 28.

⁶⁹⁴In the 1970s FSR was conducted by agriculturalists and economists, but by the 1980s anthropologists and sociologists were included in fieldwork teams (Gasson 1971: 29-30; De Walt 1985: 106-7; Tripp 1985: 115; Brush 1986: 221-2; Byerlee & Tripp 1988: 145-8; Kishindo 1988: 105; Babu, Warren & Rajasekaran 1995: 211.

⁶⁹⁵Byerlee & Tripp (1988: 139-48) challenges 'FSR' to develop its research and interdisciplinary linkages, while Maxwell (1984a: 3-16) and Biggs (1995: 162-4) make strong cases for case studies and a political economy approach, respectively, in order to improve FSR's performance.

⁶⁹⁶Richards 1983: 7-11; De Walt 1985: 107; Kishindo 1988: 103-4; IDS Workshop 1989c: 102.

⁶⁹⁷1981: 425-6.

⁶⁹⁸1988: 410-16.

FSR⁶⁹⁹.

[d] While FSR has found extensive coverage throughout the South⁷⁰⁰ and even in countries in the North⁷⁰¹, it has not been without its problems. Richards⁷⁰² struck methodological problems in West Africa: the complexity of agricultural practices posed problems of quantification while social units challenged attempts at definition. Collinson⁷⁰³ on the basis of his experience in Ethiopia, Kenya and Zambia found that a denial of democracy, a false consciousness, an academic blockage⁷⁰⁴ and budgetary constraints inhibited FSR gaining greater application in those countries.

4.4.2. AGRO-ECOSYSTEMS ANALYSIS

[a] Agro-ecosystems Analysis (AEA) is a technique within the framework of the FSR and Integrated Rural Development (IRD) approaches to rural development which emerged during the late 1970s. While FSR and IRD are holistic and interdisciplinary research approaches they tend to be too broad-scale and dependent on formal techniques of systems analysis. AEA, while maintaining a basic systems analysis, attempts to be more rigorous and focused, yet flexible and inclusive⁷⁰⁵.

⁶⁹⁹Tripp 1985: 115-21; Sumberg & Okali 1989: 109-112.

⁷⁰⁰Richards 1983: 1-7, 12-28; Altieri 1984: 46-7; Rose & Tapson 1984: 167-72, 174-7; Nji & Sama 1987: 289-97; Colfer, Gill & Agus 1988: 193-200; Collinson 1988: 9-12; Kishindo 1988: 104-5; Gibbon & Schultz 1992: 205-8; Kanwar, Virmani & Das 1992: 2-6; Byerlee & Husain 1993: 156-168; Holden 1993: 242-4; Wahbi, Mazid & Jones 1994: 172-4.

⁷⁰¹Norman, Frankenberger & Hilderbrand 1994: 125-8.

⁷⁰²1983: 10-11.

⁷⁰³1988: 12-4.

⁷⁰⁴See also Heinemann & Biggs 1985: 60.

⁷⁰⁵Conway 1985: 33.

[b] Methodologically, AEA assumes that complete knowledge of agro-ecosystems⁷⁰⁶ is not necessary as knowledge gained by obtaining complete answers to a limited number of appropriate questions is sufficient to understand the key behavioural properties of agro-ecosystems. Further, AEA assumes that significant improvement can be brought to the performance of an agro-ecosystem through limited changes in its management. On the basis of these assumptions, agro-ecosystems are analysed (and modified) in terms of productivity, stability, sustainability and equitability. Systems are defined and patterns analysed using laboratory, field and development experiments, field surveys and extension trials⁷⁰⁷. An interesting result of this research methodology is the changed perception by some professionals that illiterate rural people can construct and understand diagrams. Thus, the use of maps, transects, calendars, flow charts and Venn diagrams have been successfully used in AEA⁷⁰⁸. This closely links up with the literature on indigenous technical knowledge⁷⁰⁹.

4.4.3. FARMER PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

[a] After a decade of experience, the literature has identified at least four key areas which Farmer Participatory Research (FPR) should give particular attention to:

- farmer experimentation
- institution building
- distribution of resources and dissemination of information
- knowledge shortfalls⁷¹⁰.

⁷⁰⁶hybrid ecosystems modified by people through the production of agricultural products.

⁷⁰⁷Gleissman, Garcia & Amador 1981: 175; Conway 1985: 34-48; 1987: 99-103; 1994: 3-8; Ellis & Swift 1988: 451-7; Marten 1988: 292-315.

⁷⁰⁸Conway 1989: 77-83; Gupta & IDS Workshop 1989: 86-92; Lightfoot, De Guia, Aliman & Ocado 1989: 95-100.

⁷⁰⁹See Chapter 3, Section 3.6.1.2..

⁷¹⁰Baker 1991: 125; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 87.

This assessment of FPR shows that this field tool has been complementary⁷¹¹ to the farming systems and related forms of research. The catalytic reversal⁷¹² of the existing research towards developing sustainable, community-based research capabilities by FPR establishing new political and social institutions⁷¹³ has not quite happened.

[b] The adverse conditions under which farmers in the South farm as well as their limited participation in Farming Systems Research (FSR) and On-Farm Research (OFR) are among the negative factors which gave rise to the development of FPR in the mid 1980s⁷¹⁴. From a positive perspective the following are some essential premises of this approach:

- innovations come from a variety of sources, including farmers;
- many farmers actively seek, experiment with, and share relevant technologies with others;
- there are elements of local farming systems which have not been researched using formal methods;
- there is value in including farmer experiments alongside formal research⁷¹⁵.

[c] Given these premises and the wide range of issues faced by FSR, it is understandable that no particular limits would have been set for FPR. Nevertheless, the general trend in the literature has been to focus FPR on farmer experiments which happen alongside formal research. Essentially this means that experiments conducted by either farmer or researcher alone are excluded from FPR⁷¹⁶.

⁷¹¹Heinrich, Worman & Koketso 1991: 1.

⁷¹²Chambers 1988: 50.

⁷¹³Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 2.

⁷¹⁴Farrington 1988: 275; Baker 1991: 125.

⁷¹⁵Biggs 1980: 23-4; Eyzaguirre 1992: 13-4; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 1, 2, 15, 19.

⁷¹⁶Eyzaguirre 1992: 11-2, 21-7; Merrill-Sands, Ewell, Biggs, Bingen, McAllister & Poats 1992: 113-6; Voss 1992: 34; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 16, 18, 24.

[d] During the past ten years different frameworks have been offered to assess farmer 'participation' in agricultural research⁷¹⁷. Also various methods of stimulating and ensuring farmer participation have been developed⁷¹⁸. Further, and most importantly, an assessment has been made of farmer participation. With regard to the latter, Okali, Sumberg and Farrington using Biggs' typology⁷¹⁹ assert that:

'there has been something of a shift from a contractual/consultative to a consultative/collaborative relationship. On the other hand, we would argue, there has not been significant progress in creating a 'collegiate interface' between more formal research and farmers' own experimental activities⁷²⁰.

While there may be some truth in their assessment, what is also true is a growing literature which shows both 'collegiate' type participation and a farmer involvement in on-station research⁷²¹.

[e] Despite the above-mentioned literature, the conservative assessment of FPR is probably a result of the particular boundaries placed on the field tool, that is, being limited to the inclusion of farmers' experiments in formal research. Were FPR to be inclusive of those experiments conducted by farmers alone, as is the case of Participatory Technology Development⁷²², then a far more positive assessment could be made⁷²³.

⁷¹⁷Ashby's (1987: 238-9) threefold typology of nominal, consultative, and decision-making forms of participation were used in crop (beans and potatoes) experimentation. Biggs' typology includes contract, consultation, collaboration, and college as different levels of participation (Farrington & Martin 1990: 30-1; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 72-3).

⁷¹⁸Lightfoot, De Guia & Ocado 1988: 302; Norman, Baker, Heinrich & Worman 1988: 322-7; Fujisaka 1989: 425-6; Farrington & Martin 1990: 33-8; Dvořák 1992: 85, 86-7.

⁷¹⁹This typology as suggested in a footnote above consists of contract, consultation, collaboration and college as different levels of participation.

⁷²⁰Okali, Sumberg and Farrington 1992: 94-6.

⁷²¹Prain, Uribe & Scheidegger 1992: 57; Sperling 1992: 100-3; Franzel, Hitimana & Akyeampong 1995: 28-9.

⁷²²FSR is frequently seen to be synonymous with Participatory Technology Development which is concerned more with participation in agricultural engineering (Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 13).

⁷²³See the compendiums edited by Haverkort, Van der Kamp and Water-Bayer (1991) and Hiemstra, Reijntjes and Van der Werf (1992) and Part IV of Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha's (1995).

4.4.4. RAPID AND PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL

Of all the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools, Rapid and Participatory Rural Appraisal are currently the most prominent. Credit must be given to Robert Chambers and to the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex in England for developing these methods and ensuring their worldwide employment.

4.4.4.1. Rapid Rural Appraisal

[a] Methodological challenges amongst a whole host of others abound in the local context of Rural Development. Responding to peoples' needs in a complex setting demands quick, cost effective, yet valid approaches to determine and achieve priorities. Participant observation of social anthropologists and scheduled questionnaires of economists and sociologists simply do not meet these criteria. The accurate assessment made through classical participant observation takes too long to give direction, while structured questionnaires, though usually statistically correct lose something usually of significance, of the essence of the research environment. Experience has shown that the instant advice of 'development experts' on the other hand, is usually conjectural. Further, the usual outsider biases prevail, that is, there is a marked preference for the exotic, mechanical, chemical or marketed rather than for the indigenous, human, organic or consumed. Also there is a focus on men, adults, the clean and the rich, rather than on women, children, the dirty and the poor⁷²⁴.

[b] Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) which emerged in the late 1970s attempted to respond to the methodological challenges of Rural Development, the constraints of conventional research and to **clean up** existing 'short-cut' methods which had been used for some time⁷²⁵. Early in these endeavours RRA was warned about its positivist tendencies. It

⁷²⁴Bartlett & Ikeorgu 1981: 451-2; Belshaw 1981: 12; Carruthers & Chambers 1981: 407-8; Chambers 1981: 95-8; 1983: 10-12, 51-5, 76-82, 172-9; McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 5-8; Cornwall, Guijt & Welbourn 1994: 108.

⁷²⁵Carruthers & Chambers 1981: 408; Chambers 1981: 95-6, 98, 1991: 518-22; 1992a: 6-7; 1993: 97; Swift 1981: 485; Cernea 1990: 1; Webber & Ison 1995: 107-8.

was also warned not to lose sight of the contextual nature of development indicators and the organisational and management dimensions of Rural Development. Further, it was encouraged to focus the collection and use of information on building local capacity⁷²⁶. Later⁷²⁷, (circa 1990) RRA was to be advised about two epistemological risks its faces: the first is intrinsic to its attempt at **data-economising**⁷²⁸, and concerns the problems of accuracy, validity, cultural fit and subjectivity. The second is extrinsic and concerns the indiscriminate use of the field tool. In response, RRA has sought:

- ▶ to assume an **optimal ignorance**⁷²⁹ - that is, knowing what is not worth knowing and thereby collecting only that information which is relevant;
- ▶ to use **triangulation**⁷³⁰ in validation, that is the use of a number of different sources to confirm the same information.

And to be:

- ▶ iterative, but with the reversal of temporary sojourners learning from rural people;
- ▶ innovative and explorative, using local knowledge as the basis of new ideas and skills;
- ▶ interactive, through sharing knowledge with other people from other rural environments and with rural outsiders, and through multi-disciplinary teams sharing their serendipity insights;
- ▶ informal, using flexible, semi-structured and dialogical interviewing techniques, which emphasise listening and learning, are unimposing, and, which seek out the marginalised to gain an understanding of concerns and priorities; and,
- ▶ community-based, learning in the field and discovering unique characteris-

⁷²⁶Belshaw 1981: 16-9; Richards 1981: 9-11; Wood 1981: 3-4; Honadle 1982: 633-40.

⁷²⁷Cernea 1990: 10-19.

⁷²⁸Belshaw 1981: 12.

⁷²⁹Ilchman & Uphoff 1971: 260-2; Ilchman 1972: 221 ; Chambers 1992a: 7; 1993: 18-9.

⁷³⁰See Mitchell & Slim 1991: 68; Marais 1992: 90-1; Moris & Copestake 1993: 47-51.

tics⁷³¹.

[c] In the process of attempting to produce quick, cost-effective methods RRA does not represent a breakaway from Farming Systems Research (FSR) and Agro-ecological Analysis (AEA). Rather, its development was inspired by FSR and AEA, together with Applied Anthropology and Participatory Action Research, and Farmer Participatory Research which emerged in due course. Something of these influences can be seen in the different types of RRA, namely, exploratory, topical, participatory and monitoring⁷³². However, RRA has moved from a mere focus on agricultural production in rural communities to a focus on rural life in general, of which agricultural production is one of its many distinguishing features⁷³³. This has enabled some farmers to share their perceptions of the conditions under which they farm. Thereby, these farmers have secured better extension services, amongst other resources.

[d] The use of 'appraisal' in RRA is generally in the diachronic sense⁷³⁴ of Evaluation Research though Wood⁷³⁵ contends that most RRAs are *ex-ante*⁷³⁶. The point often made about *ex-post* appraisals is that they are used, ideologically, to support or justify official or funder programmes and strategies⁷³⁷. In order to avoid these sort of conse-

⁷³¹Franzel & Crawford 1987: 15; McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 12-3; Chambers 1991: 522-3; 1992a: 7-8; 1994b: 1254-5; Moris & Copestake 1993: 39.

⁷³²McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 3, 50-73.

⁷³³McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 9-10; Cornwall, Guijt & Welbourn 1994: 107-8. Thus it is pertinent for RRA to assess any phenomena that is associated with rural life. Examples are provided in Bartlett & Ikeorgu 1981: 451-2; Collinson 1981: 433-44; Ellman 1981: 463-4; Longhurst 1981: 23-4; ODA Food Strategy Team 1981: 50; Palmer 1981: 32; Stocking & Abel 1981: 473-4; Swift 1981: 486; Taylor 1981: 225; Abalu, Fisher & Abdullahi 1987: 311-2; Rocheleau, Wachira, Malaret & Wanjohi 1989: 16-7; Arnould 1990: 339; Ison & Ampt 1992: 364; Drinkwater 1994: 134; Waites 1994: 6.

⁷³⁴Belshaw 1981: 12; Ellman 1981: 463; Palmer 1981: 33; McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 14, 16; Moris & Copestake 1993: 38.

⁷³⁵1981: 3.

⁷³⁶Cases include Bartlett & Ikeorgu 1981: 451-2; Stocking & Abel 1981: 473.

⁷³⁷Palmer 1981: 33; Wood 1981: 3.

quences of the *ex-ante-ex-post* debate Honadle and Cernea⁷³⁸ use the terms ‘reconnaissance’ and ‘procedures,’ respectively. But Cernea should be criticised for his broad concept. This is typical of some influences which prevail in the development literature.

4.4.4.2. Participatory Rural Appraisal: continuity or change?

[a] The momentum of the combination of factors which gave rise to Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) has continued to sustain it through the 1980s and into the 1990s. However, the increasing impetus given to ‘participation’ by some development practitioners and researchers during this period in association with their use of RRA has led to a mutation in the 1990s, namely, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Thus, PRA has similar roots⁷³⁹, is based on mostly the same principles⁷⁴⁰, draws from the same bag of tools⁷⁴¹, and explores the same issues⁷⁴², as RRA. Obviously the focus on people’s participation is far greater than it has been in RRA⁷⁴³.

[b] The distinctive feature which sets PRA apart from the other Complementary Rural Development Field Tools, including RRA, is its central intention and focus. The intention

⁷³⁸Honadle 1982: 633; Cernea 1990: 1.

⁷³⁹The RRA roots are so strong in PRA that there is a regular reference to RRA/PRA. See Chambers 1992b: 101; Cornwall 1992: 69; Moris & Copestake 1993: 95; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 14; and, Maxwell & Bart 1995: 28. Further, compare the roots of RRA at Section 4.4.4.1.[c] with Chambers’ (1994a: 954-7) five sources and parallels to PRA: activist participatory research, AEA, applied anthropology, field research on farming systems, RRA.

⁷⁴⁰Compare Section 4.4.4.1.[c] above with Theis & Grady 1991: 27-31; AFRA 1992: 3-4; Paliniswamy, Subramanian, Pretty & John 1992: 103; Participants 1993: 6-7; Chambers 1994b: 1254 and MIDNET PRA Interest Group 1994: 7-8.

⁷⁴¹As these all contribute to the range of Complementary Rural Development Field Tools, they are included in that range at Section 4.4.5..

⁷⁴²That is, rural life and all its complexities. See Section 4.4.4.1.[c] above.

⁷⁴³Yet, there is no doubt about a ‘participatory’ presence in RRA. RRA was influenced by Participatory Action Research and Farmer Participatory Research, amongst others, hence *Participatory RRA* as a type. See 4.4.4.1.[c] above.

is to **empower** rural people to gain and exercise control over their own affairs⁷⁴⁴. That control includes the control over local knowledge and information pertaining to rural living⁷⁴⁵; planning action; and, evaluation⁷⁴⁶. This empowerment process assumes the primacy of rural peoples' capabilities, values and interests; and, a reversal in the usual relationship between rural people and sojourners⁷⁴⁷. The focus is to use local emerging farmers' knowledge to improve the production of food and other crops.

[c] These intentions and assumptions may adequately offset certain myths which have accumulated in respect of PRA. These myths include that PRA is: quick; easy; a reinvented and concocted technique; based on particular disciplines; atheoretical; apolitical; neutral; and, adequately taught through training sessions⁷⁴⁸. What these myths highlight are the many dangers associated with the practice of PRA.

[di] Something of the continuity and change brought in the wake of PRA can be seen in the practitioner journal⁷⁴⁹ published by the International Institute for Environment and Development (London). This journal was published for the first time in June of 1988 under the title of **RRA Notes**. The first article on PRA was published in August 1990 (Issue Number 9). The question Weyman Fussel⁷⁵⁰ posed was whether PRA is culturally neutral? While further isolated articles on PRA were presented in Issues Numbers 10 and 12, it was **RRA Notes** 13 of August 1991 which gave most of its space to PRA for the

⁷⁴⁴Brock 1994: 26-7; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 14. Thus, Farming Systems Research, Agro-ecological Analysis, Farmer Participatory Research and Rapid Rural Appraisal may be described as research and planning field tools, while PRA is a tool of, or for, empowerment.

⁷⁴⁵Including the collection, analysis, articulation, presentation, use and dissemination.

⁷⁴⁶Chambers 1992a: 9-12; 1993: 97; 1994a: 961; 1994b: 1253, 1256-7; 1994c: 1437; Guijt, Fuglesang & Kisadha 1994: 4; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 14-5.

⁷⁴⁷Chambers 1992a: 8-9. To some extent the second assumption explains the transformation of academic users of RRA to PRA's NGO users.

⁷⁴⁸Guijt, Fuglesang & Kisadha 1994: 5-6; Scoones 1995d: 17-8.

⁷⁴⁹RRA/PLA Notes (1988-96), Numbers 1-26.

⁷⁵⁰1990: 31.

first time. However, it was only with Issue No 22 of February 1995 that a name change to **PLA**⁷⁵¹ **Notes** confirmed the footing that participatory methods had gained. Prior to that, as early as Issue Number 14 of December 1991, a special feature on participatory methods for learning and analysis had paved the way for the changed name.

[dii] RRA has nevertheless continued to feature in isolated articles until as late as Issue Number 22 of February 1995 with Michael Pido⁷⁵² describing the use of RRA in coastal resource planning in the Philippines. The continuity of the themes of RRA, that is a focus on rural life, which embraces a whole host of associated issues, can be seen in the topics of special issues. These include 'wealth ranking', 'applications for health', 'training', 'livestock', 'participatory tools in urban areas', 'participatory approaches to HIV/AIDS programmes' and, 'children's participation'. Individual articles throughout the journal thus far also make contributions in respect of the associated issues of rural life. However, David Woolcombe's⁷⁵³ article on the empowerment of children is virtually the only article in the journal that deals specifically with the distinctive feature of PRA, and that is **empowerment**.

[e] The pattern of more continuity with, rather than change from RRA, found in **RRA/PLA Notes** seems to prevail in other 'PRA' literature⁷⁵⁴. While there seems to be an awareness⁷⁵⁵ that empowerment distinguishes PRA from RRA, the literature tends to be characterised by endless examples of successful applications of the methods adopted by PRA⁷⁵⁶. There is no real internal evidence of people having been 'empowered' apart

⁷⁵¹Participatory Learning and Action.

⁷⁵²1995: 45-8.

⁷⁵³1996: 81-3.

⁷⁵⁴Franzel & Crawford 1987: 15; McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 12-3; Chambers 1991: 522-3; 1992a: 7-8; 1994b: 1254-5; Mitchell & Slim 1991: 68; Marais 1992: 90-1; Moris & Copestake 1993: 39, 47-51.

⁷⁵⁵AFRA 1992: 4; AFRA 1993: 40.

⁷⁵⁶AFRA 1992: 11-5, Appendices; Paliniswamy, Subramanian, Pretty & John 1992: 15-33, 37, 41, 43-5, 47-60, 63-6, 69-70, 72-4, 76, 79-80, 82-3, 85, 87, 89-90, 92-3, 96-7, Participants 1993: 22-39; AFRA 1993: 4-38; Guijt, Fuglesang & Kisadha 1994: 15, 18, 21-3, 29, 32, 35, 37, 39, 41, 48, 51, 53-4, 58, 60, 68-9, 75, 77-8, 81, 85, 88, 90, 93, 101, 103, 106, 108, 110, 113, 116-7, 120, 127, 129, 132, 134, 139, 142; MIDNET PRA Interest Group

from being able to produce the intended products of PRA methods. Thus while Chambers' conviction concerning PRA's contribution to empowerment is hereby challenged, his⁷⁵⁷ warning concerning *faddism* is real and should be heeded by practitioners and researchers alike.

4.4.5. THE METHODS OF THE COMPLEMENTARY RURAL DEVELOPMENT FIELD TOOLS

[a] The unique characteristic of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools is that they are the result of a multiplicity of influences and experiences. This complex is reflected in the methods used. Farming Systems Research (FSR) contributed the notion of multidisciplinary teams and paved the way for anthropologists, economists and sociologists to join their colleagues from the agricultural disciplines in the pursuit of Rural Development. The anthropologists brought with them their participant observation and the notion of distinguishing between *emic-etic*⁷⁵⁸ perspectives. Agro-ecosystems Analysis (AEA) on the other hand contributed sketch mapping, transects and diagramming, while Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) has contributed 'on-the-spot analysis'⁷⁵⁹. All these contribute to a rich variety of methods which when used in combination have positive results, despite their individual inadequacies, as the Field Tools have shown above.

[b] The purpose of this discussion is not to describe the multiplicity of methods of the these Field Tools. That has been done very adequately elsewhere⁷⁶⁰. Rather the intention here is to draw attention to the multiplicity of methods, as has been done above at [a] and

1994: 11, 13, 15, 18, 22-3, 24a, 25a, 26a, 30a.

⁷⁵⁷Chambers 1994c: 1444 and 1992a: 12; 1994c: 1441 respectively.

⁷⁵⁸insider versus outsider. See Chambers 1994b: 1262-3.

⁷⁵⁹Theis & Grady 1991: 27; Brock 1994: 27; Chambers 1993: 97.

⁷⁶⁰McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 18-49; Theis & Grady 1991: 41, 47-124, Paliniswamy, Subramanian, Pretty & John 1992: 103-12; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 49-87; Cornwall & Fleming 1995: 8-12; Hinton 1995: 25-6; Scoones 1995d: 18-20.

to encourage further experimentation with, and development of, methods pertinent to Rural Development.

[c] With regard to the latter exercise, users of the Field Tools and their methods should ensure that *Rural Development*, that **is the development of rural peoples' lives and life**, is the essential issue and **not** developing the methods or gaining experience with them⁷⁶¹. Further, any method used apart from the whole host of methods is likely to be inadequate. Therefore the exercise engaged in by Wright and Nelson⁷⁶² is deemed by this thesis as inappropriate for Rural Development. The strength of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools lies in their multiplicity when some are used together.

4.4.6. AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION OF THE COMPLEMENTARY RURAL DEVELOPMENT FIELD TOOLS

4.4.6.1. People-centredness

Despite having to keep a creative tension between focusing on the people of rural environments and on the ecosystems they use in order to produce agricultural and/or related products, the users of the group of Complementary Rural Development Field Tools, which have been discussed in this chapter, have successfully managed to display a reasonable people-centredness: Farming Systems Research (FSR) has placed emphasis on the **farm household** as being **the unit of analysis**⁷⁶³. Agro-ecological Analysis (AEA) stresses that it is human beings who modify ecological systems into agro-ecosystems⁷⁶⁴. Rapid Rural Appraisal or Assessment Procedures (RRA and RAPs, respectively) have

⁷⁶¹Compare this with Action Research earlier in this chapter in Section 4.2..

⁷⁶²1995: 43, 57-9, where they suggest that participant observation is incompatible with participatory research. However, Cornwall & Fleming 1995: 8-12; Hinton 1995: 25-6; Scoones 1995d: 18-20 suggests the contrary.

⁷⁶³Shaner, Phillipp & Schmehl 1982: 13; Kishindo 1988: 102.

⁷⁶⁴Conway 1987: 95.

been seen to help put **people first**⁷⁶⁵ in respect of analysis. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) on the other hand, has encouraged **local people** to conduct appraisals using their own capabilities⁷⁶⁶. Nevertheless, a broadening of research on the concerns of the full range of people who populate rural areas needs to happen in order to ensure that this range of methods gains a greater people-centredness. Ameliorating rural poverty and enhancing the capacity of resource-poor farmers, particularly women, should be the focus of such research.

4.4.6.2. The Marginalised

Given that the methods under discussion are (a) complementary and (b) concerned with rural development, it is not surprising that amongst all people the major focus of these methodologies has been on resource-poor farmers. However, the rural poor in general and women in relationship with children and youth have also gained some attention.

4.4.6.2.1. Resource-poor farmers

FSR has been described as a 'bottom-up' approach to rural research and farmer-oriented as farmers are closely integrated into the research process⁷⁶⁷. RRA in a sense was a response to a dissatisfaction with anti-poverty biases which characterise Rural Development. The need for research teams to work with farmers in order to postulate hypotheses also contributed to the emergence of this field tool⁷⁶⁸. PRA has fostered the move from outsider to **villager** for the focus of analysis has been on reversing the relationship between local farmers and development professionals. Further PRA has shown itself to

⁷⁶⁵Cernea 1990: 4; Chambers 1992c: 101.

⁷⁶⁶Chambers 1994a: 953; 1994b: 1253-6; 1994c: 1445-6.

⁷⁶⁷Waites 1994: 3.

⁷⁶⁸Chambers 1992a: 6 and McCracken, Pretty & Conway 1988: 9, respectively.

be a useful tool for pastoral planning⁷⁶⁹. All these instances emphasise the focus of these field tools being on resource-poor farmers.

4.4.6.2.2. The rural poor

The Complementary Rural Development Field Tools have embraced the rural poor by adopting **wealth ranking** techniques⁷⁷⁰. **RRA Notes** committed a whole issue (No 15)⁷⁷¹ to the technique. The work of Barbara Grandin⁷⁷² has been instrumental in developing the technique.

4.4.6.2.3. Women and their households

[a] The Complementary Field Tools have been used mostly in their RRA/PRA form to assess women's needs, to stress the relevance of gender, to make a conscious effort to offset biases of poverty especially in respect of women and children who are not usually represented, to raise gender issues, to 'genderise' training and to highlight gender differences in respect of well-being⁷⁷³. However, it is not axiomatic to assume that these tools are gender sensitive⁷⁷⁴. Nevertheless, one study⁷⁷⁵ provides a superb example of

⁷⁶⁹Chambers 1992a: 8-10; Brock 1994: 25; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 20-3.

⁷⁷⁰Groverman 1990: 6; Banlina & Tung 1992: 48; Guijt 1992a: 7; 1992b: 65; Mearns, Shamobodon, Narangerel, Turul, Enkhungalan, Myagmarzhav, Bayanjargal & Berhsuren 1992: 29; Mukherjee 1992: 21; Pretty, Subramanian, Kempu Chetty, Ananthakrishnan, Jayanthi, Muralikrishnasamy & Renganayaki 1992: 39; Sarch 1992: 14; Schaefer: 27.

⁷⁷¹See Section 4.4.4.2. [dii] above.

⁷⁷²1988: 7-30.

⁷⁷³Theis & Grady 1991: 44-6; Welbourn 1991: 17-9; Brock 1994: 27; Feldstein 1994: 224-7; Knop & Knop 1994: 75-9; Lightfoot, Feldman & Abedin 1994: 66-70; Paris & Frio 1994: 229-31; Waters-Bayer & Bayer 1994: 28-9; Dent 1996: 21-2; Seeley, Nabaitu, Taylor, Kajura, Bukenya, Kabunga & Ssembajja 1996: 15-7.

⁷⁷⁴Guijt 1994: 49.

gender analysis. While it was primarily concerned to work with children from Uganda, it placed their profiles in the context of older and married women, younger women, older men and younger men, thereby giving a profound understanding of their relationship with others.

[b] Needless to say, despite the above effort and that of **PLA Notes** devoting part of an issue (No 25) to children, the Complementary Field Tools need to more fully embrace this dimension of rural life, as well as the gender issue as a whole. *Gender analysis*⁷⁷⁶ needs to be more fully integrated into this collection of methods.

4.4.6.3. Actor-orientedness and culture

Welbourn⁷⁷⁷ has attempted to identify, explore and analyse intra-communal differences and show the relevance of ethnic background. Sperling⁷⁷⁸, on the other hand has shown that there were differences between researchers and farmers, and even within farmers as a whole, in selecting breeding varieties of beans in Rwanda and the need for more on-farm research to fully understand these differences. Despite these attempts the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools are at their weakest in respect of an actor-orientedness and culture, simply because they do not always draw out the unique way in which rural people engage with their environments. Nevertheless, by virtue of certain of their methods, namely stories and portraits, these field tools have the potential to become more Actor-oriented and to take greater cognisance of culture.

⁷⁷⁵Guijt, Fuglesang & Kisadha 1994: 11-148.

⁷⁷⁶Varina 1993: 120; Gianotten 1994: 33-45; Gianotten, Groverman, Van Walsum & Zuidberg 1994: 13, 17-22; Groverman & Van Walsum 1994: 78-93; Zuidberg 1994: 59-67; Jahan 1995: 77-106.

⁷⁷⁷1991: 14, 19.

⁷⁷⁸1992: 96-7, 107.

4.4.6.4. Knowledge

[a] The interest in the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools is almost synonymous with an appreciation of the value of local knowledge, particularly its more technical aspects. The result is that the inclusion of farmers' knowledge, even that of resource-poor farmers, into formal agricultural research is becoming common practice⁷⁷⁹.

[b] It is amazing from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation point of view, given the strong relationship between culture and knowledge, that the Complementary Field Tools do not give greater emphasis to culture, given their emphasis on local knowledge. If the use of local knowledge without taking cognisance of its cultural setting is an example of **optimal ignorance**⁷⁸⁰, then without being supercilious, the Field Tools display a serious ignorance of a vital dimension of the local knowledge they use. This means that while great value has been attached to local knowledge, there is a need for these Field Tools to explore this vital resource again in the attempt to appreciate a broader perspective which encapsulates it.

4.4.6.5. Limitations, risk, uncertainty and vulnerability

While some users of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools have shown the risks of farming systems and projects and the risks and vulnerabilities poor people in rural areas face⁷⁸¹, these are insufficient to accord the Field Tools some credit in this regard. It is reasonable to assume that the range of limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities that prevail in rural areas requires these Field Tools to more closely examine them.

⁷⁷⁹Chambers 1981: 100; 1992a: 6; Gliessman, Garcia & Amador 1981: 175-83; Eyzaguirre 1992: 13-4, 21-7; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 6; Richards 1994: 166; Waites 1994: 4.

⁷⁸⁰See Section 4.4.4.1.[b].

⁷⁸¹Taylor 1981: 229-33; Chambers 1994b: 1253; Holloway & Lindsey 1996: 6-8.

4.4.6.6. Participation

Participation has become a key issue in the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools. The influence of Participatory Action Research had the result of giving rise to Farmer Participatory Research, Participatory Rapid Rural Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal. However, the participation record for the Field Tools as a whole is not particularly good⁷⁸². The probable reason for this is the emphasis on **collaborating** with, or **incorporating** farmers⁷⁸³, in field research. While there may at times be a 'yield gap' between researcher-led/farmer-managed and farmer-led-and-managed experiments⁷⁸⁴, this nevertheless does not explain the reluctance on the part of users of the Complementary Field Tools to allow farmers to conduct their own experiments in the name of 'science'. Full participation in all these Field Tools can only happen when users see their role as mere recorders of the phenomena of rural life. While users continue to stake a claim upon those dimensions for whatever reason, they prevent full participation for rural people.

4.5. SUMMARY

In this summary the Anthropocentric Development Evaluations of Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools which have been discussed in this chapter will be compared. Some suggestions concerning their respective shortfalls will be made before commenting on the implications of this comparison for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

⁷⁸²Abalu, Fisher & Abdullahi 1987: 312; Norman, Baker, Heinrich & Worman 1988: 321; Baker 1991: 125.

⁷⁸³Franzel & Crawford 1987: 14; Heinrich, Worman & Koketso 1991:1; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington 1994: 13; Franzel, Hitimana & Akyeampong 1995: 28.

⁷⁸⁴Ashby 1987: 249.

4.5.1. COMPARING THE RESULTS

[a] A comparison and summary of the strengths and weaknesses of Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools in terms of the incidence of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's concerns is provided on the page opposite in Table 4.2. This comparison has been made merely using a three-point scale of positive (+), more or less (\pm) and negative (-) values, in respect of the incidence of the particular concern in the case of each methodology. This summary is not absolute in any way as the assessment of the methodologies above has been made in respect of the literature available to the researcher of this thesis and not in respect of all the literature pertaining to each field tool as such is not available to the said researcher. Even if it was, not all of it could have been objectively consulted. On the basis of the three-point scale and attributing a value of three (3) to a positive assessment, two (2) to an assessment which suggests that a particular concern has gained some but not full attention, that is, more or less, and one (1) to a negative assessment, the methodologies and concerns have been scored and then ranked accordingly. Further, the three-point scale should not be seen as a form of measurement but rather as a means of reinforcing the understanding of the methodologies which has been obtained so far.

[b] Table 4.2 on the opposite page clearly demonstrates the idiosyncrasies of ranking. Social Impact Assessment (SIA) which ranks highest out of the three methodologies in having the highest incidence of Anthropocentric Development Evaluation concerns when they are valued equally also lacks in what is probably the most important concern of all. That is the question as to what extent development and all its consequences take cognisance of marginalised people, particularly the rural poor (including resource-poor farmers) and women in relationship. In the case of SIA both these **vital** groups of people seem to gain little or even no consideration. This assessment, despite the other positive human attributes, may to some extent suggest that the use of the methodology has been partial in the past and that very careful consideration should be given to the poor and to women as this methodology is continued to be used in the future. Nevertheless, what is evident is all three methodologies do not take cognisance of humanity in all its fullness despite all three scoring the highest score for a people-centredness. Therefore, there is a

need for the real incidence of that concern to be re-evaluated.

Table 4.2: Comparison and ranking of Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools according the incidence of the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

CONCERN	AR	SIA	CRDFT	SCORE	RANK
People	+	+	+	9	1
Rural Poor, Poor Farmers	+	-	+	7	4
Women, Gender	-	-	-	3	8
Actor-oriented	±	±	-	5	5
Culture	-	+	-	5	5
Knowledge	+	+	+	9	1
Risks etc	-	+	-	5	5
Participation	+	+	±	8	3
SCORE	17	19	15		
RANK	2	1	3		

[c] Of all the concerns women in relationship, particular with children and young people, are ranked lowest throughout. In the first instance, this calls for a re-examination of the use made by the three methodologies in this respect. As a particular focus women together with children and young people are clearly not receiving their due attention. The low score, in the second instance, affirms an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's call for a genuine gender analysis in respect of development.

[d] Overall, an actor-orientedness, culture and limitations with risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities are ranked next highest above the gender issue. While SIA lifts this scoring, particularly in respect of culture and the issues associated with risk, all of these

concerns clearly need further exploration in the formative and summative evaluations, and the implementation of development.

[e] The concerns of particularly *Participatory* Action Research and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools are at the heart of the relatively high score that the rural poor and resource-poor farmers receive. While they do receive the score that they do, the interest in them should be maintained, particularly in respect of Rural Development. It has only been after a concerted effort that the rural poor, and with them, resource-poor farmers, became an essential dimension in Rural Development. Any diversion will be critical, given the tenuous conditions of rural areas.

[f] The high score for participation is to some extent to be expected. This is a mere indicator that the 'participation' campaigns are bearing some fruit. However, the same caveat as that for the rural poor and resource-poor farmers applies.

[g] Superficially, the interest shown in respect of knowledge is astounding. However, as all three presentations show, there seems to be a definite researcher demand for local peoples' knowledge. Where that demand produces a better quality of life for the people who have shared their knowledge with the researcher that is well and good. However, where that knowledge is used to maintain the academic machine, researchers desperately need to be challenged in terms of their ethics. Further, the users of the three methodologies need to question how they can possibly delink knowledge from culture, since an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation makes such a strong case for their interrelationship.

4.5.2. DEALING WITH THE SHORTFALLS

[a] Clearly, each methodology has one or other shortfall in terms of the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Should these methodologies be adopted for the purposes of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, then those shortfalls need to be addressed.

[b] The greatest concern in respect of the methodologies is the gender issue as this concern scored the lowest possible score in all three cases. However, as was expressed in the Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools that there is a need for the methodology users to embrace **gender analysis**⁷⁸⁵, the same applies to the other two methodologies. That is probably the most pertinent way to deal with the shortfall in respect of this particular concern.

[c] In respect of the other concerns there seem to be two options. In the context of this thesis, should the users of one of the methodologies engage with the experience of the use of the other methodologies, there should be sufficient method to draw on in order to deal with the shortfalls of that particular methodology. Should that not be the case, then the second option needs to be drawn upon. That is, users will need to engage with the experience of other methodologies that have also focused on concerns which are common with those of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

[d] Using indicators such as those used in Poverty Monitoring⁷⁸⁶, Basic Needs Analysis and Quality of Life Assessments⁷⁸⁷ need to heed Harwitz⁷⁸⁸ caveat. That is, that any indicators, in thousands, that go over five thousand people are not effective instruments when addressing the issues of people, particularly poverty.

[e] Turning to the experience of anthropologists is probably the only source of help in respect of an actor-orientation and culture. While culture has been addressed by cultural and social anthropologists alike, and in some cases by sociologists, the actor-oriented approach comes purely from within social anthropology and therefore the possibilities of extended experience are limited.

⁷⁸⁵See Section 4.4.6.2.3.[b].

⁷⁸⁶Boltvinik 1994: 61-76; Anker, Van der Hoeven & Jespersen 1994: 205-9; Bilsborrow 1994: 151-7; Kanbur 1994: 85-8; Streeten 1994a: 19-27; 1994b: 139-40.

⁷⁸⁷Møller & Schlemmer 1983: 232-42; Malan 1987: 161-6; Krige 1989a: 175-88; 1989b: 313-22; 1990: 54-62; Møller 1989b: 43-6; Møller & Schlemmer 1989: 281-7; Khan & Islam 1990: 74-9; Khan 1991: 162-64; Møller 1996: 242-51; Slabbert, Van Wyk, Levin & Coetzee 1996: 147-54.

⁷⁸⁸1978: 66.

[f] While adequately dealt with by SIA, the constraints associated with risk have mostly been dealt with from a strong economic⁷⁸⁹ perspective with little or no human consideration. A recent publication of rural livelihood concerns⁷⁹⁰ deals with the issue of the associated hazards in Zimbabwe very adequately and should be consulted when addressing this concern.

4.5.3. AFFIRMATION OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

[a] One of the positive outcomes of the shortfall in respect of the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in the three methodologies is that **the need for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is emphasised**. *An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is shown to be a necessary framework for the evaluation of development as there are clear issues related to people that are clearly lacking in respect of the methodologies assessed above.*

[b] The shortfall also stresses the need for particular concern to be explored further, especially when the three methodologies under consideration are used. Women and gender with an actor-orientedness, culture and issues associated with risk need definite attention, while the emphasis on the rural poor and resource-poor farmers, participation and the use of local knowledge need to be maintained.

⁷⁸⁹Morgan & Henrion 1990; Craven 1992; Hirshleifer & Riley 1992.

⁷⁹⁰Scoones, Chibudu, Chikura, Jeranyama, Machaka, Machanja, Mavedzenge, Mombeshora, Mudhara, Mudziwo, Murimbarimba & Zirereza 1996.

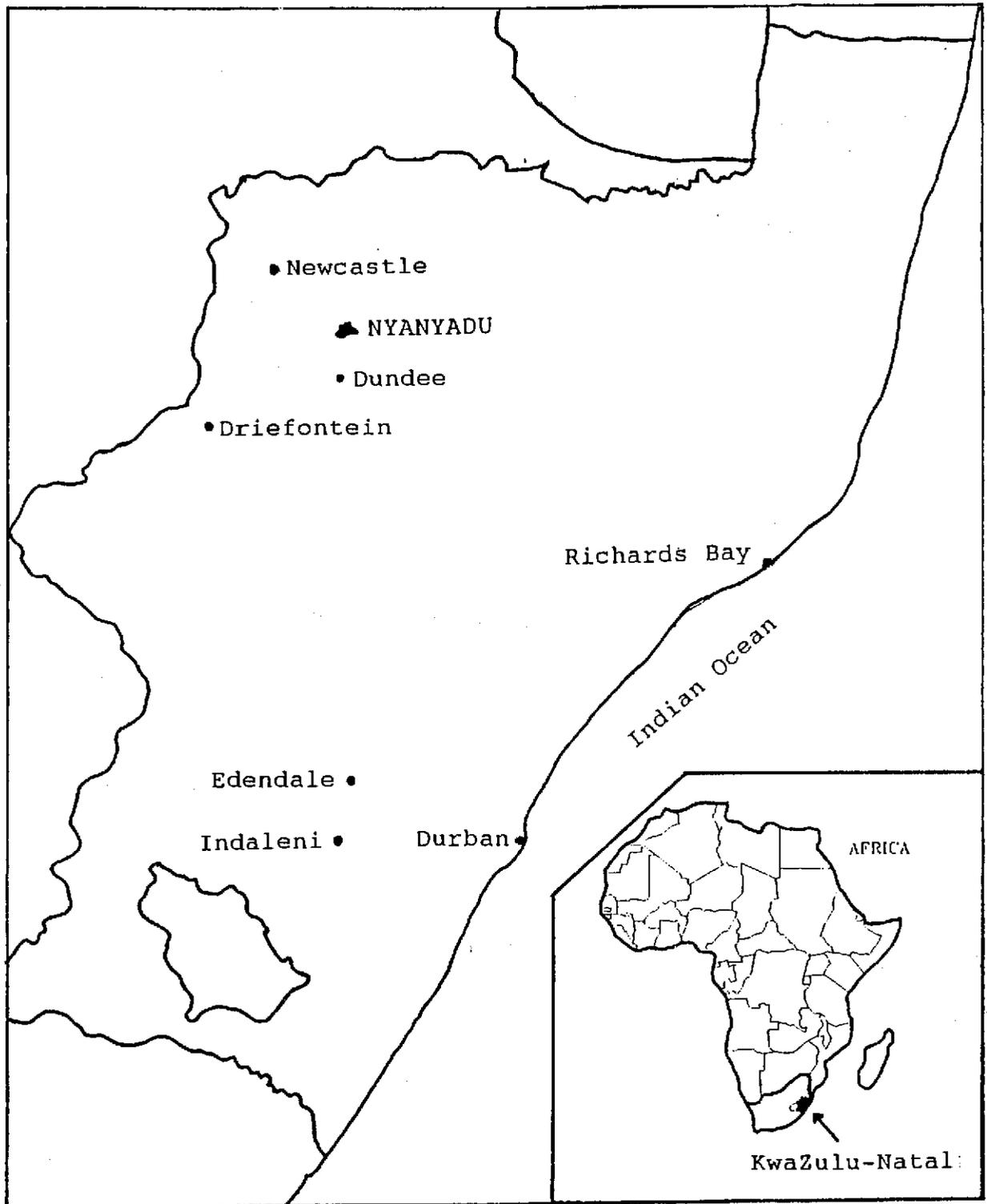
CHAPTER 5: AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION IN THE CONTEXT OF A DEVELOPMENT SETTING

5.1. ORIENTATION

[a] The need for and the probable content of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation has thus far been described in the foregoing chapters. Adequately evaluating development where people are the basic concern emphasises the need. Going beyond a mere people-centredness to take special cognisance of the marginalised and by being actor-oriented, which by implication means taking cognisance of the requisites and consequences of human life as well, extends the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. By using an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to test similar methodologies and vice versa shows the content of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to be methodologically sound.

[b] The purpose of this chapter is to go one further step forward. That is to apply an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting. By doing so the validity of postulating an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will be subjected to a crucial and final test.

[c] The particular area in which an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation has been applied for the purposes of this thesis is that of Nyanyadu in northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Its location may be found on Map 5.1 overleaf. Nyanyadu is the local name given to the geographical area which constitutes the jurisdiction of the Gule Tribal Authority (GTA). As such it is part of the Umzinyathi Regional Council. The process of applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in this community began when the researcher of this thesis gained entry through having been requested by the Dundee Community Project to evaluate its nutrition and social development schemes which were taking place there. In response to this request the researcher conducted research along



Map 5.1: Nyanaydu in the context of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

the lines of the Rapid and Participatory Rural Appraisal methodologies amongst the beneficiaries of these schemes. Key informant interviews and secondary data reviews augmented data for that evaluation.

[d] A further impetus to this exercise of applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in Nyanyadu was received after the researcher presented his findings in respect of the nutrition and social development schemes to the Nyanyadu community's leadership. Some small and commercial farmers who were present approached the researcher to guide them through a process whereby they would gain a better understanding of the nature of their enterprises. This understanding would then enable them to decide whether their enterprises would serve as an adequate basis for rural community development in Nyanyadu. Essentially what had arisen in the context of this thesis was an opportunity for Action Research - a group of people have a common need to establish some facts for a particular purpose, or even a Community Self Survey⁷⁹¹. Rather than to be taught a set of research methods and the procedures of Action Research, the group decided that as a whole or part thereof they would visit individual farmer's enterprises together with the researcher to examine the broad characteristics in each enterprise. In this way Action Research became combined with strong elements of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools, particularly the Agro-ecosystems Analysis, Farmer Participatory Research and Participatory Rural Appraisal components.

[e] An additional dynamic was included in this process when one farmer, who is also a member of the GTA, subsequently raised the issue of the current national land reforms, including the possible negative consequences for the poorer members of the community. The farmers responded enthusiastically to this issue being explored and took responsibility to encourage some of the poorer and women members of the community to share their life-experience through interviews. This also provided the opportunity to gain an additional⁷⁹² profile of the quality of life of these members of the community. As a result,

⁷⁹¹See Chapter 4, Sections 4.2.1.3.[b] and 4.2.2. respectively.

⁷⁹²Additional to the profiles gained in respect of the Social Impact Assessment of the Dundee Community Projects activities.

the full range of marginalised people who are the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation joined in the farmers' original study. Further, this provided the opportunity for all the methodologies analysed in this thesis to be used. In respect of the land reforms, Social Impact Assessment would be used.

[f] In the sections which follow, this chapter on the basis of the foregoing will do two things. **First**, and for the most part of the chapter, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will be applied in the development context of Nyanyadu. In the **second** instance an important issue raised by this research will be explored, and that is the question of who does the evaluation?

5.2. APPLYING AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION TO SOME DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS IN NYANYADU

[a] An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will be applied in Nyanyadu in two ways. *First*, taking the major concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation⁷⁹³ this thesis will analyse the way in which the resource-poor farmers of Nyanyadu conduct their enterprises and the way the poorest of the poor and women members of the community live out their lives in the following context:

(a) in response to the need for development and its evaluation to be actor-oriented, the thesis provides an exposition of the *unique characteristics* of both the Nyanyadu community as a whole as well as those of the marginalised in particular: the former impacting significantly upon the latter.

(b) in response to the need for development and its evaluation to take cognisance of the requisites and consequences of people being human beings, the thesis provides an analysis of the *cultural, knowledge and participative* milieus of Nyanyadu, making reference to the *limitations*,

⁷⁹³In other words, the need for development and its evaluation to be people-centred, focusing mostly on the poor, the rural poor, resource-poor primary producers and women, being actor-oriented and taking cognisance of the requisites and consequences of people being human beings. See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of these concerns.

risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities faced by people in that context.

In this way the thesis gives effect to the requests of the farmers in providing an exposition of the nature of their enterprises. It also remains true to the concerns that it has raised in postulating an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. It does this by being people-centred in giving priority to the marginalised, being actor-oriented in highlighting some of the unique situation to be found in Nyanyadu and by drawing attention to the requisites and consequences of people being human in that community. Further, it provides very necessary background information to the (second) exercise which follows this one.

[b] The *second* way in which an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is applied in Nyanyadu is by providing full Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) of the nutrition and social development work of the Dundee Community Project and the current national land reforms. In these SIAs the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will again feature strongly, particularly in the actual 'assessment' phases. As a result of the way in which an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation has been applied in Nyanyadu in this and the above exercises all the methodologies which are acceptable from an anthropocentric perspective have been used. This stems from the first exercise being dependent upon a combination of Action Research and research conducted using the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools and the second exercise being dependent upon that research as well as it being concerned with SIAs.

[c] Applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting has been made possible through the generosity, commitment and co-operation of the people of Nyanyadu. Tribute is therefore paid to them in acknowledgment that this exercise has depended largely upon them.

5.2.1. UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF NYANYADU IN GENERAL

[a] The people of Nyanyadu can be distinguished from other people in KwaZulu-Natal, particularly those resident in the former Self-governing Territory of KwaZulu, through essentially two main factors. The first is that the community has a history which seems

to cut across the formative history of what has been described historically as the Zulu-speaking people of South Africa by noted historians and anthropologists such as Omer-Cooper⁷⁹⁴, Gluckman⁷⁹⁵ and Krige⁷⁹⁶. Apart from the detail provided below, this unique history is affirmed when one searches for details of the GTA in Van Warmelo's⁷⁹⁷ bench mark survey. There the GTA is not listed among the so-called *Ama-kholwa*⁷⁹⁸ Tribal Authorities as the strong Christian tradition of the GTA would allow one to assume. Further, there seems to be a question in Van Warmelo's mind as to what the *isithakazelo*⁷⁹⁹ of the Gule Royal House is. The fact that the House uses 'Gule' both as a *isibongo*⁸⁰⁰ and as an *isithakazelo* demonstrates that the usual 'Zulu' protocol does not always apply in the GTA's case. This points to the GTA's unique history. Obviously, for cultural purposes in the broader sense, 'Zulu' protocol is observed as in the case where the present *inkosi*⁸⁰¹, 'Ntuli', by *isibongo* is addressed using his own *isithakazelo*, which is '*Phemba*'.

[b] The second unique feature of the GTA is the fact that it straddles both freehold and traditional land tenure forms. The usual pattern in KwaZulu-Natal for Tribal Authorities particularly in a rural context is that they are usually conditioned by traditional land tenure. Straddling both tenure types is not what makes the GTA unique. Rather the fact that this combination of tenure types has resulted in a contradiction with the literature on 'Betterment Trust' development is what makes this Tribal Authority unique. The major argument in that literature is that where Betterment Trusts have been initiated upon 'tribal'

⁷⁹⁴1966: 24-48.

⁷⁹⁵1940: 25-55.

⁷⁹⁶1950: 1-22.

⁷⁹⁷1935: 26, 73-4.

⁷⁹⁸Christian.

⁷⁹⁹Praise name.

⁸⁰⁰Surname.

⁸⁰¹Chief.

land, people in general are much worse off than before. This is then used as part of the argument in favour of converting such holdings to freehold tenure. The case of Nyanyadu is interesting simply because the people who occupy 'Trust' holdings are clearly better-off than those who have been able to secure freehold tenure.

[c] More details of the two unique features of a different social history and the mixed land tenure of Nyanyadu follow in the next sections below⁸⁰². Picking up the point made immediately above that there is socio-economic differentiation within the Nyanyadu community, which to some extent is linked to the type of land tenure people find themselves engaged in, it is important to realise that socio-economic differentiation happens at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In other words, people in Nyanyadu are generally poor. Unlike their unique social history and their mixed types of tenure, their poverty is a characteristic which reduces the people of Nyanyadu to being similar to most people who have lived in the so-called tribal areas⁸⁰³ of South Africa⁸⁰⁴. As this characteristic is such a formidable weakness, it must gain attention in all development processes which are in any way associated with Nyanyadu. Thus a description of the poverty of the people of Nyanyadu will follow as well⁸⁰⁵, not that it will in essence be any different from the poverty experienced in any other tribal area.

5.2.1.1. A different social history

[a] The recorded social history of the Nyanyadu community is characterised more by general points which are mostly in agreement, rather than a definite historical outworking of events which are affirmed by different sources of information. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the community has its origins in the following of a Methodist mission

⁸⁰²Section 5.2.1.1. and Section 5.2.1.2..

⁸⁰³Also referred to formerly as reserves, bantustans and homelands.

⁸⁰⁴Compare with De Wet & McAllister 1983: 5-49; Sharp & Spiegel 1985: 136-48; Stavrou, Mbona, Yokwe & Mbona 1987: 4-11; Stewart & Lyne 1988: 187-94; Ligthelm & Wilsenach 1993: 54-5.

⁸⁰⁵Section 5.2.1.3..

convert, Timothy Gule, who was influenced by James Allison⁸⁰⁶.

[b] James Allison conducted missionary activity in the Thaba’Nchu district in the 1840s before heading off for Delagoa Bay. *En route* he was drawn to Mahamba in Swaziland, where he set up a mission station and attracted a large following, including Timothy Gule. In 1847 this following moved with Allison to Richmond in what is now KwaZulu-Natal when uprisings amongst the sons of King Sobhuza I forced them to leave. In the vicinity of Richmond Allison set up a mission station at Indaleni⁸⁰⁷. There he introduced the strict adherence to Christian moral behaviour in respect of marriage, dress and the non-consumption of alcohol. Due to a dispute between Allison and his Mission Society he left with most of his Swazi following in 1850 for Edendale⁸⁰⁸, near Pietermaritzburg, having bought property there. Apart from his Christian teaching, Allison introduced to Edendale one of the most successful examples of black freehold at the time in South Africa. Unfortunately, due to a dispute which arose between Allison and most of his following concerning the enormous wealth which accrued from their newfound system of land tenure, Allison moved with the remainder, including Timothy Gule, to Driefontein⁸⁰⁹ which is beyond Ladysmith. Johannes Khumalo was the *inkosi*⁸¹⁰ of the Tshabalala people who were residing there.

[c] Two important events happened at Driefontein, in respect of Timothy Gule. The *first* is that one of Timothy Gule’s daughters married one of Johannes Khumalo’s sons. This allowed Timothy Gule to claim the status of being an *inkosi*. Later, in the 1890s, this status was affirmed by the Natal Colonial Government. Both these factors have impacted on the lives and institutions of the people who now make up the Nyanyadu community.

⁸⁰⁶Province of KwaZulu-Natal 1995: upp; Semi-structured interview.

⁸⁰⁷Preston-Whyte 1987: 402, 404-7. See Map 5.1.

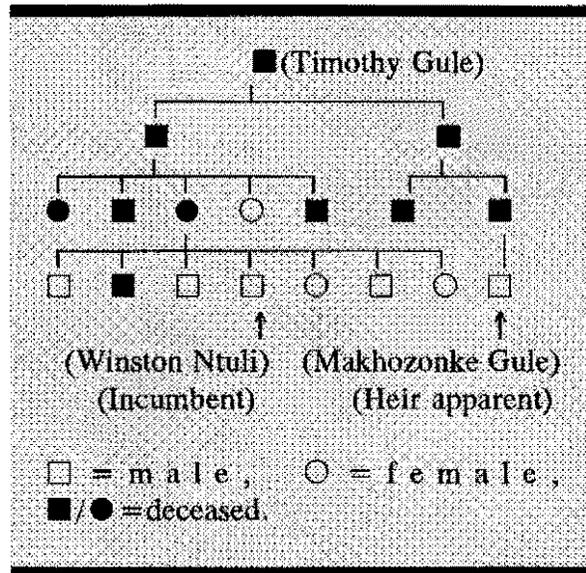
⁸⁰⁸See Map 5.1.

⁸⁰⁹See Map 5.1.

⁸¹⁰The socio-political head of a Zulu clan, who takes on the *isithakazelo* of *Ndabezitha* which is the formal title of respect for Zulu royalty. Bryant (1949: 421-2) defines a clan as ‘a magnified family, consisting of offspring of a single forefather, the clan’s founder’.

The move to Nyanyadu took place in 1888⁸¹¹.

[d] The Royal House at Nyanyadu being Christian has produced a number of dynamics which are significantly different to other royal houses throughout Kwa-Zulu-Natal. These are mostly a result of practising monogamy. The appointing of successors has been made difficult through the marriages of *amakhosi*⁸¹² not always producing a male heir. Box 5.1, shows that the present incumbent bears the surname *Ntuli* and traces his ancestry to Timothy Gule through his mother. He will



Box 5.1: Timothy Gule's successors

not be succeeded by any of his sons as Timothy Gule's other great-grandchild, Makhozonke, rightfully claims the title. As a result of the inability always to produce male heirs who are old enough to take office, the Tribal Authority has been characterised as having had a series of regents who have held office for protracted periods of time⁸¹³.

[e] Another consequence of monogamous marriages is that the Royal House has never had to apportion status to wives as in the case of indigenous unions in Left- and Right-hand Houses. This latter practice has a significant bearing on who succeeds an *inkosi*. Monogamous marriage has had the benefit of obviating the many and varied disputes associated by polygynous descent, although it has produced the uncertainty of whether a male heir will be born from a union. While these are matters which principally concern the royal house, the community can be drawn into allegiances which usually form around the electing of a successor. Of course, the same rules of succession generally apply in

⁸¹¹Natal Archives (all sources); Province of KwaZulu-Natal 1995: upp; Semi-structured interview.

⁸¹²The plural form of *inkosi*.

⁸¹³Province of KwaZulu-Natal 1995: upp.

respect of each household in the Tribal Authority⁸¹⁴.

[f] One consequence of the Gule Tribal Authority practising Christianity is that it is not regimented according to age or geographical location as in other cases. As a result there are no regimental office bearers. Thus the Tribal Authority Council is made up of different leadership types relevant to its particular circumstances. Apart from the *inkosi*, there are *izinduna*⁸¹⁵, councillors⁸¹⁶, and Trustees⁸¹⁷ who are members of the Council.

5.2.1.2. A mixed tenure

[a] The opportunity for Timothy Gule to buy land in Nyanyadu also provided the opportunity for other Black people to buy land in that part as it was released for sale⁸¹⁸. In exercising that chance, the form of sub-division of original farms, as may be seen on Map 5.2 on the next page, has been determined by the ability of people to buy land privately⁸¹⁹ or where necessity has demanded that they do so as a syndicate⁸²⁰. This, together with the later consolidation of what was previously known as KwaZulu, which incorporated farms which were not sold off to but occupied by Zulu-speaking people, has resulted in a blend of land tenure types in that part. Thus, there are individual landowners

⁸¹⁴Seymour 1970: 256; Province of KwaZulu-Natal 1995: upp.

⁸¹⁵Roughly translated as 'headmen'.

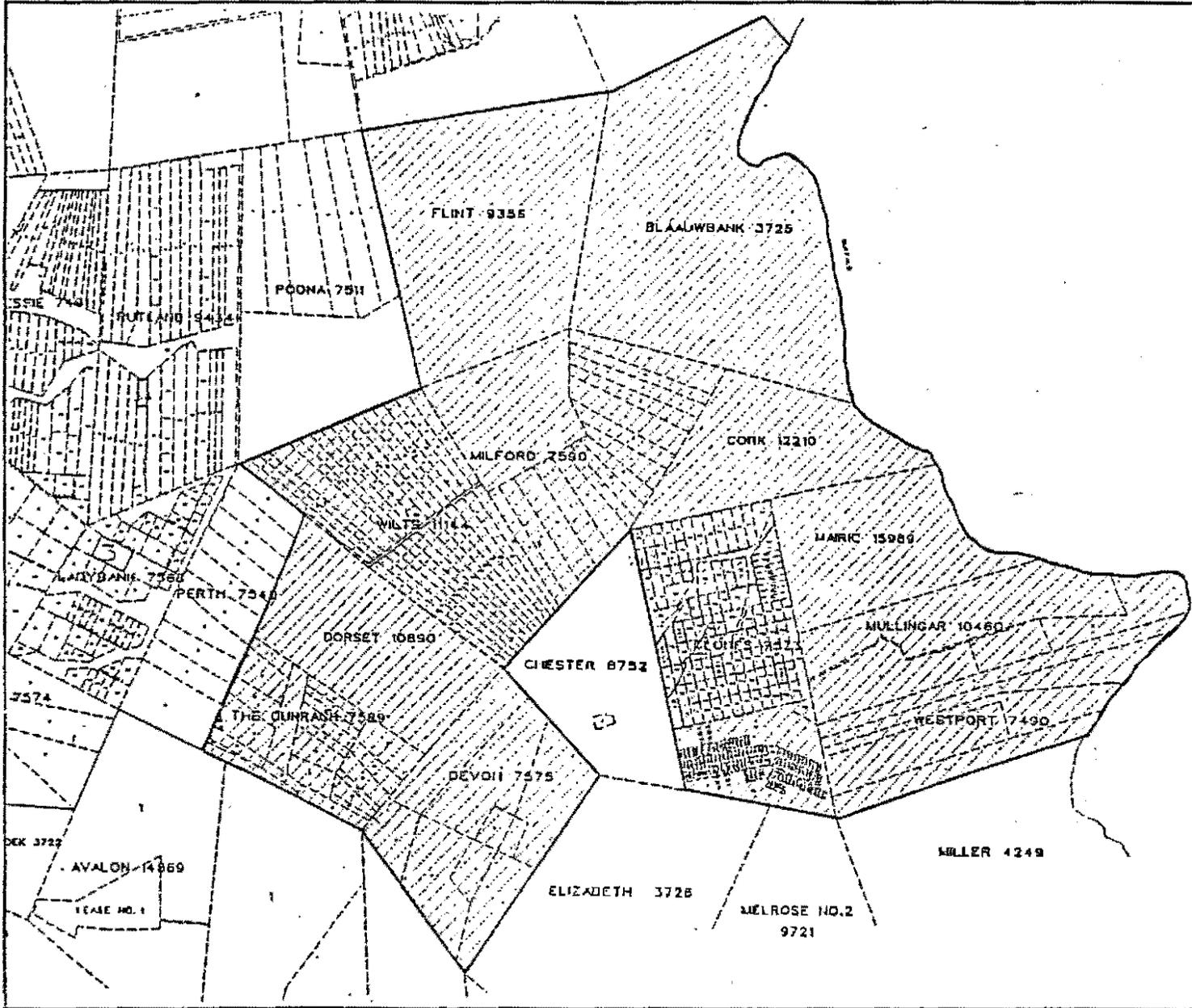
⁸¹⁶Representing wards.

⁸¹⁷Representing private and/or syndicate owners of land constituted as part of original farms.

⁸¹⁸Natal Archives sac: up; 1901: up; 1915: up. Section 5.2.3.1. below probably explains why the land in question was so released.

⁸¹⁹There are numerous archival examples which, given all things being equal, suggest that many people who were financially unable to buy property entered into agreements and in due course found that they were unable to meet their payment instalments. As a result of the legal intricacies, some lost significant sums of money, while others were rescued by sympathetic government officials. See Natal Archives sac: up; 1899: up; 1902: up.

⁸²⁰Transactions, according to archival material, began in about 1894 with numerous thereafter (Natal Archives saa: up; sab: up; sac: up; 1896a: up; 1896b: up; 1899: up; 1900: up; 1902: up; 1914a: up; 1914b: up; 1916: up.



Map 5.2: The farms of Nyanyadu

with full title. Some of these sub-let the whole or portions of their title to people in the community. There are also syndicate members and/or their heirs who have title to equal and/or proportional shares to allotments. Sub-letting also occurs here. There are people paying rent for accommodation and, in most cases, agricultural land in what are called Trust Farms⁸²¹. Finally, there are people also resident on farms which are being purchased by the Tribal Authority for settlement and agricultural development purposes⁸²².

[b] While Betterment Trusts⁸²³ had their origins in Shepstone's 'Native' Policy and the Glen Grey Act of 1894⁸²⁴, the Native Trust and Land Act, No 18 of 1936 as amended and Proclamations 31 of 1939, 116 of 1949 and 196 of 1967, gave the Trusts their legal substance. The former KwaZulu Government introduced Trust lands to Nyanyadu for the first time in the 1970s⁸²⁵ through the promulgation of Regulation 188 of 1969. Here state-owned land, adjacent to privately owned in Nyanyadu which had historically been administered by the then Native Commissioner and having a tenant population resident upon them, formed the basis for Trust lands. However, it must be noted that aerial photography⁸²⁶ cannot distinguish Trust from privately owned land in Nyanyadu as settlements patterns on privately owned land which go back to the beginning of this century are no different to those of Trust lands. Table 5.1 on the next page read with Map 5.2 on the previous page nevertheless distinguishes which farms in Nyanyadu are privately owned and which are 'Trust' farms.

⁸²¹ circa 1970s (Historical profile).

⁸²² Semi-structured interview.

⁸²³ There is an abundant literature of 'betterment' in South Africa. Beinart 1989: 143-62; De Wet 1989: 326-45; 1991: 3-15; Hendricks 1989: 306-25; McAllister 1989: 346-68; Sharp & Spiegel 1990: 527-49; Mager 1992: 761-82 are listed amongst the most recent analyses. However, 'betterment' in KwaZulu-Natal has received little attention, Alcock's (1986), the Subsistence Agriculture Study Group's (1988) and the Working Group for Betterment Planning's (1988) research being of notable attention.

⁸²⁴ Welsh 1971: 39-40; Yawitch 1982: 9.

⁸²⁵ Historical profile.

⁸²⁶ 1: 10000 Orthophotos.

Table 5.1: Nyanyadu farms: extent, tenure and population

FARM	EXTENT ⁸²⁷ (ha)	TENURE ⁸²⁸	TOTAL ⁸²⁹ POPULA- TION	MALES	FEMALES
Clones	404,2091	Owned	1462	667	795
Cork	229,0497	Trust	70	26	44
Curragh	203,7619	Owned	1548	718	830
Devon	317,9770	Owned	440	202	238
Dorset	267,7023	Trust	708	303	405
Flint/ Blaauwbank	448,9384 660,4476	Trust Trust	1056	506	550
Milford	404,9819	Trust	384	157	227
Mullingar	297,8461	Owned	497	225	272
Trim	235,2693	Trust	229	115	114
Westport	263,2356	Trust	150	69	81
Wilts	372,0708	Owned	694	306	388
TOTAL	4105,4897	-	7238	3294	3944

[c] 'Betterment Planning' has been criticised for failing to produce 'betterment'⁸³⁰. Nyanyadu on the contrary presents a case which suggests that people living on Trust lands are much better off than they were before and compared with their neighbouring land owners⁸³¹. Two cases suffice as an example: *first*, Trust lands being administered historically by the former KwaZulu Government have received assistance in respect of

⁸²⁷Hellberg 1995: 1.

⁸²⁸Semi-structured interview.

⁸²⁹Central Statistical Services 1996.

⁸³⁰See literature quoted above in sub-Section [b].

⁸³¹A similar scenario is described by Faure 1995: 2-7 for landowners in Burkina Faso.

water needs. Many boreholes have been sunk in Nyanyadu on Trust land. Land owners lament that they have to provide for their own and for their tenants' water needs through their own means as the KwaZulu Government would not install capital items, such as boreholes and their pumps, on privately owned land⁸³². The *second* case is probably more poignant. Electrification in Nyanyadu began on the Trust farm of Milford followed by other Trust farms before the facility became available on privately owned land⁸³³. Table 5.2 below, shows that in respect of the status of electrical installation at Nyanyadu by mid 1997⁸³⁴ two of the six 'Trust' farms were electrified with plans having been made for the electrification of a further 'Trust' farm during 1998. None of the privately owned farms were electrified by mid 1997 but there was a commitment for Curragh to be electrified during 1998.

Table 5.2: Nyanyadu farms: tenure and electrical installation status

FARM	TENURE	ELECTRICAL INSTALLATION STATUS
Cloncs	Owned	Not on plans for the next four years
Cork	Trust	Not on plans for the next four years
Curragh	Owned	Installations to begin in 1998
Devon	Owned	Not on plans for the next four years
Dorset	Trust	Installations to begin in 1998
Flint/ Blaauwbank	Trust	Electrified: 1996 - 180 pre-paid meters
Milford	Trust	Electrified: 1994 - 118 pre-paid meters
Mullingar	Owned	Not on plans for the next four years
Trim	Trust	Not on plans for the next four years
Westport	Trust	Not on plans for the next four years
Wilts	Owned	Not on plans for the next four years

⁸³²Semi-structured interview.

⁸³³Direct observation.

⁸³⁴Semi-structured interview.

5.2.1.3. General poverty

[a] The people of Nyanyadu are generally poor throughout the community. This may be seen through the secondhand or home sewn clothing which is generally worn by people. The shops throughout the community sell very basic commodities, indicating that people survive on staple diets. If individuals own motor vehicles, these tend to be in advanced states of dereliction, with the most usual vehicle being that of a light delivery type⁸³⁵.

[b] Amongst the very poor of the community, this general poverty is manifest through their frequently going without food, a change of clothing or access in general to any resources in the community. Essentially they are a people who are utterly dependent upon the generosity of others. Amongst the real poor interviewed as many as 73% of the household heads were unemployed⁸³⁶. Despite the employment of some members of their families, both the median and mode of total household incomes amounted to R100 per month⁸³⁷. According to 1997 prices this is an unrealistic amount of money to support a mean family size of 6.4 people⁸³⁸.

[c] Amongst the resource-poor primary producers of Nyanyadu, who are mostly farmers, the poverty which they suffer is overtly seen in their lack of new equipment. Most equipment they possess is either secondhand and/or in advanced states of dereliction⁸³⁹. Not all farmers have tractors. 18 (or 52% of the) farmers out of 34 who participated in the research have tractors. Of those who do have tractors more than the usual servicing and repairing is often required of them. A similar scenario pertains to implements where not all the farmers have the necessary implements for their enterprises. This lack and state of the possession of tractors and implements produce the result that such have to be hired,

⁸³⁵Direct observation.

⁸³⁶Semi-structured interviews.

⁸³⁷Semi-structured interviews.

⁸³⁸Semi-structured interviews.

⁸³⁹Direct observation.

at a cost, and often are available outside the optimum period for the relevant pursuit⁸⁴⁰.

[d] Another way in which the general poverty of the community manifests itself amongst the farmers is that in the overwhelming number of cases fertilizer is applied on the basis of cost rather than the appropriate type in respect of soils and crops⁸⁴¹. This produces a nett result of yields being much lower than possibly what could be obtained despite other normal constraints as well as negative environmental consequences for the soil itself.

[e] For women in the community poverty produces a total bondage in having to find the means for their families to live. This involves continuously having to make the choice between sewing clothes or buying secondhand ones, preparing staple foods despite the knowledge that more nutritious food is what their children need and seeking employment opportunities where wages are minimal and never meet the abundance of needs⁸⁴².

[f] Despite the constraints that the marginalised people of Nyanyadu face in their community, there are certain features which show the unique way in which they respond to their situations. These are analysed below.

5.2.2. UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MARGINALISED

[a] While the Nyanyadu community has unique features which give it its distinctive character, the marginalised members of this community also have unique features. These all contribute to both the dexterity of this socio-economically deprived sector of Nyanyadu society and the general well-being of the community as a whole.

[b] The feature which stands out most strongly in the analysis of all the data pertaining to the poor in Nyanyadu, though does not separate from them the rest of the poor

⁸⁴⁰Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁴¹Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁴²Semi-structured interviews.

throughout the world is their ability, albeit in most cases *merely*, to survive under severe constraints. Clearly, the poor employ a variety of survival strategies. One is to make full use of the services of the Community Health Workers⁸⁴³ employed by the Provincial Department of Health in each ward of the community. These Health Workers will check that the disabled are taking medicines prescribed at the local clinic, be a source through which to secure donations of food or clothing and facilitate the application for grants and pensions⁸⁴⁴.

[c] One unique feature displayed by the resource-poor farmers of the community is their heterogenous behaviour in respect of their enterprises. Each enterprise is essentially different. This may be seen in the varied labour and financial inputs and financial rewards derived from enterprises, as displayed in Table 5.3 on the page overleaf, as well as the range of differential mobility exercised by the farmers themselves, seen on Map 5.3 on the page which follows. Enterprises also range in size, yield, type, agro-ecologies, problems, families to support, tenure, access to resources, such as water and extension services, and other features. Some of the farmers also run their agricultural enterprises in association with other non-agricultural enterprises, such as a shop or a taxi service. Some farmers also farm outside the community in the neighbouring communities of Rutland, Ladybank and Chester. One outsider farms in the community through the *Masihumbane* Farmers' Association's activities⁸⁴⁵.

[d] There is a reason for the data presented in Table 5.3 to be as precise as it is. This is because the data has been calculated from pie-charts drawn by the farmers during the visits to their enterprises. Pie-charts are part of the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools used in the exercise of gaining an understanding of the farmers' enterprises. When some of the farmers experienced difficulties in representing their enterprises on the three pie-charts of 'labour', 'financial input' and 'financial reward', water was poured into

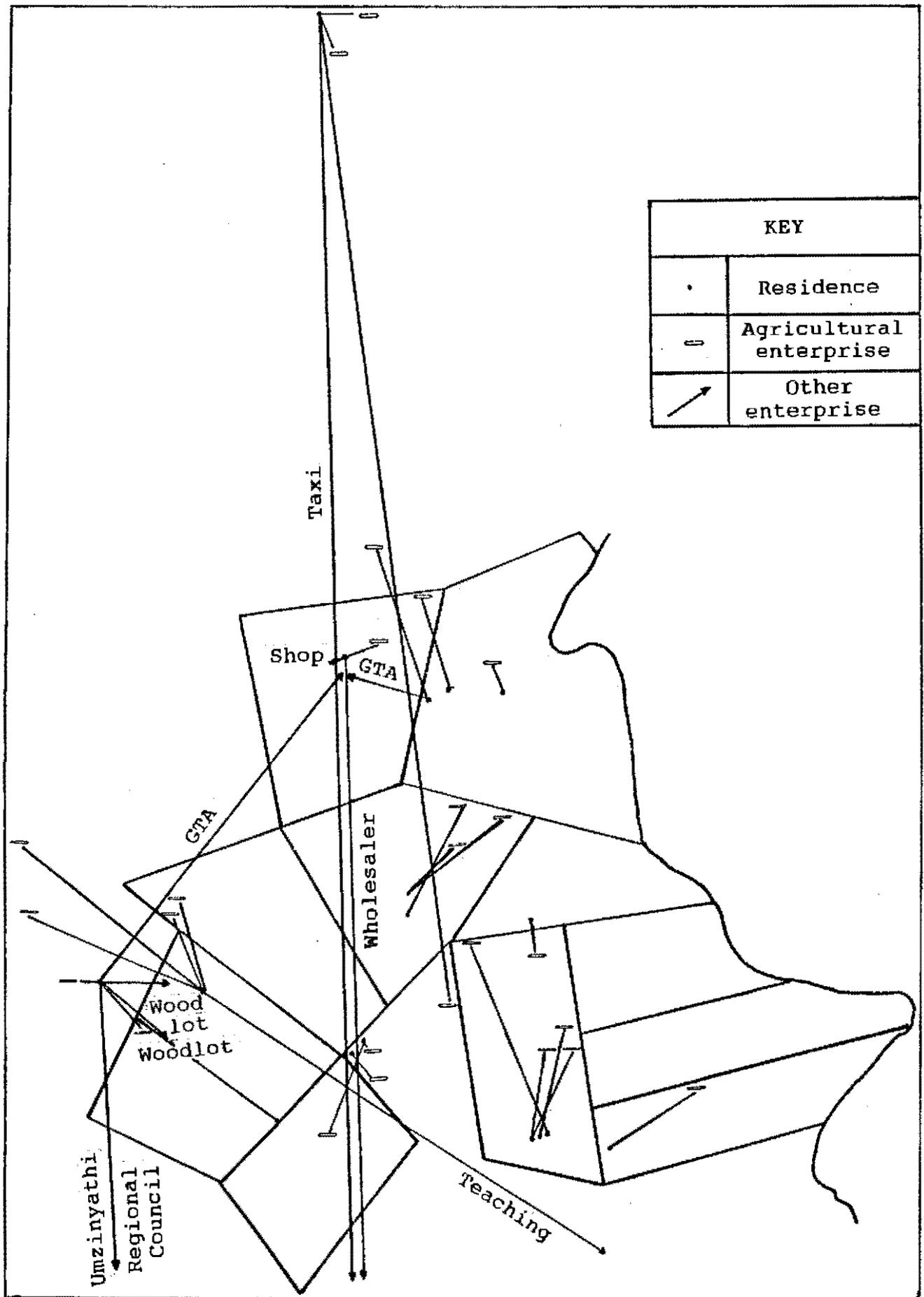
⁸⁴³Community Health Workers were introduced into the community by the former Government of KwaZulu. They are a product of 'the Prozesky Model' which had its origins in Munguzi Methodist Health Ward. See the Buthelezi Commission (1982: 420) for a fuller description of this model.

⁸⁴⁴Semi-structured interview.

⁸⁴⁵Semi-structured interviews.

Table 5.3: Comparison of farmers' enterprises

FARMER	ENTERPRISE	LABOUR	FINANCIAL INPUT	FINANCIAL REWARD
1	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	85.5% 11.0% 3.5%	96.5% 2.0% 1.5%	71.0% 12.5% 16.5%
2	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	8.5% 1.5% 90.0%	41.5% 6.0% 52.5%	18.0% 7.0% 75.0%
3	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	41.5% 8.5% 50.0%	14.0% 1.5% 84.5%	41.5% 8.5% 50.0%
4	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	75.0% 25.0% 0.0%	94.5% 5.5% 0.0%	0.0% 100.0% 0.0%
5	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	87.5% 6.5% 6.0%	79.0% 20.5% 0.5%	95.0% 3.0% 2.0%
6	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	96.5% 3.5% 0.0%	96.5% 3.5% 0.0%	100.0% 0.0% 0.0%
7	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	33.0% 67.0% 0.0%	67.0% 33.0% 0.0%	67.0% 33.0% 0.0%
8	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	75.0% 22.5% 2.5%	97.0% 2.0% 1.0%	64.0% 32.5% 3.5%
9	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	39.0% 50.0% 11.0%	41.5% 25.0% 33.5%	47.0% 27.5% 25.5%
10	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	89.0% 11.0% 0.0%	90.5% 9.5% 0.0%	44.5% 19.5% 36.0%
11	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	94.5% 5.5% 0.0%	96.0% 4.0% 0.0%	25.0% 0.0% 75.0%
12	Agriculture Animal Hus. Other	78.0% 16.5% 5.5%	90.0% 7.0% 3.0%	25.0% 50.0% 25.0%



Map 5.3: Nyanyadu farmer mobility

a glass until the amount of water represented the main component of the enterprise. The level was then marked with an appropriate pen. Water was then poured in again to represent the next important component of the enterprise, and so on. The farmers in question were provided with the opportunity to adjust the marks on the glass. Once they were satisfied that these represented the components of their enterprise, the relevant pie-chart was then drawn. The value of these pie-charts is that they give people other than the farmer some understanding of the enterprise yet they respect the right of the farmer not to reveal actual amounts, particularly in respect of the financial consequences of such an enterprise.

[e] The data for Map 5.3 portraying farmer mobility in Nyanyadu was obtained through the physical visits and mapping according to the descriptions given by the farmers. Mobility maps are also an important instrument from the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools.

[f] The heterogenous nature of the enterprises engaged in by Nyanyadu farmers shown in Table 5.3 and Map 5.3 reminds outsiders, be they extension officers or researchers, that there are few general assumptions that can be made in respect of Nyanyadu agriculture. A clear example of this caveat is that the farmer (No 9) with the largest enterprise of 121,42 hectares has no education, has only ever been employed by someone else as an agricultural worker and comes from a family of emerging farmers. As can be seen almost half of his income is derived through agriculture with animal husbandary contributing just more than a quarter of his income. The 'other' enterprise that he engages is that of running a transport service which brings in a quarter of his income. However, this service which he uses to his own advantage to collect inputs for his farming enterprises is to some extent financially dependent upon those. However, to its advantage it requires a disproportionate amount of labour input.

[g] Farmer No 2 in contrast to Farmer No 9 uses income from his 'other' enterprise which is being a school teacher to finance his farming activities. The agricultural component is relatively costly as it brings in a disproportionate financial return. The major cost which this 'farmer' faces in respect of his 'other' enterprise is transport to and from

school which is more than seventy kilometres away.

[h] One farmer who is breaking even in terms of costs and return in respect of his enterprises is Farmer No 7. However, to do so he has spend double the amount of his labour on his animals as he does on his agricultural pursuits. The reason why he does not engage in any other enterprise is because his spare time is used in GTA and religious affairs.

[i] Despite being based on 'Trust' land Farmer No 4 runs a profitable beef herd which demands very little labour and financial input, apart from when buying in stock. His agricultural pursuits serve this enterprise by producing grain for his cattle.

[j] The above examples reiterate the heterogenous nature of these enterprises. One unique feature which characterises all the farmers as well as the women of the community is the sheer effort they put into their work. All the farmers and women visited displayed great enthusiasm and interest in the work they were doing. Hence the willingness to discuss their enterprise and/or household economy⁸⁴⁶.

5.2.3. CULTURE

As suggested earlier⁸⁴⁷, culture is understood in this thesis 'as the manner in which people live in, intellectualise and attempt to control their environment, including people within that environment and the economic, historical, natural, political, social, and other features thereof'. As the natural environment has an existence which precedes the people of Nyanyadu, the analysis which follows begins with that facet of their wider environment. The analysis will thereafter draw out aspects of the social and political environment of Nyanyadu and how its people relate to them over and above those already discussed

⁸⁴⁶Direct observation.

⁸⁴⁷Chapter 3, Section 3.6.1.1.[a].

in the preceding section⁸⁴⁸ of the chapter. As there are economic consequences to all these, such will be discussed throughout.

5.2.3.1. The natural environment

[a] The characteristic of Nyanyadu's natural environment which all who live there have to engage with, no matter their station in life, is that of the locality of the area. In analysing how people of Nyanyadu engage with their natural environment this will be dealt with first. This will be followed with a discourse on the mineral deposits, particularly coal, in the vicinity of Nyanyadu as this is a resource which all people in Nyanyadu would hope was more easily exploited. Climate, soil and agricultural potential are factors which all people in Nyanyadu have to engage with on a daily basis in varying degrees. However, as it is a major focus of attention for the resource-poor farmers in the community, it will be dealt with last.

[b] From the inception of the Natal Colonial Government until the creation of the Self-Governing Territory of KwaZulu the portion of the Buffalo Flats upon which the people of Nyanyadu settled was incorporated into the Dundee Magisterial District. As the name Buffalo Flats suggests, the Buffalo River which rises in the northern Drakensberg, constitutes its eastern boundary. Its north-western and southern boundaries are constituted by cadastral rather than geographical features. Being part then of the Dundee Magisterial District suggests a relationship with the town which gives the District its name. Many people from Nyanyadu traverse the 30-odd kilometres, in a southerly direction, in various forms of transport (bus, taxi and private) for employment and trading purposes⁸⁴⁹.

[c] When the Madadeni District was established commensurate with the former KwaZulu Government in 1972, Nyanyadu was incorporated into that District in terms of the functions described in the formative legislation. An awareness of one of those functions

⁸⁴⁸Section 5.2.1..

⁸⁴⁹See Harrison 1990: 127-42 for a good analysis of economic activity in this sub-region.

becomes evident when travelling to Nyanyadu from Dundee. One is immediately aware that you have arrived in Nyanyadu, for not only is there an immediate change in the settlement patterns from commercial agriculture to dense rural settlement, but also the road surface changes from tar to graded clay. While Nyanyadu now finds itself incorporated into the new Province of KwaZulu-Natal, much of its immediate past history has not changed at all. While roads are graded on a regular basis, for instance, they are not easily traversed after rainfall and provide an enormous source of dust during the dry weather.

[d] Obviously, its relationship with its Madadeni neighbours is closer in socio-economic terms. Immediately north and north-west of Nyanyadu are the Nkosi and Hlubi Tribal Authorities. Beyond them are the towns of Osizweni and Madadeni, and beyond Madadeni is Newcastle. With its more significant industries, such as Iscor, Newcastle provides the people of Nyanyadu with greater job opportunities⁸⁵⁰.

[e] In more macro terms Nyanyadu finds itself today located in the doldrums created by being located between two development axes⁸⁵¹. One of those axes runs between Durban and Gauteng, via Ladysmith, Newcastle and Volksrust. The other runs between Richards Bay and Gauteng, via Vryheid and Volksrust. Especially in the case of the latter, which has a high-speed railway line as its base, Nyanyadu cannot derive any benefit from those axes. Its communication networks which link it into the economies which exist along the axes are simply too weak. As a result Nyanyadu is poorly supplied with services, employment opportunities are remote and the local economy lacks external stimulation.

[f] Northern KwaZulu-Natal has been known in the past for the prevalence of coal deposits throughout the region. The people of Nyanyadu have benefited from employment opportunities created through the mining of coal in the vicinity, especially that in the Doornkop coal deposit in the south of the area, which had a high potential⁸⁵². However, the termination in recent years of the agreement between the former Transvaal and Natal

⁸⁵⁰Similarly, Harrison (1990: 87-111) provides an economic analysis of the Newcastle-Madadeni Sub-Region.

⁸⁵¹Geyer 1987: 271.

⁸⁵²Thorington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal 1978: 48.

Coal Producers not to market their coal in each other's area has had a significant impact upon the coal industry in the region as a whole. As coal seams are generally narrow in this part of KwaZulu-Natal they cannot be mined economically. This has led to the closure of many mines in the region resulting in growing unemployment for people in the region, including those in Nyanyadu.

[g] Despite the official closure of most mines in the region, one 'mine' in the immediate vicinity of Nyanyadu continues to meet the needs of people there through coal scavenging activity. According to key informants there are no people from Nyanyadu who currently scavenge for coal as a form of self-employment though some did in the past. Nevertheless, some people from Nyanyadu do go to the 'mine' when needing coal and extract some according to their needs and the means and cost of transport they have available to take the coal home⁸⁵³.

[h] Climatically, Nyanyadu has a mean annual rainfall which ranges between 700 and 900 millimetres, though there is wide variation from year to year. Frequently rainfall is ill-distributed and insufficient but usually peaks in January. Added precipitation comes in the form of hail. There is an incidence of 4,4 hail storms per annum in the vicinity. With parts of the area rising to 1200 metres above sea level, it has a humidity described as mild-subarid to subarid. The mean annual temperature is $\pm 17^{\circ}\text{C}$ resulting from warm to mild summer temperatures and cool to cold ones in the winter⁸⁵⁴.

[i] As a soil type, *Leksand* is widely distributed throughout Nyanyadu. While arable these soils comprise moderately shallow to deep infertile sands to sandy loams overlying sandstone or ironpan. *Vlei* soils are distributed throughout Curragh. These are non-arable soils which should be reserved purely for controlled livestock grazing. Generally the soils

⁸⁵³ As the dynamics of this 'mine' impact upon the lives of some people of Nyanyadu a report of the activity there is provided as Appendix 3.

⁸⁵⁴ Northern Natal Regional Development Association 1985: Part 3: 2. Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg & McCrystal 1978: up; Development Bank of Southern Africa 1988: Part 7: 14.

in the area are shallow and erodible⁸⁵⁵.

[j] The above climate and soil conditions attract grasses of the dry tall grassveld variety, which usually reveal a medium agricultural potential. Thus the general area is described by Phillips⁸⁵⁶ as being part of Bioclimatic Group No 8 which has such a potential. However, another study describes its agricultural potential as poor⁸⁵⁷. Being part of the Natal Sour Sandveld, yet a further study⁸⁵⁸ suggests that the area should change its economic base from maize to livestock in order to achieve a more stable farming economy. Nevertheless, livestock production will be dependent upon augmenting existing resources. Pastures lack nutrients and have a low carrying-capacity⁸⁵⁹ while grasses are indigestible⁸⁶⁰.

[k] It goes without saying that the community as a whole are dependent on and affected by these aspects of the natural environment. Their dependency stems from the natural products of this environment which people need in order to live. Such products are used for housing, fuel and nutritional needs in varying degrees⁸⁶¹. Yet it is these very natural factors which cause damage to property as well. Excessive rainfall causes wattle and daub structures to crumble, while the semi-arid conditions cause crop failure impacting upon the scarce resources the people need in order to live⁸⁶². Some men of Nyanyadu

⁸⁵⁵ Northern Natal Regional Development Association 1985: Part 3: 2-3; Development Bank of Southern Africa 1988: Part7: 14.

⁸⁵⁶1973: 135-44.

⁸⁵⁷Thorington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal 1978: 48.

⁸⁵⁸Northern Natal Regional Development Association 1985: Part 3: 3-4.

⁸⁵⁹1 Large Stock Unit to 4-6ha per 250-360 grazing days.

⁸⁶⁰Northern Natal Regional Development Association 1985: Part 3: 3-4. Development Bank of Southern Africa 1988: Part7: 14

⁸⁶¹The household surveys amongst the poorest families show that the ratio of wattle and daub structures in relation to corrugated iron and cement blocks is 14: 3: 6. The ratio of corrugated iron to thatch as a roofing material is 12:10. The ratio of wood to dung, coal and paraffin for fuel is 11: 7: 3: 6. Just more than 25% of these households had access to fields, all being less than 200m².

⁸⁶²Semi-structured interviews and direct observation.

unashamedly confess their fear of traversing open spaces at the fringes of the farms they reside on. The *nyoka*⁸⁶³ may strike at any time and cause damage to their livelihood. This fear, which is a manifestation of a cultural trait, emerged during a workshop where Map 5.4, seen on the page opposite, was produced and explained. The map, for its cartographers, demonstrates the dependency of human, animal and botanical livelihood upon the natural environment.

[l] It also goes without saying that it is the farmers of the community who most actively attempt to engage with these features of the natural environment. As in the case of resource-poor farmers throughout most of Africa, the style of agriculture practised in Nyanyadu is of the dryland type⁸⁶⁴. This means that agriculture in Nyanyadu is centred around the summer rainfall which falls in this part of South Africa. Due to variations in the season which is influenced by the semi-arid conditions the element of risk is increased⁸⁶⁵. One significant way in which the farmers minimise these risks is through mutual cooperation. This mutual cooperation is articulated through different farmers' associations to which they belong⁸⁶⁶.

[m] *Sigophamlando*⁸⁶⁷ Farmers' Association (1985) are tenant or Trust Land farmers who mostly produce maize for local consumption, though some is sold for trade. Most of their enterprises are located at Flint. As a result of an initiative where these farmers collected an initial amount of R2000, they were rewarded by the Department of Agriculture who have planned a R123000 irrigation scheme for their fields. In due course water from the scheme will also be fed to household installations. While the engineering

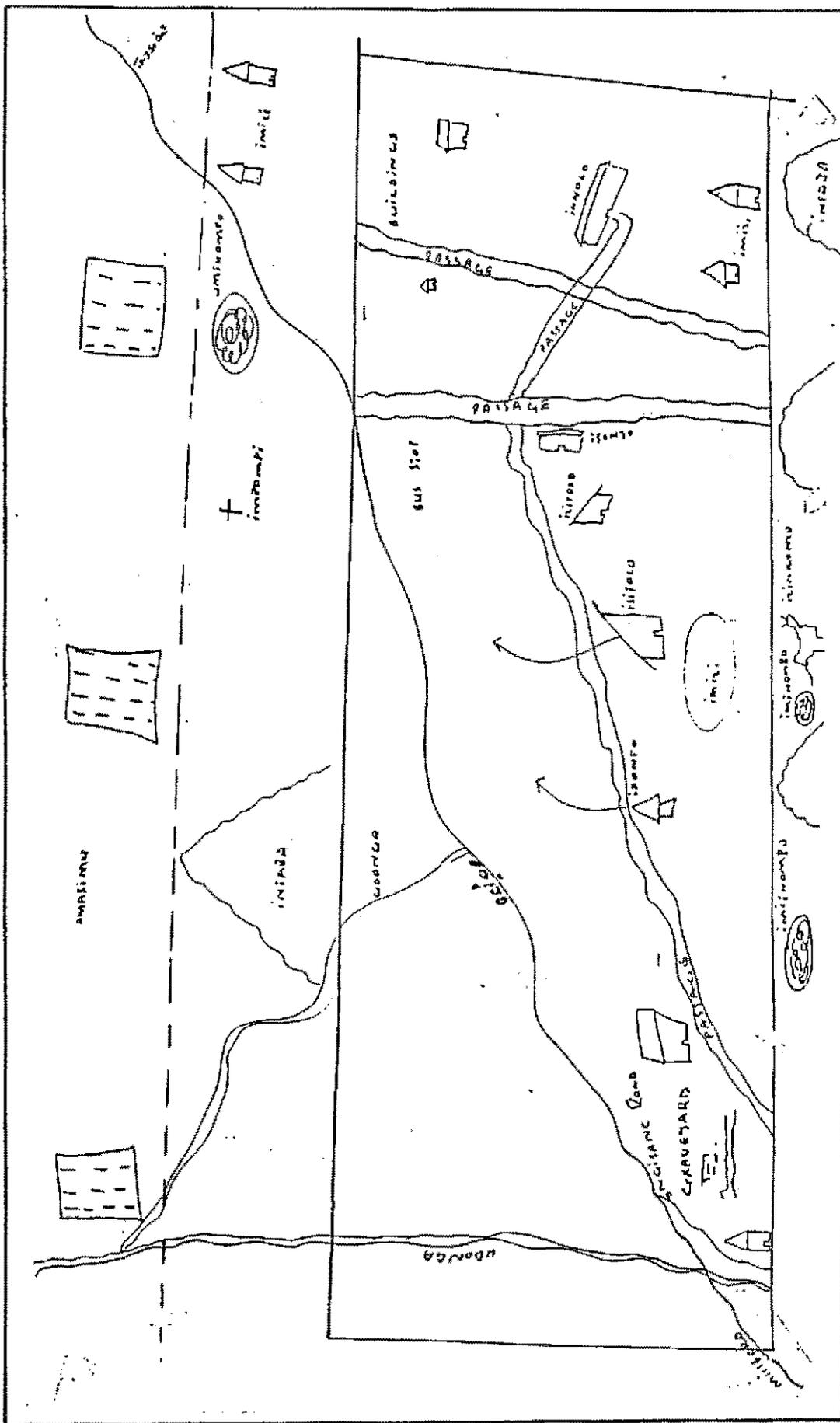
⁸⁶³Literally, 'snake' - figuratively, 'tornado'. During the period of fieldwork a number struck in different parts of Nyanyadu. One did significant damage to a new, well-built school at Wilts.

⁸⁶⁴Derman 1981: 17-9; Webster 1988: 21-8; Achebe, Okeyo, Hyden & Magadza 1990: 56; Brasmus & Hough 1994: 112. See also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1.2.[c].

⁸⁶⁵As in the case of dryland agriculture in Zimbabwe (Scoones, Chibudu, Chikura, Jeranyama, Machaka, Machanja, Mavedzenge, Mombeshora, Mudhara, Mudziwo, Murimbarimba & Zireza 1996: 3).

⁸⁶⁶It can be confirmed that the farmer associations listed below mostly represent the farmers of Nyanyadu as a whole.

⁸⁶⁷'Makers of history'.



Map 5.4: Clones, Nyanyadu (Drawn by men of the community)

process is underway, the scheme will provide employment for many people of Flint. Another of *Siqophamlando's* present projects is to acquire a milling machine⁸⁶⁸.

[n] The Commercial Farmers' Association (1988) are landowners, producing beef, maize and milk. Mutual co-operation takes the form of farmer-to-farmer extension in respect of commercial breeds of cattle and hybrid seeds to ensure a quality product⁸⁶⁹.

[o] *Masibumbane*⁸⁷⁰ Farmers' Association (1996) are a group of farmers mostly from the Clones and Milford farms who formed this association in order to farm together and thereby to reduce their risks and to augment their individual enterprises. Individual enterprises include a retail outlet, cattle, chickens and crops, mostly yellow and white maize, grown on their individual allotments or properties. Their initial joint enterprise was to take over a pig unit started some years ago by one of the members. Each member contributed a membership fee to promote this and their further activities. In order to reduce the cost of pig feed the farmers extended their operation to the growing of yellow maize. This was soon extended to other crops such as white maize, cowpeas, peanuts and bambara groundnuts. Land is hired mostly in neighbouring Chester for these purposes. To avoid the mechanical cost, farmers contribute their tractors and implements and are credited for such. One hallmark of this association is its experimental ability. On one of its holdings white maize was planted with limited inputs to examine which inputs for their other white maize production are the most essential⁸⁷¹.

[p] *Bambane*⁸⁷² Farmers' Association (1997) comprises men and women farmers from Clones who are landowners. Their united effort is an attempt to secure a living from their fields through agricultural ventures rather than to let these to other people mostly for

⁸⁶⁸Minutes of the Farmers' Association, Northern Natal Courier 18 July 1997, page 4, Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁶⁹Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁷⁰'Let us be united'.

⁸⁷¹Semi-structured interviews and direct observation.

⁸⁷²'United'.

residential purposes. By mid 1997, 18 of the 114 privately owned fields of Clones had been so let⁸⁷³.

[q] It is no surprise that the poorest of the farmers whose enterprises were examined were all the women farmers. All of those who have cultivated their fields over the past five years have had to rely on contract ploughing. While this is done to ensure that their soil is appropriately prepared, compared with the other option of hoe cultivation, the cost of obtaining a crop is considerably increased. Further, as all are widows with dependents, these women farmers have the double responsibility of running their enterprise and managing their households. One way in which those in Clones cope with the double responsibility of enterprise and household management is to focus their attention on the arable land⁸⁷⁴ on their residential plots rather than their agricultural plots⁸⁷⁵.

5.2.3.2. The cattle complex

[a] One institution which is dependent on the natural environment for its existence but is essentially a social and economic entity, is that of the cattle complex. It is an institution found amongst people throughout most of Africa⁸⁷⁶ and has been widely documented⁸⁷⁷. It is therefore of little surprise that the institution finds itself having an existence in Nyanyadu. Essentially, as elsewhere in Africa, this institution is historically a means of accumulating, securing and representing wealth. As *lobola*⁸⁷⁸, based on the exchange of cattle, is practised in Nyanyadu, the complex is ensured a continued existence.

⁸⁷³Semi-structured interviews and direct observation.

⁸⁷⁴Approximately 200m² in extent.

⁸⁷⁵Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁷⁶Saul 1995: 193-5.

⁸⁷⁷Evans-Pritchard 1940: 14-50; Krige 1950: 185-9; Wallman 1969: 67-71; Ferguson 1990: 135-93.

⁸⁷⁸'Bride-wealth'.

[b] The cattle complex in Nyanyadu has produced some interesting community dynamics in the past and continues to influence events today. The people living on Wilts complained to the Native Commissioner at Dundee in 1930 that people from Dorset after dipping their cattle at the Wilts dip, as per arrangement, were abusing the Wilts grazing⁸⁷⁹. In 1936 the Native Commissioner at Dundee again heard complaints in respect of Dorset. *Induna* Stephen Butelezi apparently was misappropriating some of the dipping fees, not paying his own as well, allowed an outsider to plough on Dorset, ran twenty-four head of cattle on the farm without permission and owed £15 rent. The matter ended with the appointment of Luka Hlatswayo in his place⁸⁸⁰.

[c] Apart from these sorts of conflicts which this complex causes and perpetuates, one other negative characteristic is that the cattle come mostly from inferior breeds. This may indicate that these animals have a value in respect of the complex only and that the real economic value of keeping of cattle has not been realised in this community. A further indicator of this is the manner in which the owners of these cattle delay the agricultural season. Once the last crop is harvested, the farmers in each ward set a date when land preparation should begin again. In the meanwhile cattle are allowed to graze in the fields. Most farmers complained that every year there are cattle still grazing up to a month after the land preparation date⁸⁸¹. This tends to cause personal conflict between farmers and owners of cattle. In an attempt to prevent the indiscriminate grazing of cattle owned by people of the Curragh, which is privately owned, the GTA has planned to enclose Dorset with allotments on the boundaries and commonage in the centre⁸⁸².

⁸⁷⁹Natal Archives sae: up.

⁸⁸⁰Natal Archives sad: up.

⁸⁸¹This could be compared with procedures set up in Lesotho through the Laws of Lerotholi to obviate against this problem (Wallman 1969: 103).

⁸⁸²Semi-structured interviews.

5.2.3.3. Knowledge

[a] One condition that made itself apparent throughout the field work for this thesis is the tendency for most of the older generation of people in Nyanyadu to engage with their environment mostly through an oral culture. The younger generation on the other hand has more of a conceptual and written culture. This does not mean to say that the older generation have no writing skills. Minutes for various meetings across the community spectrum are available. This ability, with varying degrees of mastery, would have been learnt by this generation at Nyanyadu Higher Primary School from the 1920s onward and more recently Malambule School as well. What is being said is that the normal medium of engagement with the environment for older people of Nyanyadu is oral. This pattern of behaviour is verified by the GTA using scholars to realign saplings planted by older men and women in the community woodlot. The precision of the scholars' work compared with the haphazard work of the adults shows that the concept of a square has not been learnt in the latter case. Fortunately, for the young people of Nyanyadu, they now have a Junior Primary, a Primary and two High Schools to choose from for their education. A Senior Primary School has been built at Dorset which is to be opened in 1998. However, some scholars commute to schools outside the community, as far as Dundee and Newcastle to receive a better quality education⁸⁸³.

[b] The oral culture of the older generation manifests itself amongst the farmers of the community through the lack of written records of their inputs, yields and financial returns. This has serious consequences for their enterprises as even the most rudimentary agricultural economic exercises would enable them to make more appropriate decisions. This together with the limited agricultural scientific knowledge obviates against their enterprises being as productive and profitable as they could be. One factor which offsets these limitations in some way is the fact that the farmers certainly have a vast range of skills, mostly of an industrial nature, which they constantly use to the benefit of their enterprises⁸⁸⁴.

⁸⁸³ Direct observation, semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁸⁴ Semi-structured interviews, historical profiles.

[c] Women in Nyanyadu make constant use of their hand work skills as part of their survival strategy. There is a spirit of readiness to join groups which will develop or teach new skills from which they will benefit. Income derived from these crafts are vital to the household economy. As in other historically disadvantaged communities, women in Nyanyadu are generally on the lower end of the formal education scene. Knowledge in most cases has been gained from either domestic work at home or in employment or from menial agricultural employment. Few have industrial skills training. Those who are trained are mostly teachers and nurses across the ranks. Isolated cases of women with tertiary or quaternary skills exist. One in particular contributes her skills through employment only as she is resident at Madadeni⁸⁸⁵.

5.2.3.4. Political activity

[a] Apart from the 1994 General Election, Nyanyadu may be characterised as having very little overt political activity. While there has been an assumption of an Inkatha Freedom Party base in the past the effect of the General Election has been to produce a general acceptance of other political parties. Some respondents in interviews made reference to a better quality of life during the former South African Government's regime. The youth movement in Nyanyadu vehemently denies any political affiliation⁸⁸⁶.

5.2.4. LIMITATIONS, RISK, UNCERTAINTY AND VULNERABILITY

[a] Since their early beginning the people of Nyanyadu have experienced limitations, risks, vulnerabilities and weaknesses in their different forms and ways. According to archival material, an influenza epidemic struck in 1918⁸⁸⁷. The next major catastrophe happened

⁸⁸⁵Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁸⁶Semi-structured interviews.

⁸⁸⁷This event is also triangulated through an historical profile.

in 1921 with swarms of grasshoppers and locusts denuding crops⁸⁸⁸. The 1930s were years of mixed fortune for people in Nyanyadu. Nevertheless, people from the community as a whole look back on the 1930s as the years of the 'good life'. Yields from cultivated crops were high and animals were abundant⁸⁸⁹. However, the 'good life' does not seem to have ever returned to Nyanyadu. An earth tremor which struck in 1940 hinted at the decade being a troublesome one. By the summer of 1945/6 the *pele ukudla*⁸⁹⁰ had arrived. Reserves which people of Nyanyadu had built up diminished rapidly and people were left destitute. This saw an Indian entrepreneur opening a General Dealership at Flint⁸⁹¹. In 1954 the community as a whole felt the impact of the Pass Laws⁸⁹² which had just been promulgated by the former South African Government. Other passes were issued again in the 1980s, this time by the then KwaZulu Government⁸⁹³. Drought struck again in 1960. Conditions became so bad that the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office supplied water in tankers which people had to buy to defray expenses⁸⁹⁴. The 1980s also saw Flint farm being earmarked as a settlement where 'excess' residents from the townships of Sibongile (Dundee) and Sithembile⁸⁹⁵ (Glencoe) were to be forcefully removed to⁸⁹⁶.

[b] Resources, both human and natural, within the community are essentially limited. The major form of professional expertise in the community is that of education. The overwhelming majority of teachers come from outside the community and their stay in the

⁸⁸⁸Historical profile.

⁸⁸⁹Historical profile.

⁸⁹⁰The food is finished.

⁸⁹¹Historical profile.

⁸⁹²Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No.67 of 1952.

⁸⁹³Historical profile.

⁸⁹⁴Historical profile.

⁸⁹⁵Formerly known as Tembelihle.

⁸⁹⁶Surplus People Project 1983b: 68, 177-8, 285.

community is relatively short lived. Much the same pattern is evident in the few members of the nursing profession who staff the clinic at Flint⁸⁹⁷. Agricultural extension services, although improving with the newly established KwaZulu-Natal Department of Agriculture, are still somewhat limited.

[c] In respect of day to day commodities of necessity, such as food, the poor in particular have limited financial access to purchasable resources. Thus poor diets, shabby clothing, and poor housing characterise their way of life. Of the fourteen poorest households⁸⁹⁸ in Nyanyadu twelve had curtains, ten had a free standing cupboard, six had a table and chairs, three had lounge chairs and three had a double bed. None of these households had their own telephone, television set or bought newspapers. Only half (seven) of the households had a radio. All households had to fetch water from a source more than a half an hour away in one direction. Eleven of these households draw their water from a communal borehole, two from an unprotected spring, while one has to buy water. The relative distances which women in particular have to traverse to fetch water is visually portrayed in Map 5.5 on the next page. This map was drawn by the women of Clones and in it *imizizi* refer to their homes and *impompi*⁸⁹⁹ and *umthombo wamanzi*⁹⁰⁰ refer to water collection points. A similar case can be made in respect of the *amasimu*⁹⁰¹ women have to get to. The relative distance is \pm 2kms. Most of the households make use of pit latrines for sanitation purposes. Only four households had access to land to grow food, while five had animals to rely on to augment the family's diet producing the result where eight of the key respondents in this survey indicated that they were dissatisfied with the food they eat and another four being very dissatisfied. Added to this, all respondents were dissatisfied with the clothing they wear and twelve were dissatisfied with the state of their health. Therefore, it is not surprising that eight of the key respondents indicated that they

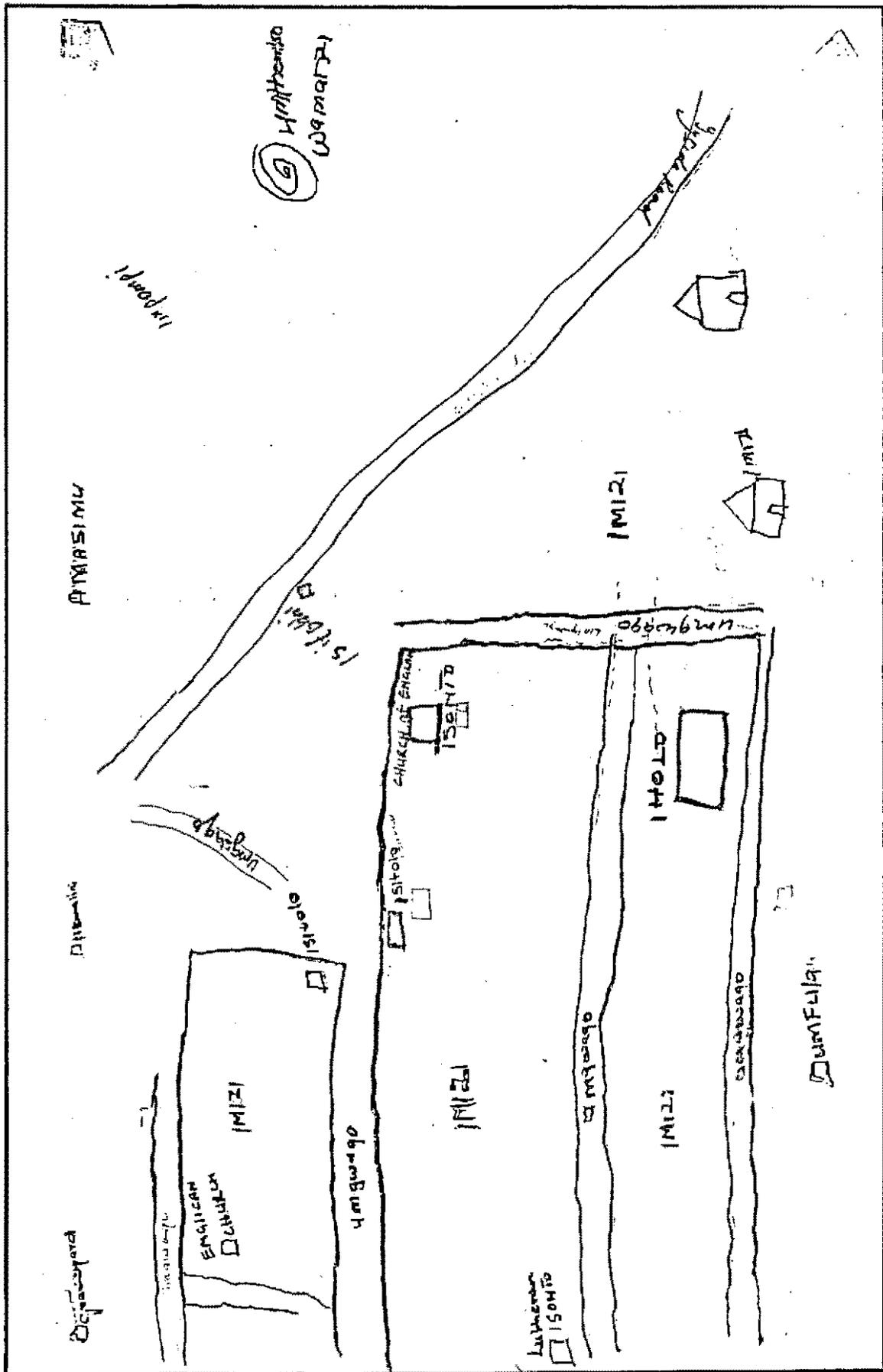
⁸⁹⁷Semi-structured interview.

⁸⁹⁸Ranked by Community Health Workers.

⁸⁹⁹Literally 'tap', but in essence 'borehole' with hand-driven pump and probably the original sense of the word.

⁹⁰⁰'Spring of water'.

⁹⁰¹'Fields'.



Map 5.5: Clones, Nyanyadu (Drawn by women of the community).

were unhappy with their quality of life with a further two indicating that they were very unhappy⁹⁰².

[d] The SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) Analysis in Table 5.4 on the opposite page was produced by members of the *Masibumbane* Farmers' Association and shows the importance of viewing limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities in their wider context. The items were ranked as shown. To the above weaknesses and threats other farmers in respect of SWOT analyses of their own enterprises add lack of some machinery, insufficient fertilizer, cost of inputs, unreliable labour, lack of maintenance skills, personal disabilities, widely dispersed fields, pests such as rats and insects. Despite these negative factors they also have the following strengths and opportunities in respect of their individual enterprises: maize production is sufficient to continue farming; there is a sufficient return to educate children; good prices; own implements; have financial resources; reliable labour force; have maintenance resources; augment income and cattle⁹⁰³.

5.2.5. PARTICIPATION

[a] As suggested earlier initial access into Nyanyadu by black people was gained by purchasing land. In due course the Natal Colonial Government, followed by the Union and the Republic of South Africa, and ultimately by the KwaZulu Government created and maintained the Reserve Policy. The relevant geographical areas have now been taken over by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Administration. This has resulted in what is today the distinction between the owned and trust portions of the GTA. In order for people to gain access to allotments on the owned portions they have to either purchase or rent these from the present owners. Apart from the usual contractual requirements, there are normally no further obligations which impact upon the participation of people who enter such agreements or for members of their families. In the case of the trust areas which are

⁹⁰²Household surveys conducted by the researcher during the autumn of 1997.

⁹⁰³Semi-structured interviews.

Table No 5.4: Ranked SWOT Analysis of *Masibumbane* farming enterprises

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
<p>Courageous members Experimentation Grow dual purpose crops - peanuts, bambara ground-nuts, cowpeas - require no fertilizer Good return on pig enterprise</p>	<p>Soil fertility Lack of land - prevents development of initiatives Waste of energy Inability to plough on time Lack of fencing - cattle invasion Do not have status of 'farmers' at Co-operatives - no credit Do not have insurance</p>
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<p>Enterprises contribute to well-being Market for peanuts, green mealies Land market becoming available</p>	<p>Outstanding debts Weather No guarantee of a return on investment Soil degradation Insects result in late planting of beans</p>

administered directly by GTA, access to land for housing, gardens, grazing and agricultural purposes is gained through the applicant being in possession of a marriage certificate and paying a once-off *khonza*⁹⁰⁴ fee. Thereafter, the applicant and the adult members of her/his family are required to attend the three public GTA meetings which take place each year. While these meetings tend to be male dominated in appearance, women participate with equal status. Women tend to hold the secretarial and financial positions in the structures. This holds true in respect of other community organisations, such as the farmer associations⁹⁰⁵.

[b] Many of the community projects are dependent on financial and personal contributions

⁹⁰⁴Allegiance'.

⁹⁰⁵Direct observation, semi-structured interviews.

by members of the community. In 1950 all the families were expected to contribute £5 each to make additions to the Nyanyadu Higher Primary School built some years earlier⁹⁰⁶. The construction of the Senior Primary School at Dorset and the Flint irrigation scheme have all happened in the same way.

[c] Apart from the general poverty in the area there is little hindrance stopping people from participating in their own development. In the case of farming, access to land is fairly easy to obtain. Access is determined more by access to tractors and implements, rather than land. As suggested above, even if this proves to be a hindrance there are ways in the community to overcome these. Certainly in the farming sector participation is enhanced through membership of the farmer associations. Like the farmers of the community many women have found that their membership of clubs enhances their participative capacity. Thus they have organised themselves in sewing and other craft groups⁹⁰⁷.

5.2.6. A SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF PAST AND FUTURE INTERVENTIONS IN NYANYADU

[a] It was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter⁹⁰⁸ that the request by the Dundee Community Project (DCP) to the researcher of this thesis to conduct a social impact assessment of its activities provided the point of entry for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to be applied in the development setting of the Nyanyadu community. It was further explained that upon the presentation of the results of this social impact assessment to the community's leadership that the request came from some of the farmers to assist them in the process of achieving an understanding of their enterprises. This in due course was extended to include the probable impact of the current national land reforms upon Nyanyadu. Thereby the opportunity was provided for an Anthropocentric

⁹⁰⁶Historical profile.

⁹⁰⁷Semi-structured interviews.

⁹⁰⁸Section 5.1..

Development Evaluation and the methodologies found to be congruent with an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to be applied in Nyanyadu.

[b] Using the data from the above mentioned exercises obtained through a combination of the methodologies of Action Research and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation was applied in respect of some aspects of life in Nyanyadu in the previous sections⁹⁰⁹. There the unique situations, the cultural and participative milieus, and the obstacles to development the people of Nyanyadu, including the poor, the resource-poor farmers and women face, were analysed. In the sections which follow the initial issue which brought the researcher of this thesis to Nyanyadu as well as the final request of the farmers of Nyanyadu will be addressed. In the first instance that is the interventions and social impact of the DCP's nutritional and social development programme. In the second that is the probable impact of the current national land reforms have upon the Nyanyadu community.

[c] As pointed out in Chapter 4 Section 4.3. Social Impact Assessments (SIAs) are usually anticipatory in nature and attempt to provide a possible scenario of the impacts of an intervention. Further, the basic steps toward a SIA include scoping, problem identification, formulation of alternatives, profiling, projection, assessment, evaluation, mitigation, monitoring and management. As the current national land reforms are still being implemented these steps will be followed in providing a SIA in this regard⁹¹⁰. For ease of reference a summary of these basic steps is provided below:

Scoping attempts to determine the extent and level of the intended impact, in time and space, which may take the form of a policy, programme or project⁹¹¹. *Problem identification* attempts to ascertain the cause or forces which give rise to the impact, as well as the related perceptions of such impact⁹¹². *Formulation of alternatives* seeks to

⁹⁰⁹Section 5.2.1. to Section 5.2.5.4..

⁹¹⁰Section 5.2.6.2..

⁹¹¹Wolf 1983: 17-9; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁹¹²Wolf 1983: 17, 20-1; Dominek 1986: 36.

consider all the options⁹¹³. *Profiling* attempts to establish who, has, is, or will be affected by the impact⁹¹⁴. *Projection* predicts what the impact will do in specific and general terms using scenarios, forecasting, and simulation as different means of showing the possibilities that may occur, while paying attention to what people say, do and have done⁹¹⁵. *Assessment* estimates the difference the impact makes⁹¹⁶. *Evaluation* ranks the impact according people's need and preferences and the possible alternatives⁹¹⁷. *Mitigation* reviews the unavoidable negative impacts and identifies possible means of limiting those adverse affects and/or modifying the impact⁹¹⁸. *Monitoring* measures the actual impact as it occurs with any predictions that were made⁹¹⁹. *Management* attempts to ensure that the impact continues to conform to criteria determined by those people impacted upon⁹²⁰.

[d] The DCP's nutrition and social development projects are a matter of the past. Therefore, the basic steps provided above need to be adapted and re-synchronised in order to provide a retrospective social impact assessment. This will happen as follows:

a *problem identification* exercise will attempt to ascertain what the problems were which brought the DCP and the Nutrition and Social Development Programme (N&SDP) to Nyanyadu. A *scoping* exercise will then describe the origins of the DCP and the N&SDP and the methods used to implement the latter and provide a *profile* of those people impacted upon. Then the *alternatives* available to the people and the Project will be discussed. This will be followed by an *assessment* which will estimate what difference the

⁹¹³Wolf 1983: 17, 22-3; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁹¹⁴Wolf 1983: 17, 23-5; Finsterbusch 1985: 205-6; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁹¹⁵Meidinger & Schnaiberg 1980: 518-25; Bowles 1981: 15-24; Soderstrom 1981: 14-7; Wolf 1983: 17, 25-6; Carley & Bustelo 1984: 169-72; Dominek 1986: 36.

⁹¹⁶Wolf 1983: 17, 27-8; Finsterbusch 1985: 208; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁹¹⁷Wolf 1983: 17, 28-9; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁹¹⁸Freudenburg & Keating 1982: 75; Wolf 1983: 17, 29-30; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁹¹⁹Wolf 1983: 18, 30-1; Dominek 1986: 37.

⁹²⁰Wolf 1983: 18; Dominek 1986: 37.

DCP and the N&SDP has made to the people of Nyanyadu using the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation for such purpose. An *evaluation* will rank the impact according to peoples' needs and preferences and then compare the actual impact with its original intentions and those developed as time progressed. A *mitigation* exercise will review the negative impacts and appropriate responses to them. Suggestions in respect of the *management* of these impacts for future reference will be made.

5.2.6.1. A Social Impact Assessment of the Dundee Community

Project and its Nutrition and Social Development

Programme in Nyanyadu

In June 1993 the Nyanyadu people began to feel the impact of a Nutrition and Social Development Programme. At the macro-level this programme was orchestrated by the former South African Government's Department of National Health and Population Development. To carry out this programme that Government Department seconded staff and employed others in an organisation it created called the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme (NNSDP). The agency through which NNSDP came to Nyanyadu was the Dundee Community Project (DCP). Before the establishment of the NNSDP, the DCP did not operate in the Nyanyadu area. The question is, 'Why did the DCP and the NNSDP suddenly arrive in Nyanyadu?'

5.2.6.1.1. Problem identification

[a] There is no doubt that poverty particularly in its rural form was the reason why the DCP and the NNSDP entered Nyanyadu. The local manifestations of this poverty were observed by two volunteer missionaries from Dundee who were working in Nyanyadu under the auspices of ACAT⁹²¹. They had been introduced to Nyanyadu by Dr

⁹²¹Africa Cooperative Action Trust - a Christian rural development organisation, based in Pietermaritzburg (KwaZulu-Natal) which has operations in Swaziland, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. See Marais 1992: 157-88 for an evaluation of one of its endeavours in KwaZulu-Natal.

Mdlalose, a member of the then KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

[b] Apart from the activity of lobby groups and political organisations the former South African Government was made patently aware of the level of poverty throughout the country from 1983 to 1989 by the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa in particular⁹²². After a lengthy in-depth analysis of the extent of poverty in South Africa⁹²³, the Inquiry attributed the prevalence of poverty to South Africa's colonial past⁹²⁴, the legacy of apartheid⁹²⁵ and macro-economic forces⁹²⁶. In response to these factors the Minister of the Department of National Health and Population Development of the former South African Government launched the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme (NNSDP) in September 1991. While 'the empowerment of the people of South Africa to become self-reliant' was the stated vision⁹²⁷ for the Programme, the main reason for its implementation was to offset the negative consequences of the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) by the former Government⁹²⁸. With the exception of a few items, such as bread, VAT sought to be a tax base which did not discriminate in terms of earning capacity. Obviously this placed an extra burden on the poor.

[c] What Fincham *et al*⁹²⁹ do not state in their assessment of the formative year of the NNSDP is that VAT was one of many measures used by the former South African

⁹²²This was quite a revelation to some particularly since the first Carnegie Inquiry 50 years earlier was wholly concerned with the poverty of 'whites'.

⁹²³Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 4-185.

⁹²⁴including 'conquest', 'slavery', 'assault on worker movements', 'colour bar', 'allocation of resources' and 'migrant labour and pattern of accumulation' (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 190-201).

⁹²⁵including 'dispossession', 'prevention of black urbanisation', 'forced removals', 'bantú education', 'crushing of organisation' and 'destabilisation' (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 204-30).

⁹²⁶including 'unemployment', 'population growth' and 'inflation' (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: 234-53).

⁹²⁷NNSDP 1993: up.

⁹²⁸Hansard, 20 March 1991, 3305-6; Fincham, Gibson, Jinabhai & Krige sa: 6.

⁹²⁹Fincham, Gibson, Jinabhai & Krige sa.

Government to cope with an economy which was reeling as a result of punitive sanctions⁹³⁰. These sanctions were imposed by other economies throughout the world whose politicians were convinced that the former South African Government was illegitimate. Therefore the stated aims of the NNSDP⁹³¹ should not be taken at face value. They included:

- ‘← To establish, develop and maintain nutrition and social development programmes in South Africa contributing to development with special emphasis on human development.
- ← To initiate/facilitate/co-ordinate the development of a network of service-rendering organisations/institutions that render nutrition-related and/or social-relief services linked to development at all levels, focusing on grass-roots level.
- ← To empower and enable communities to identify their own social and nutritional needs and to address these needs in order of priority.
- ← To contribute to alleviating malnutrition and attaining optimal nutritional status thereby assisting in improving the quality of life of all South Africans.
- ← To supplement the social relief programmes of functional Government departments and other institutions.
- ← To establish and maintain an effective monitoring and evaluation system for the NNSDP.
- ← To contribute⁹³² to developing, establishing and maintaining primary health and social care in South Africa’.

A full discussion of these aims takes place in Sections 5.2.6.1.5.[i]-[o].

5.2.6.1.2. Scoping and profile

[a] The two missionaries working in Nyanyadu became superficially aware of the NNSDP

⁹³⁰See Jenkins 1990: 275-86 for a more detailed analysis of the sanctions and their consequences for the South African economy.

⁹³¹NNSDP 1993: 2-3.

⁹³²Emphasis in the original.

and saw this programme as an opportunity to fund their Nyanyadu work, augmenting the proceeds from trading activity they engaged in for such purposes. Once they became aware that the NNSDP granted funding only to formally constituted organisations, the missionaries began negotiating with the DCP. The DCP was an initiative of the Dundee Baptist Church established in the early 1980s to run feeding schemes at Forrestdale - a low-income suburb of Dundee - and two schools in the District. Funds were raised by the Baptist congregation. As the feeding scheme grew by other schools being added, ecumenical support became necessary. This took place on an individual rather than on a formal basis⁹³³.

[b] The negotiations between the missionaries and the DCP resulted in the missionaries joining the DCP, the DCP formalising its existence by drawing up a constitution as well as electing office-bearers to fill the designated positions and applying for funding for Nyanyadu⁹³⁴.

[c] An initial allocation of about R331780 by the NNSDP to the DCP brought the first consignment of food to Nyanyadu in May 1993. Through ACAT groups already set up in Nyanyadu, beneficiaries were identified. Counter performance in the form of deep trenches for vegetable growing became the means through which people in Nyanyadu received food parcels. A further allocation of R430000 enabled the Project to extend benefits to additional families and to place more emphasis on social development, over and above feeding. Assistance was also extended to communities of people north of Nyanyadu⁹³⁵.

[d] During the course of the year the Committee of the DCP became dissatisfied with the fact that it sat in Dundee and made decisions which affected the lives of people in Nyanyadu. As a result two public meetings were held in Nyanyadu where there was some

⁹³³Semi-structured interview.

⁹³⁴Semi-structured interview.

⁹³⁵Semi-structured interview. For the sake of keeping to distinct parameters, this study does not do an assessment of the 'aid' given to those people.

interaction with members of the GTA, the adjacent Buhle-Hlubi Community Authorities, the Community Health Workers and committee members of the different communities of people from Nyanyadu and beyond. The purpose of these meetings was to encourage greater participation and self-reliance on the part of those communities and to enable the work of the project to be extended to those communities which most needed the skills and contacts that existed within the membership of the DCP⁹³⁶.

[e] The fact that members of the DCP's Committee were invited to participate in the Social Development Task Group established by the NNSDP in the former Northern Natal in 1994 is more indicative of the fact that many of the intentions of the NNSDP were not materialising, rather than any achievements on the part of the DCP. The Task Group was mandated by the NNSDP to:

- * determine and standardise assessment criteria;
- * determine which projects should be funded by NNSDP; and
- * establish a monitoring system for the programme⁹³⁷.

[f] Rather than to achieve any of the tasks of its mandate, the Task Group spent considerable time drawing up lists of requirements or resources needed for specific projects, such as poultry keeping, sewing, spring protection and solar cookers. This resulted from departmental officials who realised what the real issues were when attempting to deal with rural poverty as officials. That is, those officials would have to traverse great distances off the beaten track and engage with the particular necessities of people in rural communities. As this is asymmetrical with a bureaucratic way of administration doing so once in a while may be a novelty but beyond that the task is too onerous demanding much of personal energy and resources⁹³⁸.

⁹³⁶Semi-structured interview.

⁹³⁷Social Development Task Group 1994: 1.

⁹³⁸Semi-structured interview.

[g] According to the Natal Nutrition Working Group⁹³⁹ (NNWG) the first year⁹⁴⁰ of the NNSDP's operation in that Province and elsewhere in the country was fraught with staffing problems, bad financial planning and an inability to draw in those organisations who would best represent people who suffered poverty the most, and ensure that the poor would receive the benefits of the Programme. Their⁹⁴¹ study also highlighted the abject poverty experienced by people living in the deep rural areas. Thus by the time the Programme gained entry into Nyanyadu, a strategy was under way to set up particular structures, at Regional and District levels, with clear functions⁹⁴². Also, target groups were defined including children in the 0 - 6 years of age cohort, primary school children (6 -13 years of age) and the aged, the chronic ill and the unemployed⁹⁴³. Later, pregnant women and lactating mothers were included as well⁹⁴⁴. The technical details such as qualifying requirements for applicant organisations, nature of financing, support systems and accountability were also enclosed with these guidelines⁹⁴⁵. This information as it pertains to Nyanyadu is provided in Table 5.5, on the next page.

[h] The Nyanyadu feeding programme began in June 1993. R16.00 per person, up to a maximum of ten people per household, was the monthly allocation. Food parcels were made up mostly of mielie-meal but also included dry beans, milk powder and soya mince. All items were approved of by a NNSDP dietician. The suppliers in Dundee were required to deliver products to the different farms in Nyanyadu. A responsible family member had to be present to receive the goods at a central point. This food then had to be carried home. Wheel barrows were the popular mode of transport. In addition to the food, each

⁹³⁹Fincham, Gibson, Jinabhai & Krige sa: 7-10, 15. This Working Group was set up by the NNSDP at provincial level and comprised two geographers, a medical community health researcher and a social demographer.

⁹⁴⁰September 1991 - August 1992.

⁹⁴¹Fincham, Gibson, Jinabhai & Krige sa: 38.

⁹⁴²NNSDP 1993: 3-11.

⁹⁴³NNSDP 1993: 11-2.

⁹⁴⁴Semi-structured interview.

⁹⁴⁵NNSDP 1993: 12-42.

Table 5.5: Nyanyadu Feeding Scheme as at June 1993⁹⁴⁶

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
I	459 (71)	43 (30)	8 (7)	57 (35)	46 (31)	98 (61)	126 (55)	81 (47)
II	112 (18)	9 (6)	1 (1)	11 (8)	5 (4)	27 (10)	27 (9)	32 (14)
III	354 (52)	19 (15)	2 (2)	49 (33)	14 (11)	109 (43)	115 (44)	46 (28)
IV	96 (18)	1 (1)	0 (0)	15 (10)	7 (6)	23 (15)	31 (14)	19 (10)
V	252 (37)	17 (14)	5 (4)	30 (19)	8 (8)	48 (31)	83 (35)	61 (28)
VI	117 (21)	9 (9)	0 (0)	17 (12)	7 (7)	25 (15)	28 (17)	31 (16)
VII	178 (23)	16 (11)	2 (2)	21 (13)	4 (3)	54 (21)	37 (15)	44 (18)
VIII	135 (16)	6 (4)	0 (0)	14 (11)	5 (4)	30 (15)	30 (15)	25 (12)

I = Clones	A = Total number of Applicants
II = Cork & Trim	B = Children 0-2 years old
III = Curragh	C = Pregnant women and lactating mothers
IV = Dorset	D = Children 2-6 years old
V = Flint	E = Chronically ill or aged
VI = Milford	F = Able-bodied, but unemployed
VII = Mullingar	G = Primary school children
VIII = Wilts	H = Secondary school children
	() = No of households having at least one member in that category

Key: Table 5.5.

community of people was supplied with spades and picks. These were to be used to dig deep trench gardens. The trench gardens were the counter performance for food received. One square metre per beneficiary was the rate expected. Table 5.5 above attempts to

⁹⁴⁶Field workers reports.

summarise the demand for food aid for each farm in Nyanyadu⁹⁴⁷. Despite the relative population growth between 1991⁹⁴⁸ and 1993, at least 20% of the Nyanyadu community must have been direct beneficiaries of food aid received through the feeding scheme in 1993.

[i] In September 1993, a meeting of the DCP took place in Nyanyadu. Together with the Committee, the GTA, local Health and Agricultural workers, about sixty people from the different communities met including Nyanyadu and beyond. The purpose of the meeting was to report back to people the progress made and for the Committee to hear any concerns which may be voiced at that level. Such a subsequent meeting also took place in January 1994⁹⁴⁹.

[j] An additional R431000 was granted to the DCP in October 1993. This was to be used for food for an additional four hundred people, to slightly increase the monthly allocation to R18 per person per month and to purchase development equipment such as sewing machines, haberdashery articles and moulds for concrete rainwater tanks. At this point, the Community project had also received requests for assistance to people living in the adjacent Nkosi Tribal and Buhle-Hlubi Community Authority areas⁹⁵⁰.

[k] By January 1994, the total number of Nyanyadu people who were receiving some benefit from the feeding scheme had risen to approximately 3200. The deep trenches were being dug in some communities but not all. Application was made for funding for an additional 7700 people living in the adjacent communities. An additional missionary was employed to assist with the work load. This presented the opportunity to look at the prospects of literacy training which had come into vogue. Once this task was completed this missionary left the services of the DCP. Further, sewing machines were purchased

⁹⁴⁷Semi-structured interview; direct observation.

⁹⁴⁸See Table 5.1 for the population of Nyanyadu in 1991.

⁹⁴⁹Direct observation.

⁹⁵⁰Semi-structured interview.

and sewing classes commenced. In order to keep track of the food allocation and 'development' work, part of the funding for honoraria was used to employ a data capture clerk⁹⁵¹.

[l] In March 1994, about eighty women were receiving sewing lessons at three locations - Clones, Flint and Milford. The emphasis was placed on sewing for children below the age of six. Also at this time, the idea of each community having its own committee was mooted. The committees would be trained to take responsibility for receiving applications, distributing food, checking on counter performance - in some communities road building became an alternative for men receiving assistance - and ultimately to become self-reliant - the measure of which would be that they would become formally constituted and make application for funding in their own name. This was done to some measure by the DCP and the relevant communities concerned⁹⁵².

[m] By January 1995 it became apparent to the Committee that the NNSDP was assessing the efficacy of its agencies by conducting a massive audit. While funding was not stopped in due course in the case of the DCP, the Project had alerted the applicants that there was a possibility that funding would be stopped. This resulted in a waning of the counter performance activities. Nevertheless the feeding scheme and training continued for a while. That is, until new structures were formed where communities of people deriving benefit from the NNSDP could send representatives to an electoral college to select a regional committee which would assess applications made directly by the community themselves. While this had the effect of terminating the feeding scheme orchestrated by the DCP, skills training continued until mid 1996, particularly sewing and literacy, when the two missionaries began curtailing the work in Nyanyadu. Apart from work done on an individual basis the DCP's work has all but terminated⁹⁵³.

⁹⁵¹Semi-structured interview.

⁹⁵²Direct observation; semi-structured interview.

⁹⁵³Semi-structured interview.

5.2.6.1.3. Formulating alternatives

[a] Given that the NNSDP was introduced only through the occasion provided by the missionaries and the DCP, it is unrealistic to speculate about the people themselves making an application on their community's behalf and running the programme themselves. The only real option that people of Nyanyadu had was to begin their own initiative like the *Siqophamlando* Farmers' Association. However, it is also true that the success of this association in being awarded its irrigation scheme has much to do with the fact that there is a new government in power which is intent upon promoting development for people, though this is as much as in its own interests. Had circumstances been different, the option of taking its own initiative would have been rarefied in some intervention of benefit to the community as the determination, persistence and temerity of people in Nyanyadu, described above, would have prevailed.

[b] Instead of opting for funding from the NNSDP, the missionaries/DCP had two basic options. The first is to have stayed as they were, working in ACAT groups. This would have the benefit of working more closely with people in their smaller groups. This would not have been as demanding as that of running an organisation with an enlarged budget and more complex requirements. In other words, the missionaries/DCP would have remained community workers instead of becoming managers of a monolithic structure. The other option is an extension of the above thought. The missionaries could have focused their attention upon the poorest, including the poorest of the resource-poor farmers and the women of the community. While a subjective opinion, there may be some truth in the expectation that an improved quality of life for the poorest would have benefits for those who are less poor. Such include reduction of the dependence the poorest have on other members of the community or society of which they are part.

5.2.6.1.4. Assessment

What **difference**⁹⁵⁴ have the DCP and the NNSDP made for the people of Nyanyadu? While it is true that people from Nyanyadu have reported positively to development consultations in that region about what was learnt and continues to be learnt as a result of the DCP and NNSDP interventions, it is also true that the only way most people interviewed in Nyanyadu feel about those interventions is that they were not much more than a passing phase in the history of the community which brought only a temporary respite for a some people. In order to structure the remainder of this assessment the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation are applied to these interventions below.

5.2.6.1.4.1. People-centredness

[a] Superficially, national anti-poverty measures should be people-centred. Reducing poverty for those people with little or no income should have definite positive implications for **all** the people of the economy or society of which that anti-poverty measure is part. Reduced crime rates and more effective government spending are amongst other effects which should be anticipated. These would contribute to an improved quality of life.

[b] When the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme (NNSDP) is viewed in the context of the former Central Government introducing the Programme because it had previously introduced Value Added Tax (VAT) - a counter sanctions measure which was having negative impact on the lower income groups - it is difficult to argue that the Programme was people-centred. Such a context belies the good intentions which the former Department of Health and National Population Development and its agencies may have had. While the former Central Government did respond to the pressure of sanctions and some change has happened, that little change does not reverse or ameliorate the setting in which the NNSDP was orchestrated. Thus the question of whether it would have

⁹⁵⁴This is the crux of Social Impact Assessment. See Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.[d] and this chapter, Section 5.2.6.[c].

been feasible to exempt the poor from VAT is pertinent, even in the context of a new Government of National Unity.

[c] The new Government should weigh up the argument whether taking from the lower income groups and recycling that money for programmes which are intended to benefit the poor is legitimate. The problem with such programmes, which include the DCP's work in the region of Dundee, is that a disproportionate number of not so poor people gain undue benefit from them. The unnumbered press reports of administrative problems of numerous school feeding schemes throughout the country which have been introduced under the auspices of the new Government manifest the extent to which the not-so-poor also take benefits from such schemes.

[d] There is little doubt about the people-centredness of the DCP's original intention which used the ACAT groups as a basis to start the feeding scheme and to extend the development work already begun. Where the people-centredness begins to be challenged is when the Project reacted to the vast sums of money that were becoming available from the NNSDP in the context of requests from numerous people outside the Nyanyadu community for assistance. Improving the quality of life of people in a practical way assumes group work at the utmost. But where projects run into thousands of people, group work falls away and is often replaced by mere inputs. The reduced counter performance that resulted from the hint that the NNSDP was intending to stop funding is a clear indication that group work had ceased. That group work had ceased also explains why it was relatively easy for the DCP to move its attention away from the Nyanyadu people when funding was extended to the adjacent communities.

[e] The people-centred approach essentially attempts to reduce the production emphasis current in development thought and practice⁹⁵⁵. While the work of the DCP may not be described as production-centred, for that was not the intention of the counter performance programmes⁹⁵⁶, where it may have erred in a similar vein is that it tended to be too pro-

⁹⁵⁵Ruttan 1977: 20.

⁹⁵⁶See Sections 5.2.6.1.2.[c] and [l].

ject-centred. While a movement away from pure feeding was right - the administration being burdensome and complex - the DCP imposed **too many little** projects and activities, such as sewing, other handicrafts, literacy training and dam construction on the people. These, contrary to the usual capacity building consequences of such projects and because of their sheer quantity, had the effect of depersonalising the people of Nyanyadu, reducing them to mere recipients of those inputs. This, together with the missionaries' private trading, suggests that improving the quality of life of people in Nyanyadu was **not** the fundamental motivation for the DCP's involvement in their community.

[f] One way in which the DCP may have come closer to consolidating its work and making significant in-roads into the level of poverty experienced in Nyanyadu is by working more closely with the GTA from the beginning. The GTA did give the DCP total free reign as the DCP felt fit. However, when pilfering happened in respect of both food and materials, the GTA lamented that had it be more involved it would have ensured that such events did not happen. As a result the DCP sought appropriate assistance from the GTA which in due course enabled the encountering of fewer administrative problems.

5.2.6.1.4.2. The marginalised

[a] The NNSDP saw those who are nutritionally at risk and/or deprived as the principal beneficiaries of the programme. These should include all the marginalised people described in an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Thus, the NNSDP did not fail in any way to take cognisance of those people. Where the DCP erred in respect of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's focus was in the case of resource-poor primary producers. Being mostly organised together then as the *Siqophamlando* Farmers' Association⁹⁵⁷, the 'resource-poor primary producers' of Nyanyadu were clearly intent upon improving their quality of life. A bit of assistance may well have helped them in their endeavour.

⁹⁵⁷See Sections 5.2.3.1.[m]-[o] for the dates when the various farmer associations were established.

[b] While the DCP may have erred in respect of the Nyanyadu 'resource-poor' primary producers, it has been suggested above that the DCP became somewhat disassociated from Nyanyadu by becoming more project-oriented. This suggests that the oversight was probably just as well as the DCP could not have offered relevant assistance in the context of growing demands and inputs.

[c] One opportunity which the DCP missed as a consequence of the project nature of its work was to focus on the household as the unit of analysis and measure. By virtue of merely extending the categories provided by the NNSDP⁹⁵⁸ and include other people such as the employed and those undergoing tertiary education, the DCP could have gained a deep understanding of the dynamics at household level. This understanding could then have been used to direct a limited number of more appropriate projects instead of making an *ad hoc* range of projects available to people.

5.2.6.1.4.3. Actor-orientedness

[a] At neither the level of the NNSDP, nor that of the DCP, can an actor-orientedness be claimed. This is despite application forms and record lists revealing the vastly different circumstances each family faced regardless of the common trait for all being that they were/are poor. When the DCP became caught up in feeding as many people as possible, it forewent the opportunity to be actor-oriented in respect of the people it believed it was serving. Thus, all applicants became to be treated as an homogenous group.

[b] The sheer numbers of people obviated against the NNSDP being a back stop in regard to actor-orientedness. Despite the record lists being transmitted to the NNSDP, there is not much it could have done apart from encouraging its agencies to adopt a differential response in respect of their applicants. This would of course assume that the agencies had the ability, in terms of workers and time, to do so.

⁹⁵⁸See Table 5.5.

5.2.6.1.4.4. Culture and knowledge

[a] There is little to suggest that either the NNSDP or the DCP took these attributes as seriously as they should have. The NNSDP used procedures which it cultivated along the way in the attempt to meet its objectives and to show that the NNSDP was effective and efficient. Where problems became evident, more stringent measures were generally used to deal with them. The suggestion that funds would be terminated forthwith throughout the Province when there were isolated cases of corruption is a good example. The consequence in this case was that counter performance waned as people generally saw the NNSDP as a failure as a result of its lack of dependability.

[b] At the level of the DCP, it is clear that there was no real attempt by the DCP to gain an appreciation of the cultural and knowledge milieus of the people of Nyanyadu. The approach was rather one of using experience gained elsewhere to determine the content of the DCP. Comparing the contexts in which that experience was gained with a history of Nyanyadu may have suggested that some aspects of the DCP may have to be done a little differently than assumed. One particular aspect is that of assumptions made in respect of religion. The assumption was made by the missionaries that the people in Nyanyadu were not Christian. However, the number of church buildings and other places used for worship suggest the contrary, as does the social history of the community. This assumption led to a teacher-tell approach to the DCP, rather than a learning approach.

[c] Using deep trenches as a means of counter performance is another example of disregarding local knowledge. The attitude was one of, 'its been tried before at X and therefore it can be used here'. Many of the trenches which were viewed for this evaluation were found to contain an enormous amount of impermeable rock. When people were asked whether they knew of the existence of the rock, they replied in the affirmative. When they were asked whether they had pointed this out to the missionaries, they replied that they had not because they were told that by a certain date the trenches would be examined and if they were incomplete, no food would be allocated for the next month.

[d] Should there have been a deliberate attempt to discover more about the people of

Nyanyadu before plunging into feeding, the DCP may well have come across the farmer organisations. These would have provided appropriate networks through which to conduct Project activity. As the Northern Natal Regional Development Association⁹⁵⁹ has shown that should a more stable economy be sought in Nyanyadu then a switch from maize to beef would need to happen.

5.2.6.1.4.5. Limitations, risk, uncertainty and vulnerability

[a] Despite their Christian background, many of the people of Nyanyadu display a definite stoic attitude to life. Analysis in respect of this evaluation suggests that the many and varied limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities people of Nyanyadu face on a daily basis is the root cause.

[b] As the carriers of water, women, particularly those resident on the privately-owned farms, have large distances to fetch water for cooking and general hygiene purposes⁹⁶⁰. There is therefore little time and energy left to fetch a greater volume of water necessary to maintain even a door size garden, given the harsh environmental conditions. The risk in spending savings to undergo sewing lessons which will result in a garment being made as well as providing certain skills which will reduce the clothing budget is worthwhile. Thus, many of the keen responses made by people in Nyanyadu should be seen in context of the perceived risk involved. Should the DCP have taken stock of these choices, more appropriate projects may have been orchestrated.

5.2.6.1.4.6. Participation

This is one aspect of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's focus that the DCP

⁹⁵⁹1985: Part 3: 3-4.

⁹⁶⁰The reality of this task is clearly demonstrated in Map 5.5 which was produced and explained at the same workshop involving Map 5.4.

became more and more receptive to as time moved on. While the work of the DCP was decidedly directed at the initial stages, this *status quo* did not remain. Greater consultation, participation and ultimately total responsibility became positive attributes of the DCP's work. By the DCP becoming open to the formation of local committees, as well as input from the GTA, this allowed people the opportunity and freedom to become more responsible for themselves and for the well-being of Nyanyadu as a whole.

5.2.6.1.5. Evaluation

[a] In Social Impact Assessment, evaluation compares the intervention with peoples' needs, while monitoring measures the actual impact as it occurs with any predictions that were made. As the intervention in question is already past, the monitoring component is included in the evaluation by comparing the original aims and objectives of the intervention with its consequences.

[b] In order to allow a SIA evaluation of the work of the DCP and the NNSDP, Table 5.6 found on the next page shows the needs of the poorest families⁹⁶¹. These have been ranked according to the highest incidence of needs mentioned by respondents.

[c] The priority need for clothing, albeit in similar rank to money, retrospectively explains the success of the sewing lessons provided by the DCP and facilitating access to sewing machines by the NNSDP. Women sewing in groups continue with providing clothes for their families, particularly for their children and themselves. These women have also encouraged other groups to get started with similar initiatives. This activity brings a significant saving for the household economy⁹⁶².

[d] The ranking of food as a second priority suggests that the nutrition component of the NNSDP was meeting a real need. However, as this work did not translate itself into food

⁹⁶¹Household surveys.

⁹⁶²Semi-structured interviews.

security the benefits have been purely historical.

Table 5.6: Ranked felt needs of the poorest people of Nyanyadu

RANK	NEED	INCIDENCE
1	Clothing Pension/money	11
2	Food	10
3	Housing/better home	9
4	Education/schools Fields	8
5	Water	7
6	Health Employment	4
7	Telephone Hospital/clinic	3
8	Roads Electricity Transport Sanitation Garden Post Office Bedding Police service/station Fuel	2
9	Child care Radio/television Shops Family life Furniture Poultry	1

[e] The other higher order needs to some extent explain why the other smaller projects such as rainwater tanks did not succeed. While these opportunities provided by DCP offered people some skills training, these neither met a need nor were they marketable. In essence, this project was a dismal failure and had it not been that the GTA offered to

take the tank moulds, bought for training purposes, to be modified and used for constructing weirs across rivers as part of a soil reclamation project, the purchase of these moulds would have been a total waste of money.

[f] One social development project which was enormously successful and which could be correlated with the need for education or schools was the literacy training⁹⁶³. The success of this project must be attributed to the need felt by many members of the community to be proficient in the three Rs - writing, reading and arithmetic, in their own language - Zulu - as well as in English. It again speaks of the need for initiatives to be need related.

[g] In respect of the original aims or intentions of the interventions the two missionaries really only had one. That was to extend their work in Nyanyadu. The effect of being incorporated into the DCP and applying for funding from the NNSDP certainly had that consequence. The work was so extended that a data-capture clerk was employed and another missionary invited to share in the work. As this work has now terminated and the DCP has almost no profile in Nyanyadu suggests that what the NNSDP funding brought in its wake was not anticipated by the missionaries.

[h] As stated earlier⁹⁶⁴, the NNSDP⁹⁶⁵ had some stated purposes of its own. For ease of reference these are repeated below, each being discussed in turn.

[i] The first objective of the NNSDP was 'to establish, develop and maintain nutrition and social development programmes in South Africa contributing to development with special emphasis on human development'. In respect of establishing a nutrition and social development programme, through the DCP, the NNSDP achieved that part of this objective. As the programme lasted for two years only and did not achieve food security the developing and maintaining components are questionable. In respect of 'development

⁹⁶³Direct observation and semi-structured interview.

⁹⁶⁴Section 5.2.6.1.1.[c].

⁹⁶⁵NNSDP 1993: 2-3.

with special emphasis on human development' it has been shown throughout this thesis that an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation provides a suitable methodology. The Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the NNSDP's intervention in Nyanyadu, given in the assessment above⁹⁶⁶, demonstrates that this intervention was essentially concerned about disadvantaged people and encouraged their participation in their own development. However, it did ignore the resource-poor primary producers who may have assisted in achieving food security in Nyanyadu. Further, despite being concerned about disadvantaged people through its obvious shortcomings it was not wholly people-centred. It is therefore not surprising that the other Anthropocentric Development Evaluation concerns such as an actor-orientation, culture, knowledge, limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities did not emerge as key issues for development by this impact.

[j] The second objective which was 'to initiate/facilitate/co-ordinate the development of a network of service-rendering organisations/institutions that render nutrition-related and/or social-relief services linked to development at all levels, focusing on grass-roots level'. This was achieved through the services of such organisations as the DCP, the Social Development Task Group and the Natal Nutrition Working Group⁹⁶⁷.

[k] The DCP as the agency of the NNSDP must be criticised for the manner in which the NNSDP's third objective was handled. The objective was 'to empower and enable communities to identify their own social and nutritional needs and to address these needs in order of priority'. While the DCP has been credited for inviting people's participation⁹⁶⁸ in the final analysis it was the DCP who determined which needs would be addressed and how. A case in point is a request made by some recipients of food aid for some sugar to be included in their food parcels to make their maize-meal more palatable. The matter was referred by the DCP to a NNSDP nutritionist who ruled that given the incidence of sugar diabetes in 'similar' areas, sugar could not be included in the food

⁹⁶⁶Section 5.2.6.1.4..

⁹⁶⁷See Sections 5.2.6.1.2.[e]-[g].

⁹⁶⁸Section 5.2.6.1.2.[d].

parcels⁹⁶⁹. By doing so, the DCP and NNSDP failed to give consideration to people who did not suffer from the ailment. Further, they did not use the opportunity for a learning experience, both in respect of the people and themselves. A simple workshop-cum-clinic would have taught the community something about the incidence of the ailment and appropriate responses. In tandem with the clinic at Flint those who suffer from the ailment would have received more appropriate care. Further still, the response of the nutritionist did not deal with the issue. Recipients of food parcels who wanted sugar merely went and bought it, albeit out of their scarce financial resources. As a result, instead of controlling the use of sugar the nutritionist response merely encouraged it.

[l] In respect of the Nyanyadu experience, the NNSDP intervention had little impact in respect of its fourth objective: ‘to contribute to alleviating malnutrition and attaining optimal nutritional status thereby assisting in improving the quality of life of all South Africans’. In all respects, the intervention was far too short lived to achieve this impact.

[m] As an interim measure, the NNSDP did achieve its fifth objective: ‘to supplement the social relief programmes of functional Government departments and other institutions’. No further comment is required.

[n] In respect of establishing and maintaining ‘an effective monitoring and evaluation system for the NNSDP’ the NNSDP set up the Social Development Task Group and Natal Nutrition Working Group. While the success of the Social Development Task Group in this regard is questionable, the Natal Nutrition Working Group certainly alerted the NNSDP to major concerns about its operation⁹⁷⁰.

[o] The last of the NNSDP’s objectives was ‘to contribute to developing, establishing and maintaining primary health and social care in South Africa’. In respect of Nyanyadu primary health and social care had already been developed, establish and maintained by

⁹⁶⁹Semi-structured interviews.

⁹⁷⁰See Sections 5.2.6.1.2.[e]-[g].

the Flint clinic staff and supported by the Community Health Workers⁹⁷¹. For the short duration of the NNSDP, the intervention did *contribute* to this function. To some extent it was dependent upon the Community Health Workers who assisted the missionaries in the process of selecting beneficiaries⁹⁷².

5.2.6.1.6. Mitigation

[a] In review, two particular negative impacts of the DCP-NNSDP intervention deem attention here. The first is that given the demise of the intervention, apart from the sewing and literacy projects, the beneficiaries have largely returned to the original nutrition and social development status which characterised their lives before the intervention. This may be said unequivocally despite the lack of an *ex-ante* benchmark study to measure that status before the intervention was launched⁹⁷³. The opinion and observation of the people themselves, particularly the poorest families is sufficient to make this statement. If it had not been for the two exceptions of the sewing and literacy projects the intervention as a whole would be rated as a ‘no difference impact’⁹⁷⁴. In other words, the intervention was merely a passing phase in the lives of the people of Nyanyadu and consequently means little to them now. In the literature a ‘no difference impact’ is just as valid as either a positive or a negative impact. However, from a development point of view a ‘no difference impact’ should be just as severely criticised as a negative impact, especially since people may have become hopeful that there was a hint that the quality of their lives would sooner or later improve. As mentioned earlier⁹⁷⁵, greater involvement of the community, particularly the resource-poor farmers, may have ensured the improved quality of life

⁹⁷¹See Section 5.2.2.[b].

⁹⁷²Semi-structured interview.

⁹⁷³The lack of an *ex-ante* benchmark study is a matter of fact and not as a result of any failure on the part of the researcher of this thesis. The researcher gained entry into Nyanyadu only after the Nutrition and Social Development Programme was already underway. It was therefore simply not possible to conduct such a study.

⁹⁷⁴See Julnes & Mohr 1989: 629-53 for an academic, rather than a practical, treatise on ‘no difference impacts’.

⁹⁷⁵Sections 5.2.6.1.4.2.[b] & 5.2.6.1.5.[i].

which people usually seek.

[b] The second negative impact is the fact that non-beneficiaries, became in essence, the real beneficiaries of the intervention. These include suppliers of mielie-meal and materials such as sewing machines and tank moulds. The extent to which these suppliers benefited from supplying these commodities can be measured by the fact that their profit margins were such that in most cases they could offer to deliver what was ordered. The demise of the intervention has, of course, resulted in the termination of their 'beneficiary' status but has not deprived them of a market, only a particular outlet.

5.2.6.1.7. Management

Being a poor community⁹⁷⁶, Nyanyadu remains vulnerable to organisations (including the government of the day) arriving and announcing all manner of interventions to assist the people of the community to deal with their poverty or with any other objective in mind. Further, it has to take the risk of responding positively or with reservation to such proposals. Apart from approaching these with a stoic attitude, the alternatives are twofold. The first is to be proactive and select interventions which the community needs and to act upon them, following the example of the *Siqophamlando* Farmers' Association. In tandem with this approach, the second option is to make use of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to examine and monitor the intentions of such development agencies. One such intervention may be the current national land reform measures. Attention is now switched to these.

5.2.6.2. A Social Impact Assessment of land reforms upon the people of Nyanyadu

As a reminder, one of the issues raised during one of the farm visits with farmers was the

⁹⁷⁶Section 5.2.1.3..

question of the current national land reforms. Such concern was expressed that it was mutually decided to extend the farmer and farm enterprise research to include an examination of this issue.

5.2.6.2.1. Scoping

[a] Led by the Government of National Unity, South Africa has embarked upon a national land reform programme (NLRP) like many countries north of it in Africa⁹⁷⁷. This programme has its origins in the original Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) proposed by the African National Congress⁹⁷⁸. While the Government of National Unity's RDP⁹⁷⁹ gives only cursory attention to the content of the NLRP, it nevertheless provides the proposed budget for its implementation during the following fiscal years. The document which gives content to the NLRP is the Green Paper⁹⁸⁰. The first major issue this Green Paper deals with is the need for land reform in South Africa.

[b] Dispossession of land held by black people is the major factor giving rise to land reform in South Africa. This was initially implemented by the Natives Land Act of 1913 which prevented black people from acquiring land from white people outside of the Reserves. The Native Trust and Land Act, No 18 of 1936 added about 6,2 million hectares to the Reserves, restricted the opportunities for black people to buy land there and controlled the number of black people on white-owned land. It also began the process of the forced removal of 'black spots'⁹⁸¹ particularly from the 1950s onward to the 1980s. These and other repressive land Acts were repealed in the early 1990s following

⁹⁷⁷Baynham 1992: 129-46; Lund 1993: 1-22; 1997: 1-12; Marcus 1994: 517-21; Faure 1995: 1-15; Thébaud 1995: 1-35; Mortimore 1997: 1-30.

⁹⁷⁸1994: 19-22, 24-5.

⁹⁷⁹South African Government of National Unity 1994: 8, 55-6.

⁹⁸⁰South African Government of National Unity 1996.

⁹⁸¹Horrell 1971: 3-4; Surplus Peoples Project 1983a: 35-7; Platzky & Walker 1985: x-xi; South African Government of National Unity 1996: 9.

numerous calls for land reform⁹⁸². A White Paper on Land Reform published in 1991 by the former South African Governments provided the basis for such repeals and other enabling legislation but these steps were viewed by critics as lacking in participation and consultation and generally maintaining the *status quo*⁹⁸³. Thus the current land reforms endeavour to address:

- the injustices of racially-based land dispossession;
- the inequitable distribution of land ownership;
- the need for security of tenure for all;
- the need for sustainable use of land;
- the need for rapid release of land for development;
- the need to record and register all rights in property; and
- the need to administer public land in an effective manner⁹⁸⁴.

Thereby, it is hoped that as many of the idiosyncrasies of the past in respect of land should be dealt with.

[c] There are three types of land reform set out in the Green Paper. They include Land Redistribution, Land Restitution and Land Tenure Reform⁹⁸⁵. The Land Redistribution Programme exists to redistribute land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers, women and emerging farmers for residential and productive purposes so as to improve their well-being. To do so, the Department of Land has set up various grants and services. The Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant provides R15000 per beneficiary household to acquire land, enhanced tenure rights, and obtain internal infrastructure investments and fencing. The Land Acquisition Grant to local authorities establishes agricultural release schemes for residents of towns and villages who are being investigated in terms of landlessness. Settlement and District Planning Grants provide for the services of professional planners at those respective levels. The services of the Department include

⁹⁸²These include those of the Newick Park Initiative (1990).

⁹⁸³Marcus 1991: 49-54.

⁹⁸⁴South African Government of National Unity 1996: i, 1.

⁹⁸⁵South African Government of National Unity 1996: iii-v, 25-50.

facilitation, training, capacity building and dispute resolution.

[d] The Land Restitution Programme seeks to restore land rights to those people who were dispossessed of land rights through a racially-based law after 19 June 1913. The Programme also makes provision for those dispossessed of land rights before 1913 and labour-tenants. Claims, however, have to be lodged within three years while the Courts have five years to settle and finalise these and ten years to implement them.

[e] Upgrading the security of land tenure is the responsibility of the Land Tenure Reform Programme. Within two years from January 1996, this Programme should achieve:

- a framework for the adoption of diverse forms of tenure;
- legal equality and adequate administrative support for these forms of tenure;
- the protection of communal and group tenure forms;
- fair conditions of tenancy;
- democratic, equal and due process land administration;
- land administration by traditional authorities;
- gender equity in landholding;
- measures to reduce tenure insecurity and administrative chaos;
- consultative tenure reform policies⁹⁸⁶.

[f] Apart from the Green Paper setting out policy, the Land Reform Programme encompasses legislation, the Land Commission and Courts and Land Reform Pilot Projects as other mechanisms for land reform. In respect of the legislation:

- ◆ The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act, No 112 of 1993 provides for the upgrading of various forms of tenure into ownership and the provision of services for that process.
- ◆ The Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, No 126 of 1993 provides for the designation of land and financial assistance for settlement purposes.
- ◆ The Restitution of Land Rights Act, No 22 of 1994 provides for the restitution of rights in land to those dispossessed through past racially policies.

⁹⁸⁶South African Government of National Unity 1996: 44.

- ◆ The Land Administration Act, No 2 of 1995 provides for the assignment and delegation of powers to appropriate authorities.
- ◆ The Development Facilitation Act, No 67 of 1995 provides a mechanism for land development.
- ◆ The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, No 3 of 1996 provides for the purchase of land by labour tenants and for relevant subsidies.
- ◆ The Communal Property Associations Act, No 28 of 1996 provides for groups and communities to acquire and hold land under a written constitution.
- ◆ The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act, No 31 of 1996 provides for the protection of insecure land tenure rights which may be lost through long term reform measures.
- ◆ The Extension of Security of Tenure Act, No 62 of 1997 provides for security of tenure for people living on land without secure rights.

[g] The Land Claims Commissioners were appointed in January 1995 and the Commission began operating in March of the same year. By the end of 1996 the Commission had received in excess of 10000 claims with the overwhelming majority (over 80%) being urban. Five of these have been referred to the Land Court of which one was approved. Concern has been expressed over the protracted period to finalise claims especially since claimants have until 30 April 1998 to submit claims and that the Commission estimates that there is a potential of 3,4 million claims⁹⁸⁷.

[h] The RDP made provision for one Land Reform Pilot Project in each province of the country. The purpose of these projects is to 'develop and support integrated sustainable rural development and rural local government models through land restitution, redistribution, tenure reform and settlement support to kick-start a wider land reform process⁹⁸⁸'. For this purpose the RDP allocated R26,6m from the 1994/5 budget⁹⁸⁹. The underlying intention of these projects is to test the process of reform where decision-

⁹⁸⁷Human Rights Committee 1997: 26, 29-30.

⁹⁸⁸South African Government of National Unity 1994: 55.

⁹⁸⁹South African Government of National Unity 1994: 56.

making has been devolved to district level and to gain experience in the provision of land reform. This has demanded that the projects are flexible, taking local situations into account. However, the goals of the Pilot Projects have been to use state resources to ensure that:

- access to land will assist the poor to break poverty;
- the intended land use will be sustainable and productive;
- secure forms of tenure are instituted;
- access to credit, information and technology is made available to all;
- land prices are fairly negotiated between the beneficiaries of state assistance and the seller;
- all stakeholders contribute to solving land problems;
- local decision-making capacity around the application of limited resources is strengthened;
- disputes over access to land are mediated;
- the resources applied are affordable to the state and have positive returns to the national economy⁹⁹⁰.

The intention is to gain experience in land reform and to apply the lessons learnt to other projects in the various provinces.

[i] In KwaZulu-Natal the provincial Land Reform Pilot Project has been established in the Estcourt/Weenen area as there is a potential for a wide range of land transfers from state, privately-owned, mission, communally-owned and Ingonyama Trust⁹⁹¹ lands. There are also numerous potential beneficiaries amongst the 30000+ urban and 153000+ rural people as poverty in this area is extremely high. The area is characterised by low earnings, high unemployment and limited access to resources⁹⁹².

⁹⁹⁰Land 1996: 551.

⁹⁹¹The KwaZulu Ingonyama Trust Act, No 3 of 1994 of the former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly transferred all land held in Trust by the former KwaZulu Government to the Ingonyama Trust. The Zulu King or *Ingonyama* is sole Trustee. In so doing, all tribal land became freehold tenure, the owner being the Trustee.

⁹⁹²AFRA 1995: 9-10.

5.2.6.2.2. Problem formulation

[a] By virtue of the Land Reform Programme being ‘demand-driven⁹⁹³’ no aspect of the Programme has been introduced to Nyanyadu by any officials of the Government of National Unity. Further, none of those people who participated in the research of this thesis have made land claims or applied for assistance despite there being many who would qualify⁹⁹⁴. Therefore, the concern raised by one of the Nyanyadu farmers and responded to by many others about the Land Reform Programme is one more of a perception rather than a real prospective event. As Social Impact Assessments take perceptions seriously⁹⁹⁵ the pursuance of this ‘impact’ is worthwhile.

[b] The concern expressed by the farmer in question was that when the land reforms were ultimately implemented, assuming that all the available trust land would be used up, there would be no land left for poor people to settle on and therefore the GTA could not respond to their need. Taking the first issue of land for poor people to settle on first, it must be pointed out that the Land Reform Programme does give priority to the poor⁹⁹⁶. Nevertheless, it is important to pursue the possible impact of the land reforms upon the poor, particularly in Nyanyadu.

[c] The second issue of the prospective inability of the GTA to respond to poor peoples’ needs is very interesting to the researcher of this thesis. It is interesting not so much because of its consequence, that is the inability, but because of its cause, that is that the available land would be used because it had been converted to a more secure tenure, probably freehold. In previous research⁹⁹⁷ conducted amongst the tribal authorities of the former KwaZulu, the researcher of this thesis found that the overwhelming majority

⁹⁹³African National Congress 1994: 20; South African Government of National Unity 1996: 2.

⁹⁹⁴See Section 5.2.6.2.4. below.

⁹⁹⁵Wolf 1983: 20, 21.

⁹⁹⁶South African Government of National Unity 1996: 1.

⁹⁹⁷Marais 1989: 27; Jenkins & Marais 1990: Part II: 11; McIntosh, Sibanda, Vaughan & Xaba 1996: 343.

(or more than three-quarters) of the fifty-four *amakhosi*⁹⁹⁸ interviewed were opposed to land tenure reforms which included the conversion of tribal land to freehold tenure, despite those reforms having been initiated and implemented by the former KwaZulu Government through its Land Bill. While it would remain speculation the researcher of this thesis contends that the real issue in respect of the land reforms is not because of the GTA's prospective inability to respond to the needs of the poor, but rather that there is a perception that the land reforms could have the consequence of undermining the GTA's, and for that matter any other tribal authority's, power base which is land. However, as the poor gained concern in the raising of land tenure reforms, the poor rather than speculation about the power base of the GTA will gain attention here.

5.2.6.2.3. Formulation of alternatives

If the GTA is concerned about the impact of the national land reforms upon the poor then there is the real question as to why it is not doing something about their situation now, rather than waiting until the land reforms result in no land being left for the poor to settle on. One possible alternative for the GTA is to investigate what possibilities of state or non-governmental assistance exist which may be beneficial to poor people. Indeed, one such possibility may even be the different forms of assistance provided through the Land Reform Programme. This implies that another alternative may be to discover more about the Programme itself rather than merely to wait for it to happen or to speculate about it.

5.2.6.2.4. Profiling

[a] It is clearly evident from the farm visits that there are significant numbers of people in Nyanyadu who would benefit from the Land Reform Programme. One of the frustrations that the *Masibumbane* farmers experienced was their inability to find sufficient land upon which to conduct their farming enterprises. For the most part, during the

⁹⁹⁸Chiefs.

1996/7 season they had hired land from the Methodist Mission at Chester. For no apparent reason the Mission has declined to renew the lease for the 1997/8 season. Thus the farmers have had to look at other options, including buying land.

[b] Amongst the people of Nyanyadu are many labour tenants who were forcefully removed from farms and 'black spots' in the Utrecht and Vryheid districts. Of those interviewed one had a thriving transport business with wagons pulled by donkeys. Both the wagon and the donkeys were sold before he and his family moved to Nyanyadu.

[c] People on the Trust land of Nyanyadu would benefit from the Land Tenure Reform programme. While there has been no cause for people to feel insecure about their permanence, there was a case of one person who failed to gain access to fields as a result of a temperament clash with the *induna*⁹⁹⁹ of his ward. Upgrading of tenure there would ensure that people gain equitable access to land for both residential and production purposes without respect of persons holding office.

5.2.6.2.5. Projection

[a] Given that the Land Reform Programme is 'demand-driven'¹⁰⁰⁰ means the programme should not have an impact upon the community of Nyanyadu until people lodge claims or ask for assistance. Budgetary constraints and principal procedures prevent the Government appearing over the horizon without invitation. However, as the Land Commission is concerned that insufficient land claims have been lodged so far¹⁰⁰¹ it may have to send representatives from the Department of Land Affairs into communities to alert people of the benefits of the Programme. Then the Programme may have an impact.

⁹⁹⁹Headman.

¹⁰⁰⁰See Section 5.2.6.2.2.[a].

¹⁰⁰¹See Section 5.2.6.2.1.[g].

[b] Should members of the Nyanyadu community approach the Department of Land Affairs for assistance in respect of land, what impact could the community sustain? From Table 5.1 it can be ascertained that the total population on the Trust portions of Nyanyadu was 2597 people in 1996. Currently, each family unit has holdings of no more than 2,5ha each, where this research has found the mean family size of respondents to be 6.4 people¹⁰⁰². However, working on a family size of five people resulting in 0,5ha being allocated to each person and using this quotient to upgrade land tenure on Trust land the total amount of land required would be 1298.5ha to accommodate all of the 2597 people on Trust land. Given that the total land area of the Trust lands is 2509,6248ha means that there is more than sufficient land to upgrade the present holdings. In fact, there would be 1211,1248ha to accommodate the relative increase in population from 1996 as well as any persons from outside the Trust lands. Should 600 of these hectares be used for such purposes, another 1200 people could enjoy upgraded tenure leaving 611,1248ha of the Trust for public open space, water courses and infrastructure.

[c] Should the above scenario materialise, there is a real question as to whether people outside the Trust lands would avail themselves of the opportunity. This question stems from the fact that currently many people prefer to rent property on the 'owned' portions of Nyanyadu rather than to *khonza* land on the Trusts despite the latter being the cheaper option and as shown above¹⁰⁰³ the relative quality of life being better. Therefore even if the 600ha of Trust land was set aside for upgrading tenure, it could be expected that very few people would exercise the option to avail themselves of the opportunity. The reason for this is that a substantial portion of the subsidy by the Land Reform Programme which remains after paying for the land with upgraded tenure would be used to build a house. This is a cost that most people in Nyanyadu could not afford¹⁰⁰⁴ even if subsidised, especially since the R15000 basic land settlement grant has been criticised as

¹⁰⁰²See Section 5.2.1.3.[b].

¹⁰⁰³In Section 5.2.1.2.[c].

¹⁰⁰⁴See Section 5.2.1.3..

being unrealistic¹⁰⁰⁵. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that the impact of the Land Reform Programme upon Nyanyadu would be a little more than merely upgrading the existing holdings on Trust land.

[d] One of the arguments in favour of freehold tenure is that land holdings under such tenure are mortgageable and therefore the holders may obtain credit. Unless the market for land changes dramatically in Nyanyadu this will remain a theoretical advantage as currently land owners complain that their holdings do not afford them that facility with local financial institutions¹⁰⁰⁶.

[e] The above projection that the Land Reform Programme will only significantly impact upon those communities who seek redress of the dispossession of land rights is an important one. This expresses the condition that the Land Reform Programme is subject to the democratisation process taking place in South Africa. Those who want to avail themselves of the opportunities which the Programme offers are free to do so while those who do not are equally free not to do so. This condition is important not only for South Africans but also for the people of Lesotho. Recently the question of the incorporation of Lesotho into South Africa has been reopened¹⁰⁰⁷. Amendments to South African laws on immigration are giving Basotho migrants, particularly those working on the South African mines the opportunity of considering starting a home in South Africa. This would result in the remittances upon which the Lesotho economy is so dependent no longer being sent there. In order to avert an economic collapse the Lesotho Government has very little option but to seek incorporation into South Africa¹⁰⁰⁸. As land in Lesotho is a scarce and valued resource and for the most part communal¹⁰⁰⁹, the attitude of the South

¹⁰⁰⁵Marcus, Eales & Wildschut 1996: 106.

¹⁰⁰⁶Semi-structured interviews.

¹⁰⁰⁷Makoa 1996: 347. This debate goes back to 1867 with the proposed annexation of the then Basotholand to the then Colony of Natal and was rekindled in 1909 when the British Government intimated that it would transfer the administration of the 'Territories' to the Union of South Africa (Hailey 1963: 19, 50; Kowet 1978: 40, 112).

¹⁰⁰⁸Davies & Head 1995: 439-40; Makoa 1996: 347.

¹⁰⁰⁹Perry 1983: 57-60.

African toward land reform is therefore a critical aspect of this consideration. While Lesotho would have to be treated as a special case in respect of reform deadlines, the fact that there is an open minded attitude to the Programme ensures that Lesotho's options are not restricted in respect of land.

5.2.6.2.6. Assessment

As it is envisaged that the Land Reform Programme will have little impact upon the Nyanyadu, the assessment which follows will focus on the Programme as a whole, rather than its impact on Nyanyadu. The focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation will be used for this assessment as in the case of the DCP and the NNSDP.

5.2.6.2.6.1. The marginalised and people-centredness

[a] There is no doubt that the major concern of the Land Reform Programme is to assist those people dispossessed of their land rights by the land policies of the former South African Governments. All the disadvantaged highlighted by an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, the poor, the rural poor, resource-poor primary producers and women receive benefit from the Land Reform Programme through one or more of its divisions as well as from the related RDP projects. However, as suggested above, that assistance is dependent upon the disadvantaged making land claims and/or applications for assistance.

[b] Despite its concern about the marginalised some doubt has been cast over the Land Reform Programme's people-centredness. That doubt has been expressed with the suggestion by McIntosh, Xaba & Associates¹⁰¹⁰ that the Programme has been largely reactive and thus has tended to produce land reform projects of a single type resulting from a literal interpretation of the concept of 'demand-driven'. As a result the Programme

¹⁰¹⁰1997: 8-10.

offers little by way of livelihood generation. Livelihood generation is an essential dimension of the people-centred approach to sustainable development¹⁰¹¹. McIntosh, Xaba & Associates contend that livelihood opportunities demand a more strategic and integrated approach, involving a pro-active structuring of projects for which a demand could be anticipated.

5.2.6.2.6.2. The requisites and consequences of people being human

[a] While the Green Paper does not have any statement on actor-orientation, such an approach has been intrinsic to the whole Land Reform Programme, albeit without recognition. This is to be seen in the different categories of land claims and assistance, such as redress for people forcefully removed, labour tenants and those who have less secure tenure. Such categories have emerged from past and continuing in-depth research. Cross and Friedman's¹⁰¹² 'categories of disadvantaged women' including 'widows with grown children', 'younger widows with young children', 'single mothers with children' and 'married women with absent husbands' is a very good example. This suggests that the Programme does not treat women, or any of the other disadvantaged people, as an amorphous group of people¹⁰¹³.

[b] In respect of being aware and taking cognisance of local culture, the above-mentioned actor-oriented research includes numerous examples of how the beneficiaries of the Land Reform Programme have engaged with their environment before and throughout the different phases of their deprivation. Classic examples of how resource-poor primary producers engaged with their South African environment before the promulgation of the 1913 Natives Land Act have been provided by Beinart¹⁰¹⁴ and Bundy¹⁰¹⁵. One of the

¹⁰¹¹Chambers, Pacey & Thrupp 1989b: xvii; Elliott 1994: 75.

¹⁰¹²1997: 29-33.

¹⁰¹³See also Marcus, Eales & Wildschut 1996: 43-70, 89-94.

¹⁰¹⁴1986: 259-303.

most noteworthy works on the post-1913 dispossession of peoples' rights to land is the Surplus Peoples Project¹⁰¹⁶ in the former Natal. This work provides the background to land policy, the identification of 'black spots', relocation processes, homeland consolidation and case studies of relocation sites. Each of these sections are augmented with case studies, detailed tables of data, photographs, press articles and statements from various sources, including the dispossessed. Thereby some understanding of the limitations, risks, vulnerabilities and weaknesses which the dispossessed people of South Africa were subjected to has been achieved.

[c] The RDP which provided for the Land Reform Programme has also provided for a National Literacy Programme and a Small-scale Farmer Development Programme¹⁰¹⁷. This recognises that the process of deprivation in South Africa included knowledge deprivation and that people require such programmes in order to fully benefit from the opportunities which a democratic South Africa is providing for them.

[d] As the facilities and issues around participation in the Land Reform Programme have already received attention above there is no need for further discussion. It suffice to say that the literature available does not fully explain why relatively few people have availed themselves of the opportunities provided by the Programme. Therefore the Programme needs to explore and make known this lack of participation and to adjust the Programme accordingly.

5.2.6.2.7. Evaluation and mitigation

[a] The fact that 10000 land claims and applications have been made in respect of the Land Reform Programme indicates that it is responding to some needs. The fact that this

¹⁰¹⁵1988: 1-220.

¹⁰¹⁶1983b. This Project focused on forced removals throughout South Africa though the work done in the former Natal province is the most detailed.

¹⁰¹⁷South African Government of National Unity 1994: 57.

represents less than 1% of the envisaged number of claims and applications indicates that peoples' real needs are concerned with other issues. In Nyanyadu, 'fields' was ranked in a fourth division of needs by the poorest members of the community¹⁰¹⁸. This does seem to imply that the issue of whether the tenure of those fields is either Trust or freehold is a low priority issue. This does reinforce the projection made above that the overall impact of the Programme will be a **low impact** for the foreseeable future. As such there is no pertinent comment to be made in respect of mitigating against a negative impact.

[b] At a deeper level of analysis the probable low impact of the Land Reform Programme represents a much deeper malaise. There is a seriously bad assumption made by the architects of the Programme. Section 5.2.6.2.1.[f] sets out the range of complex legislation which has been promulgated by people who are well equipped in respect of the law. Yet people who have been 'dispossessed' are expected to both understand this whole plethora of legislation and thereby to take advantage of what the Programme has to offer. It is little wonder that relatively so few land claims have been. The architects of the Programme should therefore reformulate the land claim processes to enable the poor, particularly those with limited education to understand them.

5.2.6.2.8. Monitoring and management

[a] Despite the projection of a low impact upon the Nyanyadu community there is a need for the continued monitoring of the Land Reform Programme. This need stems on the one hand from the concern about the impact of this Programme being a negative, uninformed perception. In other words, the Land Reform Programme is seen by a Tribal Authority to be threatening, if not intimidating. This factor may, on a wider front, also explain why people as a whole have not actively sought the benefits of the Programme. On the other hand, the need for monitoring stems from the Programme not performing as expected which may result in some remedial activity by the Government of National Unity. In order

¹⁰¹⁸See Table 5.6.

for the Gule Tribal Authority to be pro-active in respect of its own community, it (the GTA) will have to keep the Programme on its agenda but ensuring that doing so does not perpetuate the current negative perception people in Nyanyadu have about it. One way of doing so is to ensure that it becomes certain as to what its concern is about the Programme: whether it is indeed concerned about the poor or whether it is concerned that the Programme may possibly undermine its power-base and thereby pave the way for a different form of local government in Nyanyadu in the future.

[b] At the macro level the Green Paper¹⁰¹⁹ provides for the establishment of a monitoring and evaluation unit, describing its functions as:

- ▶ ‘first, on a national scale, be able to continuously gather information and analyse this at the following levels: policy effectiveness, programme effectiveness, goals of the RDP, as well as provide socio-economic and geographical comparisons;
- ▶ secondly, it will be responsive to contingencies within the programme as they arise; ie bottlenecks in the delivery mechanism, crises within programmes, etc’.

[c] The Johannesburg-based Land and Agriculture Policy Centre in supporting the Monitoring and Evaluation Unit have thus far produced a benefit-cost analysis of land distribution¹⁰²⁰. Apart from being purely speculative by not incorporating any of the accumulating experience of implementing the Land Reform Programme the analysis lacks significantly in respect of people and their humanity. This is a critical lack given the past emphasis placed on this concern by the authors of the Programme. For the good of the people which the Programme set out to assist and for its own sake this lack needs to be urgently addressed. Failing to do so will undermine the much needed people-centred development in South Africa.

¹⁰¹⁹South African Government of National Unity 1996: 83.

¹⁰²⁰Aliber 1996: 563-87.

5.3. WHO EVALUATES?

[a] From the foregoing it has been seen that an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation may be successfully applied in a development setting. In doing so in the Nyanyadu community a coherent understanding of some of the dynamics of life there was achieved. The unique characteristics of the people, especially the disadvantaged, were placed in the context of the way in which they engage with their environment, face limitations, risks, vulnerabilities and weaknesses and participate in their own development. This provided an essential basis from which to assess the social impact which the Dundee Community Project and the Nutrition and Social Development Programme has had on the community as well as to gain an understanding of what the implications of the National Land Reform Programme are for people in Nyanyadu.

[b] While the applying of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to a development setting is an important test for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in respect of this thesis, it nevertheless raises a key issue which should gain further exploration here. That issue is the question of whose research is it when methodologies or instruments are applied in a particular setting. In the case of evaluation is it the researcher who evaluates or is it the people of the development setting who evaluate? This question of, 'Who evaluates?' stems from the fact that while a request by the Dundee Community Project provided the point of entry for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to be applied in Nyanyadu, it was when the outcome of that request was presented to members of the community that the critical moment for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation arrived. The moment was so critical that should the presentation not have taken place or should the farmers who were present not have requested some research assistance in respect of their enterprises then the applying of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation would have been reduced to a mere research project conducted by a development researcher in a community other than his own. However, because the two critical events happened the exercise became a fully participatory one determined almost exclusively by the people themselves. Certainly, for the purpose of being included in this thesis its researcher has had to structure the material and data.

[c] Clearly, it is preferable from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation perspective, for evaluations to be administered by the people themselves, where they are so competent. In fact, people themselves should take full control and responsibility of the whole evaluation process of all developments (past, present or future) which have, may or will, impact upon their lives and/or the environment in which they live. From an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation the emphasis placed in some of the development literature on the attribute of self-reliance¹⁰²¹ is affirmed.

[d] Certainly at the country level, most countries have trained personnel who are capable of conducting or directing an evaluation on behalf of their people¹⁰²². Alternatively, most countries can employ such personnel¹⁰²³. Better still, such employed personnel should be used to build local capacity. People, even the marginalised, are capable of forming their own opinion of, and responding to, any development initiative that has, may or will impact upon their lives. It is a false assumption that because a community of people do not have a trained person among them that they are incapable of conducting an evaluation¹⁰²⁴. Even the possession (or lack of) formal education should not be an issue. While it may not be 'scientific' or 'objective' a peoples' evaluation should nevertheless carry within itself the perceptions of the people who conduct it.

[e] While from an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation perspective it is preferable for people to take control of all evaluations of developments which affects their lives or the environment in which they live, this thesis recognises that as a matter of course outside evaluators, be they academics or practitioners, will conduct evaluations. *It is precisely for this reason an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is offered as a methodology and method for conducting the evaluation of development initiatives. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation serves to remind outsider evaluators that the*

¹⁰²¹Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 26; Kempson 1986: 182; Max-Neef, Elizalde & Hopenhayn 1989: 12-3, 48-52; Burkey 1993: 50-5; Rahman 1993: 19-21, 41-4, 154-5; Stiefel & Wolfe 1994: 27-8; Rahman 1995: 30.

¹⁰²²Kalyalya, Mhlanga, Seidman & Semboja 1988: 33-6.

¹⁰²³Barnett 1988: vii.

¹⁰²⁴Chambers 1994b: 1255-6.

people are to be at the heart of those initiatives and not any external intentions.

[f] Despite the attributes of a professional evaluation being ‘scientific’ and ‘objective’, inherent problems exist with an external evaluator becoming involved:

- One problem is that of **re-presenting**¹⁰²⁵ people. The evaluator will need all sorts of mechanisms to do that. The focus and related methodologies of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation bears testimony to this. Despite the existence of those mechanisms any portrayal that the evaluator renders as a result of using those mechanisms may not necessarily be true to the people of the evaluation. The question of getting the portrayal of people right, is a major problem. A classic case is the debate that was spurred by Foster’s¹⁰²⁶ specious notion of the ‘Image of Limited Good’ to describe cautious economic behaviour in the Tzintzuntzian community of Mexico¹⁰²⁷. Beyond the problem of **re-presenting** people adequately is the question of such **re-presentation** necessarily obtaining what they hope for. There is a fair chance of funders responding negatively, even though the evaluation is adequate.

- A second problem is that of **power** and the evaluator ‘colonising’ people. Ultimately any evaluation, no matter how participative, is an exercise of control. Where that control is not exercised by people themselves it results in them being ‘colonised’¹⁰²⁸, whether that is intentional or not. Further, the determinism of most of the social sciences provide people with little latitude in their own affairs¹⁰²⁹.

- A third problem is that of **bias** which the evaluator carries with her/himself. The notion

¹⁰²⁵Ong 1988: 86; Said 1989: 205-6; Fairhead 1993: 187-203; Townsend 1995: 95.

¹⁰²⁵1965: 296.

¹⁰²⁷See Kaplan & Saler 1966: 202-5; Bennett 1966: 206-10; Foster 1966: 210-4; Kearney 1969: 888-90; and, Acheson 1972: 1152-69, for their responses.

¹⁰²⁸Said 1989: 206-7.

¹⁰²⁹De’Ath 1982: 449.

of a 'value-free' scientist is a myth¹⁰³⁰. A major thrust in the development of the Rapid/ Participatory Rural Appraisal suite of tools is to offset many of the biases that researchers carry with them¹⁰³¹. Bias is more than likely to be influenced by an exogenous view of reality, rather than through an endogenous one. For instance, development aid usually requires an evaluation to be conducted by an evaluator employed by the aid agency or an independent (outside) evaluator. Regardless of the nature of their employment, the evaluator will almost certainly reflect what the agency requires rather than what the people concerned hold to be important. Outside evaluators are certainly not always neutral.

- A fourth problem is that of **validity**: in order for the evaluator to ensure that he/she 'represents' people and their reality adequately he/she has to subject the findings of the evaluation to all manner of tests. Where people execute their own evaluation, they know to what extent a particular finding re-presents them and the world in which they live.

- A fifth problem is that of the **perceptions** of what the evaluator represents to the people concerned. These perceptions may range from messianic figure, to alien, to oppressor. Whatever they are they will have an inherent impact on any evaluation and the way the people concerned will respond to the evaluation.

- A sixth problem is that of **reflexivity**¹⁰³²: people change by virtue of the fact that they are part of an evaluation. No matter the skills or the methodology of the evaluator, the evaluation will more certainly reflect that change in behaviour which will be described as 'reality' rather than reflecting reality itself.

[g] The above disadvantages go hand-in-hand with distinct advantages of an external evaluator being involved:

- An outside evaluator may **offset** a **bias** in a peoples' analysis of development. For example men in a group may exclude women in their analysis and rich may exclude poor.

¹⁰³⁰De'Ath 1982: 445.

¹⁰³¹See Chambers 1983: 13-23.

¹⁰³²Bowles 1981: 33-5.

An actor-oriented analysis is conducted best by an outsider, because of the exceptional cases which may be ignored by a peoples' analysis. Also there is the question of culture, which really needs a person to stand outside of it to help achieve an understanding of it. Some limitations, *et cetera* of some people in the group may be overlooked by those conducting the analysis. Even within groups participation may be questioned.

- An external evaluator may be a **resource** for the people in whose environment the evaluation is to be conducted. Some development agencies will provide funding, expertise, *et cetera* only after an evaluation has been conducted by a professional person. On the other hand, frequently people are so locked into situations that they cannot see beyond them¹⁰³³.

- An evaluator may be **quasi-neutral** in a divided community or where people in power may attempt to manipulate less powerful people. However, evaluators need to beware (in terms of their own personal wellbeing) of engaging in evaluations where the central issues are at the heart of contention or tension in the community.

[h] Given the above-mentioned advantages and disadvantages which come with external evaluators, external evaluators must be aware of the kind of role they may play in respect of people who are the subjects of evaluation. From an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation perspective the roles of **advocate**, **learner** and **partner**¹⁰³⁴ in respect of the people of the evaluation are encouraged. The external evaluator should in as unbiased a way as possible represent the best interests of those people. That can happen spontaneously when the external evaluator approaches the evaluation as a learning opportunity for her/himself and through that learning experience to enter into a partnership with those people to enable them to secure their best interests. It may be reasonable to

¹⁰³³De'Ath 1982: 442.

¹⁰³⁴Whisson 1985: 132, Guba & Lincoln 1989: 261 and Mathison 1994: 300. Note the degree of caution exercised in respect of the other roles described by these authors. There is a real danger of those, such as collaborator, broker, teacher, **reality shaper** and **change agent**, becoming **one-eyed giants** (Goulet 1980: 481) should the external evaluator not be cautious enough. Anthropocentric Development Evaluators will certainly not claim to 'know' (Hawkesworth 1989: 534) before an evaluation has begun, while they may have some limited knowledge after the evaluation.

suggest that adopting the roles of advocate, learner and partner will have the effect of reducing the negative and enhancing the positive consequences of an external evaluator being involved with an evaluation.

[i] The external evaluator may more likely achieve the role of advocate, learner and partner where the relationship with the people of the evaluation is symbiotic. By that is meant that neither the external evaluator nor the people concerned should gain undue advantage as a result of their relationship. The real costs and benefits of the opportunity of the evaluation should be shared. Ideally, to achieve that symbiotic relationship, an external evaluator should relocate to the community or environment of the people of the evaluation. This ideal is strongly advocated in the Christian Community Development experience¹⁰³⁵, and in the field work technique of participant observation in social and applied anthropology.

[j] In attempting to respond to the request made by some Nyanyadu farmers to help them through a process of gaining a better understanding of their farming practices the researcher of this thesis has made a sincere attempt to adopt the roles of learner and partner through a symbiotic relationship with those people of Nyanyadu who joined in with that process. In doing so this relationship has as far as possible offset the negative consequences of an external researcher being involved and has simultaneously attempted to maximise the benefits of that involvement. What has facilitated this is the *focus* of Anthropocentric Development Evaluation upon **people and their humanity** together with the combination of the methodologies of Action Research and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools. The focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in combination with Action Research and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools achieved two results. *Firstly*, it assisted the Nyanyadu farmers to gain the deeper understanding of their agricultural practices which they desired to achieve. This is important from a hermeneutical/interpretist point of view since all the methodologies emanate from an epistemology which is focused on ensuring understanding. *Secondly*, it also provided the opportunity to make Social Impact Assessments of the DCP's nutrition

¹⁰³⁵Perkins 1995b:21-2; Reed 1995: 36-7; Lupton, Lupton & Yancy 1995: 75-105.

and social development programme and the current national land reform programme upon the people of Nyanyadu. In doing so, applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting may be considered to be a successful exercise. *The positive, cumulative effect of using all the above mentioned methodologies in combination together with the need to bring people and their humanity into focus as the central issue in development and its evaluation has, therefore, been demonstrated.*

5.4. CONCLUSION

[a] Successfully applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation together with the Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tool methodologies in the context of a development setting has just as much to do with what has gone on before as with the appropriate and sensitive application the research methods of those methodologies in that setting. Proceeding from a hermeneutical-interpretist epistemology an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation began by gaining an understanding of why the past Decades of Development have not been successful in improving the quality of life for people throughout the world, particularly for those living in the South and/or those who are poor. While the past Decades of Development were founded on the best intentions, Chapter 2 showed that their theoretical underpinnings were flawed resulting in a gap between development theory and practice. Further, this gap has been exacerbated by an inadequate evaluation of development in general. Probably one of the greatest failures of development and its evaluation in the past has been not to focus on people, despite development existing for the benefit of people and the formation of the people-centred approach to development. Therefore, Chapter 3 was wholly concerned with making people and their humanity the central focus of development and its evaluation.

[b] In stating why people and their humanity should be at the centre of all development and evaluation Chapter 3 pointed out in some measure the manner in which the marginalised, particularly the poor and women, are disadvantaged in society and therefore the need for development and evaluation initiatives to be focused upon them. It also used the Actor-oriented Approach to analysis to show that people are unique actors in the

situations they live in. These, together with the requisites and consequences people have because they are human beings, are important considerations in respect of development and its evaluation.

[c] In order not to reduce the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, that is people and their humanity, to mere analysis, Chapter 4 presented and compared the methodologies of Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools with that focus. Apart from proving to be an adequate medium for applying an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in a development setting, particularly in combination, the comparison of methodologies validated the postulation of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation.

[d] The validity of postulating an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation was taken further in this penultimate chapter not only by successfully applying the focus of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to development initiatives in the Nyanyadu community in combination with the other methodologies but also by raising the question of, 'Who evaluates?' This question, in relation to development and its evaluation re-emphasises the need for people and their humanity to be the central focus of these two endeavours.

CHAPTER 6: REFLECTION

6.1. THE FORMATION OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

In reverse order an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation stems from the fourth generation of the art and science of evaluation¹⁰³⁶. As such it approaches reality with a constructivist and hermeneutical epistemology and therefore seeks more to understand processes rather than to be concerned with measurement, description and/or judgement. It is from this perspective that development theory and practice is analysed. What this analysis reveals is that there is a definite need within the whole ambit of development for a greater cognisance to be taken of people and their humanity and if the development industry is to positively and significantly improve the quality of life for people throughout the world, particularly those who suffer privation the most.

6.2. THE VALUE OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

[a] As suggested above an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation emphasises the need for the centrality of people and their humanity in development and the evaluation thereof. This thesis on an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation has demonstrated this need in three ways. The first was in the development of the argument supporting an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation and in formulating its central focus. What this argument did was to show how development and the evaluation thereof has not fully discovered the need for people and their humanity to be central to such purposes. The second way of emphasising the need for people and their humanity to gain priority in development and its evaluation was to compare the methodology of Anthropocentric Development Evaluation with the methodologies of Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools. A common epistemological foundation provided the logical basis for such a comparison. The third way was to apply an

¹⁰³⁶Guba & Lincoln 1989: 21-48.

Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in the development setting of the Nyanyadu community in KwaZulu-Natal. In comparing an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation with methodologies of a similar epistemology and by applying it in Nyanyadu the matter of placing people and their humanity first in development and evaluation was shown to be a complex matter. It was evident in both exercises that there cannot be an assumption where one of the concerns apply the rest will automatically follow. This demonstrates that each of the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation are critical and therefore none should be treated lightly or as insignificant.

[b] Another virtue of this thesis on an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is that it provided the opportunity to bring other methodologies of a similar epistemology together for comparison, mutual exploration, use and adaptation. In doing so it showed the limitation of using methodologies in isolation by highlighting their shortfalls on the one hand. On the other it showed the increased value each derived through mutual adaptation, giving further substance to each other and the purpose for which they were applied. The Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of Nyanyadu, for example, was dependent upon a joint Action Research - Complementary Rural Development Field Tools exercise. Yet, it provided a firm foundation to undertake a Social Impact Assessment of the Dundee Community Project, the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme and the National Land Reform Programme upon the Nyanyadu community.

[c] This thesis on an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation also provided an alternative format for gaining an understanding of a community's dynamics. In doing so it broke away from the traditional historiography approach and in its place provided one which exclusively focuses on people and their humanity and not on the product of their being and their humanity.

6.3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

[a] This thesis has shown an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to be a stringent

test of the extent to which the use of methodologies and development initiatives should take cognisance of people and the different aspects of their humanity. In formulating the concept of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, the researcher was not intent on undermining or ridiculing a number of serious attempts to deal with abject poverty or engage with different aspects of human life. Rather, the intent was to show that despite the good intentions of many development initiatives in respect of people that in due course most development initiatives become so concerned with other issues such that the people themselves are either neglected or forgotten.

[b] In examining the failure of the Development Decades (1960 - 1990) to address the poverty many people throughout the world experience, this thesis called for the establishment of a distinct school of Development Evaluation. As shown throughout the thesis an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is well placed to assist in the process of establishing such a school. However, much further experience needs to be gained in this regard.

[c] Apart from seeking out other incidents where people conduct their own evaluations of development interventions, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation needs to assess other aspects of development theory and practice. One in particular is the sustainable development debate. While for good reason this thesis guarded strongly against entering that debate it nevertheless represents a serious concern in development thought, particularly because many of the questions it raises are open-ended. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation with its premise of being concerned about human wellbeing should engage with that in the interests of attempting to secure that wellbeing. Obviously, where that can be rooted in a practice setting, that would be all the better. Another practice theory to be taking note of is that of community development. While community development has gone through periods of progress and decline, its recent significant reoccurrences, especially in South Africa, suggests the need to engage with it again. Taking such an opportunity may assist that approach to rectify a number of its shortcomings of the past, and thereby to truly contribute to the development of communities.

[d] While this thesis has raised some substantial development and evaluation concerns

from an anthropocentric perspective those should be developed further by continuing to engage with the dynamics of human life. Simply because life changes and there are differences in the way people engage with their environments, there is a need for an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation to keep abreast of those changes and differences. Thus an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation should seek opportunities to strengthen the case for a people-centred development with a strong focus upon the disadvantaged. Further, it should also seek other aspects of peoples' humanity which may provide a breakthrough for their development.

[e] The remarks immediately above also apply to the methodologies evaluated in this thesis. Action Research, Social Impact Assessment and the Complementary Rural Development Field Tools were methodologies anticipated to be conducive to the concerns and intentions of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. However, just as they were tried and tested, there remains a need for both their development and for the examination of other methodologies as well. Further comparative exercises in other development settings and in respect of different development issues should also be undertaken¹⁰³⁷. Thereby, the content and application of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation could be dynamically challenged and tested continuously.

[f] In summary, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation may well contribute to the establishing of a distinct School of Development Evaluation. However, that will depend entirely upon its continuing to critique aspects of development theory and practice, while simultaneously developing its concerns and seeking other methodologies conducive to its task. *Ultimately that requires that people in the context of their humanity remain at the centre of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation's intentions and consequences.*

¹⁰³⁷ Within the Nyanyadu community, assuming such an exercise is formulated and orchestrated by the people themselves, social and economic survival strategies, such as the coal scavenging enterprises, could be explored further while a more extended household survey could provide more substantial explanations of these. At the macro level, the South African Land Reform Programme could do well to incorporate an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation in its monitoring and evaluation efforts.

APPENDIX 1: An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Basic Needs Approach to development

The purpose of this Appendix is to show the validity of the postulation that *development theory* should be evaluated and not merely critiqued¹⁰³⁸.

1. RATIONALE

The Basic Needs Approach has been selected for assessment for **three** reasons:

► The *first* is that it was an attempt introduced by the International Labour Organisation and supported by the World Bank to draw the world's attention to the extent to which poverty was prevailing and therefore the need to respond appropriately¹⁰³⁹. As the marginalised, particularly the poor, receive due recognition in an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation, it is relevant to assess the Approach.

► In the *second* instance the Basic Needs Approach is a practice theory. A practice theory is a set of unproven hypotheses which form the basis of some action in response to particular development practice problems. By conducting an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Basic Needs Approach, one such development theory is evaluated.

► In the *third* instance, meeting basic needs in line with the philosophy behind the Approach is intrinsic to the South African Government of National Unity's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)¹⁰⁴⁰. Apart from the national Land Reform Programme¹⁰⁴¹ this thesis does not examine the RDP as a whole or any of its many other projects. Nevertheless, as the Basic Needs Approach is one of the RDP's pillars, an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Approach will help highlight any inherent shortcomings or obstacles which may inhibit the RDP achieving its goals and objectives.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

[a] An awareness of the impact of the fulfilment of basic human needs upon society has been known since the time of Plato¹⁰⁴². More recently the fulfilment of human need has

¹⁰³⁸See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.[a].

¹⁰³⁹Lisk 1977: 185; Palmer 1977: 97; Streeten 1977: 8-9; Streeten & Burki 1978: 411; Burki 1980: 18-9; Streeten 1980: 167, 169; Ligthelm 1981: 313-4; Keeton 1984: 279; Weigel 1986: 1424; Spalding 1990: 90-1; Stewart 1991: 178.

¹⁰⁴⁰1994: 7.

¹⁰⁴¹See Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2..

¹⁰⁴²sa: 49-52.

found a central place in Marx's¹⁰⁴³ economic theory. However, it was Maslow¹⁰⁴⁴ with his theory of human motivation who modified the concept of basic human needs and placed it on the threshold of inclusion into the development debate¹⁰⁴⁵.

[b] When the Basic Needs Approach entered the development debate in the 1970s and 80s it came in the form of a number of declarations and other forms of affirmative actions against world poverty. In 1966 and later in 1986, for instance, the human right of access to basic need goods was recognised by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Declaration on the Right to Development, respectively¹⁰⁴⁶. In 1973, the US Congress instructed USAID agencies to direct efforts towards meeting the basic needs of the poorest people in the so-called 'developing countries'¹⁰⁴⁷. In 1974, the Cocoyoc Declaration¹⁰⁴⁸ held that while the concern of development was to develop humanity, focus had to be placed on the fulfilment of basic needs for such was the state of world development then. In 1975 the Dag Hammarskjöld Report¹⁰⁴⁹ placed 'the satisfaction of needs - beginning with the eradication of poverty - at the focal point of the development process'. In 1976 the International Labour Organisation at its World Employment Conference designed a specific basic needs programme¹⁰⁵⁰. This was in response to a declaration made at the 1975 UN World Food Conference calling for the eradication of world poverty by 1985. The 1986 declaration of the human right to access to basic need goods¹⁰⁵¹ was probably in response to the failure to meet the 1985 goal.

[c] The entry of basic needs into the development debate was largely in response to a double failure.

- For those countries of the South historically linked to countries of the North, *via* colonialism, the economic growth route failed to achieve the basic minimum conditions for life for hundreds of millions of people¹⁰⁵².
- Not unrelated to this, for other countries suffering poverty, the debate

¹⁰⁴³1981: 959.

¹⁰⁴⁴1954: 80-106.

¹⁰⁴⁵Allen & Anzalone 1981: 212-3.

¹⁰⁴⁶Stewart 1989: 347.

¹⁰⁴⁷Ruttan 1984: 397.

¹⁰⁴⁸1974: 91.

¹⁰⁴⁹1975: 13.

¹⁰⁵⁰Palmer 1977: 97.

¹⁰⁵¹Stewart 1989: 347.

¹⁰⁵²Streeten & Burki 1978: 411; Hicks & Streeten 1979: 567; Allen & Anzalone 1981: 210-1; Kecton 1984: 277-8; Ruttan 1984: 397; Stewart 1989: 347; Carmen 1996: 43.

between the modernisation and underdevelopment theories produced the same (negative) result. 'Another Development' which is need-oriented¹⁰⁵³, was part of an 'alternative development' approach¹⁰⁵⁴ to take the development debate beyond the modernisation - underdevelopment stalemate.

[d] At the heart of Lewis¹⁰⁵⁵ growth-oriented model (which significantly influenced development policy during the First Decade of Development (1960-70) and was intrinsic to modernisation theory) there are three tenuous assumptions for the Basic Needs Approach¹⁰⁵⁶:

- > First, there is the 'trickle-down' theory¹⁰⁵⁷ which assumes that the benefits of economic growth in 'more developed countries' would be passed on to 'less developed countries'.
- > Second, that governments are democratic and would correct market forces when the benefits of growth did not reach the poor.
- > Third, that the intended benefits of growth are dependent upon sacrifices being made, invariably by the poor.

In spite of high growth rates for many countries during the period of the 1950s to mid-70s and improvements in social indicators such as literacy and infant mortality, aggregate economic growth has done little to improve the lot of the poorer sector of countries in the South¹⁰⁵⁸. The reason for this is that growth is uneven. This is due to the flawed assumption made concerning income generation which is essential to the growth approach. For example, improved productivity does not always result in improved earnings. And, the commitment to productivity to raise incomes can jeopardise other aspects of life, for example, health. Despite their willingness some people cannot through physiological or psychological conditions make a greater commitment to productivity¹⁰⁵⁹. Further, even in cases where increased productivity has led to increased earnings, not all the necessities of life can be purchased by means of what a person earns. The provision of education, safe water and sewerage are dependent upon community and/or local government efforts.

[e] Despite the criticism that the Basic Needs Approach levels at economic growth, the Basic Needs Approach does not entirely represent a break with the past. Not only is the Basic Needs Approach at the end of an evolutionary progression away from the growth-

¹⁰⁵³Dag Hammarskjöld 1975: 12-3.

¹⁰⁵⁴Webster 1984: 191.

¹⁰⁵⁵1955: 9-21.

¹⁰⁵⁶Streeten 1980: 167-8.

¹⁰⁵⁷Todaro 1989: 87, or 'oil stain' for Palmer 1977: 97. See Chapter 2, Section 2.1.[d] for prior discussion of this topic.

¹⁰⁵⁸Streeten & Burki 1978: 411.

¹⁰⁵⁹Streeten 1980: 169.

oriented approach, albeit via the employment and anti-poverty approaches¹⁰⁶⁰, there are undeniable similarities which are common to the two approaches¹⁰⁶¹. Social infrastructure, for example, while not a sufficient condition for the economic development of a region is necessary for creating a human environment which is conducive to development. That environment may be created either by ensuring the availability of suitable local manpower or by the retention of a population whose needs would not otherwise be addressed.

[f] Obviously, however, it is their **differences** which separates the Basic Needs Approach from the growth model and makes it unique. Such differences include:

- the conflict between the universal legitimacy of social demands *and* the selectivity of production investment projects where the Basic Needs Approach attempts to address the unequal development of economic growth through equitable geographical dispersion;
- the conflict between use of market principles versus democratically determined wishes to site the locality of production investments;
- the conflict between efficiency and equity;
- the difference between a *direct* and *indirect* approach¹⁰⁶².

3. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

[a] The purpose of development for Streeten and Burki¹⁰⁶³ is to raise the sustainable level of living of the masses of poor people throughout the world as rapidly and as feasible as possible. Thereby people should be provided with the opportunity to develop to their full potential. This for Streeten and Burki¹⁰⁶⁴ implies that the basic human needs of the poorest should be met first. Thus, for Burki and Van Wyk¹⁰⁶⁵ the Basic Needs Approach must ensure access for the poor to a 'bundle of essential goods and services'. Streeten¹⁰⁶⁶ adds the caveat that the access gained by the poor to those goods and services must ensure that their needs are met. For this reason, Streeten¹⁰⁶⁷ encourages opportunities which improve the income earning capacity of the poorest. For Johnston and

¹⁰⁶⁰Lisk 1977: 176-89.

¹⁰⁶¹Mayer 1979: 60.

¹⁰⁶²Mayer 1979: 61-2; Hettne 1995: 177-8.

¹⁰⁶³1978: 412.

¹⁰⁶⁴1978: 412. See also Goulet 1995: 88.

¹⁰⁶⁵Burki 1980: 18; Van Wyk 1982: 148.

¹⁰⁶⁶1980: 167.

¹⁰⁶⁷1980: 167.

Clark¹⁰⁶⁸ the purpose of these requirements is to raise consumption and thereby to foster development.

[b] Closely allied to the urgency of meeting the needs of the poorest, is the necessity for the Basic Needs Approach to contribute to sustainable development¹⁰⁶⁹, particularly in respect of agricultural and rural development¹⁰⁷⁰. For Streeten¹⁰⁷¹ this means that basic needs must be met in a shorter period and at lower levels of earned income per capita than in the past or which would have been achieved through income expansion associated with growth. To achieve that, given the ideological and emotional appeal that the growth-oriented approach has to those who own wealth, Van Wyk¹⁰⁷² is right to point out that an urgent priority of the Basic Needs Approach is to **change attitudes** particularly with regard to the general well-being of the poor. Thus, lifestyle research is an important aspect of the human needs debate¹⁰⁷³.

4. ASSUMPTIONS MADE IN THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

[a] Like the growth-oriented approach, the Basic Needs Approach has certain key assumptions which need to be kept in play in order to realise the two key basic needs objectives of improving the quality of life of the poor and thereby contributing to a sustained world development. They centre around the fact that basic needs is a dynamic concept¹⁰⁷⁴.

[b] That *the Basic Needs Approach is a dynamic concept* means that the parameters of basic needs are constantly changing. This stems from the fact that there is not a single level of human need but that needs exist in an hierarchical paradigm determined by the physiology, psychology and philosophy of humanity¹⁰⁷⁵.

[c] Because humanity has been endowed with choice, needs are both absolute and relative¹⁰⁷⁶. In other words, some needs are more basic than others¹⁰⁷⁷. As a result

¹⁰⁶⁸1982: 117.

¹⁰⁶⁹Streeten & Burki 1978: 416; Streeten 1980: 167; South Commission 1990: 79.

¹⁰⁷⁰Van Wyk 1982: 152.

¹⁰⁷¹1980: 167.

¹⁰⁷²1982: 153.

¹⁰⁷³Møller 1989a: 7.

¹⁰⁷⁴Afxentiou 1990: 241.

¹⁰⁷⁵Maslow 1954: 80-92; Streeten & Burki 1978: 413.

¹⁰⁷⁶Keeton 1984: 283.

a number of different yet related categories of needs have emerged. Maslow's¹⁰⁷⁸ hierarchy of human motivational needs include physiological, safety, belonging and love, esteem and self-actualisation needs. Weigel's¹⁰⁷⁹ basic human needs focus on existence, intelligence and sociality. These as a matter of interest, parallel Todaro's¹⁰⁸⁰ three core values for development:

- life sustenance: the ability to provide basic needs;
- self esteem: to be a person; and,
- freedom from servitude: to be able to choose.

For the Cocoyoc Declaration¹⁰⁸¹ development should not only address basic needs as needs, but also 'other needs, other goals and values'. These human needs compared with the common core of the 'basic needs bundle' (which can vary and include others) are somewhat different. For Burki¹⁰⁸² the bundle includes education, basic health, nutrition, water and sanitation, and shelter.

[d] What these different categories mean for the individual is that value judgements¹⁰⁸³ are exercised in determining needs and that actual choice is incremental¹⁰⁸⁴. In respect of countries this categorisation acknowledges that each country is unique with basic needs varying according to geographical regions, climate, culture and social seasons¹⁰⁸⁵. For this reason, basic needs are 'recognised' and not 'declared' human rights¹⁰⁸⁶. For the Basic Needs Approach, this means that there are distinct conceptual difficulties in drawing up a list of needs - there is no objective criteria to do so¹⁰⁸⁷ despite the importance and value of clearly defining basic needs for the purpose of meaningfully guiding policy¹⁰⁸⁸ and monitoring fulfilment¹⁰⁸⁹. Nonetheless, it is still necessary and possible to quantify

¹⁰⁷⁷Johnston & Clark 1982: 116.

¹⁰⁷⁸1954: 80-92.

¹⁰⁷⁹1986: 1429.

¹⁰⁸⁰1989: 89-90.

¹⁰⁸¹1974: 91.

¹⁰⁸²1980: 18.

¹⁰⁸³Keeton 1984: 282.

¹⁰⁸⁴Streeten & Burki 1978: 413.

¹⁰⁸⁵Streeten & Burki 1978: 413; Van Wyk 1982: 147, 152.

¹⁰⁸⁶Stewart 1989: 356-7.

¹⁰⁸⁷Ghai & Alftan 1977: 22-3; Streeten & Burki 1978: 413.

¹⁰⁸⁸Afxentiou 1990: 243.

¹⁰⁸⁹Stewart 1989: 369.

the shortfalls of basic needs suffered by the poor and the anticipated resources needed to meet them¹⁰⁹⁰.

[e] Given the requirement of the Basic Needs Approach for an adequate provision of the necessities of life, heavy emphasis must be placed on stimulating the *production* initially of food, clothing and 'low level living' equipment, where that production of those commodities will enhance the delivery of existing goods and services rather than necessitating that new products and technologies are constantly introduced¹⁰⁹¹. However, the basic need targets are not desirable consumption goods only, but imply that in due course significant changes will be brought to the structure and growth of production to enhance the capacity of the poor to meet their needs¹⁰⁹². Obviously, the creation of the appropriate markets through which the poor can gain access to the commodities produced is essential¹⁰⁹³. Hence, it may be possible to realise high levels of per capita income¹⁰⁹⁴. Thus growth is essential to the fulfilment of basic needs¹⁰⁹⁵. However, the difference for Friedman¹⁰⁹⁶ is that the Basic Needs Approach is a form of Redistribution With Growth.

[f] The dynamic nature of basic needs demands that the production of commodities will be supplied by local or *indigenous resources*, thereby significantly reducing the potential for foreign contribution¹⁰⁹⁷. In other words, the Basic Needs Approach places great emphasis and depends on *popular participation* for its success¹⁰⁹⁸. For Lisk

'effective broad-based local participation in the development process can contribute to the attainment of employment and income objectives. In turn, this may serve to articulate and raise effective demand for basic need goods and services as well as improve supply-management with reference to the production and distribution of those goods and services¹⁰⁹⁹'.

However, because the poor frequently lack the necessary skills they fail to become more gainfully employed, thereby preventing their full participation in the fulfilment of their

¹⁰⁹⁰Streeten & Burki 1978: 417.

¹⁰⁹¹Nattrass 1979: 61-2.

¹⁰⁹²Streeten & Burki 1978: 414.

¹⁰⁹³Nattrass 1979: 61.

¹⁰⁹⁴Ruttan 1984: 397.

¹⁰⁹⁵Keeton 1984: 287.

¹⁰⁹⁶1979: 609.

¹⁰⁹⁷Streeten & Burki 1978: 413.

¹⁰⁹⁸Keeton 1984: 283; Afrentiou 1990: 249.

¹⁰⁹⁹Lisk 1981: 6.

needs¹¹⁰⁰. Nevertheless, popular participation is not only essential for the production and consumption sides of basic need provisions. Appropriate policies are the fruit of relevant information being supplied to planners and implementers concerning the needs and preferences of target populations¹¹⁰¹. Determination of basic needs by people themselves remains as a central feature of the Basic Needs Approach¹¹⁰².

[g] Without undermining the significant role that the Basic Needs Approach affords popular participation, the Approach equally demands *governmental involvement*¹¹⁰³. One role that governments can play is to intervene in markets to reduce the production and consumption of goods¹¹⁰⁴. Another function may be to redistribute income through a combination of progressive taxation and public expenditure on the provision of social services, particularly to the poorest. However, in the poorer countries of the South, the potential for this strategy can be down-played by the smaller tax base and the fact that governments are faced with a multiplicity of objectives. Thus there are inherent difficulties in identifying, designing and implementing such projects which will of necessity affect the incomes of the poor¹¹⁰⁵. Further where governments are weak, as in Africa, they are particularly vulnerable to the demands of the elites who are strategically placed to manipulate policy for their own benefit¹¹⁰⁶. This with the above-mentioned constraints forces the Basic Needs Approach to acknowledge that **the fulfilment of needs will not easily be achieved**¹¹⁰⁷. Frequently, the unique institutional characteristics of the country concerned can be an obstacle to the fulfilment of needs¹¹⁰⁸. Thus the successes of the Approach in one country are not easily transferable to another faced with the dilemma of impoverished masses of people.

5. FEATURES OF THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

[a] Arising out of its objectives and assumptions, the Basic Needs Approach portrays certain attractive key features. *First*, it gives high priority to meeting specified needs of the poorest people, not primarily to raise productivity, but as an end in itself. It *also*

¹¹⁰⁰Allen & Anzalone 1981: 218.

¹¹⁰¹Spalding 1990: 104.

¹¹⁰²Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 22.

¹¹⁰³Streeten & Burki 1978: 414.

¹¹⁰⁴Ruttan 1984: 397.

¹¹⁰⁵Stewart 1989: 356; Gillis, Perkins, Roemer, & Snodgrass 1992: 98.

¹¹⁰⁶Donnelly 1985: 12.

¹¹⁰⁷Ruttan 1984: 397.

¹¹⁰⁸Keeton 1984: 284.

stresses the importance of efforts to redress absolute deprivation and has relevance for countries where absolute poverty is concentrated. To do so, it draws on sufficient evidence to show that the Approach is feasible. Further, it emphasises the need for supply management during transition to obviate an increase in prices diminishing the income of the poor while simultaneously preventing lower monetary incomes to offset increases in their productivity.

[b] The Approach also emphasises the restricting of productivity to facilitate the poor gaining access to basic goods and services despite their limited competition in the markets. Basic needs are defined by characteristics of goods and services rather than by commodities and prices to enable people to know whether their lot is improving or not. In situations where income distribution is uneven, production choices are not determined by the demands of the market, but rather by those made by people, particularly the poor. Basic needs comprise both material and non-material goods and services to ensure that a variety of needs are met¹¹⁰⁹.

6. DISADVANTAGES OF THE APPROACH

[a] Despite the numerous positive objectives, assumptions and features, the Basic Needs Approach has certain disadvantages which have been highlighted through criticism. For Allen and Anzalone¹¹¹⁰ the most prominent concern about the Basic Needs Approach is the allegation that it is a disguised attempt by the North to prevent its high technology being exported to the South. This allegation can be supported by Streeten's¹¹¹¹ statement that it has been described as an ideological concept which is set to foster revolution. Tied to this is Spalding's¹¹¹² criticism that subsistence gains precedence over fairness, which may give the above-mentioned sceptical notions some substance. Nevertheless, what is true is Natrass's¹¹¹³ contention that the Basic Needs Approach is import replacing rather than export generating. To be export generating countries of the South would need to be the recipients of some high technology from the North and therefore not totally self-reliant. Even if they were self-reliant in high technology, Mayer¹¹¹⁴ sees the immobility of goods and services as a major obstacle in meeting basic needs. Another disadvantage for Lele¹¹¹⁵ is that the Approach involves many more activities than are considered

¹¹⁰⁹Streeten & Burki 1978: 413-4; Rondinelli 1993: 68.

¹¹¹⁰1981: 214.

¹¹¹¹1977: 12.

¹¹¹²1990: 91.

¹¹¹³1979: 62.

¹¹¹⁴1979: 59.

¹¹¹⁵1975: 234; Ruttan 1984: 397.

feasible. Thus Spalding¹¹¹⁶ is justified in her concern that the Basic Needs Approach could exploit the capital reserves of economies which are needed for reserve purposes.

[b] Another series of concerns stem from the fact that basic needs are not defined in exclusive terms¹¹¹⁷. While attempting to combat poverty couched in broad terms, the Approach suffers from the lack of a theoretical base¹¹¹⁸. As a result it cannot be described, even as a fully articulated theory because there are no fixed steps through which people should proceed in the process of attempting to meet their needs¹¹¹⁹. For Allen and Anzalone¹¹²⁰, one of the dangers of the cultural terms in which the Approach is couched, is that the Approach has a distinct bias which is tied to the experience of the North and therefore the concept cannot be generalised or transferred to the South. Similarly, Weigel¹¹²¹ warns against the paternalistic outlook of the Approach. For Weigel, the Approach is paternalistic at the *international* level because it implies that the countries of the North will place pressure on the elites of the South to allocate increasing amounts of funding for basic needs objectives; at the *national* level - because it requires social programmes to benefit target groups instead of providing subsidies which benefit all; and, at the *household* level - because it prefers subsidies in kind instead of direct transfers.

[c] Ruttan¹¹²² levels two further valid criticisms at the Approach. *First*, there is the great difficulty of reconciling popular participation in local decision-making *and* enhancing the capacity to mobilise local resources for development *with* the objective of obtaining measurable improvements in basic need indicators in a short period between programme initiation and evaluation. His *other* criticism is of the danger of over-emphasising the conflict between efficiency in programme design and delivery and the mobilisation of local economic and political resources for development.

¹¹¹⁶1990: 91.

¹¹¹⁷Afxentiou 1990: 243.

¹¹¹⁸Keeton 1984: 279.

¹¹¹⁹Streeten 1977: 13.

¹¹²⁰1981: 215.

¹¹²¹1986: 1424.

¹¹²²1984: 398.

7. THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT AND THE FOCUS OF AN ANTHROPOCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION

7.1. PEOPLE-CENTREDNESS

[a] By virtue of its fixed attention on meeting the basic human needs of people, the Basic Needs Approach may, superficially, claim to be people-oriented. Much research and practical work has been done in different parts of the world to assess the extent to which needs defined by the Approach as a whole are being met¹¹²³.

[b] The real test of its people-centredness, however, is met, in the first instance, by the Approach contending that people themselves determine what their needs are¹¹²⁴. In the second instance, that concern is met in encouraging local or indigenous initiative to be used in the production of commodities necessary for basic need fulfilment¹¹²⁵. In the third instance, however, by emphasising employment¹¹²⁶ as a strategy to meeting people's needs, the Approach is people-centred in league with that approach to development. As opposed to the growth-oriented approach, the Basic Needs Approach insists on employment creation as a means *to provide people with the ability to meet their own needs*, rather than, merely, to improve production of goods and services.

7.2. THE POOR

[a] Streeten and Burki¹¹²⁷ insist upon the needs of the poorest being met first. Their intention is part of the Basic Needs Approach's focus upon the poor and eradicating mass poverty. Harcourt¹¹²⁸, however, in looking back upon the Approach rightly contends that the Approach has not brought about an end to mass poverty. This statement of fact, nevertheless, does not undermine the Approach and its intentions. Rather, the statement emphasises that the obstacles¹¹²⁹ which exist are real.

[b] While the Basic Needs Approach places much emphasis on the poor, this is not taken further to make a special case for the rural poor and resource-poor primary producers.

¹¹²³Wellings 1983: 129-42; Ndlovu 1984: 1-2; Krige 1989a: 175-81; 1989b: 313-23; Thormeyer & Ortmann 1990: 671-9.

¹¹²⁴Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 22.

¹¹²⁵See Section 4.[f].

¹¹²⁶Hettne 1995: 178.

¹¹²⁷1978: 412.

¹¹²⁸1994b: 11.

¹¹²⁹See Section 4.[g].

Thus, there are only a few isolated cases which comment on the needs of these particular people in respect of the Approach¹¹³⁰.

7.3. WOMEN

There is satisfaction within the literature on women, that there has been adequate attention given to women by the Basic Needs Approach. However, it is through the household being the unit of analysis in the Approach that women receive sufficient coverage¹¹³¹.

7.4. ACTOR-ORIENTATION

The Basic Needs Approach takes cognisance of three important factors, amongst others that suggest its actor-orientedness:

- ▶ human choice,
- ▶ individual human values in making those choices, and,
- ▶ basic needs vary from locality to locality as a result of a number of factors, including culture¹¹³².

These factors show that the Approach gives serious consideration to the fact that differences exist and therefore different means have to be sought in respect of those differences. However, the Approach does not give adequate attention to what those differences are. In order to be fully actor-oriented, the Approach should result in its proponents offering studies of those differences and how needs can or should be met in respect of them. Because the Approach is lacking in this regard it is fair to suggest that it does not have an appropriate appreciation of the cultural milieus in which people's needs are felt.

7.5. LIMITATIONS, RISK, UNCERTAINTY AND VULNERABILITY

[a] Ruttan¹¹³³ has made it abundantly clear that the fulfilment of basic needs is no easy task¹¹³⁴. In the *first* instance, consensus over what are basic human needs is difficult to determine as they are needs of people. People being uniquely different, in terms of their locality, cultures, and preferences, amongst other factors, hinder the process of ascertaining common needs. Further, needs change during the course of time rendering them evasive even still. In the *second*, unless governments engage in a Basic Needs Policy based on the Approach, there is little, anyone can do to enforce them. Even so,

¹¹³⁰Wellings 1983: 129-42; Okafor 1985: 115-24; Milton & Bond 1986: 65-73; Thormeyer & Ortmann 1990: 671-9.

¹¹³¹Palmer 1977: 105; Radwan & Alfthan 1978: 200-5; Valera 1989: 316-8.

¹¹³²See Sections 4.[c] and [d].

¹¹³³1984: 397.

¹¹³⁴See Section 4..

governments can only orchestrate programmes in respect of certain needs, but this will not meet **all** of the needs of **all** of their people **all** of the time.

[b] Examining the difficulties of implementing a Basic Needs Approach from the perspectives above is looking at only one side of those limitations. In order for the Approach to fully examine the obstacles which exist and prevent basic needs being met, it needs to examine those limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities which people face in attempting to meet their needs. This perspective is clearly lacking from the literature consulted. There is a need for the Approach to examine these particular obstacles to fully meet the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. Certainly, the awareness of limitations is credited, **but** to examine those from the perspective of people themselves is of greater importance.

7.6. PARTICIPATION

A good case is made above¹¹³⁵ in respect of the participatory nature of the Basic Needs Approach. Nevertheless, the Approach is a classic case of calling for, and attempting to practice, participation without having given full consideration also to an actor-orientedness, culture, knowledge, limitations, risks, uncertainties and vulnerabilities. An Anthropocentric Development Evaluation made the case very early on¹¹³⁶ that participation can only be truly engaged in when the requisites and consequences of people being human beings are fully embraced. The Basic Needs Approach should concentrate on people as they are in their particular environment, social and otherwise, in order to be fully participatory. This view is supported by Escobar¹¹³⁷ who contends that the Approach lacks a significant link to people's everyday experiences, and therefore is unable to engender deliberate political support.

7.7. IN A NUTSHELL

[a] The Basic Needs Approach, despite the attention given to people and the poverty most endure, does not rate highly in respect of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation. While the Approach is people-centred in respect of employment creation to enable people to meet their needs, it should go beyond that people-centredness. To do so it should simultaneously become actor-oriented and take greater cognisance of the fact that people embrace a certain humanity determined by their cultural and knowledge milieus and the constraints that they face because they are human beings. Doing so, will enable the Approach to truly be participatory, as it so advocates.

[b] One probable reason why the Basic Needs Approach does not receive a high rating by

¹¹³⁵See Section 4.[f].

¹¹³⁶See Chapter 3, Section 3.1.[b].

¹¹³⁷1995: 225.

an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation is because the analysis has been somewhat broad. Nevertheless, this analysis may serve as the basis for a further evaluation of the Approach as it has been applied in a specific locality. While this thesis does not do that, what it does do in Chapter 5 is to highlight some of the issues around attempts to help people in a specific locality meet their own needs.

[c] Despite the broad nature of the Anthropocentric Development Evaluation of the Basic Needs Approach this evaluation shows that it is valid to postulate the need for development theory to be evaluated rather than critiqued. While an initial attempt has been made in respect of the Basic Needs Approach as a practice theory the task of evaluating other development theories must happen elsewhere. Nevertheless, the concerns of an Anthropocentric Development Evaluation could serve as a basis for that evaluation. However, what such evaluation should endeavour to undertake and that is that people and their humanity gain priority in development and its evaluation.

APPENDIX 2: Variable issues/needs of interest to women either at one point in time or throughout time as dealt with by the literature in regard to women.

The purpose of this Appendix is to show how issues women deem relevant in respect of their development vary from place to place and from time to time¹¹³⁸.

Access to property and land
Pearson (1992)

Basic Needs Provision
Radwan & Alfthan (1978); Valera (1989); Rasanayagam (1993); Samarasinghe (1993)

Community/politics
Benton (1993); Meertens (1993); Radcliffe (1993); Connelly (1994); Häusler (1994)

Culture
Ortner (1974); Pearson (1992)

Culture and Environment
Leach (1992)

Cultural feminism
Braidotti *et al* (1994); Harcourt (1994b)

Empowerment
Johnson (1992); Pankhurst (1992)

Environment/Biodiversity
Levy (1992); Abramovitz (1994); Braidotti *et al* (1994); Douma, Van den Hombergh & Wieberdink (1994); Elliott (1994); Harcourt (1994b)

Fertility/Reproductive Rights/Contraception
Elahi (1993); Iyun & Oke (1993); Moss (1994); Stein (1995)

Households
Cromwell (1992); Pankhurst (1992); Ahmad (1993); Oughton (1993); Sage (1993)

Labour-saving.
Barrett & Browne (1993)

Mobility
Lacey (1986)

¹¹³⁸See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.4.[a].

Participation

Akande (1984); Ellis (1987); Bembridge (1988); Gladwin & McMillan (1989); Kaur & Sharma (1991); Leach (1991); Mazrui (1992); Van der Vyver, McLachlan & Du Toit (1992);

Poverty

Kabeer (1991); Pankhurst (1994); Sen (1994)

Rural fuel supplies

Ardayfio-Schandorf (1993)

Sustainable Development

Lee-Smith & Trujillo (1992); Emberson-Bain (1994); Wacker (1994)

Tree-growing activities

Hyma & Nyamwange (1993)

Work and productivity

IDS Workshop (1989b); Tshatsinde (1990); Buang (1993); Fairbairn-Dunlop (1993); Mwaka (1993); Raghuram (1993); Wickramasinghe (1993a); Wickramasinghe (1993b).

The following authors deal with the respective themes indicated:

(Charlton 1984: 32f) Debating the impact of development on women
(1984: 38f) The problems of information and data on women
(1984: 59f) Hunger as apolitical and a female issue
(1984: 61f) Women in the food cycle
(1984: 64f) Women as farmers and agricultural labourers
(1984: 70f) Women in sub-Saharan African food systems

Jahan (1995: 5) General gender issues

1. Rights

- * Legal equality
- * Enforcement
- * Awareness-raising

2. Entitlement

- * Access to and control over productive resources and services

3. Investment

- * Elimination of the gender gaps in human development
- * Support for gender needs

4. Voice

- * Decision making
- * Women's visions of alternative development agenda

5. Poverty

- * Policy/programme interventions
- * Female-headed households

6. Reproductive Labour

- * Male sharing of responsibilities
- * Public/private sector provisioning of services

7. Security

- * Domestic violence and abuse
- * Violence and harassment in the public domain

8. Empowerment

- * Assertion of own agency

Kandiyoti (1990: 14) Goals and Means

1. The protection of women's existing sources of livelihood
2. The elimination of discriminatory legislation in the ownership and control of productive assets.
3. The promotion of equitable access to agricultural inputs, credit, extension services and education.
4. The support of extra-household forms of organisation of women's labour.
5. The encouragement of an increased capacity for political empowerment and organisation.

Rahman (1993: 66) the gender question: separate or joint organisations?

Sadie & Van Aardt (1995: 83-8) employment, customary law, violence, reproductive decisions: aids and abortion, basic needs.

Steyn (1989) crop production, livestock production, pensions and monthly remittances.

APPENDIX 3: Coal scavenging in a disused mine near Nyanyadu

[a] The purpose of this Appendix is describe the dynamics of this activity engaged in by resource-poor primary producers. Generally, there is a paucity of information in the literature¹¹³⁹ in respect of this activity. More specifically, some people from Nyanyadu in KwaZulu-Natal are dependent upon such activity for their livelihood¹¹⁴⁰.

[b] According to key informants this disused mine was closed down officially in October 1993. Since then people have been scavenging for coal. Depending on demand and ability, between one and three tons per day per 'miner' is extracted. The going rate in 1997 for coal was R70:00 a ton. However, transporters demand a ton for a ton transported reducing the 'profitability' to half. About twelve to fifteen people 'mine' coal permanently, though about a total of thirty people scavenge. All 'miners' work for themselves to avoid conflict over the resource. Since October 1993, six people have died scavenging for coal. Only one 'miner' has been observed wearing protective head gear.

[c] The coal which one key informant digs out of his digging ranges from 'nuts' to dust. On a good day he manages to dig out about two tons. He is satisfied if he manages a ton. On being asked whether his scavenging met his family's needs, he said that the family mostly had a meal of mielie-meal, with a bit of meat. There have been occasions when there was not a meal available for a day.

[d] This key informant has been working at the 'mine' for nearly four years now (1997). Before beginning his mining enterprise he grew, bought and sold vegetables. Lack of water prevents him growing vegetables any more. He sold them in Dundee.

[e] He now works at the mine from Monday to Friday. He mines about one ton a day. He earns between R500 and R600 a month. The digging he is now working is his second. The first is where one of the faces was burning¹¹⁴¹. The quality of the coal mined there is better than that mined in the open on the east side of the mine. This coal may be used in a stove. The coal mined on the eastern limit can only be burnt in an *imbawula*¹¹⁴².

[f] This key informant said he does not like this work. He complained of gas in his digging. He would prefer to farm. He cannot do that because he does not have a tractor and implements. So he has no choice but to mine. At the time of the interview his brother-in-law had been working with him for two weeks at his digging. His brother-in-law has returned from Pietermaritzburg where he has been looking for work for the past two years. There he resided with his father. Before going to look for work in Pieter-

¹¹³⁹See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1.2.[a].

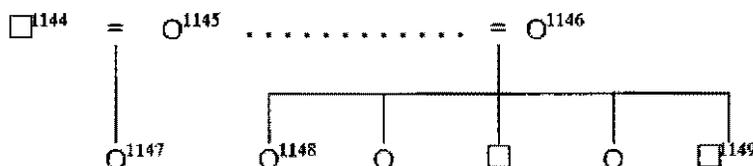
¹¹⁴⁰See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3.1.[g].

¹¹⁴¹The fire has now burnt out. Two rock falls have taken place there.

¹¹⁴²Brazier. The poor quality coal is mixed with water and made in small balls and then laid out to dry in the sunlight. When these are dry, they are stored until used in a brazier.

maritzburg he also worked at the mine.

[g] This key informant's kin¹¹⁴³ are as follows:



[h] Just prior to the interview, the key informant's wife underwent an operation. She finds it difficult to work, particularly in the fields. She hopes to take up sewing lessons in order to make and sell clothing. One child is at school. Their house consists of three rooms and a kitchen. The kitchen does not have a roof.

[i] The key informant has a field of which he ploughed and planted 0,125 ha in 1996. A contract farmer ploughed the field for R150.00¹¹⁵⁰. He planted 20kg of white mielie seed. The field was fertilised with manure. He reaped 2½bags¹¹⁵¹ in 1997, breaking even in respect of the price of bought mielie-meal.

[j] He has five cattle. He obtains three litres of milk a day in the summer and one litre a day in the winter.

[k] He also has some fruit trees which he tends, when necessary, over weekends.

¹¹⁴³ □ = male, ○ = female.

¹¹⁴⁴ Key informant - born 1949.

¹¹⁴⁵ divorced in 1990.

¹¹⁴⁶ married in 1993.

¹¹⁴⁷ Does not reside with, nor supported by, key informant.

¹¹⁴⁸ Born 1992.

¹¹⁴⁹ Born 1997.

¹¹⁵⁰ R3.00 for every 50 paces.

¹¹⁵¹ 1 bag = 80kg.

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