

THE ROLE OF EVALUATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EVALUATION
OF CHURCH-RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

by

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ABSTRACT

The general paucity of evaluation of development initiatives, particularly in the African context, demands that the role of evaluation in the development process is promoted. In essence, this follows when a sound understanding of development issues and the dynamics of evaluation have been acquired. After setting out the general parameters of development and evaluation and giving a brief description of the wider church's involvement in development, three church-related development projects are evaluated. A Rapid Rural Appraisal of the development proposals for the farms, Springvale and Modderspruit, belonging to the Anglican Diocese of Natal, highlights issues inhibiting the intended development process. A summative evaluation of basic human needs illustrates the impact that Africa Cooperative Action Trust (ACAT) has had on the Emzumbi district and recommends necessary extensions to its present programme. These three evaluations serve to accentuate the role evaluation ought to have in the development process.

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DEDICATION

For Moyra, Benjamin and Timothy

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

REASON FOR THE CHOICE OF THIS SUBJECT

The continent of Africa has undoubtedly supported human life for a substantial period of mankind's history on earth. This is probably the greater significance of the claim, that Africa is the 'Cradle of Civilisation', than the mere possibility of the first humanoid existence taking place there. The eliciting of the type of environment Africa provided for the nurturing of human livelihood, in the earlier ages, nonetheless, depends largely on the spade work of archaeologists and anthropologists. The task for the student of Development Administration, is to examine the more recent conditions of the continent, and to comment on the prospects of improving its life support systems, through the relative implementation, maintenance, or restraining of certain innovations and processes.

Certainly, this last century has shown the magnitude of the difficulties African populations have had to cope with, merely to survive. Biafra and Ethiopia are a testimony to the proportions that poverty can reach, not to mention the problems of applying appropriate aid (Timberlake 1985: 5-14).

The interest and motivation for conducting research in the discipline of Development Administration, on a subject related in part to the continent of Africa, stems from a personal appreciation of, and a commitment to the continent and all her people. Associated, therefore, is the desire to witness Africa

developing to such an extent, that all her people experience a transformation of their general well-being, through an improved quality of life. While accumulating evidence indicates the benefits of numerous development efforts, many Africans still perish as a result of starvation, with vast numbers of others having only the most rudimentary of basic needs met in their lifetime. Clearly, the expending of greater and more appropriate energies through integrated development programmes is necessary. Development research must therefore be engaged in and encouraged to ensure relevant contributions to the attainment of higher levels of living in Africa.

Of critical importance to the people of Africa is the need for an improved quality of life. This to some extent assumes a stable political environment, where numerous incentives are provided to promote both economic growth and socio-economic development which improve general well-being through access to resources and services. While some countries on the African continent have the potential for change to take place, and development is indeed being seen to happen, the possession (or non-possession) of such incentives does not explain why in some circumstances development programmes meet their objectives, while in others they fail dismally (Ligthelm & Coetzee 1984: 7-8; Long 1977: 50; Lund 1990: 57). If development is indeed going to be a learning experience (Korten 1980: 497-501), the reasons why some projects succeed while others fail, as well as the process of events and circumstances through which projects have proceeded, need to be accurately recorded. It is only upon the basis of such records that a reasonable evaluation may be made of what the key factors

were in respect of success or failure. Despite the need to learn from past experience, many development projects, both successful and less successful, fail to have the various mechanisms of evaluation (see chapter 3) built into them. Evaluation of development projects is too frequently viewed as an optional activity which may take place at the end of a particular programme, if there is time and money available and the relevant research skills are acquired (Swanepoel 1989: 71). This situation prevails despite Rossi and Fraser's (1989: 13) suggestion, on the one hand, that evaluation of social programmes are now commonplace, giving rise, on the other, to numerous works in which development initiatives are evaluated (Bryant & White 1982: 153). The problem with these two suggestions is that they proceed from the situation in the United States of America where evaluation research has become a 'growth industry' (Freeman 1980: 13). The situation in Africa is much different where Bloom (1988: 175) avers that the opportunity for social scientists 'to study systematically the human consequences of economic, political and social change' has largely been wasted. This may be seen in the slight movement in the 1980s from the evaluation of failed development projects to evaluation as a form of crisis management (Lund 1990: 57). While evaluations are increasingly becoming a normal routine part of the life of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Lund 1990: 57), the present state of the evaluation of development initiatives in general, is far from that which is desirable. There is still a need therefore to enhance the awareness of evaluation as being intrinsic to the development process as a whole. This is seen in a number of recent and important works on development in Southern Africa which have

failed to deal adequately with the issue (Kotze, et al 1987; Jeppe 1985: 52-3), if at all (Coetzee 1987a). Noteworthy efforts to foster an awareness of the need for evaluation are found in the works of Kotze & Swanepoel (1983: 96-105, 108) and Swanepoel (1989: 71-80). Clearly, the evaluation of development processes and programmes is not commonplace in the African context.

The current awareness of the need for evaluation raises other problems with Bryant and White's (1982: 153) suggestion, noted above. First, the works they refer to are relatively few compared to the number of works dealing with other development issues, such as, for example, implementation. (For an exposition of the state of the art of implementation, see Ingle (1979)). Secondly, within these relatively few works, academics and practitioners involved in development work rely almost exclusively upon the evaluation techniques developed within the applied discipline of evaluation research instead of attempting to fashion evaluation techniques peculiar to the development process. As Bloom (1988: 176) contends, social scientists in Africa are well placed to evaluate the outcome of development policies and programmes. Until they take up this task in all earnestness, the single flow of expertise from evaluation research to development studies will result in current evaluation literature not always being fully informed about the peculiarities of development. However, when evaluation is viewed as essential to the development process, not only will the benefits of learning from past experience be obtained, but projects will also be informed as to when there is a need to change directions in terms of objectives and implementation. The costs of time and funding will however need to become

part of the reality of stimulating this process.

Beyond successfully creating an awareness of the role of evaluation in the development process and enabling those involved in development to begin monitoring and evaluating their respective development projects, there is a need to match this awareness with the formulation of systems which will enable evaluation to be carried out effectively at reasonable cost (Christoffersen 1982: iii). Attempts to meet this goal are current within evaluation literature. This is found inter alia in the works of Casley and Lury (1982), Guba and Lincoln (1989) and Rossi and Freeman (1989). Albeit that the standard of these works is excellent, a great deal more research needs to be conducted before the goal of effective evaluation at reasonable cost will be reached.

Looking at Africa from another perspective, the Christian church has been engaged in the continent for almost the entire history of Christianity itself. Certainly, there have been three periods in the history of Africa, since the public ministry of the Galilean, Jesus, also referred to as the Christ, where the Church has set out to penetrate the continent, with its evangelical pursuits (Meiring 1980: 16-7). Soon after the Great Commission (Matthew 28: 19) and Pentecost, the Gospel began to emerge in North Africa, as is demonstrated by significant New Testament figures, who were later followed by a number of eminent theologians, in the first centuries. North Africa remained a Christian stronghold until the Moslem invasion in 642 A.D..

The second attempt to evangelise Africa took place during the 15th and 16th centuries. Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries, under the constraints of a functional indigenous system of religion, struggled to spread the Gospel on the west and east coasts, and in the interior. The third attempt followed the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, where mostly Protestant missionaries spearheaded the penetration of the sub-continent. As a consequence of these concerted efforts, often resulting in loss of life, the church has spread, virtually, throughout Africa today.

While the church has primarily concerned itself with the spreading of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it has not concentrated on the religious and spiritual dimensions of human well-being only. Rather, its involvement in the social and economic upliftment of those who occupy the territories it penetrates, has always been viewed as a priority. Thus, the church's participation in the realm of development, particularly rural development, is not entirely new. The last three hundred years of missionary history show the establishment of numerous mission stations throughout Africa, which have borne a lasting influence on the agricultural, educational, medical and social institutions of the indigenous populations. In due course this has given rise to mission based development. By this is meant the practice of development, including instances of community development, as implemented by Christian churches and para-church organisations in conjunction with their missionary endeavours. As part of responding to the needs of the poor, alongside their socio-political involvement, churches and para-church organisations in Southern Africa have

increasingly incorporated development as part of their missionary techniques since education and health legislation underwent a radical change during the 1950s through the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 and the Black Affairs Act, 1959. This new legislation, as part of the Nationalist policy of partition, provided for the taking over of schools and health services into the government departments of Bantu Education, and Bantu Administration and Development {the now defunct Department of Development Aid}, respectively. Where previously missionaries made use of their schools and hospitals as opportunities for evangelism, these avenues were now closed by the State taking control of the administration and funding of these institutions. This action gave rise to considerable opposition by the wider church. In attempting to seek other avenues for evangelistic outreach, the church soon came to the realization that it still had ample opportunities, apart from education and health, through its involvement in the process of the upliftment of people's lives. Thus in 1970, the Anglican Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) resolved to establish its 'Programme for Human Relations and Reconciliation' which aimed 'to develop a programme of Community Development for underprivileged people' (Diocese of Natal (DN) 1970: 49-50). Subsequently development and community development came to be viewed as part of the church's missionary mandate. As a consequence, an impressive record of beneficial social action has accumulated. This prompts the Christian to enquire into the dynamics of this phenomenon.

As a result of the adoption of development and community development by the wider church as a mission approach there must be

certain consequences for development, on the one hand and, certain consequences for the mission of the church, on the other. The need to establish what these are, stresses the importance of regular evaluation of the church's involvement in development as part of its missionary endeavours. Such an exercise will not only determine whether the goals and objectives of development and community development projects and missionary intentions are being achieved, but the conclusions drawn will also have certain consequences for the theory and practice of development and community development and the mission of the church which is particularly attractive. The theory and practice of development and the church's mission must be re-worked regularly through evaluation to maintain their relevance to their varying and changing contexts.

Evaluation (see chapters 3 & 4) must never be underrated - even in the case of ecclesiastical institutions. It is however evident from the literature describing the church's involvement in development that little emphasis is placed on the important role continuing evaluation can play in church-related development programmes. {Programmes being the all-encompassing term which denotes a number of projects.} This is somewhat strange given the place ascribed to stewardship, accountability and reckoning in the Christian Gospel (Matt 25:14-30, Mark 13:33-7, Luke 16:10-13). There is therefore a need to challenge and call upon the church and its agencies, and indeed all organisations which become involved in development, to build evaluation into their programmes and to continually evaluate their involvement in development. The mere possibility that an evaluation of the

church's role in development may lead to the extrapolation of some significant principles, which could later find application in one way or another, stimulates such enquiry.

THE PROBLEM THAT WILL BE ADDRESSED

Evaluation is clearly an essential part of the development process. Not only do evaluations provide some measure of how development programmes are impacting upon communities, or whether adjustments should be made, they also determine whether the development efforts are worthwhile continuing or whether, for various reasons they should be terminated. That such a valuable tool is under-utilised is therefore an issue which needs attention. In order to establish whether development and community development projects are meeting their intended aims and goals, and whether particular missionary intentions, in the case of church and para-church development projects, are being realized, it is imperative that a co-ordinated process of evaluation is engaged in. Where such an evaluative framework is lacking, projects run the risk of losing direction and not being able to clearly determine their outcome. It may be suggested that the general lack of an evaluative framework in the theory and practice of community development (Voth 1979: 156-72) has contributed to its demise. A strong case is therefore made for an evaluative framework to be developed to facilitate the assessment of development projects where the wider church has come to be involved. Of necessity therefore, an amplified

approach to project assessment is required which should be able to determine whether projects are meeting their stated intentions, as well as being able to assess what impact projects have on communities and how communities respond. The theoretical and practical tenets of development and/or community development, along with the missionary intentions of particular churches or para-church organisations, set within the context of the general attitudes of the various bodies of the wider church towards development, provide a suitable basis for the analysis of development projects in which individual churches or their agencies have come to be involved.

Various churches and para-church organisations in the province of Natal have attempted to engage themselves in the field of development on a number of fronts. These vary in scale and type of involvement determined largely by the extent to which opportunities have arisen. One cross-section of this involvement is to be provided by the evaluation of the Anglican Diocese of Natal (CPSA)'s involvement in development, including the development of its two farms called Springvale and Modderspruit (See Chapter 5). Another cross-section is given by the evaluation of the development initiatives which have emerged through Africa Co-operative Action Trust's (ACAT) Nyangwini Training Centre (See Chapter 6). These evaluations will permit some deductions being made regarding the influence the Church is having on communities through its development projects. This concerns the issues of conversion, catechesis, and the contribution to the amelioration of poverty. Associated is the question of whether certain communities, through their own initiative and effort participate

in their own development as a result of the church's involvement.

THE AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this dissertation, as stated above, is to accentuate the position evaluation ought to play in the development process. It does this, first, by setting out the general parameters of development and evaluation, and then by providing an evaluation of the development of the two Anglican farms and ACAT's Nyangwini project. The aims and objectives, both short and long term goals, their content, as well as their impact on, and the responses of their respective communities, will be examined, in order to gain an appreciation of the projects' effectiveness and sustainability. The determining of the following, are other criteria for evaluation: the extent to which these projects have contributed to the well-being of their communities, whether the projects have interfered in any way with the latent community potential of self-development; whether a dependency relationship exists, in any way, between the projects and their communities on the one hand, and the church on the other, and, whether necessary resources are obtainable outside the agency of the projects. Of course, the wider KwaZulu/Natal and Southern African milieu cannot be ignored. Hopefully, through this process of assessment a clear picture will be drawn of the manner in which these projects interact with their local and wider environment, along with a reasonable impression being gained of the kind of role the church attempts to play in human development.

Allied to this task of evaluation, is one of determining whether the attraction of these development projects for their communities is derived from their Christian character, or simply because they provide an opportunity for development.

The ultimate goal of this research, which probably lies beyond the scope of this dissertation, is to develop, and, therefore, provide an appropriate model for the evaluation of development projects, particularly those associated with missionary programmes, as well as development programmes of non-governmental agencies. A secondary aim, following the election of church and para-church organisations to become engaged in development initiatives as part of their mission, is to examine the interface of development and the church's mission. This is in an attempt to contribute to both the theory and practice of development and the church's mission. The broad intention in this regard, is to delineate the parameters of development and thereby suggest the type of role the church ought to adopt vis-a-vis its present stance.

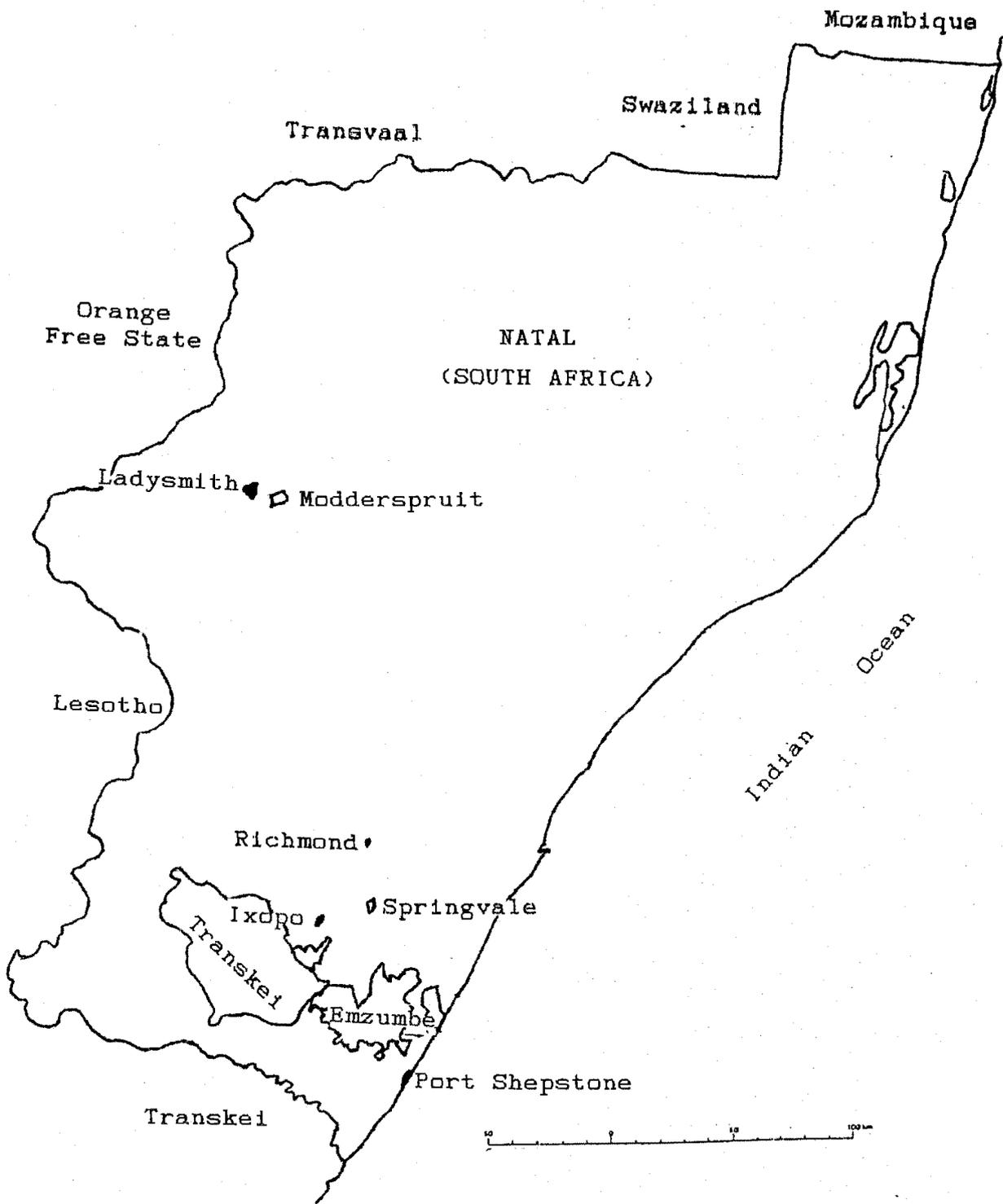
THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND THEMATIC DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

The CPSA's Springvale farm is situated about 15 kms from Highflats in the southwest and 30 kms from Richmond in the northwest, just off the district road running between these two towns. While falling within the jurisdiction of the Province of Natal its eastern boundary adjoins the KwaZulu district of Vulamehlo. The Modderspruit farm is situated just more than ten kilometres from Ladysmith on the Helpmekaar road. Its southeastern boundary is

common to the KwaZulu district of Emnambithi. (See Map 1.1). ACAT's Nyangwini Training Centre is located within the Thulini indigenous local authority in the Emzumbe district of KwaZulu. There are a total of twenty-four indigenous local authorities in Emzumbe. Since the training and extension services offered by the Centre is not confined to people from Thulini, Emzumbe as a whole will be considered for the purposes of this study. As Emzumbe comprises three portions of land, it may best be described as, most of that area bounded by the Mzimkhulu River, from Umzimkhulu to Port Shepstone; the Umzimkhulu - Park Rynie Road, via Ixopo; and the coast line, from Park Rynie to Port Shepstone. However, within this general area, adjacent to Emzumbe, are other portions of land which form part of Natal, and another KwaZulu district, Vulamehlo. While the commercial farming areas of Natal, and the portion of Vulamehlo are excluded from this study, included will be those portions of Natal which are increasingly coming under subsistence agriculture. These latter areas, through their occupation by Black people, are part of the jurisdiction of the Emzumbe magistrate and thus identified as part of Emzumbe. (See Map 1.1) {This whole situation will change given the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 and the Land Laws.}

Thus far, a number of themes which will be considered in this thesis, have already emerged. Nonetheless, the central theme is that of 'Project Evaluation,' seen in the context of 'Evaluation as an integral part of the development process.' The purpose of pursuing the central theme is to demonstrate the necessity of 'Evaluation for effective Development.'

Map 1.1 Location of study areas



PART ONE : EVALUATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

INTRODUCTION : THE JUXTAPOSITION OF DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION

The task of raising awareness as to the importance of evaluation in the development process is dependent on the juxtaposing of some understanding of the various issues at stake in the development debate with a knowledge of the value of evaluation. Development initiatives are not amorphous entities. Instead, they are motivated by an assortment of ideological intentions which are theoretically underpinned. Knowledge of these theoretical premises enables an appreciation of the environment in which development initiatives occur, as well as the various strategies used to address different development problems. It is against this background that the art and science of evaluation may then be applied. In essence, the role of evaluation in the development process and the procedures of evaluating development projects can only adequately be discussed when a sound understanding of development issues and the dynamics of evaluation have been acquired. To this end, features of the development debate are highlighted in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 follows immediately with an exposition of the art and science of evaluation to facilitate a preliminary discussion of the role evaluation can play in the development process in Chapter 4. Here the evaluation of special development domains are examined, enabling the evaluation of church-related development initiatives in Part Two.

CHAPTER 2 : CHANGING PARADIGMS IN DEVELOPMENT THINKING

THE 'COMING OF AGE' OF DEVELOPMENT THOUGHT

The more recent publications of development literature bring with them an emerging sign that development thinking is rapidly moving towards a new maturity. Over the past few years numerous presentations of the different models of development have shown the transition of development thought, through various paradigms and phases, since its inception as a science in the last decade or two. In thematically describing 'the sociology of developing countries,' Hoogvelt (1976: 9-180) sketches the general, though tenuous, movement in development thought from 'development as process' through 'development as interaction' to 'development as action.'

Currently, the content of the debate appears to have improved immensely through the availability of far more positive and constructive contributions. On the one hand, Graaff(1989: 125-35) calls for a movement from theory to metatheory. In so doing he challenges South African academics and practitioners to engage themselves more fully and more confidently in the development debate. While not attempting to supersede theory with metatheory, given the deficiencies of metatheory as pointed out by Booth (1985: 773), Graaff is attempting to address the current imbalance in the local debate with its emphasis on micro theory. Johnston and Clark (1982: 265-71) on the other hand, have called on development thought to move from reflection to action. These complementary, and not contradictory, charges come with the

growing realisation that 'development is for people' (Coetzee 1987b: 1-14). Development therefore means that where people and communities desire to enhance their general well-being, they should have the opportunities to actively participate in their development, from conception, through decision-making, planning and implementation to the derivation of the perceived benefits. For Bryant and White (1982: 14-9) the consequences of these new assumptions are a step towards the achievement of capacity, equity, empowerment, sustainability and interdependence on the part of those who seek their own development. Maybe just a step forward at that.

FEATURES OF THE DEBATE

Being an applied science, the study of development is the product of a blend of theoretical and praxis oriented inputs. From a theoretical perspective, it has been influenced by those formative views of humanity and the world which have given rise to the disciplines of economics, political science and sociology, amongst others, while it has interacted with these disciplines themselves, during their evolution.

The newfound wisdom current in the debate stems from a greater tolerance of other points of view. While greater inter-disciplinary dialogue and an openness particularly towards the views of the people or communities seeking development (Holscher & Romm 1987: 108-9, 125-35; Schumacher 1974: 140-1) remains an ideal, sincere attempts are evident in the implementation of some development programmes and strategies.

Paralleled with these academic foundations, has been the development experience of most of the world, principally as a consequence of the industrial and political revolutions which took place mostly in Western Europe, at the turn of the nineteenth century. The concomitant technological advancements coupled with a desire for political and economic supremacy hastened the colonisation of the Third World, which had begun earlier in the seventeenth century, into a new 'scramble' for the colonies (Oliver & Fage 1962: 188). The quest for power led ultimately to the First and Second World Wars, bringing with them their various reconstruction programmes. Thus, the 1950s onwards saw development undertakings of those former colonies who, on achieving political independence have attempted to improve the quality of life of their citizens through strategies to ameliorate poverty and/or development plans. Alongside these have been the initiatives of a number of international agencies, such as the United Nations (UN), who have encouraged development of countries through such efforts as the Development Decades and Development Plans.

Probably one of the most outstanding features of the development debate, and one which could be responsible for its flexibility, is its relative youthfulness. It was well into the present century that attempts were made to synthesise both the theoretical and practical development experience. It is for this reason that 'modernisation' theory came to prominence as late as the 1950s and 60s. This was followed in the 1970s by the popularity of 'underdevelopment' and 'dependency' theory. While these theories still have their arch-protagonists, and contribute to the dynamic nature of the debate today, the more recent trends

in development thinking, which attempt to go beyond them, seem to be gaining in prominence.

MODERNISATION THEORY

The theory of modernisation stems from a convergence of ideas prevalent in the social sciences during the last century. Flowing out of the industrial revolution in the West and thereby emphasizing a linear evolutionary progression from one state to another, the theories of Comte (positivism), Spencer (social evolutionism), Marx (communism), and in particular, Durkheim (individualism) and Weber (rationality), may be viewed as having provided the foundations of modernisation theory (Coetzee 1987c: 18-20; Worsley 1977: 136-42). Common throughout their theses is an emphasis on viewing institutions and world phenomena as transitional - progressing from a lower state to a higher order.

Having modern(ity), development, economic growth, institutional differentiation, industrialisation, nation building, progress and transition as its key concepts, modernisation theory begins with a comparative analysis of the relative wealth of the nations of the world. Using largely European ethnocentric economic indicators, such as Gross National Product (GNP), as its criteria, countries have been ranked in order, initially distinguishing rich from poor, modern from traditional, and more recently, developed from underdeveloped countries. To this ordering of countries by rank has been added their individual characteristics in an attempt to determine the supposed parameters of what modern, richer, developed countries are like compared with the

traditional, poorer, less developed countries (Kindelberger & Herrick 1977: 3-6). The outcome of this dualist analysis shows the industrialised nations of the North to be the modern, richer, developed nations of the world, while the former colonies of the South which have come to be described by Horowitz (1966: 3-38, 44-6) and others as the Third World, are characterised as the traditional, poorer and less developed countries of the world. (Therefore, modernisation, industrialisation, and westernisation virtually become co-terminous.) Modernisation theory then goes on further to postulate that should the poorer, less developed countries wish to develop and become included among the leading nations of the world as their counterparts in the North have been, they should proceed through the modernistic evolutionary stages of economic growth of the richer, more developed, modern countries. By implementing western industrial and urbanisation strategies they can readily learn from the experience of the more advanced nations of the world and 'take off' accordingly (Rostow 1960: 3). This being facilitated by a transfer of capital, technology and other expertise offered by the developed countries (Todaro 1985: 63-6).

From an economic perspective modernisation theory has been cultivated from the models of Rostow, Harrod-Domar and Lewis, to name a few (Hardiman & Midgley 1982: 52-3; Todaro 1985: 63-71), who view development as a product of economic growth. These postulations came to the fore in the 1950s and '60s when Europe had been successfully restored to a position of economic supremacy after World War II and most of the former colonies were gaining their independence. As a consequence, the United Nations

called for the first Development Decade in the 1960s (Conyers & Hills 1984: 34). The newfound energy and optimism of the Third World therefore eagerly adopted the European experience in a bid to consolidate political power. Thus added emphasis was placed on economic growth as the route to development, and with it the need for capital investment, private ownership of property, manpower development, up-grading of institutions and greater productivity. The perceived benefits would obviate the need for the emerging socialist movements. Clearly, the theory of modernisation assumes and is dependent on a capitalist system of economic and political government.

Asserting that economic initiatives alone would fail, sociologists such as Parsons, Hoselitz, Smelser, Lerner and Eisenstadt have added their contributions (Long 1977: 9-40). Seeing the need to couple economic growth with the modification of traditional social institutions and cultural values Smelser attempted to describe social transformations such as structural differentiation and integration which flow from economic development (quoted in Long 1977: 10-1).

Structural functionalism such as the variety advocated by Parsons, has exerted a significant influence on modernisation theory. Beginning with the premise that society constitutes a whole system made up of interdependent parts and that a functional relationship exists between the parts and the whole, Parsons (1951a: 69-112) suggests that the parts are mutually supportive and compatible with each other and thereby maintain the whole. The primacy of these 'structural imperatives' (Parsons 1951a:

167) for structural functionalists has resulted in the analysis of a number of institutions in so-called modern societies which accord with modernisation theory. These include the monetisation of the economy with private property and contractual agreements, the industrial-occupational situation with nuclear and conjugal family patterns and, occupational specialisation with related literacy rates (Hoogvelt 1976: 52; Long 1977: 37).

One of the major failures of these optimistic views of bringing about socio-economic change in the Third World was the relative ineffectiveness of the first Development Decade in the 1960s. The inability of much of the western development efforts to 'trickle down' to the Third World was related in part to the problems associated with the distribution of foreign or development aid. Frequently the provision of financial aid, technological know-how and specific resources accrued the greater benefits for the 'donor' countries, and often at the expense of the 'recipient' Third World. Multi-National Corporations, in their pivotal position, playing a significant role in this regard. The associated problems include the amount loaned being small in relation to the need, it being targetted to raising per capita income, and, the failure to establish a system of co-ordination of assistance activities at the recipient country level.

Modernisation theory has also been criticised for its close alignment with westernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation (Southall 1972: 159). While non-western countries, such as Japan and the New Industrial Countries, such as Singapore, have been cited as evidence of a transition to modernity, the theory still

suffers from other limitations. Third World countries have not always followed the route of developed countries and some have even deteriorated economically despite international development initiatives. This is probably a consequence of the theory totally ignoring the impact of colonialism and western domination on Third World countries (Hoogvelt 1976: 18; Webster 1984: 61-2) and failing to recognise that countries develop from individual starting points and settings. Further, to suggest that development is a unilinear process adaptable in any country or situation (Bragg 1987: 23) is to assume a mere truism. The failure to describe the details of that process (Webster 1984: 57) inhibits the theory's influence upon development in the Third World.

Another flaw is the inability to completely isolate tradition from modernity. The difficulty in attempting to do so stems from modernity including some form of tradition, as well as producing traditions of its own. Thus, when applied to countries, these terms become vague amid gross generalisations rendering the classification of little functional worth. Traditional societies are not necessarily underdeveloped societies, nor do their value and belief systems (or world-view) necessarily hinder their development (Coetzee 1987c: 36; Webster 1984: 57-9). The emphasis placed on values and culture by Lerner, Inkeles and Smith, and Horowitz has been excessive to the extent of losing sight of the network of other economic, historical, political, social and technical factors which are equally essential to achieve development, apart from the risks and unintended consequences which exist or result (Long 1977: 50). Hence to view Parson's (1951b: 76-98, 183-9, 203-4) 'pattern variables' as intrinsic to the

development process apart from other elements is myopic. While these are important, they are insufficient to bring about a transition to modernisation on their own.

Ironically, despite the inherent weaknesses within modernisation theory, the call to establish a New International Economic Order (NIEO) during the Second Development Decade of the 1970s has seen the retention of this residual approach to development. The NIEO has aimed to stimulate the development of the technology of developing countries, access resources and to enhance the stakes of these countries in the world market through trade with developed countries and a modified international monetary system (Erb & Kallab 1975). This new order has been framed largely by the United Nations (UN) at the initiative of neo-Marxist theorists and Third World leadership (the Group of 77 Nations) in their bid to deal with 'growing periphery-centre dependency'. The 'Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order', the 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States', and, the UN resolution calling for 'Development and International Economic Co-operation,' which all came in quick succession in 1974/5 have been the guiding principles for the new order (Bragg 1987:31). More recently, however, Reaganomics and the unification of Germany have impacted upon, and have become key factors, in the links between the wealthier nations and the other two-thirds of the world. Nevertheless the myths of modernisation remain: the benefits of links with the First World (of the North) such as aid, resources and technology have not reached the Third World, ubiquitous power struggles (for scarce resources) continue to dominate Third World political and economic

activity and, many Third World countries have failed to maintain control over their political and economic institutions, without interference.

UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY THEORY

While establishing itself in its own right as an alternative development theory, underdevelopment and dependency theory has to a large extent challenged the majority of the premises which undergird modernisation theory. Given the international linkages which exist between the First and Second, and the Third World, these theories contend that the Third World countries cannot 'catch up' as they are locked into subordination. Therefore the notion of Third World countries being 'backward' is totally rejected (Dos Santos 1973: 75-7) (See page 23). The process which led to the development of the First and Second World is seen to have created the process of underdevelopment in the Third. This stems from the process giving rise to the development of the First and Second Worlds not having had the same effect throughout the world. Instead a differential impact is experienced in the Third World -one which gives rise to the further underdevelopment of those countries.

Models of underdevelopment and dependency are largely derived from Marx's class analysis of mercantile capital (Hardiman & Midgley 1982: 54). Relying on orthodox classical economic theory, Marx (1976: 711-24, 877-95) viewed society as being composed of three major classes, namely the land-owners, the bourgeoisie (or capitalists) and the proletariat (or working class). Occupying

different and unequal positions in the social economy, these classes necessarily come into conflict with one another. By virtue of the proletariat not owning the means of production, and thereby being forced to sell its labour, it fails to control the surplus product of its labour. This results in its exploitation. Marx then contends that while the working class would not initially resist this exploitation, in due course a class struggle is inevitable, given the repeated attempts by the bourgeoisie to exact as much of the surplus value of labour by deflating wages. Class-consciousness and collective action being the means by which the proletariat would attempt to strengthen its bargaining power in order to gain greater control over the benefits of its labour. Where such action fails to achieve that end, the class struggle ultimately leads to revolution.

One of the earliest explanations of underdevelopment from a Marxist perspective is given by Lenin in his theory of Imperialism (Webster 1984: 81). Following Marx, Lenin (1975: 225-9) held that consequent to the impoverished masses being unable as consumers to absorb the ever-growing products of industry, critical periods of over-production would result. This abundance of capital would then provide new opportunities for investment by European capitalists in less industrialised countries. Added incentives would be created through colonial political domination by maintaining a low wage and controlling the price of raw materials. A further advantage would be the establishing of new markets for Western goods. Ultimately, this relationship would result in the underdevelopment of the less industrialised countries of the world in inverse proportion to the development of their European

counterparts. Thus, interpreting Lenin, imperialism is as much, if not more, an institution of economic domination of one country over another, as it is one of political domination.

Dependency theory, as a variation on underdevelopment theory, contends that it is impossible to fully understand the development issues of the Third World without examining these in their wider context, and especially with regard to capitalist expansion of Western Europe. Thus, underdevelopment is seen to occur when countries are politically and/or economically subdued by others and a relationship of dependency is created between the metropolitan and the satellite countries.

The concept of dependency, drawing on the works of Baran, Cardoso, Dos Santos, Frank, Lenin and Petras amongst others, became popular through Frank's examination of the capitalist and colonial experience of Latin America. There he attempted to show how a 'chain of dependence' (Frank 1967: 7-8) developed, paralleled with the relative deprivation and poverty experienced by the peasantry as a consequence of the export-oriented (agricultural) production demanded by the colonial powers. He explains this dependency in terms of metropolitan-satellite relationships (Frank 1967: 34), suggesting that the sectors of the underdeveloped economies become so well integrated into those of their colonial metropole that with the expansion of capitalism to the satellites, the benefits of developments are accrued in the metropole and at the expense of the satellite.

In the South African context, the relationships of dependency

which have been experienced by the Transkeian peasantry, for example, has been demonstrated by Bundy (1972; 1977), while Legassick (1977) and Webster (1979), among others, have shown the resultant underdevelopment flowing from the migrant labour system. Bundy (1972: 370-1, 386-8) avers that by virtue of the peasantry becoming integrated into the rising capitalist system in South Africa that it suffered under-development especially when a decline in the market occurred due to controls imposed by the settler and colonial governments. This process, according to Bundy, took place over three periods: before 1890, in the late 1890s, and by 1914 where the Natives Land Act, 1913 completely subjugated the Transkeian peasantry to capitalism (Bundy 1972: 376-86).

Legassick (1977) also adopts the Frankian framework to show how the alliance of capitalist mining (gold) and agriculture (maize) in South Africa has been related to international capitalism, ie outside of Africa, and to the techniques of labour coercion on the mines and farms which have been adapted to channel the profits of the manufacturing industry in South Africa. Legassick (1977: 193) sees South Africa as a 'sub-imperialist state' where 'state power and ideology have been used by white groups within the colonial economy to wrest a share of economic surplus from the metropole of world capitalism, by further exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants'.

David Webster in his analysis of dependency relationships within the South African situation attempts to go beyond Frank's dependency model. He (Webster 1979: 9-13) suggests that a

multiplicity of factors: social, political, economic, technological, were intrinsic to the stimulation of migration from, and the proletarianisation of blacks in the reserves, rendering them unproductive and giving rise to their underdevelopment. He shows that mining, through capitalism in the form of the poll tax, forced blacks to engage in wage labour. The reserves were impoverished and underdeveloped by factors such as the Rinderpest and East Coast Fever epidemics towards the end of the 19th Century, and legislation, such as the industrial colour bars and minimal wages in the 1920s. Becoming characterised by an absence of males and a low return of remittances, the reserves failed to gain the requisite capital for development purposes. Thus Webster (1979: 13) cogently shows that migrant labour is an important factor in understanding the underdevelopment process and dependency of the reserves in South Africa.

One positive consequence of this alternative analysis of the world and the development of countries has been to sharpen the tools of the development debate. Various attempts have been made to deal with the many loop-holes in both modernisation theory and underdevelopment and dependency theory. An added benefit has been the new impetus given to development projects. New analyses give rise to new approaches to, and techniques for, the implementation of development initiatives.

Underdevelopment and dependency theory are however not devoid of limitations. From its inception, the concept of dependency has been flawed by the omission of an adequate definition. Fortunately, the works of Dos Santos (1973) and Roxborough (1979) have

served to rectify this, explaining the concept in terms of the creation of limiting situations. Here limitations are imposed upon the options of development normally available to people, determining both the extent and mode of their development (or non-development) (Vorster 1989: 78-9). Despite these new parameters given to the concept of dependency, major problems still lie in the assumptions of the theory. The first is to continue to view relationships between countries in terms of dependency only, and not to go beyond dependency by acknowledging the interdependency of countries (Bragg 1987:30). Another problem lies in the claim that as capitalism has penetrated the Third World, it has destroyed the original pre-capitalist system there. Until such time as underdevelopment theorists define clearly what they mean by capitalism, such claims will remain vague and meaningless. Therefore, as a consequence, Frank's model is too broad and rigid (Webster 1984: 86). Further, underdevelopment and dependency theory tend to remain in the realm of the theoretical, not offering much in the way of a pragmatic response to the need for development. This is certainly true of the case in Southern Africa, though probably not true to the same extent in Latin America which provided the context for Frank's thesis.

Another weakness, which adds to the inflexibility of underdevelopment and dependency theory, is the tendency to analyse Third World underdevelopment in economic and external terms only. While too much emphasis is placed on the need to analyse the class conflict between the dominant and dominated classes, little attention is given to the other economic and non-economic causative factors which exist (Worsley 1970: 154). These include

internal factors such as local political factions which are also important actors in social change.

While in the Marxian fashion, underdevelopment and dependency theory claim to use an historical analysis, cognisance of historical detail is often lacking. This is very clear in Lenin's statement that with colonisation no capital was sent to the new colonies of Africa and Asia in the late 1800's. On the contrary however, while several amounts of capital were sent to the colonies, it was only to those where European settlement had taken place that significant capital investment took place (Webster 1984: 82).

RECENT TRENDS

Writing in 1982, Johnston and Clark (1982: 19) contended that 'one of the most discouraging features of the contemporary development debate is its failure to make cumulative progress in the content of its arguments.' Their observation stems from the macro level perspective adopted by modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency theory. To speak of countries, and their relationships with others, in terms of development, underdevelopment and dependency only is not enough. Other characteristics such as self-sufficiency, environment and resource management, and partnership are equally as important. As a result of the limited understanding of countries and their relationships with each other in modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency theory, there is a general unease in talking about world development, given the prominence of this terminology. Further, the

inability of these theories to posit development issues at the local level is a compounding factor, and a severe limitation of these theoretical paradigms. The failure to correlate the dynamic relationships which exist between the macro and micro tenets of development, especially with regard to implementation, hinders certain initiatives, preventing people deriving any benefits from them.

Growing dissatisfaction with existing models amongst theoreticians and practitioners led some to seek an alternative approach to development. The amalgamation of the concerns and ideas of three major forums resulted in the formulation of a new approach: First, with its emphasis on people rather than production, and calling for the use of ecologically sound intermediate technology on smaller, communally owned units, Schumacher's Small is Beautiful (1974) has been a classic in the 'Alternative Development' approach. Second, the Cocoyoc Declaration (1974: 88-96) made at a gathering of UNCTAD and UNEP experts in 1974, with its emphasis on meeting human needs, followed by the work of the International Labour Office and the World Bank, has brought an added dimension to this new development approach. Third, another UN study group, meeting in Stockholm in 1975, coined the phrase, 'Another Development,' in proposing the Dag Hammarskjold Report (1975: 7) as an alternative to the NIEO inaugurated by the UN the year before.

This new development approach assumes that development is viewed holistically, from below. This requires a multi-dimensional approach to development since human life has so many facets.

Hence, development efforts must necessarily be broad based (Lisk 1977: 185). However, in order to sustain these, it is essential that development is fostered from within. Local skills and resources used interdependently, along with growing self-confidence are the mainstay of self-worth, and self-sufficient development. Development happens when it is 'development for people of people by people (Ligthelm and Coetzee 1984: 18-22).'

In seeking to introduce microfoundations to development thinking (Coetzee 1987d: 92-106), this school of thought has tended to place greater emphasis on what development should encompass rather than to describe the development process on the basis of what has gone before (Webster 1984: 191). Further, the possibility of overdevelopment has also to be recognised, apart from development and underdevelopment (Beukes 1987: 261). Thus, the excessive consumption of material goods by the western European countries is a major concern, and is often seen as a hindrance to world development. This is highlighted in the Dag Hammarskjold Report (1975: 35-7) stating the obvious that human beings have only one earth upon which to live and to use the resources of. Further, the other name of 'counter-modernisation' (Beukes 1987: 261) by which the new development approach is also known, accentuates the desperate need not to repeat the blunders of modernisation and industrialisation.

Arising out of the desire to achieve a greater humanity comes the need to achieve greater self-reliance and freedom of choice. The experience of Nyerere's villagisation policy of ujamaa for Tanzania (Baum 1973: 37-46; Bernstein 1977: 45-6; Bryceson 1982:

552-5) and that of China (Bembridge 1988: 180-3; Deane 1989: 1-9; Flora & Flora 1977: 477-86) has significantly informed the new approach in this regard. Accordingly, appropriate development is intrinsic to the achievement of a higher order of human life. In other words, an integrated approach using appropriate technology is called for, while attempting to achieve an ecological balance in the environment. For Todaro (1985: 87) the primary objectives of development therefore become the enlarging of the availability and distribution of basic life-sustaining goods including food, shelter, health and protection, raising the levels of living, general well-being and personal and national self-esteem through higher incomes, more jobs, better education and promotion of human values, and enhancing the scope of social and economic choices for people and countries emancipating them from bondage and dependence on others and from ignorance and relative deprivation.

Emerging out of this recent development experience comes the proposal that future development initiatives must embrace certain qualities and assumptions in order to achieve anthropocentric development. These include there being a special focus upon the fulfilment of human needs as part of the development process, an emphasis placed upon the participation of people in all matters relating to their development, so that development initiatives are started from below (Orewa 1977: 19-30) in order to achieve a greater humanity and community, and, so that further consideration be given to the project cycle in an attempt to pragmatically foster development. Accentuated here is the need to view development as a total process, where key components are interlaced to

achieve that development. Clearly, the development debate has over the last forty years experienced a movement from an emphasis on purely theoretical issues, as enunciated above, to more praxis-oriented ones.

Basic Human Needs

Beginning with the determination to root out world poverty, in order to achieve the development of every man and woman into being whole persons, the new development approach advocates the fulfilment of human needs (Streeten 1980: 167). To be human means to have needs and to be satisfied through their fulfilment. While psychologists and social workers have maintained a general awareness of human need through their welfare activities and programmes (Towle 1965: 3-14), it was not until 1954 that Maslow's (1976: 69-74) influential hierarchy of needs appeared. Arguing that higher order needs arise as lower order ones are met, Maslow arranged human needs beginning with physiological ones followed by safety, belongingness and love, and esteem needs with self-actualisation being seen to be of the highest order.

While Maslow's model has remained popular as a behavioural model, alongside it has grown an interest in levels of living indices (see Horn (1978), Malan (1987), Sheldon & Land (1972) and Suchard (1984) for discussion of indices). Here attempts were made to determine minimum levels of living on the basis of daily nutritional requirements and the usage of the most rudimentary materials for clothing and shelter. While the focus of these indices has primarily been on life-sustenance and not development

these have served to assist in the prevention of the deterioration of living standards. However, like the growth and employment oriented approaches popular in the early 1970's these haven't significantly contributed to the amelioration of poverty (Burki 1980: 18; Streeten & Burki 1978: 412).

With great enthusiasm, therefore, the basic needs approach was welcomed in the mid 1970s. Initiated in the Cocoyoc Declaration (1974: 88-96) and the Dag Hammarskjold Report (1975: 13-4), amongst others, means that the approach is supported, at least, by those Third World writers who contributed to those documents (Streeten 1980: 167). Aiming at generating satisfying and adequately remunerative employment and encouraging growth towards the acquisition of basic goods and services to stamp out unemployment and poverty (Nattrass 1979: 61), the main objective of the basic needs approach has been to satisfy the essential needs of every country's population by the year 2000 (Lisk 1977: 185). To this end, two complementary targets have been set: The first is for personal consumption needs including food, shelter and clothing; the second, for basic public services in the form of health, sanitation, potable water, education, transport and community activities. The basic premise is that poverty in most less developed countries is so widespread that the needs of whole populations should be addressed. Further, that aggregate demand must be significantly raised, (to save, mobilise and enhance resources) and not the mere raising of incomes to achieve minimum subsistence levels for the poor (Lisk 1977: 186). Thus life-sustenance and being human are central to the basic needs approach. Satisfaction of basic needs begins with the needs of

the poorest (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 20-1; Radwan & Alfthan 1978: 199; Streeten & Burki 1978: 413-4), in an attempt to bring about social justice (Webster 1984: 35).

A feature of the basic needs approach which makes it more feasible than the dominant or single item approaches (Radwan & Alfthan 1978: 199) is its concentration on a 'core' of basic needs (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 27). Despite there being no objective criteria to determine this core, the basic needs approach permits a fair amount of selection to meet variations in individual requirements (Streeten & Burki 1978: 413).

While there may be an emphasis on import-substitution which results in a loss of foreign exchange (Nattrass 1979: 62), the basic needs approach attempts to regulate local markets through supply management, while simultaneously restructuring production to increase the spending power of the poorest (Streeten & Burki 1978: 414). In rural areas this restructuring of production is largely dependent on land reform making new and existing farmland available to the poorer farmers and through credit facilities. In urban areas, growth of the informal sector is encouraged (Webster 1984: 35).

In order to ensure the success of the basic needs approach much research has been conducted to improve upon the inaugural principles. To this end methods of quantifying (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 31-45), surveying (Radwan & Alfthan 1978: 200-8), determining indicators for (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 31-45; Hicks & Streeten 1979: 570-9), and assessing (Nickens et al 1980: 3-16) needs have

been developed.

On the South African scene, the basic needs approach has gained the attention of several academics and non-government development agencies. Simkins (1980: 173) has suggested that despite its relatively high GNP per capita in 1980, a prima facie case has been established for a basic needs programme to be implemented in South Africa. While Keeton has identified the basic needs approach as a missing ingredient in the local development theory, he (Keeton 1984: 292) proposes that 'a certain critical level of basic needs satisfaction is a necessary (but not always sufficient) condition for economic development.' Nattrass, however, writing in 1979 (: 64), stated that the approach is unlikely to receive the impetus it needs for successful application owing to the lack of an authentic 'popular' leadership. The current climate of socio-political change may, on the other hand, provide it with its opportunity. It is good therefore that local researchers have maintained an interest in the approach. Of particular note has been the work of Krige (1989a; 1989b; 1990) who has been investigating the avenues available to Blacks in Natal and KwaZulu to gain access to satisfaction of basic needs.

Participation

One issue that has gained significant attention, to the point of being identified as an additional basic need, is that of participation (Middelkoop 1979: 15-23). Probably one of the benefits of its delayed entry has been the gaining of a broad definition. As a basic need it essentially means being involved in the

totality of community life. Where there are some prospects of developing the community or where some development is located within the community, participation means the community is involved in the decision-making process to bring about the development and implements the project, deriving the benefits therefrom as well as participating in the project's evaluation (Uphoff et al 1979: 305-19). Where this development incorporates the basic needs approach, Lisk (1981: 8) suggests this means the community is able to play 'a part in the definition of basic needs' in its given context, enhance 'the generation of resources required to achieve basic needs output targets', improve 'the distribution and access to essential goods and services', and, satisfy 'the psychological desire of people to influence decisions which affect them'. It is through this latter sense of participation that the needs approach has somewhat managed to deal with one of its own hindrances. This has been the issue of perceived or felt needs and wants. Originally these and basic needs were often seen to be in conflict, highlighting the importance that should be attached to human needs and their fulfilment. However, through greater participation in the total needs process felt needs and wants have more readily been linked to basic needs enhancing the chances of mutual fulfilment.

The emphasis placed on participation by the basic needs approach has created a growing awareness in development literature that participation is a key to development (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 25; Nturibi 1982: 107). Participation simultaneously means empowerment for those engaging in development (Oakley and Marsden 1984:

27), and sustainability of the development effort (Carstens and Koster 1989: 457-8). While participation is usually engaged through political activity such as voting, lobbying and campaigning, it has also taken the form of alliances and administrative functions (Bryant and White 1982: 206-7). However, current attitudes to development hold that participation should be active and direct. This requires involvement in the total ambit of development activity, whether initiated through governmental, community, or organisational action (Kellerman 1986: 161-2, 172-4). Even though such an investment is costly, in terms of time, finance and energy, benefits are a certainty: the most important being the derivation of the maximum benefits of development (Johnston and Clark 1982: 169-76). In short, participation has become intrinsic to the meaning of development.

Taking community as its starting point, participation is at the very heart of community development. It has been a significant part of community development practice for some time, if only recent to development literature. The definition of community development proposed by the Cambridge Conference in 1948 assumed the centrality of participation (Batten 1957: 1). Since community development attempts to reflect the values, aspirations and goals of community members, it necessitates community involvement to be effective. For Harris (1976: 82) the rationale for community participation has been to maintain relevance, the creating of a power base and organisational development along democratic lines. Arnstein (1969: 216) sums up participation by suggesting that it 'is a categorical term for citizen power.....In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which

enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.' In order for this to happen, Cobbett (1987: 327-8) contends that the most crucial aspects of community development where participation must take place are: the aims and objectives of projects, the organisational structure, and, the continuation and termination of projects, including evaluation to decide these.

Arnstein's (1969: 217) 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' with its eight rungs of manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control is a useful conceptual tool and indicator of the extent to which participation takes place in community activity. A useful instrument for the facilitation of community participation has been the community self survey (Larsen 1963; Lund 1982: 14-5). Apart from involving as many members of a community in the process of discovering where their community efforts should be directed, it also equips community members to suggest goals and strategies, and encourages them to work towards those ends.

Bryant and White (1982: 209) commend the community development experience for drawing attention to the necessity for participation. Important lessons which for them have been learnt, include:

'(1) participation should not be a separate program, it is a process and hence should be integrated with other activities; (2) participation has to be based on local organizations; (3) more equitable distribution would encourage more participation; (4) instead of basing development on isolated efforts, linkages between various levels need to be created. In summary,

participation needs to be part of a broader conceptualization of development, with much more attention to organizational structures and linkages'.

Another branch of development thought which has been significantly informative about the issue of participation is that of rural development. This probably stems from the numerous lessons learnt in attempting to accomplish participation in development initiatives in rural communities (Dunbar & Morris 1984: 177-8). In his description of rural poverty Chambers (1980: 12-28; 1983: 13-23) has highlighted some of the misconceptions often held by planners and development experts in their assumptions. These are vividly seen in the (spatial, project, person, dry season, diplomatic and professional) biases with which rural communities are so frequently viewed. These biases obviously serve to inhibit participation in rural development by necessarily omitting to take cognisance of a huge segment of the rural population, particularly the poorest part.

While Chambers has surfaced an essential dimension of the participation issue, the lesson learnt remains general. In order to get to the root of the problem of participation there is a definite need to be specific about what is meant by participation, as Cohen and Uphoff (1980: 213-4) have suggested. Their contention is that participation is essentially a descriptive term which comprises a number of different activities and situations leading to confusion about its causes, effects, extent and distribution. They therefore propose to treat it as a rubric under which they attempt to assemble a number of clearly defina-

ble elements in a comprehensive 'rural development participation' framework (Cohen & Uphoff 1980: 218; Uphoff et al 1979: 303). Therein they distinguish between dimensions and the context of participation. By dimensions they mean: the kind of participation taking place such as decision-making, implementation, benefits/consequences and evaluation; the groups of individuals involved; and, the features of the process such as the basis, form, extent and effect of participation. Looking at context in terms of project characteristics and the task environment in which the project is located, Cohen, Uphoff and Goldsmith describe projects in terms of entry, benefit, and design effects while the task environment is seen in terms of historical, physical and natural and societal factors (Uphoff et al 1979: 301-38; Cohen & Uphoff 1980: 218-27).

Having considered the above model, Gow and Vansant (1983: 432-40) suggest additional advice to facilitate participation. This includes (1) a process approach to development projects, (2) small projects which respond to local need, (3) a resource commitment to projects by potential beneficiaries, (4) projects being implemented in conjunction with existing organisations, (5) working with more than one group in factional and conflict ridden environments, (6) dialogue between implementers and beneficiaries at the commencement of the project, and (7) an emphasis on developing organisation and decentralisation. In much the same way Oakley and Marsden (1984: 63-80) offer a generalised strategy for rural participation. It is Lowdermilk and Laitos (1981: 694-700) however, who have the tenacity to offer a seven-stage participatory strategy for rural development. Despite their

optimism, development models and approaches must repeatedly be adapted to serve the interests of local people so that they can play a meaningful part in their own development (Dunbar and Morris 1984: 178).

Humanity and Community

The basic needs approach, particularly through its emphasis on participation, focuses attention on the need for development to be people-oriented. Development is for real when it gives rise to human development. Development happens when people are central to its conception, its decision-making processes, its implementation and its evaluation; where its benefits are seen to give rise to an improved state of well-being through an enhanced quality of life; and, where people are able to be what they are intended to be, ie, individual human beings who are able to actively, democratically and corporately be part of their own destinies. Development therefore gives rise to community (even though communities are symbolic and exist by virtue of people's belief in them (Thornton & Ramphela 1988: 38)). For individual human beings to exist and gain their identity, they do so by virtue of others. People therefore need each other to be interdependent and to act responsibly together in community. Given the present state of poverty and political turmoil in the world, that goal still needs to be met in many cases. The search for additional and more refined means to achieve that end must therefore continue. With emphases upon development being for people, by people, oriented from below (Ligthelm & Coetzee 1984: 18-22), being the mobilisation of resources, and a means to the provision of services and

organisation amongst others, shows that development thought attempts in the least, to continue to move closer towards this broader goal.

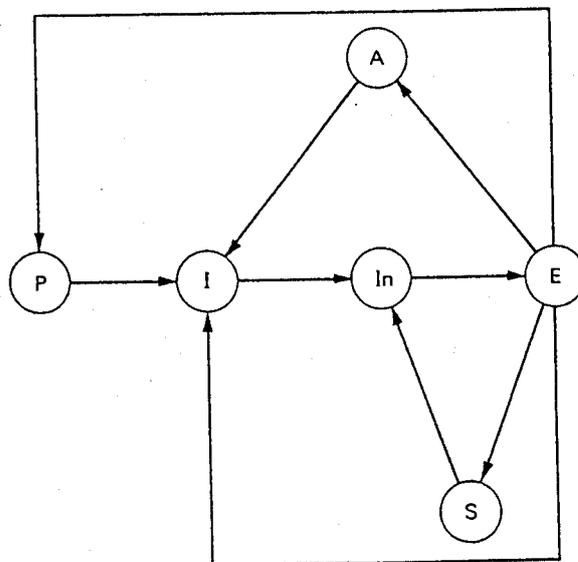
The Project Cycle

One of the consequences of the new imperatives for development has been a fresh accentuation of the project cycle and the need for its maintenance as part of implementing and conducting development initiatives. The project cycle has become such an integral part of the thinking of practitioners in the development field that few pause to question its relationship with development projects (Johnson 1984: 111). Development projects remain extremely difficult activities and care must be taken to ensure that people derive the optimal benefits from such initiatives. The project cycle is one attempt at cautiously taking the necessary steps to achieve this. Hence, the renewed interest.

One of the first comprehensive demonstrations of the project cycle was given by Baum in 1970 as part of the general requirements laid down by the World Bank for the financing of projects. This original cycle had five stages including identification, preparation, appraisal, negotiation and supervision. In 1978 this was updated by altering the fifth stage to implementation and supervision, and adding a sixth stage: evaluation. This was in response to the need to ensure that projects are assisted throughout the development process to ensure their completion and to obtain the intended benefits (Johnson 1984: 112). In 1977 Rondinelli presented a twelve-stage cycle. The phases were (1)

project identification and definition, (2) project formulation, preparation and analysis, (3) project design, (4) project appraisal, (5) project selection, negotiation and approval, (6) project activation and organisation, (7) project implementation and operation, (8) project supervision, monitoring and control, (9) project completion or termination, (10) output diffusion and transition to normal administration, (11) project evaluation, and (12) follow-up analysis and action (Rondinelli 1979: 49). While Rondinelli's cycle is more descriptive than Baum's, it fails to display the dynamics of development projects and the possibilities which exist because it assumes a true cycle. One cycle which more closely resembles the reality of development situations, though it doesn't have as many phases as Rondinelli's, is that of Thahane (1974: 456-9). (See Fig 2.1)

Figure 2.1 Thahane's Project Cycle



P = Planning; A = Administrative machinery for plan implementation;
 I = Implimentation; In = Information; E = Evaluation; S = Information
 System.

Another comprehensive cycle is provided by Johnson (1984: 119-

31). In depicting his five phases of preparatory studies, detailed design, implementation supervision, construction - implementation and operation - administration in ever-increasing concentric circles and the various actors as segments, he is able to demonstrate their respective activities in terms of the phases. While his cycle is the latest of the four, Johnson needs to re-work it, emphasising all of the important phases of the project cycle. Ideally, a cycle which includes Rondinelli's phases, Thahane's linkages and Johnson's actors, and could describe the complex situation surrounding project implementation would be a useful conceptual tool for fostering the development process.

While firmly establishing the evaluation of development interventions at their termination as part of the development process, what the project cycle also brings to the fore, is the necessity for relevant information at virtually every phase of the development process. While the implementation and derivation of the benefits of particular interventions are the more essential issues in development, the procuring of this information for the purpose of attempting to ensure that such benefits are derived, is just as important. In drawing attention to the need for what may more broadly be referred to as evaluation, an attempt is being made to redress an imbalance in the practice of development where evaluation gains little priority. This is not to suggest that evaluation should gain top priority. Rather, it should be afforded its proper place as an effective development tool and process.

Ideally and simply stated, in order to make decisions about, and plan a particular intervention, an appraisal (see page 71f) ought to be conducted to determine the feasibility of the proposal. Once implementation of the intended intervention gets under way, a process of monitoring (see page 76f) should be established in order to ensure that the intervention remains aligned to the predetermined objectives and follows the stages and phases laid down in its implementation strategy. This later facilitates an accurate assessment (see page 78f) being made where there may be a need to review the objectives or to adopt a new strategy due to economic, environmental, organisational, political or social changes which may have taken place since the conception of the intervention, and which were entirely unpredictable or coincidental. Whether or not such an assessment has taken place, a final evaluation (see page 80f) should certainly follow the completion of the intervention to determine what the outcome has been, and to decide what is to be done in the future (both in the short and long term). Or, in the case of interventions of a more continuous nature a formally selected cut-off point should be used to ground an evaluation for the purpose of determining the outcome at that point and to make decisions for the future. These four-fold types of evaluation including appraisal, monitoring, assessment and final/cut-off point evaluations of interventions certainly have the potential to be necessary and practical ways of facilitating development. This obviously assumes that the intentions of an evaluation are creative and that they do not become rigid and therefore an obstacle to development.

Interventions of change and development at whatever level, be

they community, regional or national, take place, within dynamic circumstances. As a consequence development programmes and projects become exceedingly complex through their implementation. It is therefore important that these are evaluated to gain an understanding of how they continue to exist in the environments in which they find themselves. With this kind of knowledge, development academics and practitioners would be more able to constructively engage in dialogue with the broader body of evaluation research, sharing and learning from these two experiences.

Summary

In order to be fairly well equipped to discuss the ramifications of evaluation for development, Chapter 2 has attempted to highlight a few features of the development debate. Certainly, the debate is on the move. While modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency theory continue to hold the floor, another development (see page 32), along with the basic needs approach and its sense of participation are moving centre stage. These recent trends do this by attempting to give the debate a human face. By briefly examining the project cycle a point of contact has been reached to explore more fully the art and science of evaluation.

CHAPTER 3 : THE ART AND SCIENCE OF EVALUATION

THE CONCEPT OF EVALUATION

The language that we use is made up of individual words contained in sentences. All words have a specific meaning. However, through their usage as part of human communication they gain general or even local meanings which are to some extent at variance with their specific meaning. Thus when the word 'evaluation' is used, it is interpreted differently by some people. As a concept, evaluation, like all concepts, suffers from the pejorative usage of the words from which they are derived. Thus there is little general agreement in the growing volumes of evaluation research as to what its boundaries are. Freeman (1980: 18) points out that while evaluation has been described as any body of information which facilitates decision-making, or as clinical or impressionistic judgements as to whether selected entities conform to certain standards, broad definitions such as these are not useful. What is more useful is to suggest that evaluation takes place in an action setting (Weiss 1984: 341). Evaluation therefore, is dependent on the actual or proposed existence of another (positive or negative) activity and involves action research. More explicitly, it is the systematic application of research methods for the purpose of gaining knowledge of the consequences of the primary activity. Beyond these basic premises, evaluation takes on a more elaborate, yet sometimes conflicting, meaning.

Lewin (1948: 202) in his definition of evaluation suggests that the research involved is comparative in nature. Saxe & Fine

(1979: 61) suggest it to be experimental. By both Lewin and Saxe & Fine maintaining that the primary activity is a social phenomenon, they agree with Rossi & Freeman (1989: 65), Suchman (1967: 7) and Voth (1979: 155) that this aspect of social research is applied. This necessarily excludes all other activity of a non-social nature, which is not true. Evaluation is and must be applicable to non-social phenomena as well. Another slip made by Voth in his understanding of evaluation is to aver that the difference between social research and evaluation is the variables involved. True, but he limits these to policy-relevant variables (Voth 1979: 156). Tripodi's (1983: 1) definition is less restricted. He doesn't limit evaluation to any particular research method. However, he sees its function as appraising the effectiveness of technologies and programmes, thereby asserting its use is limited according to these stated criteria and activities.

By interfusing Scriven's (1967) formative/summative dimensions of evaluation with the two values of merit and worth Lincoln & Guba (1986a: 550) proffer a potentially tenable definition:

'EVALUATION is a type of DISCIPLINED INQUIRY undertaken to determine the VALUE (MERIT AND/OR WORTH) of some entity -- the EVALUAND -- such as a TREATMENT, PROGRAM, FACILITY, PERFORMANCE, and the like -- in order to IMPROVE OR REFINE the evaluand (FORMATIVE evaluation) or to ASSESS ITS IMPACT (SUMMATIVE evaluation)'.r

(emphasis in original)

By doing so Lincoln & Guba (1986a: 560) are able to assert that while evaluation, research and policy analysis are not by definition materially different, they remain three different and unique entities or activities. Also, they heed Freeman's (1980: 19) caveat that it is important to maintain reasonable boundaries to evaluation research, though Freeman (1980: 18) may contend that their definition is somewhat broad and therefore not useful.

By analysing Lincoln and Guba's definition above, it is apparent that by referring to :-

1) evaluation as 'A TYPE OF DISCIPLINED INQUIRY', - Lincoln & Guba (1986a) show a certain openness to evaluations being conducted by ordinary people though they (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 259-62) later have a preference for evaluation to be directed by those with particular research skills.

2) the criteria used as 'VALUE', - these authors do not restrict the inquiry, provided it is concerned with the ascribing of a particular value to the entity. This also makes use of the actual rather than the pejorative meaning of 'evaluation.'

3) the entity examined as 'THE EVALUAND', - again, they are somewhat open-ended about the possibilities. One which, however, is not so evident is the negative situation. An evaluation may well be made to examine why a situation does not prevail when in general, or informed, opinion it ought to.

4) 'FORMATIVE' and 'SUMMATIVE' evaluation, - Lincoln and Guba stress that evaluation is conducted with the predetermined intention of being a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

That evaluation is indeed a type of disciplined inquiry is borne out by its history. The evaluation of entities and phenomena associated with human development is certainly not new. Literary evidence exists of logical and sophisticated evaluations of Arabic medicine and rabbinic theories of evidence during the time of the Indian medieval period. The record of early European and American examples of evaluation is more recent, dating from the 18th-century onwards (Boruch 1980: 107; see also Erlich 1984: 337; Guba & Lincoln 1989: 22-6; Freeman 1980: 13). During this early period the primary focus of evaluation for Guba & Lincoln (1989: 22-6), has been on measurement.

Modern research into evaluation has emerged since the 1930s. Its development has been commensurate with the innovations brought to applied research methodologies (Freeman 1980: 13; Rossi & Freeman 1989: 65). With a growing interest shown by various governments, particularly in the USA, certainly by the 1950s evaluations of all scales and variety had become a regular occurrence. Moving to an emphasis upon description for Guba & Lincoln (1989: 27-8), evaluations took place in the fields of community organisation, criminology, delinquency, education, mental health, public housing and social welfare (Erlich 1984: 338; Freeman 1980: 12).

During the 1960s the practice of evaluation underwent a dramatic growth spurt. This trend continues to the present day, even in South Africa, where evaluation is slowly becoming a normal,

routine part of the work done by non-governmental organisations (Lund 1990:57). This probably stems from the valuable contribution made by organisational theory to the art and science of evaluation (see Knapp 1979: 230-8). However, there is still an enormous need for this growth trend to continue, particularly with regard to other development-oriented activities.

With an emphasis upon judgement (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 30), numerous new models of evaluation have been developed during this most recent period. These include countenance, decision-making, and effect models (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 30), Suchman's review of methods, Hayes' research in less-developed countries and Campbell's call for social experimentation (Freeman 1980: 13). Added to this has been the social indicator movement, which stimulated some further growth in the evaluation 'industry' by providing more reliable indicators (see Andrews 1973: 3-12). Further, the Evaluation Research Society (ERS) was established in America, in 1976, to address some of the needs of those involved in evaluation research. One of its products has been the development of a set of 'Standards for Program Evaluation.' While these have attempted to maintain a certain quality for evaluation (ERS Standards Committee 1982: 12-7), a tension between homogeneity and innovation exists within them (Berk 1982: 60).

According to Guba & Lincoln (1989: 38-45), a new Fourth Generation (of) Evaluation has been developing within evaluation research since 1975. With an emphasis on responsive constructivism, (also known as interpretive, or hermeneutic, and formerly as naturalistic evaluation) this outgrowth stems from a dissatis-

faction with the conventional positivist or interventionist approaches. For Guba & Lincoln (1989: 31-2) these older approaches are characterised by their tendency towards managerialism, their failure to accommodate value-pluralism and their overcommitment to the scientific paradigm of enquiry. Drawing on a dialectic approach fourth generation evaluation aims at developing 'judgemental consensus among stakeholders (see page 86f) who earlier held different, perhaps conflicting, emic constructions (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 184)'. While the constructivist approach to evaluation certainly appears to be a useful and valuable alternative to the older positivist approach, its existence is too recent to adequately comment on. Without doubt it will need further testing and refining before its impact will be felt in the evaluation domain.

ASSUMPTIONS AND ISSUES IN EVALUATION

Paradigms of evaluation

In their presentation of evaluation from their constructivist point of view, Guba and Lincoln (1989: 80) stress the need to examine the assumptions of the paradigm in and through which evaluations are made. These are the assumptions which they assert will determine the nature of the evaluation. In distinguishing their constructivist paradigm from the conventional one, they draw a comparison of the two in terms of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Thus Guba and Lincoln (1989: 84) assert that the conventional paradigm has:

'A REALIST ONTOLOGY [that] asserts that there exists

a single reality that is independent of any observer's interest in it and which operates according to immutable natural laws, many of which take cause-effect form. Truth is defined as that set of statements that is isomorphic to reality'.

`A DUALIST OBJECTIVIST EPISTEMOLOGY [that] asserts that it is possible (indeed, mandatory) for an observer to exteriorize the phenomenon studied, remaining detached and distant from it (a state often called "subject-object dualism"), and excluding any value consideration from influencing it'.

`AN INTERVENTIONIST METHODOLOGY [that] strips context of its contaminating (confounding) influences (variables) so that the inquiry can converge on truth and explain nature as it really is and really works, leading to the capability to predict and to control'.

On the other hand their (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 84) constructivist paradigm has the following characteristics:

`A RELATIVIST ONTOLOGY [that] asserts that there exist multiple, socially constructed realities ungoverned by any natural laws, causal or otherwise. "Truth" is defined as the best informed (amount and quality of information) and most sophisticated (power with which the information is understood and used) construction on which there is consensus (although there may be several constructions extant that simultaneously meet that criterion)'.

`A MONISTIC, SUBJECTIVIST EPISTEMOLOGY [that] asserts

that an inquirer and the inquired-into are interlocked in such a way that the findings of the investigation are the literal creation of the inquiry process. Note that this posture effectively destroys the classical ontology-epistemology distinction'.

'A HERMENEUTIC METHODOLOGY [that] involves a continuing dialectic of iteration, analysis, critique, reiteration, reanalysis and so on, leading to the emergence of a joint (among all the inquirers and respondents, or among etic and emic views) construction of a case'.

Upon the basis of Guba and Lincoln's matrix and the assumptions made by Knapp (1979: 227-30) it may be claimed that Knapp is proceeding from a conventional starting point (not that he claims any one in particular). His assumptions (Knapp 1979: 228-30) regarding the evaluation of education programmes are that such are 'discrete definable entities'; 'cause-effect relationships exist between program activities and educational outcomes'; 'cause-effect relationships can be measured with social science techniques'; 'consensus can be generated concerning the choice of appropriate evaluative criteria'; 'formal program evaluation processes require specialized skills and trained personnel'; 'a systematic evaluation process can be conducted without counterproductive side effects by specialists who are outsiders to the organization containing the program'; and, 'the program evaluation process can be managed to produce information at times when interested audiences most want it and can make use of it'.

In the case of Thompson's (1975: 13-29) 'evaluation for decision in social programmes' it is more difficult to suggest which paradigm he is proceeding from. His openness in terms of definition and design in evaluation and his commentary upon 'the subjectivity of analysis' would suggest that he has moved away from the conventionalist paradigm. However, it is not possible to suggest that he is approaching the constructivist paradigm despite some of his assumptions having such characteristics. His basic modelling of evaluation (Thompson 1975: 35-56) would suggest that he has not entirely left the conventionalist paradigm behind him.

The assumptions made by Thompson (1975: 13-57) are probably those which should characterise evaluation, particularly when it comes to the evaluation of development initiatives. Evaluations in general, and development evaluation in particular, may frequently include phenomena which can be viewed both realistically and objectively, and relatively and subjectively at the same time. A good example of this is where the benefits of a new hybrid or crop for a particular rural community is being evaluated. Information such as nutritional value and production costs determined largely through conventional means can be an important construction which the particular stakeholders may well need to consider.

One cannot therefore entirely agree with Guba and Lincoln (1989: 111; Guba 1987: 32) that the conventional approach is no longer tenable and that it must therefore be debunked. Rather, a creative tension should be allowed to exist between the two

paradigms. Where it is functional to adopt one or the other, the better one, for whatever reasons, should be adopted, and where it is necessary to make use of both, both are used to derive maximum benefit. This is not to suggest that one favours or upholds the older conventional approach, nor is one subscribing to any of the softer positions offered to Guba and Lincoln (1989: 111-5). On the contrary, efforts must continue to be made to seek alternatives to those areas where both conventional and constructivist approaches are lacking. In the interim assumptions with regard to evaluation will nevertheless continue to reflect both paradigms.

It is only within a climate that seeks to resolve the shortfalls of both the conventional and constructivist paradigms that many of the other issues current within the evaluation debate may be addressed. Two issues raised by Freeman in 1980 (: 45) are the need to examine both the organisational and orchestration problems that limit the successful completion and utilisation of the evaluations of social action programmes. This issue has continued to be raised by non-governmental organisations in the 1990s (Lund 1990: 58).

Another issue raised is that of the adaptation of evaluations to the action setting of the evaluand or intervention. Evaluations need to give clear descriptions of the context in which they take place (Bamberger et al 1982: 39-55; Weiss 1984: 341), and be sensitive to those environments (Rich 1979: 249). Other issues raised by Rich (1979: 246) include the availability and application of appropriate methodological tools, the type of (profes-

sional) evaluation training which should be developed, the effective translation of evaluation findings into policy and/or action, the abuse and misutilisation of evaluation data, and ethical standards which need to be developed for (professional) evaluators. While these issues are by no means exhaustive of the issues raised through evaluation, they point to the dynamic nature of the evaluation process.

In response to the issue of the availability and application of appropriate tools, Rich (1979: 248) contends that a successful evaluation will make use of the variety of techniques now available along with those currently being developed. While more traditional techniques permit a greater degree of confidence in terms of statistical levels of significance, the question is one of whether an evaluation is to be 'approximately correct or precisely wrong (Rich 1979: 248)'. .

Evaluation and policy

The effective translation of evaluation into policy and/or action is a critical issue for Freeman (1980: 16). The growth of the art and science of evaluation comes from the impact evaluation has made upon government policy decisions, particularly in the United States. However, the use of evaluation for policy matters has mostly been dependent upon politicians and planners and not on evaluation specialists. This emphasises the need for an evaluation to be dependable, which for Rich (1979: 248-50) is partially a product of the training evaluation contractors receive. However, it is mostly in this area of the policy translation that

the greatest abuse of evaluation data takes place (Rich 1979: 251). While some abuse is unintentional, the practice of evaluators must be to guard against such abuse wherever possible. The creation of ethical standards, discussed above (see page 54), has been one attempt to encourage the exercise of being cautious. Beyond that there is very little control that evaluators can exercise over their work and little much else they can do.

Who should evaluate?

The question of who should be involved in the evaluation of an evaluand (or intervention), like the issue of participation in development, has gained much attention in the current evaluation debate. Surely it should be answered by the simple question of who is involved in the evaluand (or intervention) under review. The answer to this then, ranges from a single individual or even a small group of people, through agencies and their sponsors who offer resources of various kinds to people of various descriptions, to huge state departments who with whole teams of experts and officials attempt to implement state policy with or without the cooperation of segments of national populations. In all these cases an external evaluator, professional at that, could be employed to conduct the required evaluation. Therefore the size of interest groups varies considerably depending on the situation.

While there is a growing movement towards participatory evaluation (Charyulu & Seetharam 1990: 393-6; Frankel 1982:239-46; Heredia 1988: 47-51; Swantz & Vainio-Mattila 1988: 138-43), there

still tends to be a general assumption in most of the evaluation literature that at least, a professional evaluator should be engaged in the conducting or facilitating an evaluation. Such an evaluator may be a member of the specialised staff of an agency responsible for the implementation of a particular intervention. Further, despite the higher political prominence the call for participation is receiving, there is still evidence of numerous interventions where the views and experience of stakeholders or users are not incorporated as part of the evaluation (Lund 1990: 57).

To some extent this range of attitudes is associated with how one views evaluation in terms of quality. Those who wish to maintain evaluation as an art and a science, in other words those who have made it a profession, insist that it should be guided at least by those who specialise in evaluation, and if they have social scientific skills, those are an added advantage. There still tends to be an emphasis by those who sponsor or invest large capital in development schemes that evaluations are formal and scientific, and they therefore insist upon a professional evaluator being involved. Those, on the other hand, who view evaluation more as a versatile tool tend to have a greater openness with regard to user participation in evaluation. Not that stakeholder or user participation necessarily means that professional evaluators are no longer desirable. Guba and Lincoln (1989: 259-62) aver that such evaluators continue to have a role to play, albeit different in nature from what they have been used to in the past. Further, Groenewald (1984: 135) contends that, given the present fragmentation of South African society,

evaluations of community development programmes should be externally performed by independent agencies so as to maintain a marginal position between sponsors and communities. This would also obviate the reservations which exist with regard to sponsored community based strategies. Thus it cannot be claimed that in participatory evaluation that the interests of the sponsors or agencies would be over-ridden, nor that evaluations would be less scientific. On the contrary, they may be even closer to the truth than 'scientifically conducted evaluations' given the presence of stakeholder opinions. Solomon (1984: 362-3) makes the point that while objective viewpoints brought to evaluations of community-based programmes may be more accurate, they cannot replace the views of community members in the planning of such programmes.

Testing evaluations

The criteria used to test the practice of evaluation is another issue currently under review. The criteria in usage at present gain their efficacy by virtue of having a long-standing history and by having been tested by certain variables used for such purposes in the natural and social sciences. These include pertinence, measurability, reliability, internal and external validity, sensitivity, feasibility and neutrality (Gottman & Clasen 1984: 396-403; Lincoln & Guba 1986b: 74-7; Tripodi 1983: 43-9). In their dissatisfaction with the older, positivist school, Lincoln and Guba not only suggest alternative criteria for evaluations but offer alternative variable characteristics for testing criteria which they find more acceptable from a

constructivist point of view.

The variable characteristics by which evaluation criteria should be tested according to Lincoln and Guba are those of trustworthiness and authenticity (1986b; Guba and Lincoln 1989: 233-51). The characteristic of trustworthiness attempts to parallel some of the conventional variable characteristics, while authenticity is presented as a new variable. Thus trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability respectively have become the analogues of the conventional variables of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity.

This begs the question of whether these are really new concepts or whether they are merely using preferred vocabulary for existing concepts. While Guba and Lincoln (1989: 117-8) suggest that positivism is based on at least one hundred and fifty years of experience, it is doubtful that they are saying anything new.

It is with regard to the variable characteristic of authenticity that Lincoln and Guba (1986b: 78-83; Guba & Lincoln 1989: 245-50) begin to articulate something of modern-day thinking. The aspects which they raise are those of fairness, ontological, educative, catalytic and tactical authenticity. They have developed the aspect of fairness by far the most. By fairness they mean a balanced view representing the constructions and values of all stakeholders achieved through negotiation. By ontological authenticity they mean the raising of or uniting of divided consciousness normally through some dialectical process. Educative authenticity represents the extent to which an individ-

ual stakeholder understands and appreciates the constructions of another stakeholder in a different stakeholder group. Catalytic authenticity refers to those evaluations that stimulate and facilitate action, while tactical authenticity tests whether a particular inquiry or evaluation empowers or exacerbates the situations in which stakeholders find themselves to be.

BROAD TYPES

This dissertation has already made reference to two categories of evaluation. The first was in its call for the application of the four-fold type of evaluations to development projects. These include the appraisal of a proposed intervention; monitoring and assessment of its implementation while that is in progress; and, a final (ex-post) evaluation at its completion or at some formally determined cut-off point, to examine its consequences.

The other distinction made, which is said to be well understood and accepted in evaluation research, is that of formative or summative evaluations. These terms broadly refer to the aims and roles of an evaluation. Thus a formative evaluation seeks to produce descriptive and judgemental information which may lead to the refining, improving or alteration of an intervention or treatment while the said intervention or treatment is developing or being implemented. A summative evaluation on the other hand, attempts to determine the outcome of such an intervention or treatment at the completion of its implementation or after it has developed into its putatively final form (Lincoln & Guba 1986a: 550-1). Since a summative evaluation focuses upon the outcome of

an intervention or treatment, it is also commonly referred to as an outcome evaluation.

At this point it is clear that appraisal and monitoring exercises are intrinsically formative evaluations. This of course assumes that the intervention or treatment in question will continue to unfold and that these types of evaluation will continue to contribute to the maintenance of the form the intervention or treatment was anticipated to take. Where an intervention aborts, any evaluation which attempted to determine the reason why this has happened, would obviously draw on any appraisal or monitoring exercises which may have been conducted.

Assessments, however, cannot be as clearly defined as a type of formative evaluation, just as appraisal and monitoring exercises are. The reason for this is that while this dissertation takes the term, 'assessment' to mean the evaluation of interventions while the implementation process is still in progress, the term assessment has been used pejoratively to describe a vast array of evaluations, both formative and summative. However, because assessments are at their best when they are linked to a monitoring system and are usually used to bring about some change, whether to the status-quo or to some intervention, they are better described as a broad type of formative evaluation.

Assuming that the intervention or treatment runs its full course as anticipated, a number of summative evaluations may be used to highlight certain aspects of its outcome. These include goal-attainment of which behavioural patterning is part, and cost-

benefit and cost-effectiveness which are the tools of efficiency studies. One type of evaluation which usually finds its place amongst summative evaluations is the study of impact. However, since impact studies may be made at any point of an intervention and regardless of whether an intervention is taking place, impact studies should be considered to be part of diachronic evaluations. (See page 85f).

Apart from the distinction made thus far between formative, summative and diachronic evaluations, and their various forms, the body of evaluation literature contains a number of other distinctions. Freeman (1980: 19-20), for example, in discussing the evaluation of social action projects refers to process and impact evaluations. For Freeman (1980: 19), process evaluations attempt to determine 'whether or not a particular programme, intervention or treatment, was implemented according to its stated guidelines,' while impact evaluations attempt to determine 'whether or not a programme [has] made a difference'. Through his call for more process evaluations it appears that Freeman may be offering another summative evaluation. Freeman (1980: 19) suggests that his process evaluations follow immediately after the completion of the implementation of a programme and before any impact study as 'there is no point in being concerned with the impact or outcome of a particular programme unless one knows that it did indeed take place, and with the appropriate target group'. While that is true, it is submitted here that it would more feasible for that type of evaluation to be made during and at the end of the implementation of an intervention or treatment. There is no point in a process evaluation emerging with a

negative response once an intervention has already been terminated. The earlier it is established that an intervention is not being implemented as designed and/or is missing appropriate targets, the better. However, it is only upon the termination of an intervention that a more conclusive answer to these two questions is possible. By adjusting the requirements that these process evaluations are conducted both during and at the termination of interventions, the evaluation process is more feasible. However, as such Freeman's process evaluations, like assessments, would be either formative or summative evaluations. In fact it is contended here that Freeman is merely using another name for what is really the assessment of social programmes. He even uses the word 'assessing' to describe his intentions (Freeman 1980: 25).

The concept of process is also used by Judd (1987) in his distinction between process and outcome evaluations though he means something different from Freeman. For Judd (1987: 23), an outcome evaluation is 'the demonstration of a treatment's or a program's effects' while a 'process evaluation attempts to understand why a given outcome effect is produced'. The clear difference between Freeman's and Judd's process evaluations is that Freeman is concerned with the successful adoption of a predetermined strategy, while Judd attempts to explain the effects of an intervention, assuming that an outcome evaluation shows those effects to exist. While both are looking at process, they are clearly doing so from different perspectives. Freeman attempts to determine that a particular process has happened; Judd, attempts to determine why certain consequences have emerged

from a particular process.

Before Judd's process evaluation is entirely assigned to summative evaluations, which Judd assumes, there is no reason why such an evaluation could not follow any of the formative evaluations. In other words, a formative evaluation could show a particular effect to have begun to occur as a consequence of the partial implementation of an intervention. Judd's process evaluation could be adopted to explain why that effect has occurred at that point in time (rather than at some other point when it was anticipated to occur). Like assessments therefore, Judd's process evaluations cannot be conclusively described as formative or summative.

That Judd's outcome evaluation is much broader than Freeman's impact evaluation is also noted. As indicated above, evaluation literature suggests impact to be one of a number of outcome or summative evaluations. However, this does raise the question of whether Judd's process evaluation is unique and should be treated in a class of its own. More specifically it may be asked whether just as impact evaluation is one of a number of outcome evaluations, is not Judd's process evaluation merely a refinement of impact evaluation? This question is raised on the basis that impact evaluations, as will be seen later, are used to show the effect of an intervention or treatment. The question that Judd attempts to deal with in his process evaluations is one of why those effects exist. The opinion of this dissertation in response to Judd is that he is merely focusing upon an extension or a refinement of impact studies which has already been seen by the

literature to be part and parcel of impact evaluations. However, Judd is raising an important aspect of impact studies which must not be overlooked.

In the context of evaluating social programmes, where Thompson (1975: 8) has held evaluation to be 'the marshalling of information for the purpose of improving decisions', he has also described evaluation as being specific or diffuse. A specific evaluation is limited and directed to provide specific information about social programmes. A diffuse evaluation is much broader and examine a range of aspects. Evaluation has also been described as qualitative or quantitative (Smith 1986: 38). While both these descriptions of evaluation as specific or diffuse, and qualitative or quantitative, apply to both formative and summative evaluations it is the opinion of this dissertation that these are more general characteristics of evaluation rather than types.

In order to deal with the different descriptions of evaluation as well as the conflicting meanings associated with process evaluation (also since the concept has already found application with regard to development) this dissertation offers what it believes to be a tenable solution to the types of evaluation. Given the association assessments have with monitoring, these are examined along with appraisals as part of formative evaluations, Freeman's process evaluations being seen as part of assessments. Within summative evaluations, goal-attainment including behavioural patterning and efficiency including cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness will be discussed. Within the category of

diachronic evaluations stakeholder evaluations, the unintended consequences of interventions and impact studies will be examined. Judd's process type will be examined as part of impact studies. These broad types are brought together in a discussion on the call for a combination of evaluations to be more comprehensive in presenting relevant findings.

FORMATIVE EVALUATIONS

Appraisal

The appraisal of prospective interventions usually begin informally through the groundwork done by identifying, selecting and examining the potential for the implementation of interventions of various kinds and scale. Thus Rondinelli (1979: 49) in his project cycle suggests that appraisal only formally gets under way after project identification and definition, formulation, preparation and analysis, and design have more or less been completed. The usual factors that appraisal exercises examine are appropriateness, feasibility and effort.

Appropriateness (Roberts 1979: 158-9), suitability (Kotze & Swanepoel 1983: 99), or fit (Swanepoel 1989: 72) refers to the relationship between the needs of people, the resources available to them, and aims and objectives and the strategy of a particular project which they find desirable. Essentially, congruence existing between these is most desirable, suggesting that the proposed intervention or treatment has a greater potential to find successful application.

Though the feasibility (Kotze & Swanepoel 1983: 99; Swanepoel 1989: 72-3) or practicality (Roberts 1979: 159) of an intervention or treatment can only be concluded *ex post facto*, the attempting to predict the feasibility of a proposed intervention is a necessary aspect of an appraisal. Feasibility is concerned with the demand a proposed intervention is envisaged to make upon (both available and necessary) resources. An important variable is obviously the objective of the intervention which would be making certain demands on resources in order to be fulfilled. Thus it must be ascertained whether the aims and objectives are realistic, in terms of whether those who desire the intervention are seeking to accomplish it on their own. Where such people would be seeking outside help, clarity should be sought as to whether that help would be available and capable of facilitating the implementation of the intervention. The importance of feasibility studies cannot be stressed enough - they must be seen as an important dimension of the planning process.

Effort (Erlich 1984: 339; Tripodi 1983: 33-43) refers to the amount and the type of activity which goes into an intervention (without regard to what comes out for Erlich, but what is necessary for the achievement of planned objectives for Tripodi). Effort includes the time spent by those engaged in the intervention attempting to distinguish the time spent by those for whom the intervention is desirable, and any agency involved and, the allocation and use of resources, both financial and material. In other words, effort refers to the anticipated total cost of an intervention, including the cost in monetary terms. Like feasibility, effort can only really be calculated at the termination of

an intervention. However, an attempt must be made to anticipate the effort required for an intervention in order that the people involved are aware of the demands investing in the proposed intervention will make upon them.

The issues of appropriateness, feasibility and effort are best addressed through the appraisal of an intended intervention. They provide the measure against which an invention may finally be assessed and/or evaluated in order to make decisions about the intervention and to learn from its experience. Where the issues of appropriateness, feasibility and effort have been predetermined in an appraisal, it is essential that they continue to be monitored through an effective monitoring system. Where no appraisal was conducted soon after the initiation of the intervention, questions regarding these issues should be raised retrospectively in an assessment of the intervention at some point during its course. Such an assessment should aim to judge whether the intervention in question should continue with further monitoring or be abandoned due to its inappropriateness, its limited feasibility and massive efforts required. (However, in the case of the latter some suggestion should be made as to what should replace that intervention.)

The task of discerning the appropriateness, feasibility and the efforts involved in a proposed intervention is often fraught with difficulties, particularly in the rural setting. As suggested above (page 42) Chambers (1981: 96-7; 1983: 13-23) contends that researchers and academics, by virtue of their training and urban conditioning bear within them certain biases which obviate against reliable appraisals being made for rural development

initiatives. These biases include 1) spatial - urban, tarmac and roadside which are remote from where the rural poor are to be found, 2) project - where emphasis is placed on examining the project area rather than looking at non-project areas, 3) personal contact - those met tend to be the more wealthy and powerful, men rather than women, users of services rather than non-users, the active rather than the non-active, those who have not had to migrate and those who have not died, 4) dry season - in tropical environments the poorest usually suffer the most during the wet season owing to food shortages, high food prices, a high incidence of disease etc, 5) diplomatic - where the poorest are usually the last to be spoken to and often omitted due to time constraints, and 6) professional - where values, interests and specialisation often present problems. While the field-work methods of social anthropologists are able in some cases to offset these biases, Chambers (1983: 59-61) contends that these methods take too long to produce results, and are often too inaccessible to decision-makers.

Drawing from his experience of rural development, Chambers has proposed some principles which he asserts are useful for what he calls Rapid Rural Appraisal. These include taking time (to avoid strict sampling techniques), offsetting biases, being unimportant, listening and learning, and using multiple approaches (1981: 99). With regard to his multiple approaches Chambers (1981: 99-104; 1983: 66-70) provides a number of examples. Self-explanatory methods include using existing information, key indicators, key informants and local researchers, learning indigenous technical knowledge, making direct observations, conducting group and

guided interviews and aerial inspections. Others include Senaratne's windows into regions, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) networks and Hildebrand's 'sondeo.' Senaratne's method is one of the selecting of a number of villages upon which a body of comparative information could be built up to serve as 'windows into their respective regions.' The BRAC networks also involved the collection of verified information about preselected villages, and the description of linkages between villages. Hildebrand's 'sondeo' is a method of pairing social and agricultural scientists. Over a period of five days partners would change to reduce interviewer bias and to increase interdisciplinary dialogue. During review sessions, the day's findings would be shared and preliminary interpretations and necessary modifications to the investigation made.

Some criticism has however been levelled at these Rapid Rural Appraisal methods with Honadle (1982: 633) contending that they fail to be particular about the contextual sensitivity of indicators, that they give little attention to organisation and management dimensions of rural development, and are more concerned with informing outsiders rather than building local capacity. While these are fair criticism with regard to the second issue rather than the other two, for Chambers has given much attention to the issues of indicators and local involvement in appraisal, Honadle does raise the issue of using proxies as indicators of local situations when other methods will not suffice. This is a reasonable tool to be tried and tested since Freeman (1980: 18-9) has pointed out that owing to various reasons the gaining of relevant information is not always

possible, and therefore para-evaluation techniques have to prevail. This current debate about the nature of appraisals stresses their functional worth and therefore the need to discover or adapt methods which can provide reliable and timely information. These are all the better where they assume local involvement as this would foster local participation in initiatives from the very beginning.

Monitoring

Parallel to the implementation of an intervention or treatment a monitoring system should be established to serve as a dynamic accounting system for the management of the intervention while it is in progress. For Oakley (1990: 32) monitoring is of central importance to the evaluation of development, providing necessary information for assessments and summative evaluations (Clayton 1981: 3).

When a monitoring system is established commensurate with the implementation of an initiative, it should immediately be provided with the following records:

- 1) the aims, objectives and goals determined through the identification and definition of the intervention or treatment.
- 2) the strategies and methods proposed in the formulation and design of the intervention.
- 3) the results of any appraisal of the intervention, including an inventory of all available resources, human, material and financial, as well as an inventory of resources which will need to be acquired and the tentative date when they will be required.

Alongside these records, the usual financial accounting and personnel management systems should be created (Casley & Lury 1982: 14-6). Inventories of the usage and acquisition of resources, the physical and financial progress of each component of the intervention, and the extent of local participation, should also be kept (Cernea 1979: 19-20).

Continual feedback of information describes an effective monitoring system (Bryant & White 1982: 145). Effective monitoring systems are never passive. Where managers have been employed to oversee the implementation of an intervention or treatment, they should be regularly informed of the extent to which resources are used in relation to goals being achieved (Cernea & Tepping 1972: 11). Timely warning signals should also be forthcoming.

Monitoring systems acquire information through both formal and informal means (Casley & Lury 1982: 47-56). The methods used for appraisal described above apply, *mutatis mutandis*. Informal information may be gathered through staff and community meetings. Supplementary information must be used to fill information gaps, and not duplicate existing sources. This information can then be transmitted through regular reports, which are normally part of management and, periodic reports describing problems and raising particular issues (Rakodi 1982: 134-5).

To a large extent an effective monitoring system is dependent on a strong commitment by participants to maintain records. Also, an openness to readily receiving what such a monitoring system may suggest about the kind of role they are playing with regard

to the implementation of the intervention or treatment. The key to an effective monitoring system is a combination of timely action, concise reporting and flexibility in response to unexpected developments.

Assessment

Assessments are an additional or alternative form of evaluation which may operate independently or in association with a monitoring system. Assessments usually take place in four broad contexts:

- 1) An assessment is made of partial results for various reasons while an intervention is still in progress using information gained through a monitoring system. A major objective of these 'mid-term evaluations' (Dorward 1988: 167) is usually to make an in-depth study to determine whether the benefits of an intervention are beginning to reach target groups in accordance with the aims of the intervention.

- 2) An assessment is made at the completion of an intervention to determine whether the intervention has reached its targets and/or the procedures determined have been initially adhered to as suggested by Freeman's (1980: 19) process evaluations.

- 3) An assessment may be made of an intervention where no monitoring system was established at the outset. Usually some sort of measure may be desirable to determine the extent to which the intervention is in the process of achieving its intentions.

4) Assessments have also been made to describe or examine the prevailing conditions within an environment where no predetermined intervention has been planned or is operating. However one of the results of such an assessment may be the introduction of some intervention or treatment. The community development assessment of the Sparks Estate - Sydenham area by Schlemmer, et al (1978: 16-120) is such an example.

Assessments may therefore be described as continuous, intermittent or random. Continuous assessments tend to be linked to a monitoring system where on a monthly or some other regular basis information gained through monitoring the intervention is analysed as part of the normal decision-making process designed for the intervention. Intermittent assessments usually take place on an annual basis or once at mid-term during the implementation of the intervention. These usually function to provide sponsors or investors with an annual report of the progress of the intervention and/or as some measure that the intervention is progressing as designed. Obviously new directions of implementation may follow if implementation is not seen to be in alignment with objectives. (Cernea 1979: 44-53). Random interventions tend to be conducted to gain a broad scenario of a particular situation.

Assessments usually draw on the whole ambit of evaluation techniques. This is because some time has elapsed since the inception of the intervention and some measure of its outcome may be predicted. In these instances relevant summative evaluation

techniques are applied though it is understood that the results are not final. Where no appraisal or monitoring of an intervention has happened, assessments may fill this gap using a combination of formative (appraisal and monitoring) and summative evaluation techniques.

SUMMATIVE EVALUATIONS

Goal-attainment

Goal-attainment as an evaluation technique stems from two basic premises: 1) that it is possible to evaluate the achievement of goals; and 2) 'that if the ultimate goal is met, then a series of prior accomplishments were fulfilled (Washington 1984: 373)'. This has given rise to the conception that the primary focus of evaluation is to determine whether or not the goals of a particular intervention or treatment have been successfully achieved. While the development of other evaluation techniques show that evaluation is much broader than merely the goal-attainment model, this model has gained a significant popular usage. This stems from its reliability and objectivity and has been further stimulated by the currency of human motivational theories in industry, Lewinian field theory, and the goal-oriented approach to development.

While goal-attainment measures outcomes rather than inputs on the assumption that if a goal has been met, then the relevant inputs must have been made, it does not attempt to measure goals themselves. Rather suitable independent indicators which manifest

a goal to have been achieved are used.

According to Washington (1984: 373-5) goal-attainment analysis involves five steps: 1) specification of the goal to be measured; 2) specification of the sequential set of performances that, if observed, would indicate that the goal has been achieved; 3) identification of those performances which are critical to the achievement of the goal; 4) description of what the 'indicator behaviour' of each performance episode is; and, 5) testing collectively whether each 'indicator behaviour' is associated with others.

To some extent the first four of Washington's steps should be known during the implementation of an intervention especially where that was designed using the goal-oriented approach. Therefore, at the completion or termination of the intervention or treatment it would be a matter of reaffirming steps 1 to 4 and then conducting step 5. However, circumstances do change and different indicators would need to be selected. Where monitoring and assessment have been part of the implementation process, they would facilitate this.

The advantages of goal-attainment as a type of summative evaluation includes its capacity to measure abstract goals, to develop a data-base, to improve the in-house ability to collect and assemble relevant outcome data and measures, and to provide rapid feedback on problems. Further, goal measurement need not be quantitative. Some of its weaknesses, on the other hand, include

its inability to determine whether goal-attainment is due to environmental factors rather than the inherent capacity of an intervention or treatment; its failure to distinguish between means and ends; its narrow methodology and formal consideration of goals; and, the conclusions that it draws may be limited (Washington 1984: 375-6).

Behavioural patterning

Where goals have been expressed in social or behavioural idioms, goal-attainment has increasingly been examined through behavioural patterning analyses. Developed in the behavioural sciences, behavioural patterning is mostly concerned to show the extent to which a particular intervention has led to its participants gaining mastery over their environments. This stems from its three basic premises that 1) social behaviour is a function of the environment, 2) the most effective way to change behaviour is to change the environment or the circumstances within it and 3) the function of a human service programme is to provide individuals with the skills to cope with their environment. Changes from levels of dependency to higher levels of independence or evidence of an improved quality of life are used as indicators of mastery over the environment (Washington 1984: 378-81).

Efficiency

Information regarding the extent to which an intervention or treatment has been successfully implemented and its goals and

objectives achieved is indispensable to stakeholders and those involved in its planning. Equally important, however, is the need to know exactly what the costs of achieving its benefits have been. In other words, how efficient has the intervention been? Efficiency (Bamberger et al 1982: 154-212; Erlich 1984: 339; Tripodi 1983: 33-43) is the relationship between the efforts spent on an intervention and the effectiveness of the intervention. It reflects the costs of the intervention in terms of energy, money and time spent in bringing about the particular benefits of a particular intervention. In other words it is essentially concerned with the economic dimensions of an intervention.

By effectiveness (Bamberger et al 1982: 69-153; Kotze & Swanepoel 1983: 100; Levin 1987: 95-6; Roberts 1979: 158-9; Swanepoel 1989: 73-4; Tripodi 1983: 33-43) or performance (Erlich 1984: 339) is meant the extent to which an intervention has achieved what it set out to do. In other words, it is a comparison between the objectives of the intervention and its achievements. Effectiveness therefore is concerned with basically two issues. These are the outcome of an intervention and the consequences the intervention has brought with it. With regard to outcome, questions such as to what extent the people were involved, the appropriate resources utilised, the strategy adhered to, are asked. In looking at the consequences of an intervention, attempts are made to determine the number of benefits gained in terms of resources and effort spent and the institution-building capacity of the intervention.

Effectiveness and efficiency ought to be latent within an intervention from its inception. Ex ante efficiency analyses used cautiously can, or rather ought, to be used during the planning stages of intervention to provide a reasonable estimate of its intended costs. However, it is only through ex post efficiency analyses that the real cost or net outcome effects of an intervention may be accurately determined, particularly where monitoring and assessment exercises have been carried out during its implementation.

Cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness

The tools most frequently referred to to determine efficiency are those of cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness (Hardiman & Midgley 1982: 203-4; Lauffer 1978: 144-51; Levin 1987: 83-99; Rossi & Freeman 1989: 375-415; United Nations 1972: 11-261; Washington 1984: 371-2), though Levin (1987: 83) and Tisdell (1985: 16) disagree regarding the extent of their usage. Levin (1987: 86-7) suggests that they are very rarely used, given a lack of training and the limited substantive knowledge derived from such analyses of fields such as education and health. Tisdell (1985: 16), however, not only contends that cost-benefit analysis is widely used in both developed and less developed countries, but that both national and international bodies advocate the increased use of the technique.

The inputs or costs of interventions are measured in the same way in cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness analyses. In both instances resources are estimated in economic or monetary terms

according to their market value or some other indicator which simulated their market value. It is with regard to outputs that the difference between cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness becomes apparent. In cost-benefit analyses the outputs are ascribed monetary values as well, for comparison with inputs. Cost-benefit analyses are therefore employed in instances where the outcome of interventions are market-oriented. However, in the case of social interventions, where outputs are not easily calibrated with a pecuniary value, cost-effectiveness becomes the test for efficiency. Also referred to as anthropological (Van der Waal 1988: 1) or social (Tisdell 1985: 17-9; Weiler & Tyner 1981: 655, 659-72) cost-benefit analyses, cost-effectiveness uses the various goals of the intervention as indicators or variables used to describe the outputs in non-monetary forms. Examples of cost-effectiveness studies include a United Nations analysis of a pulp and paper mill in Sarania, a chemical plant in Palavia, the Managua water project, a fibreboard plant in Oasis (United Nations 1972: 263-383), Van der Waal's (1988: 4-26) analysis of development in Ritavi and Weiler and Tyner's (1981: 655-69) analysis of the Nianga Irrigation Pilot Project.

DIACHRONIC EVALUATIONS

Where possible, this dissertation has attempted to categorize evaluations within the formative/summative framework. However, three forms of evaluation, viz. stakeholder, unintended consequences and impact evaluations do not, by virtue of their nature, fit easily into this framework. Because these three forms are evaluations which may be conducted at any point in relation to

an intervention, means that they exist on their own. For the sake of expediency, they have been categorized by this dissertation into a category called, DIACHRONIC, as these evaluations are not essentially bound by time.

Stakeholder evaluations

In responsive constructivist evaluations, Guba and Lincoln (1989: 38-42) contend that the parameters and boundaries of evaluations are determined through an interactive, negotiated process by those who have some stake in the evaluand. Thus the criteria for evaluation are determined by the claims, concerns and issues about the evaluand that are identified by stakeholders. These are derived through the four phases of responsive evaluation, viz 1) identifying stakeholders and soliciting the claims, concerns or issues they wish to raise about a particular evaluand; 2) introducing the claims, concerns or issues of one stakeholder group to other stakeholder groups for resolution; 3) gaining relevant information pertaining to those claims, concerns or issues which were not resolved; and 4) guiding the negotiations between stakeholder groups on unresolved matters once the relevant information obtained is presented to them.

Stakeholder evaluations therefore assume that a hermeneutic dialectic process is possible: 'It is hermeneutic because it is interpretive in character, and dialectic because it represents a comparison and contrast of divergent views with a view to achieving a higher-level synthesis of them all, in the Hegelian sense (Guba & Lincoln 1989: 149)(emphasis in original)'. The

necessary conditions for such a process to occur, according to Guba and Lincoln (1989: 149-50) includes efficacy on the part of stakeholders; a minimal ability to communicate constructions of the evaluand; a willingness to share power; to change if necessary; to reconsider value positions; and, to make a commitment of time and energy. The absence of any of these will inhibit negotiation and synthesis from happening. This imposes a limiting factor upon the method, reducing the application of stakeholder evaluations to situations where all these conditions can be met.

Unintended consequences

Unintended consequences (Erlich 1984: 339; Tripodi 1983: 33-40) are those unplanned consequences which emerge through the implementation of an intervention. These can be either an added benefit resulting from the intervention, or they may be undesirable resulting in an additional cost in bringing the intervention about. Unintended consequences therefore have a significant impact upon the effectiveness and the efficiency of an intervention (Long 1977: 50). As unknown factors they are difficult to guard against. Apart from having either positive or negative aspects, all that really can be said about them is that they have some probability of occurring and will have to be accepted as part of the intervention. They do however stress the need for the implementation of interventions to be monitored, given that negative consequences can be dealt with as they occur, rather than attempting to do something about them once they have grown out of proportion.

Impact

Impact evaluations are the most stringent of summative evaluations. For Rossi and Freeman impact is 'the net effects of a program,' where net effects are the 'outcome of an intervention, after confounding effects have been removed.' By confounding effects they mean those 'extraneous variables resulting in outcome effects that obscure or exaggerate the 'true' effects of an intervention (Rossi & Freeman 1989: 226). Impact evaluations have been used for and should be able to: 1) determine the extent to which an intervention or treatment has achieved its stated goals; 2) attribute the net effects or changes brought about as a consequence of an intervention; 3) possibly delineate the conditions or environment in which the intervention is most efficient; 4) delineate if possible, any unintended consequences or side effects which may have stemmed from the implementation of the intervention; 5) determine whether an intervention should be continued, redesigned or refined; 6) determine whether alternative interventions could achieve better results at the same or a lower cost; 7) determine the most effective blend of intervention components to maximise operating efficiency; 8) to determine which interventions best serve individuals or groups with particular demographic characteristics; and, 9) to suggest new programme thrusts (Freeman 1980: 34; Judd 1987: 23-7; Washington 1984: 377). Clearly, impact evaluations may incorporate aspects from the whole plethora of formative, summative and diachronic evaluations discussed above. Bamberger et al (1982: 69-153) for example, provide an in-depth impact study of site and service projects in El Salvador; Clark et al (1978: 111-21)

discuss the methods of environmental impact analysis; De Wet (1987: 312-20) examines the impact of environmental change on relocated communities in South Africa; while, Robertson (1981: 431-45) and the compendium edited by Derman & Whiteford (1985) give numerous analyses of social impact.

Central to most impact studies is randomised experimentation. (Freeman 1980: 34; Rossi & Freeman 1989: 269). This is no different from the procedures developed in the natural and social sciences, serving as the most dynamic design for establishing causality. Frequently this is the only design, given the limited control over the research context of evaluations when compared with such areas as agriculture. As a consequence quasi-experimentation in which 'experimental' and 'control' groups are non-randomly formed often takes place. Thus confounding effects such as stochastic effects, reliability and validity deficiencies, poor choice of outcome measures, the Hawthorne effect must be anticipated and compensated for.

Apart from the selection of experimental and control groups which are exactly comparable apart from the intervention or treatment received, impact evaluations assume the formulation of hypotheses which need to be tested. Freeman and Sherwood (1970 - quoted in Washington 1984: 377) suggest that impact studies generally incorporate three kinds: 1) a causal hypothesis, concerning the relationship between the input and the outcome; 2) an intervention hypothesis, suggesting the type of change the input or intervention will produce; and, 3) an action hypothesis, suggesting how that change will affect the behaviour or condition those

desiring the intervention or treatment are seeking to modify (See also Judd 1987:27-37).

Where non-randomised designs are used for impact studies when it is not possible to randomise targets into experimental and control groups, there are three impact techniques which may be used (Rossi & Freeman 1989: 309-74). The first is quasi-experiments which make use of non-equivalent comparison groups. The second is to make use of reflexive controls where outcome measures taken on participating targets before interventions are implemented are used as control observations. The third is to adopt shadow controls which depend on the judgements of experts, managers and participants.

COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATIONS AND TRIANGULATION

The current state of the art and science of formative, summative and diachronic evaluation show a variety of types of evaluation drawing on equally varied types of methodology and methods. Both positivist and hermeneutic and dialectic methodologies are used as starting points through which evaluations are designed. As a consequence methods range from group methods, to accounting systems, to experimentation. Both methodologies and methods have good and bad qualities. However, bearing this complication in mind is not sufficient. Learning to make provision for the short falls in methodologies and methods has come to the point of calling for comprehensive evaluations (Freeman 1980: 20-1; Kidder & Fine 1987: 57-75; Smith & Kleine 1986: 55-71; Smith 1986: 37-54). Not only must methods and methodologies be combined to

guard against loopholes, the best combinations must be sought to maintain efficiency in evaluations. This selection process has been aptly described as triangulation and draws on historical, biographical and empirical data. As such it is somewhat intolerant of single methodologies or methods, once-off evaluation and the pejorative use of 'evaluation'. A certain depth of character must be evident in evaluations to warrant the category. In particular evaluation must be seen to be intrinsic to bringing the intervention or evaluand to its intended final form.

Summary

Chapter 3 is a varied package of tools coming from the art and science of evaluation. After discussing the concept, its historical background and some leading assumptions and issues peculiar to evaluation research, this chapter has explained the features of most of the available evaluation tools, each according to its kind. Before selecting some of these tools to perform certain tasks in Part 2, Chapter 4 will bring together the equipment gathered so far, in a brief discussion of the relationship between development and evaluation in special domains.

CHAPTER 4: EVALUATING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

From the broad spectrum of evaluation research, evaluations of development initiatives are and have been conducted for a variety of reasons. While these are usually related to the specific initiative evaluated, some may also be general. In the case of social programmes, Thompson (1975: 6) suggests the basic purpose of evaluations is the providing of information that will improve decisions. Thus evaluation is intrinsic to social policy. Community programmes are evaluated according to Solomon (1984: 355-61), to economise on effort, improve programmes, to get support for them, to determine change in conditions or behaviour and to provide personal satisfaction and security. Also evaluations of community programmes attempt to establish what difference has been made by a programme, who was affected by it, why it happened in a particular way, how consistent and widespread the change was and whether there have been unforeseen side-effects. Kotze and Swanepoel's (1983: 97-8) reasons include: enhancing the satisfaction derived from investing efforts in projects, accounting for past support and justifying continued support by participants and donors, learning from the project, determining at any given point in time where a project stands and whether it is moving in the desired direction; and, establishing the extent and success of community participation. In attempting to assess the contribution organisational theory has made toward educational programmes, Knapp (1979: 230-8) suggests that evaluation of such programmes may be used as a rational determination of fitness for future action, as a mechanism for maintaining authority and, as a tight coupling device in a

loosely coupled system.

The art and science of evaluation has interacted with an exceeding variety of development phenomena. In order to focus more specifically upon certain aspects of this range some examples, which show the symbiotic relationship between development and evaluation studies and also the issues involved in the evaluation of development initiatives, have been selected.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The impact of the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) has increasingly been felt throughout the world. NGOs have begun to play a significant role in development and welfare delivery services due to the inability of governments to provide these on a broad enough scale as necessitated by national populations. The need to learn from the experience of NGOs is therefore great. As Lund (1990: 57) suggests evaluations have increasingly become a normal part of the life of NGOs, providing the opportunity to learn from them. However, Sen (1987: 161-3) avers evaluation to be a non-priority issue for NGOs since there is an absence of pressure, from within, to evaluate. Thus, for Sen, where the usual expectation of donors for at least a mid-term evaluation is also absent, current NGO evaluations tend to be impressionistic and unsystematic. Identifying the need for critical self-evaluation of performance, Sen makes a number of suggestions that have the potential not only to stimulate the necessary pressures for evaluation to take place, but to also enhance the capacity of NGOs to achieve their objectives. These include the poor with

whom NGOs work becoming an effective demand system for the services of NGOs, the internalising of evaluations through a special effort, the leadership consciously introducing self-evaluation through periodic review meetings and other opportunities within the organisation, consultants being used to set up formal systems of evaluations, initiating market functions within NGOs to allow market forces to become a form of pressure, crisis being viewed as an opportunity for evaluation and the gaining of clarity of all goals and objectives.

Social Development Programmes

Ironically, despite their involvement in social programmes, NGOs seem not to have been receptive to the abundance of literature which attempts to postulate the most appropriate forms of evaluations for social programmes. The evaluation of social programmes holds a prominent place in the body of evaluation literature. This is a consequence of almost the whole spectrum of evaluations having been applied to social programmes. Thus social programmes have met evaluations as research methods, as experiments, as decision-making tools, and as part of their development process (Schwartzman 1983: 179; Thompson 1975: 152-3). It may be suggested that through the need for, and availability of social programmes to evaluation, social programmes have partially provided the opportunity for the development of the art and science of evaluation. This does however mean that both practices have had to bear with each other's shortfalls in the past. Since further clarity is still needed for the evaluation of social development programmes, Oakley (1990: 32) has provided

some guiding principles as an interim measure. First is the need for the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative dimensions in evaluations to be able to come to a fuller understanding of the outcomes of social development programmes. Another principle is based on social development being a dynamic process, and therefore programme evaluation needs to take place through all phases. This raises the necessity for close monitoring of the process of social development. Further, evaluation must be participative: the people involved must evaluate the social process. For Garaycochea (1990: 70) the search for better methods of social development programme evaluation must recognise the existence of different methodologies which have different levels of appropriateness.

Community Development

Closely allied to the work of NGOs and social development programmes are the numerous efforts of community development. While the presence of evaluations has certainly played a significant role in this field, the level of engagement in the past does not appear to have been as intense as it has been in the case of social programmes. Writing in 1971, Moseley (1971: 156-7) held that evaluation of community development projects was uncommon in 'low-income countries' and community development journals. This paucity of evaluation may have emerged from the perception that evaluation is largely centred on the three criteria of appropriateness, feasibility and effectiveness (Swanepoel 1989: 72-4), whereas more recently it has come to be seen as a whole process intrinsic to development (Erlich 1984:

The reason for the limited usage of evaluation in the past may in part have to do with the problem of a definition of community development. The problems which Voth (1979: 156-72) raises with regard to the evaluation of community development efforts largely begin around this issue. His five problems include: 1) the ambiguity of goals in community development; 2) the lack of a causal model of the community development process; 3) the inability of the researcher to control assignment to experimental and control groups; 4) weak effects, crude measurement, and small samples; and, 5) political problems - the relationship between evaluation and programme evaluation. The problem with probably the first three of these problems, but certainly the first two, though all the rest flow out of it, is the preoccupation of some community workers in the past with an institution of the mind. Too much effort has been spent attempting to define the concept, instead of getting groups motivated and encouraging them to put some intervention they (the groups) had initiated into effect that would bring about some benefit or another for them as individuals and/or as a group which later then may or may not be described as community development. Reference is made to 'some community workers in the past', for in the same year, 1979, Roberts could talk about community development evaluation without a hint of such obstacles. In his (Roberts 1979: 155) understanding community development evaluation must 'be a process carried out in an effort to assess, through the use of relevant indicators, what development, if any, is resulting or has resulted from whatever program, action, or other input has been brought

to bear on the community (either from within, or without, or both).’ Subsequently, the exemplary evaluation of community development initiatives conducted by Cummings, et al (1988) and Hunt (1987) are indicative of some growth in this field. Hunt’s (1987: 664-5) range of evaluation methods attests to the continued difficulty of conducting evaluation of community development and the further need to explore refined and alternative means of evaluation.

Rural Development

Of the four domains under discussion, rural development is one that is probably the richest through its relationship with evaluations. The spectrum of evaluations seem a bit broader than those of social programmes. This is understandable, given the linkages rural development has with agricultural development and thus the natural sciences on the one hand and human development and thus the social sciences on the other. Being at this juncture rural development benefits from the range of scientific methods. It is probably for this reason that all the formative, summative and diachronic evaluations described in the previous chapter have found application to rural development interventions in some measure or the other. However, before it is suggested that despite all this positive effort that rural communities have received, this has been to little effect given the present state of rural communities generally. The very fact that rural development is at the point of contact between agricultural and people development, with rural people generally being the poorest, suggests the extremes of difficulties it has to overcome.

Therefore, momentum must be maintained in the bid to ameliorate poverty. The role evaluation has to play is no less important, and the search for relevant, more efficient and more human forms of evaluation must continue.

As pointed out earlier, some considerable work has been done in the area of Rapid Rural Appraisal, spearheaded by Robert Chambers. One of his initiatives was organising a conference on this evaluation type at the University of Sussex in 1979. The focus of the papers presented attempted to examine the lesson learnt from both short and long methods of rural appraisal and thereby to improve both (Longhurst 1981a: 1). In attempting to produce an 'attached' rapid rural appraisal, Wood (1981: 4-6) looked to the harnessing of existing knowledge. Given the usual time constraints in which to make an appraisal, rapid rural appraisal runs the risk of legitimating existing decisions (Wood 1981: 3). Where existing organised information is accessible, the discerning of indicators and the conducting of routine appraisal activity becomes more easily facilitated and relevant.

Though not in contradiction, Belshaw (1981: 12) calls for data-economising in a bid to make appraisal procedures more cost-effective. Drawing on Popper (1959), Belshaw (1981: 15) offers two 'error reduction' guiding principles. The first is to start where the people are, and second, to test initiatives before implementation. From his experience in Northern Nigeria, Longhurst (1981b: 24) found stratified random sampling useful in his attempt to guard against 'roadside bias' (Chambers 1981: 96; Moore 1981: 47).

The efforts to utilize and develop the other three of the four-fold evaluation types encouraged by this dissertation have been no less. Monitoring, assessment and summative evaluation have gained a strong foothold in rural development. While it is fairly common for these three types of evaluation to be treated together as Casley and Lury (1982), Cernea (1979) and, Cernea and Tepping do, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) in its attempt to develop monitoring methodology and assist its member countries in monitoring systems design, brought together a number of monitoring exercises (Clayton & Petry 1981). The highlight of this compendium is the variety of agricultural and rural development contexts and phenomena examined, thereby demonstrating a number of monitoring procedures which can be adapted for different situations. Experiences such as these must be recorded to refine and learn from the art of monitoring, though the best facilitator for doing so is the experience itself.

While there is still a need to gain clarity as to evaluation terminology, and to reaffirm the place of the four-fold evaluation types in the project cycle in the rural setting (Dorward 1988: 164-8), the advantages of evaluation for adaptive management in rural development are being appreciated in some sectors (Johnston & Clark 1982: 221-4; Weiler & Tyner 1981: 655-69). One of many areas which requires further attention is the evaluation of rural development organisations to improve their performance (Peuse 1987: 213-4).

Resume : EVALUATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

It is clearly evident from Part 1 in which evaluation and the development process have been examined, that the functional worth of evaluation has certainly been appreciated by those involved in the development planning process. The establishing of evaluation in its four-fold types in the project cycle supports this claim. Further, instances of evaluation having taken place in different development domains are also evidence of the value of evaluation being realised there. However, since evaluation is not a prominent feature throughout the development world this means that the benefits of evaluation need to be experienced in order to discover its value. Nevertheless, where evaluation has found its use in development initiatives, the benefits have been multi-effectual. Not only have people enjoyed the fruits of those initiatives, but merely by virtue of the evaluations made, the art and science of both development and evaluation have been extended.

In order to more fully appreciate what the advantages have been as a consequence of the inclusion of evaluation in the development process, it has been necessary to begin with some understanding of the parameters of those two processes. Thus Chapter 2 has attempted to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the development debate. This has involved looking again at the rise of modernisation theory, followed by underdevelopment and dependency theory. Fortunately, in beginning to discover that in development it is people who matter, the modern trend in development is to go beyond these theoretical paradigms. Here the focus is shifting

on to the meeting of human needs through participation in community in the development process.

Through the linkages created by the development cycle between development and evaluation, Chapter 3 was able to explore the various attributes of the tools of evaluation, while simultaneously attempting to give clarity to some of the terminology concerned. Thus the conventional and constructivist paradigms as they impact upon evaluation have been examined. The policy implications of evaluation and the question of who evaluates also received some attention. This gave way to looking at the four-fold types of evaluation in terms of formative, summative, diachronic and comprehensive evaluation.

Chapter 4 briefly bringing together these two broad schools of thought highlighted some of the features of the development/evaluation interface. Looking at a few development domains saw the prominence of evaluation in some, such as rural development, and more recently community development. While it is still necessary to explore further the merits of evaluation for non-governmental organisations and social development projects, the role evaluation can play in the development process will only be reified through the experience of evaluating development initiatives. This is the task of Part 2 which examines church-related initiatives.

PART 2 : THE EVALUATION OF CHURCH-RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

INTRODUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN DEVELOPMENT

A chasm frequently exists between theory and praxis. Part 2 attempts to link the theoretical tenets of development and evaluation described in Part 1 with certain development initiatives which impact on three communities. The evaluation in respect of the development initiatives in the three communities in question requires a preview of the involvement of the wider church in development. This follows since these particular initiatives have been motivated by a church and a para-church organisation. {This preview builds on the preliminary remarks made in Chapter 1. (See page 6f.)}

The post New Testamental period following the establishment of the church at Pentecost (Acts 2: 1-4) may be described largely as one of persecution for Christian communities at the hands of the Roman authorities. This prevailed until AD 312 when the Emperor Constantine was converted to the Christian faith (Kerr & Mulder 1983: 26). Constantine's conversion provided the opportunity for the rise of monasticism in the west; the eastern religious orders having the security of the Egyptian desert were established circa AD 250 by Anthony and others (Latourette 1965: 70-3). Initially the monasteries existed for the cultivation of Christian discipline and prayer. Based on the principle of self-sufficiency and the general motto of 'ora et labora,' the monasteries and their sister orders soon grew into centres of scholarship and agricultural development (Pierson 1989: 9). The

skills developed by the monasteries came to be shared with the communities in which they were located as a result of the expansion of monasticism throughout Europe, and later by world evangelisation stimulated by the 'voyages of discovery.'

Alongside the growth of the church over the last twenty centuries through monastic and other missionary endeavours, the church has also been notorious for the division within its ranks. Schism between Constantinople and Rome over the 'Filioque' clause was concluded in 1054 (Zernov 1979: 79-81). This was followed by the Reformation (circa the 1250s to the 1560s) stimulated by the secular division of western Christendom (Chadwick 1964: 365). Presently, the church is still wrestling with the polarisation which has existed between the 'ecumenicals' and the 'evangelicals' (Bosch 1980: 28-30) since the Council of Edinburgh, where in 1910 it was decided in principle to found the International Missionary Council. While these divisions are negative in themselves, they have given rise to different perspectives with regard to the church's involvement in development.

The Orthodox Church is notorious for its centripetal model of mission. Orthodox believers are expected to practice their faith in such a way that other people are drawn into the membership of the Orthodox Church. Proselytes are encouraged with some practical assistance to attain self-sufficiency. Development, amongst other pastoral tools, is used to nurture church membership. This is particularly the case in Ghana where there is no 'mother' church to offer financial support for development purposes. Communities must provide for all of their own needs (Jouever &

Peterson 1992: 4). In East Africa many of the parishes have set up schools and clinics as part of caring for their communities. Many of these facilities in Uganda have been destroyed during the civil war (Hayes 1992: 1). With the suppression of the Orthodox Church in the former USSR during the Communist rule, information about the Church's involvement in development in those parts is inaccessible.

The Roman Catholic Church (RCC) with its western centrifugal model of mission has overtly made a significant contribution to the whole spectrum of development work. This has largely been based on the missionary work of the religious orders. Where blockages to development have occurred, Jesuits in particular have been known for their temerity in assisting with the creation of a suitable development environment, even if this has meant joining in the armed struggle, as in the case of Nicaragua (Martin 1987: 53-60).

Lay movements and the Papacy, also, have not been slow with their offerings. With regard to the latter, in 1991 the RCC celebrated the centenary of 'Rerum Novarum,' an encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. Making the suggestion that 'the church is not concerned with the soul alone (Rerum Novarum 1931: 17-8),' Pope Leo saw public institutions, laws, 'the hard-heartedness of employers,' usury and unfair trade as the major causes of social dislocation (Rerum Novarum 1931: 2). Advocating that there is 'no practical solution without religion and the church (Rerum Novarum 1931: 9-10), Pope Leo reminded the church of its duty to care for the poor (Rerum Novarum 1931: 18-9) and the state of its duty to regulate the

work place to ensure a living and just wage (Rerum Novarum 1931: 25-8).

Since Rerum Novarum, a number of papal encyclicals have appeared on social and development issues (Walsh & Davies 1984: xii - xviii). Of these, Populorum Progressio (Walsh & Davies 1984: 143-64) gives the clearest view of papal thinking on integral development (Dao 1976: 400-19; Howard 1984: 44-5).

The impact of the RCC's involvement in development has certainly been felt in Southern Africa. The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) was invited by Moshesh in 1833 to conduct mission work in what is now Lesotho. There the PEMS made 'the welfare of the nation their highest aim (Omer-Cooper 1966: 104).' Other local development issues engaged in, include medical missions (Gelfand 1984: 121-6), schools, and forced removals (SACC & SACBC 1984) where the RCC has largely been successful in preventing South African Government policy taking effect in these three areas of their involvement. One recent development initiative of particular interest has been an investigation made with respect to land usage of RCC-owned properties and the prospects for rural development (Daphne & Davidson 1986: 8-12, 35-41, 50-3). As a consequence, the Rural Transformation Association (sa) was established within the Diocese's of Zulu Pastoral Region where two field workers were employed to make a contribution to development efforts in the region.

Given the variety of issues at stake during the Reformation, the churches coming out of this movement equally have different

opinions as to the church's involvement in the world. The Separatists view the world as evil and therefore adherents must concern themselves only with celestial matters. Liberals on the other hand call upon people to make the best of their God-given gifts as a precursor to the Kingdom of God coming into society. The 'two-kingdoms doctrine' continues to guide Lutheran involvement where the church provides a model for society. In the Reformed model Christian service demands that attention be given to all dimensions of life in order to bring about the reformation of social structures (Meiring 1983: 297-8).

Probably as a consequence of the negative image of a divided church and limited human resources, the churches which arose out of the Reformation have on a number of occasions engaged in dialogue to create a united front in their mission to the world. One such ecumenical venture which included the member churches of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Orthodox Church, and the RCC was the establishment of the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (Sodepax) (Land 1985: 40). Sodepax was mandated to awaken Christians to justice, development and peace. This led to a conference on World Cooperation for Development, held in Beirut in 1968, which sought to formulate a theology of development to guide the wider church in its task (Sodepax 1969: 1).

Another ecumenical venture led by the WCC is the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) which grew out of the 1970 consultation on development held in Montreux, Switzerland. There development was understood as 'a process of

peoples' struggle for 'social justice, self-reliance and economic growth (CCPD 1985: 34)'. CCPD therefore functions to consolidate the involvement of this kind by the various churches.

Inter Church Aid under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) encouraged the member churches of the SACC to become more involved in development by making them aware of the development context in South Africa, highlighting the work of some Christian-based organisations and providing some guidelines for action (De Gruchy & Legg 1971: 9-13, 19-36). Similarly in 1978 the Missiological Institute at Mapumulo in Natal looked critically at the churches' responses to poverty in Southern Africa (Nurnberger 1978, especially Hlophe 1978: 254-6 & Khoza 1978: 257-8).

More recently, ecumenicals have discerned the role of repressive regimes inhibiting human development. Thus many ecumenicals have come to emphasize the need for social justice as a necessary prerequisite for development (Adegbola 1985: 86-7; Guruswamy 1983: 77). While the full potential of the church has not been realised in the struggle for a democratic South Africa (De Gruchy 1990: 226), Cochrane (1990: 84-94) provides a periodic typology of the church's resistance to Apartheid. One consequence of this new emphasis has been the development of what theologians call 'social analysis' as a tool for church members to understand the social context in which the wider church is called upon to work and minister (Holland & Henriot 1989: 7-45; Cochrane et al 1991: 13-25).

There has been a tendency among evangelical Christians to view the world negatively. Thus society must be redeemed through mission and evangelism, where an emphasis is placed on personal salvation rather than social involvement (Meiring 1983: 298). This largely explains why during the first half of this century evangelicals were insignificant in Third World development. World War 2, Vietnam, the civil rights movement in the USA and improvements in the curriculum of evangelical colleges however, initiated wider involvement in the world (Smith 1989: 24-9). Sider's (1978: 149-95) call for Christians to live a more appropriate life style and to promote structural change to effectively deal with world poverty has also encouraged evangelical participation. Thus evangelism and development have in some evangelical circles come to be seen as the opposite sides of the same coin (Amalorpavadass 1984: 216; Chethimattam 1980: 485-6; Mullenix & Mpaayei 1984: 333-5). More recently, given this association, evangelicals preferred to speak about human transformation, emphasizing one process made up of a number of components including life sustenance, equity, justice, dignity and self worth, freedom, participation, vulnerability, ecological soundness, hope and spiritual transformation (Bragg 1987: 40-7).

The diversity in opinion as to what constitutes development and which approaches should be adopted places the wider church in a strong position to play a significant role in contributing to human development. This position of strength is necessary for two reasons. First, the wider church must assist in the amelioration of poverty and improving the quality of life throughout the world. Second, as Nurnberger (1990: 161) warns: 'The impact of

the Christian faith on socio-economic developments in South Africa is likely to decline in the future. Increasing secularisation of perceptions and relationships, the functionalisation of social arrangements, pluralism, the concomitant privatisation of religion and the increasing power of ideological commitments will probably all contribute to this development.'

It is against this background that the development initiatives of the Anglican Diocese of Natal on the farms Modderspruit and Springvale, and those of Africa Cooperative Action Trust (ACAT) in the Emzumbi District will come to be evaluated.

CHAPTER 5: SPRINGVALE AND MODDERSPRUIT

The Anglican Diocese of Natal (CPSA) has been in possession of its two church farms, Springvale and Modderspruit since 1858 and 1911 respectively. Since the 1950s the Diocese has become increasingly concerned about the security of tenure its tenants possess in view of State policy towards black settlement on so-called white-owned land. With the threat of removal of communities, or alternatively their incorporation into the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu, the Diocese, in the mid-1980s, embarked on a number of initiatives to develop these two properties and thereby secure tenure for the tenants. While the threat of removal has subsequently waned due to strong resistance by the wider church and other bodies giving rise to a change in Government policy, certain incremental blockages have prevented the proposed developments taking place. The purpose of Chapter 5 is to evaluate the development processes thus far. This is done for two reasons: The first is to identify what those blockages are in order to facilitate appropriate remedial action. According to Lukes (1968: 128), 'to identify a piece of behaviour.....is sometimes to explain it. This may involve seeing it in a new way, picking out hidden structural features.....Often explanation resides precisely in a successful and sufficiently wide-ranging identification of behaviour or types of behaviour'. The second objective is to establish a benchmark as a basis for further evaluation as the development processes unfold. While a number of pieces of research have been conducted in respect of the development proposals, no document as such gives an overview of these intentions.

Research Methodology and Procedures

As part of the preparatory work undertaken to launch the development of Springvale and Modderspruit a number of pieces of research and/or surveys focusing on particular issues have been undertaken amongst the communities on these two farms. A few bits of other ad hoc research have been conducted as well. Apart from one piece of the above-mentioned research which makes reference to an earlier assignment, no other research attempts to bring together the total ambit of development research in these areas known to have taken place thus far. Certainly, none of the existing research evaluates the two development processes or examines the current blockages to development.

In view of the existing research, it was decided not to subject the communities to yet another survey. Rather, the development problems should be exposed through a Rapid Rural Appraisal of the two situations. This would be done in three ways: by harnessing existing knowledge, to use Wood's (1981: 4-6) words; being informed through the opinions of key stakeholders in the two development processes; and, by making intermittent visits to the two farms, being informed about whatever is observable on those occasions and gaining clarity about any of the issues raised by these three methods. These procedures stem from the desire to balance positivist methodologies latent within the existing research with a measure of a constructivist approach.

Each farm being treated independently, the data gained through this research {the fieldwork having been conducted between

September 1990 and March 1992,} will be presented in two ways. First, a history will be given, with a concentration on more recent events. Then, the issues inhibiting development will be examined in as much detail as is available at the time of writing.

SPRINGVALE

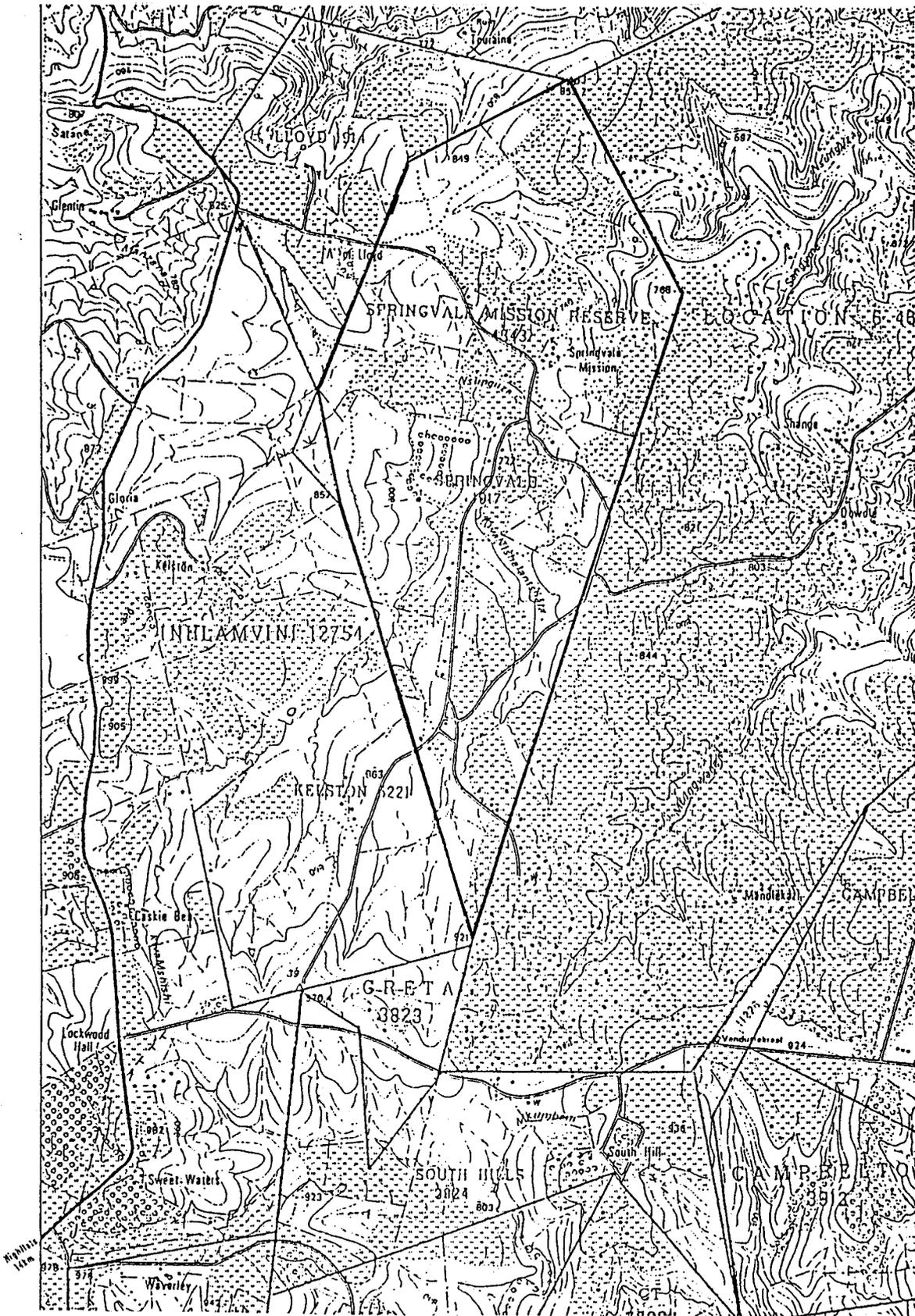
(See Map 5.1).

HISTORY

'Umvunya'

Henry Callaway, priest and physician, arrived in Natal in 1853 at the invitation of Bishop John Colenso who was recruiting clergy to serve in the Diocese of Natal. While initially serving in the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg, Callaway made application to the Natal Land Consolidation Company for a grant of land for mission purposes. A deserted Dutch farm was located across the Mkomazi Valley in February, 1858. After a lengthy discussion with members of the local Nhangwini tribe, Callaway's presence was accepted with the words, 'Uyinkosi yami.' Callaway returned before the end of the month to begin building a house, tilling a vegetable garden, constructing a school room with wide verandas to be used as his surgery and the church. The first worship service was held on the 21 February, 1858, under a mimosa tree, the church being completed the following year (Burnett sa: 96; Strachan 1983: 1-2). According to one stakeholder, Callaway's intention in procuring the farm was to bring people to Springvale

Map 5.1 Springvale



for a year or two. During that time they would come to learn the Christian faith and acquire skills for self-sufficiency. They would thereafter return to their homes.

Callaway soon realized that his mission would only take effect by spreading the gospel with the written word. To this end he began learning the Zulu language with the help of two catechists, Umpengula Mbanda and William Gcwensa, and committed his translations of scripture to paper through a printing press acquired through a Government grant. Further, he saw the need to train local teachers. Obviously, his medical skills also served this purpose with people coming to him for assistance and receiving both medical and spiritual help. He also employed an agricultural trainer. His wife and a Miss Townsend were responsible for teaching in the school (Burnett sa: 49; Strachan 1983: 2).

Before Callaway left Springvale in 1873 to become the first Bishop of Kaffraria (now the Dioceses of St John's and Umzimvubu) there were 200 Christians residing on the farm and 108 children attending the school. Further, having decided that Springvale was off the beaten track, Callaway, or Umvunya - 'the one with whom we agree' as he came to be called, had decided to apply for another grant of land at a place where two roadways under construction converged. He named this mission Empakameni giving the hamlet which grew up there the English name of Highflats (Burnett sa: 96, 99; Strachan 1983: 3).

Various appointments were made to the mission after Umvunya's departure. Mission life continued much according to the precedent

set. While a new vicarage was being constructed (Parish of Springvale 1911: 150), and school results were satisfactory, a steady decline became evident. Despite the school becoming State-aided, by 1910 the pupil numbers had dropped to 60 (Burgess 1910: 77). In 1912, the mission was struck by the East Coast Fever which resulted in severe losses of stock (Chater 1912: 66). With the outbreak of the Great War, the mission was put on the backburner. This was the beginning of a particular period of stress.

Going through a period of stress

In 1926 the Anglican Church Trust Board (ACTB) appointed a sub-committee to examine the management of both the Springvale and Highflats missions (Diocese of Natal (DN) 1926: 99). Here, the issues of tenancy, stocking and cultivation came to be regulated (DN 1926: 62). While these new procedures were followed by a Commission which recommended to the 1931 Diocesan Synod that all mission lands be retained in trust for their tenants to reside on permanently (DN 1931: 54-5), the disillusionment for the tenants created by the 1926 regulations was not allayed. Rather, it was reinforced by the 1934 Synod who resolved to sell the Highflats mission in order to centralise the mission at Springvale (DN 1934: 65). Two years later the same occurred in respect of Springvale where an Act of the 1936 Synod empowered the Diocesan Trustees to sell approximately 3000 acres of Springvale to the South African Native Trust to develop 'Native Mission work in the Springvale area (DN 1936: 15).' With a lack of interest shown by the Trust this failed to take effect (DN

1937: 67-9, 1941: 65), but Highflats was not let off the hook. This mission was eventually sold in 1938 (DN 1938: 35). Soon thereafter, an epidemic of tuberculosis (T B) broke out at Springvale. In the opinion of one stakeholder this epidemic has been seen by tenants to be the consequence of the reduction in available milk due to the rather stringent stock control measures introduced during this period as well as the relative insecurity of tenure. These are seen to have been orchestrated by C H Chater - the incumbent of mission at the time, who was later assaulted and then resigned his charge (DN 1944: 25). This association is unfortunate as other activity during this period shows both Synod and Chater were acting in good faith. The 1934 Synod, for instance, resolved 'not to hand over the management of any Mission School to the Government or to any other body, unless, in the opinion of the Bishop, such a school would, under other control, be of greater value to the community it serves (DN 1934: 18).' This same Synod also showed tolerance in respect to the poor payment of rent (DN 1934: 65), while the 1936 Synod anticipated considerable extra expenses for fencing material owing to an outbreak of East Coast Fever on the adjoining location (DN 1936: 63). Tribute was paid to Chater by a successor for the 'generous legacy of a well-stocked medicine cupboard' left by him to continue the work of the clinic, and numbers of pupils at school were up to 120, with children in Std 6 (ie in their 8th year of education) (Mylne 1945: v).

Relative growth

Fortunately with subsequent appointments to the mission this

distressing time gave way to a period of growth and thus a more positive outlook for tenants on the farm. However these weren't without hiccups on the way.

The clinic came to be augmented by the services of the District Surgeon who made weekly visits, sometimes with 70 patients waiting for consultation (Mylne 1945: V). The prominent diseases treated by the clinic included TB, Bilharzia and Venereal Disease. With a high incidence of malnutrition, the infant mortality rate was high, necessitating infant and child welfare work and health education (Hallowes 1952: VII). In the first two years of the Hallowes being at Springvale the clinic had attended to approx. 1300 people (Hallowes 1954: V). By 1956 this had risen to 1494 adults, 1610 babies and ante-natal cases, 779 health and sick visits, and 13 confinements. With growing unemployment due to job reservation and influx control, the clinic began stocking Kupugani products in 1963, and starting a feeding scheme for scholars. In 1964 protein enriched foodstuffs was provided free-of-charge to approx. 80 TB patients. 1965 saw a massive BCG campaign to prevent the further spreading of TB and the establishing of a Kupugani depot (Hallowes 1965: 62).

In 1950 a plea was made to extend the school building to cope with the demand from the location, children having to be turned away owing to the lack of facilities (Walker 1950a: V). According to a stakeholder, a Std 7 class was opened in 1953, but the school reverted to Std 6 being the highest standard with the introduction of Bantu Education. Nevertheless, during this time special arrangements were made to provide local herdboys with an

education. On the schoolside this involved repeat lessons taught at two homesteads. On the farmside the creation of paddocks facilitated their regular attendance at lessons. In 1966, the school was designated a farm school and run by a board. School boards ceased to exist after the creation of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture in 1972. The late 1970's saw further additions to the school building bringing the total number of classrooms to eight. During this period pupil numbers rose to 600, though faction-fights would reduce regular attendance to 400 pupils.

The search for safer water became a priority from the 1950's due to the high incidence of Bilharzia. 'It is extremely difficult to preach purity of the soul if the body is given contaminated water on which to exist (Walker 1950a: V).' Thus, a Water Fund was established by Kingsley Walker (1950b: VI). Drilling a borehole began with a hand operated drill in 1953, but the presence of ironstone prevented the appropriate depths being reached. The alternative was the construction of an underground tank for the collection of rain water (Hallowes 1953a: VI).

The measures introduced during 1926 to control tenancy, stock and agricultural production remained in force (Hallowes 1953b: VI). Severe pressure was put on the resources of the farm because of overstocking and encroachment. Several stakeholders make reference to a sound pounding policy which successfully reduced encroachment, but was not able to eliminate it. During the late 1960s an initiative by a para-church organisation known as Church Agricultural Projects to establish a cattle cooperative on

Springvale proved unpopular with stock owners. Another initiative therefore, encouraged tenants to plough their agricultural allotments and to use kraal manure as fertilizer. Testimony is given by stakeholders to high yielding crops even during periods of relative drought.

Community development

In response to a resolution made at the Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa in 1970 'to develop a programme of Community Development for underprivileged people (DN 1973: 50),' the Diocese of Natal set up its Human Relations and Reconciliation Programme and appointed a Community Development Officer. Springvale derived many benefits from this service. A meeting with the Community Development Officer in 1976 produced six priorities for the community to deal with (DN 1976: 55-6). These included the problem of obtaining coffins when there has been a decease, the need to revitalise the clinic, to have a possible source of money for development purposes, a grinding mill, an agricultural demonstrator and a tractor. Initiatives coming out of this exercise included the starting of a burial society, taking some action in regard to the clinic and, running an exhibition of locally made crafts and arts. By the 1980 Diocesan Synod, the Burial Society had grown to a membership of about 60, the Tractor Committee had begun collecting some money towards a second-hand tractor, the Handcraft Committee had sold R800 worth of grassmats with an order worth R1600 in hand, an agricultural demonstrator had encouraged two men to start a garden where surplus crops had been sold in Richmond and Pieter-

maritzburg and, 6 typewriters and a duplicator had been donated to the mission. Sadly, the clinic was closed in 1978 (DN 1980: 51-2).

The community development experience was the forerunner to the initiative to develop the two Church properties. In 1982, Synod called 'on the Bishop to encourage and foster self-help agricultural projects on all Church owned farm lands in the Diocese of Natal (DN 1982: 2).' This was followed-up with the Bishop and the then Suffragan Bishop meeting with the Springvale community in March 1983. The community agreed with the sentiments of Synod, provided the development took place from within the community. As a consequence of this meeting the Springvale Parish Council formed a Development Committee (Parish of Springvale 1985: 1).

Springvale Development Committee

The first meeting of the Springvale Development Committee was held under the chairmanship of the Suffragan Bishop who encouraged the people of Springvale to take responsibility for the development of the mission, deciding on what sort of place they wanted it to be and the manner in which it was to be managed. He also spoke of the possibility of establishing a Springvale Development Board where some members of the committee could work alongside some other members of the Diocese to guide the Diocese in its support of this new venture. The committee then discussed a number of issues impinging on the development. These included the problem of absentee tenants, the pound procedures, the relationship of the Development Committee to the Springvale

Parish Council - which oversees a number of chapelries far beyond Springvale Mission, payment of rents, the problem of fencing, management of the farm, the calling of consultants, widows, married children of tenants and conditions of tenancy (Springvale Development Committee (SDC) 1984: 1-2).

Agricultural survey

Out of this and subsequent meetings, the Bishop Suffragan invited a firm of agricultural consultants to advise on the agricultural development potential of the mission (Mkhize 1985: 1). In the interim the community met to brainstorm and discern its needs. These covered a good cross section of basic human needs and prerequisites for agricultural development. Groups then examined these in broad categories as part of formulating strategies to achieve them (Parish of Springvale 1985: 1-3). The consultants included these needs in their report, submitting it to the Suffragan Bishop in June of 1986.

Summing up their findings, S A Farm Consultants (Dodson 1986: 15-7) showed that the farm has a low agricultural potential and is more suited to livestock production but even this potential is being reduced by overgrazing, erosion and bush encroachment. Despite what potential there is, tenants do not make full use of that potential, but rely on remittances from relatives working in towns. For most tenants the farm functions solely as a place of residence, with their subsistence agriculture and livestock augmenting remittances received. Their meaningless rentals also inhibit their enjoyment of basic amenities usually provided by

local authorities. Further, the lack of an effective management presence coupled with the general dereliction of the Diocesan-owned buildings showed the Diocese to be unenthusiastic in management and as a rural development agent.

Upon the above findings, S A Farm Consultants (Dodson 1986: 18-20) recommended that after consultation with the tenants, the farm should be subdivided and the portions sold to the tenants. Should the Government not sanction the sale, negotiations should be entered into to have Springvale incorporated into KwaZulu. Once the tenants have title to their respective portions, rural development agencies should be approached by the new owners to supply a management function and to procure funds for development. Not unrelated was the suggestion that the centre of the Midlands Archdeaconary should be relocated elsewhere.

As a consequence of the consultants' recommendations, the 1986 Diocesan Synod passed Act VII, 'That the Diocesan Trustees be and they are hereby authorised in principle to sell by private treaty, to individual purchasers, first preference being given to present residents, other than the State, individual portions of the farm Springvale in extent 1249 Hectares, which are not required for Church purposes (DN 1986: 67)'. A similar Act (VI) for Modderspruit gave the impetus for the creation of a joint Springvale and Modderspruit Development Committee (SMDC) (Mkhize 1987a: 1) which immediately requested advice from the Institute of Natural Resources (INR) with regard to the planning of the two farms (SMDC 1987a: 1; Mkhize 1987b: 1). This led the INR being commissioned to conduct a survey 'to determine prevailing poverty

levels and to investigate the capacity and willingness of the tenants to become involved in the purchase and development of the farms (Colvin 1988: 3)', augmenting the S A Farm Consultants survey in respect of Springvale.

Socio-economic survey

Using a 19% sampling fraction, 23 of the 119 Springvale tenant families were surveyed by the INR. This revealed that the average tenancy period for the survey households was 44 years, with a mean family size of 8,8 persons of which approximately 62% are permanent residents. Thus it was estimated that at the time Springvale supported a total de facto population of about 650 persons and a total de jure of about 1050 persons (Colvin 1988: 10-1). This suggests a mean population density of 0,84 persons per hectare, or put another way, there is roughly 1,2 hectares available per capita or 10,5 hectares per family. Another demographic feature was that more than half the population (58%) is under the age of 16 (Colvin 1988: 10).

Of the 23 sample households, only 5 homesteads had a family member in permanent employment and residing permanently on the farm. Two of these employees were teachers at the local school. Most of households (22 of the 23 surveyed) had at least one family member in employment elsewhere. One household in the sample did not have a single wage earner. Here, pension payouts were the only source of income. Such payouts and disability grants were received by at least 57 per cent of the sample households, collectively accounting for approximately 34 per cent

of the mean household income. Overall, the mean cash income from all sources for the surveyed households was estimated at R215 per month, but this was unequally distributed. It was found that the poorest two fifths of the households surveyed earned less than one fifth of income accruing to all the surveyed households. Despite this the highest recorded income for any household was only R840 per month (Colvin 1988: 13).

Upon these and other considerations, including the Modderspruit situation, the Institute of Natural Resources recommended that the Diocese should not raise expectations or fears as to the sale of the farm to the tenants, but should obtain legal opinion vis-a-vis any proposed change in land tenure arrangements. After it had considered this legal and other opinion, the INR called on the Diocese to make a firm policy with regard to the future of the two farms (Colvin 1988: 32). It also recommended the establishing of residents associations to assume responsibility with a duly appointed 'rural transformation officer' for the upgrading and management of the farms - the Diocese being responsible for seeking financial aid from both national and international bodies to support these programmes of reform and development (Colvin 1988: 33).

Community Services survey

Two years later another survey was conducted by the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration. With its responsibility for black settlement on so-called white-owned property, the Community Services Branch recommended that the area

be uplifted in terms of basic needs, with spring protection, community facilities, sanitation, schools and the upgrading of roads being the major priorities (Steyn 1990: 3). Subsequent to this survey, officials from the Branch encouraged, and obtained funds for the partial reconstruction of a building on the farm. This facility is to be used by an active women's group who amongst other things makes candles, sews, weaves and has been facilitating the opening of a creche (Steyn 1992: 1).

Recent decline

Apart from a few maintenance issues receiving attention, including an increase in rents and dipping fees to reduce the cost to the Diocese (Walker 1990a: 1-2), the development initiative begun in the mid 1980s seem to have run out of steam. The fact that the Springvale Modderspruit Development Committee no longer meets is an indicator of this state of affairs. The remainder of this Rapid Rural Appraisal attempts to highlight those factors which seem to be slowing the development process down.

INCREMENTS OF BLOCKAGE

The Chater affair

The Parish which has grown out of Springvale Mission stretches southwards towards the north-western region of the Emzumbi District and westwards to beyond Ixopo. Given the needs of all the chapelries, the Rector and some members of the Springvale

Parish Council have motivated for moving administration of the Parish closer to its geographical centre. This has been received and supported by the Diocesan Council as an attempt to make the Parish a more viable unit and to ease the workload of the Rector. It was mentioned earlier that Callaway started the Mission at Highflats because Springvale is a bit out of the way. Once the problem of a site and/or suitable buildings for the Parish Office and Rectory is solved the move is almost certain to go ahead. To some extent this probability has not been well received by the tenants of the Springvale Farm. This has been exacerbated by the Rector attempting to encourage the members of the Springvale Development Committee to use initiative and become more responsible for the development of the farm.

The response by most tenants to the proposed relocation of the parish administrative centre, according one stakeholder, is that the Rector, the Parish Council and the Diocese are leaving them in the lurch. This conclusion draws on a variety of events that go back to the period when C H Chater ran the Mission. According to another stakeholder, before Chater's time there was an emphasis on spiritual development. When Chater arrived, he stressed measures which would ensure the ecological survival of the farm. This emphasis on land issues is held to have caused people to move away from Springvale or to fail to pay their rent with regularity. With the sale of the Highflats Mission, Chater as a representative of the Anglican Church came to be seen by some tenants as 'an oppressor' and as 'a destroyer.' Now that the Diocese is seen to be removing the Rector of the Parish from the farm, for it has already moved the Archdeacon of the Midlands

from there, and still more that it wants to sell the land, albeit to the tenants themselves, some tenants see that another 'Chater-tide' is approaching. As a consequence they find it difficult to contribute to the so-called development of the farm.

Lack of management

This apparent lack of management of the Mission farm is another obstacle to development. One stakeholder argues that the church talks about development without effectively bringing about development. And what is more, the recent suggestions about development have been heard before. Since nothing happened then, is anything going to happen now? For another stakeholder, the church must be seen to doing things before people will join in and play their part. Despite the initiatives already taken by the Diocese to develop Springvale, one stakeholder suggests that the Diocese has done nothing. These negative statements about the Diocese's involvement in the development of Springvale are supported by the S A Farm Consultants (Dodson 1986: 16) opinion that the 'Anglican church is not at this time an effective or enthusiastic rural development agency.' This lack of effectiveness and enthusiasm is also reflected in the failure of the Diocese to heed the advice of the Institute of Natural Resources (Colvin 1988: 32) to make 'a firm policy resolution regarding the future development of the Mission farms.' This failure probably stems from the fact that while the Anglican church as a whole aligns itself with the ecumenical churches which come out of the reformation in terms of its approach to development (see page 105f), the Anglican Diocese of Natal, unlike the RCC with its

papal encyclicals on social and development issues (see page 104f), does not have a fully formulated policy with regard to development in its geographical location. This immediately has consequences for the management of Springvale.

Encroachment

One aspect of the physical management which needs urgent attention is that of the boundary fence. Encroachment by cattle and goats belonging to people resident in the neighbouring Khuze Tribal Authority of KwaZulu is a regular occurrence. On a single day during fieldwork, there were at least three different incidents. The first involved a head of 15 cattle which had encroached onto the most arable part of the farm - a number of stakeholders said tenants do not make much use of this part any longer because of the encroachment. Further down the boundary a herd of more than 25 goats had crossed onto the farm, while even further south, a herd of more than 35 head of cattle had encroached onto another arable portion of the farm. With such incidents of encroachment happening, tenants cannot unleash what arable potential there is available on the farm. While the Diocese does pay for the services of a headman (the Induna) and two rangers, these men cannot effectively curb encroachment when the boundary fence is down. Pounding is of no consequence as animals are pushed onto the farm at night.

Rent, dipping fees and dual residence

With regard to the financial management of the farm the whole question of rent and dipping fees needs further investigation. First, the amounts charged are totally unrealistic. At a joint meeting of some of the members of the Diocesan Trustees and of the Parish of Springvale, rents were raised from R6 per annum to R24. Dipping fees were raised from R7,20 per head per annum for the first six head of cattle and R14,40 per head per annum for the remainder in excess of six (with calves not charged for) to R18 per head per annum for cattle and R9 per head per annum for calves. These increases were precipitated by the annual expenditures on dipping materials, fencing repairs and wages amounting to approximately R8000, while annual rents and dipping fees yielded no more than R5000. The increases in rent and dipping fees were anticipated to yield an annual revenue of approximately R10 000 per annum, though the expected surplus of R2000 would soon be eroded by inflation (Walker 1990a: 1).

To effectively maintain a farm of 1249 hectares, pay three sets of wages and dip 433 head of cattle and calves on R10 000 per annum, let alone develop it, is absurd. More realistic rents and dipping fees must be charged. While it is evident from the Institute of Natural Resources that the levels of income for tenants are deflated, one stakeholder suggests that it is known that many former residents of Springvale maintain ties through an aged tenant and when it suits them they will make use of their kinship to secure a place for themselves on the farm. This matter did receive some attention at the first meeting of the Springvale

Development Committee (1984: 1) where it was agreed that:

- 'a. Those without homes should be struck off the list.
- b. Those maintaining 2 homes (1 at work & 1 at Springvale) should be called upon to choose which is their real home.
- c. Those who are away for a period with all their family, should bring the person who is to look after their place to the Induna and then to the Priest-in-Charge & Committee for approval'.

Firm action must be taken in this regard and the appropriate rents levied.

Further, the present system of notifying tenants of increases in rental and dipping fees, and the collection of rent must be reviewed. Despite a previous meeting of the Springvale Residents (1990: 1) being reported to have ratified the increase of charges made by the meeting of the Diocesan Trustees and the Parish of Springvale, doubt was expressed at the next meeting as to whether that was the case. As a result rents continue to trickle in. The present system, which effectively makes the Rector responsible for rent collection, even though he may have delegated this task to the headman, is untenable. When tenants complain that they always find themselves to be in arrears with rent, as one stakeholder does, this means that the present system is not satisfactory and an alternative must be found.

Out-migration

The problem of people maintaining two homes, one at Springvale and one elsewhere, presents another blockage for the development

of Springvale. Development is dependent on the skills, labour and commitment of able-bodied people. When a significant proportion of these are absent from a situation, development can only happen at the pace of those remaining behind. In the case of Springvale people begin to be absent from a fairly young age. Once a scholar has attained Std 5, that scholar has no option but to continue with education away from Springvale. At present 18 scholars are completing their secondary education away, while another 3 are pursuing tertiary education (Ngcobo 1992: 1-2). While these numbers are relatively small compared to the projected 1988 de jure population of 1050 persons (ie 2%), it is almost certain that when these scholars have completed their education they will endeavour to seek work in urban areas or elsewhere away from Springvale. Springvale is certain not to derive any of the benefits of the skills they have learnt. The Institute of Natural Resources found that at least 57% of the de jure adult population was employed away from Springvale (Colvin 1988: 11). Further, in the two years between their survey and that conducted by the Community Services Branch, the total number of households had dropped from 119 (Colvin 1988: 10) to 85 (Steyn 1990: 4). The reason for this continuous out-migration is the lack of employment for any one at Springvale. In the words of one stakeholder, 'there are no prospects apart from fiddling around on the mission.'

Able-bodied people

Even if this massive out-migration did not happen the problem of sufficient able-bodied people who could nurture the development

would still not be solved. Community Services in their survey of 84 out the 85 registered families, found that 38 (or just less than half) of the 84 household heads are above the age 60. Further, 34 (or just more than 40%) of the 84 household heads are either on pension or are disabled (Steyn 1990: 4). This situation mitigates against an effective decision-making process in what is potentially to be an action setting.

A rural transformation officer?

One of the decisions made at the first Springvale Development Committee (1984: 1) meeting was not to have a manager. Unfortunately, the consequences of this decision are manifesting themselves at present. A headman assisted by two rangers is simply not in a position to handle the variety of tasks and issues involved, particularly in the case of the development of Springvale. The Institute of Natural Resources in recommending that the Diocese create and fund a contract post for a 'rural transformation officer,' suggested that a 'suitably qualified and committed person should be sought who would assume responsibility for initiating and overseeing a broad programme of community development. Physical development projects should be promoted by bringing in outside resources and by the involvement of other development institutions when appropriate (Colvin 1988: 33).'

Water

One physical development project which must receive attention is

that of developing the water supply at Springvale. While the efforts made by Walker and Hallows, mentioned earlier, are commendable the current water situation is unacceptable. Given that two pump engines mounted on a concrete base have been stolen, a portable systems is presently used.

School

Another issue to be taken up is a current initiative of transferring the administration of the Springvale Combined School from the KwaZulu Government Department of Education and Culture to the Central Government Department of Education and Training. The attraction to do this comes from the example of similar transfers which have taken place in the Edendale valley, near Pietermaritzburg. According to one stakeholder, there have been immediate positive benefits in Edendale given a better quality of education. However, another stakeholder, while supporting this possibility adds the caveat that given the proximity of Springvale to KwaZulu, this could be viewed by local amakhosi as a political move. Therefore, this stakeholder suggests that it is imperative that this action is totally supported by the Springvale community given the continued occurrence of political violence.

Clinic

Of major importance is the need to appraise the merits of attempting to re-open a clinic at Springvale. Given the distance of 39 kms which need to be travelled to reach the

hospital at Ixopo and that a mobile clinic from the Department of National Health and Population Development visits the area but once a month means that medical help is not immediately available when needed. Roads are another priority demanding attention.

Management skills

Intrinsic to the development of Springvale would be the need for a rural transformation officer, as mentioned earlier, to work alongside the Development Committee and other groups and organisations. Apart from facilitating their achieving their various objectives, helping them to develop management skills would be a priority. According to one stakeholder, development is often frustrated simply through the lack of reasonable minutes being taken at meetings.

Monitoring and evaluation

Alongside the above work scenario, a rural transformation officer would be able to effect an acceptable monitoring and evaluation system. This aspect of development has been totally lacking. While there are copies of research and Synod reports, minutes of meetings and persons who have some knowledge of what has been happening at Springvale dotted around the Diocese, this can hardly assist in the fostering of development. A simple dossier containing copies of those reports and minutes and the opinions of those persons mentioned, to which are added any further developments which happen, would ease the burden of regular evaluation to stimulate the development process. It is hoped that

through the findings contained in this dissertation such a dossier is opened. It is the opinion of this dissertation that the failure of the Diocese of Natal to continuously and effectively evaluate the development process at Springvale permitted many of the afore-mentioned mal-developments to take place. As a consequence, people, particularly the tenants, have not taken the Church to be serious when it talks about development (see the issue of the appointment of a rural transformation officer). Had evaluation been part of the development process at Springvale, this unintended situation may well have been obviated and the development process stimulated to the advantage of the tenants.

MODDERSPRUIT

(See Map 5.2)

HISTORY

St Chads

The farm Modderspruit was purchased by the Diocese of Natal in 1911 through funds procured by the sale of the farm Ekukhanyeni and the old Diocesan centre at Bishopstowe, both near Pietermaritzburg. The purchase was motivated by two intentions. The first is, the Diocese having set up a number of primary schools throughout Natal realized the need to train Christian teachers to staff those schools (Burnett sa: 150). This was stimulated by the Education Department at the time intimating to the mainline churches engaged in 'native' education that it would subsidize

Map 5.2 Modderspruit



teacher training. Modderspruit seemed well-suited to the establishment of a teacher training college, given the existence of a Government-aided school there. The other intention was to provide accommodation for those families who were dispossessed of their homes through the sale of Ekukanyeni (DN 1911: 19-20).

In September 1912 the Anglican Church Trust Board (ACTB) approved a tender for the construction of a lecture room, dining room and dormitories for female and male students on Modderspruit (ACTB 1912a: 269). While building operations were in progress the ACTB gave consideration to the selection of a site for a principal's home and the construction of dipping tanks for cattle, sheep and goats (ACTB 1913: 137). On 22 April 1914, St Chad's College was officially opened with 20 students having already registered on the 2nd of February (ACTB 1914a: 71; Modderspruit College 1914: 105). Canon Robinson was the first principal, with Miss Plaister assisting him on the teaching staff (Burnett sa: 150). In 1918 St Bede's Boarding School was transferred from Riversdale in the Klipriver district of Natal to Modderspruit to provide prospective student teachers. By 1923 there were 60 student teachers at St Chad's, 30 boys at St Bede's and 100 pupils at the Government-aided school (Lewis & Edwards 1934: 382). Again in 1938 there were further developments at the College with building extensions (DN 1938: 23). These extensions allowed St Chad's and St Bede's together to provide both primary and secondary education and to offer the full teacher training curriculum. This centre of learning continued to offer this high quality education as a unit until 1955 when as a consequence of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 the Government took over the running of St Chad's.

Eventually in 1974 the teacher training programme was transferred to Saguma College, near Pietermaritzburg. In 1978 the high school at Modderspruit was closed due to the general dereliction of the buildings which had begun in the mid-1950s, and the failure of the Church to meet the standards set by the Department of Bantu Education. Subsequently in 1983, the Church was granted permission to run a farm school on Modderspruit (DN 1984: 51) teaching pupils up to Std 5. Through local fund raising, the old woodwork shop has been refurbished to extend the curriculum to Std 7 (Esterhuizen 1988: 3-5). Unfortunately the buildings, on the whole, continue to be in a sad state of disrepair, with many unused.

The farm

With regard to the second intention of providing a place of residence for those families displaced by the sale of Ekukanyeni, the ACTB lost no time in laying down conditions of occupancy on the new farm and facilitated the appointment of a headman to represent its interests. In June 1911 the ACTB gave notice that from July 1st, 1912, only Anglican worship was permitted on the farm, tenants would be entitled to a total of four and a half acres of land and grazing rights over the unutilized portion of the farm, preference would be given to Anglicans obliged to leave Bishopstowe or Ekukanyeni, rent and an entrance fee of one pound had to be paid (ACTB 1911: 137, 139). By January 1912, tenants at Bishopstowe and Ekukanyeni had been given notice that they were to avail themselves of the offer to move to Modderspruit before 30th June, 1912 (ACTB 1912b: 11). Despite these measures

the ACTB (1914b: 217) reported two years later that overploughing had taken place on Modderspruit. This was seen as deliberate and in defiance of the rules. Notice to quit was served on the headman. With continued incidents, the ACTB proposed to appoint a farm manager in 1921 (DN 1921: 100) though it was not until 1933 that an appointment was finally made (DN 1933: 77). Not only was the (white) manager to control land usage of the farm and to collect rent from tenants, but be responsible initially for the maintenance of buildings and water reticulation and later when electricity could be installed, for that as well. In the meantime the ACTB presented proposals to the tenants to grant them more permanent tenure, but this failed to gain momentum due the inability of the tenants' committee to provide reasonable counter proposals (DN 1924: 92). Before the arrival of the farm manager the ACTB had to take strong action to deal with overstocking. It required the tenants to dispose of all small stock before the 30th June, 1928 (DN 1928: 70). Thereafter, representations made to the Board for rent remission due to drought and unenemployment were not entertained, the Board being of the opinion that the rent was reasonable given the privileges enjoyed by the tenants. However, as a temporary measure the ACTB conceded to reduce dipping fees (DN 1932: 74). The call for further stock reduction was heard again in 1945 (DN 1945: 12, 54).

Removals and homeland consolidation

The early 1950s saw the beginnings of the implementation of the Apartheid era. According to one stakeholder large portions of farms in the Klipriver area were made available for the purpose

of enlarging the part of KwaZulu in that vicinity. This provided the first indication that the State was intent on buying Modderspruit for the purpose of relocating people from so-called Blackspots. The probability emerged again in 1980 and again in 1982 when a Member of Parliament approached the Diocese regarding the purchase of the farm by the Government with the intention of establishing a closer settlement. The Diocesan Trustees believing that the best possible deal should be obtained for the tenants brought a motion to sell the farm, apart from a small portion upon which the Church has particular vested interests (DN 1984: 51). In view of the 1984 Synod seeing the proposed purchase as part of blackspot removals and homeland consolidation, the motion was amended and Synod (DN 1984: 80) legislated (Act XII of 1984) that:

'A This Synod asks the Bishop on behalf of the Diocesan Trustees to communicate directly with the about to be elected Executive State President, asking for his personal intervention in the proposed purchase negotiations by the State of the Farm MODDERSPRUIT No. 1185 in extent 2394 Hectares, in order to secure the following interests:

(1) That the land already identified in negotiations with the State as remaining in the ownership of the Diocesan Trustees, shall indeed so remain.

(2) That the existing occupiers of the land, who are known as tenants of the Anglican Church (Diocesan Trustees) shall be granted security of tenure and in addition the opportunity of obtaining freehold rights.

(3) That only persons who wish and choose to do so, will be settled or resettled on the land to be pur-

chased by the State.

(4) That persons who voluntarily settle or re-settle on the land to be purchased by the State shall be granted the opportunity of obtaining freehold rights.

B That the Synod authorises the Diocesan Trustees to proceed with the sale of portion of the Farm MODDERSPRUIT No. 1185 in extent 2394 hectares, if the necessary written assurances are given. If the Trustees are not satisfied with the Government's response, the matter shall be brought back to Synod'.

Diocesan Synod Act VI of 1986

The matter was brought back to the next Synod meeting in 1986 when it became evident that the acquisition of Modderspruit by the Government was a 'short term action' 'priority' recommended in the draft Ezakheni Structure Plan (Department of Co-operation and Development 1985: 0.4). Thus the 1984 Act was sharpened to read: 'That the Diocesan Trustees be authorised in principle to sell by private treaty to individual purchasers, first preference being given to present residents, other than the State, portions of the property described as the farm Modderspruit number 1185 in extent 2394 Hectares. Any sale to the State would be subject to the provisions of Act XII of 1984 (DN 1986: 67).'

It was against this background that representatives of the Modderspruit tenants came to join the Springvale Modderspruit Development Committee (SMDC). However, before their first

meeting, soil scientists commissioned by S A Farm Consultants reported that 'apart from a small area of alluvial soil on the Klip River and narrow strips on either side of the stream to the north of the mission station, it is clear from an examination of the overlay that the farm is totally unsuited to cultivation except on a very small scale', with only 45 hectares of the total area of farm being high potential soils (Pedo-Kode 1987: 1).

At the first meeting of the SMDC the then Bishop Suffragan stressed that whatever was decided about the future of the two properties must promote community development, which he described as 'a concern for people enabling and equipping them to meet their needs.' Clear support for the 1986 Synod resolution came from the Modderspruit representatives (SMDC 1987a: 1-2). At the second meeting the eagerness of the tenants to buy plots of land was reiterated. It was also reported that the Modderspruit farm had been divided into wards and representatives from each ward elected to a Farm Council. Sub-committees of the Farm Council would also be appointed to look into matters such as education and health (SMDC 1987b: 1-2).

Institute of Natural Resources survey

The Institute of Natural resources (INR) as in the case of Springvale, was also contracted to conduct its survey at Modderspruit. When the Institute of Natural Resources presented the results of their surveys in April, 1988, they showed (Colvin 1988: 27) that compared with Springvale, the residents of Modderspruit 'appear to have a greater ability to control, and

to contribute towards, an internally constituted development programme. This is premised on evidence that families have a more balanced and stable family life (a higher proportion of household heads being employed and permanently resident by virtue of the job opportunities at Ladysmith), and that households are considerably more affluent (mean household incomes three times in excess of those recorded for Springvale residents)'. Given the continued threat of removal and/or incorporation into the adjacent township of Ezakheni, the INR suggested three tasks for the tenants. The first was to gain an informed opinion of the intentions the then Department of Development Aid had in respect of the development of Ezakheni. Secondly, they would need to make a decision as what would serve their interests most, either the Church retaining the property or being incorporated into Ezakheni. In the case of the former, they would, thirdly, need to investigate the possibility of purchasing the farm from the Church under corporate ownership as a syndicate of registered tenants. As such they could begin to assume responsibility for the services already provided by the Diocese (Colvin 1988: 28).

A Development Area?

One attempt to make some headway with regard to the INR's recommendations was a meeting held at Ladysmith in October, 1988. Present were representatives from the tenants, the Diocese, the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) and the Urban Foundation. Discussion was led inter alia on the consequences of establishing the farm as a Development Area in terms of Section 33 of the Black Communities Development Act, 1984 and the problem of

squatting which was escalating (Walker 1988: 1-2). Legal opinion was then obtained as to the implications of proclaiming the farm as a Development Area in terms of the 1984 Act (Kirby 1988: 1-3).

A framework for development

With the Urban Foundation expressing an interest in becoming involved in the development through Azalea Homes (one of its Utility Companies) (Diocesan Council 1988: 4), consultants were commissioned to provide 'a framework for development (Metroplan 1989: 1-11)' and a feasibility study of the provision of sewerage and bulk water supply systems (Du Plessis 1989: 1-9) for Modderspruit. Based on the Ezakheni Structure Plan, a preliminary geotechnical survey (Crowther & Knight 1989: 1-4) [(a more complete geological report following in 1991) (Stiff 1991: 1-8)] and the sewerage and bulk water supply feasibility study the framework for development proposed the construction of 4425 low cost high density housing units (on 295 hectares), 1875 high cost high density housing units (on 125 hectares), 384 high cost low density housing units (on 48 hectares) and 150 'rural development (market gardening)' housing units (on 206 hectares) in the eastern sector of the farm, closest to Ezakheni. They anticipated that these housing units would provide accommodation for 45100 people. Adjacent to these residential components, the plan set aside areas for business, education, public open space and sport and recreation. The framework considered that minor land use facilities such as creches, churches and community centres should be dealt with later in the detailed layout plan phase (Carter 1990: 1-4; Metroplan 1989: 1, 6-9). These proposals were sub-

mitted to the Community Services Branch of the NPA for comment. One of their planners was of the opinion that the proposals did not indicate clearly why the eastern portion of Modderspruit should be developed and consideration ought to be given to the regional context of the farm. Further, it was not clear why the entire property was not included within the study area. Also the existing population of the farm had to be taken into account, while guidelines for the phasing of implementation need to be provided (Kabi 1990: 2-3).

Despite the above mentioned omissions in the framework for development the process of having the farm declared a Development Area was initiated by a meeting of 352 residents of Modderspruit who unanimously requested that the necessary application be made (Sithole et al 1990: 1). The outcome of this meeting and a brief report of developments thus far were transmitted to the Diocesan Trustees who assented to the application being made (Walker 1990b: 1-2). The irony of the application which followed is that another stumbling block to the proposed developments was about to be encountered.

INCREMENTS OF BLOCKAGE

Obsolete legislation

Upon the advice that the Modderspruit residents had requested the Diocesan Trustees to submit an application on their behalf to the Minister of Development and Planning, the Physical Planning Directorate of the NPA called a meeting with representatives of

the Modderspruit residents, the Diocese, the Community Services Branch of the NPA and the Innova Utility Company (which had incorporated the Azalea Company). At that meeting on 11 October 1990 problems relating to Section 33 of the Black Communities Development Act, 1984 were raised. One, which was a consequence of the 2 February 1990 watershed in South African constitutional and political affairs, was that the Act was racially based. This would mean that only 'Blacks' (the Population Registration Act, 1950 having not yet being repealed) could own land in the Development Area. The other problems were that Section 33 required detailed compliance with entrenched township regulations and that the declaration would be made only after protracted negotiations with the Minister (The Future Development of St Chads (TFDSC) 1990: 2; Walker 1990c: 1). Subsequently the Black Communities Development Act, 1984 would come to be repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 .

The 'Squatters' Act

Paradoxically the alternative was to make use of provisions in the Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act, 1951, an Act of Parliament which the Diocese of Natal amongst other bodies of the wider church had so vehemently opposed. Section 6A of the 'Squatters' Act provided for the declaration of Development Areas by the Administrators of the different provinces of the Republic of South Africa. This had the advantage of maintaining control over the proposed developments at Modderspruit within the Province of Natal. Further, there was greater flexibility with provisions of Section 6A as the Administrator could approve regulations

appropriate to specific locations without regard to the Township Regulations of Section 33 of the Black Communities Development Act, 1984. And, by virtue of the provisions of Section 6A being set within the 'Squatters' Act a legal instrument would be in place to prevent uncoordinated and illegal acquisition of land which, by virtue of some illegal squatting which had begun to take place on the farm, was an advantage. Another feature of Section 6A was that it was not racially based (TFDSC 1990: 2; Walker 1990b: 1).

As a consequence of the above change in legislation the Farm Council (see page 142) acting on behalf of the residents resubmitted an appeal to the Diocesan Trustees to have the farm proclaimed as a Development Area, this time, in terms of the provisions of Section 6A of the 'Squatters' Act. However, when the different interest groups met again on the 5 June 1991, this time under the name of St Chads Action Committee (SCAC) (which superseded the TFDSC), members of the Physical Planning Branch of the NPA made it evident that Section 6A was in the balance. The Less Formal Township Establishment Bill was concurrently before Parliament and should it be enacted certain of its provisions would repeal Section 6A of the 'Squatters' Act, (SCAC 1991: 2) which eventually happened. While the Action Committee rejected the advice of pursuing the application for declaring the farm a Development Area in terms of the proposed Less Formal Township Establishment Bill (later enacted as Act No 113 of 1991) because the Bill was not before them, stringent regulations similar to those in the repealed Black Communities Development Act, 1984 concerning township establishment, albeit informal,

rendered the provisions of the new Bill inappropriate as a legal instrument to facilitate that aspect of the development of the Modderspruit farm.

A Health Committee?

According to a planner-stakeholder the route which is currently being scrutinised is having the Administrator-in-Executive Committee (as the portfolio has now come to be termed) constitute the farm as a Health Committee by proclamation in terms of Section 294 of the Local Authorities Ordinance, 1974 (Natal Ordinance No 25 of 1974). The essential character of a Health Committee in terms of the Ordinance is that it is a Body Corporate. This would enable such a health committee constituted at Modderspruit to direct the planning and implementation of the development proposals within the parameters of local conditions. Should the health committee route meet with the approval of the Administrator-in-Executive Committee a legal hindrance of at least two years standing to the development of Modderspruit farm would be removed.

Financing the development

Allied to the problem of inappropriate legislation has been the problem of financing the development of Modderspruit. On the proclamation of a geographical area as a Development Area the usual procedure in the Province of Natal has been for the NPA to expropriate the land and using funds derived from the National Housing Commission (NHC) to finance the development of that area.

The cost of the expropriation and the repayment of NHC loans then have to be borne by the present and future residents. Since in the case of Modderspruit farm the Diocese of Natal wishes to keep costs to the minimum, consideration has had to be given to have the Diocese declared as an agent who manages the development on behalf of the NPA. This however, does not prevent the Diocese appointing a utility company, such as Innova, to be an agent on its behalf (TFDSC 1990: 3-4). By appointing a utility company as its agent, the Diocese would then gain access to NHC funding. Section 17a of the Housing Act, 1966 permits a utility company to obtain NHC funds. Alternatively, the Diocese could set up a utility company in terms of Section 21 of the Companies Act, 1973. Section 21 permits a land owner becoming a utility company. This would then enable the Diocese to procure NHC funds directly and then be able to call in a utility company to manage only the physical development. All this makes the financial aspect very convoluted. Should the health committee vehicle be used, the planner-stakeholder has suggested that a far easier structure would emerge. The Diocese could set up a utility company to manage the proposed development alongside the health committee which would become concerned with matters of local government. The utility company could seek NHC funds directly and then appoint physical developers, selecting them from the whole housing market. This stresses the need to dislodge the legal blockage as soon as possible.

Illegal squatting

Another problem which could hinder the physical development of

Modderspruit farm and needs to be redressed is that of illegal squatting. Maybe because of the Diocese's opposition to forced removal, squatters have taken advantage of locating themselves on the farm with the threat of incorporation into KwaZulu being removed and the probability of developing the farm. Whatever the reason squatters from Hlumayo have settled on the farm. In 1989 the Community Services Branch of the NPA conducted a survey and 93 squatter families were enumerated. 15 other families were not available for survey (Kuyler 1989: 16). Presently, there are an estimated 450 families who have settled on the farm (Kuyler 1992: 1). With some planned action to deal with the problem (Walker 1988: 2) having failed, there has been uncertainty as what to do next. The squatters have proved to be uncooperative with a regular occurrence of incidents of fighting and robbery (DC 1988: 4), and disturbances of the peace especially for neighbouring farmers (TFDSC 1990: 5).

Dereliction of existing buildings

The general dereliction of most buildings on Modderspruit is a further hindrance to development. Decay started setting in first with the Government taking over the running of St Chad's College in 1955 and later through the threat of removal or incorporation into KwaZulu in the early eighties. This has impacted on the community to such an extent that residents are demotivated and are 'unwilling to put too much effort into developing land which (does) not belong to them (DC 1988: 4)'. It is quite evident that the Government made a deliberate attempt to frustrate and then impede human development in terms of the educational and residen-

tial initiatives spearheaded by the Diocese. The Government could have fostered development by encouraging the Diocese in its efforts, as were evident in the early days of St Chads College. The Government must therefore accept full responsibility for the present state of Modderspruit farm. However, by the same token neither the Diocese as represented by the Trustees nor the local Modderspruit tenants can be absolved from their development responsibility and for allowing the present state of decline. Most of the buildings are structurally sound, having been built with blue whinstone, but have fallen into disrepair through lack of maintenance. It was mentioned earlier that the high school was closed because of the buildings not meeting the standards laid down by the educational authorities. One stakeholder places the onus for this on the Diocese by suggesting that 'the Church has done nothing;' another with these words, 'the Diocese fails to manage its son.' While this is not entirely true in terms of the many initiatives highlighted above, these attitudes do raise the theological question of what or who is the 'Church?' Kung's (1968: 203-60) understanding would suggest that the Modderspruit tenants are as much 'the Church' as any Trustee or any Christian is for that matter. One stakeholder suggested that international financial aid has diminished the ability of Modderspruit residents to become responsible for the mission themselves. By virtue of a number of clergy who have served at Modderspruit being expatriates, financial support from their home countries has been forthcoming to the mission during different epochs. This has mitigated against the tenants and parishioners taking full responsibility for the mission. Hence the attitude that the Diocese must develop its own property. Clearly, first the

Government, then the Diocese and the tenants at Modderspruit have a duty to see that the St Chads College buildings are restored to their former glory and use. Esterhuizen (1988: 101-52) has provided a planning design to turn the St Chads buildings into a demonstration education supergreen. This amid other designs could facilitate that need.

Evaluation

While it cannot be said that evaluation has been totally absent from Modderspruit, the fact that it hasn't been built into the development process creates another development problem. A number of instances point to the positive use of evaluation. The ACTB with its minutes being public through the Diocesan newspapers and its reporting to Synod show that it carefully monitored the early development process giving rise to a successful St Chads community. Through this monitoring process a number of appropriate decisions were taken to meet different problems. The Diocese seems to have lost an extremely useful instrument by virtue of the incorporation of the ACTB into the Diocesan Council where minutes, including those of the Diocesan Trustees, while available for public scrutiny remain mostly private.

The various surveys, the framework for development and the work of the different committees also point to evaluation in general being undertaken. However, no detailed monitoring process, with intermitent evaluation, has been set in motion concurrent with the launch of the development of Modderspruit. While individuals more closely involved may have details at their fingertips and

are able to give their opinion as to particular initiatives, a functional monitoring and evaluation system should be implemented. Such a system should be characterised by a diversity of inputs and reflect a multiplicity of views and not single opinions. Further, when key personnel are withdrawn, temporarily or permanently, their knowledge and opinion of the development process is lost. As a consequence the development process at Modderspruit farm has been impoverished and to some extent the momentum slackened due to a failure to monitor and evaluate. The squatter problem for example may have been avoided through the relevant information having been fed into the system and thereby appropriate and timeous action taken.

NOT ONE STRATEGY, BUT TWO!

In broad terms there are certain characteristics common to both Springvale and Modderspruit. Both properties were acquired with strong missionary intentions. Both have had an impressive history of providing sound education for those drawn to those missions. Both have provided homes where converts could be steeped in their new faith. Frequently clergy have served some of their time at both missions. These factors have contributed to making Springvale and Modderspruit the kind of institutions that they are, and as such, important in the life of the Diocese. However, because of these characteristics, their differences have frequently been overshadowed not permitting each to be seen in their own right.

Springvale has a much longer history in the life of the Diocese than Modderspruit. While Springvale is a bit out of the way

Modderspruit lies on the inner periphery of Ladysmith. Thus Springvale tenants are drawn into the migratory labour system while Modderspruit tenants commute to work. These differences impact on their different qualities of life and therefore their ability to participate in their respective development initiatives. This has given rise to the somewhat retarded development situation at Springvale, while Modderspruit seems poised to experience new prospects, albeit with hindrances along the way. Clearly, as far as their individual development strategies are concerned, there is a need for the Springvale and Modderspruit farms to be allowed to develop independently of each other. One instance where they have been drawn together and where clearly they should have been treated individually is in respect of the issue of subdividing the properties and selling the portions to the tenants as was decided by the 1986 Synod. Concern was expressed by one stakeholder at the first meeting of the SMDC in respect of Springvale. There he pointed out :

1. That he feared a repetition of the situation that had arisen in the 1930's when a portion of the Springvale property had been sold to a white farmer at Highflats. This was still remembered and resented by the community.
2. He suspected that the Church now wished to "wash its hands" of a vexing problem.
3. He was seriously concerned that the majority of the people at Springvale would not want to purchase land for agricultural purposes and would therefore have to acquire a small plot in a township type of development which might easily become a rural slum.
4. There would be a minority who would purchase agricultural

land and there would then be a situation where a small privileged group might be in conflict with an impoverished and discontented majority (SMDC 1987a: 2)'. .

It is interesting that the so-called Chater affair (see page 116f & 125f) raised by an earlier mentioned stakeholder is raised here. This event seems to have destroyed an essential dimension of the Springvale community spirit. Therefore, any development proposal which has any hint of a reference to the issues at stake in the aforementioned will not gain the desired support. To this end one stakeholder recommended that some measure of dependency on the Diocese be maintained until there was a greater confidence at Springvale. To allow that to happen the stakeholder suggested that despite the relatively low agricultural potential at Springvale, what potential there is should be developed and used to encourage the production of locally desirable crops. Apart from the existing arrangement for the keeping of livestock, animal husbandary should not be introduced until much later when people have begun to taste again 'the fruits of Springvale.' This will necessarily include far greater Diocesan involvement particularly with regard to financing such a programme: the boundary fence being a priority. Clearly Springvale has a different development need to Modderspruit. Where some assistance is given to break through the real obstacles facing Springvale, a great potential for participative development could be unleashed.

Summary

The aim of chapter 5 has been to highlight the present issues at

stake which are preventing the development process unfolding on the two Anglican Diocese of Natal's farms, Springvale and Modderspruit. In order to isolate those issues the development history of the two farms has been described on the basis of Rapid Rural Appraisal where existing information has been augmented by the views and opinions of stakeholders in these two development contexts. Thus both previous and current periods of opportunity and tension have been considered. Clearly the situation at Springvale will need some concerted effort to foster development whereas the potential for development at Modderspruit is more immediate. Springvale would do well with the services of a rural transformation officer, as has been suggested by the Institute of Natural Resources, to help implement development while the constituting of Modderspruit as a health committee would take the development proposals a step further. The proclamation of Modderspruit as a health committee will provide the Modderspruit community with access to the resources normally made available to such organs of local government in the Province of Natal. Of immediate importance is the need to continue to monitor and evaluate the development processes to make appropriate decisions about how next to act.

CHAPTER 6: THE WORK OF ACAT IN THE EMZUMBE DISTRICT

The work of ACAT (Africa Cooperative Action Trust) began in the Emzombe District (See Map 6.1) in 1979 by two Field Officers who started savings clubs and demonstrating the establishment of agricultural gardens and the raising of chickens as broilers and layers. While this work continued, a husband and wife team were subsequently appointed as District Officers in 1982. In 1984 the District Officers began running training courses at Indaleni, near Richmond. These being residential made them worthwhile for trainees from the Emzombe District to travel there to receive training. In 1985, with the construction of a training centre at Nyangwini by the local Sezela sugar mill for the use of the Tribal Authorities of the Emzombe district, the District Officers began to offer courses there. Through local participation the field work component also changed gear. The agricultural extension work began to take place on different field days at particular locations in the district. At these field days the use of agricultural input packages began to be encouraged. Through the involvement of a local pastor, who saw the provision of potable water as central to his ministry, ACAT began to assist with spring protection. Subsequently, ACAT has continued its work based on these earlier foundations.

During the period in which fieldwork for this dissertation was being carried out, the two District Officers announced their intention to retire. This has provided a suitable closure of an epoch at which to conduct a summative evaluation of the impact ACAT has made on the development of the Emzombe district since

its initial engagement. While there is an internal reporting process which allows the ACAT-KwaZulu office in Pietermaritzburg to monitor the work conducted in the Emzumbé and other districts, it facilitates only a comparison of outputs with inputs. Thus a summative evaluation which can determine the extent of the impact ACAT has made in relation to non-ACAT users during the period of the District Officers' employment in the Emzumbé district will greatly influence decision-making on the eve of the new epoch.

In terms of existing development research the Emzumbé district involvement has only been part and parcel of more macro perspective studies. In 1988 a study of the work of ACAT-Southern Africa was conducted by an expatriate researcher who has never presented his findings. In 1989 ACAT-KwaZulu conducted an internal survey to contribute to a promotional booklet as part of ACAT-Southern Africa's tenth anniversary celebrations (ACAT 1989). This was followed up in 1990 and consolidated into its annual report (ACAT-KwaZulu 1990: 6, 8-9). In that year an agricultural economist (Swanepoel 1990) submitted a dissertation to the University of Natal which analysed savings and garden clubs serviced by ACAT throughout KwaZulu. Thus ACAT's involvement in the Emzumbé district has not previously been the focus of any particular research. A summative evaluation is therefore appropriate at this instance.

Research methodology and procedures

Again, trying to make use of both positivist and constructivist methodologies where relevant, the data for this evaluation has

been gathered through various means. Since no real appraisal was conducted when ACAT first began working in Emzombe preventing a pre-test/post-test evaluation taking place, a quasi-experiment has had to be designed. Thus it was discovered that ACAT conducts its work only in the eastern sector of the Emzombe District. In order not to be biased by conditions which could prevail only in the western geographical sector, a tribal authority in the eastern part of the district which has to-date not invited ACAT to commence work within its geographical jurisdiction was requested to be prepared to be an area against which 'ACAT' tribal authorities could be compared. Given, the current prominence of the basic needs approach in the development debate, it was decided that a basic needs survey be used as the basis for comparison. This was constructed using a blend of questions seeking either quantitative or qualitative responses, in both global terms and domains. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix 1.

Parallel to the basic needs survey which was conducted with residents in the relevant tribal authority areas, a survey conducted amongst the officials of 17 of the 24 tribal authorities of the district sought to understand what they perceived the needs of their communities to be. Again, quantitative and qualitative type questions were asked. In only one case was a single official interviewed. The other cases ranged between 3 and 10 officials. Here responses made in consensus were recorded. See Appendix 2 for the questionnaire conducted.

To further establish what influence ACAT is having in Emzombe,

the opinions of ACAT participants were also received through informal, open-ended questionnaires. Added to these are the usual and regular reports submitted by the Training and Assistant Training Officers, and Field Officers to ACAT-Kwazulu. Where it has been possible to corroborate with existing research, this has been done, but not relied upon. Bearing in mind that ACAT is not the only development agency operating in the district, some informal interviewing has highlighted the type of inputs brought to the district by other agencies. The opinions of a number of people who also have a stake in the development of the Emzambe district were also canvassed. These will serve to contextualize ACAT's inputs.

The presentation of the information acquired through these research premises and procedures {the fieldwork for which having been conducted between September 1990 and March 1992} will follow a brief exposition of the mission statement of ACAT-Southern Africa and the extent of its operations.

ACAT-Southern Africa

ACAT-Southern Africa and ACAT-KwaZulu was established in 1979. ACAT was born out of an awareness that the problems of Africa must also be addressed by Christians as part of their concern for their fellow human beings (Luke 4:18-21 read with John 20:21). Thus ACAT was formed and began operating as a Christian Missionary Rural Development Agency with the intention of training rural people to become self-sufficient. ACAT uses the four-fold strategy of savings clubs, skills training, reconstruction and

development, and evangelism to achieve this end. Savings clubs are promoted to encourage budgeting and saving towards defined goals. The use of agricultural packaged programmes containing correct quantities of seed, fertilizer and chemicals are encouraged through demonstration. Agricultural, poultry, water development, literacy and handcraft courses are offered with the intention that leaders will share their newfound knowledge with their communities. Club meetings, demonstrations and training courses provide the opportunity for evangelism since independent research has shown ACAT 'that those who become Christians are more amenable to developing themselves on a sustained basis than those who do not (ACAT 1982: 1-2; Rossouw 1989: 171)'.

In communities where there is no arable land available or where natural or social disasters have occurred, such as drought, flooding, refugees, ACAT has introduced its 'Food for Work' programme. This programme sponsored by external funding attempts to develop infrastructure through the development of community facilities, while simultaneously providing nutrition for those who contribute their labour. Community leaders choose and control projects after having received training from ACAT (ACAT sa: 4). These initiatives are in keeping with ACATs two principles that funds are passed only indirectly onto people and that rural people must be helped to remain on the land (ACAT sa: 7). Thus ACAT attempts to meet the needs of the whole person - physical, mental and religious. Since its inception ACAT has also begun operations in the Transkei (1980), Swaziland (1982), and the Ciskei (1983) (ACAT 1989: 16). Entry into regions is gained purely through official invitation, both at the national and

local level (ACAT sa: 3).

MEETING BASIC NEEDS IN EMZUMBE?

As suggested earlier, in order to ascertain what impact ACAT is having in the Emzombe district a quasi-experiment using the fulfilment of basic needs as criteria has been conducted. This method was selected because no formal appraisal had been conducted before ACAT entered the district at the invitation of the local communities. To enable a comparison the basic needs analysis was conducted in those tribal authorities in Emzombe where ACAT has gained access as well as in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority where ACAT has as yet not been invited. For ease of clarity the two groups will be referred to as ACAT and Hlongwa respectively. The ACAT group involved a total of 82 cases drawn randomly from amongst trainees, savings and garden club members. The conditions of the Hlongwa Tribal Authority participating in the survey were that respondents would be interviewed at the Administrative Centre. The Tribal Authority would request people for each ward to avail themselves. The outcome was that 77 respondents were interviewed. These were fairly well distributed throughout the Tribal Authority by virtue of the wards in which they reside.

Before examining the prevailing situation with regard to individual needs the survey asked four global questions. The purpose was to ascertain levels of general well-being and happiness and what perceived and selected basic needs people have. (See Questions 1-4 in Appendix 1, page 221.)

Just more than half (54%) of the ACAT respondents were generally satisfied with their lifestyles while the majority (67%) of Hlongwa people were generally dissatisfied with life. The individual breakdown for ACAT people was: 6 were very satisfied (VS), 39 just satisfied (S), 24 dissatisfied (D), 12 very dissatisfied (VD) and 1 undecided. Of the Hlongwa people 25 were just satisfied (S), 48 dissatisfied (D), 3 very dissatisfied (VD) and 1 undecided.

While the Hlongwa people are generally happier, than they are satisfied, with their lives, they are not happier than people in the ACAT communities. With still more than half (54%) being generally happy, 7 ACAT people are very happy, 38 just happy, 25 unhappy and 11 very unhappy, with 1 undecided. With just more than two-fifths being generally happy, Hlongwa people show 31 cases to be just happy, 44 unhappy and 1 very unhappy with 1 undecided.

In broad terms it may be suggested on the basis of these two global questions that people living in the tribal authorities where ACAT has found some reception enjoy a slightly better quality of life than do people living in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority where ACAT has not as yet been received. This is somewhat borne out by perceived needs when ranked according to Maslow's (1976: 69-74) hierarchy of needs. In the Hlongwa community 62 out of the 77 (or just more than 80% of) cases sought to have physiological needs met, compared to the 8 out of 82 ACAT respondents. At the other levels the results are shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Needs according to Maslow's hierarchy

<u>Need</u>	<u>Hlongwa</u>	<u>ACAT</u>
Self-actulization	3	28
Esteem	0	5
Social	4	34
Safety	7	2
Physiological	62	8
Not-categorized	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>

Table 6.2 Perceived and Selected Needs

<u>Need</u>	<u>Hlongwa</u>		<u>ACAT</u>	
	<u>Perceived</u>	<u>Selected</u>	<u>Perceived</u>	<u>Selected</u>
Nutrition	12	21	1	7
Clothing	1	3	0	1
Housing	11	5	16	13
Health	9	8	15	15
Sanitation	9	1	2	2
Fuel	0	1	0	0
Education	4	11	10	15
Transportation	3	4	1	4
Employment	24	21	34	3
Participation	4	0	0	0
Religion	0	2	2	22
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>77</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>82</u>

Nonetheless, it is necessary to examine quality of life in terms of each basic need in turn before one can conclusively say one community enjoys a better quality of life than another. Still at a global level, these individual basic needs were used to rank perceived needs and for the purpose of selecting needs (see below). Perceived and selected needs in the Hlongwa and ACAT communities are set out in Table 6.2 above.

The dynamics between asking a person what their perceived need is compared with their selecting a need from a predetermined group of needs are most interesting. Housing, sanitation and participation give way as perceived needs to nutrition and education as selected needs in the Hlongwa community. Employment as a perceived need gives way to nutrition, education and religion as selected needs in the ACAT communities. The last mentioned is most interesting as it appears that the Christian faith is not a perceived need for the ACAT Christians. However, while cursory remarks such as these are pertinent, they need to be kept to a minimum as they proceed from the premise that people have only one choice when prioritizing basic needs. This is not true in practice nor in keeping with the basic needs approach which encourages the meeting of a cluster of needs taken together (Ghai & Alfthan 1977: 27). But this does raise the question of how are basic needs to be determined and prioritized. In interviewing the officials of the 17 Emzumbe Tribal Authorities for example, where they were able to list the greatest needs of their communities ad lib, it was found that a need broadly referred to as economic upliftment was mentioned most (15 times). Education and health were scored next with 14 references each.

Agriculture next with 13 followed by roads (7 references). Administration, land and water received 5 references each, while electricity, sport and recreation facilities, telephones, a community hall and conservation were also mentioned. This method has merit in that many of the responses are qualified as the case of the need for economic upliftment. There 6 sets of respondents indicted job creation as being intrinsic to such upliftment, while 2 of these saw the job opportunities being created by the establishing of factories within the tribal authorities. However, the method is dependent on the extent to which officials represent the interests of the populations of the tribal authorities by putting their own interests aside. It could therefore be open to the sort of biases described by Chambers (1981: 96-7; 1983: 13-23)(as discussed above - see pages 42 & 73f). Further, the method is manageable with consensus groups representing 17 tribal authorities. It becomes a mammoth task when 159 individuals are interviewed. Thus comparison of the Hlongwa and ACAT communities continues within the individual basic need domains highlighted in the broad comparison above.

Nutrition

There is a greater satisfaction among the ACAT respondents with the food they eat. Exactly half (or 41 of) the ACAT cases were satisfied, compared to the two-sevenths (or 22) of the Hlongwa respondents who were satisfied. In order to contextualize the food eaten which either brings satisfaction or dissatisfaction, the type of food and the intervals at which it is eaten within both communities is listed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Monthly nutritional intake

Type	<u>Hlongwa</u>				<u>ACAT</u>			
	Daily	1/2xweek	Less often	NA	Daily	1/2xweek	Less often	NA
<u>Poultry/</u>								
<u>Meat/</u> 5	14	52	6	1	25	49	7	
<u>Fish</u>								
<u>Dairy</u> 9	4	27	37	62	2	13	5	
<u>Legumes</u>								
	21	22	16	18	9	50	21	1
<u>Eggs</u> 6	4	24	43	4	12	51	15	
<u>Bread</u> 50	13	13	1	61	13	6	2	
<u>Fruit</u> 4	5	26	42	3	9	37	33	
<u>Vegetables</u>								
	6	12	31	28	4	28	45	5
<u>Cereals</u>								
	66	11	0	0	76	5	0	1
<u>Desserts</u>								
	1	3	28	45	0	5	55	22
<u>Sorghum</u>								
<u>Beer</u> 3	5	39	30	1	5	57	19	
<u>Alcohol</u>								
	0	0	13	64	0	0	6	76

The level of satisfaction among the ACAT respondents does reflect the sample drawn as not all respondents have received agricultural training from ACAT. This may be seen in the 5 ACAT respondents who are very dissatisfied with the food they eat compared with the 1 Hlongwa respondent who shows similar dissatisfaction. Had only ACAT agricultural trainees been interviewed, the level of satisfaction could certainly have been higher. This probab-

ity is reified by the two-thirds of (or 40 out of 60) respondents interviewed informally who made reference to the success of agricultural training received from ACAT.

Apart from participation in agricultural courses an additional factor in favour of the ACAT respondents which gives them greater access to food is that they have relatively more land available to them to grow food on than do the Hlongwa respondents. Among the ACAT respondents 37 have a large plot (greater than 1 ha), 29 a small plot (0,2 - 1 ha), 6 use communal gardens (with patches of varying size) and 2 have a small patch in which to grow vegetables and other food crops, while 8 respondents have no land at all. Among the Hlongwa respondents 20 have a large plot, 41 a small plot and 12 have a small patch for cultivation. Four (4) respondents do not have any access to land. Although there are communal gardens in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority, none of the respondents make use of these. Further, by virtue of their association with ACAT, the ACAT respondents are able to obtain the input packages mentioned above.

Probably related to another aspect of ACAT training is the slightly greater ability of ACAT respondents to obtain produce from their livestock. One (1) respondent gets meat only, another 5 milk only, while yet another 10 get both meat and milk. Among the Hlongwa respondents, 6 get meat only, another 6 milk only, and another 3 get both. Of course, with more ACAT respondents (45%) than Hlongwa respondents (31%) possessing livestock, ACAT respondents have greater access to their produce. With regard to obtaining produce from chickens, on the whole ACAT respondents

are no better off than Hlongwa respondents despite their access to training, though the ACAT respondents are relatively more successful with their chickens producing eggs, which explains the slightly greater consumption of eggs by ACAT respondents, as indicated in Table 6.3. (page 168.) Of the 61 ACAT respondents who keep chickens 17 obtain meat only, 3 eggs only and 21 both meat and eggs. Of the 57 Hlongwa respondents who keep chickens 34 obtain meat only, 1 eggs only and 5 both meat and eggs.

Despite their somewhat easier access to home produce ACAT respondents are equally, if not more, dissatisfied with the price of food and the amount of energy spent producing food as the Hlongwa respondents are. Thirty-eight (38) ACAT respondents were dissatisfied with 36 very dissatisfied with food prices compared to the 54 dissatisfied and 19 very dissatisfied Hlongwa respondents. With regard to the drudgery of tilling the soil, 30 ACAT respondents were dissatisfied with 31 very dissatisfied while 59 Hlongwa respondents were dissatisfied and another 11 were very dissatisfied.

Clothing

Although there is a higher incidence of general satisfaction among ACAT respondents with regard to the clothes they wear compared with the Hlongwa respondents, among those who are very dissatisfied with their clothing there are more ACAT respondents than Hlongwa respondents. [The breakdown for the ACAT cases is : 1 (VS), 36 (S), 30 (DS), 15 (VD). The breakdown for the Hlongwa

cases is: 0 (VS), 12 (S), 61(D), 4 (VD).] Despite general satisfaction being deflated, this pattern is repeated in the overall attitude towards being able to buy clothing when the need arises and in the ability of clothing to protect respondents against natural elements. Among the ACAT respondents 1 was very satisfied, 9 were just satisfied, 37 just dissatisfied and 35 very dissatisfied with their ability to buy clothing. Among the Hlongwa respondents none were very satisfied, 2 were just satisfied, 66 were dissatisfied and 9 very dissatisfied showing a general inability to purchase clothing even when in need. With regard to the general adequacy of their clothes to protect them 2 ACAT respondents saw their clothing protection factor as very adequate, 37 as adequate, 28 as inadequate and 15 as very inadequate. Among the Hlongwa respondents the distribution was very adequate - 0, adequate - 23, inadequate -49 and very inadequate - 5.

There is a pattern of correlation between one's attitude towards one's clothing and the actual number of items acquired over the period of one year in the Emzumbé district. The ACAT respondents between them managed to acquire 324 new items and 87 second-hand items of clothing. This gives an average of 5.01 per respondent ('s family). When adjusted according to the usual average household size of 5,63 persons per household (See occupancy rates below) this means that on average each member of a respondent's family has received 0,88 items of clothing in a year. To add to this appalling scenario it must be pointed out that 13 (or at least 15%) of the 82 ACAT respondents acquired neither new nor second-hand clothing in their 12 month assessment period. Even

more appalling is the Hlongwa situation, where between them respondents there acquired 106 new items and 92 second-hand items of clothing in the one year assessment period. This gives an average of 2,57 items per respondent ('s family). With their usual average household size of 7,57 this means 0,33 items per annum go to each member of the family. The interpretation of these figures must note that more than a third (or 26) of the 77 Hlongwa respondents did not acquire any additional clothing for the period of one year.

It may be suggested that the 3 sewing and 5 handcraft training modules offered by ACAT at Nyangwini partially contribute to the thin edge that ACAT respondents have over their Hlongwa counterparts. These courses have been the most popular in recent years. In the period April 1990 to March 1991, 137 (or 82%) of all (167) trainees participated in one of these courses. The same period ending in March 1992 saw an increase in sewing and knitting trainees, where 191 (or 87%) of all (219) trainees underwent these training courses. Despite this growth in popularity, one stakeholder who teaches sewing to local women's groups has criticized ACAT's sewing courses. The different ACAT courses enable the trainee to master sewing skills at a particular level. By the end of a week's training a trainee completes a garment according to course grade. The stakeholder's contention is that training should happen in phases at the end of which a trainee should be able to produce a garment of their choice. Another criticism is that the ACAT sewing course mixes sewing with other aspects of handwork. This is true of the Basic Sewing Module where sewing and fabric painting are taught.

Housing

ACAT and Hlongwa respondents show similar levels of satisfaction for their particular residential location in Emzumbi [ACAT: 5 (VS), 58 (S), 17 (D), 2 (VD); Hlongwa: 4 (VS), 56 (S), 16 (D), 1 (VD)]. While ACAT respondents generally are closer to amenities, Hlongwa respondents have a much greater appreciation of their actual homes. In terms of amenities, 14 ACAT respondents indicated that amenities are immediately available, 21 have amenities reasonably close by, 42 some distance away and 5 at a great distance away. For Hlongwa respondents 7 have amenities immediately available, 22 reasonably close by, 30 some distance away and 18 a great distance away. With regard to the enjoyment of accommodation, among the Hlongwa respondents 4 were very satisfied, 41 satisfied, 31 dissatisfied and 1 very dissatisfied with their homes. Levels of home satisfaction for the ACAT respondents were very satisfied - 2, satisfied - 25, dissatisfied - 42, and very dissatisfied - 13.

In terms of materials used to construct houses, the distribution in the two sectors are listed in Table 6.4. With these building materials used, there is a degree of greater satisfaction among the ACAT respondents with their homes protecting them against the weather when compared with the Hlongwa respondents. In general terms 35 ACAT respondents show satisfaction as opposed to the 17 satisfied Hlongwa respondents.

Table 6.4 Building materials

<u>Walls</u>	<u>Hlongwa</u>	<u>ACAT</u>
Plastered	17	1
Blocks/bricks	4	23
Wattle & daub	55	50
Mixed	0	8
Corrugated iron	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>
 <u>Roofing</u>		
Corrugated iron	23	12
Thatch	37	32
Mixed	<u>17</u>	<u>38</u>
	<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>

Twenty-six (or 33% of the) Hlongwa respondents describe their homes as very overcrowded with another 27 (or 35%) describing their homes as just overcrowded compared with ACAT descriptions where 20 (or 24%) of homes are very overcrowded and 25 (or 30%) of homes are just overcrowded. These are intriguing descriptions as ACAT on the whole shows a slightly higher occupancy of dwellings in most cases (See Table 6.5) Disparities do occur in occupancy rates because populations and available space are dynamic entities. In other words, population and space fluctuate according to local or external conditions. Migratory labour for example can vary the number of people a dwelling will accommodate during a year. Thus, when examining overcrowding, there are at least four immediate occupancy rates (for expediency referred to

here as OR1, OR2, OR3, and OR4) which are necessary to give some idea of the variations in the number of people accommodated in a dwelling. The overall maximum occupancy rate (OR1) is derived by the sum of the number of people in a household who are absent for more than six months of the year and those who occupy the dwelling throughout the year (in other words, the total number of occupants), divided by the number of rooms usually slept in. The normal maximum occupancy rate (OR2) is obtained by dividing the number of occupants resident in a dwelling throughout the year (or normal household) by the number of rooms usually slept in. The overall minimum occupancy rate (OR3) is the total number of occupants divided by the total number of rooms in the dwelling (including those built for non-sleeping purposes). The normal minimum occupancy rate (OR4) is the normal household divided by the total number of rooms in a dwelling. Thus the 77 Hlongwa respondents represent 680 persons as the total number of occupants or 583 normal occupants in 310 rooms or 215 sleeping rooms. And, the 82 ACAT respondents represent 634 persons as a total number of occupants or 462 normal occupants in 337 rooms or 186 sleeping rooms. These populations and rooms yield the following occupancy rates for the two sectors:

Table 6.5 Occupancy Rates

	<u>Hlongwa</u>	<u>ACAT</u>
<u>OR1</u>	3,16	3,41
<u>OR2</u>	2,71	2,48
<u>OR3</u>	2,19	1,88
<u>OR4</u>	1,88	1,37

Health

Six indicators were chosen to examine the extent to which health as a basic need has been met in the two communities. The first was the respondents attitude towards the precautions they have taken to remain healthy. By far the majority (at least 87%) of the ACAT respondents were satisfied that they had taken adequate precautions to remain healthy. That is assented to since 78 (or more than 95%) of the ACAT respondents have been vaccinated, and all consult a general medical practitioner when ill. The same scenario is less true for the Hlongwa community. There only 20 (or just more than 25%) feel they have taken adequate health precautions. Just more than 92% of Hlongwa respondents have been vaccinated, while 71 of the 77 respondents consult a general medical practitioner, 3 consult a traditional practitioner while 3 don't consult anybody at all.

The three other indicators were attitudes towards local health services, distances to the nearest clinic and hospital. While 31 of the 82 ACAT respondents were just satisfied with health services in the vicinity, of the remaining 51 dissatisfieds, 21 were very dissatisfied. Health services gain less favour in the Hlongwa community with just more than 22% (or 14) of the 77 respondents being just satisfied. 56 respondents were dissatisfied and 7 very dissatisfied. This in a sense does not correlate with distances to the local clinic where just less than 60% of Hlongwa respondents are satisfied with the distance they have to travel, while more than 64% of ACAT respondents find the journey more arduous. General dissatisfaction was expressed by the

members of both communities: 98% of Hlongwa and 93% of ACAT respondents.

Water

While there is still plenty of room for improvement, the impact of ACAT's involvement with spring protection is being felt in the community. As at September 1991, 53 springs had been protected through ACAT. By prior arrangement, the Department of Works of the KwaZulu Government supplies sand, coarse stone and rock for the operation. Members of the community have to supply the cement, the supply pipe (+- 60mm dia.) to the reservoir, and delivery piping from the reservoir to standpipes or internal reticulation, and of course their labour. One such spring in the Makoso area supplies 11 houses and 2 standpipes. 6 ACAT respondents made reference to this work. But with 42 ACAT respondents indicating that water is more than 15 minutes away, it means that the work has only just begun. 70 of the 77 Hlongwa respondents have to cart water from some distance away.

Sanitation

Pit latrines predominate for sanitary purposes in the Emzumbi district with 78 ACAT and 67 Hlongwa respondents using them. Two Hlongwa respondents indicated the use of flush toilets albeit that these facilities are external to their homes. In March and again in September this year (1992) ACAT has and will offer again a course in toilet construction.

Garbage is mostly burnt in a pit set aside for such purposes. Two ACAT respondents made reference to garbage collection by their local authority.

Fuel

A variety of fuels are used in combination to attend to the two major fuel needs of heating and lighting, with some fuel spent on cooling. While paraffin and wood continue to dominate heating and cooking other forms of fuel are beginning to be used: Paraffin only is used by 7 Hlongwa and 5 ACAT respondents, wood only by 64 Hlongwa and 18 ACAT respondents, paraffin and wood by 45 ACAT and 2 Hlongwa respondents, paraffin and charcoal by 1 ACAT respondent, paraffin and gas by 1 ACAT respondent, charcoal only by 1 ACAT respondent, electricity only by 1 ACAT respondent, electricity and gas by 1 ACAT respondent, and gas only by 4 ACAT and 4 Hlongwa respondents.

For lighting paraffin and candles are dominant. Paraffin only is used by 26 Hlongwa and 5 ACAT respondents, paraffin and candles by 10 ACAT respondents, candles only by 62 ACAT and 26 Hlongwa respondents, paraffin, candles and batteries by 1 ACAT respondent, electricity only by 1 ACAT respondent, electricity and candles by 2 ACAT respondents and gas and candles by 1 ACAT respondent.

The forms of fuel used for cooling include: paraffin only is used by 3 Hlongwa and 2 ACAT respondents, gas only by 11 ACAT and

Hlongwa respondents, electricity only by 3 ACAT respondents and electricity and gas by 2 ACAT respondents.

ACAT's contribution to the need for fuel is made by running courses and distributing packages for the making of candles. Certain ingredients in the ACAT package have the effect of candles having a higher longevity than those bought through the commercial outlets.

With regard to the use of wood for fuel, while ACAT does run a training module on trees and woodlots, by far the greater impact is made by a NGO called LIMA who at the end of their 1990 year were running 9 woodlots in the Emzombe district (Lima 1991: 18). 70% of their 850 hectares under trees are in Emzombe (Stewart 1992: 1).

Education

While the majority of respondents [59 (or more than three-quarters of) Hlongwa and 53 (or at least 64% of ACAT)] view as negative the education they received there is general approval of the standard of education taught in the Emzombe district. 58 (or 75%) of Hlongwa and 50 (or at least 60%) of ACAT respondents are happy with the local standard. The Tribal Authorities however seem almost equally divided on this issue [with 1 (VS), 8 (S), 6 (D) and 2 (VD)]. Having children admitted to schools is less of a problem in the 'ACAT' areas than it is in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority, with 3 and 10 respondents, respectively, indicating disappointment in the past. Once children have been admitted,

they have to get there. The distance to schools appears to be shorter for 'ACAT' children than it is for 'Hlongwa' children, although almost half the cases in both areas find the distance excessive. Responses in the ACAT cases were 7 (VS), 36 (S), 11 (D) and 26 (VD) with 2 finding the issue not applicable to them. In the Hlongwa sample 33 respondents were satisfied, 37 dissatisfied and 7 very dissatisfied. Once children have achieved the highest standard of education available in the Emzambe schools, the bulk of their secondary education and certainly any tertiary education they wish to follow, of necessity must be pursued beyond the district. While the majority of respondents [55 ACAT and 52 Hlongwa (or 67% each)] in both areas indicated dissatisfaction that that is the case, those who were satisfied indicated pleasure in the existence of institutions, even if they are beyond the district, where their young people could go to, to achieve higher education.

With regard to their own further education, more than a third of (or 56 of the 159) respondents were not aware of whether there were adult education facilities available within their vicinity. Of the remainder, 77 (or just less than half of all the) respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the general unavailability of adult classes. While ACAT does offer an adult literacy module, this for some reason has been under subscribed. At the other end of the continuum, however, at least two ACAT trainers have successfully started creches or day-care centres for the children of working mothers. Apart from the usual pre-primary activity, children receive a nutritious meal. While the Emzambe Tribal Authorities together assert that education is the priority item

which should receive Government attention in the district, informal and non-formal education must be encouraged as part of a multifaceted approach to meeting this need.

Transportation

With the vast majority of all respondents (149 of the 159 or at least 93%) walking when travelling locally and (148) using public transport when travelling away from home, it is not surprising that respondents are generally dissatisfied (131 or at least 82%) with their mode of transport. One ACAT respondent suggested that because she doesn't have her own transport and since busses and taxis are reluctant to transport poultry, she has been inhibited in implementing her poultry rearing skills she had learnt during an ACAT training course.

Time taken and distance travelled to reach service centres, along with the cost of transport, are further points of frustration, with 137 of the 159 (or about 86%) and 147 (or at least 92% of) respondents, respectively, being dissatisfied with these issues. Within the total sample, ACAT respondents don't have any advantage over their Hlongwa counterparts. Attitudes towards local roads are indicative of this. 22 (or 26%) of the ACAT respondents are satisfied, 28 dissatisfied and 32 very dissatisfied with local roads. In the Hlongwa community 26 (or just a third of) respondents are satisfied with 47 dissatisfied and 4 very dissatisfied.

Employment

Unemployment levels among those represented by both the ACAT and Hlongwa respondents are significantly high. The 82 ACAT respondents represent a total of 204 potential workers of which 129 are economically active. The 77 Hlongwa respondents represent 225 potential workers of which 91 are permanently employed. These yield unemployment rates of 36,8% and 59,6% respectively, which far exceed the Natal/KwaZulu and RSA non-urban 'Black' rates of 18,1% and 9,0% respectively (Central Statistical Service 1991: 2:228-9). With such high rates of unemployment it is no wonder that the Emzumbi Tribal Authorities place unemployment as the major welfare problem their communities experience.

Viewed from another perspective unemployment in the Emzumbi district may be seen in the 35 (out of the 82) 'ACAT' families where all potential workers are employed, compared with the 10 'Hlongwa' families in the same category. Put another way, 71 'ACAT' and 60 'Hlongwa' families have only one wage earner. Despite having one, doesn't mean that the wage earner will necessarily contribute to the household as one respondent indicated. 4 'ACAT' and 1 'Hlongwa' families have no potential workers at all, all relying on pensions, grants or the sale of home produce to bring in a bit of income. Even with potential workers, local and external job opportunities do not abound. More than 98% of ACAT and 94% of Hlongwa respondents express dissatisfaction at local job opportunities while more than 98% of ACAT and 90% of Hlongwa respondents express dissatisfaction with job opportunities further afield.

The motive behind ACAT's starting savings and/or garden clubs and encouraging people to make use of their available resources, be they land, animals or skills, is one attempt in the Emzumbé district to address the unemployment situation. The problem with this approach is that it assumes that a person has an income out of which an amount can be procured and saved towards a particular development, which is not always possible. Nevertheless, where savings and garden clubs can be used, they will be found to be an important vehicle through which to gain agricultural and technical information (Swanepoel 1990: 70).

Another employment initiative, launched by the Sezela Sugar Mill is the establishment of Inkanyezi Limited. This is a small cane-growers institution which assists local farmers with loans and agricultural inputs and technical back-up. As at January 1992, there are 3898 farmers on 9339 hectares in (mostly the eastern sector of) the Emzumbé district. Depending on whether they are receiving a loan and their relative distance from the mill, farmers can net an annual income of between R31,09 and R14,82 per ton of cane. Incomes would be higher but poor harvesting techniques and delays in deliveries from field to mill adversely affect the quality of the cane (Daniel 1992: 1-3).

LIMA's contribution to job creation in Emzumbé includes the Vukani, Shinga, Sizanani and Hlakanpani irrigation projects and the Xolo, Hlongwa, Ndelu and two (2) Qwabe labour based road projects. The irrigation projects involve 59 participants on 35 hectares of land. The road upgrading projects employ a total of 89 workers at present (Lima 1991: 4,7; Stewart 1992: 3).

Participation

The respondents in the two samples were almost equally contented with their participation in local affairs. 65 (or 84% of) Hlongwa compared with 64 (or 78% of) ACAT respondents were satisfied. Hlongwa respondents however, attend meetings with greater frequency than do the ACAT respondents. 59 Hlongwa respondents attended meetings regularly, 17 sometimes and 1 rarely. 11 ACAT respondents attend meetings regularly, 46 sometimes, 23 rarely and 2 never attend. Despite their limited participation in meetings, ACAT respondents are generally happier with local organisations with 68 (or 82% of) respondents being satisfied compared with the 58 (or 75% of) satisfied Hlongwa respondents. Hlongwa respondents gain more satisfaction with the extent to which local leaders attempt to assist them to meet their needs. 66 or 85% of Hlongwa respondents are satisfied with their local leaders in this regard compared with the 61 or 74% of ACAT respondents.

Religion

Religion as such has not been established as a basic need in the literature. However, its inclusion in the options of selected basic needs has produced an interesting effect among the ACAT respondents. Thus some brief comments follow. The majority of respondents in the two samples are Christian (67 or 81% of the ACAT respondents and 50 or 64% of the Hlongwa respondents). The ACAT respondents are slightly more satisfied with their practice of their religious beliefs: 77 (or 94%) compared with 69 (or 90%)

respectively. 75 (or at least 91% of) ACAT respondents are also convinced that their faith helps them meet their needs. The same is true for 64 (or 83%) of Hlongwa respondents. While this doesn't necessarily establish religion as a need in the Emzombe district, Emzombe respondents hold that their other needs are met through their faithfulness in worship of God. ACAT, in offering training courses, attempts to encourage trainees to convert to, or to grow in, the Christian faith. The objectives of training offered is stated to be:

- 1.1 To build and strengthen Christian values among participants.
- 1.2 To equip participants with leadership and management skills.
- 1.3 To equip participants in both the theory and practice of basic agriculture and other technology.
- 1.4 To enable those trained to transfer the knowledge and skills learned to other members of their clubs or communities (ACAT 1992: 2)'.

During the residential training courses time is set aside for spiritual training. Trainees are by implication encouraged to 'transfer' this knowledge as well.

OVERALL IMPACT

The research for this evaluation was carried out in ACAT's field of operation which is mainly in the eastern sector of the Emzombe district. This immediately suggests a limitation for the impact ACAT has on the whole district. Be that as it may, the answers

to the global questions in the basic needs survey suggest that ACAT respondents generally enjoy a slightly better quality of life than do their compatriots living in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority. The examination of attitudes towards individual basic needs found that in most cases ACAT respondents generally are more satisfied with the extent to which their needs are being met. ACAT's area of major impact on the Emzumbe community has certainly been in the area of nutritious food obtained through appropriate production techniques and input packages. ACAT respondents to both the basic needs and the open-ended interpretative surveys attest to ACAT's contribution in this area. These benefits impact further on the need for health, as a balanced diet helps in the prevention of disease. Also impacting on health is the supply of clean drinkable water through spring protection. Although the relative numbers at present are small, the effort is significant in terms of the contribution in reducing water-borne diseases. An initial start has also been made in training pit-latrines construction, but this is so recent that there is no indication as yet as to how this facility will be used.

Candle-making at home is helping reduce the fuel costs for those who are willing to learn these skills. With these and other training modules ACAT is providing the opportunity for people to participate in the improvement of their quality of life by making appropriate use of their resources. The creche facilities started by ACAT staff have the benefit of caring for children, giving them some rudimentary education as well as allowing parents to go to work as necessity demands. In some instances ACAT training

encourages self-employment. This is true of the sewing and handcraft modules where ACAT also contributes to reducing the cost of clothing. Being a Christian missionary organisation and its emphasis of linking spiritual growth and skills training ACAT makes a positive impact on those who wish to make the Christian faith their own.

In terms of imparting skills, the present time seems to be a critical one for ACAT to enhance its impact on the Emzumbe district. Respondents to the open-ended questionnaire suggest that apart from there being a continuous need for the kind of skills ACAT has been teaching, there is a further need for these to be re-inforced and extended. 52 (or at least 86%) of the 60 open-ended interview respondents anticipate that there would be a deterioration in the present quality of life enjoyed by trainees should ACAT withdraw its services for whatever reason. Without the skills training and input packages which are currently being enjoyed, the cost of living would rise for the majority of respondents. This does however suggest a degree of dependence and thus ACAT has not as yet fully impacted upon the community in which it has come to work. ACAT should therefore envisage being formally involved in the Emzumbe district for at least the next five years, if not beyond the year 2000. By virtue of its desire to meet the needs of the whole person, apart from intensifying its present involvement ACAT could easily assume the role of advocate or broker and assist in the improving of the quality of life in the two main areas where it is presently not involved, namely housing and transportation. The other alternative is to seek points of contact with other para-church

or non-governmental organizations and facilitate people having those needs met through the skills and resources of those organizations.

Summary

An interpretative and two formal questionnaires have been used to determine what basic needs people living in the Emzumbé district have and to what extent the para-church organisation called ACAT is meeting some of those needs. For this purpose a comparison was drawn between the quality of life experienced by people living in those tribal authorities of the district where ACAT has been invited to work and those living in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority which has not yet invited ACAT thus far. While the benefits of ACAT training and inputs are being enjoyed, mostly with regard to nutrition, clothing, water, fuel and religion, with some consequences for health, education, employment and participation, some ACAT trainees are marginally better off than a sample of people living in the Hlongwa Tribal Authority. In order for ACAT to fully impact on the district, it would need to extend its work to include inputs with regard to housing and transportation while simultaneously gaining access into the western sector of the district.

CHAPTER 7 : THE ROLE OF EVALUATION FOR CHURCH-RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

The Rapid Rural Appraisal of the two Anglican church farms set out to serve two functions. The first was to gather together existing background information to the development proposals of these farms. The second was to present a number of development problems which are forestalling implementation. Through the evaluation of the development work ACAT is engaged in, in the Emzumbi district, the impact this para-church organisation is making with respect to a number of basic human needs could be appreciated. Recommendations as to how ACAT should extend its area of operation could also be made. Reference was made earlier (see page 105) to the appraisal of land-use on Roman Catholic properties in the province of Natal (Daphne & Davidson 1986: 8-12, 35-41, 50-3) which gave rise to the Rural Transformation Association (sa). These three examples express something of the kind of role evaluation can play for church-related development projects.

Another evaluation of church-related development initiatives has been provided by Dickinson (1979: 166-72). Dickinson's (1979: 166) evaluation begins by describing the kind of difficulties which faced the Commission for the Churches Participation in Development (CCPD). (See also page 106f). These included the Commission not receiving the envisaged financial support from churches and the demands placed on staff preventing them focusing their energies sufficiently on developing priorities. Thereafter, Dickinson (1979: 167-72) was able to raise the important contributions made by the Commission to facilitate the churches

participation in development. At the conceptual level, the Commission was able to arrive at what for it was the essential meaning of 'development.' In place of the gradualist notion of development, CCPD emphasized a liberationist notion of development. Initially, the Commission understood this to consist of three primary elements: social justice, self-reliance, and economic growth. Under the impact of liberation theology, economic growth gave way to a new third element, viz people's participation. This facilitated CCPD emphasizing the centrality of the poor in development. At the organisational level various partnership arrangements with selected counterparts in the Third World have stimulated development programmes of different descriptions. A rural village development project was launched in Indonesia while village priests in Ethiopia received agricultural and development skills. In the Caribbean, development education was promoted through the Caribbean Council of Churches. The features of these counterpart relationships have included determining priorities and transferring financial resources.

In evaluating Christian social transformation training for decision-making, Elliston (1989: 309-21) extends yet again the variety of the sort of evaluation available to church-related development projects. Here, Elliston (1989: 312) emphasizes two kinds of information which must be ascertained before the evaluation process can begin. The first is the values associated with Christian social transformation. The second kind of information is the nature of training decisions which have to be made. Then drawing on Ward and Dettoni (1974: 209) Elliston (1989: 315-

6) describes their four successive stages of evaluation. The first is description, where the problem or the kind of decision to be made is described. Data is collected in the second stage of measurement. Assessment follows with a comparison of two or more measures. Evaluation results when a value judgement is placed on the conclusions of the assessment.

Theological values

By virtue of their nature church-related development projects are not only motivated and implemented by human values, but are also started and maintained by theological values as well. These theological underpinnings also serve as criteria which may be used to evaluate such projects. Ideally, church-related development initiatives should intermittently be evaluated using both theological and human criteria. For the obvious reason of examination, a theological evaluation of the three church-related development projects examined by this dissertation, while possible, has not been included. Suffice to say that some theologians have given consideration to the task of developing the theological dimension of project evaluation.

Beginning with the question what is man? Hulley (1980: 36-106) proceeds through Christology (the theology of Jesus Christ) to develop criteria which may be used to evaluate development and development aid. Sigmond and Cosmao (1969: 108-13) adopting a hermeneutical approach to Christology attempt to evaluate the social change which is consequent to development. Mention was made earlier to the contribution made by Holland and Herriot

(1989: 7-45) to a theological understanding of social analysis. Their pastoral social analysis, pastoral circle or circle of praxis represents the close relationships between four mediations of experience - insertion, social analysis, theological reflection and pastoral planning. Insertion locates the geography of pastoral responses to the life experience of individual or communities. Social analysis examines the causes and consequences of and the linkages and actors in social phenomena. Theological reflection attempts to understand the experience analysed in social analysis in terms of Christian faith and tradition, scripture and the social teaching of the church. Cochrane, et al (1991: 13) do not find Holland and Henriot's pastoral circle entirely satisfactory. They (Cochrane, et al 1991: 13-25) propose therefore a pastoral-hermeneutic circle, adding to the dimensions in Holland and Henriot's pastoral circle. Cochrane, et al's model includes the following stages: prior commitment (faith), insertion, social analysis, ecclesial (sic) analysis, theological reflection, spiritual formation/empowerment, pastoral planning and praxis. Their contention in respect of their added items is that no one does theology from a position of neutrality. Social analysis from a theological perspective is always done from the basis of faith no matter how intense that is. Ecclesial analysis is necessary as the church does not stand above the dynamics of socio-political life. Spirituality is consonant with faith which enables discernment to discover appropriate resources for empowerment. Praxis is added to pastoral planning to emphasize that practice or action is subject to critical reflection and that social transformation must be for the good of humanity.

When theological criteria and methodology are placed alongside the art and science of evaluation, the consequent possibilities for evaluating church-related development projects are extended. The fact that they can and do exist beside each other stresses the need for the evaluation of church-related development projects. As a consequence, the issue is not what role evaluation can play, but ought to play in the development processes of church-related development projects.

Resume : EVALUATING CHURCH-RELATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Building on Part 1 which set out the parameters of development and evaluation, Part 2 used the opportunity to experience the evaluation of three church-related development projects. This necessitated a brief excursion to realize what sort of role the church has been playing in the world of development. The rise of monasticism provided the wider church with the opportunity, while the divided church has allowed a variety of different approaches to development. Certain ecumenical ventures have benefitted from that diversity.

Against this background, Springvale, one of the Anglican Diocese of Natal's church farms was evaluated first. Using a combination of Rapid Rural Appraisal and the opinions of certain stakeholders, the history of Springvale and impediments to development were described. After the impressive start given to the Mission by its founder, Henry Callaway, alias Umvunya, the tenants on the farm experienced a period of stress. This eventually gave rise to a period when an improved standard of living was enjoyed. Subsequently there has been a further decline resulting in a number of hindrances to the proposed development of Springvale. These include the re-incarnation of the Chater affair through the suggestion that the administrative function of the Springvale Parish should be moved away from the farm. Management of the farm has also been lacking, while out-migration reduces the number of key people who should be involved in the development. Clearly evident was the omission of not effectively monitoring and evaluating recent developments. Using the same methodology, for

comparative purposes, the other Anglican farm, Modderspruit, came under the spotlight. The rise of St Chads College, followed by a survey of the use of the farm provided a historical canvass on which to paint a picture of the development proposals and the ensuing obstacles to development.

Chapter 6, again using a combination of positivist and interpretative methodologies provided a basic needs evaluation of ACATs involvement on the Natal South Coast in the Emzambe district. To facilitate some comparison respondents were also drawn from the Hlongwa Tribal Authority where ACAT has not found access as yet. Further information was gathered through informal interviewing. The needs of the district were ascertained mainly from consensus meetings of officials from the various local tribal authorities.

Chapter 7 briefly discussed the role evaluation ought to play in church-related development projects. This was highlighted by the co-existence of both theological and human values which undergird all church-related development projects. They also serve as criteria by which such projects should be evaluated. Because church-related development projects have both dimensions, one cannot be underestimated by the other. When they exist in a creative symbiotic relationship they permit a dynamic evaluation of church-related development projects, enhancing the probability of such projects achieving what they set out to do. What remains is a further examination the role of evaluation in the development process while some recommendations are made to ensure the benefits of this resource and tool.

PART 3 : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 8 : THE ROLE OF EVALUATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The main aim of this dissertation has been to promote the use of evaluation in the development context. Duncan (1984: 55) is convinced that 'no management technique can succeed without including evaluation of its methods and results.' Being as convinced as Duncan is about the essential role evaluation can play in the development process, this dissertation set about in Part 1, first, to describe the development debate and the art and science of evaluation and then to provide some insight into the types of evaluation which have been used on the development scene. A sound understanding of development issues and the dynamics of evaluation are essential to a discussion about the role of evaluation in the development setting. Further insights into development issues, as well as some experience of evaluation were gained through the evaluation of the development contexts of Springvale, Modderspruit and the Emzumbe district. The experience of an evaluation of a development issue is probably the first step in gaining an appreciation of its benefits. The personal experience has served to re-inforce the conviction of the intrinsic worth of this functional development tool.

Looking at the value of evaluation for development projects, the Rapid Rural Appraisals of Springvale and Modderspruit have served to provide an overview of the background to their development proposals, as well as to highlight some significant development problems. Unless the latter are adequately dealt with, they will

further inhibit the development proposals taking effect and could possibly exacerbate the present quality of life enjoyed on these two farms. The absence of an evaluative process in the Springvale and Modderspruit development proposals has had a detrimental effect. The evaluation of these two farms, in this dissertation, lends itself to encourage the Diocese of Natal to incorporate the four-fold types of evaluation in their development initiatives.

The summative evaluation of ACATs involvement in the Emzumbé district has provided a measure to fully appreciate the impact this para-church organisation is making in respect to the fulfilment of basic human needs. Apart from a basic cost-benefit analysis, ACAT's existing monitoring system is not able to measure impact. Therefore the evaluation in this dissertation has provided an alternative form, whereby the impact of ACATs training and extension services can be more clearly illustrated. A comparison of a cost-benefit analysis provided by the existing monitoring system is an exercise for another occasion. Suffice to say that there is clear advantage in having different forms of evaluation side-by-side for comparative purposes. Nevertheless, the fact that ACAT has some form of evaluation in progress means that the Trust has some appreciation of the value of evaluation and therefore is encouraged to continue this practice. Beyond that, ACAT should experiment with other forms and methodologies to enable them to make even more appropriate decisions particularly in those areas of basic needs where they are still to make an impact in their endeavour to minister to the whole person.

The most convincing way to promote evaluation in the development process is to show that evaluation makes a difference to particular development contexts. The evaluation of Springvale and Modderspruit at this point in time do not do so, as they have not as yet been released to the Diocese of Natal. Once the evaluation has been released there is no guarantee that the Diocese of Natal will act upon it. This stems from the fact that the Diocese of Natal did not request the evaluation of their interests, but facilitated the opportunity for this dissertation. Therefore the Diocese is not obliged to respond. However, while the evaluation of these two church-related projects does not show that it has made a difference it has the potential to make a difference if it is acted upon. The Springvale and Modderspruit evaluation has highlighted particular issues which need to be eliminated to facilitate the flow of the development processes in question.

Again, for similar reasons, the ACAT evaluation hasn't shown that it has made a difference in terms of ACATs present involvement in the Emzumbi district. Nevertheless, it has shown the difference that ACAT itself has made in the lives of a number of people, which this dissertation encourages. But it does so recommending that ACAT makes some adjustment particularly in the areas where it has been lacking, that it may fully minister to the whole person.

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APPENDIX 1 : BASIC NEEDS SURVEY : ACAT / HLONGWA : EMZUMBE

Questionnaire No _____
Respondent: ACAT / Hlongwa
Tribal Authority _____ Ward _____

GLOBAL

1. When you look at your life as a whole, how satisfied would you say you are with your general well-being, these days? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

2. How happy would you say you are with life these days? Would you say you are very happy, just happy, unhappy, or very unhappy?

NI VH H U VU DK NR NA

3. What would you say is your greatest need? _____

4. Which one of the following needs is your greatest?

- 0 No information
- 1 Nutrition
- 2 Clothing
- 3 Housing
- 4 Health
- 5 Sanitation
- 6 Fuel
- 7 Education
- 8 Transport
- 9 Employment
- 10 Participation in community affairs
- 11 Religion
- 12 Don't know
- 13 No response
- 14 Not applicable

NUTRITION

5. How do you feel about the food you eat?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

6. How do you feel about the price you have to pay for food?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

7. How do you feel about the amount of work you have to do to grow or buy food?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

8. How much money do you spend on food each month?

- 0 NI
- 1 More than R300
- 2 R300 - R200
- 3 R200 - R100
- 4 R100 - R000
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

9. How much land do you have to grow food?

- 0 NI
- 1 Large plot
- 2 Small plot
- 3 Communal garden
- 4 Kitchen door patch
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

10. Do you keep chickens for meat and eggs?

- 0 NI
- 1 Meat
- 2 Eggs
- 3 Both
- 4 Keep chickens only -no produce
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

11. Do you keep livestock for meat and milk?

- 0 NI
- 1 Meat
- 2 Milk
- 3 Both
- 4 Keep livestock only - no produce
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

12. What livestock do you keep?

- 0 NI
- 1 Cattle only
- 2 Sheep/goats only
- 3 Horses/donkeys only
- 4 Cattle & sheep/goats
- 5 Cattle & horses/donkeys
- 6 Sheep/goats & horses/donkeys
- 7 Cattle & sheep/goats & horses/donkeys
- 8 DK
- 9 NR
- 10 NA

During the past month have you eaten/drunk any of the following?

	NI	Daily	1/2xpw	Less often	Not at all	DK	NR
13. Meat, poultry, fish	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Dairy products	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Dried beans/peas	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Eggs	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Bread	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Fruit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Vegetables	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Cereals	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Tswhala	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Desserts/cake	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Beer/wine	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

CLOTHING

24. How do you feel about the clothes you wear?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

25. How do you feel about your ability to buy new clothes when there is a need to do so?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

During the past year how many of the following items have you bought?

26. Trousers/skirt/frock (new)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
27. Trousers/skirt/frock (2nd hd)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
28. Jacket/coat (new)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
29. Jacket/coat (2nd hd)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
30. Shoes (new)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
31. Shoes (2nd hd)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
32. Rainwear (new)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA
33. Rainwear (2nd hd)	NI	1	2	3	4+	DK	NR	NA

34. How adequately do you feel your clothing protects you against the elements?

NI VA A I VI DK NR NA

HOUSING

35. How do you feel about residing in this place?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

36. How do you like your home?

NI VM M NM NVM DK NR NA

Occupancy Rate

37. How many people reside in your home throughout the year?

38.
How many are absent for more than six months of the year?

39. Normal household?

40. How many rooms are there in your house?

41. How many are slept in?

42. How many are spare or used for other purposes?

43. Do you feel that your home is overcrowded?

0 NI
1 Yes, very overcrowded
2 Yes, but not very overcrowded
3 No
4 DK
5 NR
6 NA

44. Walls

0 NI
1 Plastered
2 Blocks/bricks
3 Wattle & daub
4 Corrugated iron

45. Roofing

- 0 NI
- 1 Tiles
- 2 Corrugated iron
- 3 Thatch
- 4 Mixed

46. How far is your home away from local amenities?

- 0 NI
- 1 Amenities immediately available
- 2 Amenities reasonably close by
- 3 Amenities some distance away
- 4 Amenities a great distance away
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

47. How adequately does your home protect you against the elements?

NI VA A I VI DK NR NA

HEALTH

48. How do you feel about the precautions you take to remain healthy?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

49. Have you been vaccinated?

- 0 NI
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 DK
- 4 NR
- 5 NA

50. Who do you consult most regularly when you are ill?

- 0 NI
- 1 Medical General Practitioner
- 2 Traditional Practitioner
- 3 Herbalist
- 4 Nobody
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

51. How do you feel about the health services locally available?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

52. How do you feel about the distance you have to travel to the nearest clinic?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

53. How do you feel about the distance you have to travel to the nearest hospital?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

WATER

54. What water supply do you have to your home?

- 0 NI
- 1 Piped water inside dwelling
- 2 Piped water on stand
- 3 Water nearby
- 4 Water more than 15 mins away
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

55. How do you feel about the cost of obtaining water?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

SANITATION

56. What kind of sanitation system do you use?

- 0 NI
- 1 Flush inside
- 2 Flush outside
- 3 Pit latrine/bucket
- 4 Bush
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

57. What do you do about your household garbage?

- 0 NI
- 1 Collection by local authority
- 2 Dispose of in a special place
- 3 Dispose down a latrine
- 4 Other
- 5 DK
- 6 NR

58. How do you feel about your sanitation system?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

FUEL

59. What fuel do you use for heating and cooking?

- 0 NI
- 1 Paraffin
- 2 Wood
- 3 Coal
- 4 Electricity
- 5 Gas
- 6 Other
- 7 DK
- 8 NR
- 9 NA

60. What fuel do you use for cooling?

- 0 NI
- 1 Paraffin
- 2 Electricity
- 3 Gas
- 4 Other
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

61. What fuel do you use for lighting?

- 0 NI
- 1 Paraffin
- 2 Electricity
- 3 Gas
- 4 Candles
- 5 Batteries
- 6 Other
- 7 DK
- 8 NR
- 9 NA

62. How do feel about the quantity of fuel you use?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

63. How do you feel about the cost of fuel?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

EDUCATION

64. How do you feel about the education you received when you went to school?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

65. How do you feel about the standard of education taught at local schools?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

66. How do feel about your children having to go to another vicinity to complete their education after having attained the highest standard available locally?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

67. How do you feel about the distance your children have to travel to get to school?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

68. Have your children ever been turned away from a school on registration day?

0 NI
1 Yes
2 No

69. How do you feel about what it has cost to educate yourself and your family?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

70. How do you feel about the availability of adult education and literacy facilities in this area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

TRANSPORTATION

71. How do you feel about your usual mode of transport?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

72. How do feel about the distance and time taken to reach work and other services?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

73. When you travel locally, what form of transport do you mostly use?

- 0 NI
- 1 Walk
- 2 Public transport
- 3 Own transport
- 4 Lift from any known person
- 5 lift from any person
- 6 DK
- 7 NR
- 8 NA

74. When you travel away from home, what form of transport do you mostly use?

- 0 NI
- 1 Walk
- 2 Public transport
- 3 Own transport
- 4 Lift from any known person
- 5 Lift from any person
- 6 DK
- 7 NR
- 8 NA

75. How do you feel about your transport costs?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

76. How do you feel about the roads in your area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

EMPLOYMENT

77. How do you feel about the job opportunities which exist within the community?

VI VS S D VD DK NR NA

78. How do you feel about the job opportunities which exist outside the community?

VI VS S D VD DK NR NA

79. How many members of your household are old enough and capable of working? _____

80. How many are engaged in employment? _____

81. How many are out of work and seeking employment? _____

PARTICIPATION

82. How do you feel about your participation in local affairs?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

83. How often are you able to attend local meetings?

- 0 NI
- 1 Regularly
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Rarely
- 4 Never
- 5 DK
- 6 NR
- 7 NA

84. How do you feel about the local leaders

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

85. How do you feel about the way local leaders repond to the needs of the community?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

86. How do you feel anout local organisations?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

87. How do you feel about your ability to participate in the activities of local organisations?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

RELIGION

88. How do you feel about the way you practice your religion?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

89. How do you feel about the way your religion helps you to meet your needs?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

90. How do you feel about the way your church helps you to meet your needs?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

91. What faith do you practice?

- 0 NI
- 1 Ancestor worship
- 2 Atheist/agnostic
- 3 Christian
- 4 Zionist
- 5 Moslem
- 6 Other
- 7 DK
- 8 NR
- 9 NA

BIOGRAPHICS

92. Household head?

- 0 NI
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

93. Age of respondent. _____

94. Gender of respondent.

- 0 NI
- 1 Male
- 2 Female

APPENDIX 2 : EMZUMBE TRIBAL AUTHORITIES

Questionnaire No _____

Tribal Authority _____

Inkosi _____

1. What are some of the major difficulties the Tribal Authority has had to deal with?

2. What has the Tribal Authority done to improve the quality of the people?

3. What are the greatest needs in this area?

4. Could you comment on the welfare and other problems in this area?

5 How does the Tribal Authority feel about the schools in the area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

6. How does the Tribal Authority feel about the clinics in the area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

7. How does the Tribal Authority feel about the commercial facilities in the area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

8. How does the Tribal Authority feel about local job opportunities?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

9. How does the Tribal Authority feel about the way people cultivate their fields?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

10. How does the Tribal Authority feel about dipping facilities in the area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

11. How could the Government assist in the development of this area?

12. How does the Tribal Authority feel about the way the community responds to its administration of the area?

NI VS S D VD DK NR NA

13. What ad hoc committees does the Tribal Authority have?

14. What organisations exist in this area? How do they contribute to the well-being of the people here?
