

**ENHANCING PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY BEYOND DONOR SUPPORT. AN
ANALYSIS OF GRASSROOTS DEMOCRATISATION AS A POSSIBLE
ALTERNATIVE**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that ENHANCING PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY BEYOND DONOR SUPPORT. AN ANALYSIS OF GRASSROOTS DEMOCRATISATION AS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

This research, has relevance in the wake of dwindling aid channelled to the third world rural poor. This study has explored ways of breaking away from benevolence and economism. The research explores four objectives that are focussed on scanning the boundary, in terms of challenges and possible solutions. This provides some in-depth understanding of challenges that face the process of establishing self-sustaining institutions of development. In the last two objectives, the research explores some programming alternatives that would enhance the establishment of democratic and participatory organisations that maximise social capital and grassroots democratisation. A list of guidelines specific to institutions has been drawn. The results of the survey reveal that sustainability cannot be predicted due to the uncertainties and ambiguities associated with project success. The hypothesis that participation and grassroots democratisation facilitates project success has been validated and there was greater project success in participatory organisations, given the baseline context.

Key words: *sustainability challenges, scanning the boundary, aid, economism, self reliance, surge, project designs, participation, democracy, nationalisation, liberalisation, capitalism, classical socialism, democratic socialism, participatory organisations, hierarchical, solidaristic, localism, giantism, globalism, localisation, villagisation, Ujamma, Harambee, social praxis.*

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CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT SUSTAINABILITY: AN INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY BEYOND DONOR SUPPORT

1.1 Introduction

Fifty years of aid to third world communities has seen huge numbers of dollars going down the drain with little impact; poverty continues to nag at the millions of poor people in these communities. Should the North continue pouring aid to the third world poor? This chapter introduces the concept of sustainability and its various persuasions in order to create a framework within which the research will unfold to the reader. In terms of geology and climatology, the chapter introduces the geographical area and location of research in Malawi and gives a brief justification and rationale for this study in the context of current problems of sustainability and development trends, providing a snapshot view of the methodology. Finally, the chapter develops objectives that form a logical methodological argument of how grassroots sustainability can be achieved and provides specific questions that guide the development of variables within geological, climatological, social/cultural, socio-economic, institutional and political contexts. The general hypothesis that participatory organisations have the efficacy to achieve sustainability in contexts where there is a transition from rationalisation to localisation of development is posited. If this end is to be realised, the need arises to chip away at the oppressive, non-adaptive and synoptic development approach exercised by bureaucratic institutions.

1.2 Development and sustainability: conceptual perspective

Defining the terms ‘development’ and ‘sustainability’ conceptually remains a hurdle in scientific development debates. In this research the definitions used are borrowed from

the research works of Himmelstrand and Kinyanjui (1994:56-67), who defined development as the capacity to produce or provide the means of production to satisfy the consumption needs of the masses. This capacity has remained the domain of the state in the third world, positioning the poor as recipients. In defining the term sustainability, Joaquin (1998:94) and Lyson, Stephens and Smuts (2001:416) used terms such as magnitude of inheritance after donor support, ability of the government to take over donor supported programmes, time after evaluation and before phase out, and the continuation of project activities after phase out of donor support. In short, they all define development sustainability as maintaining capacity to produce and keeping the outcomes and impacts that ensue as the result of project interventions. This conceptualisation has led to longitudinal research measuring and analysing sustainability by World Vision-supported development programmes in the northern region of Malawi. Most of these programmes contributing to the construction of this research are situated in the Karonga Agricultural Development Division, that borders countries such as Tanzania in the north, Zambia in the northeast and Mozambique in the southwest. In addition, the global picture is provided by donors such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United States Agency for International Development, Norwegian Aid for Development and the European Union, major donors in the programmes situated in the Chitipa BOMA, or district.

Typically, the post-aid period of a project attracts little, if any, attention from donors, showing a grave lack of interest in issues of sustainability. Hence, in as much as evaluation research has been undertaken to assess the impact of donor-supported programmes on poverty alleviation, no specific study has focussed on the issues of sustainability. The situation described gives this study its significance as it has focussed on measuring outcomes, those impacts of the interventions in a sustainability model-tested site over the past three years. As defined elsewhere, sustainability is the magnitude of inheritance over a specified period after donor involvement. Inheritance as impacts, that is, outcomes that are long term results, includes geological, physical, social, economic, cultural and institutional conditions. Hence, in the context of challenges and

constraints, multiple variables have been measured in terms of their degree of severity. For example, soil fertility, land denudation, soil erosion, deforestation, land degradation and infrastructure gaps (roads, bridges and social facilities) are geological and physical challenges that provide adequate variables for analysis in a model-testing site. The assumption is that over a period of programme implementation, these challenges will reduce in terms of severity and that this reduction will reflect in the strengths of the model being tested and the nature of institutions involved in their management.

In order to meet the demands of this research, obtaining as much information as possible on how to enhance project sustainability beyond donor was a significant imperative. This required the development of logical objectives for the study. Four objectives were accordingly formulated, using certain opinions as the basis for these objectives. For example, there is a general opinion that grassroots development in context of centralisms remains an anthill, that is to say an antagonistic and difficult task (Brett 1996: 14-15; Chema 1993: 115; De Beer 2002: 41-44; Rondinelli 1993:139-142). In the first objective, then, this study dwells on the geological, physical, socio-political and institutional challenges of grassroots development (refer appendix E). An assumption is made that factors that militate against grassroots development have different levels of severity. This process of assessing the severity of the factors will point to gaps in the classical as well as grassroots community development framework. The severity assessment tests the efficacy and effectiveness of strategies and approaches of development models adopted in the solidaristic and hierarchical structures of organisations. The model –testing matrix assesses all variables cutting across geological, physical, social, economic and institutional variables. These variables are called shocks, limitations, trends, and uncertainties. The results show that over the past three years of World Vision programmes in rural communities, the organisation’s model-supported participatory approaches have brought about more social infrastructure empowerment impacts. Put differently, the empowering community development model, adopted by the NGO sector, has caused much change in the variables intended for transitional change. Much has been achieved in terms of programme outcomes, especially in the social, economical, political

and institutional dimensions of variables in the model-tested programmes. Therefore NGO and government sectors contribute to the most lasting impacts on rural communities when the classical community development approaches and hierarchical structures are improved or overhauled, as the approach is still a blueprint, keeping the community passive in the process. There is thus a need to promote transition towards democratic socialism.

While objective one focussed on the factors militating against sustainability, objective two dwells on the solutions, perspectives and concepts that the implementing partners, beneficiary community and donor community have adopted over the past three years in the model site. The basis for this objective was to argue that every challenge has a possible solution and hence one can correlate the success in the outcomes and impacts of programmes with such solutions. The same project-success assessment matrix has been used to measure the degree of adoption of solutions. The results on this objective show that over the past three years, the adoption of solutions, concepts, perspectives and social behaviours has been optimal. The community development praxis model is hence found to be adequate in its efficacy to influence expected adoption of the stated solution variables. These solution variables are drawn from a literature review on participatory research, economic research and community development research, giving impetus to the identification of these variables. Experiential knowledge obtained through dialogue and internship has also shaped the variables tested in the model site. The research took this process of identifying variables from literature to ensure the validity, usefulness and authenticity of results.

The nature of the research problem needed further analysis in order to question whether the prescribed solutions could be a panacea to the problem under investigation. The general opinion that one may not prescribe solutions to problems of development (Rondinelli 1993: 67-77; Scoones & Thompson 2000:55-62) required the development of further objectives in this research. Objective three was formulated to address the issue of development fluidity for which one may not prescribe solutions. Kumwenda (2004:5-12) argues that the shocks, limitations, trends and uncertainties make the process of

conventional development fluid such that one cannot accurately predict the outcomes. Hence, alternatives that could provide more room for flexibility and localism should become a focal point in rural development (*refer Table 7.1*). Alternatives avoid the blueprints; they seek new management shifts, innovations, support reforms, creativity and analytical capabilities. However, the alternatives are currently theoretical with deep connections to alternative development theories (Haines 2000: 45-55). In the model site, there has been an enhancement of the applications of alternatives. The various donor institutions enter the programme area with interests biased towards a particular focus area or alternative. For example, World Vision International focusses on transformational development that requires more than a classical approach to community development. Transformational development borrows more from the liberation theory of Paul Freire (Kulaisi 1996: 146) and reinforces deep radical thinking (Brett 1996:12-17; Swanepoel 2000:17-22). Adoption of the alternatives by the community and participating institutions of development can best be accomplished by following guidelines. This issue of guidelines necessitated the development of the fourth objective. This has hinged on intellectually agreed aspects of community empowerment. The guidelines developed have taken the imperatives of the model into consideration, in terms of how the model defines institutional roles of development, noting that there is always some interaction between institutions of development. Each institution, from its development mandate, has specific guidelines to effect community empowerment. The community-based organisations have also been categorised into different groups. These categories take into consideration the nature of activities they are involved in, be it socio-economic, commercial, or political. The guidelines are useful in the area of strengthening the livelihood frameworks of development that have been adopted. The guidelines are not a blueprint but assist in articulating some desirable direction of development planning and other institutional management imperatives. The guidelines provide a conceptual framework according to which development may proceed in rural communities. A localism framework, supporting grassroots participation and empowerment as foundational to programme success, has emerged from these guidelines. There is clearly a link between the guidelines, the alternatives, and the model testing sustainability.

Following guidelines should lead to a reduction in the risk factors in objective one and should enhance factors in objective two. The alternatives support a new shift in development thinking, beyond classical approaches: development owned by the communities becomes a focal point. This is development localisation, where the local people champion the course of development and take centre stage in determining their own destiny. Giving aid in the context of this grassroots democratisation framework, where sustainability is given some prominence, should lead to lasting results.

1.3 Context of research problem

Though there has been a move towards rural development in terms of donor orientation, development trends indicate that after adoption of the structural adjustments imposed by the capitalist Breton institutions, poverty has only increased in poor countries (Cornwell 2000:55). As a result, maintaining goods and services that are deliverable outcomes of project interventions has continued to be critical in some developing countries, including Malawi (Thunde 1993:7), and millions of dollars from the North have gone down the drain. Travelling in most parts of developing countries, one is struck by the remaining presence of programmes which have become nothing more than white elephants, glaring features in many parts of the countryside. Much blame for this falls on the capitalistic bureaucracy with its national funding limitations, frequent logistical problems, insufficient personnel, and poor operation and maintenance practice. Authors analysing the capitalist economic structure have identified the complexities involved in getting resources to the people, getting people to participate, financing and managing delivery of goods and services (Mponela 1993:9; Obasanjo 2002:17; Rondinelli 1993:144) at micro and macro levels as major challenges. Unsurprisingly, poor communities have continued to witness a decline in living standards, increasing levels of poverty, and deterioration in infrastructures (Nyerere 1990: 44-45) as a result of this failing bureaucracy. For instance, the beautiful colonial-donor funded roads, gravity-fed water systems, irrigation schemes, government houses and apartments are today standing monuments in most parts of third world countries. This indicates failure of national state institutions to sustain aid-driven

goods and service delivery beyond the involvement of international donor agencies. Additionally, there is no development sustainability after the phasing out of donor support due to an inadequate domestic budget, arising from abject poverty, which cannot sustain such projects.

1.4 Research goal

The evaluation of grassroots democratisation as a possible alternative in addressing the social/cultural, social/economic, and political challenges of project sustainability in the Namatubi/Witimba Area Development Programme in the northern region of Malawi.

1.4.1 Specific research objectives

- 1 To identify and analyse the social-political, physical and institutional sustainability challenges facing Community Based Organisations as grassroots institutions of development.
- 2 To identify and analyse solutions to social-political, physical and institutional sustainability challenges facing Community Based Organisations as grassroots institutions of development.
- 3 To identify and analyse alternatives to social-political, physical and institutional sustainability challenges in Community Based Organisations as grassroots institutions of development.
- 4 To develop guidelines for addressing social-political, physical and institutional challenges to sustainability in Community Based Organisations as grassroots institutions of development.

1.4.2 Research hypothesis

1st hypothesis: Social praxis or active participation is central to the success of a programme or a project and without it projects stand little chance of success.

2nd hypothesis: Direct democracy or democratic management structure of an organisation influences the success of the projects it undertakes and non-democratic structures are in themselves causes of project failure.

3rd hypothesis: Appropriate technology or project designs have an effect on the success or failure of the interventions.

1.4.3 Specific research questions

The following questions helped to guide the focus in this study.

Do the grassroots have control and ownership over factors of production in the context of government development policy?

Do the grassroots have the ability to take over development programmes through institutional capacity building?

Is it possible to achieve outcomes and impacts in donor-funded projects with focus on long-term sustainability?

Is it possible to choose retrogression/progression in development indicators and use such to define alternatives?

Are there some grassroots development dimensions to sustainability?

How should projects be designed to achieve success in the context of fluidity of rural development?

Is there some strength in local level planning with adequate research capacity to handle technology that survives on new research knowledge ?

Are the new projects in conflict with social cultural behaviours?

Is there capacity to meet financing demands of recurrent costs?

1.5 Significance of the study

The significance of the study lies in the fact that it explores methods through which local efforts, through democratisation, are harnessed to maintain programme outcomes after donor support has ended. Enhancing project sustainability beyond donor support is a vital perspective of development, making the topic of this study particularly relevant. Over the past fifty years of development aid, not much consideration has been given to the post-donor support period of projects. Historically, donors have treated development separately from sustainability (Joaquin 1996:75), which has resulted in the aggravation of the problem of persistent poverty. This thus becomes one of the major studies that go beyond development aid concerns to issues of sustainable social conditions (Lyson et al. 2001:1235). Though debates on sustainable development have recently emerged, the current understanding of sustainable development is biased towards natural resources management (Swanepoel & De Beer 1998:34). In this research, an additional dimension to the concept of sustainable development is 'on current gains of development and capacity sustained at appropriate levels without losing out on such gains and capacity' (Lyson et al. 2001:1233). While sustaining development impacts is key, it is the majority at grassroots that accelerate and sustain poverty reduction efforts (Phiri 1994:67-89), hence the need to target the rural poor to achieve overall economic growth. As will be seen later in the section on feminisation of poverty, Nyerere argues that the high proportion of women in the poverty group in the third world makes efforts at development fruitless. This is because the investment threshold for the third world has pushed far above the current levels of funding to a point where local level development is the only feasible alternative solution. Development efforts that centre on sustainability must target the grassroots majority. This dimension of development internalisation will contribute to fewer demands for foreign aid in the long run, fewer debt concerns and a reduction in the balance of payments. Following the mainstream of development, there is

a general perception now that more aid leads to more poverty, and economism is the main feature of third world poverty. Economism refers to an over-dependence on aid (refer appendix C). Owing to piecemeal aid funding, the NGOs involved with external resource mobilisation have not been sustainable as such projects continue to rely on unpredictable external sources of finance (De Beer 1998:17-35). One must take cognisance of the fact that the aid resources the rural projects of the third world have been receiving in the past decades are dwindling while communities are vulnerable and not ready in terms of local development resource mobilisation. This research therefore prepares the poor to manage development projects successfully beyond donor support, through their own means, alternatives and resources.

1.6 Research design and methodology

1.6.1 Literature reviews

The first phase of this research reviewed relevant publications that touched on geo-physical, social-political and institutional challenges of project sustainability and related solutions in the context of project characteristics such as participatory and bureaucratic organisational structures, institutional capacity, grassroots development, new research and technology, sociological perspectives of development, policy, democratic and participative environment, and project designs. The review centred on specific variables in the context of national policy: dwindling foreign aid and resources, infrastructure gaps, social class struggle and cultural institutions. The University of South Africa's (UNISA) library services provided the needed literature in the form of journals and books. Relevant publication reviews also touched on institutional building cooperatives, unions, community-based organisations, the rich and the poor, financing rural development, causes of astronomical poverty, and alternative theories of development, human economic scale and giantism. The objective of these reviews was to explain the correlation of project structures, project designs, and organisational cultures to project their effectiveness in tandem with current alternative theories of development in the

context of this research. Documentation relating to the theme ‘development sustainability modelling’ followed a particular pattern to give a broader view of development approaches and related institutional support frameworks which could support sustainability. The review studied the trends in terms of current thinking on development and the imperative need for alternatives to ensure outcomes and project performance.

1.6.2 Field research and design

The research undertook a comparative and analytical design in that two groups were used: a control and an experimental group. Inferences could only be conclusive through a process of trends comparison (Oppenheim 1994: 44-99). Forces that militate against grassroots development (participation, democratisation) and grassroots empowerment occur at three levels: global, national, and local community. This analogises the core and periphery phenomenon. The Household Livelihood Survey (HLS) tool was used as a framework for assessment. This looks at institutional capacity building, project long-term planning, grassroots development, take-over effect, new technology and research, sociological perspectives of development, recurrent costs, and policy. It makes a global analysis and explains better the causes of project failure and success. That being the case, data was collected at district level, community level and household level, where primary data collection and analysis formed the second phase of the research (refer to appendix D).

1.6.3 Quantitative and qualitative research

Releasing the poor from the trap of poverty necessitates democratisation that may take different forms such as revolution, (Marx in David 1979:66), reforms (Fidel Castro in David 1979:175), or chiselling away at bureaucracy (Swanepoel 2000:29). This research sought to investigate, from the community as beneficiaries of development outcomes,

how efficient the state and grassroots-based structures were in releasing them from the trap of poverty. Key in this case was the ability to survive beyond donor support. For example, in the water users associations, the irrigation facilities provided water for farmers during the off season. In order to establish how well the facilities remained operational after donor support, a qualitative survey was used to capture the sentiments of the targeted population. Hence the research questions also sought to reveal some realities of ownership and empowerment. The observed behaviours of the beneficiaries, hinging on legal and policy support, legal ownership, and control over the delivery of services, resource gaps, social class struggle, donor opinion and behaviour, were to be linked to the perspectives of democratisation. Additionally, the project characteristics of facilitation, coordination, training, capacity building and community participation also required a probing strategy of research. This necessitated the use of a participatory rapid appraisal, employing a combination of the LQAS survey and HLS framework. In this regard, the research used a project performance assessment matrix that employs the concepts of scoring matrix, wealth ranking and public opinion (see appendix D) at community, district and national level institutions. The matrix tested each level-clustered variable in terms of its occurrence and frequencies. The study assessed the severity in terms of challenges and rate of adoption of desirable conditions (interventions) as trends over a period of three years in the model-tested site.

(a) District-level data

In this research the district represented a bureaucracy in full control of the destiny of the poor. The assessment matrix at this level focussed on variables that were institutional in nature, covering issues of policy, resource gaps and infrastructure gaps. The data collected included clustered variables, namely institutional support, institutional domination, institutional policies and approaches, facilities, project design, social empowerment, participation and organisational culture. According to Rondinelli (1993:152-161), who worked at perfecting the bureaucracy through decentralisation, social empowerment has a number of effects that includes grassroots decision-making

abilities, capacities and skills. The main focus in the matrix was to trace how bureaucratic organisations were faring compared with participatory ones in terms of social empowerment and managing social-cultural-political complexities. Two distinct structures of the organisations that represented participatory organisations and bureaucratic institutions included community-based organisations (unions, cooperatives and associations) on one hand and settlement schemes, agricultural schemes and other state establishments on the other. The research also used the district investment plan, information system and its historical western donor involvement trends. The historical trends status showed whether the projects were operational or defunct and the estimated period that they had remained operational.

(b) Community-level data

In a top down development approach, centring on growth maximisation and trickle-down theories, it was assumed that the districts were investing in the grassroots community. Using tools such as the transect walk, resource mapping and venn diagrams, the researcher conducted a validation process in which community-level data, through PRA methodology, tested the contextual variables of policy, resource gaps, infrastructure gaps, leadership support, surplus labour and social classes (Karl Marx in David 1979:78-99). Community-data collection helped to assess the livelihood gaps that included social-cultural and physical livelihoods such as road networks, communication networks, health and school facilities, information infrastructure and market networks and infrastructure and linked these to contextual variables of sustainability at higher levels. Mode of production and division of labour often fuel a capitalist economy that destabilises community integration. Hence a sociological perspective of development within the community, culturally related variables such as solidarity, community stability, community conflict and community negotiation skills, were studied alongside community beliefs, attitudes, practices and traditions. There is general agreement that legitimacy and traditional institutions are determinants of the survival of project interventions. Borrowing from Marxism additionally, the study saw the need to investigate the

significance of trust, love and caring as social capital in the community. This is detailed in chapter 5 where the research methodology is discussed.

© **Household-level data**

In pursuance of pragmatic evidence, and in following the theory of social praxis, the variables were tested finally at household level. At household level the project performance matrix measured both contextual and project characteristic variables that depicted a set of interventions, desirable social conditions and solutions practical to the social, economic and institutional challenges of sustainability. For example, road networks, market structures and degraded farmland reflect infrastructure gaps, hence realities in terms of programme impacts and outcomes were observable at this level. Again, participation, involvement, skills, capacities, control and decision making reflected project characteristics depicting behaviour of social praxis in environmental management food security systems, micro lending, enterprise development, market structure, ownership over resources, infrastructure development, governance, partnerships, community empowerment and donor transformation applicable at this level. Such variables support the purposes of decentralisation to enable the poor to engage with development institutions and make demands. Participation creates enablement for the poor, allowing them to access resources or demand development. In view of the decentralisation framework, the study assessed variables such as CBO funding proposals, meetings people had with institutions of development, participation in project cycles, social organisations, perspectives on decentralisation, repair and maintenance of facilities, contributions to projects, decision making in projects, project audits, and a sense of ownership of projects. Modes of production that allow community creativity, options and proactivism form a strong foundation for a community.

1.7 Sampling methods

The research used two sampling methods, namely purposive and simple random sampling. The study used a study population of 25,000 people in an Area Development Programmes of World Vision International situated in the northern region of Malawi. As a sample, the study used 171 households from which to gather data in a PRA research study, both in the control and experimental groups (see Chapter 5 under Methodology). The 171 household participants belong to the 18 purposively sampled project supervision areas involved in a wide range of services that include irrigation, forestation, cooperatives, associations, education, health and advocacy projects and cover control and experimental populations.

1.8 Data collection techniques

1.8.1 Mapping and venn diagrams

The agrarian peasant society under study provided data through visual aids. In the case of the contextual variables falling within the spectrum of infrastructure, resource gaps, national policies, cultural and traditions, the venn diagrams supported the assessment matrix by their use as visual tools. Agricultural aerial maps depicted a before and after situation in a longitudinal study. Through community resource maps, social maps and community maps, the community added its experiences and knowledge about the contextual trends in landscaping that the research team kept documenting. It was possible to determine how rich or incapacitated the community was in terms of social-economic resource trends (see chapter 5 under Research Methodology).

1.8.2 Key informant interviews, attitudinal surveys and cases

As a method of triangulation, the research subjected the success indicators of the outcomes of projects on the assessment matrixes to critical review by the key informants by interviewing heads of department and subject specialists. This brought some soundness and reality to the indicators of the success of the programmes. A survey was later instituted to articulate public perceptions, feelings, choices and options regarding the indicators of success in the participatory projects and government schemes used as cases.

1.8.3 Focus group discussions and household interviews

The research provided an opportunity for the poor to speak to the rich in a roundtable discussion during community interface meetings that brought service providers to the community members, offering an opportunity for the community to share their expected institutional roles. The role of public, commercial and civil sectors of the economy in maintaining infrastructure, mobilising resources for rural development and influencing the policy environment were discussed and found to be vital during interface meetings. Discussion on how high institutions could allow the grassroots to attain control and influence over projects provided an opportunity for assessment of the social-political and institutional environments. These focus group discussions led to the development of guidelines for sustainability that largely involved the beneficiaries of social services. Hence the research used PRA tools such as focus group discussions and household interviews that focussed on local institutions and the participants of the development programmes. The local management team and credit groups reflected on their strengths and weaknesses at household level as well.

1.8.4 Schedule and procedure for data collection

Allowing the peasants a forum with the technocrats demanded accurately scheduled meetings and programmes. Very formal and professionally organised meetings were planned. This research demanded a great deal of interaction between the service providers and the beneficiaries and this required institutional coordination and collaboration. As a procedure, the research began by creating awareness of the need for some kind of research to establish why donor-funded projects failed to survive after the phase out of supporting donors. A team of frontline staff at World Vision and other NGOs participated in this awareness-raising process. The training of enumerators on research protocol followed this awareness-raising process. As a matter of protocol, the research alerted the community to this study so as to convince it of the value of such a

study. This resulted in study buy-in by heads of government institutions, and this provided the opportunity of accessing a centralised district data management system for specific key documents of primary research.

1.9 Data analysis

According to the World Vision Transformational Development Manual (1998:12-22) and HLS framework concepts, the following were the methods of data analysis:

1.9.1 Global analysis

In assessing the variables in the context of national policy, aid gaps, infrastructure gaps, political leadership support, dualism of development and global capitalistic explanations have some links with grassroots social realities. The global social-economic order, human economic scale, globalism, events and happenings constitute some poverty birth pangs and pressures weighing on grassroots communities. In the livelihoods framework such pressures constitute causes of poverty at grassroots level. The dependency theory that has governed the thought in this dissertation demands that one does not treat a variable effect in entirety (Tdi Report 2004:14-15) as human social behaviour is influenced by a number of external forces. The donors who are placed at the core, and who have their own orientation to development, influence the organisational culture and social standing of grassroots communities to some degree (Thomas 1992:45-67). Even the support institutions or service providers are in positions of authority and power (Myers 1999:55-78) that emanates from donor expectations. All the high institutions of development influence and push towards the periphery, causing more pressures of poverty, as it were (Linda 2000:99-112), imposing their own knowledge and opinions on how grassroots should manage development. In the onion model institution analogy one can see how the outer, inner and most inner forces of institutional structure operate and continue to constitute various pressures.

1.9.2 Contextual analysis

In social praxis, what is being experienced and the related observed factors count more than placing the blame of poverty on some distant forces. Therefore, the documented project characteristic variables in the context of development facilitation, community participation, coordination and collaboration, partnerships, training and capacity building, are contextual. Hence this study was interested in identifying themes or thoughts that emerged in the focused data and trends that depicted growth in certain contextual variables. For instance results where a number of people participated in projects, making decisions in projects, gender dimensions in projects, implementation and project monitoring should, with more ideal seeking behaviours, show more development outcomes.

1.9.3 Correlation, causal effect analysis or comparative analysis

The design of this research kept in mind some analysis challenges, especially where performance needed some relational explanations of geological and social-cultural-political contexts. Hence the choice of the two groups: the control group, where synopsis, centralisation, red tape and bureaucracy were evident, was an extreme case that could compare well with another extreme case where cooperation, democratic structures and participatory management existed. In this case the behaviour of the contextual and project characteristic variables provided an indirect or direct explanation of the nature of the institution models. The research undertook a simple mono-causal analysis and in this case a single independent variable (social behaviours) was analysed to reveal how it affected characteristics in the dependent variable (sustainability). One characteristic of sustainability, for example, is participation. Numerically, participation means the number of people or number of meetings held which link to improvement in project performance. The researcher is aware that mono-causal correlation is too simplistic to determine inference of results (Oppenheim 1998:78-99). The control group played a significant role because it helped in attributing results to manipulated variables, with the interpretation

that similar results were expected if it were not for the manipulation process. For example, a highly participative community in one project would have resulted in the same results if it were not for the high participation (Oppenheim 1998:99).

1.9.4 *Qualitative analysis*

In addition to the above analysis, personal judgement and experience helped to interpret the situation as it emerged from the results (Oppenheim 1998:77) and this started with the first impressions of the fieldwork. Data collectors shared perceptions and thoughts as data was being collected, and processes of data reduction, display and drawing conclusions happened concurrently. What kept emerging from the preliminary analysis were themes, patterns and a conceptual framework. Mouton (1996:111) says, 'We analyse data by drawing patterns and themes in the data and drawing certain conclusions. In that case what one is coming up with must follow empirical evidence for valid results.'

1.10 Data presentation

The research has used graphs to present data trends in variables of interest. The graphs trace the behaviour of the variable in the testing supervision areas (populations). The research presents information in graphical analysis where both mono-variables and multi-variables appear under T1 (treatment) as experiment and T0 (treatment) as control data. The graphs also depict frequencies and such tools have the ability to reduce the volume of data, and to condense data into bits that make more meaning. The research used a statistical package for social scientists (SPSS) and exported data to Excel spreadsheets for the graphical analysis.

1.11 Current literature on the subject

Eric Dudley (1993), in his book *The Critical Villager beyond Community Participation*, has contributed to the thinking in this dissertation. Harrison (1993), in his book , *Inside the Third World*, Himmelstrand et al. (1994) in their book *African Development*

Perspectives, Controversies Dilemmas and Openings, have all written much about poverty in Africa and the potential to eradicate it that lies in the grassroots communities. Kinzley and Albery (1984), in their book *How to Save the World and* Joaquin and Gonzalez (1998) in *Development Sustainability Through Community Participation*, have documented critical thoughts on the dilemma of the failure of project sustainability. Joaquin has argued that participation is not a panacea for sustainability and that we can still attain sustainability without it. De Beer and Swanepoel (1998), in their book *Community Development and Beyond. Issues, Structures and Procedures*, have dealt in depth with concepts of community development. A critical section in the book entitled *Institutions for Community Development* has been instrumental in shaping the thought pattern to this research. Robert Chambers (1983), in his book *Rural Development. Putting the Last First*, has dealt with issues of poverty, its dimensions and possible causes. His work has also been influential. Myers (1999), in his book *Poverty Perspective and Transformational Development*, has dealt with issues of poverty, in a similar manner as Chambers. Also consulted are Mouton (2001), in his book, *How to succeed in your Masters and Doctoral Studies*, and in his 1996 publication, *Understanding Social Research*; Oppenheim (1992, 1998), in his book *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurements*; Grimm (1990), in his book *Basic Social Statistics and Quantitative Research Methods*; Roger and Jupp(1996), in their book *Data Collection and Analysis*; and Gorad (2003), in his book entitled *Quantitative Methods in Social Sciences*; Clark (1991), in his book, *Democratising Development. The role of Voluntary Organisations*; Rondinelli (1993), in his book, *Development projects as policy experiments, an adaptive approach to development administration*; Burkey (1993), in *People First: A guide to Self-reliant, Participatory Rural Development*; Sesky(1991), in his book *Lessons for community development: An Activist Approach to Stimulating Interorganisation Collaboration*. The writings of Kutengule (1997), Kishindo (1997), Chijere Chirwa (1997), Ngwira (1997), Kalemba (1997) and Chilowa (1997) in a journal titled *Forum for Social Development in Malawi* have been widely consulted. Since not much research has been done in Malawi on the issue of community-based organisations, publications on the topic are scarce. In this case, institutional reports such as progress,

annual, and end of programme reports have been widely used. Additionally, newspapers and Quarterly Business Bulletins have been widely consulted. In addition to books, a total of 56 development journals and sources from UNISA library have been consulted. The journals used in the study range from *Community Development Journal* (1990), *Journal of Rural Development* (1991), *Sustainable Development Journal* (1995), *IDS Bulletin* (2000), *Regional Development Dialogue Journal* (1988), and *Africanus* (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006,2007,2008). These journals have provided valuable information on issues of community empowerment, sustainable development, poverty, local institutions and research design and methods that other authors have used. Much relevant literature was sourced with the assistance of the UNISA subject librarian.

1.12 Conclusion

Development sustainability has become a new buzzword in development circles, arising from the situation of donor fatigue and changing priorities. Historically, development has emphasised planning orientation and implementation orientation without much concern for the post-donor period of the projects. This has created a gap in programming that has led to abject poverty continuing to ravage the poor in aid-receiving countries. Defined as a level of inheritance after phase out of the initiation phase and before evaluation, sustainability refers to the goods and services that emerge as project results and which benefit the community. In the aid and poverty complex equation, it is becoming very evident that the more aid a country receives the more complex the poverty situation becomes. Huge amounts of aid attract huge debt servicing in the balance of payments. This leaves few funds to manage servicing the development facilities brought about by donor involvement. Owing to neglected repair and maintenance, these facilities have a reduced lifespan and are hence not sustainable. It thus occurs that sustainability will reduce the need for aid, as these facilities will operate to the maximum level, generating adequate services that could evolve into self-supporting entities. The continued utilisation of goods and services reduces the demand for more aid. This research finds its relevance in the fact that it supports internalisation of development where local resources are used

to self sustain the projects. The research argues that participatory organisations have high efficacy and can achieve sustainability, and it uses the concepts of participation, empowerment and ownership to support this argument. The research assesses two extreme groups of projects: synoptic, non-participatory on one hand and participatory and democratic on the other, using project characteristics such as facilitation, capacity building and training, coordination and collaboration, partnerships and community participation. It also uses contextual variables to study non-participatory variables and to determine how they affect sustainability.

Outline of the dissertation

Chapter one introduces the research problem, goal and objectives, and a methodology for addressing each of the four objectives. The chapter provides a rationale for opting to address each objective and explains how it links up with the rest of the objectives in addressing the research problem. In short, the move towards sustainability of rural communities does require a shift in development approaches from the more classical to the more empowering, allowing the communities to manage their own development. The chapter provides a synopsis of sustainability by adopting an '*inheritance*' definition and uses the longitudinal study approach to measure this inheritance. The inheritance is measured in terms of social behaviours, improvement in enhancement indicators of social empowerment, changes in the physical indicators and so forth.

Chapter two starts to build the study ethnographically by taking a look at cooperatives and community-based organisations and settlement schemes established in Malawi. The chapter studies sustainability under benevolence and classical socialism adopted by the government. The chapter begins with timeframes over which such developments existed and finds possible explanations for their continued existence or their becoming defunct. Trends are described which spell out what happened to such developments (cooperatives, settlement schemes) after phase out of donor support. The chapter then examines a

variety of problems (political, institutional, and social-cultural) that have caused the perceived failure in these developments.

Chapter three provides a literature review in which the concepts of community development, community, socialism and capitalism take centre stage in the discussion. The chapter looks briefly at issues of poverty, the causes of poverty, and institutions of development in order to provide a general theoretical explanation of poverty and development trends. The NGO sector is mentioned as an institution that champions participation: an important hypothesis in the research. New findings to the effect that sustainability or project success is more probable in high social relations environments than in non-democratic environments are revealed in the literature review. Building on the socialist concepts of *Ujamaa* by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, *Harambee* by Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and the humanism of Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the study centres on building relationships, social mobilisation and social engagement.

Chapter four provides a theoretical model of sustainability. Called a livelihood wheel, the model analogises the core and peripheral institutional arrangements and interactions that affect sustainability. The framework depicts pressures at global level and the reactions generated at the grassroots level.

Chapter five spells out a detailed methodology on each objective and the rationale for using the stated instruments of study. For example, objectives one and two are studied through a combination of methods, but mainly through the project success assessment matrix that provides a before and after view of variables. Objective two uses methods that include documentary reviews, conceptualisation and data reduction. Objectives three and four use an opinion survey through interface meetings in addition to documentary reviews.

Chapter six presents the results on objective one and two. A comparative before and after situation in both control and experimental study population is presented, where the

behaviours in some data sets find ample explanation in the perspectives, concepts and theories of development trends discussed in the literature study. The measurement of critical challenges examines the severity of the data sets (variables that militate against sustainability). In a longitudinal study of this nature, similar data sets were collected as baselines three years ago for both groups studied. Conducting a study or a repeated study on the same data sets shows the effect of manipulating the data sets through classical community development approaches. The study used the same population of study, but perhaps not the same respondents in both cases of Upper Hills and Witimba catchments.

Chapter seven addresses objectives three and four of the study. The thinking behind dealing with objectives three on alternatives, is that solutions to project success cannot be prescribed. This becomes the main argument against the blueprint publication. The alternatives refer to issues of flexibility, incremental, adaptive planning processes, learning culture, creativity and innovations that have been found to be more important for project success. The guidelines on how to enhance sustainability are finally provided as the final product of the study. It is explicit in these guidelines that some institutions involve themselves with the grassroots while also interacting with other institutions. This institutional interaction influences the project outcomes and observed behaviours among community members. Implementing these guidelines should lead to the release of emerging potential for self-supporting the development process at grassroots level.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW ANALYSIS OF RURAL POVERTY IN MALAWI

RURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND EXTERNALISATION OF SOCIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

Despite massive donor aid, Malawi has remained one of the poorest countries, partly because its poorly industrialised, agrarian economy has been structured to meet the economic growth of the west in a capitalist framework. Its development administration refused decentralisation, dissolved local government in the 1960s, became more paternalistic, concentrated resources in urbanisation, and premised its economic growth on growth maximisation (Rondinelli 1981:134-138). Huge quantities of raw materials (agricultural produce), exported to western industrialised economies, come from the rural regions of Malawi and yet little investment of forex has been channelled to these regions. Rural poverty is largely due to decapitalisation. In this chapter the study describes trends in the Malawian government's approach to national development through community integration in development through rural decapitalisation. These trends clearly show how the state adopted a centrist benevolence state of affairs and how it implemented community planning and development services, disadvantaging the grassroots communities. In this regard, the settlement schemes, irrigation schemes, tobacco schemes, and livestock development centres owned and run by the state provide clear evidence of economic nationalisation which ended in mass impoverishment. This led to rural labour exploitation as rural masses sweated for an economy from which they never reaped the profits. The paternalistic-political government was caring for its people and in this way the political machinery gained its strength through political machinations (Fowler 1991: 91). However, the current poverty analysis conducted through statist approaches shows that this did not lead to poverty reduction in rural Malawi (Kutengule 1997: 33). If anything, many people have suffered from severe poverty and psychological exploitation, to the point of resignation. In a statist nationalisation approach, grassroots

development in terms of empowerment remains weak and the state has continued to rule easily in the guise of creating development for the people. In accordance with this state of affairs, community development has for the past decades taken place in rural areas where the state has championed the process (Monaheng 2000: 52-59). In referring to what has been called a statist approach, the community members have remained passive, waiting for the government to bring development projects and programmes to them. Literature shows that as early as the 1950s, this was called development for the people (Korten 1987:17-27). Externally-driven development, also called old professionalism, persisted until the mushrooming of empowerment development theories in the 1980s, and it is still refusing to die (Chambers 1994:953-954a; Chambers 1994:1255-1260b; Haines 2000:67-77).

This chapter also reveals that in the early 1980s, supported by the donor community and through structural adjustment programmes, Malawi as well as other southern African countries began adopting decentralisation planning processes (Clark 1991:77-79; Rondinelli 1981:136-142). This local level planning was premised on the assumption that policies and strategies of development could only be realistic when poor people's perceptions, aspirations and dreams for their future were articulated in national development plans (Rondinelli 1993:56-89). In countries such as Kenya and Tanzania, the political movement took advantage of the concepts of Harambee and Ujamaa, which imply local people pulling together to enhance their own development (Getu 1993:55-69; Rondinelli 1981:138). In that regard, in Tanzania, Kenya and Sudan grassroots participation was culturally and socially embedded. After decentralisation had begun in the 1950s in East Africa, the grassroots approaches adopted extreme cases of radical empowerment and mild empowerment, leading to political unrest in Sudan and stronger bureaucracies in Kenya (Burkey 1993:99-112; Rondinelli 1981:139). It was evident that vast regions could not be centrally managed in terms of development, and for radical empowerment, what the poor needed were just financial resources: they would do the rest (Lyson et al. 2001:1237-1239). In the reviewed literature of Francis Fukuyama, the term democratic socialism has been used widely to mean that factors of production come

under the control of the poor themselves (Getu 1993:133-139). Though this seems to be the most desirable direction, for southern African governments it remains politically impossible to implement people-controlled development, though the NGO sector has championed this dimension of community development for some decades (Fowler 1991:55-69). This has not been possible owing to deep levels of poverty.

The solution to rural poverty lies in the hands of the poor masses. It is not the role of the state. However, in an Africa environment, states have continued to cling to the development role mainly for political stability, and this has implications for the efforts of grassroots development. In cases where the state is still clinging to development roles and the bureaucracy is still in charge of the development agenda, the grassroots can only be improved to demand services from state machinery (Swanepoel 1998:77; Swanepoel 2004:6). In this regard, community radicalisation has been suggested as a process through which the poor can take the government machinery to task for failing to bring development to them. The three scenarios, where the state takes charge of development (classical socialism), where the citizen has influence and demands development (democratic socialism) and where citizens take it upon themselves to bring about development (radical stance), reflect frameworks of community development. Which framework will ensure efficient use of aid resources and bring about development to reduce poverty in third world rural regions remains to be investigated.

2.2 Community Development Frameworks

2.2.1 Classical socialism: The externalisation policy case of Malawi

In Malawi and other southern African communities, community development has been a process of decapitalisation, engaging the poor in national development processes (Adejumobi 1990:226-232). In this regard, persuaded by the modernisation imperative of the early 1950s, Malawian leaders took upon themselves the responsibility of bringing development to the rural masses (Swanepoel 2000:45-77). Since then, government policy makers have continued to define community development as interventions by the state in

rural areas to bring about amenities and social services (Monaheng 2000:37-67). The centrist government machinery, through its various established ministries, has taken control of aid resources, technical resources and processes of community development. As early as the colonial era, heads of state promised the masses development benefits on a silver platter and hence a political slogan was coined that made the first crop of heads of state very popular to the electorate (Bothomani 1991:19-22). This state of affairs where the masses kept waiting for the state to alleviate their poverty has rightly been called benevolence, since it calls for heavy investment in social development, largely in infrastructure such as water, health, schools, communication, energy, and agricultural production. To that effect, donor aid has been flowing in to assist developing countries achieve better development results in the context of human development indicators (Cornwell 2000:78-80).

The trends show only that the Malawian government did not follow the social change process towards rural development, but focussed more on benevolence supported by classical socialism. Growth maximisation through international trade and penetration of the international market preoccupied the former leadership of the country to the point where it gave tertiary education more attention than basic education, with the rationale that the cream of society (technocrats) would ably spearhead development and take over from the whites (Chilowa 1998: 89-97). The tables below illustrate how development nationalisation and industrialisation gripped the state machinery, where massive agricultural production, aimed at supplying raw materials to the west, was a leadership focus (Aryes 1995:455). Table 2.1 below illustrates a state-controlled rural development process.

Table 2.1 *Estimated period of existence (sustainability) for government-run agricultural schemes in Malawi*

Name of irrigation				
Scheme	Area (ha)	2003 status	Date opened	period
Chiloko scheme	120	operational	1968	35
Hara	3,847	operational	1968	35
Kasinthula	3307	operational	1970	33
Khanda	79	operational	1970	33
Lifuwu	200	very active	1970	33
Likangala	433	operational	1970	33
Limphasa	2110	limited	1971	32
Lufira	2103	operational	1974	30
Masenjere	25	operational	-	-
Mpeta	446	operational	-	-
Muona	527	operational	1968	35
Njale	45	operational	1969	34
Segula	246	operational	1968	35
Wovwe	4428	operational	1974	29

Source: Ministry of Agriculture -Flood Plain Project 1998.

Table 2.1 above shows that for the past 35 years most heavily donor-financed government rice schemes have been operational, exporting rice to the west. But the situation depicted does not really show the level of operational efficiency, as this mode of production had many diseconomies of scale (Wunsch 1991:438-447). Field visits during this research study revealed that these schemes are operating at a reduced standard and at declining levels of yields. Key informant interviews reflected that several times the schemes were resurrected when donors resumed aid and technical support. In several cases, with the withdrawal of funding, the brain drain and export bans, the operations of

the schemes came to a standstill (Chirwa 1998:22; Ekwechuku & Eziakor 1990: 155). These communities, in accordance with the benevolence perspective, became absolutely dependant on the government as a source of employment, and for the social services provided by these schemes. The peasant community came to join the schemes as tenants working on the state run schemes. The political climate of the time dictated their livelihoods under the scheme and brainwashed them into political patriots. Chirwa (1998:33) argues that under these schemes, most of the inhabitants were immigrants and this led to displacement of most of the local people during the early days of Malawi's independence. According to James Wunsch, the schemes had negative spill-over effects of land degradation, water pollution and social disruption.

Table 2.2 *State-run livestock development programmes in Malawi*

Name of scheme	Area (ha)	2003 status	date opened	period (yrs).
Bwemba dairy	461	operational	1973	28
Champamba				
Hoarding ground	825	defunct	1971	32
Chilowa Vet.				
Hoarding ground	1264	defunct	1970	33
Bwemba quarantine	199	operational	1971	32
Chiphazi Ranch	100	operational	-	
Chizi grazing area	11	operational	1980	23
Choma H/ground	897	operational	1968	35
Dwambazi H/ground	4445	operational	1970	33
Choma poultry	748	operational	1987	16
Dzalanyama Ranch	66,574	operational	1970	33
Kabamba Vet scheme	600	limited	-	-
Kaombe H/Ground	441	limited	1970	33
Lifitzi Vet scheme	3,000	operational	-	
Likasi Livestock farm	518	defunct	-	-
Makowa Vet		defunct	-	-
Hoarding	1400	defunct	1983	20
Mchenga Hoarding	2022	defunct	-	-
Meru hoarding	739	defunct	1975	28
Nthalire hoarding	266	defunct	1987	16

Source: Ministry of Agriculture - Livestock Unit 1998.

Under livestock production, the total land indicated was meant to take care of the animals in terms of grazing land and fields. Table 2.2 indicates huge pieces of land appropriated by the state, leaving the common people to scramble for marginal land

(Mkandawire 1998:90). In the livestock settlements, there was no involvement by local people in any labour contribution for employment. Government technocrats, lowly paid but properly housed, took control of large portions of land, causing massive settlement displacements. Most of these livestock settlements were established in remote rural areas and intended to satisfy the need for cattle disease control and quarantine. Most of the livestock breeds came from temperate climates; hence it was ideal that similar conditions existed in the country and that there were few animal health problems (Phoya 1998:56). The results in the table show that for the past 25 years the government has carried out projects in livestock production, exporting meat or supplying the urban population. In addition to farming with livestock, the government also began to cultivate tobacco on large farms and estates. Taking on a command economy, the government established its own tobacco schemes in which it employed thousands of low paid, unskilled labourers. The table below depicts this trend in all three regions of the country.

Table 2.3 Selected state-run tobacco schemes in Malawi.

Name of scheme	Area (ha)	2003 status	date opened	period
Kabwafu	29,933	encroached	1975	28
Kafulu 1&2	216	defunct	-	-
Kasama 1&2	453	operational	1981	22
KFCTA central	24,467	operational	1977	25
KFCTA Kasikizi	1949	encroached	1970	33
Lunyangwa	18,148	operational	1977	26
Mpasadzi	12,457	operational	1975	28
Sopani	1517	limited	-	-

Source: Flood Plain Project 1998.

Table 2.3 above shows how much land the newly independent state acquired, on which it produced massive crops of tobacco, causing huge land degradation. Statistics reveal that Malawi became the largest producer of tobacco in the SADC region and earned a reputation as a star performer on the international scene. As a country with no mining, investing in the green gold was an opportunity seized at the right time, despite the soil degradation that went with it. According to Dr Banda's perspective of development, the poor were to benefit from what was going to be trickling down from the elites (Rondinelli 1993:55). Hence huge investments in communication, industrial sites, hydro power stations, urbanisation, financial institutions and processing and manufacturing parastatals supported by the tobacco industry, forex and foreign aid became a focus for stimulating national economic growth (Chilowa 1998:72). Developing the export sector and exporting more raw materials provided enough foreign reserves to trigger agricultural production (Brue 2002: 567). This sector economy, or balanced growth theory, led to more investment in tobacco production, which at that time fetched more margins on the international market. In moving towards self-sufficiency, Malawi became a star performer during the time of Dr Banda, registering the most desirable growth in terms of gross national product (GNP) and adequate foreign exchange in the international reserves. But this did not translate into community development in the true meaning of the word. While thousands of people went to seek wage labour and seasonal employment on these estates, their situation of poverty remained unchallenged (Mkandawire 1998:123-134). Despite the gains in terms of foreign exchange, the common people starved to death. According to Phiri (1995:7-12), Malawians were starving amidst plenty.

The tables also reflect that Malawi adopted a settlement scheme approach to involve communities in national development efforts (Khaira 1999:12-23). The peasant-dominated agricultural sector, which is the focus of this study, was entirely under state control through settlement schemes. The state controlled trade, marketing, cash crop production and related export policy through which it exploited the peasants. It established a bimodal agricultural sector made up of smallholder and estate sectors (Mkandawire 1998:77), taking advantage of the labour surplus. In the newly independent

state, estate farming monopolised extension services, prices and trade as such services where bureaucratically managed. Unlike in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, where farmers' cooperatives flourished, Malawi had settlement schemes, cattle ranches and hoarding sites that mirrored a cooperative approach (Khaira 1999:22). In short, the Malawi government had a monopoly over agriculture where the head of state was called farmer No.1, and had his own farms and companies under General Farming and Press Holdings. The focus was on tobacco, which at that time fetched more money and better trade terms. As noted earlier, tobacco was called the gold of the Malawi nation and thousands of Malawians worked as tenants and wage labourers on these state farms, earning meagre wages (Khaira 1999:22). The tenancy system worked so well and to the advantage of estate owners as the system allowed no one else to produce tobacco. This protected Dr Banda's investments, and avoided unnecessary competition. Instead, several huge tobacco estates owned by the head of state and his loyalists, conglomerates of companies and estates under Press Holdings, saturated the whole country. The Flue Cured Tobacco Authority, General Farming, Chamwavi Group Estates and Mbalachanda Tobacco Farms become historical as they turned the economic situation of this country around, and Malawi became a star performer on the international scene (Khaira 1999:45; Mkandawire 1988:9). Production monopoly, later liberalised, formed part of the main chain of poverty for the poor. People trekked to these estates and, according to statistics, each estate could host ten thousand wage labourers and tenants. One may feel such estates created employment, but the wages were too paltry to sustain a household. In each household, only the husband was paid for labour or tenant work. The children and the wife worked for nothing. In fact, their labour was subsidising the man. Malawians survived under tenancy livelihoods for 30 years (Mkandawire 1998: 18).

Events signalling a move towards change began to unfold in Malawi. It is important to refer to the global economic recession of the 1970s, caused by the oil crisis and the agricultural commodity price fall on the global market.. This caused borrowing countries to fail in the servicing of their debts as a significant source of structural adjustments. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank feared that most loans to poor countries

would end up written off owing to repayment failure. These poor countries had to be helped by the international community to restructure their economies and repay their loans. With that as a background, the donor push in the early 1980s for free market economy and liberalisation frameworks started to challenge state-controlled economic affairs. In 1983, under pressure from the IMF and the World Bank and the donor community, Malawi accepted and ratified the structural adjustment programme, which aimed at improving its macro economic performance and fiscal discipline (Cornwell 2000:89; Kinyanjui 1994:75). This was the beginning of the end for Dr Banda's investments. One effect of this adjustment was that state-owned and -run companies received reduced funding and fiscal commitments. The structural adjustments forced the state to liberalise production and markets. More players entered the market and production business. This created a competitive market environment which faced the once monopolising state actors or agents (Brue 2002:1229; Wunsch 1991:347). The trends show that the liberalised production affected the quality of tobacco. This was due to the new entrants who did not possess the required skills to produce quality leaf. Increased supply of the leaf to the market affected pricing of tobacco and even disturbed its price on the international market. Again, Zimbabwe took advantage of liberalisation in Malawi and stepped up its efforts to produce quality leaf (Mkandawire 1998:12-23). This affected the sales that Malawi leaf attracted on the international market. Malawi lost an excellent position and this situation saw the death of conglomerates and the estates of Dr Banda. Those that entered the liberalised industry have struggled to survive the harsh environment of competition (Bothomani 1991:3-17).

Trends continued to change and tobacco was priced very low on the market, to a point where alternative crops became the only economic option. The social freedom that came with the post-multiparty era in Malawi marks a renaissance of the farmers' cooperatives, associations and community-based organisations. Today the tobacco industry, which was once under strict monopoly, is well managed by the farmers themselves under Tobacco Trusts. The Tobacco Growers Association of Malawi and National Smallholder Farmers Association of Malawi are spearheading tobacco production. The challenge that remains

is that of elitism. The mixed economy has broken the monopoly on trade, marketing and production, which benefited a few well-off individuals (Mkandawire 1988:77).

Land is one of the best poverty determinant resources for the poor. Land reform policies have finally caused a political destabilisation in Zimbabwe's resettlement programme, and in South Africa it is now just a matter of days (Masilela & Weiner 1996:25-45). In Malawi, settlement schemes were designed as production centres. In trying to involve people in the national building process, Malawi again adopted settlement schemes.

Table 2.4 Selected settlement schemes in Malawi.

Name of scheme	Area (ha)	2003 status	date opened	period
Chinguluwe	6435	operational	1975	28
Gola	428	defunct	1975	28
Kasinthula	204	operational	1944	59
Mlamba	308	limited	1969	34
Mubangwe	3233	defunct	1972	31
Ndakwera	3496	operational	1970	33
Rivi-Rivi	1637	operational	1965	38
Salima Lakeshore Development	132	defunct	1963	41

Source: Flood plain project 1998

The table above shows how the nationalisation of the economy occurred in Malawi, following a different approach of involving the citizenry in national development efforts. Settlement schemes established across the country acted as sites where the local people participated in agricultural production (Khaira 1999:33-37). The youth, under the banner of the Malawi Young Pioneers, settled in these schemes where they farmed and trained in a number of skills so that they could contribute to national development. In table 2.4 above, some selected settlement schemes show how much land was allocated to such schemes. It is evident again that settlement schemes were started as far back as in the colonial era. These schemes were to evolve into cooperatives, an idea that did not sit well with the political dispensation of that time as it meant social change and empowerment of the people themselves (Selener 1998:55-67).

Therefore, in Malawi rural poverty is linked to decapitalisation, centralisation of goods and services of low economies of scale, poverty-inducing policies such as land policy, market policy and, finally, despotism.

2.2.2 *Democratic socialism: the internalisation policy case of Kenya and Tanzania*

In studying elements of democratisation, East African countries offer some lessons. While Malawi adopted a benevolent political philosophy, countries such as Tanzania and Kenya adopted self-reliance through grassroots involvement in national development (Selener 1998:56-88). Self-reliance led to community organisation through local institutions that had existed for many years in many parts of Kenya and Tanzania. Harpers (1984:123-223) calls attention to the village economy where people organise themselves for purposes of performing a service together and which uses the concept of the cooperative. Kulaisi (1993:18) defined Community Based Organisations as formal and informal grassroots organisations premised on the institutionalisation concept (Himmelstrand 1994:97). On the other hand, Fowler (1991:53) calls CBOs 'People's Organisations'. This emphasises that their formation rests with the people of a particular geographical setting. For those institutionalised, it means they have been acculturated or assimilated into people's culture and have become a way of life. According to Mboma (2003:9-13), the idea of the cooperative originated in the west in the 1840s, and has been successfully used in shaping the development processes in the industrial west. As for third world countries, this concept is said to be a borrowed idea and does not seem to have been effective in shaping the agrarian economies. However, from traditional forms, cooperatives have evolved into the big commercial, multinational institutions (Harpers 1994:191) that we know today in many parts of the globe. In the context of democratic socialism, Harpers (1994:222) argues that cooperatives imply people doing things together, not because they are forced to or because they have no alternative, but because they believe that it is the best way to organise themselves for a given purpose. Cooperatives involve people acting together to provide themselves with a service. The concept of cooperative 'has been used in many cases as a method to provide any kind of service to members of the community'. Harpers (1994:54) mentions funeral, market, tax, and transport services that societies or associations provide in many parts of the globe as

examples of how people organise themselves. Harpers (1994:211) and Wunsch (1991:234) distinguish service cooperatives from workers' cooperatives. In the latter case, the purpose is not to look for a service ancillary to their main source of income, but to provide a way of living. Their whole livelihood depends on the success and survival of the cooperatives. The cooperative becomes a source of employment, a source of living. In the service cooperative, the purpose is really to support members who have other sources of income and livelihood. In this case, the cooperative is not a central issue in their livelihood systems. Hence, a cooperative concept that reinforces equity, equality, accessibility and economic synergy provided an opportunity for breaking away from the grip of capitalism and allowing the poor to manage their own affairs through community organisation. Practitioners could attribute the economic growth of the Kenyan, Sudanese and Tanzanian economy to grassroots communities. James Wunsch, who has no faith in decentralisation or centralisation but focuses on institutional arrangements in the mode of production of goods and services, would have mentioned mixed institutions as a reason for this situation in east Africa (1991:235).

2.2.3 *Radicalisation: popular movement, a leftist framework*

Perhaps Chavez in Venezuela and Castro in Cuba are the best examples of leftists who propound economic policies of expropriation (Marx in David 1979:78-89). In expropriation the people revolt, count more on their strength and find opportunities to benefit from an economy that is highly capitalised. This is the best example of citizen control through popular policies. In the context of a changing market structure moving towards a free market, penetrating the market through cooperatives and association becomes a viable option for engaging the poor in the development process. In the current dispensation, Malawi has an informal economy which has flourished on the activities of cooperatives since the 1980s when the country adopted the structural adjustment programmes (Fowler 1993:55-81). It should be noted that the structural adjustment programme, a forerunner to market liberalisation policy in 1992 and decentralisation policy in 1995 (Kalemba 1995:34), provides political prowess to the poor masses. The

effects of the adjustments have only plunged the poor into deeper poverty as most African states, used to their status quo, are unwilling to adopt these adjustments. Popular development as opposed to centralisation of development advocated within the structural adjustments (Fowler 1994:77), continued to receive donor support. As a result of reduced state funding, by the end of 1998 most state managed functions and institutions began closing down, aggravating massive retrenchments. In 2000, Malawi began to see a boom in CBOs that were receiving adequate donor attention within the decentralisation framework. As evidence of donor support of popular development, in the year 2000, World Bank and IMF supported grassroots developments in Malawi through a Global Fund Facility, with 65 million US\$ donated towards HIV/Aids case management and nutritional security. However, despite decentralisation, Malawi remains an elite state where the poor continue to be voiceless. Is decentralisation to work in an elite society?

In a leftist context, Selener (1998:67-77) says that a social change process demands that community organisations create adequate voice and energy against forces that cause poverty. Community-based organisations form the right forum through which social change can take place and this research provides an opportunity for the non-profit sector to contribute to this social change process through its involvement in rural development. Community development is about social change and is best done through participatory development (Chambers 1994a:954-969, 1994b:1254-1262). A conceptual understanding of community-based organisations in relation to cooperatives and associations has been attempted. In short, the cooperatives and associations operate within the broader framework of social change. Case studies that have centred on a number of cooperatives in Malawi, including dairy farming, irrigation schemes and settlement schemes spread across the country, provide some elements of social change. The trends reflect a nationalisation and liberalisation context and show that, in the context of socialism, the CBOs have more chance of survival, and would face more challenges in a capitalist framework of development (Brue 2002:997-998).

2.3 Challenges of Private Voluntary Organisations in grassroots communities

The NGO community that calls itself 'grassroots' has its own development challenges worth taking note of in this research (Allwood 1990:112; FitzGerald 1990:82; Fowler 1993:55; MacRobert 1990:221). Apart from the fact that it faces a sour relationship with the state actors, the sector has been blamed for not having the right skills, for lacking technical capacity, for limited programming scope and for its failure to understand policy dimensions. As a matter of emphasis, in 1998, research on non-profit organisations and a case study on NGOs revealed that over 60% of NGOs operated as briefcase , that is one man show organisations and most of them operated without any policy to guide their functions. Accordingly, the briefcase NGO existed to pocket money and make fortunes while its aims and objectives were considered as counterproductive to national development. The founders of these disguised NGOs were corrupt government officials or heads of parastatals and it was easy for them to divert funds or materials meant for government offices. In some cases these briefcase NGOs acted as readily available markets for misappropriated materials. In support of social action, donors have learnt to avert official corruption and fiscal indiscipline by going straight to finance community structures as the officials have also learnt how to access donor money the easy way through forming and establishing NGOs (Fowler 1991:22-67). Besides fiscal indiscipline, issues of accountability and sound project design are critical with regard to these NGOs.

Briefcase NGOs continue to exist insofar as donor money is flowing in and their activities and existence are financially driven. Due to this financial dependence, the NGOs are often divorced from the people as they preoccupy themselves with meeting the demands of the donor and in some cases objectives followed are those of the donor (Katunga 2001:4-22). The result is that people are manipulated in order to ensure their participation and are not empowered and may not own the projects (Swanepoel 2000: 34-55). Once they are phased out, the projects are abandoned with no one to take care of

them. In the case of some NGOs, it has been difficult to protect certain funds or devise protected expenditure budgetary lines: what happens is that overhead costs and administrative costs are always too high. Katunga (2001:26-29) makes an extreme observation when he says, 'all donor money goes back to where it came from and does not just go back but takes out some of the local funds as we use the same money to buy computers and repair computers in the countries that funded us, have expatriates from the same countries that gave us their money'. In World Vision, the agreement with the donors is that 75% of the funding goes into the community and yearly financial reports show that this target has at least been achieved (Annual Report 2000:7-12). This shows that the professionals who manage NGOs are officers indoctrinated by bureaucratisation and will opt for synoptic planning and rational management (Rondinelli 1993:55-59). In most cases, they will work with structures they have adopted elsewhere and in the end problems of inefficiency arise as field administration is synoptic, decisions are centralised, and grassroots staff are without decision-making powers (Rondinelli 1991:342, Wunsch 1991:432-443). In managing rural poverty, even the much praised NGO sector leaves much to be desired.

2.4 Social action in community-based organisations

2.4.1 The intentional community defined

In the emerging potential that comes with grassroots democratisation (revolution, unions, associations, cooperatives), dealing with rural poverty requires social action (peasant dictatorship) that will enhance or challenge trickle-down theories. A community-based organisation is a good example of an intentional community. In this regard, this is a community of the poor which seeks to organise itself so that it can influence its ideology, influence a policy or state-commissioned actions that seem not to benefit it. Community-based organisations, as defined in the introductory chapter, are institutions of the poor, the oppressed, those affected by social problems and, through such local institutions, the poor adopt praxis (Karl Marx in David 1979:88-112; Selener 1998:55-78), i.e. take reflected actions to deal with their problems. CBOs are organisations that provide social service at local level on a non-profit and voluntary basis. As said elsewhere, to some

extent the CBOs depend on voluntary contributions for labour, material and financial support (Salles & Geyer 2006:2-15). As they focus on social problems, they can work on behalf of an identified under-privileged group and they can focus on the plight of destitute groups in society. Social problems such as alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, child labour, HIV/Aids, social conflict and hunger are handled adequately through local people's ability. Experience with community-based organisations in Malaysia, Botswana and India show that CBOs can be all-encompassing, targeting a particular common property resource that is a livelihood for the local people, such as rain forests, mountains, culture and ideology. In that regard, the community-based organisation could take responsibility for the conservation, protection and preservation of the concerned property resource. In Malawi, the Mulanje Rain Forest Trust Model for Conservation (MFTMC) is a CBO that operates on a larger scale to protect the ecology of forests on the mountain to ensure their sustainable use. The Shire Watershed Catchments Conservation Village Model (SWCCVM) is yet another example of a community-based organisation. In the MFTMC, 194 villages that organised themselves in 1989 have struggled to fight government policies that aimed to displace them, away from the rain forest. How have they achieved this? They have done this through advocacy, hostility towards the state and activism (Salles 2006:5-22). The selling of timber for commercial purposes, where benefit goes to central government, has been a controversial issue for the past 10 years. The linkage with the Agenda 21 environment project only helped these communities to mobilise themselves to participate in community-based research whose actions and outcomes target community empowerment. The forest is not only a source of timber for local use, but is the habitat of wildlife, medicinal plants, rivers and dambos, which form the base of people's livelihoods.

As far as mixed institutional arrangements are concerned (Wunsch 1991:342), the Shire Valley Water Catchments Village Model is a rural development strategy that came into being after the failure of the government's top-down approach to water resource management. In the SVWCV, participatory research was undertaken, the outcome of which was that if the catchments were to be protected, the people themselves should take

a central role through a decentralised goods and services delivery framework. The state has an interest in this project as it ensures that hydroelectric power generated from the Shire River water flow operates efficiently. Deforestation in this watershed not only threatens operations of industries in big cities such as Blantyre and Lilongwe, but also threatens energy that drives the whole economy of the country. In the two examples stated above, one can see the potential of CBOs as instrumental in achieving the objectives of global efforts while remaining relevant to the needs of the local population. The CBO provides a voice that can change the course of development when national project actions are not profitable for the local population. For instance, in Ghana and Malaysia CBOs took a stand against rapid industrialisation aimed at accelerating economic growth. According to Salles (2006:22-24), the industrialisation agenda was going to cause huge displacement and dispossession of land from the local population (Salles 2006:33). In South Africa, CBOs have also been romanticised for cultural and indigenous knowledge preservation. They have managed to put an economic value on traditional knowledge and natural resources and to bring hope that civilisation will co-evolve with the local people (Salles 2006:22-30).

In the proceeding discussion, CBOs play the role of effective strategies for rural development. Technocrats need to know that CBOs are institutions that energise the poor in a common front against exploitation. Perspectives of community literature reveal that cooperatives and associations operate within a community-based organisation and that the village cooperatives assist the rural communities to benefit economically from their efforts in protecting or preventing exploitation of their livelihoods. The forestry community benefits through forestry-based resource enterprises. For example, bee keeping generates income for the rural villages that surround a forest reserve. We can also note that in Malawi, bee keeping became a huge business that was cooperatively managed and through this project, honey was harvested and processed with very adequate gains for those communities involved. The dairy cooperatives in the Shire Valley Water Shed Area CBO are a crucial economic enterprise and this has been detailed in the section to emphasise that CBOs have links to economic growth. The eco-tourism

cooperative in the Mulanje Rain Forest Trust has made an enormous contribution in terms of enhancement of the local economy in the districts in its area. Perhaps due to ambiguities in definitions, it is imperative to look at the concept of the cooperative in some detail.

Cooperatives as an enterprising community

The emerging potential of grassroots communities reveals that rural economic growth is vital for community development. Rural cooperatives have been viewed and defined from different points of view. In line with the philosophy of communitarianism: ‘everything for the common good’, cooperative means getting things done with collective effort (Dambiec 1997:11-22). Dambiec says the basic reason for having cooperatives as a form of economic enterprise in an economy is to help people to work together and move forward in a collective way, seeking a balanced adjustment between collective spirit and individual rights. In cooperatives, individual interests do not dominate collective interests. In a cooperative working arrangement, domination has no place, only mutualism and coordinated cooperation. Participation research has shown that cooperatives are instruments that deal with power struggles and level off the playing field in social life, as there is no supervisor or the supervised, no master and servant structures. This creates an atmosphere that deepens ownership and a hard-working spirit in the cooperatives. Cooperatives have a definite place in grassroots development.

One feature of cooperatives that is worth noting is that such structures are self-reliant, de-linked from capitalism and foreign influences. Cooperatives as institutions are everything in one basket, i.e. they produce raw materials, process raw materials, package and transport. Marketing is regarded as part of the farming industry in a region. Through this arrangement, cooperatives avoid dependency and related economic exploitation in capitalist contexts.

But cooperatives and community-based organisations are not the same thing. There is a marked difference in their orientation as cooperatives are viewed as economic enterprises, while community-based organisations focus on broader social issues of concern. Cooperatives aim at profit making, employment creation and enhancement of an economic livelihood, while community-based organisations focus on social change and empowerment, an end to indoctrination, and traditional knowledge democratisation to deal with the historical causes of societal poverty (Selener 1998:77-91). Cooperatives focus on a specific class or category of people with common interests, while community-based organisations look after the general welfare of the population affected by the social problem (Dambiec 1997:17-19). Community-based organisations rely on social empowerment as an aspect of radicalism, while cooperatives have to generate their own economic resources and survive within the dictates of the local economy (Dambiec 1997:17-25). Hence, from this perspective, the two institutions are not the same. However, cooperatives can be established to serve the interests of a community-based organisation, as the CBO works to satisfy the diversified needs of the whole population. In the present study, cooperatives are used to define sustainability models for community-based organisations.

CBO/COOP integrated model in social action

Rural development in the context of economy requires some well-defined models as institutional arrangements for goods and service delivery (Wunsch 1991:431-448). The institutional arrangement and linkage of CBO/COOP offers an operational model that would strengthen the sustainability of the CBO as an institution. Paramount in this arrangement is that the development process lies in the hands of the local people. The model empowers local people in the immediate future, as the poor are engaged in protecting their livelihoods, able to prevent external exploitation and to appreciate their efforts of managing the resource or livelihood base through some economic gains. Apart from the CBO/COOP model, other models have also taken the aspect of social change from a micro-lending perspective. There is also an aspect of popular knowledge use and

action in the models. There is popular involvement as the poor take central position in deciding, controlling, reflecting and taking action in the CBO set up. In order for the poor to accomplish this empowerment, they have to use their traditional knowledge systems to the maximum. Participatory researchers have only helped to systematise, arrange and strengthen this knowledge. In this case, though external funding for CBOs may cease, the people using their own options and skills will ensure the social and financial continuity of the CBO because of the integrated model.

As an aspect of social action, the poor need to take a stand against external exploitative forces, indoctrination and impositions, through a process of conscientisation. Through this, they are able to create a front and face forces that work to cause their destitution. In the same regard, community development demands that they react against such forces, through reflected actions (Selener 1998:5-45). As Kulaisi (1993) says, building on Paul Freire, the process of reflection, action planning, takes place in a framework of social empowerment. Community-based organisations survive on social empowerment through building a social infrastructure. Therefore in certain cases, the poor may not need money but social energies and voices to change the state of affairs. In this case, they mobilise local resources and materials voluntarily to deal with situations that affect them.

In the context of grassroots development, it is imperative to note that popular knowledge cannot offer all solutions to all problems that the poor face: nor can scientific knowledge (Selener 1998:15-22). This calls for a participatory knowledge production process that will enhance an equal share of power and influence in society based on knowledge sources. Here one sees the applied research concept taking shape; and this is what participatory research aims to achieve. Applied research into rural development demands that oppressed folk knowledge and scientific knowledge produced in society are on an equal footing. Chambers calls this 'optimal ignorance' (Chambers 1983:13-45; Chambers 1994: 1234-1256). This is important as it allows the researcher to access true knowledge beyond superficiality. Selener (1998:45-78) points out that the idea of allowing effective participation in development is that one is able to embrace

development realism as the development policies and strategies, as outcomes of a participatory process, will reflect poor people's position, aspirations, needs and wants. Above all, such development will enjoy popular legitimacy and respect in the rural population. However, the challenge that is commonly observed is that technocratic development policies and strategies are exploitative in nature and are directly and indirectly responsible for massive poverty. This can be avoided through adequate social partnerships (Stains 1998:45-66) that allow diverse knowledge sources.

Social partnerships as a working arrangement

According to Wunsch (1991:442), rural development calls for a multi-sectoral approach and planning. For instance, literature has presented social partnership, or development crystallisation, as a working arrangement where diverse development agencies focus on addressing a particular social phenomenon while maintaining their independence. This calls for coordination and collaboration. In Malaysia, where CBO successes are common, donors, the state, CBOs and cooperatives formed a well-linked working arrangement that served the survival of all institutions, reinforcing their knowledge base (Wunsch 1991:431). Social partnership falls within the political model for sustainability of CBOs as it involves recognising various influences of different institutions. As a model, social partnerships encourage governments to accept that donors may not have all the resources to support an array of duplicated activities spread across various departments. As these departments pool resources through coordination, the resources are put to better use (Conyers 1986:594-611; Rondinelli 1991: 134-142; Wunsch 1991:442). The grassroots must apply similar imperatives of social partnerships so that they do not spread out but crystallise their efforts. The CBO and related networks can provide a working arrangement with the donor community that will avoid duplication of activities through horizontal grassroots networking.

The need for aid in free-market community development environments

Rural development faces more challenges in a free market economy as the private sector becomes more commercially involved and competitive. Owing to the different dimensions in which community development has been defined and conceptualised, social action observations reveal that community development has been aid-dependant for a long time (Monaheng 2000:45-49). Dambiec (1997:14-33) agrees with this, especially in capitalist and market-oriented economic frameworks where a relationship of exploiter and exploited has existed, rendering the poor marginalised and in perpetual need of assistance. For socialist governments such as Tanzania, community development meant empowerment of the people, protecting them from exploitative external donor influences. It must be understood, then, that community development may not bring the same results as empowerment in third world communities indoctrinated by capitalism and westernisation. In such situations, grassroots development suffers and may not be supported by the bureaucracy tamed by capitalists, whilst as instruments of nationalisation community-based organisations help the state to control the economy, especially the productive sectors, at micro level where poor people continue to participate in development while wallowing in exploitation. For example, in Malawi, the establishment of marketing boards profited at the expense of farmers, who sweated for nothing in the agricultural sector. Kanyama (1994:5-19) describes the glamorous economic performance of the state and the poor in Malawi as 'starving in the midst of plenty'. Focussing on the effect of aid, Bour (1994:2-6) says that though massive donor aid has flooded the southern community, it has only managed to increase poverty. For instance, poverty evidenced by debts, both domestic and foreign, only qualified Malawi for debt relief efforts at the end of 40 years of IMF and World Bank involvement. Cornwell (2000:57-67) notes that financial borrowing has bred debt-laden communities that could only be rescued through structural adjustment loan facilities.

Though not in favour of free markets, in the post independence or democratic transition, free market policies and economics influenced by the World Bank and IMF were forced on borrowing nations and have been adopted. The structural conditions have allowed liberalisation of markets and production. However, donors must know that free markets

do not rescue the poor from poverty (Albery & Kinzley 1981: 200-270). The poor may not survive the competition that such liberalisation policies bring to the market. In agreement with Francis Fukuyama, an advocate for socialism, CBOs are mushrooming again to advance a socialism perspective of development. But the challenges that the poor need to deal with are framed in the context of free markets where capital requirements, technology and market power determine survival (Albery & Kinzely 1981:200-222). The poor need money to survive the free market environment, and this calls for the state to intervene.

2.5 Fighting externalisation through economic policy means

In the discussion above two economic development frameworks emerge: the first, nationalisation and the second liberalisation. Currently in Malawi these two seem entangled. This shows that the attainment of economic growth and self-reliance has been achieved following different perspectives of development policy orientation. The two main perspectives, namely the nationalisation framework and the liberalisation framework, have been implemented in Malawi with varying degrees of success (Smith 2002:17-19). The nationalisation framework was implemented in a command economy, while the latter was implemented in a liberal market economy. In this section trends, challenges, achievements and different perspectives focussing on finding an appropriate model of community development that will bring about sustenance in a liberal market environment, are analysed. These perspectives include agricultural growth, appropriate responses to liberal markets and entrepreneurship development.

2.5.1 Agricultural production and economic growth integration

Since adopting socialism, as opposed to capitalism, Malawi's economy has been agro-based and hence economic growth is achieved through production and export performance. A review of three case studies conducted in the Northern Region of Malawi (Chirwa 1998:17-22) prior to liberalisation shows an integration model where promotion of rice production was connected to readily available markets in the west

through a government-run grain seller, ADMARC. The government established 16 Rice Schemes in all eight Agriculture Development Divisions (ADD) (Chirwa 1998:22). It was through this economic nationalisation model that the government managed production, marketing and pricing through government institutions. The ADDs provided specific research and extension services to support and increase rice production.

Table 2.5 below reflects the trends in average rice yield over the years when a command market existed (1980 – 1983).

Table 2.5 Rice Yields in metric tonnes during donor support (command economy).

ADD	1980 (mt)	1981 (mt)	1982 (mt)	1983 (mt)	1984 (mt)
Kasungu	45,000	55,000	67,000	57,000	50,600
Karonga	250,000	254,000	200,700	255,000	257,078
Mzuzu	90,000	106,000	200,099	206,090	109,990
S/Valley	300,000	268,090	345,009	243,967	303,008
Lilongwe	56,980	89,078	100,678	90,978	100,096
Salima	289,090	278,098	290,900	245,678	288,012

Source: Ministry of Agriculture 1990.

Table 2.5 shows the overall production trends in the Agriculture Development Divisions through case studies done in the Hara Rice irrigation scheme, in Karonga ADD and Limphasa Rice Irrigation scheme in Mzuzu ADD, all of which support the trends during a state command economy before structural adjustments were adopted. Trends show that donor support in rice production led to an exponential increase in the yield of rice.

Several factors besides donor support, among which are agricultural subsidy programmes, led to the increase in rice production. Due to the subsidy authorised by the donor community, government increased its attention to production. There were also

readily available markets around the globe. Romanticising the growth maximisation theory, Malawi looked at agriculture as a lead sector in growing its economy. In the nationalisation framework, people were called upon politically to develop their country through participation in national development efforts. The rice schemes employed a tenancy employment arrangement where the local people sought wage labour on government schemes. Tenancy employment led to thousands of Malawians working on these schemes. Substantial resources were allocated to the Ministry of Agriculture whose minister was the head of state. This gave agriculture priority and the commitment it deserved to perform better. Hence extension and research support became a pillar on which agricultural production survived. The agricultural sector enjoyed donor interest, technical expertise, heavy mechanisation/technology investment, and pest and disease management practices. Such attributes strengthened the model of production that led to high crop yields.

Exponential rice production continued in these schemes up to the time when donors finally withdrew. Once donor support had ceased, trends in rice production fell drastically, as illustrated in table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6 Rice yields (tonnages) after donor support (1992 – 1998).

ADD	Years and recorded tonnage.				
	1992 (mt)	1993 (mt)	1994 (mt)	1995 (mt)	1996 (mt)
Kasungu	0,000	10,000	35,000	24,900	12,000
Karonga	0,000	50,000	56,879	45,908	56,090
Mzuzu	0,000	14,909	56,908	55,098	46,908
S/Valley	0,000	8,909	78,992	67,980	90,901
Lilongwe	0,000	5,909	8,908	7,921	45,908
Machinga	0,000	23,678	45,924	66,924	86,223
Salima	0,000	16,345	45,112	89,245	100,325

Source: Ministry of Agriculture crop estimates 1998.

In 1992 a historical drought occurred in Malawi, and there was no harvest in any of the cereal or legume crops. The withdrawal of donors in the 1990s from some of the government establishments hence coincided with the natural catastrophe of drought. The reduced aid flow caused a major halt to schemes' operations. Several reasons account for this situation of reduced rice yields. The de-subsidisation programme as dictated by the IMF and World Bank institutions meant that government was not able to offer cheap inputs to the farmers in the schemes. It also meant that the cost of agricultural production skyrocketed beyond the means of most farmers. The de-subsidisation was implemented alongside liberalisation. Multiple players came on the market with a view to increasing farmers' choices and maximising economic gains for farmers. There was increased competition in the market where, in some instances, buyers colluded and cheated the farmers. Trade liberalisation meant that the domestic market was flooded with rice produced in other countries, suffocating the domestic market further (Brue 2002:667-876).

After termination of donor involvement, continued production of rice on schemes abandoned by the state, as indicated in the table, is testimony enough that the rural poor have the capacity to produce for themselves. Though the amounts produced were not exportable they were able to meet the daily household consumption demand (Chilowa 1998:17-22). The adoption of the liberalisation policy in the 1990s under the influence of the donor community meant that a different path to development emerged. This liberalisation had implications for the survival of state-run Institutions as well as parastatals. However, the liberalisation policy undermined the performance of parastatals. Chirwa gives an explanation of this by focussing on ADMARC as a case study (Chirwa 1993:33-45). The liberalisation policy opened gateways into the domestic market now that multiple players were allowed, even those of international calibre. Grain processors, producers and marketers sprung up as offshoots of the free trade policy. The emergence of multiple players on the market resulted in three phenomena: namely, a break in the market monopoly, increased produce standardisation, and market efficiency. The state

failed at nationalisation because of institutional challenges that affected ADMARC. Institutional challenges, such as parastatals' operational inefficiency, inadequate funding from government, leadership and bureaucratisation, politicisation of the parastatals and political operational inefficiency, affected operations of ADMARC (Fowler 1991:55-67). It became imperative for the state to adopt privatisation as a means to save most of its parastatals (Drucker 1998:56-79). Several arguments were advanced in opting for privatisation: government saving on resources, partnerships and quality of work, local empowerment, and enhanced development entrepreneurship. Privatisation has the ability to influence capitalism, especially where export-inclined foreigners buy state companies (Smith 2002:37). It can have some deleterious effects on the local economy as factors of production change ownership. The private sector owns such factors and the rural poor are pushed to marginal resources (Thompson 1992:14-29).

2.5.2 *The ills of liberalisation and free markets*

The preceding discussion provides enough proof that capitalism through liberalisation, privatisation or globalisation does not reduce poverty for the rural poor (Albery & Kinzely 1981:201-233). These processes only benefit the rich masters and continue to exploit the poor. While beyond the scope of this study, it can be mentioned that since liberalisation was forced on Malawi, trends in rural poverty levels have grown even worse. In agreement with radical theorists, one may find that popular development that focuses on people energy to eradicate their poverty is a feasible path to development (Harrison 1993: 77-92). A discussion of popular development and social change provides some support of this argument.

2.6 Appropriate responses to rural poverty

2.6.1 *Micro-lending and social change: Building the local economy*

The ideology of appropriate development as propounded in early decades of development (Clark 1994:66-91) ties in with the self-reliance dimensions of participatory research as a point of departure in the pursuit of sustainability. Micro lending has been found to have a

profound impact on the social empowerment, economic empowerment and market empowerment of the grassroots poor (Johnson 2002:18-22). Studies done in Malawi through its DFID micro loan supported programmes both in the Central and Southern Regions indicate improving trends in measurements of participants' confidence, self-esteem, skills and managerial abilities in business in the targeted areas of the study (Kalanda, 2002:33). Improved living conditions at household levels evidenced by improved diets, better housing conditions, and household assets attest to the fact that the micro finance framework has the potential to contribute to the attainment of a self-reliant community. When people access loans, they develop the capacity to depend on themselves, especially after they graduate. The economic activities undertaken at micro level have a contributive impact on general socio-economic growth and sustenance. In his study on effectiveness of micro lending for grassroots empowerment, Kalanda (2002:17) finds that Malawi's economy is predominantly rural agriculture-based, supported by 85% of its population that dwells in rural areas. This spread of population, people's seasonal activities and geographical diversity determines the survival of Malawi's economy. In Malawi, agriculture employs 60,8% of the population. The study reveals further that in 2002, a total of 747,000 medium and small enterprises existed, employing 38% of the labour force. In the same report, 17% of MSE was based in urban and 85% in rural areas (Kalanda 2002:17-22). In this regard, micro lending triggers employment, creates jobs and helps to bring about economic equity.

Social empowerment, economic empowerment and market empowerment bring about some social change and influence some power relations and structures in the short term. As micro finance assists the lower income population to engage in micro entrepreneurship, manage some emergencies, acquire assets, fund social obligations and access adequate consumption of goods and services, the society of the poor find themselves less and less dependent on the higher institutions of development for their survival. The relationship between the poor and macro economic institutions, which in most cases exploit them, is weakened to a degree. It is thus not surprising that the Malawi government issued a letter of interest to the IMF to allow for a review of the

financial sector policy to make it a potential sector for poverty alleviation (Kalanda 2002:22-23). This was to be implemented within a package of financial sector liberalisation.

Despite the huge potential that the micro finance industry has to contribute to social change and to deal with the shackles of poverty, many challenges must be surmounted. Among these are the weak regulatory framework, micro finance services politicisation and micro finance governance and management structures.

2.7 Some challenges facing efforts to build the local economy

2.7.1 Weak micro finance regulatory framework challenges

Weak regulations in micro finances make micro lending a weak response to liberal market challenges for the grassroots communities. In the case of Malawi, many players in the micro finance industry join under different legislative and legal forms. For instance, the NGO sector comes in under the Trustees Act, cooperatives enter under the Cooperative Act, companies join under the Companies Act, and the commercial banks came in under the Bank Act (Kalanda 2002:20-29). While the Reserve Bank of Malawi has a formal mandate to regulate the finance services sector, it is thrown off balance as it cannot interfere in the affairs of institutions registered differently. Since entry into the finance market is easy, and transformation into bank entities is not limited, a very complex regulatory function is envisaged. This has implications for the overall operations and efficiency of the sector. There have been cases where some entrants have exploited the poor, damaged the peripheral economy, caused impoverishment in the rural areas through extracting massive resources, and eroded the social power in the rural communities (Kalanda 2002:25-28). A plausible solution to this regulatory framework weakness must thus be found. There is also a call to go beyond finance services liberalisation and to improve social accountability among those entering the industry.

One plausible solution is to enhance the capacity of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, and to strengthen formal policy change processes that would culminate in a well regulated financial services sector. At the time of writing, ADB had concluded its financing agreement with the GoM on a consultancy to bring these measures to effect.

2.7.2 *Micro finance services politicisation challenges*

A micro finance sector gripped by the state poses another challenge to how micro lending can help the grassroots communities to face the liberal environment. Kalanda (2002:30-33) describes the phenomenon of the politicisation of the micro finance services in Malawi as a problem worthy of consideration. This has resulted in MRFC, a government player, losing 50% on agriculture loans and having 47% of its loans written off (Kalanda 2002:44). The government intervened through massive credits, with no clear objectives of operation and this has had a negative impact on the credit culture in Malawi. This is complicated by the fact that MRFC and MSB, as state players, control 80% of the finance market.

Politicisation of the micro finance industry not only destroys the credit culture; it also undermines the social change process (Selener 1998:55-57). As alluded to earlier on, the micro finance framework has great potential to contribute to social empowerment. A situation exists here where the core (political power) wishes still to control the peripherals (the poor) by the indoctrination of benevolence (Selener 1998:5-22). Three case studies illustrate this in Malawi. One of the many cases is the creation of the Malawi Rural Development Fund, funded by IMF and WB. This only succeeded in promoting political propaganda that the state has the responsibility to care for the poor. The technocrats and political heavyweights have placed themselves firmly in the driving seat of rural development through this fund. While the arrangement seems to work in contributing to a reduction in rural poverty, the mass of the poor are not clear about the intentions and objectives of the financial sector intervention strategy. This, coupled with the bad loan repayment record, only puts the success of the programme at greater risk.

The creation of the OVOP programme, in as much as it appeared socially sound, has still been adulterated politically. In the OVOP situation, the products that the farmers produce lack a market, and face a possible future of failure. This could, however, be averted through strategic market intervention policies. In a liberal economy, the producers have easy entry into more markets that have mushroomed due to liberalisation. When a market is defined as the total number of people demanding a product in a particular location, the micro-lending framework ties in well in boosting the market opportunities. Financial intermediation needs to improve so that the rural poor are able to access funds. It is only in the framework of micro finance that this intermediation is made possible.

2.7.3 Governance and management challenges in micro finance institutions

The challenge to governance to ensure that micro finance contributes adequately to social change among the rural poor remains. While the regulatory framework remains unresolved, enforcement of micro finance legality is still a challenge (Kalanda 2002:37). In Malawi, apart from cooperatives, other micro finance institutions are only allowed to offer credit services. According to the Trustees Act, under which NGO-Credit programmes register and operate, the poor will only benefit from the credit service. Once the poor obtain credit for business, they open savings accounts with either commercial banks or parastatals. The poor are subject to large interest rates and currency devaluations over which they have no control. They do business to enrich the commercial banks and business tycoons who are allowed credit and savings at these commercial banks. This is proof enough that laws, Acts and regulations are formulated by the elites and seem to be all-exploitative in nature.

The government of Malawi has more problems in terms of its players on the financial market. Institutions such as DEMATT and SEDOM work to promote the political agenda of the regime. Without adequate knowledge of the dynamics of the financial market, these institutions flood the rural areas with cheap loans, using rates well below the market value, and this, though celebrated by the populace, has deleterious effects. It

has a deadly effect on the industry as survival of the financial institutions is put at risk. As for these government players, they are heavily subsidised in their operations. As a possible solution to this predicament, three strategies should be implemented: (1) increase credit to and savings by the poor, (2) learn from best practices in micro finance, (3) speed up the regulatory framework in micro-finance institutions.

Table 2.7 Trends in micro-finance development in Malawi.

Year	MFI	Outreach status (agriculture loans)
1980	MRFC	80%
1990	MRFC	50%
2000	MSB, MRFC	40%
2002	MSB, OIBM, MRFC	80%
2006	PRIDE AFRICA, OSM, FITSE, OIBM, MFC	90%

Source: Kalanda FINCA report 2002.

Table 2.7 above shows that in the 1980s, micro finance was a monopoly of the state through MRFC. With the transition to free markets and liberalisation in 1990, the non-state players came on the market and this is revealed in the increase in outreach. The micro-finance activities in Malawi are still in their infancy, still underdeveloped, but they have huge potential to change the landscape of poverty.

2.7.5 Building local economy: Small enterprise development model and social change

Small enterprise development offers the right response to the liberal market where grassroots communities must participate. Appropriate development that focuses on improving the well being of the poor is best articulated through micro enterprises (Kalanda 2006:9-22). Such development is appropriate, as it is not export oriented, but

aims at developing the domestic economy. The table below shows the trend in medium and small enterprise development:

Table 2.8 Trends in small enterprise development in Malawi

Year	# Of beneficiaries		# Of SME
	Males	Females	
1990	2,261,407	901,005	405,000
1991	1,176,000	840,000	400,102
1992	2,125,600	1,554,000	703,107
1993	2,060,000	1,472,000	704,000
1994	1,962,000	1,402,000	699,102
1995	2,100,000	1,500,700	700,125
1996	2,095,800	1,497,200	660,012
1997	1,020,000	1,307,000	602,254
1998	2,109,800	1,507,200	601,254
1999	2,106,200	1,556,200	740,000
2000	2,002,000	1,568,700	747,000
	2,364,600	1,686,900	

Source Kalanda: *FINCA Report 2006.*

Table 2.8 indicates that a total of 4,000,000 people in Malawi are involved in and benefit from micro-enterprise activities supported by the micro-finance institutions (Kalanda 2006:17-22). Agricultural performance is affected by this involvement as 68,8% of the rural poor are involved in farming activities. The gross domestic product (GDP) is thus largely influenced by this involvement of the rural masses.

2.8 Conclusion

Rural poverty in Malawi finds its best explanation in the externalisation economic policies which have disadvantaged the rural masses. Through the rural community integration process, the grassroots communities participated in developing an economy they have never benefitted from as the rewards of economic growth became an

instrument for industrialisation and urban growth. The resultant effect of industrialisation emanating from economic growth ego became a case in which nationalisation of the economy, where the state controlled the factors of production through public sector, left the poor without a leverage point. This statement finds evidence in the trends of schemes and settlements owned and run by the state. The post-oil crisis period, on the contrary, shows that where the state takes on a facilitative role and allows the grassroots to participate in the economy, tangible results emerge. However, the participation of the grassroots in the domestic economy requires major policy and legal changes in the market structure and this is reflected in the frameworks such a nationalisation and liberalisation operating in Malawi which define its future in terms of economic growth and performance. Premised on a political agenda of liberation, nationalisation aimed at facilitating self-reliance and doing away with foreign influences. However, this seems not to have lived up to its original promise as the liberalisation wind has weakened it.

Grassroots development in the context of the empowerment literature seems to have been conceived to deal with political powers that were deemed as causes of poverty. Social organisation through cooperatives, associations and community-based organisations became a potential option for grassroots empowerment. In the context of this capitalistic economy, the process of social change and social empowerment is imperative. Breaking the cycle of poverty demands that the oppressed develop their own knowledge and create their own voice to challenge and change the structures that cause poverty. CBOs operating in a nationalised economic framework have the chance to gain support from popular state institutions. The CBOs offer a possible hand of partnership to the state and this relationship is profitable in the enhancement of the poor's living standards. As a strategy of rural development, CBOs offer the best option in a socialist type of economy where the factors of production are state controlled or community controlled. Unlike a privatisation framework, where the factors of production are privately owned and result in local people being marginalised and impoverished, in the CBO framework the people own the resources of production.

The move from nationalisation to liberalisation and from command economy to liberal economy has major implications for the survival of the poor. Hence, there is a call for appropriate development through financial reforms, local entrepreneurship development and social empowerment. Based on key issues arising from this chapter, grassroots development is pivotal to local institutional sustainability. Developing the grassroots means reforming the legal and policy dimensions so that they serve the interests of the grassroots poor. Borrowing from the strong arguments of concepts of cooperatives and associations, as discussed above, grassroots communities can reach a position of power when they manage their own affairs, de-linked from the influences of the wider economy. This, however, still remains a dream as the economic equations have integrated the poor in a capitalist framework where the core is favoured over the periphery. Strategies that aim to focus on the poor and provide specific remedies such as micro lending and micro enterprises in the context of reducing growth are perhaps more appropriate. Grassroots development must include increasing their influence through allowing the state machinery to be more controlled by its citizens.

The following chapter presents arguments and narratives of issues surrounding the rich and the poor, poverty as a human scale factor, astronomic disorder as causes of poverty, development theories, institutions and community development perspectives.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

RURAL SUSTAINABILITY AND SOCIAL PRAXIS IN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

Which is the right view of development? To some who have lived in poor countries and have had the chance to live in New York or London, the skyscrapers and highways with their sophisticated architecture or structural design immediately spring to mind and to them, this is development. This perspective explains the technological view or the giantism view of development. The rich hold such views and, through donors, continue helping poor countries with aid, without adequate understanding of the intricacies of poverty or the geographical-social-economic situation in those recipient communities. This created economism position in the third world is very clear in the Millennium Development Goals which have been espoused, increasing meagre aid flow, debt relief and investment as key solutions to the third world's ailing economy. Taking different dimensions into account, this chapter seeks to present different emerging views on poverty and development, with a particular focus on alternatives to giantism. It is important to indicate that ideological wrangles are still very evident in such concepts as managing poverty and development. Despite this wrangle, some authors have lent their perspective to these two concepts. Fundamentally different views about concepts have the potential to shape our thinking about how we view development. Using some capitalist, socialist and reformist views, Frank (1992:33-57) and Cusworth (1991 12-34) explain in some detail that development perspectives such as economic frameworks, social frameworks, environmental frameworks, alternative development and human-centred development have a bearing on the philosophy of those who proposed them. In the same manner, policies and strategies of development emanate from the development perspectives of these various views of authors. Policies of development guide the process of development, so much so that poverty is policy failure. Mkandawire (1998:44-45) showed explicitly in his studies of poverty and development in Malawi that

externalisation policies explain how ineffective the development process is. He blamed poverty on urbanisation policy structures. Policy is implemented through projects and programmes. Depending on which view of development one holds, either as a process or interventions, projects or programmes take a particular view in their design. Hence policy failure can mean project or programme failure. Policy of development reflects economism, despotism and social class struggles. Such attributes form a perspective that explains project design failure or success.

What follows then is that in a mixed economy there are basically three organisations that contribute to rural development – non-profits, government and the business community. In a mixed economy, the contribution by the business sector to rural development is minimal (World Development Report 1997:77) and as such they are not a focus in rural development. Their interest is business and profit making and this explains why they are urban oriented in terms of firms they establish. Investing in rural areas does not offer them business and would make them lose out on their growth-oriented investment. That being the case, though they have been mentioned in this chapter, little effort has been taken to discuss them exclusively. What is so appealing in the chapter is the debate on reforming the state sector to make it more productive in a mixed economy. Various reforms have mushroomed, including but not limited to decentralisation, privatisation, management reforms and liberalisation of markets (World Development Report 1997:79). This is because such reforms would make goods and services available to the most remote sectors of the population. Some authors argue that if the public sector fails to perform, then it naturally follows that poverty emerges in rural development.

The move away from poverty towards development, or from an undesired state of affairs towards a desired state of affairs, has therefore taken many guises (Msiska 2007:1-8). Those who have confidence in bureaucracy as machinery that can bring about development, have proposed decentralisation as a means of perfecting this bureaucracy, making it fit to deliver goods and services (Chema, 1993:67-88; Rondinelli 1993:81-89). Those who have lost confidence in the bureaucracy as the machinery for bringing about

development, have proposed grassroots or radicalisation. Yet another group of professionals who have no confidence in either of the two dimensions have opted for the free market as an option towards development (Brett 1996:123-127). This chapter seeks to discuss this dichotomy and to investigate how radical views or grassroots views have led to development sustainability.

Revolution literature uses participation to capture as many thoughts as possible on the process of empowering the grassroots. This chapter dwells thus on the concept of active participation (De Beer 2000:17-22; Shepherd 1996:67; Swanepoel 1998:37) as a means of bringing about a release of the poor from the shackles of poverty. The empowerment concept finds its roots in socialism literature where, on their independence, colonised communities had power enough to refuse capitalism, which according to them only relegated the poor to the position of labourers. Largely, development connotes political power, market power, resource endowment and social power (Himmestrand et al. 1994:97) in the context of the peripheral and the core dichotomy of development. In view of this dichotomy, various approaches to development have been adopted that have eventually led to development success. The most famous are the classical approaches—the blueprints, and the popular approaches—the grassroots (Chambers 1983:52; Chambers 1993:77; Rondinelli 1993:51-62; Swanepoel 1998:17-33). Authors use a combination of blueprints and grassroots in some cases to argue for a development paradigm shift.

3.2 Social praxis: the context of the study

3.2.1 Institutions of development: Giantism and Localism

Due to the critical mass of power differentials, a global view of institutions of development places international agencies in the innermost (most powerful) and inner layers representing international and national agencies (powerful), while the outermost layer represents the weaker grassroots communities (Clark 1996:12-45). From this perspective held by various institutions, roles of development emanate, affecting the lives

of millions of people around the globe. A de-concentrated or decentralised spectrum of institutions sees the World Bank, United Nations agencies and European Union as global multinational agencies influencing the outer layer of the typology as the principal providers of funding for development programmes, with the potential to dictate the approach to rural development and the international development agenda. The policies and approaches to development mirror their political and technological development agenda. In terms of the critical mass of power, international development agencies are large bureaucracies with their own missions, cultures, complex procedures and reporting requirements. These agencies have been criticised for rewarding their staff for moving money rather than for contributing to development goals through the activities they agree to fund. They prefer large projects to benefit economies of scale, so that they avoid huge administrative costs on too many staff projects (Brett 1996:17; Hayes 1981:17, Kumwenda 1994:7-11).

Many bilateral agencies are organisationally part of foreign countries' affairs ministries, and hence they face the challenge of how far foreign policy goals should be tied to donations or aid. In the outer environment one sees national government agencies and ministries and local de-concentrated branches, while in the outermost environments one sees local government and village councils. This points to a localism that exudes less power and a position of compliance and compromise. Through this silo-structural and institutional arrangement, governments play a significant role in development. This role affects the environment in which development takes place, either enhancing it or limiting it. It is common knowledge that donor community and development partners interact with the state and, to a greater degree, the political machinery. This linkage of multinationals to state machinery strengthens the state into a powerhouse or despotism. The first role of the state is to provide a policy framework with which to regulate the activities of development, for example the development policy of the UN agencies or World Bank in Malawi. Policies are ideas, goals, strategies, commitments and rules which influence the environment within which development takes place and which guide interventions to promote development. In the context of centralisms, the state has the legitimate responsibility of bringing development to its citizens or rather the grassroots or regulating

how that development is effected. The state provides the legal framework that regulates peace and order in the country or oversees operations of other players in development to ensure that they do not exploit the citizens. The state allocates development resources and, in most cases, prioritises urban development. The state may be involved with goods and services provision and delivery in the public sector. Accordingly, the state is considered to have all the necessary structures, institutions and the reputation to ensure sound management of donor resources and relations. Reformists have levelled criticisms against the state, including bureaucratisation, rigidity, too procedural in nature, limited information flow, centralised decisions, non-responsiveness to rural needs, and rationalistic planning (Conyers 1986:67-77; Swanepoel 1998:12-45; Wunsch 1991:345). In the same perspective the public, commercial and civil sectors in Malawi find themselves linked to global political forces (state), global business forces (the corporate world) and civil rights movements (global civil rights or limiting their survival).

Using their critical mass of power, the Briton Institutions forced structural adjustment programmes in the third world that were ratified in 1981. Malawi was one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa where such adjustments were implemented (Kinyanjui 1994:167). One condition for adjustments was popular participation, and that gave impetus to the mushrooming of Grassroots community. Donors had shown great interest in community-based organisations and had confidence and trust as reflected in most of the literature that touches on community-based organisations (Liebenberg 2000:67; Salles 2002:77). In the context of localism, community-based organisations are supposed to be volunteer organisations, run and managed by an identified group from a community. This means the identified community has to mobilise its own resources, use its own finances, skills and knowledge to independently run its affairs (Shepherd 1994:66-72). This is the context in which community-based organisations are expected to operate. The challenge, however, is that practice contradicts this perspective. Thousands of community-based organisations do not operate on the principles of volunteerism; instead, they operate as government arms dependant on subventions of the state machinery. In the current context, CBOs are heavily dependent on external institutions for funding of their

operations. Hence, they are used as conduits to proliferate ideas, policies, agreements, protocols of the government and the institutions behind their formation. The reality on the ground is that CBOs are in some instances perpetuating the dependency syndrome instead of acting as institutions for grassroots empowerment (Lyson et al. 1998:1233). One could easily conclude that as the government is decentralising, the CBOs are being used as structures for deconcentration (Rondinelli 1993:55-67). This would not be far from the truth as most government rural offices are defunct due to donor fatigue and reduced funding from the central government. The community-based organisations are being used as grassroots structures through which the state can intervene in most poverty-alleviation programmes, especially micro-lending activities and informal sector business development (Hayes 1981:1201). Most social policies that touch on social protection such as child protection policy, gender policy, extension policy, health policy and education policy are carried down to the communities in participatory development through these structures. This is the context in which localism is linked to globalism, as it were, and which is being challenged in this study. There must be a move from a dependency state of affairs to independence (Shepherd 1994:77-98). This research strives to find means of moving towards popular development where the state takes on a regulatory role. In short, the research is about a move away from classical socialism towards democratic socialism (Smith 2002:17). As an economic theory, socialism implies that the factors of production, social services and goods are under the control of the state or the community. In classical socialism, the educated, employed civil servants act as a vehicle through which development is undertaken. In classical socialism, the public receives social services and goods provided by the state. Democratic socialism is a variant of the socialism perspective in which the grassroots have legal control over ownership of the development resources and processes (Fukuyama 1997:56-88). In the context of decentralisation, it is either the empowerment of the public sector or grassroots communities that must be opted for. The grassroots become machinery for social goods and services provisioning, hence democratic socialism is focal in empowerment processes. In this regard the cooperatives, associations and community-based

organisations reflect the democratic socialism imperatives or proletariat dictatorship (Marx in David 1979:88-93; Smith 2002:19).

This research is undertaken in a complicated market structure where neo-liberal theorists seem to have carried the day (Brett 1996:44-47). In Malawi, the impetus for a free market, influenced by a number of financial agreements with international donor organisations, is taking its toll. In this context, the grassroots are relegated to the position of labourers who must work for the rich in a capitalist economy. The key question is: can the rich help the poor? This becomes a challenge that makes the processes of community empowerment very significant in the levelling of the economic playing field in the context of a free market which will allow the poor to help themselves.

3.3 Literature Covered

In a book by Harrison (1993), *inside the third world*, causes of poverty in the tropics are listed as climate, geology, disasters, high radiation, desertification, deforestation and drylands (arid and semi arid) related. Harrison calls these astronomical disorders. According to his argument, investment threshold levels for the tropics are much higher than those in the economical development of the west. However, several studies have centred on investigating why donor-supported development programmes have failed in the last three decades. Despite massive failure of donor-supported projects, the study by Bothomani on IRDP projects in southern Africa offers some unparalleled lessons (Bothomani 1991:11-34). In his study on intergrated rural development, Bothomani argues that external expertise did not understand the geological, political or social context of the projects, which contributed to project failure. Their classical approach did not take care of the poverty dynamics of rural Malawians, or the exploited and exploiter scenarios, and ended up failing (Ayres 1995: 1244-1266). Rondinelli (1993:55-67), while appreciating the socialism stance of the African economy, proposed decentralisation as a means of perfecting the bureaucracy. This was power decentralisation and not economic decentralisation, hence the failure. In his study on development programme success, Brett (1996:17) cautions against overzealousness over participation, and seems to support

development administration and rationalisation as a means of ensuring project success. However, more studies that link empowerment to programmes success (Swanepoel & De Beer 2000:12-19) support the paradigm shifts pursued in this research. According to these authors, success in rural development programmes depends on how the community is approached, how participation is viewed and practised, and how development and poverty are explained (Lyson et al. 2001:1233). Power decentralisation is not enough: the concept must include economic power for the grassroots.

There have been major studies on the concept of sustainability by natural scientists and environmentalists in order to propound the issue of wise use of resources, both renewable and non-renewable, so that they are made available in right quantities to future generations (Lyson et al. 2001:1245; Treurnicht 2000: 82-99). Much of this has been in the field of sustainable development. Joaquine (1994:54) did a study on development sustainability through community participation in which he associated project failure with weak institutional linkages, scarcity of resources and low workforce motivation. In the same study, Joaquine discussed aid and sustainability, saying that economically viable projects reduce the need for aid in the long run (Cornwell 2000:107). Building on that study, other authors have added that aid has preoccupied national development organisations to a point where they seem not to be concerned about maintaining what has been achieved in terms of development (Lyson et al. 2001:1239). Concluding his hypothesis, Joaquine says that participation may lead to project sustainability but it is not a panacea for the problem of sustainability of donor-funded programmes as factors other than participation play a role. In support of this view, Kumwenda (1998:22-29) believes that non-participatory factors such as macro-economic issues, market issues and infrastructure issues are also determinants of project success. In his studies on scanning the boundary, Kumwenda (1998:33) mentions factors that include the institutional, social, political, cultural and economic that affect the success of development projects. While pursuing a similar objective of attaining project success, Bartze (1998:99-112) argues that project success is as much a function of how the project has been designed. He defines sustainability based on the quality of workmanship involved in the project. Irrigation

structures strongly built, bridges well designed and constructed, according to Bartze (1998:113), will take a long time to deliver the intended services. With a plethora of studies on empowerment theory, many authors of radical grassroots perspectives have linked project success to participation. Authors who have written on decentralisation, grassroots radicalisation, citizen influence and control, popular development and adaptive planning and approaches have been influenced by the empowerment theory (Haines 2000:35-47) and social praxis views of Karl Marx. The empowerment debate has taken many forms that have included economic and political connotations. To the economists, it is the liberalisation of markets, removing some discriminatory laws and regulations, that brings empowerment and development sustainability. In this regard, the neo-liberal theorists support structural adjustments in the commercial sector that eventually regulate access to factors of economic production. To them it is those who own resources and have the power to decide over resource use and allocation who will have their projects survive. More on this comes from the works of Brett (1996:9-17) and Brue (2002:730-732), who argue that economic power is the key to project success. On a political front, empowerment comes in on the pretext of decisions, freedom, influence, liberation, appropriation, expropriation and the ability to decide the future. The political front view argues that forces from those powerful are responsible for poverty of the underprivileged. In the NGO and charity sector, poverty has been viewed as caused by external forces of limitation, restriction, oppression and subduing forces. More on this comes from the works of Myers (1999:77-103) and also closely linked to the empowerment literature is the documentation of the concept of community development. In this regard, the work by Swanepoel and De Beer, in their book *Community Development and Beyond*, is futuristic in that it suggests what could happen beyond empowerment (Swanepoel 1998 :45-112). Literature on community development has thus taken three fronts: the benevolence front, the citizen participation front and participatory literature (Selener 1998:78-99). As soon as colonial states achieved their independence, they promised to bring development on a silver platter to the starving majority. In line with socialism, where communities have control over resources, these states carry the responsibility to alleviate the suffering of their electorates. Hence the state is structured in such a way that it has a machinery that

delivers goods and services for the consumption of the common man (Chambers 1998:53; Swanepoel 2000: 45-66). This has been referred to as the classical approach to community development. Does it bring empowerment to the local people? The citizen participation front calls upon local people to mobilise their own energy to build their nation. Community development is hence largely viewed as an integration process where the people have a stake in the process of development (Adejunmobi 1990: 7-14). The participatory front calls upon the people to move towards self-reliance (Burkey 1993:133-145). In the participatory front, development becomes an issue of changing mindsets, beliefs and myths.

Sociologists have again contributed to the debate in this study of community empowerment through their deeper perspectives on the concepts of community (Smith 2001:14-18). To them, solidarity, social cohesion and social relations have links to poverty alleviation. To the sociologist, the human behaviours dictated by the surrounding environment, human perceptions about social and economic life, influence how they behave towards each other and the project benefits (Smith 2001:18-22).

Debates on the best way to achieve development have continued. The literature reviewed here has considered various studies that touch on development sustainability. In this regard two categories of studies, namely those by the radical theorists and those by the bureaucrats, have been reviewed (Brett 1996:13). In a state of benevolence, government schemes and establishments have been successful as they have enjoyed more support from the donor and government civil service machinery. However, with the changes in development thinking and the market structure leading to dwindling aid to governments, the bureaucracy cannot deliver on development (Rondinelli 1993:77-90; Swanepoel 1998:2-15). In the context of localism and structural adjustments, the poor will have to be empowered for them to survive. The donor-funded programmes and government-sponsored projects must be taken over by the community. The literature has considered how the cooperative community has managed to influence the national economies of countries that had adopted them. In this regard theories that look at community

empowerment have been chosen to support the development of explanations in this research. Socialism theories such as human-centred development, basic needs theories and participatory development theories have in a large measure influenced the discussions in this study (Haines 2000:44-49).

3.4 Definition of key concepts of social praxis

3.4.1 Participation

Democracy, which is about the sharing of power amongst people, demands participation. In the context of this study, this chapter defines participation as a transformative process where the poor take part and control development activities in which they contribute skills, knowledge, labour and their time. In this process they may or may not benefit directly from their engagement (Wilkinson 1992:12-23). However, the principle of reciprocity operates in that from their involvement they may benefit in the form of some material or psychosocial rewards (Brett 1996:11-14). In agreement with this, Wilkinson and Quarter (1992:34-39) state that the benefits include material benefits, social relations created, positions of power attained, recognition needs, social responsibility and obligations. Participation has a vertical as well as a horizontal dimension. How deeply (vertical participation) the community is involved is expressed as a vertical dimension, and this involves their decisions, control and guiding of the project activities. It is only direct democracy operating on the smallest human scale, among people who form a community that offers an opportunity for vertical participation. How widely (horizontal participation) the community gets involved with development activities expresses the numerical aspects of participation (Lyson et al. 2001:2234). On large human scales, representative democracy operates and at this point participation is about numbers which produce a voice but not decisions. Hence in participation, the grassroots have the opportunity to have their feelings, aspirations, needs and demands reflected in the policies and strategies of development. Vertical participation brings empowerment in that decisions and control of the development activities become the domain of the grassroots communities (Shepherd 1998:99-133).

3.4.2 Empowerment

The chapter defines empowerment as a process by which people's control – collective or individual – over their lives is increased (Lyson et al. 2001:1233). It means gaining social power, realising rights, improving negotiation skills, and political and legal authority. Empowerment in development means the transfer of control over decisions and resources to communities or organisations. This has to be intentional. Empowerment takes on different forms that include human capital – individual empowerment, psychological empowerment, household empowerment and livelihoods empowerment. It also takes the form of the ability to read, write and speak. Empowerment is supposed to diffuse from organisations to individuals and then communities in development circles. It manifests itself in the increase of influence and control, and through the acquisition of knowledge and skills (Lyson et al. 2001:1244).

3.4.3 Grassroots democratisation

This chapter defines grassroots democratisation as the process of empowering the grassroots through providing space for recognition of their traditional knowledge, sharing the social power base and radicalisation, so that the public sector is under citizen influence. The process leads to citizen action to deal with the forces that cause their poverty and destitute conditions (Selener 1998:97-112). In the context of this research, this empowerment means improved negotiation skills, communication skills, persuasion skills and influencing skills being inculcated in the poor masses.

3.4.4 Community

The concept of community connotes reviving closer, warmer and most longed-for bonds between people; reviving a situation that is claimed to have gone with the past, of trust,

cooperation, reciprocity and altruism among people (Putman 2000:12-17). A number of definitions followed after delineating rural communities in terms of trade and services. In the various definitions of community, some referred to it as a geographical area, some a group of people living in an area or particular place, and others looked at community as an area of common life. Beyond these perceptions, community was taken to mean a group of professionals, theorists, or politically a market. Authors have seen it as being helpful to look at an aspect where community can be approached as a value (Frazer 1999:76). In localism, community can hence be used to bring together a number of elements, such as solidarity, commitment, mutuality and trust. Community as a value takes on the dimensions of liberty, fraternity and equality, as advanced by the socialists in the French Revolution in the fight against capitalism (Francis Fukuyama was a guru of socialism). To William Morris, a socialist, community meant fellowship. Community has also been categorised into a set of variables. For example, place which means locality: a place where people have something in common, expressed geographically. For instance, a community of agriculturalists, pastoralists or conservationists connotes division of labour. Community can be categorised in terms of interest and in here people associate not because they reside in the same area, but because they share some common interests. People could share the same faith, beliefs, sexual orientation, occupation or ethnicity. Communities that originate from shared interests are non-place in that what holds them together are ideological frameworks and dimensions. Hence, elective groups and intentional communities do exist in many parts of the world. In the concept of community, others have looked at the sense of attachment to an idea, place or group as communion. Hence, community can also be categorised under this variable. We can thus define community from the perspective of attachment, meeting with people in the spirit of community. There are some instances where these ways of approaching the concept of community may overlap and cause some confusion in understanding the concept. Cohen (1982:4-9) uses the concept with some meaning in his attachment and belonging work. In the concept of community, there is a symbolic role of belonging. Again, according to Putman, people construct community as social capital. Communities are distinctive in nature, separated by what they possess in common, or what they do not have in common.

In other words, community implies similarities and differences. In that regard, those people affected by poverty form their own distinct category as third world people and those people enjoying wealth form their own group called first world people. There are boundaries created between communities or between people belonging to different communities. Cohen says that boundaries may be marked out on the map (administrative areas), or in law, or by physical features such as rivers and roads. In the same approach, boundaries exist in the minds of people and may not be seen physically. Some people have rightly said that people on the same side of the road or on the other side of the river may see the community boundaries differently. This has some effect on how people relate to one another. Community can thus mean exclusion, protectionism or denying the other group the same opportunities. A vivid example to this is what Blakey (1997:9-11) called gated communities. The physical gates in people's homes symbolise keeping out the poor.

Allan (1996:2) and Putman (2000: 274) argue that living close to People does not indicate any connectedness that does not imply a symbiotic relationship. To that effect, community means sharing resources, social life, helping each other with social obligations and surviving the challenges of poverty. The sociologists use the term altruism, a concept that refers to helping out others without expecting them to return the gesture. The strength of the support network is dependent on closeness in terms of kinship, neighbourliness, and a sense of community spirit. Those people close to one another will get the support much faster than those who are distanced. Social networks exist at family level, kinship level, community level and private level. Community norms and values describing a communal culture will indicate whether people in the community are able to engage each other in the social networks. Some authors have written that engaging each other is the habit of the heart. Community virtues such as respect, listening to one another, tolerance and openness to others are qualities that form communal life. In any community where people help each other with or without expectations of returns, relationships of reciprocity exist. Reciprocity builds the life of a communal community. Community survives on trust, that is, the sense of confidence that some kind of activities

will be carried out without much supervision. Trust is the expectation that people will act in an appropriate way (Smith 2001:17).

3.4.5 Community development

Government development activities in poor rural areas have always been looked at as community development. Hence this chapter defines community development as a field of development where the process of development integrates the poor in the national development processes (Adejunmobi 1990:10-15). By integration is meant that the poor find their stake in the national economic and social growth processes. In this process of development there are basically three dimensions, namely the community service dimension, the grassroots popular development dimension and the radical dimension. In the community service dimension the state-planned activities are voluntarily brought into the rural community with the aim of bringing social amenities for the benefit of the rural poor. Roads, bridges, health and school facilities are built by the government in the rural areas for the poor to use. The state may use its judicial system or education institutions to bring about this development for the poor. This is part of the social investment literature, and the donor and government take it as their mandatory responsibility to bring development to the people. In the grassroots popular dimension, the poor take it upon themselves to develop and change their poverty status (Selener 1998:51-66). What immediately come to the fore here are the concepts of Harambe in Kenya and Ujamaa in Tanzania. This was popular development, where the poor used their own energies, resources and skills to establish an infrastructure. For direct democracy, the radical approach requires the community to use their empowered position to demand development from the state machinery (Swanepoel 1998:57). Civil society uses the radical dimension, in which the NGO sector works at community conscientisation, enlightening the community on their development rights and freedoms to enable them to make effective development demands on the public sector.

3.4.6 Classical socialism

Defining classical socialism, Francis Fukuyama says it is a variant of an economic theory where the provisioning of factors of production, services and goods distribution, and the duty to meet the consumption demands of the masses, is entrusted to the state machinery called the civil service. Swanepoel (1998:55-59) considers the same concept and calls it the benevolence state. The professional community works for the government and discharges its duties to meet the service and goods consumption demands of the masses. Here one may encounter labour capital and human labour exploitation, hence it has its own challenges. At the other extreme of the development dichotomy, in direct opposition to socialism, is capitalism where the production factors are controlled by the private sector. Capitalism relegates labourers to slaves. In the context of this research, the CBO operate in the weak framework of classical socialism in that they engage with the civil service, helping it to deliver more as they are also focussing on social concerns (Selener 1998: 30-88).

3.4.7 Democratic socialism

This is defined as a variant of the economic theory, where the government carries out provisioning and producing goods and services while the grassroots poor have the citizen influence. Democratic socialism is perhaps close to alternative theories of development. In the bottom-up development process and framework coined in the decentralisation perspective, citizen control and influence is evident through transformative participation (Selener 1998: 99-112; Swanepoel 2000: 45-55).

3.5 Literature review discussion

3.5.1 Causes of poverty and globalism development perspectives

Authors of development literature are caught between socialism and capitalism as they argue matters of development and poverty. Thomas (1992:17-22) disagrees with Ayres (1995:445-449) and Himmelstrand (1994:99-113), who believe that the overused westernisation view is a cause of poverty in the third world. According to Thomas

(1992:33), the so-called west borrowed development ideas, accessed resources and borrowed theories and strategies of development from Japan, which is not part of the west. In agreement with this view, Hilbert (2000: 334-456) that we now have African westernisation, where social classes differentiate, social classes disintegrate and the core poor and the core rich exist amidst similar influences of westernisation. Nyerere (1989:25-56) calls attention to unstable agricultural economies, land degradation, feminisation of poverty, reduced aid to economic imperatives, unfavourable trade and market on the globe, inadequate technology and science, poor infrastructure and reduced development aid to the third world as some of the causes of poverty, all to be blamed on globalism. Himmelstrand et al. (1994: 77-98) write more about the causes of poverty for the third world and stress the need for the poor to define their own development destiny with localism. This chapter borrows much from their constructions. From a classical socialism perspective, discussions of poverty and development have left the poor out of the solution to their own problem. This is where and how Himmelstrand et al. (1994:55) begin their discussion. The various views about development were implemented or rather are implemented on the 'capitol hill', without involvement from the poor. For instance, in the benevolence view, the states in Africa implemented development solely through established public sector institutions as engines of the development process (De Beer 2000: 45). Such benevolence states did not have faith in the local poor people who were largely viewed as consumers. Additionally, providing for the masses has been a political gimmick and a survival strategy for the political machinery (Hayes 1981:1122). A metropolis and satellite chain of the poor and the rich with those who have it giving it to those who do not has created dependency (De Beer 2000: 46). In the context of the free market, benevolence has failed to survive, and populism or people-led development processes are gaining ground, especially after the failure of blueprint development (Chambers 1983: 33-36). To start with, governments of poor countries are being assisted to undergo major economic reforms and economic restructuring to allow grassroots development. Now in the process of entrenching popular development, decentralisation, democratisation and liberalisation processes are descending on African states (Thomas 1992:91). The adjustments that were proposed have been implemented through

adjustment loans offered by the lending institutions of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, reinforcing democracy at grassroots level. Adjustments have been implemented to manage balance of trade payments or debts and are targeted at helping ailing economies to survive (Cornwell 2000: 253) through withdrawal of subsidy. Adjustments are aimed at reducing expenditure by the public sector, and pushing resources to productive sectors of the private sector. Despite these adjustments, however, massive marginalisation, impoverishment and destitution have continued. Himmelstrand (1994:93-94) gives a quick evaluation of the economic recovery programme and finds that inflation keeps rising, the import and export gap keeps widening, food deficit is getting worse and there is a general deterioration in living standards of the people. Therefore structural adjustments have not been appropriate for popular development as they have focussed on the commercial sector of the economy.

3.5.2 Poverty internalisation: a systems, structural, and psychological state of affairs

Research reveals that poverty is a multifaceted phenomenon. It is caused by lack of empowerment, according to Chambers (1983:33-45), and caused by astronomical disorders as far as Harrison (1993:177-199) is concerned. Authors call poverty a trap. It is a debilitating condition that keeps people trapped, making them vulnerable, powerless, weak and in perpetual need of basic life survival necessities (Myers 1999:23). In this systems view one condition is a precursor for the next, working synergistically to trap the poor. Expounding on his perspective of poverty as a trap, Chambers (1983:34-37) explains five facets of the trap, namely material poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. For example, Chambers (1983:33-35) points out that a household that suffers material poverty might lack shelter, sanitation, livestock and income arising from unproductiveness. This household will suffer from malnutrition and therefore its members will have weak bodies. Here poverty manifests itself as physical weakness of the household's members. In most cases, a physically weak household, apart from poor health and inadequate nutrition, also suffers from high dependents' ratio.

Poverty manifesting as isolation is yet another facet within the trap perspective. It means a lack of access to services and information. A household that is remote and far from roads, water pipes, electricity and markets suffers from this aspect of isolation hence the need for decentralisation of the economy. Owing to its isolation, the household may not have access to the information and services necessary for its survival. Chambers included in his poverty perspective the facet of vulnerability. This means that household members lack choices and options and are thus susceptible to and have few buffers against disaster shocks. The last facet in this poverty trap, of course not in order of significance or priority, is powerlessness. This means that a poor household lacks the ability and knowledge to influence life around it and the social systems in which it lives. These five factors of poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness, shackle the household and keep it entrapped. As the household is in a trap, it lacks the ability to fight injustice, it is excluded from the market economy and political systems, it easily suffers exploitation and is in poor health. Poverty is hence seen as a complicated state of being.

Other authors select and develop their perspectives from their own worldview, using the elements of Chambers' poverty perspective. For instance, Myers (1999:23) develops the element of powerlessness as a lack of access to social power. In brief, he views poverty as a state of exclusion of the household. This state of exclusion occurs within the confinement of the interacting domains of state, global economy, political system and civil society. This state of exclusion makes the household fail or struggle to find space, location and influence. Poverty in this case is seen as a state of affairs where the poor are denied access to any means of living or productive life. In his thesis, Myers (1999:99-112) identifies eight bases of social power that could be made available to the powerless as stepping-stones to creating social space and influence. These bases include financial resources, social networks, knowledge and skills, social organisation, livelihoods, information for safe development, surplus time and defensible life space (Myers 1999:78). The state of exclusion is unfortunate in that poverty of exclusion or rather, the operating forces of politics, economic state, global, and civil society, create a barrier to

households living in absolute poverty. Such exclusion leaves the household powerless to escape the poverty trap. It is clear that in his explanation, Myers regards poverty as a lack of social organisation and access to political and economic systems. This exclusion means that the system cannot hear nor accept the voice of the poor. The debilitating, excluding social system that dis-empowers the poor, traps these households.

Myers (1999:78) refers to Jay Kumar Christian who in his PhD developed another variant of the theory of poverty. Jay Kumar builds on Chambers and Fredman (Myers 1999:78) in his poverty perspectives and looks at poverty as interacting systems dis-empowering the household. These interacting systems comprise social, cultural, personal worldviews, biophysical and spiritual systems. Each of these systems contributes to the dis-empowering of the household embedded in it. For instance, degraded soils represent the biophysical, social resignation represents the personal worldview, racial demeaning represents a culture. In his view, the systems exclude, weaken and exploit the poor as such systems place the non-poor in positions of rule and authority over the poor. Hence the rich play god in the lives of the poor (Myers 1999:67). The non-poor create narratives, structures and systems that justify and rationalise their privileged position. Myers (1999:66-69) points out that systems place others in a position of influence and hence dis-empower the poor. When the social-economic-political system advantages the non-poor through safe elevation to positions of influence, the system excludes and exploits those who are poor. This exclusion and exploitation takes place even in the cultural, personal and spiritual systems. Myers (1999:55-59) refers to Christian and stratifies levels at which authority and exercise of influence take place. Such levels are micro, macro and international levels. In short, the national bourgeoisie feel the dis-empowering influence of the global systems and there is more power and influence in ascending order as one moves from the peripheral towards the global levels. The peripheral and core construction is the very foundation of theories of development and factors that explain the existence of poverty in the third world. This explanation holds true even at local level where one studies the urban-rural dichotomy (Ayres 1995:235; Haines 2000:54; Kinyanjui et al. 1994:99).

The structural arrangements and systems have perpetuated poverty to such an extent that the poor accept it as normal. In short, webs of lies keep evolving and are deeply entrenched in the cultures and traditions of societies (Swanepoel 2002:9). Because of their abject poverty, the poor give up and surrender themselves to the upper classes for care and protection. According to Madziakapita (2003:9-11), one wonders why the poor have come to accept their condition as a divine making and that such webs of lies built up in the culture have been responsible for the current state of affairs. This places the poor at a disadvantage and they suffer exploitation. Such views keep marring the identity of the poor, whom the world labels as lazy, ignorant and unworthy. The deepest and most profound expression of poverty is found when the poor internalise sufferings, deception, and exclusion in such a way that they lose the ability to define who they are or their purpose in creation (Madziakapita 2002:7). When the poor believe that they are useless and valueless, non-existent and humiliated, the result is 'poverty of being' (Swanepoel 2001:12).

The pursuit of knowledge and a greater understanding of poverty has continued into the 21st century. One particular author quoted by Myers (1999:77) is Ravi Jayakalan. Writing and practising development in India, Jayakalan described poverty as the lack of freedom to grow. Myers (1999) pictures the poor again as Chambers did, trapped in a series of restrictions and limitations in four areas of life, the physical, mental, social, and spiritual. Myers (1999:77), quoting Ravi Jayakalan, regards scarce resources and limited options and choices, for example, as physical limitations. Myers points out that behind these limitations lie powerful stakeholders, namely people, institutions and structures whose interests are saved by limitations. They have a stake in sustaining the illusion that such limitations will not change as long as the first world continues to exist. Borrowing from Christian who stratified social economic systems of influencing positions, Myers spells out that limitations and restrictions happen at micro, macro and international levels, with macro stakeholders controlling the micro stakeholders. Myers successfully concludes his piece of writing and improves our understanding of a detail when he mentions two things.

Firstly, he argues that the world of the poor must locate the causes of poverty in people, not in concepts and abstracts such as greed, systems, markets, corruption and culture as these fall outside the scope of the poor to change. Secondly, Myers alerts us to the fact that all pass through the bundles of limitations but at different strata. All the way from the village area to national and to global levels the non-poor operating above the poor hold the poor in bondage. In this situation, the oppressor becomes the oppressed. From the foregoing discussion of perspectives of poverty, one sees that emerging from the trap is a challenging task that requires development with holism. Therefore, grassroots empowerment offers a strategic approach that allows the poor to escape the poverty trap.

3.5.3 Factors influencing poverty

There are several factors that have influenced poverty in Africa and other parts of the third world. The section below looks briefly at five such factors.

1. Instability of agricultural based economies

The geology of the tropics (arid and semi arid, deserts, rainforests) does not support agriculture. Plant epidemiology and animal parasitology (high incidences) do not support agriculture in the tropics (Harrison 1993:90-199). Weather patterns in the tropics (high humidity, high temperatures, cyclones) do not support agriculture. Therefore, unlike the western countries whose economies are industrial, this sub-Saharan region has economies that are agro-based and prone to the vagaries of weather, droughts, price fluctuation and market unpredictability (Nyerere 1989:25-30). Western development strategies and theories are suited to an industrial economy, which is more predictable than agro-based economies. A well diversified, institutionally-based and community-managed agriculture system must be adopted in order to develop economies in this region. But this is not the case in most African countries that have promoted cash crop mono cropping. This is very evident in the narrow-based modernisation of peasant agriculture and the scarcely enhanced industrialisation that cannot turn the economic situation of the Africans around (Nyerere 1989:25-30). Experience has shown that since the 1950s, basic needs have been

satisfied only within a rapidly expanding economy. It is clear that the macro-economic environment determines the survival of rural institutions of agriculture. It is therefore crucial to revive economic growth, reorient its contents and sustain it at an acceptable level. There is much poverty in the agriculture sector, especially among food producers, that must be checked (Nyerere 1989:25-30).

2 Land resource factor

In addition to degraded and leached soils, ancient rocks, and over expanding human scale in the poverty groups of Africa, women have a very high representation, high ratios of dependants, and less access to land, lower wage labour, and high unemployment (Kumwenda 2004:11-23). Besides their mineral exports, African economies have survived on chemically produced agricultural exports where more poor, landless women are involved (Kumwenda 2004:41). There has been a steady decline in GNP since 1970 to a point between 1980 and 1986, when it declined by 1.1% (Ayres 1995:233-235). It is not possible to reduce poverty with a high proportion of rural poor, many of whom are women (Ayres 1995:233-235). The agricultural production sector is characterised by small-scale production on degraded soils, without adequate technical knowledge, land or organisation for production and processing (Kumwenda 2004:43). Accessibility to land and other production factors is a problem in Africa just as in other parts of the globe (Ayres 1995:233-235). Most of the people are pushed to marginal land or remain landless. The land problem in Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Bothomani 1991:15; Claassen 1988:8; Moyo 1992:7) provides enough evidence of the situation. The social-political sensitivity of the land issue is jeopardising the efforts of development just as it has challenged the homeland concept in south Africa which promised well-being to poor indigenous people.

3 Institutional capacities factor

Land conditions are not the only challenge to development. Finances, expertise and other resources are critical too in the tropics. However, provision of financial, material and technical resources is not a sufficient condition for effective and efficient institutional

building and management (Nisar 1995:130-139). It is the institutional capabilities of project organisation that critically determine the fate of project outcomes. It is the softer issues of attitude, behaviour, flexibility, relationships, power and authority in organizational structures that count the most. It is the failure to understand the policy impact dimensions, management practices, and managers' behavioural influences on project performance that have led to untold underperformance in the third world economies (Ayres 1995:233-235). Today, rural institutions are faced with similar challenges that need further examination.

4 Trade and market exploitation

Poverty has been blamed on trade, especially where poor countries produce and export large volumes of agricultural produce to satisfy the consumption demands of the gigantic west. The poor continent has also suffered badly under adverse changes in the international terms of trade. Its current parlous state can be traced in large measure to the fact that costs of goods that African countries need to import have risen far more rapidly than the price of exported commodities (Ayres 1995:147). World Bank economists now anticipate a continued fall in terms of the trade of key exports with prices falling by 35% below those that prevailed in the 1960s. Price decline of this magnitude makes it extremely difficult for governments to implement policy reforms such as price increases to improve production (Ayres 1995:143) at such low export gains. Today, observers of the Africa Rural Scene and donors are virtually all of the conviction that African peasants are not bound by cultural constraints, but that they respond with alacrity to economic opportunity; and that when financial incentives are present, their production for the marketplace increases accordingly. This orientation of thinking by donors is advantageous to rural farmers. It is common knowledge now that the project approach failed to diffuse improved agricultural methods because they were costlier than the prices farmers got for their produce. Hence, the Berg Report sees smallholder farmers as the basis for any workable strategies of African recovery. Smallholder farmers are outstanding managers of their own resources – their land, capital, fertilizer and water (Ayres 1995:145). It is beneficial to realise that the downward pressure on price levels of

African agricultural goods has been further reinforced by the introduction of a number of synthetic products that substitute cheaply for natural items, thereby competing with them in the international market: synthetic rubber for natural, soft drinks for coffee and tea, artificial chocolate for cocoa, non-caloric sweeteners for natural sugar, dacron and polyester fabric for clothes (Ayres 1995:142-145). This has further aggravated the poverty situation in poor countries. Dangerous again is the tendency to produce for external market niches. Many farmers are being used for cheap labour to produce crops such as tobacco for multinational companies. The farmers do not benefit nor are they aware of the impact of the world trade systems. The multinational co-operations that buy and sell agricultural commodities on world markets are in a far stronger position to take advantage of the potential profitability of these products than the producer countries and their interest is profit maximisation. In this discussion, there is a clear indication of how economic forces and systems interact at macro and micro level to determine poverty. The social-economic shockwaves at macro level seem to permeate through to micro levels and cause poverty and this is a challenge that rural institutions must face and address. It is helpful to allow disengagement of the poor from the complexity of globalism.

5 Lack of extension in small-scale agriculture

The introduction of new breeds of crops and animals that are highly susceptible to diseases, require huge amounts of nutrients and adequate husbandry practices, replacing traditional crops and animals, creates a huge demand for farmer-based extension of knowledge. In most of sub-Saharan Africa, the agriculture sector has focussed on large-scale farming. This meant more resources and extension initiatives have been allocated to it. The result has been a total divorce of the rural poor masses from the needed credit and extension services. A scenario exists where smallholder agriculture feeds the whole population in Africa and beyond, and yet extension policy is biased against it (Ikwechukwu & Eziakor1990: 120). As a result of inadequate extension, production is very low and an increasing number of African countries cannot feed themselves. In many regions domestic food production is inadequate to supply even the minimal needs of growing populations, and earnings for exports are insufficient to permit enough food

imports to make up the difference (Ayres 1995:130-133). Apart from extension, Nyerere (1990:72-89) attributes this food crisis to inadequate economic capacity and a science and technology gap in rural institutions. Traditional methods of farming currently cannot turn the situation around, due to degraded soils, inadequate access to land by the small farmers, and huge costs associated with agricultural production.

3.5.4 *Development in social praxis as capacities, self-reliance and autonomy*

Development thinking in almost all academic and political circles has been influenced by giantism. In their pursuit of defining development, Himmestrand and Kinyanjui (1994:17-20) dwell on four elements of societies' capability: provision of means of production, use of own resources to meet consumption demand and self-rule somehow running away from global entanglement. Hence, the ability to develop indigenous entrepreneurs to boost and cultivate the domestic economy, and a capacity to engage with international trade that is empowering, enriching, and mutually beneficial should be part of the development definition. Looking at this attempt, a definition of development in short is about adequate capacities, resource endowment, participation in the global economy and democracy. On relative terms, most despotic African countries fail to satisfy this definition. So, in short, developing Africa is about releasing millions of people from the poverty trap or entanglement of despotism (Swanepoel 2002:7). Development is hence a change process where social, political, and cultural conditions and systems bring about self-sufficiency and political autonomy. On a relative basis, only countries in the North have been able to meet the definition and are hence called developed countries. Such countries with huge capitalist economies have the capacity to ensure mass survival from their own resources, to engage in indigenous entrepreneurship, to participate significantly in international trade, and to enjoy political autonomy, democratic self-rule and reasonable transaction rules (Himmelstrand 1994:21-22). Thus development should be an instrument that breaks the despotic poverty trap and sets people free from restrictions, limitations, and the psychological conditioning of poverty.

3.5.5 *Development from radical theory perspectives*

Development oriented towards giantism and modernisation has failed as it has more complexities than simplicities. Ayres (1995:445-678) and Kinyanjui (1994:99-112) argue that the first decade of independence has been a period of endless experimentation with various policies and strategies aimed at bringing rapid and sustainable social-economic development in less developed countries (LDCs). Surprising, however, is the fact that regardless of the school of thought that informed a particular policy and strategy, the result has been failure to liquidate underdevelopment. Agreeing to this, Rondinelli (1993:67), in his book entitled *Projects as development policy experiments*, blames the failure of liquidating underdevelopment on bureaucratic planning. While Himmelstrand (1994:73) showed his doubts about the effectiveness of Euro-centric theories in the African context and hence called for paradigmatic shifts, Rondinelli (1993:37) dwelt on reforms and perfections to the bureaucracy. The modernisation development theory is premised on the fact that the advanced capitalist countries (ACCs) were at one time traditional societies. This premise is similar to the theory of evolution that contends that from primitive forms of life human beings have, through adaptation and mutation, evolved to present day mankind. The goal of development is essentially considered as achievement of modern society with typical features of urbanisation, literacy and social patterns of demography. Advanced countries have economic patterns of production, consumption, investment, trade and government finance which best place them as developed. In the light of modernisation schools of thought: Africa, whose population is mostly rural, is poor and hence in great need of modernity. This state of underdevelopment is used to define and explain observable differences between rich and poor countries. Factors defining third world economies, such as capital shortage, prevalence of crude technology, high birth rates, high rates of illiteracy, insistence on traditions, lack of modern industries and low capitalisation on land, are seen as obstacles to this process of attaining modernity.

On the basis of the above and other internal obstacles, authors of development literature have, at one time or another, regarded capital accumulation, availability of foreign exchange, industrialisation, population control and human resource development, employment-oriented strategies and economic redistribution with growth as solutions to the problem of under development: The strategies suggested to bring about these solutions include foreign investment, foreign aid, export led growth, and removal of factor price biases. In short, proponents of modernisation wrongly support more integration into the international capitalist market system as a potential solution to underdevelopment. A key point to note here is that the state other than the private and voluntary sector takes centre stage in the implementation of social economic development.

The failure of modernisation is so blatant that editors of *Development Dialogue* (1987: 2) have this to say: “*The first decades of independence have been a period of endless imitation and experimentation with a view to bringing Africa into the main stream of economic development. Today rather than being close to the industrialised world it is far away, rather than being self reliant, it is more dependent, and rather than being more stable Africa is more volatile and conflict ridden.*” Chambers (1983:33) and Rondinelli (1993:56) also advance a criticism against modernisation. Both authors contend that one cannot blueprint development and hence one needs to define alternatives. True to this, the modernisation theory that appeared in the 1950s became outdated in the 1970s and was replaced by the dependency theory, which blamed the external world for poverty. Modernisation only resurfaced in the 1990s in the economic stabilisation focus. While modernisation looked at internal fetters to development such as crude technology, capital shortage and traditions, in direct opposition to this notion, dependency world systems theory looked exclusively at the external fetters of development. The thinking was that one could not isolate less developed countries from advanced capitalist countries. As advances in current globalisation impetus occur, the world has to be treated as one single system as a starting point. Modernisation draws strategies with a focus on dealing with internal fetters, and these cannot liquidate underdevelopment. This is so because

underdevelopment is the product of this world capitalist system with its various limitations. The new economic order demands that external as well as internal factors be considered when dealing with factors enhancing poverty. In globalism the world market links the LDC and ACC in terms of production, trade, exchange differences and trade regulations.

Globalism must be challenged as the market system has placed LDC as producers of raw materials for external markets in ACCs. The flow of capital accumulation determined by levels of economic and social development favours ACCs. The export-import relationship, exchange differences and trade regulations, among other factors, explain underdevelopment for LDCs. Over-devaluation of currency, biased world market pricing systems and trade protectionism all account for underdevelopment. Still more, the world system is based on geographically differentiated divisions of labour featuring three main zones: core, semi periphery and periphery, tied together within the world market. The law of value rewards the three zones differently with surpluses flowing disproportionately to the core areas. What is central in the system is the exploitation and robbing of the periphery of the means of production and an unequal exchange in foreign trade. This was especially true when it led to international divisions of labour, where the colonial countries were assigned the role of producing and supplying primary products to the core areas, becoming home markets of the core countries, and providing for and allowing foreign investments. The system created preconditions which facilitate export-oriented production in the sub-Saharan countries. Hence globalism with modernisation is wrong and must be challenged.

The post independence period has still seen the peripheral countries relying heavily on the export of primary products to gain foreign exchange. While the peripheral has benefited from the experience of producing primary products, the core has gained more, especially markets, unequal exchange in trade and cheap labour offered by the periphery. Emerging from these development theories of modernisation and dependency were many strategies, policies and phases of economic development which preceded independence

in African countries in responding to poverty. Both modernisation and dependence theories have shaped the policies and strategies pursued in development efforts. Kinyanjui (1994:89-119) points out that growth maximisation, green revolution, industrialisation, macro economic growth, and later structural adjustments and economic stabilisation came under the modernisation school as strategies and policies to liquidate underdevelopment in LDCs. Under the world system dependency theory, policies and strategies aimed at disengaging Africa and making it self-reliant were devised, including import substitution industrialisation, domestic market growth, internalisation of economic growth and self-sufficiency. According to Kaunda, quoted by Kinyanjui (1994:22-58), nationalist and socialist policies emerged from the self-sufficiency theory paradigm. Following the dependency theory, Himmelstrand (1994:45-65) points out that the period between 1960 and 1970 saw rapid economic growth in Africa. He contends that a growth of 5% was recorded which was progressively good. This was, however, short lived as it was affected by the economic crisis period of 1970s. This economic crisis characterises the fall of world market prices on agriculture primary products and minerals in the 1970s.

Giving an account of irreversible poverty trends in Africa, Kinyanjui et al. (1994:77-97) point to heavy borrowing from foreign banks to increase capital-intensive investment in Africa, induced by increasingly good economic performance, which turned upside down when actual prices dwindled. Concurrently, borrowing conditions, especially rising interest rates and devaluation of producer countries' currency, continue to aggravate poverty. This has initiated a dangerous period of perpetual debt as the twin evils of balance of payments and inflation have bitten African economies (Cornwell 2000:67-69). The deteriorating condition of African economies has picked up speed, and up to the present time this has received more criticism than solutions from euro centric development theories. It is against the backdrop of this deteriorating economy, from which the poverty crisis emanates, that one sees attempts by both nationals and donors to reverse the trend. Hence integration in global market structure through free markets has led to the failure of development in the south, providing evidence of the failure of globalism.

3.5.6 *Community Development Perspectives: Grassroots Movements*

Current thoughts on localism, manageable human populations, reducing growth, splitting nations into geo-regions, and focussing on the grassroots are permeating and challenging giantism. Approaches that will respond better and articulate the needs of the community at grassroots are required. This is what a genuine community development approach does. At grassroots, the concerns are not economic growth, but food security, good health, and improvement of quality of life (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:34), some of which must be provided for by the state. A community development approach is concerned with social dimensions of development, which seek improvements to quality of life (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). Hence, through a community development approach, communities themselves can enjoy the benefits of their development efforts. At grassroots level, people need food, medicine, clean water, and basic education. Through community ownership, they are able to mobilise resources and skills to produce such services and goods. Community development is an appropriate approach, as it ensures that goods and services are produced and benefit a wider section of the population. Poverty is multifaceted and includes limitations, exclusions and restrictions, besides other factors that cause it, and it is the people themselves who possess the solutions to such factors (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). Community development takes place right where poverty is felt and that is at the grassroots. In this case resource planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation can be well coordinated at that community level (Swanepoel 1998:45-59). This would bring about effectiveness and efficiency as the project cycles would be condensed into one entity. Community development draws resources from within the community, most of which are natural and hence not costly. Community development is based on the active participation of the beneficiaries of the development process and these are the poor (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). A community development approach provides the necessary political support to get development going and, in this regard, the traditional structures play a vital role. Talking radically, community development deals with power structures that are responsible for the

exclusion of the poor, equity issues to ensure fairness in resource allocation, and ensuring social justice (Adejumobi 1990:226-227). The aim of community development is to establish community organisations to promote better living, better farming, more education, more happiness and better citizenship (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998; Monaheng 2000:124-135). The aim is to stimulate community organisation so that communities can manage their own destiny or put pressure on public administration, especially in benevolent states.

This method of direct democracy provides an opportunity for the masses to express their needs, wishes and aspirations to the administration. Recent thinking and literature concur with this notion that communities need to be adequately empowered so that they can negotiate deals and resources with authorities (Adejumobi 1990:226-227). As reviewed, community development takes on three fronts, classical, participatory and citizen control. In the context of the classical, colonial thinking has prevailed to the present where community development still denotes government programmes aimed at the stimulation of local initiatives for community self-development efforts (Monaheng 2000:124-135). The thinking is still that of an outsider who must change the poverty situation in the community. Though community development shows great potential as an instrument for poverty reduction as poor people engage in poverty reduction activities, the reality on the ground is challenging. Allwood (1982:9), Adejunmobi (1990:227) and Fowler (1991:45) agree that while literature shows a clear purpose for community development, practice contradicts this. Authors advance the following purposes for community development: to develop people's capacity to control their lives, to bring about equity and a process of dynamic change in power relationships, and to prepare communities to anticipate future problems. Research has shown that contrary to this, development planners have completely different and incorrect perspectives and this becomes a real professional challenge to development issues. The concern of officials is, wrongly, solidarity and stability of national programmes. To them, community development must change the social conditions that are required for success in economic plans, must change people's attitude towards the state, resolve conflict and tension and hence make environments

conducive to investment, and ensure political stability. Community development is used as a political campaign tool with which to win people's hearts. Hayes (1981:22) says, 'Villagers cease to care about anything once their stomachs are filled.' This view justifies why most community programmes focus on economic development and material betterment. This is unlike the ideology in literature which supports changing power relationships and challenging social institutions (Monaheng 2000:124-135).

Despite a situation where the concept of community development has been abused, it is natural that people come up with their own alternatives. Through such alternatives, communities are able to manage the power structures, adequately prepare themselves for problems, and develop their own capacity. Hayes (1981:17) found two alternatives to challenging the preserved status quo in community development. Neighbourhood-based organisations that are radical enough to chart their own course of development constitute one such alternative. However, these organisations work best with a limited number of people (Cary 1976:3-4). He also proposes legitimisation of popularly elected institutions. This notion advances a 'community action' theory that can challenge the established structures. Once local communities are persuaded of the power of organising, of local initiative and self help, then community development will be able to continue with or without the support of governments or international funding bodies (Monaheng 2000:124-135). When a process of withdrawal of authorities takes off, that is the beginning of the evolution of the community development process.

While the term spontaneous development could mean development that is self-initiated through a self-discovery process, it also implies self-mobilising of resources. This development takes place without external influence or intervention. Villages in rural areas have existed for many years and recognition must be given to this fact. In addition, they undertake their own development. Most rural roads, mobile markets, rural groceries, gardens and farms are products of people's imaginations and efforts. The old adage is true that experience is the best teacher, and when one looks at settlement patterns and rural agricultural systems, one must come to terms with the fact that they depict rural

experiential knowledge (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:34). Hence, following on the exclusively internal resource mobilisation view, there is currently a debate in development which suggests that we need to build internal capacity as a possible path of development for the twenty-first century (Haines 2000: 38-39). We need to look at people's natural and cultural potential and to undertake development that is need-driven, ecologically sustainable, and which has a structuralism view (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:34). De Beer has correctly called this appropriate development while Myers calls it transformational development. At macro level, literature has given ample evidence that internally led development policies have had mixed success in Latin America. Self-starting and sustaining development, according to Wilkinson (1994:22-29), does not connote isolationism, but rather proper identification of the role of external resources. An extreme opposing view about community development is the classical approach view and this is briefly defined below.

3.5.7 Grassroots development perspectives. Which is the Right View?

3.5.7.1 Classical approach view

A classical approach comprises externally devised methods and means of bringing about desired, planned change, creating dependency in the process (Monaheng 2000:124-135). It is the outsiders who plan projects, deciding on the needs of the people (Chambers 1993:68). It should have been the nature of poverty and related problems that influenced classical approach thought. There are many instances where the classical approach has failed or has been successful in location specific studies. In the west, a classical approach in industrialisation theory worked in the development of huge industrial economic giants we know today. However, in Africa the overall picture is that green revolution blueprints have not worked to eradicate poverty in the agrarian economy. In Africa, poverty is a cultural issue. In this regard, the borrowed development strategies lacked a proper system of response to poverty that was fundamentally a cultural issue. Bothomani (1991:23) says that monosectoral approaches devised externally, that sought to invest in a single area of

focus, failed. Rondinelli (1993:34) arrives at similar conclusions when the industrial revolution is blamed for causing a complicated environmental crisis, instead of alleviating poverty. Literature today, however, indicates that it is the unpredictability (droughts, cyclones, pests, conflicts, disasters) of the rural development environment that should be blamed for the failure of strategies (Kumwenda 2004: 8-15).

3.5.7.2 Classical approach paradigmatic shifts, the basic needs

Driven by the desire to eradicate poverty, the IRDP approach as a variant of community development was found wanting in its effectiveness. In the words of Marxism – ‘In whose interests were the resources brought to the people?’ IRDP gave prominence to means and methods of dealing with poverty, relying heavily on aid. There was an imperative to move from means to needs: people’s needs were seen as the end of development. This led to a second variant to community development: the basic need approach (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 6-7). People have concrete and abstract needs, and development must meet these needs. It is interesting to note how resources are spent on devising means which in the end do not address needs. As alluded to already, disillusionment about Integrated Rural Development gave birth to a Basic Needs Approach. The aim was to deal with massive poverty quickly through addressing needs by growth redistribution. It was only when needs were known that proper and appropriate development was to be achieved. The objective of the basic needs approach was to give all people the opportunity to live a wholesome life. This was also aid driven. The classical approach continued to mutate, and Swanepoel provides a new dimension, qualified as making contact. He seemingly works against problem identification as a first step in the project cycle, and his argument is how one can talk about needs to people one does not know.

3.4.7.3 Classical approach paradigmatic shifts: making contact

Swanepoel and De Beer (1998:8) believe that an emphasis on needs in community development projects leads to the loss of the people in the end. This specialisation in

identifying needs in the community can be dis-empowering. Experience has shown that it creates dependency and unrealistic expectations. Perhaps this affects sustainability of projects as communities are kept waiting for technocrats to rescue them (Monaheng 2000:124-135)., Contrary to the views that community development entails methods and means and meeting needs in order to bring about desired change, others have seen community development as a process through which a community uses its own initiative to change its own situation through making contact. This is considered as an educational learning process where problems of poverty offer an opportunity for the poor to learn. People in the community are able to acquire new skills, change behaviour and change themselves through experiential learning (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:24-25; Hayes 1981:6-7). Two thoughts on participation emerge from the view that communities take action to change their poverty situation. One is where people participate because of the change agent who asks them to undertake certain actions (Monaheng 2000:124-135) and this is called mobilised participation. This occurs mostly in order to have community access inputs and services aimed at improving their situation. At the other extreme is the defined 'autonomous participation', which occurs when people have been adequately self-empowered. When people discover and identify their own situation for themselves through an educational process, they want to deal with it radically. Therefore, community development should take a non-classical, conscientisation and radical point of view as dictated by the prevailing conditions.

3.5.8 *Community participation perspectives: its future use*

Jere (1993:22-29) in his PAPSIL model, points out that the extremists who define community participation as doing away with the government, abuse participation. Instead, there is a call for mutualism and recognising the capacities of the two entities, the consuming community and the providing structures. Hence, participation in development projects has also taken many variants. It is advocated when institutions are already entrenched in bureaucratic arrangements: this understanding is fundamental to the efforts of facilitating community participation and empowerment (Swanepoel 1998: 22).

From this bureaucratic foundation perspective, it took on different contradictory forms and meanings. It was firstly viewed as 'cheap labour' and implied mobilisation of local resources and labour. It was a free labour force. When local people brought water, sand and bricks to a project site, this was termed participation. Experts in development have boasted of how little projects have cost as a result of this contribution. In Malawi, World Bank officials require 25% as community contribution before a project proposal gets their approval (Mazibuko 2001: 2); but the people are never involved after the completion of projects. There is no ownership of projects by the people. Joaquin (1998:33) further argues that historically, development has had two concerns, planning orientation, and implementation orientation, with no emphasis on the post-donor support period. This implies that donors have no interest in projects they fund once they have withdrawn from them, undermining the sustainability concerns of the poor.

While involvement has different interpretations in the debates on development, it is generally agreed that it refers to people's consultations on projects. Projects are initiated from outside. The needs, plans and management are controlled by the outsider with the pre-formulated objectives of bringing desired change to the community. The aim of involvement is to create the correct climate that will stimulate the desire for people to participate. The assumption is that people will be drawn in or buy into the ideals of projects they have not initiated (Swanepoel et al. 1998:25). Sensitisation meetings and skills training aim to mobilise them for action. Still other development workers see the importance of working through leaders of communities and they capitalise on that for the mobilisation of people and resources. Again, there is a shortfall here in that people do not take over projects as their own. Even when people are consulted and list their needs during needs assessments, the planning processes leave them out. Technocrats develop plans and budgets that are passed on to the community for implementation. Such plans are sophisticated and in most cases beyond the ability of the implementers (local people) to handle (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:8; Rondinelli 1993:23). In such cases, what is the future of community participation?

A radical form of participation is said to have hatched and stimulated a third variant of community development. Supporting this variant, Chambers (1983: 44-45) urges that the poor are not passive. They are not ignorant. This is reflected in the emergence of other approaches to development such as Learning Process Approach, People Centred Development and Human Scale Development (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 7-9), which proved that communities can take action. Common to all these is the emphasis on empowerment and the ownership of development. Organisations that implement projects must transform so that participation by the people in development is not just a means but leads to a desired end. This transformation must take on adaptive administration and popular planning (Rondinelli 1993:55) to enhance community empowerment. Empowerment as a third variant of participation means communities have become autonomous and have taken development into their own hands. De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:12) observe that 'releasing the energy and abilities of millions will create a society in which the once poor majority will emerge out of their poverty and transform themselves into citizens with rights and responsibilities like every one else.' Empowerment requires external assistance such as skills, training, credit, appropriate technology, income generating activities and access to basic services. However, control and decision-making processes must be left to local people. They must find the solutions to their needs and problems. Through awareness, the poor identify needs, take collective action and celebrate micro achievements. This builds self-esteem, confidence and the urge to face greater challenges. This constitutes a learning process: the community empowers itself. This self-empowering process is critical for self-sustained community-based organisation. Self-empowerment entails self-reliance, popular participation, community knowledge, initiative, resources and decision-making.

Following the path of empowerment and democratisation, the community is placed in a strong position of power and influence which they can take advantage of in dealing with their destitute state.

3.6 Conclusion

Development sustainability after international donor support has ended has remained a dilemma for decades. Multiple factors cause this dilemma and quite a number of authors blame it on aid-poverty dynamics. According to Tapiwa (2004:22) and Swanepoel (2004:7-12), aid disturbs sustainability because it attracts debts that are huge enough to siphon off resources in their repayment, leaving behind few resources to sustain development. To the group of professionals who place their confidence in the grassroots, decentralisation, participation and community empowerment, the solutions to this predicament lie in democratisation. In all these concepts the focus is on the ultimate beneficiaries of projects as vehicles of their own development process. This has its foundation in the socialist perspective and most literature reviewed in this context works as chipping away at blueprints, bureaucratisation and development technocrats. The multiple dimensions of poverty such as limitations, restrictions, a condition of want, oppression, injustice and moral bankruptcy complicate the process of formulating policies and strategies of development. However, in the main, the concepts defined in this chapter, such as participation, community, socialism, and empowerment, have informed some of the major frameworks of development alternatives. In all these defined concepts, participation forms the core of the debate. In the development field, moving away from poverty towards development centres on participation. As a principle of community development, participation has currently taken two aspects, one as an instrument to implement projects and programmes that require community contribution, and the other as a transformative process in the community, the ultimate end of which is empowerment (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). Instrumental participation does not lead to project ownership, though the people may benefit from the projects. Instrumental participation uses manipulation, cooptation and coercion to get people to participate. On the other hand, the transformative participation view says that the process of participation is not aimed at project completion or achieving milestones in logical frameworks, but works rather on the minds of the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are helped to understand the project ideals in a comprehensive manner, they work on accepting these ideals and on empowering the beneficiaries. In this view, people must take on decision responsibilities, guide the direction of the development processes, and have control over the project

(Adejumobi 1990:226-227). Of the two views, the second is appropriate if we are to empower the community, and achieve project sustainability. In participation, resources are critical ingredients of community development. The issue is how the community procures these resources of development. The resources could be both internal and external (Monaheng 2000:124-135). Many authors have said that external resources bring about dependency. This, however, may not be true in all cases. In the origins of community development, indigenous people brought goods they sourced from outside into their community. It was really a question of where the goods were to be found and going to get them and bringing them back. The problem is not external dependency but rather external policies, strategies and approaches. While there is ample evidence that community development has failed with external aid, there is also plenty of evidence that it has been a success in many other instances where communities accepted outside support but managed it in their own way. In community development, De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:4-7) agree that issues of facilitation of need-based programming, strong leadership and capacity building are paramount.

Suffice it to say that using external efforts to reduce poverty and improve economic growth of poor countries has been most evident in structural adjustment programmes. Framed by the Breton institutions, these adjustments sought to improve balance of payments problems by relocating resources to the more productive private sector. However, within the framed adjustment, the objective was to engage the grassroots through popularising development. These approaches failed as they aggravated the problem of poverty among the poor.

In the next chapter, the research builds up a methodological framework through which the poor can be empowered to sustain their own development projects. The framework builds on development democratisation alternatives.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOCRATISATION ALTERNATIVE: GRASSROOTS SUSTAINABILITY ENHANCEMENT

GRASSROOTS PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY MODEL

4.1 Introduction

A broader spectrum methodology that links macro issues with micro realities forms the heart of the livelihood wheel framework as challenges to development occur at both levels (*refer appendix C*). This chapter aims to present the typology of institutions presented in chapter 3, and to draw attention to how institutions interact in terms of trade, aid, markets, policies and politics and enhance or deter grassroots development. Institutions play various roles in development in their position in this livelihood wheel. For instance, outside institutions are much more strongly in control, having the potential to formulate methods of dealing with poverty that looms on the periphery. Such methods are implemented at the inner and innermost layers of community. In the livelihood wheel, human beings exist within these circles with the core populated by 20% of the richest groups globally, referred to as overconsumers, and 60-80% on the periphery referred to as sustainers and marginals (De Beer 2000:5-22). The livelihood wheel typology helps to explain causes of poverty, where core institutions take the blame for poverty which affects the poorest peripheral populations. The ill-designed imperial policies that are imposed on the peripheral communities give rise to poverty in those institutions that implement them. Therefore, the livelihood framework of democratisation says that global thinking and local actions are critical ingredients of development planning to deal with poverty, and this must mirror this perspective. Given the typology, the chapter seeks to provide some methods that will help to bring about project success. These methods consider the context of poverty critically and find means of dealing with it. The

environmental analysis (scanning the boundary) reveals challenges that later determine approaches and strategies of engaging and energising the community in a revolutionary development process to deal with their poverty. The chapter recognises that deep-rooted poverty requires deep-rooted solutions that can only come about through social praxis. There is much that happens in the social-political, physical and institutional environments and grassroots sustainability relies on a clear understanding of such a complex environment. In the environmental analysis, detailed discussions surrounding the issues of national policy, aid and financial gaps, infrastructure gaps, flow of resources, social class struggle and traditional leadership in context of social-cultural, social-economic and political environments becomes vital. Additionally, the democratisation concept examines project characteristics in terms of project development facilitation, organisation, partnerships, participation, capacity building, coordination and collaboration as desirable indicators of success. The framework builds on the fact that capacity building, long term planning, grassroots considerations, technology management, recurrent costs, policy and sociological dimensions of development determine project success. These form the outcomes in the assumptive model of democratisation. For instance, projects with a high capacity to meet recurrent costs after donor support are considered highly sustainable. Again, projects that are high on the participation rating scale have high chances of sustainability. Hence, the eight elements as mentioned above (capacity building, long term planning, technology management, policy, financing recurrent costs, and social culture issues) fall into the proposed assumptive model. The assumption is that for outcomes to continue to exist after the end of external support, the eight elements must work together to support these outcomes. As a matter of emphasis, in its project failure equation, the World Bank used similar elements and in the PAPSIL model, Jere (1992:3-7) borrowed some of these elements. This research finds these similar variables crucial. The chapter finally demonstrates how various literature, especially the '*cooperative model*' from a publication in the Journal of Development studies, 'A community development framework "working from the bottom"' by De Beer (2001: 23-29) and Wilkinson (1992: 15-19), contributes to the formulation of the model in this research. In short, the model assumes that for project

sustainability to be ensured when projects fall into the hands of the grassroots communities (*handed over at phase out*), the inheritance is a function of the maintenance methods employed, and of institutional capacity, the rural development environment, and the nature of identified outcomes over a period of time. The research briefly presents this as the level of inheritance, where programme outcomes, methods used to keep the outcomes going, institutional strengths and the rural development environment define sustainability. De Beer (2001:22-25), in his community development framework, does provide documentation of methods that include coordination, collaboration, partnerships, networking and political support. Wilkinson (1992:23-29), in his cooperative model, provides documentation on the enabling environment and includes issues of culture, social relations, leadership, democracy, participation, involvement and project benefits as determinants of project success. Wilkinson (1992:17-19) continues to contribute to issues of institutional strengths through a mention of issues of technical capacity, programming scope, market penetration, financial mobilisation and market influence. The factors that De Beer (2001:22-26) deals with are more practical and form part of those project characteristics which are within the control of a development programme. The more practical issues of coordination and partnership, ideas borrowed from De Beer, make this model fit to be called the De Beer Model of democratisation and sustainability. It is appropriate that a wider picture of the model in terms of the environment of development is presented at this point. The section below considers what the model must contribute to enhance sustainability beyond donor support.

4.2 Livelihood institutional capacity for managing poverty

4.2.1 Capacity for managing poverty triggered at global level

The economic equation of which the poor countries are a part is complex. It calls for an adequate capacity among poor nations to understand and analyse the intricate relations and interactions that take place. At this high level an understanding of the digital divide, trade relations, market forces, political prowess, the priorities of developed nations,

natural occurrences such as global warming and its potential dangers, and global life-threatening epidemics, is critical as it may define policy directions and actions. Human resources will need to understand these factors at macro level, and begin to plan better how to integrate the poor. In response, socialist states need not justify macro economic investment that favours mega projects such as air polluting highways, heavy air polluting industrial sites, ports and hydro-electric power stations in the quest for modernisation and industrialisation to stimulate economic growth (Eicher 1995:12). Such states may opt for micro finance institutions (MFIs) to counter banks and other lending institutions that offer conditions that favour macro business (Chambers 1983:34). Macro economic approaches should only be a catalyst for rural development through market and agrarian reforms (Jere 1999:8; Khaila 1998:7). However, a danger lies in how these mega investments are planned and designed and in that they have been given more attention at the expense of rural areas (Hayes 1981:40). Industrialisation is characterised by the wrongs of exploitative market relations and rural resource depletion, placing the rural poor in a position of subordination (Myers 1999:78). For this reason there is a powerlessness among the poor to militate against such biases and to push through for an equal footing in the market economy (Van Dooren & Van Diepenbeek 1995:31-32). Many development authorities have expressed their doubts about macro economic strategies to eradicate poverty (Mussa-Nda 1988:1- 8), though macro issues influence the micro events. In institutional capacity building processes, mega projects will need to be integrated with micro realities. With reference to the presumptive model, the macro environment needs to be as enabling as possible for the grassroots to survive.

4.2.2 Livelihood capacity for managing poverty at national level

The livelihood democratisation model must work at despotism and deal with it. From the literature reviewed it has become clear that some causes of poverty hinge on African elitism and westernisation (Hilbert 1998:45-47). Within the same nations, limitations and restrictions on the poor exist. The model proposes capacity to assess such challenges and

to integrate the national development imperatives with local institutional realities to enhance an enabling environment.

National activities have the ability to determine the macro-observed events. The national level in this regard includes national policies and development direction, community involvement in development, micro projects that are location specific but with a spreading effect: all these determine the fate of global positions. Here localism can fight giantism. At national level, root causes of poverty exist that include the social, cultural, political and physical. At national level, long-term planning for donor-assisted projects, training for the right capacity to handle donor-supported projects, local technology development capacity, and domestic finance mobilisation (fees, taxes, charges) must provide the right ingredients for the imperatives of sustainability. The government grows its resources through fattening up its foreign reserves. This comes about through an import-export structure that also determines the survival of the national economy. The balance of payments and other debts are managed through foreign reserves and exports. The government could also improve its revenues through the operations of state-owned companies that hold both a commercial and a social responsibility. As donors and NGOs withdraw, government must have adequate finances and capacity in place to carry on with development supporting grassroots communities.

4.2.3 Livelihood capacity for managing poverty at the grassroots

Democracy is next to impossible at extreme levels of poverty. At the grassroots level, social investment can help to build a social and physical infrastructure that has the capacity to determine the future of the rural economy. A thriving economy enhances high social values, high social relations, and provides a framework for security that has an impact on direct and indirect foreign investment. In current debates on development, issues of morality feature high on the agenda and development is becoming more or less an issue of relationships. There are thus different forms of poverty, including the moral, psychological, spiritual, and material. Current debates on development understate

economism and seek to address the imperatives of human-centred development through moral imperatives. True development begins with a change of mindset. Self-esteem and taking pride in one's resources and abilities becomes foundational to the efforts of development. Grassroots development takes the form of a bottom-up approach so that the policies and strategies take up the issues of culture and traditions to enrich the development of thought. Therefore a thriving economy and the sociological imperatives of development are key to the success of donor-supported programmes.

4.3 Model view of sociological imperatives of rural development

4.3.1 Poverty in the context of social culture environment

In inculcating development socialisation, putting value systems that support ecological development in place is an imperative. With reference to what Wilkinson (1992:45-55) brings to the model, the conceptual analysis of poverty demands that institutions involved in development must have an adequate understanding of the culture and social setting of a given community, as this is critical to the process of grassroots development. Within the social cultural environment are values and norms, traditions and mindsets that influence the development culture of a particular community (Myers 1999:56). There is a need for a critical analysis of how people live, relate and make decisions that inform their lives. For instance, the Masai people of Kenya who lead a nomadic lifestyle have their own value systems reflecting their identity. Their way of life poses a challenge to their integration in the agrarian policies and planning of that country (Kinyanjui 1994:40) and hence they suffer exploitation. In Malawi, there is general resistance from smallholder farmers to enter commercial farming (Phiri 1998:9) and the critical question is when and how to integrate such farmers in national economic development (Adejunmobi 1990:225).

Within the social environment are social elements that include fatalism, moral poverty, social powerlessness, and beliefs and lies (Myers 1999:78) as social elements that are

critical in efforts to make community institutions self-reliant (Khaira 1998:9). Myers (1999:66-72) looks at some cultural limitations of development and argues that the poor have internalised poverty: this is what is called poverty of being. Hence fatalism, powerlessness and vulnerability trap the poor (Chambers 1993:56). On another note, the same community may have attributes such as solidarity, social organisation and collectivism that are a source of strength to the community (Quarter 1992:334). Thus communities are full of potential, opportunities and mechanisms of survival (Kumwenda 1998:12) and the current concept of the livelihoods participatory assessment approach is important in community assessment (Jere 1999:9). Leadership capacity, organisational capacity and resources capacity as social capital of the community (Van der Waal 2001:33) all become the foundations of livelihoods programming.

How can the poor organise themselves? Poverty demands that poor communities enhance their organisational leadership capacity if development efforts are to be sustained and this is more or less the same at macro level as higher institutions devolve programmes of poverty eradication to rural communities. The poor at grassroots level can spearhead development (Fowler 1992:35). In most projects, community organisational leadership has been lacking and this has led to project failure in some cases (Harpers 1994:45-67; Himmestrand & Kinyanjui 1994:99-112; MacRobert 2000:18-33; Swanepoel & De Beer 1998:56-77). Elements of corruption, elitism, opportunism, autocracy and bureaucracy have been blamed for the failure of projects (MacRobert 1990:45). Human social complexities underlie project failure, and local organisational leadership becomes a very critical variable for analysis. This analysis must include power relations, leadership resentment, programming scope, literacy, influence and charismatic leadership (Chambers 1996:67; Quarter 1992:554). In this way democratisation fulfils the cultural and social demands of project planning and integration.

4.3.2 *Poverty in the context of institutional environment*

How should the poor face the institutional environment that at times does not care about them? Developing institutional capacity to integrate the community of the poor is a critical variable in the assumptive model. An institution is as good as the quality of products, goods and services it produces. Hence, with reference to what De Beer brings to the model, institutional capacity to understand its organisational culture and environment, its linkage with the poor, is critical in the debate about grassroots sustainability. The capacity of a local institution to sustain itself depends on the institutional environment of coordination, collaboration and partnerships (De Beer 2001; Swanepoel 2000:45). Again, the behaviour and attitude of the workforce of an institution towards the poor is a critical condition in the context of institutional environment (Drucker 1998:88) and a number of variables such as organisational structures, experience and competence of managers, work creativity and initiative, staff motivation and professionalism (Tretor 1996:45-67) determine poverty reduction efforts. The institutional development environment includes enabling policies, resource capacity endowments, the internal working systems, and environments (Rondinelli 1993:437). Grassroots communities may lack skills, resources and competences because they do not pay enough to attract quality manpower, and because they are geographically ill positioned with the result that many experts are not willing to work in such remote areas. Wunsch (1991:445-456) argues that institutional arrangements that fail to coordinate well contribute largely to project failure at the grassroots level. The weak grassroots institutions may lead to the lack of social power to claim resources that rightfully belong to the poor (Getu 1993:67-99). However, the grassroots institution that has adequate capacity, favourable working systems and environments, sound management and administrative capacities and resources, has chances of survival that are equally high (Wunsch 1991:467). Given equal opportunities or adverse conditions, it is only classic organisations that will outperform others and emerge as winners, hence manpower is a yardstick in classic organisations.

4.3.3 *Poverty in the context of the social economic environment*

A fast growing and expanding economy makes possible the efforts of meeting the consumption demands of a population. In line with what Wilkinson (1992:15-22) contributes to the model, aid gaps, dwindling resources, infrastructure gaps, and flawed policies are some of the major challenges facing grassroots communities. The nature of poverty and the level of growth and performance of the country's economy determines the availability of social services such as health services, communication, markets, road and telecommunications and water and transport services, enabling public and private sector policies and political structures (Brue 2002:445). Growth and performance include economic institutional resources such as banks, lending institutions, companies and industries. The economic environment is measured by inflation, the rate of taxation, exchange rates, jobs and employment, and domestic and foreign investment as macro economic performance indicators (Drucker 1998:99). Market, pricing policies and technology affect local institutions and their sustainability (Ekwechuku 1990:57).

According to Mkandawire (1988:7), markets and pricing policies have the potential to create a well functioning national economy with sound growth and distribution, reducing income poverty and allowing more people to have disposable income and to contribute to poverty-reduction efforts (Brue 2002:567-765). Projects require an enabling economic environment in order to survive and this is what markets and pricing policies will create (Brue 2002:567-769; Van Dooren & Van Diepenbeek 1995:31-32). Such an environment allows for adequate outlets, producer leveraging and low storage and transportation costs (Brue 2002:564-657). Market information and networks and effective market infrastructure with perfect competition are incentives that lead to increased production (Brue 2002:345-456). Market opportunities arise from rural road construction and assist traders and vendors to access production (Drucker 1998:99-312). Again, when road networks are adequate, farmers will be able to transport their produce much more easily to selling points where consumers are ready to buy (Brue 2002:567).

Market potential increases micro business activities within the social-economic environment and determines the level of entrepreneurship in a community as the ability

to initiate macro and micro business to generate income for one's survival. People open up businesses and create adequate disposable income for themselves (Kinyanjui 1994:89). Most farmers' associations must contend with market competition, and their survival is best determined by their market response (MacConnell et al. 2002:768-876). Adequate information systems on marketing must be in existence in order for producers to sell at will. Marketing as a concept includes not only selling points, but also issues of promotion, quality assurance and standardisation, and efficiency and effectiveness (Brue 2002:786-876; MacConnell 2001:765-987). Market democratisation means that the poor have a voice and a niche in the market arena.

4.3.4 *Poverty in the context of institutional aid environment*

Democratisation processes must question aid and its implications. Aid must not support despotism. International aid agencies engage with the state machinery and may not deal directly with the grassroots institutions in terms of their policy inclinations. Both De Beer and Wilkinson make the point that the capacity and ability to support grassroots communities and provide them with access to financial and technical support defines the micro finance support environment (Burkey 1993:45-77). The donor conditions, policies, behaviours, technical skills, competences and technology support constitute the institutional support environment (Quarter 1992:234-345). Funding and technical service provision affects project sustainability. At times, timeframes of funding and project lifecycles are too short for sustainability and as a result projects are left pending (Jere 1999:12; Mussa-Nda 1988:2-24). Grant conditions, aid fund conditions, and bilateral and multilateral relationships all affect the viability of projects as well (Birddles 1982:1234). Finances, technical support and programming policy and leadership support are vital to projects' sustainability (Wilkinson 1992:556). Aid must support a well structured micro financing framework which is supported by legal and regulatory conditions.

The described environment (social-cultural, social-economic, institutional and the support environment) constitutes scanning the boundary in the process of making grassroots

projects sustainable. The model assists in scanning the boundary, offering an opportunity to learn and understand the behaviours and protocols that exist in the community where grassroots sustainability takes place. The attainment of an enabling development environment requires concerted efforts as it enhances sustainability. Hence models create an environment where grassroots empowerment is the core function of institutions of development.

4.4 Livelihood wheel framework processes and key imperatives

4.4.1 Model principle of building on local resources and skills

As a methodological framework, the livelihood wheel uses a number of operating principles. One of these is building on local resources and skills to benefit from values and systems. As outsiders come to assist the inner community, adaptive thinking must begin with the community entry process as this affects whether development interventions will be self-supporting or dependent on external institutions. Communities are not empty vessels waiting to be filled and, according to Van der Waals (2000:23), social capital and community resources are best in defining whether the community has the capacity to stand alone in facing poverty. Mapping out social potential and threats such as solidarity, communalism, influence, elitism and social disintegration which exist in the community helps one to see how best to facilitate development and avoid creating expectations that one cannot fulfil. Due to extreme abuse of the community development concept, there are particular challenges in working with poor communities which are accustomed to expecting that the external world has the answers to their problems (Evaluation Report 2002:6-11). Changing mindsets through building on local resources and skills is a key principle in the success of grassroots development.

4.4.2 Model principle of the changing role of state and non-state actors

As a principle of the livelihood wheel (PAPSIL), the changing role of the state and non-state actors in community development must be supported. According to this adaptive way of thinking, the community entry process calls for withdrawal of the bureaucracy, whether NGO or state. This withdrawal implies a changing role for the state and NGO sector (Swanepoel 1998:22). The role of the state is relegated to regulatory and governance matters. Authors of development shed more light on why the state needs to withdraw. In their documentation, the World Bank calls this strategy 'reducing growth' and it means more orientation towards developing the domestic economy than on making an impression on global economic matters (Shepherd 1998:77). In this case, Shepherd (1998:17) points out that the bureaucracy can retreat from the community in two possible ways, namely, removal of subsidies and cultural transformation. Firstly, the removal of subsidies on goods and services allows the rich to meet the full costs of their consumption. This will reduce their monopoly over resources as they find the removal of subsidisation more painful as it means that they have to bear the full cost of their production and consumption. In the agriculture sector this deters the rich from monopolising resources, including land. Cheap raw materials and easy access to resources means that those better off amass more resources while the majority, the poor, lose their resources. This leads to the problem of resource dispossession, and later to the dis-empowering of communities. The subsidy policies compound resource loss for the poor as such policies concentrate resources and power in the state and capitalists.

While the process of withdrawal is taking place, communities must begin to shoulder greater development responsibility as community development begins only at the stage of withdrawal of technocrats. Problems surfacing as a result of this withdrawal offer an opportunity for the poor to learn and it is this learning process that is paramount. A process of social-cultural transformation must begin with the community entry process. Running parallel to institutional transformation as described above, a cultural transformation must begin to take root so that value systems change. The perpetual problem of the poor is a mindset that undervalues knowledge, skills potential and local products. This creates a scenario in which external influence is highly regarded. For

instance, goods and products made in foreign countries are more highly regarded and more frequently bought than goods that are local. Also highlighted in this dissertation is the situation where local associations find it difficult to penetrate the domestic market as they are unable to compete with foreign goods that flood the market. Accordingly, self-esteem and self-confidence in local initiatives must be inculcated and these must be supported by buying behaviour on the domestic market. Cultural transformation begins with the process of indigenisation of development.

4.5 Some key imperatives in the framework

4.5.1 Development Indigenisation Process

As the model rolls out, the process of indigenisation is vital for it brings value, a sense of pride, confidence and esteem in any approach to the development process. Wilkinson (1992:15-23) found that this process contributed a great deal to the survival of the associations and cooperatives he studied in the Netherlands. What is indigenisation? It is the process of infusing local wisdom, knowledge, skills, values, and perspectives into project ideas. It is a process that forces the outside world to value local capacity and respect the existing culture as these facilitate development processes. In this process, the community is expected to define its own understanding of development. Hence it is no longer the outside world that has solutions to community problems, but through their own proactiveness, the poor define their own destiny. At this stage, the community begins to emerge from the evil of statist passivity and from the dependency syndrome (economism) benevolence mindset, and to feel that it has an obligation to deal with its own situation. These processes are aimed at reclaiming the people's mandate to develop themselves. From a different perspective, this process of valuing internal resources helps to sever aid ties with international aid agencies. Democratisation cannot happen without challenging or breaking economism.

4.5.2 *Local protectionism (Common Property Resources) imperative*

The model helps people to join forces in protecting a resource that benefits them and, according to the findings of Shepherd, solidarity and a sense of ownership is attached to ideas and resources that determine the survival of individuals (Shepherd 1996:56). Jere (1993:7) referred to such resources as livelihoods that play a role in determining social security. Examples of forests in many African countries show how centralised policing is failing to control their destruction while co-management principles in forest management are working alternatives in some areas (Mwale 1994:8-12). The use of village beach fishing settlements in Malawi has contributed positively to sound management of fish resources and village-based beach fishing provides the villagers with greater control over fish resources. The village looks to the beach as an industrial site that drives its economy. The village does everything possible to practise good management to ensure its continued existence. In all the above cases one may find that the issue of the continuity of the existence of a particular resource is supported by the whole community at large.

Community-based organisations need this arrangement to be successful. As institutions, CBOs regulate operations of particular entities and groups of people around a common resource or economic problem. Brett (1996:17) confirms this line of thought when he attributes the foundation of participatory organisations to distortions in the market economy. Any external stimulus, pressure or abnormality, be it social, economic, or physical, forces people to group themselves and their energy to react to it.

The withdrawal of government is an issue that has received mixed reaction, especially when all along government has been the main player in poverty reduction strategies (Cornwell 2000:77). The poor have been made poor not by their own making, but by the economic structures and systems. As illustrated in the literature review, the core and the peripheral phenomenon is a man-made arrangement. The periphery less has power in that they are the producers only, and do not benefit from their production. In the case of fish and forestry illustrated above, the timber finds its way into the markets and the proceeds are monopolised by the central government. When timber is sold, the money goes into central government coffers. The purchase and use of processed timber is way

above the financial means of the villagers. The same applies to the fishing industry, hence economic and development policy has much blame to bear for it does not plough back the money into the community. A means through which rural economies can grow and benefit the poor must be found. Good lessons can be borrowed from the Grameen Concept in Bangladesh where credit groups formed by women have grown into a giant rural bank (Shepherd 1998:19). Bureaucracy of whichever form could be a blessing in disguise as it withdraws. In this framework of thinking, the ultimate aim is to identify industrial areas and help these to grow into rural financial infrastructures. And in agreement with the fears of neo-liberals, participatory organisations face more challenges in competing successfully on the market. Brett (1996:13) says that issues of bounded rationality, costs of coordination and mainstreaming incentives are quite complicated.

4.5.3 *Institutional adaptive approaches imperative*

Unlike synoptic development planning that seems to characterise conventional development, this methodological framework, the model through participation, advocates adaptive approaches. The local people now possess the resources, e.g. land, fishing waters, forests and rivers as physical resources and manpower, and related skills. This creates the recipe for a people-centred development plan. The adaptive approaches work at countering the blueprint (Chambers 2000:64) hence, when planning for self-supporting rural projects, certain precautions must be taken to meet the demands of these approaches. For example, institutions must plan carefully to avoid strange project ideas that seem to threaten culture and traditional institutions. As far as possible, such projects should build on existing traditional institutions and involve people in the project identification processes. In this case, project planning must use a number of participatory development tools such as Learner-Based, Problem Posing, Action-Oriented LEPSA processes, Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation-PHAST approaches, and Situation Analysis, Resourcefulness, Assessment and Action taking-SARAA approaches.

Project identification reinforces community empowerment and in the process outsiders should avoid owning the projects. The three participatory tools also mean that the community does not simply identify problems or issues affecting them, for doing so would be a mistake, but goes further to define courses of action to deal with their problems. In most cases, these solutions are based on the availability of local resources for their use.

Development planning takes into account the issues of time over which plans have been developed and this process need not be rushed. It is not just a question of listing projects that the community needs to undertake and mapping out the availability of resources: during the planning stage, the community must begin to build relationships with outside institutions of development. In the process, the community hones its negotiation skills and capacities and conducts critical stakeholder analysis and institutional studies.

Though the community may have the industrial potential, capital must be transferred into this community so that it can ably convert its physical resources into economic products. Plans must therefore clearly show where the resources are, and where capital and equipment are to come from to start the project. Again, the community will need adequate capacity to negotiate with institutions that are supposed to help the local people with capital. In the same example, plans must show clearly the market potential for the products local institutions wish to produce, both inside and outside the community. Depending on market potential, the community must be able to calculate the volumes needed to satisfy the market. In the same example, plans must show which external forces may enhance or deter the development project. This is what Phillips (2003:7-12) called scanning the boundary, and it helps in that the external environment is brought clearly into perspective as the project plans are developed.

During planning stage, stakeholder analysis works as a tool to define what business is active in the community and by which institution. In any given community, one finds government departments, NGOs and donors involved with development. Wilkinson

classifies these as inside institutions and outside community institutions (Wilkinson 1992:225). Those operating inside the community have a day-to-day interaction with the poor. As most of them are supposedly participatory organisations, they assist in making the community more participative in development projects. They educate the community, bring information into the community, and build its capacity. Some of them, such as credit intermediaries, help the community to find loans or small capital with which to operate their businesses. As far as institutions outside the community, such as donors, government organisations and private institutions such as banks are concerned, what is advocated is that the community create proper linkages with all institutions that matter.

4.5.4 *The threshold limit imperative*

The livelihood wheel model enhances institutional capacity and hence external institutions must observe the threshold limit at planning stage and must assist the community up to a point beyond which their assistance may begin to create a dependency syndrome. Their role should be mainly capacity building, although what constitutes this is not generally agreed upon, but training in the new concepts, new ideas that add value to projects, financial management and reporting are some areas in which capacity can be built. Building the capacity of the community helps them to do for themselves in the future what technocrats are doing for them now. In the case of associations, training in group dynamics, committee procedure, constitution development and financial accounting becomes vital. Experience with NGOs shows that training in modern communication technologies in view of the computer age is critical and such training helps the community to communicate more efficiently with the external world (Wilkinson 1992:227-229).

Once capacity has been built, external institutions must begin to withdraw from the community, giving it space to experiment with its own development process. Local people have the ability to learn and manage their own affairs far better than outsiders (Rondinelli 1993:132-143) and this means that withdrawal is appropriate at some stage.

Once external institutions have withdrawn there is an opportunity for the use of community-based options. In the community mobilisation theory, two ingredients that are determinant of self-reliance in development, including community-based options, mean that community members will have authority and power over their projects and will mobilise local resources, including finances, to manage their own projects. There is pragmatic evidence that when the community begins to make its own money and gain financial power, it will have little to do with external institutions. It will be financially independent. This creates a breaking point in the dependency on external core institutions.

While external institutions are withdrawing, this framework advocates that the community opt for less modernisation. High technology equipment may not fall within the ability of local people to manage. Cases have been mentioned where motorised irrigation engines were abandoned when the Chinese government which was supporting the projects left, and Frisian cows were also difficult to manage and instead the local Zebu were chosen by farmers involved in dairy farming. Such examples show that modernisation may be to blame for project failure as modern equipment also calls for the use of technocrats and hence deepens the dependency syndrome in the process.

Planning should be regarded as part of experimentation in projects that are rural-based and the community should always be seen to be in learning mode. As it learns it uses much of its wisdom and traditional experiential knowledge, allowing the community to experiment with new ideas. In short, the section on project planning looks at the issue of time allocated to the planning phase. Planning orientedness is beneficial to the process of building self-reliance in the communities. Plans involve analysing the external environment, resources mobilisation, capacity building and mechanism of community takeover: the learning process is more important than the deliverables in projects plans (Swanepoel 2004: 4).

4.5.5 *Conflict management imperative*

The livelihood wheel model assists the study of the development environment. Within the social-economic and cultural environment, the community of the poor implementing the planned projects sees conflicts as some variables may enhance and others deter development. At times, implementing projects without the slightest idea of potential conflicts that these very same projects might cause in the community can be deleterious. Wills (2000:22) says that in any given community, opposing forces react against any idea and such forces breed conflicts. What is evident is the emergence of differing opinions as one's gain is another's loss. For example, the private sector was reluctant to invest in rural seed farming because in effect it was shooting itself in the foot as it meant promoting a competitor in the seed market. In this framework, what is central is the avoidance of unmanageable conflicts. Some efficient conflict resolution strategies must be built into the management process of the project to assist in achieving greater community cohesion through sound practices of conflict management.

Popular participation in projects can be achieved through a process of democratisation, which implies that projects infuse democratic principles in their leadership and management. Freedom of association, expression and opinion are vital to the survival of projects during implementation (Wilkinson 1992:228). People participate in projects not only because of physical benefits. There are some abstract reasons that force people of any community to participate. Wilkinson (1992:226) and Brett (1996:19) mention social factors such as relationships and comradeship as reasons enough for participation. As projects are implemented, it must be ensured that a diversity of views is taken into consideration. The local institutions must be run by committees that have taken on board all classes of people belonging to different functions, such as politics, religion, herbalists, villagers, government and civil society. In this case, the different interests in the community (Wilkinson 1998:221) are represented and this results in a greater sense of ownership and belonging among the members of the community.

During implementation, the tasks must as far as possible be the domain of the community members themselves, as the outsiders play the role of evaluating and monitoring. While using the VACA and VAP tools, the evaluation will help the community to plan their development projects better with increasing control of their development processes. This is where the building of self-reliance in the community begins. During the implementation phase, as many partnerships and networks as possible should be created to allow communities to support themselves (Wilkinson in 1992:224).

4.5.6 *Radical Conscientisation imperative*

As stated in the institution's typology, the state, government and donors exist at the core, exerting pressure on the peripheral community. The peripheral community reacts to this pressure. Therefore the methodological framework explains how main themes, namely cultural dynamics and transformation, community empowering processes, and institutional support, should link. The thinking is that the poor must be radically educated first (Lyson et al. 2001:1234). This education is a radical conscientisation process. It is a right-based approach to education, informing people for empowerment. The poor must be released from the bondage of ignorance on issues of policies, donor relations, poverty and development (Lyson et al. 2001:1256). The framework pattern draws its strength from the fact that it builds on transformational development (Myers 1999:89). It recognises that exclusion of the poor from social-economic systems has a direct link to poverty (Kinyanjui et al. 1994:234) while inclusion of the poor in these systems is the way to deal with poverty (Smuts 2001:1243). This inclusion occurs by creating symbiotic and not paternalistic linkages among classes of people (Jere 1999:8) and hence the need to link these resource-poor farmers to support institutions. This linkage means that resource-poor farmers are able to bargain, negotiate and influence support institutions (Quarter 1992:550) and this requires that they go through an empowering process through evolving social power (Myers 1999:87). There is need to examine how the poor evolve social power so that they are ably involved in projects. Hence, the framework spells out how building empowered communities through project ownership and institutional

building can be achieved. The framework discusses how linking communities to support structures should be handled.

4.6 Implementing the emerging development imperatives

4.6.1 Development as a process – the conscientisation and adaptive imperatives

According to the livelihood wheel, development remains a process at all levels, thus at core and peripheral community levels. In the development as a process phase, the model brings the necessary conceptual understanding and change of attitude. It highlights the main issues of concern in the community, and certain processes that must be understood. To begin with, development as a process subscribes to the notion that the poor are in a subordinate position (Chambers 1996:69-123). There are social, cultural and economic factors responsible for this poverty. For the poor to engage in development, they have to change, through a process, their position of subordination to that of influence. Hence the process of participation, empowerment, control and decision-making must start first (Lyson et al. 2001:1234; Power 1997:77-90). The process of acquiring skills, abilities and capacities is an essential preliminary process. This accords with the notion that development is a slow process of change. It calls for a critical understanding of community dynamics and related cultures, values and traditions that must be changed as the community pursues development. This socialisation takes longer to achieve but has long-lasting effects. Development as a process is a self-discovering, learner-based and experiential approach to development. The idea is that it prepares people's mindsets, changing their perspectives, attitudes and patterns of thought. Development as a process takes place again at donor and support institution level. This dimension of development is called transformational development (Myers 1999:56-89). In this process, imperatives are defined thus: indigenisation, local resource protectionism, adaptive approaches, threshold limit, conflict management, creating a solid foundation for community ownership, and involvement and empowerment in the development process.

4.6.2 Development as physical projects – threshold and protectionism of imperatives

The above section described how the process of development phase brings about more ideas waiting to be implemented. At the other extreme of the framework, development is viewed as physical projects. This offers an environment where the empowered community can use the skills, capacities and abilities gained in the preliminary phase of development as a process (Lyson et al. 2001:1245-1267). This includes relief and rehabilitation projects, irrigation projects, housing projects, cooperative projects and other infrastructure-related projects. This normally takes less time to achieve laid down objectives. This dimension is called infrastructure development. The physical projects are a manifestation of community participation, empowerment, knowledge systems, value systems and a building on traditional institutions of the community. Therefore the design of the project takes on a cultural context, using local expertise and experiences. Local people will take pride and ownership in projects that reflect their values.

Below is a cross-sectional and diagrammatical representation of the livelihood wheel framework.

IMPLEMENTATION FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPMENT LIVELIHOOD WHEEL (PAPSIL-MODEL)

Component	Subcomponent	
Social	Community attachments	
Cultural context	Community movement	Development as a process
	Capacities, abilities, resources	
	Skills	
	Transformation and policy reforms	
Grassroots empowerment	Community involvement Strategies	Development as a process
	Community self-reliance strategies	Development as a process
	Community institutional building strategies	Development as a process
	Community institution ownership strategies	Development as a process
Support institutional		
Structure context	Inside community support	Development as projects
	Community development organisations	
	E.g. NGOs, parastatals	
	Community mobilisation organisations	
	Community financial lending organisations	
	Outside community support	
	Government agencies, donors	
Development as projects		

Adopted in 1996 Participatory Resource Book – UNDP

4.7 Defining terms in the framework perspective

4.7.1 Community attachments

As one may observe in the framework, community consciousness is divided into two broad themes: community attachments and community movement. Perhaps in individualistic societies like those in the west, community attachments may not apply. But in humanistic societies like those in Africa, community attachments are social assets (Wilkinson 1992:234).

Wards (2003:12) and Wilkinson (1992:456) both define attachments as the feeling for oneness, the sense of belonging to each other, and a sense of deep love for humanity that exists in the community. This has been termed 'Ubuntu' in the context of African philosophy. This forms a strong source of strength for coordination, collaboration and partnership, as some of the significant issues in the participatory process (Chambers 1996:67-89). This feeling of community attachment emanates from a shared history and community experiences and becomes a force for activism. It legitimises the struggles that the community must contend with against poverty, and emanating from attachments are social values such as love, trust, caring and self-esteem (Van der Waals 2000:56). Van der Waals (2000:22) rightly calls this social capital. The rationale is that community attachments cause projects, and build on them to be sustainable. They will be sustainable because they are rooted in the fabric of culture (Wards 2003:22-24). They will be accepted and accommodated by a particular community. On the other hand, projects that disregard these values destroy the very foundation of sustainability.

4.7.2 Community Movement

The second sub-element to community consciousness is community movement or community solidarity. Ward looks at movement in a community context as a sense of destiny and direction. Indeed, community has a sense of direction, it has aspirations and,

above all, it has its own value systems. Community has a spirit and energy fuelled by certain beliefs and ideologies. Borrowing from Darwin, the evolutionist, the community lives in a balanced ecology and introduced project ideas, new to the community, bring disequilibria, a point that evolutionists have mentioned often in their studies (Treurnicht 2003:78). Because of these disequilibria, some will fear to participate, while others will get involved: it matters therefore how one supports projects in the community. The use of Participatory Research, Participatory Rural Appraisal, Rapid Rural Assessment and Appreciative Inquiry in the framework helps to minimise disequilibria effects. According to Cary (1976:65), development is planned change and while in poor rural communities the objective is to achieve modernity, it matters how this is achieved. Certainly, projects must take into account community value systems, culture and a sense of direction. At this stage, development is still a process as it works on mindsets, attitudes and worldviews.

4.7.3 Community skills, capacities, abilities, resource assessments

The PAPSIL framework cuts through the community and goes deeper to uncover core issues that make up the community livelihoods. Firstly, predominant in the community is the rule of survival of the fittest, or self-regulatory mechanisms that are at play in the natural environment (Swanepoel 2000:67). There is regeneration and self-replenishment of bio cycles in the life span of ecological systems. It is well known that local communities have suffered and survived the worst economic recession and economic hardships. This could be because people have internalised poverty and its effect to a level and extent that it is taken as normal; individuals survive because the community has built a huge capacity for resilience (Ward 2003:23). Even the poorest of the poor are able to survive on the social networks such as family ties, relations, networks as strong livelihoods on which the disadvantaged can survive (Ward 2003:26). Within this informal economy, technical skills such as bricklaying, carpentry, construction, painting, sculpture and small trading exist and millions of people find self-employment from using such skills. Besides technical skills, there are social skills such as conflict management, negotiation, decision-making, public speaking, community organisation and leadership

knowledge that are experiential (Smuts et al. 2001:1237). Besides these, the social ecological system made up of physical and biological factors supports life and this includes natural resources such as water, land, wildlife, air, minerals, houses and roads. The framework supports the fact that appropriate planning processes for development build on livelihoods (Jere 1999:7).

4.7.4 *Community transformation and policy reforms*

Transforming communities so that they change mindsets, attitudes and perspectives is part of a development process that takes place at institutional support framework levels (Hayes 1981:56-78). Development practitioners and donors must turn from their old culture of development. Needed instead are the many forms of transformation such as political, governance, donor policy and culture of development (Birddles 1982:1234). To begin with, when government transforms politically and sees the need to engage with community development, community initiative will be sustainable (Jere 1999:7-9) as this entails channelling adequate resources to rural areas for development: community development structures will have links with responsive and appropriate governance structures for funding (Quarter 1992:234). This partnership linkage will, however, be dependent on the availability of human and financial resources which must include their quality in a timely manner for community support. Regardless of how best a local initiative may be implemented, unless it is in line with a social political ideology it stands little chance of success (Fowler 1992:55-78).

On the other hand, rural development activism must find space in responsive governance structures again. Activism is an advocacy and it should be considered as a noble precondition for justice for resource-poor farmers (Mgawanyemba 2000:9). Activism occurs when community development organisations take up the challenge to help the poor fight poverty and begin to formulate plans to rebuild and support oppressed communities (Drucker 1998:78). Rural activism is based on an organic theory of development which contends that new life can be born out of dilapidated infrastructure

(Herbert 2000:106) and bring life back to poverty-torn communities by allowing them to take over economic activities (Brue 2002:567-675). It is fuelled by a propelling force of individuals who want to see change in the broken rural life. It is these individuals who will draft proposals, engage with donors and conscientise the community about development (Mgawanyemba 2000:9). This does not simply happen as it calls for transformation of mindsets and conceives of a drive to see rural poverty reduced (Myers 1999:97). In this regard, support structures must design and develop adequate private and public sector transformative reforms for project sustainability (Hayes 1981:56).

There have been cases where communities are left alone to struggle with insurmountable problems which could have been handled if they had not been abandoned (Adejunmobi 1990:334). Policy reforms will ensure that grassroots projects are not just abandoned. In this role of policy reforms, community must be taken as a partner and this calls for transformation in the way donors view the function of policy (Adun 2000:45). Accountability for donor funds should be a joint responsibility and, if possible, mandate the beneficiaries to monitor accountability of financial resources (Adun 2000:345). Policy has an empowering effect on the beneficiaries. As beneficiaries keep track of development, as they engage in decision making, and as they benefit from the outputs, they are being empowered. When beneficiaries see that outputs of a grassroots project are positive, they want that service to continue (Burkely 1993:56-77). There is much that needs to transform on the part of a donor community where grants and loans provided by the support structures must be given in the spirit of mutuality and complementarity (Birddles 1982:1256). There have been cases where funds are given without any real need. Partnerships for mutuality must be clearly defined so that all partners are on an equal footing. There are mutual benefits in that the community benefits from services while the donor fulfills its political objectives (Fowler 1991:67). Community needs to be seen as important in this partnering process. Wilkinson (1992:543) mentions bad effects of grants to community development efforts and hence attention must be called to the detrimental effects of external financial support in some cases. If not given in the spirit of mutual benefits, grants have disempowering effects on the beneficiaries (Birddles

1982:1245). In most cases, community needs are modified to align with the requirements of grants. When communities receive grants, they must dance to the tune of the donor (Birddles 1982:1234) and this kills initiative and creativity. There are many bad effects arising from grants such as pre-programming, limited flexibility and predefined objectives that accompany grants and that should be discouraged (Swanepoel et al. 2000:56-67). The effect of all this is that it weakens community participation and ownership of grassroots projects. If not properly managed the donor-recipient relationship will lead to dependency, passivity and limited choices available to the beneficiaries (Swanepoel et al. 2000:87).

As defined in this research, collaboration means establishing a partnership process for mutual benefit of the partners (Selsky 1991:47-49). Local initiatives will need external ideas, skills and resources, while at the same time avoiding dependency (Quarter et al. 1992:554). Collaboration must take the stance of networks for division of labour while avoiding exploitative relationships (Selsky 1991:97). Community agricultural cooperative projects must maximise horizontal collaboration which aims at sharing information, resources and skills. The vertical authoritative relationship must be democratic to allow for the flexibility needed in development management (Lyson et al. 2001:1234-1245). After going through radical changes in mindsets, policies and approaches at both community and donor levels, the resource-poor farmers will be ready to engage in development processes (Wilkinson et al. 1992:223). They have enough social power and social influence to guide a rural development process. However, these resource-poor farmers cannot engage in development that is externally initiated without getting involved. The question is, how do we engage the resource-poor farmers in cooperative projects so that, in the process, they are empowered, own the grassroots projects and continue with the cooperative projects (Quarter et al. 1992:226)? In this framework of project sustainability, empowerment is what encourages the resource-poor farmers to support the institutional framework (Getu 1993:34-55; Power 1997:22-29). Hence, the issue of empowerment is treated separately in the section that follows.

4.8 Key guidelines for implementation of the model

4.8.1 Grassroots empowerment guidelines

Empowerment for project sustainability is a process through which the community is adequately prepared to manage its own affairs and integrate itself in a national development process. This does not just come about, but occurs only through genuine participation by the beneficiaries of a grassroots project (Swanepoel et al. 2000:67). As indicated in the previous section, the second component of the sustainability framework is concerned with empowering the resource poor (Power 1997:66-89). The four sub-components, namely involvement, self-reliance, institutional building and ownership strategies, prepare rural institutions for self-sustenance (Burkey 1993:55). In the first place, it must be noted that transformation development cuts through the framework. This is because we are dealing with a culture of development, which for the past decades has supported dependency (FitzGerald 1990:56). The framework integrates the passive community into the national development process (Adejunmobi 1990:342; Cary 1976:12-22). It also uses strategies to involve the resource-poor farmers in the national development process.

4.8.2 Community involvement strategies

Involvement in this research means sharing benefits from an intervention and Wilkinson and Quarter (1992:234-554) use the involvement concept as a strategy to bring about participation in community development. In fact, involvement is a motivation tool for participation. The strategy views this motivation in three ways. Firstly, people involved in the material benefits of cooperative projects tend to increase their energy of participation (Jere 1999:1-9). This enhances their social relations. Situations where only the elite decide on project benefits while the poorest members are left out should be avoided for that may only weaken solidarity. When benefits reach all concerned, this becomes an incentive for them to participate and hence a source of energy for the resource-poor farmers to continue with an intervention (Wilkinson et al. 1992:445-550).

Secondly, people satisfy their abstract needs as they get involved in projects in that they seek new relations, positions and responsibilities in projects through involvement (Quarter 1992:456). Thirdly, there is altruism in that people get involved so that they can commit themselves to others and the community (Quarter 1992:556). There is a general assumption that social satisfaction is highest where one finds oneself in the position to support others. Additionally, projects address social needs such as jobs for a wider group (Quarter 1992:225-556). This enhances the use of skills, capacities and resources and farmer-owned cooperatives will have value in the eyes of the community when they tap into existing skills in the targetted community (Bothomani 1991:2-23). Including some deliberate efforts to create incentives to involve resource-poor farmers is a key strategy of involvement. Concurring with Wilkinson (1992:227), one may suggest that social gatherings, public meetings, public events, trophies and competitions all bring people together.

There are structural barriers to the involvement of resource-poor farmers and such barriers are at times repressive structures (Wunsch 1991:56-76). They deprive a community of freedom of association and expression, a view shared by some of the critical catalysts of community involvement (Power 1997:99-112). Local people have to enjoy the right to their opinions. This takes place within broad-based planning committees and extensive systems of information sharing. Use of the media, press conferences and public meetings must be viable strategies of information sharing for empowering the community (Scoones 2000:33-67). Community involvement therefore requires cooperative project structures that are neither restrictive nor repressive. Organisation structures where authority and power are centralised are not effective (Wunsch 1991:56-78). Structures that allow greater flexibility, creativity, freedom and recognition of basic rights of human beings should be promoted (Getu 1993:33-39). In essence, the way the cooperative project organisation is structured has implications for the involvement process. Incremental planning has therefore received much scholarly support and much of the criticism has been of a synoptic approach to planning

cooperative projects (Rondinelli 1993:56-77). Participation brings about community support for a cooperative project and as this takes place, cooperative projects receive acceptance and legitimacy and become valued by the community.

4.8.3 *Community self-reliance strategies*

Lyson et al. (2001:1245) argue that as participation culminates in empowerment, communities become self-reliant. However, contrary to common thinking, self-reliance does not mean self-sufficiency and isolationism (Kotze 2000:223). Self-reliance does not mean doing away with external assistance but rather a gradual process of avoiding dependency by fostering both independence and interdependence relations (Wilkinson et al. 1992:345-554). Self-reliance means relying on local abilities, resources and judgement while identifying roles for outsiders. Self-reliance does not simply happen and it demands certain strategies. Firstly, proactivism is one way through which self-reliance develops. When communities are able on their own to mobilise their energies and resources to deal with problems, this leads to self-reliance (Mgawanyemba 2000:9). Hence the need for an ability to identify such local initiatives and support them. Certain cooperative projects have come about through local initiation and direction which centres on self-management in grassroots projects and spontaneous development within development literature (Swanepoel et al. 2000:56-67). The second strategy for building a self-reliant community is the use of local knowledge and skills (Nancy 2001:2-13). Imported technology has at times been a misfit in local communities because capacities to manage it are lacking and local people cannot manage or operate it and there is a tendency to rely on outsiders for help. This results in a dependency syndrome among local people.

The third strategy is mobilisation of local community financial resources (IFAD 1998:55). This supports the fact that a carefully identified project that addresses community needs will win its support. People will be willing to sacrifice their resources for a cause that is beneficial to their existence (Dudley 1993:56). Hence cooperative projects that are donor funded must be backed up by internal financial resource reserves

to run them when external resources or financial support is terminated (IFAD 1998:55). This reserve can be created through turning grant funds into loan facilities in order to revolve money (Adune 2000:242). This should lead to the establishment of local financial farmer-lending institutions which can run and manage donor grants that are integrated in social development planning (Thindwa 2001:9).

The fourth strategy is collaborative external relationships (Selsky 1991:78). Such relationships take on negotiation skills and activism to establish vital relations that will enhance cooperative project sustainability. External relations could be sources of new ideas, skills or financial resources and act as one way of broadening programming by a farmer institution. At times it has been cultural and linguistic attachments that have facilitated the broadening of programming: some well established farm cooperatives can develop relationships with those just starting with the objective of building and imparting skills. Issues of information sharing, communication and availability of skills are hugely critical to cooperative project viability (Quarter 1992:223-554).

4.8.4 *Institutional building strategies*

Institutional building helps to provide the structure that the resource-poor need within which they can articulate ideas, visions, wishes and desires. This provides the poor with social space and a forum to voice their concerns regarding development processes (Myers 1999:99-129). Structures such as women's credit groups, agricultural clubs and project committees can help the poor prove their potential. Hence community development emphasises that the poor must determine their own destiny (Power 1997:77-79). Development sustainability is ensured through forming grassroots organisations (Dudley 1993:55). Grassroots organisations have an indefinite life span and will pass on from one generation to another. Institutions are driven by visions, ideologies and cultures (Kinyanjui 1994:98).

In the development framework, institutional building takes on two forms. Firstly, the term has been confined to actual organisation development and formation process (Bargal 1998:78). It refers to organisation expansion and growth. For instance, with a bottom-up approach, the National Dairy Business cooperative in Malawi has grown out of a grassroots dairy farm to bulking groups spread across the country. The milk bulking groups conglomerated to form regional bodies, then a national body. Such a national body oversees the functions and operations of the milk-bulking groups (Phoya 2000:14). This growth and development through coalition is applied to institutional building. The second dimension of institutional building takes the form of capacity building for skills and technical knowledge (Smuts et al. 2001:1244). In this case, management training, increased programming scope, networking, organisational change and competence are some facets of institutional building.

4.8.5 *Institutional ownership strategies*

Following very closely on institutional building are the institutional ownership strategies (Quarter et al. 1992:223-435). The implementation of ownership strategies will enhance a sense of belonging to projects among the grassroots communities who formulate them (Shepherd 1998:90-123). This must involve and requires constitutional development processes as legal documents, helping founders of the organisation to prevent exploitation (Chirwa 1998:66). Well enshrined in the constitution are authority and exercise of power. The constitution becomes relevant through legislation processes and, when organisations become a law in the country they are strategically repositioned through enactment processes (Kumwenda 1998:23). The grassroots organisations are incorporated in and associate with some existing regulatory bodies (Herbert 2000:123). They benefit from the attention of higher institutions, policy provisions and political commitment. The Malawi Dairy Business Cooperatives mentioned above influence import and export policy on dairy products in Malawi (Phoya 2000:23). The World Bank and IMF have trust and confidence in institutions that have become a law (Herbert 2000:123-234).

4.9 Enabling Environment : External Institutional Support

External support structures form the third element to the framework of community development and include governments, the donor community and private businesses. The community link has a social power base obtained from skills, structures and legal instruments and is able to bargain and negotiate on issues of support and how it should be given to development (Lyson et al. 2001:1234-1256).

4.9.1 Inside community

The model points to the fact that clearly observed in communities are project activities carried out by the community development organisations, such as NGOs, parastatal organisations and private companies that provide services to the community members. Such institutions play different roles in integrating activities (Korten 1987:67-77). Community development organisations, NGOs, parastatal organisations and private companies play roles in community education, promote participation, credit services and extension and a linking of the community with outside external financial resources, and they facilitate the formation of trust funds and local development structures (Derek 1995). Community education is critical, especially where group organisation is envisaged (Wilkinson et al. 1992:223-255). The farmer credit institutions formed right inside the community provide readily available financial resources for the people (Burkey 1993:34-67). Conditions are more conducive for lending among the local people in rural agriculture, as such farmer institutions operate in the same farmers' environment and the community is recharged by the activities of these organisations (Adejumobi 1990:345-567). Furthermore, the community is stimulated and begins to reflect on its poverty and strategises ways of dealing with it.

4.9.2 Outside community

There are government agencies and donors outside the community that work to support local initiatives (*see framework*). Government engages in funding community development organisations and hence enhancing the activities of these as it finances

research and policy reform projects which will eventually support local initiatives. Policy implications and impact on grassroots projects are explained and understood by the community (Rondinelli 1993:98-123). In the support structure framework, community donor-supported projects must be designed in such a way that they remove constraints and barriers to development as communities have the capacity to develop themselves, given the right environment. Support should not go beyond the threshold limit of assistance (Burkey 1993:99-123) in order to avoid creating dependency and mega donor projects must create enabling environments within which communities can operate and be productive (Wilkinson et al. 1992:235-345).

Donors have abandoned many projects even before objectives have been achieved, a sign that projects are implemented because donors say they have money to spend and not necessarily a need to address. Financially driven grassroots projects have no roots for sustainability as project completion is associated with budget depletion and there have been cases where grassroots projects have been planned ad hoc simply because a donor has been identified (Hayes 1981:67-90). Financially driven grassroots projects are blind to internal resource potential and there is much value put on the funds and related conditions and obligations by recipients.

Huge resources are spent on duplicated rural projects: strategic linkages would ensure that institutional synergy is maximised and utilised. This can be done through employing holistic thinking within the support-structure framework to ensure a coherent delivery of services and goods to the community. This calls for coordination and collaboration for effectiveness of programme delivery (Selsky 1991:89-90).

4.10 Conclusion

In democratisation, making community projects self-reliant calls for a revolutionary process that, in most cases, works against the state of benevolence. There are challenges that have to do with a change of mindset, culture and behaviour in the community. According to the livelihood wheel, this means that scanning the boundary becomes imperative in order that such challenges of a social, economic, political and cultural nature can be exposed. In scanning the boundary, a critical examination of the socio-political and cultural institutional environment becomes much of the focus. The chapter then suggests certain steps that are to be followed in the process of revolution that touch on project indigenisation, de-subsidisation and transformation as some of the methods. The chapter looks at development using two frameworks or two processes and shows how the community of the poor should be viewed and how empowerment needs to proceed. The livelihood wheel becomes a methodological process for identifying the challenges, devising solutions, finding alternatives and providing some guidelines to project effectiveness. The next chapter designs a research methodology through which this democratisation process using the PAPSIL framework can be implemented and assessed.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

MOVING TOWARDS GRASSROOTS PARADIGM SHIFT

5.1 Introduction

Global thinking on how to articulate social praxis (*see typology of livelihood framework appendix C*) has been the major focus that has informed the design of this research. The framework displays the core and periphery and locates institutions with varying degrees of influence: global, national and community. This chapter aims to show how the livelihood wheel model, rolled out and used for assessment, influenced the sustainability efficacy of participatory organisations in the study area. This is against the debates that have contended that participation and democratic development structures or institutions are more successful in achieving grassroots project sustainability. Adaptive and incremental planning processes in the inner community result in adequate social empowerment, allowing the poor to self-manage a development process and achieve project success. The results of this research will lead to a justification for adopting the incremental planning process, taking into account the impact on programmes. In this research, the above paraphrased statement – incremental planning process – is the hypothesis that is tested. Hence, field research undertakes testing the three sub-research hypotheses through addressing the four research objectives. The research identifies two social blocks placed in the community as part of its design: a control block and an experimental social block. The blocks (communities) represent two competing scenarios, thus at one extreme the project follows an adaptive approach, an incremental planning process under the management of the solidaristic organisation, and at the other extreme, the projects implemented by the government, a hierarchical organisation (Brett 1996:12). In both scenarios, the research centres on irrigation projects adopting smallholder agricultural collectivisation. The cooperatives, schemes and settlement previously discussed in chapter 2 increasingly mirror agricultural collectivisation. This chapter also aims to show how the variables emerged from the specific research questions posed in

chapter one. In addition, these variables are similar to the variables that Joaquin used in his PhD study on *Development Sustainability through Community Participation* (1998). The study has grouped the variables into project characteristic variables that include: community ownership, community control over resources, institutional capacity, project planning, cultures, traditions and practices, cultural conflicts, and capacity building. Again adopting fundamentals from the Joaquin study, this research has grouped other variables into contextual variables including national policy, aid and financial gaps, infrastructure gaps, politics of leadership, social classes, flow of development resources, and cultural limitation. The research used a project performance index and project structural organisation index, arguing that project success or effectiveness is a function of management structure, adaptive, democratic and participatory processes and other non-participatory fundamentals. The project performance index (*refer appendix D*) is a rated checklist that measures how projects measured on stated goals, objectives and outcomes. The logical frameworks developed in both cases helped evaluation and analysis to identify projects that were considered successful and those that were considered to have failed. In addition, the performance index looked at issues of efficient use of resources, timeframe of project completion, improvement in the living conditions of the beneficiaries, ability of the project beneficiaries to undertake complex programming issues in the project and human-centred approaches in management of the projects. The checklist considered issues of governance in project organisation, prudent use of financial resources, and the ability to forecast and manage eventualities.

The project organisational structure index looked increasingly at issues of flexibility, adaptive thinking towards projects, incremental planning processes, motivation, coordination, capacity building, training, participation and ideal ideal-seeking behaviours. The index encouraged a more understanding attitude towards project failure, participatory monitoring systems, and the voice of the poor in the planning and programming processes. Along the same lines, the checklist also noted forms of repression, oppression and undemocratic attitudes in leadership styles. Additionally, the assessment matrix

instrumented the elements of social networking, building relationships, partnerships and a sense of communalism in society as results of the projects.

This chapter intends to show how the design mirrors the dichotomisation of development by choosing to work with radicals and bureaucrats supported by the community. This brings one to a dichotomised perspective to development processes where radicals follow grassroots approaches while at the other extreme the neo-liberals continue to have faith in the market or liberalisation. Somewhere on the continuum are found the bureaucrats who have more faith in a controlled and rationalised development process. In other words, the development administrators believe in controlled and top-down planning approaches to development, supported by the belief that projects are technically sophisticated and hence require professionals to handle them. Additionally, the research addressed questions three and four through a survey that assessed opinions, attitudes and perceptions in both the control and experimental social blocks.

5.2 Field research methods

The livelihood framework or model is aimed at influencing specific variables in a project or programme of agricultural collectivism. As the model concerns itself with methods in the outer layer, as well as enabling factors and institutional capacities in both the outer and the inner layer, a largely qualitative research study was undertaken. This identified challenges and solutions, defined alternatives and developed guidelines for sustainability over a three-year period in two social blocks or catchment areas, Upper Hills Development Associations (hierarchical/control Block 1) and the Witimba Agro-ecological Zone Community Based Organisations (solidaristic /experimental social Block 2). Qualitative research was regarded as more appropriate as it engaged the poor, analysed the situation in which they exist, and gathered their perspectives on project effectiveness or failure. The qualitative method used popular knowledge that is increasingly found more useful in solving practical problems. It should also be mentioned that the factors that cause sustainability occur at two levels, namely the macro level and

the micro level in the external environments. In the same vein, project successes or challenges are caused at macro as well as micro level by a myriad of factors. In this research, livelihoods (natural resources, physical resources), as defined in Chapter 1, were at risk and needed protection and sustenance in the context of common property arrangements. In other words, the problems that threatened people's livelihoods became a focal point of the study. Community-based organisations as intentional communities (refer to definition) interact with different social communities. For instance, the community of donors or the community of service providers, thus public institutions, the business community (commercial), the civil rights community that work and interact with the community-based organisations interact with the grassroots. This interaction occurs at macro as well as micro level. Because of the different strata at which the interactions occur, a proper framework of study was required to capture the issues and their interaction in a causal-effect analysis. As goods and services delivery structures, the CBOs (solidaristic organisations) would have to face the competitive advantages of privatisation (neo-liberal) that challenged their operation performance and survival (Brett 1996:13-18).

5.3 Research design/strategy

Through the support of World Vision, the design of the research included a three-year training and capacity-building process using the imperatives and principles of the framework (*refer to appendix C*), and methods in the community livelihoods model for enhancing competitiveness in solidaristic organisations. Later, after the livelihood wheel model had been rolled out, the evaluative research design pursued each objective separately with defined methods of collecting and analysing data in the context of that objective. This allowed more time for focussing on the objective and studying how it was testing the hypothesis in the research. All the objectives were studied in the social blocks, for example the hierarchical/control block and the solidaristic/experimental block. The assumption made was that better performance observed in either of the projects had some relevant explanation in the typology of institutions framework reviewed and the rolled

out model. Successes in top-down projects or in bottom-up projects all found explanation in the course of the study. Data collected on each objective used an approach of analysis depending on the nature of the data collected. This led to a complex situation where pluralism in the use of methods required some more analytical thinking and approaches. However, a general framework of field research in terms of protocol, research operationalisation, designing data-collection instruments, sampling and data editing and cleaning were observed through either triangulation or field pre-testing of instruments, and by employing the use of multiple methods on the same objective.

According to the arguments of Selener (1998:67-88), theoretically, the process of research, especially participatory research, follows principles such as problem solving centredness or global explanations of the causes of situations. Maximum use of folk knowledge and delving into the dormant knowledge of the poor was part and parcel of the designs themselves. Various participatory learning methods have been documented that provide principles and explain how one may conduct research. Two methods of design thus occur, a radical method that looks at solving the problems faced by the poor without external analysis, and a radical method that touches on wider, global causes and explanations. In this qualitative research study, the latter design was to examine grassroots project successes or difficulties and to provide a global explanation in addition to the local one. In other words, a macro-micro analysis of the problems or challenges was conducted.

The research undertook a simulation of a First World-Third World analysis of poverty challenges in order that the results would benefit from the theoretical explanations of the causes of poverty. This was based on the assumption that solidaristic organisations suffer fewer external pressures and influences as they are autonomous and enjoy power equity and balanced influences among their members. The hierarchical organisation, on the other hand, suffers top down pressures, less freedom, repression and oppression. The research was designed to collect data at three levels: national, community and household. The national level data was used to explain the macro causes of the problems of

grassroots sustainability, while the community level data was used to explain the micro-level causes of grassroots sustainability.

The research argues that at macro level, the proponents of sustainability have a duty to ensure that they design their programme management in such a way that they empower the poor. At macro level, certain policies, legal instruments and governance issues are to blame for causing the poor to develop a dependency on public institutions for goods and services delivery. Much of the blame for this can be placed at the door of export-oriented policies in agriculture that reinforce capitalism (refer to definition in appendix B). Neo-liberals argue that it becomes a challenge for the grassroots poor to survive in a free market economy as the forces of competition are beyond their popular knowledge.

It is important to mention in the methodology that, in a capitalist economy, the poor are exploited in terms of their labour and their psychology. The poor provide labour to produce the raw materials that are siphoned off at lower prices and this is the source of community, social and economic evils. The process of extensive agricultural production takes not only labour and energy, but is also exploitative and damaging to the natural resource base. Huge mines and estate farms have used the poor's labour and energy, with little return on labour investment, and have caused resource exploitation and environmental degradation as well as some diseconomies of scale. In a capitalist economy, the economic legal market framework favours the core over the periphery. Global markets have better prices and terms of trade than the periphery. This First-Third World global analysis is equally true at micro level. Within the region, wherever this research has been undertaken, the urban exploit the rural areas. This urban-rural dichotomy causes poverty that has at times been taken for granted. The landlords, rich business tycoons in the urban centres, represent the global exploitative forces and cause much poverty among the rural poor. The reason is that those who sweat continue to suffer and those who do not continue to enjoy the ensuing wealth. There is thus even more reason for allowing the poor to develop themselves through adaptive approaches that result in empowerment.

In social research, the use of multiple methods of research, multiple tools of data collection, and multiple concepts to construct meaning from the results, is best handled through a livelihood programming approach. In the section below, a brief explanation of the Livelihood Security Framework is provided in the context of the nature of organisations.

5.4 Household Livelihood Security Framework (HLSF) tool

A livelihood assessment tool called the Household Livelihood Security Framework, used intensively in qualitative research, has the potential to demonstrate power dynamism in organisations. The tool uses a basket of participatory methods that includes observation or visual tools, dialogue tools, household surveys, scoring matrix, historical time lines, institutional analysis and documentary reviews to unearth the project success cause-effect situation that affects the grassroots. The basic assumptions of the tool are that participation, though important, does not provide all the solutions to problems that the poor face, hence the imperative to blend popular and scientific knowledge in order to adequately deal with the prevailing problems that affect the poor. In short, the tool uses applied research techniques to handle the social problems faced by the poor.

The household and its related characteristics become a point of departure in dealing with the issues of grassroots organisation. This tool also works on the assumption that the causes of project failure occur at macro level. In the diagrammatical representation of the framework, the macro-micro causes of failure are referred to as pressures. Hence, causes of grassroots failure are forces that are squeezing the poor, causing discomfort. It is also important to realise that what could be termed as better alternatives of dealing with failure at macro level could be causes of discomfort at micro level. In identifying the causes of grassroots failure in this research, these pressures became variables of interest. The pressures stem from policy orientation, market structures, legal frames, culture and traditions of donors, aid and financial capacity.

According to participatory research, the poor react to these pressures in various ways. They react through survival means, or they may take radical actions to deal with the pressures. These responses are defined either as adaptive or coping strategies (refer to appendix B for definition of adaptive/coping strategies). The responses that the poor make to pressures from above could be counter-productive to the development process. For instance, as mentioned in chapter 3, deforestation is a response to high costs of farm inputs instituted by the global or macro forces.

In the livelihood framework, global explanations of agricultural failure are linked to reactions to causes of failure at grassroots level. In other words, in the framework international communities (the donor community, First-World community, or the developed community and under-developed communities) are put into perspective in as far as they affect performance in the process of managing failure of agricultural production. In terms of causes of project success, this research has attempted an internal analysis of each community in terms of values, culture and perspectives. In the same regard, one may link this with modernisation theorists and dependency theorists who have blamed development challenges on internal and external forces respectively. This is what the livelihood framework tries to do. How the poor respond to pressures and how they manage their projects, or how they fail to respond, leading to project failure, constitutes the performance dimension of projects. The HLSF uses the imperatives of both these mainstream theories of development.

5.4.1 Developing a project performance index

The researcher ran a series of rural agricultural development projects that were qualified as successful once they had gone through participatory evaluations. A long list of characteristics of such communal agricultural projects was drawn up. The list of characteristics of success was taken into the community for triangulation. A final checklist was prepared on which grassroots' opinions regarding their affirmation of the

list were coded. This process of validation of the checklist was critical in order to reflect the practicality and soundness of this research as it applied to grassroots realities. This initially rapid assessment of the validity of the characteristics of success became a focal point in which popular knowledge was blended with scientific knowledge. Six fundamental points of project success were identified. These six points include institutional capacity, long term planning, conflict management, adaptive approaches, technology and research, culture and traditions, and policy. The process of developing the performance index borrowed much from the Lot Quality Analysis Survey (LQAS survey) downloaded from the internet. The LQAS survey uses agreed responses called '*correct responses*' and measures coverage of the practice. This has been used very explicitly in the sections forming part of this chapter.

5.4.2 *Organisational structure Index*

The researcher made a selection of rural development projects' organisational structures that qualified as successful in terms of the structure. A long list of characteristics of such projects was drawn up. The long list of characteristics of success was taken into the community for triangulation. A final checklist was prepared on which grassroots' opinions regarding their affirmation of this checklist of results of the structure were coded. This validation process of the checklist was critical in reflecting the practicality and soundness of this research for grassroots' realities. This initially rapid assessment of the validity of the characteristics of success became a focal point in which popular knowledge was blended with scientific knowledge.

5.5 Assessing projects' social, political, economic and institutional challenges.

Objective 1: Identifying and analysing the critical social, political, economic and institutional challenges to project success

5.5.1 *Situation analysis of the study population in non-model and model catchments*

A study that aimed specifically at addressing objective one of this research was undertaken in nine projects in Upper Hills Development Association as a control group (hierarchical), and nine projects in Witimba community (solidaristic) as an experimental group. Upper Hills was used as the control group because the model for community sustainability had not been rolled out in this catchment. The livelihood wheel model was implemented in the Witimba Zone. A deeply benevolent society, heavily bureaucratic in its approach to development, Upper Hills presents such scenarios more in its non-pilot projects. Located in Rumphi district in the northern region, the Upper Hills Development Association has social and economic characteristics of a top-down culture and heavily synoptic planning processes or culture. In such a community, there is a passive attitude towards development, more of a culture of benevolence, little grassroots capacity building, little understanding of development plans and how government operates, a high level of project failure, little local knowledge of democratisation, little local planning and little research or technology capacity. The situation represents the bureaucracy. The decentralised government offices have little capacity to meet recurrent costs and most functions are defunct.

The stated objective corresponds with the research hypothesis when the conditions constructed in the hypothesis are found to prevail in the study area. For instance, the hypothesis states that project success or effectiveness is determined by a culture of democracy, bottom-up planning processes and adaptive approaches to development. In the second-level hypothesis it is stated that project success is negatively affected by bureaucratic and non-democratic cultures, and hence misallocation of resources. In the third-level hypothesis, it is stated that project design effects determine project success. Upper Hills Development represents such an environment.

A study that aimed specifically at addressing objective one of this research was undertaken in Witimba Community Based Organisation. With nine projects, Witimba Community Based Organisation was used as the experimental group in this study. It was

an experimental group because the livelihood wheel model was rolled out in this group in a pilot study area. A deeply participative society in its approach to development, Witimba presents such scenarios more in its pilot model areas. Located in Chitipa district in the northern region, the Witimba Community Based Organisation has social and economic characteristics of a bottom-up culture and heavily adaptive planning processes or culture.

The stated objective can only correspond with the research hypothesis when the conditions constructed in the hypothesis are found to prevail in the study area. For instance, the hypothesis states that project success or effectiveness is determined by the cultures of democracy, bottom-up planning processes and adaptive approaches to development. In the second-level hypothesis, it is stated that project success is negatively affected by bureaucratic and non-democratic cultures, and resulting misallocation of resources. In the third-level hypothesis, it is stated that project design effects determine project success. This sort of environment characterises the Witimba Community Based Organisations. In addition, the Witimba zone falls within government decentralisation programmes piloted under the UNDP decentralisation support programmes. The choice of Witimba benefits from such efforts and should provide some of the expected results of decentralisation. The prevailing environment enhanced the model, which aimed at creating more competitive abilities in solidaristic organisations.

5.5.2 *Objective rationale and how it relates to research hypothesis*

Identifying and analysing the critical challenges hinges on the perception that if a project fails in a community, restraining forces must exist (*refer appendix D*). A critical understanding of these constraints would place development practitioners and the community concerned in a favourable position to manipulate certain variables in the community or project design to address these forces. Through the process of addressing such constraints then, directly or indirectly, one would be contributing to efforts of achieving project sustainability, an issue that is currently taxing many development efforts. In any environment, issues of land availability, land quality, pests and diseases,

topography, and social amenities may form part of the physical challenges facing the community in agricultural collectivisation. Hence ecological diversity would help explain diseconomies of scale and the poverty landscape observed in various communal communities. Projects designed to capitalise on the diversity of the ecology will stand a better chance of survival. Two contrasting communities may not possess the same ecological potential. The Upper Hills are a hilly and undulating landscape suitable for plantation agriculture. The Witimba catchment features flat rolling landscape, with much of the land virgin. Currently, owing to decentralisation, the community faces the challenge of taking up issues of development on its own as the government has taken a 'hands off' stand in some of its functions.

5.5.3 Methodology for Objective one

A plethora of methods of addressing objective one were deployed in the Upper Hills Development Association as well as Witimba zone. The methods included community mapping, transect walks, observation, documentary reviews and key informant interviews. These methods were packaged in a household livelihood framework as an assessment tool. The community was split into nine supervision areas for each of the contrasting communities. The LQAS survey measured the coverage of correct indicators in each of the communities. For example, pest and disease prevalence was assessed for the 18 supervision areas (SA) and frequencies shown. Water shortage as a physical challenge was assessed for all 18 SA across both communities. The same was done for all the other variables in the social culture, economic and institutional dimensions of sustainability. For example, economic challenges were divided into three clustered variables: income poverty, high cost of production and links with economic institutions. Under each clustered variable, the variables the survey measured were listed. Income poverty listed the following variables: purchasing power, employment, disposable income, savings and investment. High cost of production listed the following variables: storage costs, transport costs, high input costs, interest rates, input scarcity and

commodity pricing. Variables under finance institutions links included credit institutions, markets, banks, industries and companies. The institutional challenges were divided into three clustered variables: institutional support to grassroots, institutional domineering policies and conditions, and development approaches. Institutional support included variables such as technology support, extension, technical skills, financial support, programming support, leadership support, abandonment and weak institutional policies. Institutional domineering listed variable such as project imposition, project abandonment, timeframe of completion, top-down planning, expenditure control and evaluation and audit. Institutional policies included the following variables: flexibility, liberal market, costing/pricing, policy framework and financing conditions. Institutional development approaches listed variables such as welfarism, synoptic, adaptive and rationalisation. The social challenges were clustered into four categories: social motivation, ideal-seeking behaviours, goal-seeking behaviours, and dependency culture. Social motivation included variables such as participation, cooperation, trust, commitment, solidarity and democratic culture. Ideal-seeking behaviour listed variables such as social relations, comradeship, social gathering, reciprocity, accountability, altruism and communal life. Goal-seeking behaviour included variables such as self-aggrandisement, social conflicts, power demands, repressiveness, low self-esteem, and dictatorial tendencies. And finally, dependency culture included variables such as handouts, social resignation, non-innovativeness, non-creativity, and liking for external goods and services. The design featured two treatments, treatment one (T1 for model tested sites) and treatment zero (T0) for non-model tested sites.

5.5.3.1 Data-gathering procedures: a synopsis of the Household Livelihood Security Framework

The Household Livelihood Security (HLS) framework has strengths in that it uses a combination of PRA tools and in the process ensures data credibility. The combination of tools that was used in this study included resource/physical maps, transect walks, seasonal calendars, participant observations, matrix ranking and scoring, social

differentiations, venns and semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher conducted a three-day training session in data collection and the use of these tools. In order to maximize the depth of the research, the first physical map was used as a point of departure and point of reference and all the other tools were used in combination in the same mapped-out community. A questionnaire was designed and discussed to check its relevance, especially how it fitted in with the conditions of the community under study.

The LQAS survey was run parallel to the household livelihood security framework in order to capture coverage on each correct indicator. For example, in a community with high goal-seeking behaviour one would expect more social conflict than in a community with ideal-seeking behaviour. A six-week PRA exercise was conducted in Upper Hills Development, involving 171 households, 19 HHS samples and covering nine supervision areas (SA). The same sampling in Witimba picked a total of 171 HHS covering nine SA, with a sample of 19 HHS in each SA. During or immediately after field visit daily analyses, the household questionnaire analysis was manually implemented. The research study used SPSS to calculate frequencies of correct responses on the questionnaires.

5.6 Definition of key concepts and variables in the study

The researcher quite understands that research of this nature does require that concepts be given contextual definitions. In this study, concepts such as livelihoods, reciprocity, rational choices, optimal ignorance, sustainability, social capital, coping and adaptive strategies, coordination and resilience needed contextual definitions. Such concepts are defined (refer to introduction chapter for detailed definitions) in this research. The community members assessed themselves on their basic understanding of all these concepts and provided evidence of some practice or knowledge (praxis) of the said defined concepts.

5.6.1 Physical sustainability challenges

Features of the physical environment such as natural disasters, land degradation, topography and natural endowments, provide the potential for social and economic development. Depending on the project design, these factors may affect the performance of a project. Social amenities such as road networks, water supplies, health facilities and markets form part of the physical environment. In terms of natural disasters, floods, drought, landslides and outbreaks of pests are some of the shocks affecting agrarian communities.

5.6.2 Economic sustainability challenges

The economic environment determines the survival of grassroots projects. This environment is characterised by income poverty, income distribution, income growth, viability of economic institutions, currency flow and value, cost of living, costs of production, import and export environment and economic growth. Income poverty affects the availability of disposable income, purchasing power, commodity demand and market potential. Costs of production may affect supply on the market, services and goods pricing, consumption and other economic behaviours. Therefore a project needs to be economically viable if it is to sustain itself in the economic demand sense.

5.6.3 Institutional sustainability challenges

The institutional environment, consisting of management imperatives, operation and administration of projects, policies and legal instruments, technical skills, technical knowledge, and planning and budgeting skills affects sustainability of grassroots projects. The institutional environment has to do with social behaviours such as ideal-seeking and goal-seeking behaviours. It has to do with culture, social motivation, governance, development thinking and development politics. In such an environment, institutions may facilitate success or failure of grassroots projects depending on their approach.

5.6.4 Social cultural sustainability challenges

Communities exist in a balanced ecology in terms of their cultural traditions and practices. Stemming from their culture, they construct knowledge, myths, beliefs and practices that in a way determine how they respond to development issues. A community has its own socialisation process that is responsible for passing on knowledge and experiences from one person to another in the area. Communities specialise in trade, production, processing and farming, depending on their social setting. Any project ideals that counter the expectations of the community have neither legitimacy nor acceptance.

5.7 Issues of measurements

Various instruments were used in the collection of data from the identified sources. These included committee members of various project committees and households affected by the activities of the community-based organisations. Each of the instruments used is briefly discussed below. However, these tools were grouped into four categories, namely visual tools (which included maps, calendars and venn diagrams), observation tools (transect walks and observation), matrix tools (which included matrixes, ranking, scoring and social differentiation) and dialogue tools (which included interviewing, focus groups and household surveys). These are discussed below.

5.7.1 Visual Tools

5.7.1.2 Resource and Physical Maps

As a source of data, resource maps depicting a social economic situation provided impetus to community discussions and image creation. Community members indicated challenges, threats, and opportunities with respect to sustainability of projects, basing this on the assets and resources of their rural economic activities that they had indicated on the map.

5.7.1.3 Transect Walk and Focus Group Discussion

After having drawn the resource maps together with the community, the researcher defined a cross-section walk through the community. Through this walk, the researcher was able to verify the features drawn on the map. Mapping opportunities, in terms of natural resources such as land, vegetation, indicators of economic activities such as mobile markets, small trade, types of produce sold and vehicular means of transport observed during the transect walk became central in community dialogue. At the end of the walk, the researcher conducted a focus group discussion (FGD) to determine the perceptions of the people. This discussion focused on the eight main issues of the research, which are critical challenges to project sustainability. The FGD, as a measuring instrument, unearthed variables such as project support, policy support, financial mobilisation, organisational structures, technology, research, capacity building, planning, culture and traditions. Evidence of programming and policy support was based on networking and external support. The community was able to link certain government programmes and policy with their initiative. The transect walk brought to light variables such as income poverty, traditional knowledge and social systems. Cutting across the community, the observed types of houses and village settlements revealed a certain level of poverty, and this was strengthened during household interviews. Noting settlements and pinpointing on the maps households where community leadership resided, revealed community organisation.

5.7.1.4 Venn Diagrams/Institutional Analysis

Grassroots integration in national planning was evident and the researcher was keen to explore how grassroots supported national programmes of development. Besides checking on coordination, the research went deep into issues of institutional effectiveness and efficiency. Critical variables such as technical and financial support were examined using this tool of measurement. It was important to determine how communities value institutions and projects implemented in the community. In short, venn diagrams were used to gain a general picture of how local people viewed the role of various institutions. Venns also illustrated the role and perceived benefits the community derived from each institution that supported their development efforts.

5.8 Matrix tools

Social differentiation was one of the tools or instruments used in the Upper Hills and Witimba study. The aim was to define inter- and intra-household social economic well being disparities. Relative vulnerability was assessed using common participatory tools: the social mapping, differentiation and well being ranking are referred to as Visual Indicators of Poverty (VIP) and Participatory Wealth Ranking (PWR) tools. Participatory research uses the same tools to show household possessions. A social map, unlike a resource map, is drawn to show demographic and settlement patterns of households within a selected area. Each household shown on the map displays demographic data and social economic well being. Using the social map, the researcher was also able to gain some quantitative data on some households' characteristics. Assessing vulnerability and inequalities gave a proxy indication of the level of income poverty. Participatory Wealth Ranking was used to help communities to understand that, naturally, not all households are the same. Within the same community, some are poor while others are better off. Of particular interest here was to show how people viewed issues of poverty and the strategies adopted do deal with poverty. People in deep poverty use adaptive and coping strategies to manage. It was important to understand the strategies adopted in their community and to determine their household resilience.

5.9 Dialogue tools

5.9.1 Household interviews

Following the social mapping and wealth ranking, households from each catchment of study were randomly selected for interviewing. The research team demarcated supervision areas on the social map and, using a randomisation table, assigned a number to each household. The team developed a questionnaire using a sample LQAS survey downloaded from the web, and instrumented the variables of the sustainability indicators. Alongside the household survey, the research had to look for evidence of some of the

expected practices adopted in the community. The research examined the variables, the concepts of sustainability, as the interviewing was in process. Also examined were the trends and the relationships of the variables to the unit of analysis, 'communal development project sustainability'.

5.10 Sample design and sampling methods

An Area Development Programme (ADP) called Namatubi, situated in Chitipa district in the northern region of Malawi, was sampled as an experimental study area. In this study area, the livelihood wheel model was rolled out. This is simply a capacity-building model for enhancing community self-reliance. A training manual on community self-reliance was used to train communities in the study area. In Namatubi ADP several projects which aim at enhancing economic productivity, including irrigation, soil and water conservation, forestry management and dairy farming, have been implemented. Income enhancing projects that include credit, IGAs, savings, micro lending and micro enterprise, that are aimed at improving household income, have also been implemented. There are also projects on nutrition, orphan care, child education, sanitation, water supply and HIV/Aids management to improve the social well being of the community. Hence the nine supervision areas in Namatubi provided a representative sample that captured enough data on community sustainability outcomes. The nine micro catchments in this research were classified as nine supervision areas of the study. Each supervision area contained 19 households selected for the study. In this regard, 171 households were interviewed in the experimental group.

Similar projects have been implemented by the government in Upper Hills in the Rumphi district. Rumphi district, situated in the southern part of Chitipa, was chosen purposefully to provide a control group for this study. As already mentioned, Rumphi district did not have the model tested in it and hence provides the right reference for comparison of data sets. In a similar manner, Upper Hills were demarcated into nine supervision areas (SA) that tested the same variables of study. The control used 171 households as well as

targeting similar projects. In this study, Upper Hills represents the hierarchy-run project scenario, contrasting it to the participatory-run project scenario of the experimental group.

5.10.1 Sampling techniques

Probability random sampling, cluster sampling and purposive sampling were the three techniques used in this study (Oppenheim 1992:78-112). A selection of the three was done to ensure representation and validity of the research findings. Each of the sampling techniques is explained in detail below.

5.10.1.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a procedure in which the researcher subjectively chooses the sub-unit of sources of data. This could be driven by specific variables of interest, resource constraints or availability of data sources (Oppenheim 1992:17). There are nine supervision areas in the Witimba Community Based Organisations where World Vision implements its projects. It was important to widen the spectrum of data sources in order to accommodate the demands of validity, usefulness and credibility of data. Purposive sampling puts the research into perspective and allows the researcher to plan his work cost effectively (Oppenheim 1992:99-144).

5.10.1.2 Cluster sampling

This is a sampling procedure which uses both purposive and random sampling. In this technique, the study impact area is divided either into squares or rectangles of different sizes which represent villages. These boxes are called supervision areas or clusters (Adidad 2007:12-18). The study area map or community map is divided into villages that constitute the community. A number is assigned to each cluster on the map, which could be a social or a resource map. Throwing pebbles onto the map can determine selection of the clusters for study. A cluster on which a pebble falls is picked as a source of data for

the study (Adidad 2007:2-13). Each cluster could represent households, natural features or characteristics which could provide data. In this study, however, cluster sampling was done purposively. Nine supervision areas were identified in World Vision's impact area and nine in Upper Hills where the government is implementing similar projects.

5.10.1.3 Probability Randomised Sampling

In this procedure sources of data are objectively identified (Oppenheim 1992:89-114). In this case, the sources of data have equal chances of being picked. Random sampling is done to minimise subjectivity and bias regarding the sources of data. It is a technique critical to ensuring that research has adequate representation by the target population of the study. In this study, the households in the clusters were randomly selected. The sampling was confined to a research-defined context (Adidad 2007:4-16). This context was the household that was a beneficiary of the programme initiatives, or part of the project's management committee, or found within the supervision area.

5.10.1.4 Sample size criteria

The problems being investigated in this research affect many stakeholders including donors, communities and implementing agencies. It was imperative that certain data sources were selected as it might have been difficult to get information from all stakeholders (Oppenheim 1992:25). The choice of nine supervision areas and 171 beneficiary households was made according to the criterion that it would be cost effective to plan and conduct research in these areas with these populations. In addition, the nine projects areas provide a representative population and the diversity to provide the kind of data to unearth the variables of interest in this study.

5.11 Data collection methods and fieldwork

5.11.1 Data collection process

Field data collection began by identifying and training World Vision staff in the procedures for data collection in this study. The livelihood security framework HLS and the LQAS survey were new concepts. Terms and variables used in LQAS, such as supervision area, decision point, coverage, saturation point, threshold limit, correct responses, random table and household, needed to be defined and understood in the context of this research. In the context of HLS, terms such as the livelihood wheel, international pressures, community reactions, thinking globally and acting locally also required definition and common understanding. For this reason, a week of training was organised for the data collectors and 18 members of the staff of World Vision attended this training.

The data collection process at field level began with a field test in which the instruments were tested for their soundness and practicality. After this pre-test, which incorporated some of the new insights and meanings of the research terms, the instruments were modified. A total of six managers who had undergone LHS training helped with supervision as the enumerators collected data. Different measuring instruments were designed for each of the strata, that is, district level, community level and household level.

5.11.2 Gaining access to the subjects

As a way of gaining access to the subjects, the community was alerted about the study. People were convinced of the value and usefulness of such a study. The village leaders offered their support after they had been alerted to the whole exercise. This was done because of issues of community protocol and ethics (Oppenheim 1992:177-199). The researcher had had previous experience working with government institutions, and procedures and protocols of research were thus easy to follow. After some interviews at district level, heads of government and institutions offered their opinions on the survey. In addition, a centrally managed district data management system was accessed to identify trends. The process of research involved collecting specific documents from institutions and conducting a thorough study of these to form an impression of the

variables of interest. All this was possible because the process observed the ethics required in research (Oppenheim 1992:89-99)

5.11.3 Data collection techniques and procedures

The researcher designed a household questionnaire by modifying one obtained from the web, and also two focus group semi-structured questionnaires as data tools. In addition to this, the team used workshop handouts on the HLS framework as tools to guide the process and to create a micro-macro picture of poverty.

5.11.4 Date and settings of data gathering

The research used a tentative timeframe for field research to guide the data collection process and field assessments. This covered the six months from April to September 2004. During this time more PRA-oriented activities such as transect walks, community dialogue, institutional studies, documentary reviews, and designing of instruments occupied the researcher. The initial arrangement, which was later to change, was that field research could be done concurrently with theoretical research. Pressure of work and time constraints meant that this plan had to change. Allocating specific time to a PRA exercise meant that quality time and concentration was accorded the process. Data at district level was collected according to the time available, while data on communities and households was specified in the PRA exercise. The development of the performance matrix involved quality time spent with subject matter specialists who understood log-frames and their analysis. This took some time as the validity of the research would be based on the quality of the indicators. The research divided the study group population into a total of 18 supervision areas, nine for the control group and nine for the experimental group. After training sessions, the enumerators collected data through a number of PRA tools that included a household questionnaire. The Lot Quality Analysis Survey conducted alongside the performance matrix focus group discussions led to the quantification of indicators.

5.11.5 *Procedures in data capturing and editing*

Once data had been collected through the survey, the questionnaires were checked manually to make sure that all the questions had been properly answered and coded. Then variables and the necessary labels under each question were created and data capturing began. The variables and the labels were entered on an SPSS worksheet. Each questionnaire was entered in terms of responses coded alphabetically. Data entry clerks captured a total of 342 household questionnaires. The variables and labels in the questionnaire mirror some of the issues such as community voices, social power, economic power and village populations, captured during PRA and Institutional Analysis procedures because the HLS framework builds on and draws its strength from the principles of PRA. It is important to mention that the triangulation provided through the use of multiple tools became an editing process in itself.

5.12 Data analysis

The researcher used several methods of data analysis that fall within the categories of qualitative and quantitative methods (Oppenheim 1992:77-89). The procedure followed in qualitative analysis was conceptualisation and de-conceptualisation of data to create themes and meanings (Mouton 1999:33-77). As part of qualitative analysis, perceptions, observations, opinions and feelings were combined and in the process some impression of project failure or success was created. Community dialogue was thus critical as a source of data and information. The need to probe and increase the depth of the study, to get to core issues surrounding project sustainability, became the main impetus for choosing qualitative analysis methods. On-the-spot analysis, as data was manually inputted in the answer sheet/record matrix, became easy to do. Some trends, coverage and frequencies on indicator coverage emerged from the manual work. The analysis identified two categories of data sets: correct responses and incorrect responses on the LQAS data sheet. There were treatment one (T1) results and Treatment zero (T0) results to reflect the

experimental and control group (Oppenheim 1992:102). The survey part of the research analysed data through running the SPSS worksheet. From the SPSS worksheet and programme performance matrix a number of cross tabulations and frequencies emerged. The frequencies on indicators were then extracted and imported into an Excel worksheet in order to conduct graph analysis (see chapter six).

5.13 Assessing solutions to social, political, economic and institutional challenges .

Objective 2 Identifying and analysing solutions to social, political, economic and institutional challenges to sustainability

5.13.1 Solutions analysis

The livelihood wheel model contains methods or solutions and alternatives. Identifying solutions, methods and alternatives to the problems of sustainability outlined under objective two was crucial in the process of addressing the second objective of this research. The research process did not simply arrive at solutions, but also tapped into and displayed a certain kind of experience and knowledge that a community possesses. Most of the projects in the Witimba community were assumed to be successful and this was attributed to the democratic model process the community had implemented, through which they came to understand the concepts of grassroots democratisation and empowerment. In addressing the same objective, the hierarchical structures of Upper Hills represent government efforts at ensuring sustainability of donor-funded projects. This allowed for an examination of the paternalistic relations between grassroots communities and higher government agencies. In analysing solutions, two perspectives emerged in the course of this research: non-participatory solutions (contextual variables) and participatory solutions (project characteristics) as presented in the Joaquin study. For example, road networks have similar effects in the two communities in terms of enhancing economic activities. More road networks would hence translate into more efficient business and economic activities. This may have nothing to do with participation but may have much to do with the level of social economic development in

the community achieved by the government and donor community. On the other hand, adaptive management has to do with project organisation and is hence a project characteristic.

5.13.2 Rationale for objective two and how it relates to the research hypothesis

The livelihood wheel model offers several methods, solutions and alternatives to dealing with the perceived challenges. Identifying and analysing the solutions hinges on the perception that, for a project to be successful in the community there must be more power-sharing modes as enabling factors. A critical understanding of these solutions would put development practitioners and concerned community members in the right position to handle such enhancing factors, or to manipulate certain variables in the community or project designs to address solutions. Through the process of addressing such constraints, directly or indirectly, one would be contributing to efforts in achieving project sustainability, an issue that is currently taxing many development efforts.

5.13.3 Methodology on objective two of the research: Community dialogue and interface

The research developed a checklist of the challenges identified under objective one and took the same to a meeting of stakeholders for further analysis and understanding. The community interface meetings, conducted to reflect on the challenges, provided an opportunity for stakeholders to begin to map out methods, solutions and alternatives to address them. This process followed the same framework as the HLS and used a plethora of methods. This stage of research, however, targeted only those projects that were considered successful in the control and experimental groups. A solution tree analysis was finally adopted for each of the challenges under objective one and the community members not only converted the challenges to solutions but also used their own experience of dealing with the problems of project designs and structures. The research team clustered the solutions, methods and alternatives into variables. As far as the

physical challenges were concerned, the solutions, which aimed at improving productivity, were grouped into low cost farming technologies, land use planning and management and infrastructure development. Under low cost farming the following were variables: agro-forestry, intercropping, traditional crops, manure use, land conservation, and wood-saving technologies. The design assessed these practices in both the state run (hierarchical) programmes and the solidaristic community projects. The same thinking applied to the economic, social and institutional solutions, methods, and alternatives aimed at addressing the challenges in objective one. In chapter six a detailed analysis of solutions, methods and alternatives is provided. In brief, the economic solutions include food, localised and community-based security systems, micro lending, enterprise development and infrastructure development. The institutional solutions include governance, community empowerment, partnerships and donor cooperation transformation.

Objective 2

5.13.3.1 Data-collection methods and fieldwork

The methods, solutions and alternatives identified to address challenges in objective one, collected in a matrix, found their use in objective two. In a survey, the team translated these solutions, methods and alternatives into a questionnaire aimed at capturing various opinions and attitudes in the study groups. After administering the survey, the questionnaires were collected for analysis. Data collection methods included tools such as maps, community dialogue, observations, key informant interviews and focus groups. During the same meetings, participants took part in brainstorming sessions through the solution tree analysis. In addition, the research used audit and evaluation reports to tease out issues that made the projects successful.

5.13.3.2 Data editing and capturing

Following a similar procedure, after data collection, variables and labels were created in the SPSS worksheet and all the questionnaires were captured in terms of data entry. The use of multiple methods such as focus groups, observations, opinion surveys and documentary reviews acted as an editing mechanism for the collected data.

5.13.3.4 Data analysis

After collecting enough qualitative data on solutions, the long list of solutions was subjected to project characteristic analysis. The research used a reduction method to construct meaning from the long list of solutions. This reduction helped to arrive at a short and precise perspective of the data. General themes from these reduction processes later became part of the clustered solutions checklist. After data analysis, the solutions crystallised into capacity building, social empowerment, appropriate technology, partnerships and micro lending, which had all led to project success in the experimental social block as well as in the control group. The analysis was conducted in such a way that two distinct groups of communities appeared, those which applied the solutions to a measurable degree and those that did not. The application of solutions linked up with whether the organisation involved was participatory or bureaucratic. This kind of analysis helped later to link issues to the research hypothesis. For quantitative analysis, the survey was subjected to SPSS analysis as explained in objective one.

5.14 Defining possible alternatives: a conceptual perspective

Objective 3: Identifying possible alternatives for achieving project sustainability

The research took all contextual variables as alternatives as they did not fall within the concept of participation or solidaristic organisations. Issues that had to do with infrastructure, national policy, aid gaps, reducing resources, dwindling resources and leadership support were contextual in nature. This means that the nature of problems facing grassroots communities cannot all be solved through participation. Certain

problems require external intervention and involvement. Again, the conditions under which projects are implemented are fluid in nature, and as such, one may not prescribe solutions. In that regard, alternatives are other avenues, apart from those achieved using the prescribed participatory solutions, through which the same results are arrived at (Joaquin 1998:38-49). Hence this research investigates the alternatives in both the control and the experimental groups.

5.14.1 Methodology in Objective 3

Literature reviews and documentation

In defining possible alternatives, the thinking was that the prescribed solutions might fail to address the stated challenges of sustainability in the context of a development environment. Flexibility in the design and planning processes means that better solutions would result from a greater understanding of the programming environment. The research therefore studied more contextual solutions through documentary reviews of case study projects elsewhere that had faced similar challenges.

It became clear that success in any project relies on issues of national policy, availability of development resources and support for projects from other bodies. Therefore programming design as a reflection of the aspirations of the people involved in a given project must aim at linking projects with external resources and skills, or should rely on mutual cooperation with internal resources and skills outside the community. For example, a highly technical project will rely more on external resources and skills than a project requiring low skills, and a project that addresses economic production will depend more on external sources of inputs and production factors than a project that looks at social empowerment, for instance. Hence factors such as policy, professional bodies, partnerships, business models, social capital and subsidisation affect project success.

5.14.1.1 Data collection methods and fieldwork

In order to collect data on alternatives, social maps showing the level of infrastructure such as markets, roads and communication systems in the study areas and venn diagrams indicating the level of partnerships coordination in terms of how institutions supported the programmes, became part of the main data collection methods. A review of the books and cash flows of the two agricultural projects provided an opportunity to assess the assistance the programmes were receiving from the support bodies and related accountability. By means of transect walks, the researcher observed physical infrastructure challenges that reflected investment scenarios in the community. The evaluation reports provided ample data on market behaviours and some challenges which included de-subsidisation and practice of business models in operation. As a response to a liberal market, micro lending, micro enterprises and interventionist approaches by the state became some of the feasible alternatives to agricultural collectivisation projects.

5.14.1.2 Data editing and capturing

The research used a checklist that captured the extent to which particular alternatives had been adopted in the programmes. In capturing the alternatives, the research centred on either enhanced status of adoption or limited status of adoption. The two categories offered an impression and provided a construction which was used to describe the two communities in terms of their performance. The findings were ranked according to preferences in terms of designs and structures, leadership, resource mobilisation, partnerships, business models, other support bodies and state policy, reducing growth, livelihood approaches and financial systems.

5.14.1.3 Data analysis

The multiple listing of alternatives was analysed and finally grouped according to whether they promoted social empowerment, participation in the market, or enhanced the distribution of goods and services. The analysis was done according to the two groups, experimental and control, so that the extent to which alternatives were emphasised became an issue of interest. Project design hypotheses correlated with the concept of alternatives. For example, the projects that were economic in nature were encouraged to take on the business model so that there would be some margins with which to manage their activities. Projects that were protecting natural resources which formed part of the communities' livelihoods were encouraged to fight industrialisation which would lead to resource dispossession among poor rural communities. Projects designed with high technology were encouraged to look for appropriate technology so that even when the donors withdrew, the indigenous people could continue the development.

5.15 Developing guidelines for community projects

Objective 4 Developing and analysing guidelines for project sustainability

According to the livelihood model and owing to the fluidity and uncertainties surrounding rural development and environments, it was thought that it would be too mechanistic to develop specifications or blueprints on how high institutions could help to achieve community-based project success. Project performance or the level to which the stated goals are achieved is dependent on a number of factors, some of them not within the control of the management of support institutions or the community-based organisation itself. The factors of success in community-based projects hinge on technical skills, availability of financial resources and the market environment influenced and controlled by other institutions of development. The development outcomes of community projects are achieved by the efforts of those institutions that bring programmes of development to the community. The outcomes are a function of many factors including management, accountability, availability of resources and policies in a wider context. The guidelines help these external institutions to achieve outcomes

without which there can be no sustainability. What we sustain if there are no outcomes becomes a critical question.

5.15.1 Methodology on Objective 4

Households survey, documentary reviews, community interface meetings and institutional studies

The process of developing guidelines for community projects began by visiting various institutions that were using community-based organisations to implement their development programmes. This included institutions such as agriculture, health and community services, lending institutions, civic education and public affairs committees and the NGO community. These are donors and initiators of many programmes in the area. The district investment plan information system keeps a database of these development support institutions. This information system monitors levels of funding, the nature of projects and their implementation. The database records donors such as UNDP, CIDA, Unicef, UNCDF, WFP, EU and ADB which have a funding portfolio within the District Investment Framework. This framework provides data for analysis as these institutions affect the performance and sustainability of grassroots agricultural cooperatives (people's organisations), which receive financial and technical support from these development organisations. Again, the process of developing guidelines involved a thorough understanding of democratic behaviour and power sharing by communities in which the projects were operating. This understanding was based on the local capacity, abilities, resources and skills that existed in the community. The process included understanding social networks and survival mechanisms in the community. The process of developing guidelines involved the use of information collected through a PRA methodology using tools such as transect walks, resource mapping and venn diagrams as appropriate. Through these means, the research addressed questions such as impact and significance of the CBO, operational challenges facing the CBO, among others. According to Chambers a community has the ability to provide data about its situation (1983:55). In most cases, it knows its circumstances best. Participatory rural appraisal provides an environment in which the poor are able to show the 'educated' that they

know best about their own situation through local skills and knowledge (Chambers 1983: 24-26). The process of developing guidelines involved undertaking a community dialogue process through an interface meeting. The livelihood security framework goes beyond a simple PRA into core issues of the community. The problems of lack of performance by CBOs are caused by factors deep within the community spectrum and at this level, the research examined vulnerability levels. Swanepoel alludes to the fact that a community is not homogeneous (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 19-20): there is local diversity in terms of skills, knowledge and capabilities that determine strength or vulnerability. At household level, issues of generational differences, gender analysis, power structures and village politics were evident. This deeper sociological understanding contributed to the arguments that guidelines were better off looking at the fluidity of rural development than issues of gender imbalance or misunderstandings between disadvantaged women in land allocations for irrigation, for example.

5.15.2 *Objective rationale and how it relates to hypothesis of research*

Brett (1996:9-12) argues that most decisions in participatory organisations are taken behind the scenes. This implies that going by the ideals of participatory organisations remains largely a challenge despite the rhetoric involved. Circumstances dictate the nature of organisations, and this also depends on the nature of goods and services. Project success can be achieved through adopting some guidelines that help to shape the way the project management structures are designed. For instance, guidelines that help to make the structure more adaptive than synoptic consider issues of oppression, repression and extraction as elements that should be avoided. Instead, the structure should adopt elements such as flexibility, motivation, inclusivity, adaptiveness and a learning culture. The structure can be assessed on how it builds relations, agreements, cohesions and associations. Guidelines that are focussed on such elements address the imperatives of testing the hypothesis. As mentioned earlier, issues of organisational structure as well as other contextual factors in the context of rural development were examined in developing the guidelines.

5.15.3 *Objective 4 Data collection methods and fieldwork*

The research developed guidelines through a process of community interface workshops with several relevant institutions. The researcher and the enumerators recorded the functions that communities were expecting to be performed by such institutions to help these projects succeed. Hence, guidelines were developed with reference to the nature of institutions of development and their roles in development. The process involved grouping institutions and then finally defining the environments in which they operated and the roles they were performing. The typology of institutions, core or peripheral in nature, reflects that the stronger institutions determine the success of outcomes in the programmes they support. Support institutions of solidaristic organisations required some guidelines to help them adopt a shared power concept.

5.15.4 *Data editing and capturing*

During community interface, the focus groups wrote down a list of expectations in terms of institutional roles. These roles later developed into guidelines and were edited in line with society's expectations of the institutions involved. There were guidelines for public, private and charity sector institutions. These guidelines reflected the various roles of development that such institutions were to play in assisting the poor through community-based organisations (refer to chapter 7 for details).

5.15.5 *Data analysis*

The research analysed the guidelines and finally grouped them according to whether they promoted social empowerment or participation in the market, and whether they enhanced the distribution of goods and services (refer to chapter 7 for details).

5.15.6 *Data interpretation*

Research that uses a pluralism of methods as explained under the HLS framework increasingly interprets data through frequencies on specified performance indicators. The HLS is also built on a combination of analysis procedures that dwell greatly on global analysis. In this regard, local issues are viewed and interpreted within a global context. This is where issues of policy and development theories are easily integrated with the local realities. The rationale for opting for global analysis and contextual correlation analysis is to find a way for attributing the observations to the influence of livelihood and democratisation model implemented in the social blocks testing the three hypothesis. In all the sites, the research observed parameters of social power and stability, long-term institutional planning, grassroots development, conflict management, geographical concentration, geology, technology, research, social investments, linkage with decentralisation, design effects, social empowerment, goal seeking, ideal-seeking behaviours, externalities, uncertainties and community-based options. The challenges, solutions, alternatives and guidelines of sustainability were observed in the context of the defined model concepts. For instance, high literacy levels could also mean that the community possessed human capital as a form of empowerment. The number of people in a household would be an indicator of the social network as a coping mechanism for household members, besides indicating strong relationships and a family network in the community.

An increased level of conflict management and negotiation skills in the community is an indicator of an empowered community. This can also be linked to development policies such as decentralisation and liberalisation at national level that provide an environment for the community to seek its own survival strategies in the free market economy. The frequency of the pull factors/constraints also has a global as well as a contextual explanation. For example, a lack of extension and training in modern farming could be a global problem as well as a local issue. The government policy on extension has had an impact on the availability of service at local level. In the event of extension services

being privatised, if local farmers do not have adequate income to pay for such services they cannot access these services. In short, the HLS uses a systems concept as a procedure for analysing the conditions.

The LQAS survey on performance indicators for project success uses contextual analysis. In this regard, mono variables in the two treatment areas find their own analysis, as do multiple variables in the same treatment area. In the case of performance, the research conducts a comparative analysis showing the effects of the model on the manipulated democratisation variables. For the greater part of the challenges and solutions, analysis has taken a comparative contextual analysis. The global analysis takes into account the belief that development must take a holistic stance, with an emphasis on localism.

5.15.7 Research report writing

The research proposal formed the basis for this research work. In the initial stages, developing a clear argument in the research was difficult, but the proposal guided the documentation process. Research report writing as a process followed drafts submitted to the supervisor on a chapter-by-chapter basis, and the issues under investigation became clearer with the comments from the academic supervisor. Themes and chapters changed slightly in the process of focussing on the objectives of the study. It was only after the fieldwork results had been analysed that a clear direction was found. The original thought that grassroots communities could be made viable institutions through which rural development would flourish became even more challenging as analysis of global development giantism and the nature of the context proceeded. A preliminary ethnographic discussion in chapter 2 on rural poverty in Malawi provided practical evidence of some concepts of grassroots sustainability under study. Themes and patterns that have further developed the literature review chapter have been documented and these lend a broader perspective to the challenges of achieving sustainability in the context of development dichotomisation and giantism. The methodological and conceptual chapter that focussed on the challenges of dealing with poverty has been developed based on the

literature reviewed. The theoretical chapter documents the methodology for achieving grassroots sustainability, arguing for community-based rights and powers.

5.15.8 *Research shortcomings and errors*

Studying globalism development trends, the challenges of bureaucracies and support of the grassroots is controversial, especially where grassroots communities have been submerged. Firstly, the research based its assessment on performance indicators of success on participatory values that have not been institutionalised and standardised. In the livelihood wheel model, assessing the physical environment in terms of the challenge of land degradation, the research did not use results of deforestation or erosion but relied on how the community perceived the problem of degradation. This has made the results rather more subjective. While struggling with issues of subjectivity, separating solidaristic organisations and hierarchical organisations in terms of management became difficult as similar elements appeared in both cases. The NGO community, theoretically more solidaristic, appeared in some instances to be more bureaucratic. As the model blends research thoughts of authors of development, the values for each factor depend on how the performance matrix is interpreted by the researcher. The matrix depends on undertaking a probing and questioning environment and coming to a consensus on the indicators. Perceptions and feelings prevail at a particular time over certain indicators that determine decisions. This means that many errors crept into this research. Nevertheless, some useful issues based on localism theory make the results applicable.

Secondly, in terms of literature access within the community, personal communications were used widely in certain cases. Data collected in this manner is very subjective and not very stable. Building inferences on such data is questionable (Oppenheim 1998:96). In addition, the institutional studies were to some extent hampered as the period of research coincided with Malawi's presidential and parliamentary elections in 1994. During this time, studying the failures of the bureaucracy was rather a risky business. There was high level of data compartmentalisation as officials became suspicious of

research work of this nature (Mac Robert et al. 1996:90-123) which they regarded as undermining the central government. This problem confirms the fact that data is highly archived and in most cases access is affected by red tape. This culture has been rampant in many institutions in Malawi (Jere 1999:34).

Thirdly, much of the primary data in institutions was not accurate. This finding corroborates Adun (2002:4), who found that many NGO and donors conduct their own surveys and research to get around this problem of unreliability of data.

Lastly, as a longitudinal study that attempted to build on previous studies on project performance, it became practically very difficult to follow on previous samples and households in order to depict the changes on the variables of interest. This was due to emigration and immigration, as some people enter the community for settlement while others move out to other districts.

5.16 Conclusion

The methodological approach to investigating grassroots sustainability remains complex as it uses non-standard, non-institutionalised indicators. These indicators are location specific and depend on a socialisation process. The efforts in grassroots development made through donor support favour this model as an alternative to giantism. This research therefore evaluates the impact of a programming approach through examining the adaptive hypothesis. Whereas there has been much rhetoric, without much evidence, about the efficiency of solidaristic organisations in the post-oil crisis and global economic recession in spheres of development, this research aims to fill that knowledge gap and support such views. The methodology used to assess and review such local organisations and their efficacy in achieving grassroots sustainability is presented in this chapter. The HLS is a comprehensive tool that uses a combination of conventional and PRA tools of research. It provides a global as well as a contextual analysis of issues of poverty and development. While supporting variants of modernisation, as well as dependency

theories, HLS is not seen as a complete departure from such and hence supports the alternative theories of development as well. The design of this research is such that challenges at grassroots level are linked to global giantism development trends and challenges. This is where the HLS finds its strength. The HLS digs deeper into local community social economic life, and interfaces with the traditional cultural establishment of households. It is a probing tool, a point that makes it even more relevant. The project performance matrix assesses variables that either enhance or militate against efforts in achieving sustainability. Institutional capacity building helps to deal with most of these militating factors and facilitates the achievement of project outcomes. In this regard, two scenarios exist: institutional strength in terms of local expertise, skills, policies and technology, and government functions that take over development projects that were donor funded. In long-term projects, project planning must take on a long-term dimension as such projects are associated with complexities, eventualities and some uncertainties. Projects that take on long-term planning face minimal chances of failure because of the amount of critical analysis they benefit from. In cases where grassroots communities take over a project, development must lead to sustaining the outcomes. Developing the grassroots entails democratisation, infrastructure growth, community-based micro economic growth and distribution, and capacity enhancement. The grassroots need new research information and new skills to handle the technologies so that they can sustain the outcomes of the projects.

Traditions and cultures of some communities may clash with the outcomes of some donor-funded projects, calling for considerable integration of culture into concepts that govern the projects. There is therefore a need for careful consideration of practices and traditions in the knowledge systems that govern a project. In addition, if donor-funded projects are to continue, the institutions that take them over will need adequate financial resources to meet the recurrent operational costs. Hence a culture of handouts and silver platter development must cease and concepts of community self reliance must be mainstreamed in development programming.

According to the livelihood model, the right policies work to support the outcomes of a project. Right policies in sectors such as finance, trade, industry, foreign relations and peace and security have profound effects on project success. Therefore sustainability requires a thorough understanding of the challenges, solutions and alternatives surrounding issues of policy, institutional capacity, grassroots, cultures and traditions which affect the projects. The next chapter assesses the success, in terms of sustainability, of community projects supported by solidaristic as well as by hierarchical organisations.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH RESULTS

MEASURING THE DEGREE OF SEVERITY OF CHALLENGES IN MODEL AND NON-MODEL SITES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and findings on the first two objectives of the evaluative research study that sought to identify the existing challenges to grassroots development sustainability and the extent to which solutions to these had been found. Using the project performance/success matrix on the sampled projects in 18 SAs under NGO, community/solidaristic and government organisation/hierarchical power arrangements, the results show the severity and intensity of the challenges, and the rate of adoption of certain social behaviours and possible solutions to counteract these challenges to sustainability. The chapter reflects the trends in constraints on local development in an era here more development is being directed at community organisations, away from government, and strives to show the magnitude of the inheritance that is attributed to the involvement of the NGO sector (participatory organisations). The current data is compared to the benchmark data (baseline data on state involvement in projects three years ago). The model piloting programme that has been used for the study is in its final year of evaluation, having gone through a seed phase, implementation phase and final phase of local development interventions. The matrix is a participatory tool that works on both primary data and secondary data. It involves recording the perceptions of the beneficiaries of the programme in terms of the behaviour of some social, economic, physical and institutional variables that determine project success. The matrix comprises clustered variables as well as single variables that test programme beneficiaries' opinions. To some degree, the economic and institutional challenges have remained severe over the past three years of the programme's existence. This shows that participation through the NGO sector may not influence many such variables in a centrist state to any degree. Such an undesirable situation regarding variables may persist for a long time and may even be

considered constant. As for the physical and social challenges, there have been more changes in terms of severity. There are now more social facilities such as clinics, schools, telecommunications, markets and roads in the programme area than before under the community service approach of the government. There has been a reduction in pests and diseases, flood damage, forest degradation and soil erosion as per the matrix results. This shows that the potential and productivity of the natural resource base has been better conserved in a solidaristic organisational frame, using small units of land. This becomes an environmental dimension of sustainability. In terms of health facilities, schools, markets and road facilities that have continued to exist, their survival is attributed to a high degree of community ownership in addition to the nature of the design and infrastructure sustainability. The workmanship and quality of input in these structures has been to the required standards and they have thus stood the test of time. These findings on infrastructure are the same in both the control and the experimental social blocks.

According to the model, grassroots sustainability after donor support is determined by the methods applied, including local institutional capacity, long-term planning, empowerment of grassroots communities, technology, policy, and community-based financing of recurrent costs. The results in this chapter reveal that there was capacity in the community, especially among those trained in the concept of community self-reliance as detailed in the manual for implementing the model for project sustainability. Identifying and analysing challenges and solutions in study catchments with the model and those without reveals remarkable differences on some variables measured in the two study groups. In the analysis below, T1 represents results on variables for catchments where the model was rolled out while T0 represents a control group where the model was not rolled out. The three hypotheses touching on local participation, democratic organisational structures and project designs as influences on project sustainability have been represented in the control and experimental groups. The results come from a total of 18 study areas called supervision areas (SA) where nine project areas were sampled for in each group (control and experimental). The challenges have been grouped into physical, social and cultural, economic and institutional categories. Variables exist within each

category, which the model tried to influence through training and capacity building. Hence a mono variable analysis was done to depict some trends in the behaviour of the variable which could be attributed to the implemented model.

6.2 Physical challenges to grassroots sustainability

Table 6.2..1 *Impact of the livelihood model on degraded soils, topography and market infrastructure challenges.*

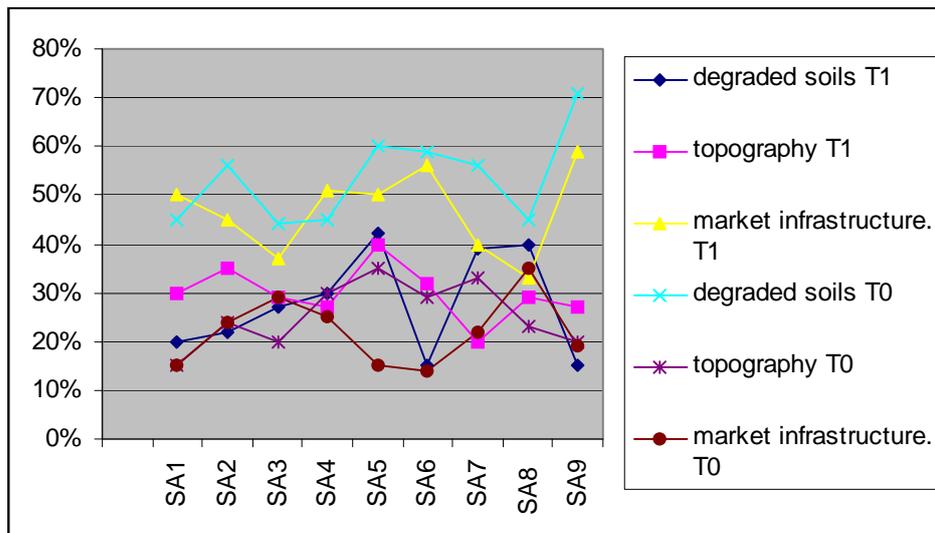


Table 6.2.1 above shows that conservation efforts were greater in the NGO run projects which implemented the model, with a resultant 40% degradation opinion coverage, as opposed to the state run projects that did not roll out the model, which had opinion of 70% coverage of soil degradation. Topography as a challenge was greater in the NGO run project areas at 40% while in state run projects it was 38%. This suggests that grassroots projects that are community managed may be situated in the remotest parts of community that government usually finds difficult to access.

Table 6.2..2 Impact of the model on landlessness, pests and diseases as physical challenges to grassroots sustainability

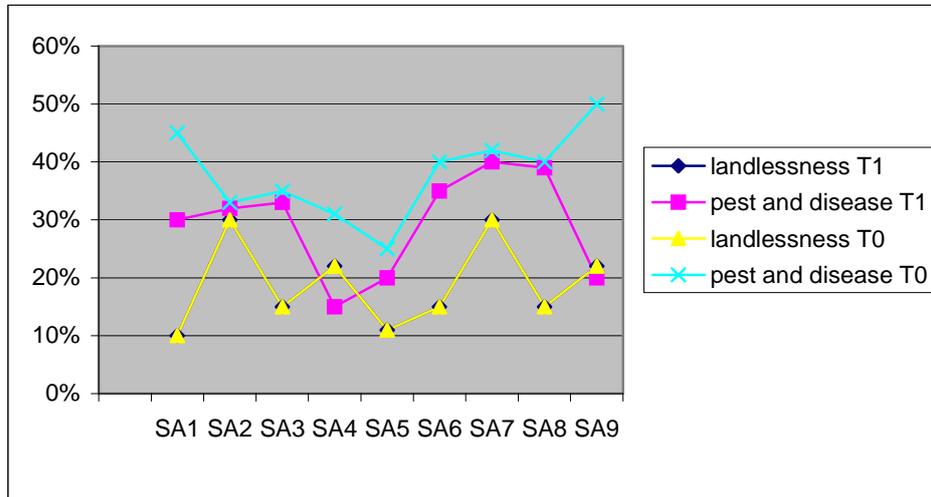


Table 6.2.2 above reflects that the problem of landlessness was not critical in the NGO-run project group, occurring at less than 10%, while in the state-run group it occurred at 30%. Again, pests and diseases occurred at 50% in the state-run group and 40% in the NGO-run project group.

6.3 Economic challenges to grassroots sustainability

Table 6.3.1 Impact of the model on purchasing power, income and employment as economic challenges to grassroots sustainability

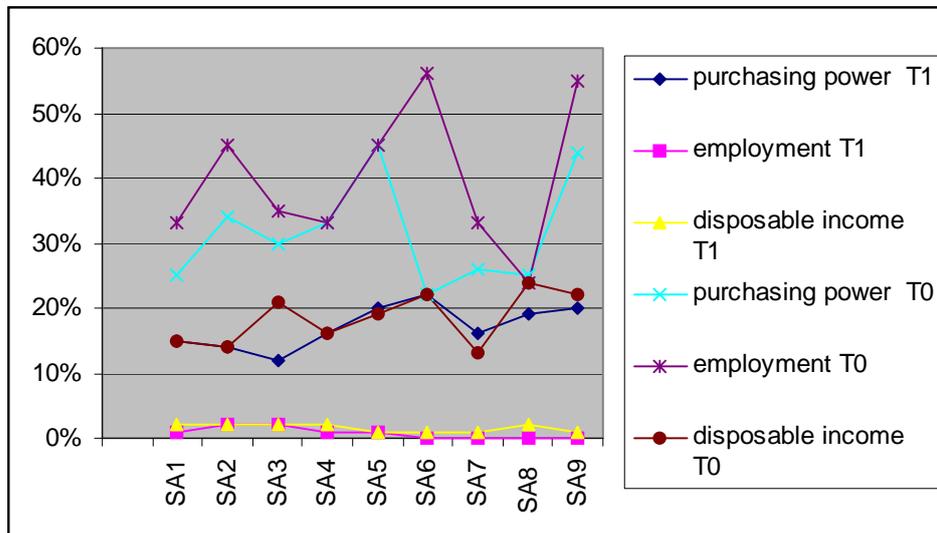
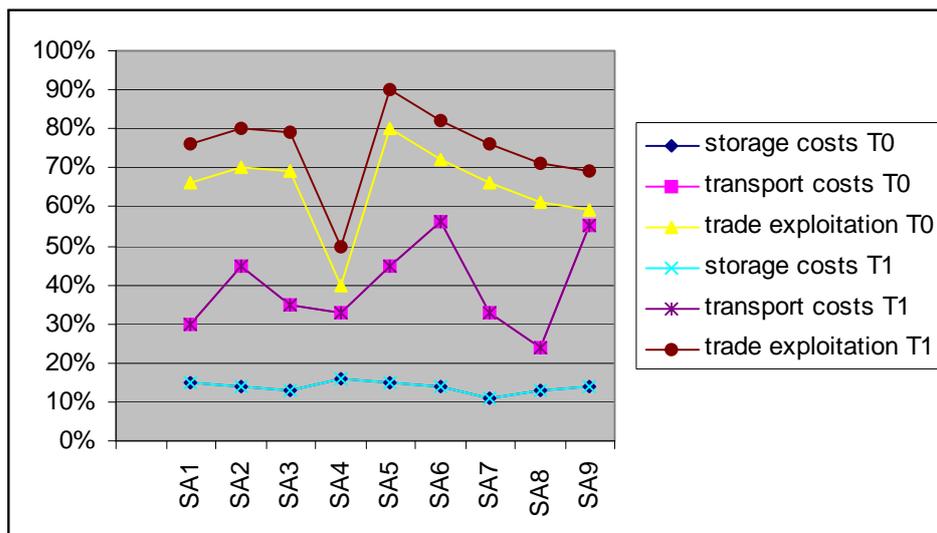


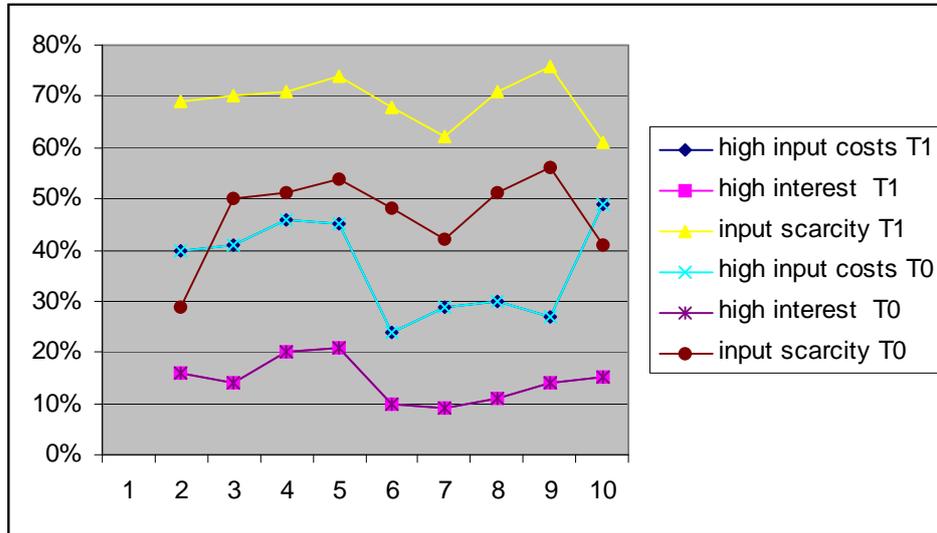
Table 6.3.1 above reveals that there was higher coverage in purchasing power (48%) and employment (60%) in the state-run project group than in the NGO-run projects where these variables were at 20% and 7% coverage respectively.

Table 6.3.2 Impact of the model on storage and transport costs and trade exploitation as economic challenges to sustainability.



From Table 6.3.2 above it is clear that there is high exploitation (90%) in the NGO project group while this variable measured 80% in the state-run projects. Transport costs were the same in the control and experimental groups, occurring at 55% in both. Storage costs were also the same, occurring at 10% in both groups.

Table 6.3.3 Impact of the model on input costs, interest rates and input scarcity as economic challenges to grassroots sustainability



It is revealed in Table 6.3.3 above that high input scarcity in the experimental group occurred at a level of 79% while in the control group it occurred at 59%. The input costs were at 50% in both groups. Interest rates were the same in both groups, occurring at 20%. This shows that the model failed to influence variables such as input costs and interest rates which are linked to macro economic performance.

Table 6.3.4 Impact of the model on farmer linkage with banks and other lending institutions as an economic challenge to grassroots sustainability

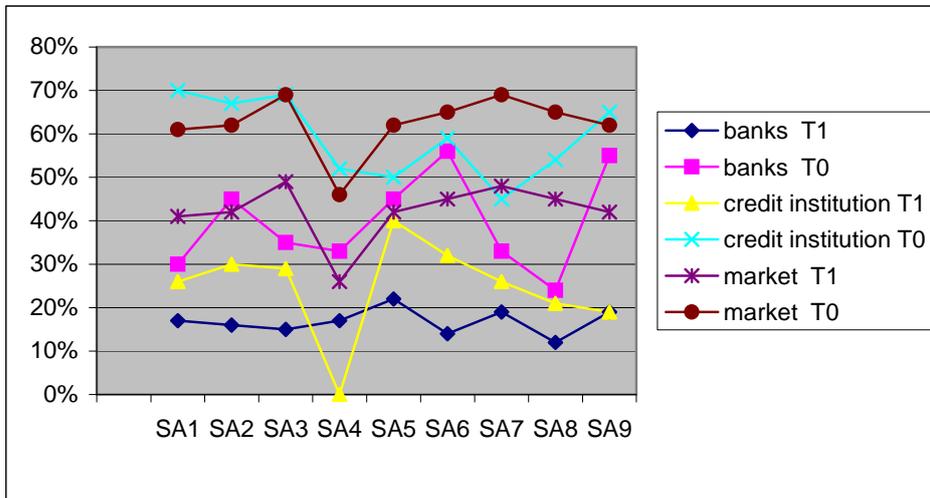
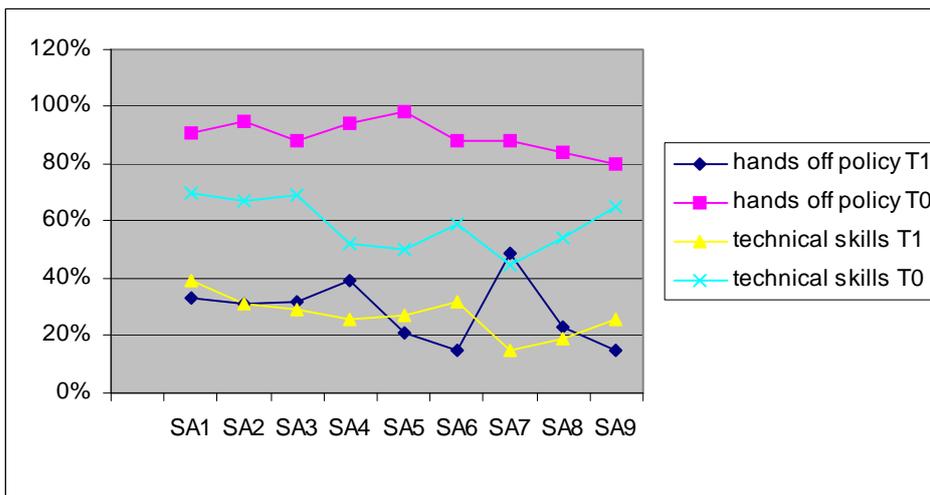


Table 6.3.4 above reflects that the control group had more links with banks (58%), credit institutions (70%) and markets (70%) than the experimental group/NGO-run projects in remote areas, where these variables occurred at 20%, 40% and 49% respectively.

6.4 Institutional challenges to grassroots sustainability

Table 6.4.1 Impact of the model on technical skills and hands-off policy as institutional challenges to grassroots projects success



From Table 6.4.1 above, it is clear that hands-off policy (100%) and technical skills (69%) were more prevalent in the control group (state-run projects) than in the experimental group (NGO-run projects), at 49% and 40% respectively.

Table 6.4.2 Impact of the model on programming support and technology as institutional challenges to grassroots project success

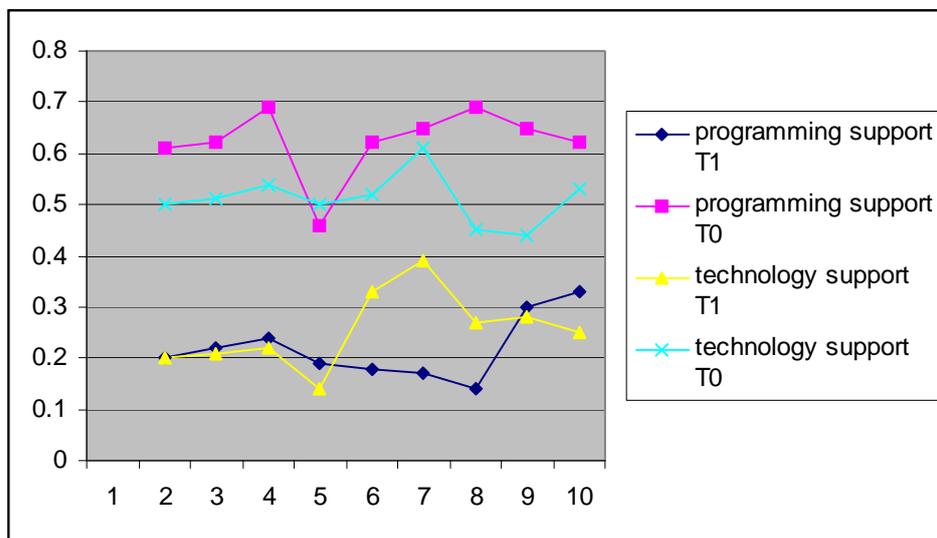
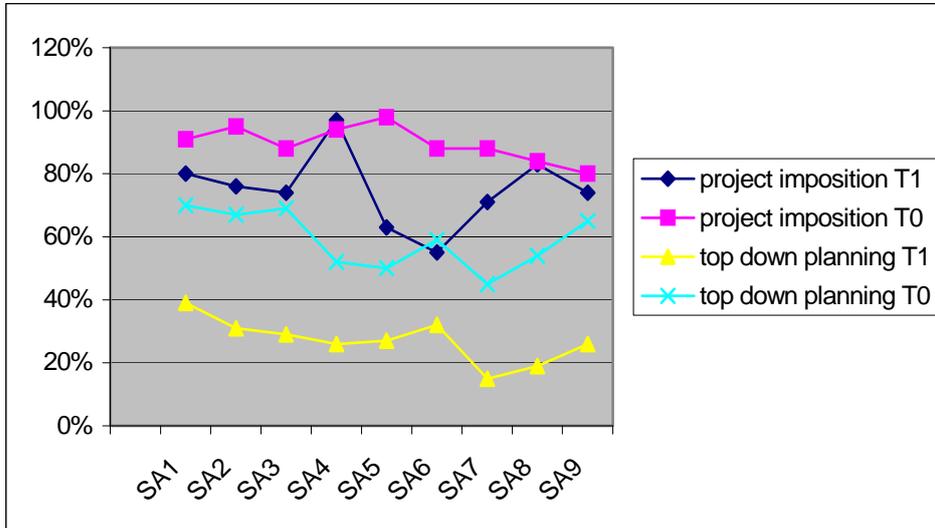


Table 6.4.2 above reflects more programming support (70%) and technological support (60%) in the control group (state-run projects) than in NGO-supported projects (at 30% and 40% respectively).

Table 6.4.3 Impact of the model on project imposition and top-down planning as institutional challenges to grassroots success



The graph in Table 6.4.3 above shows that there was more project imposition (100%) and top-down planning (65%) in state-run projects. These variables measured 89% and 40% respectively in the NGO-supported projects.

Table 6.4.5 Impact of the model on rigidity, pricing/costing and liberal markets as institutional challenges to grassroots project success

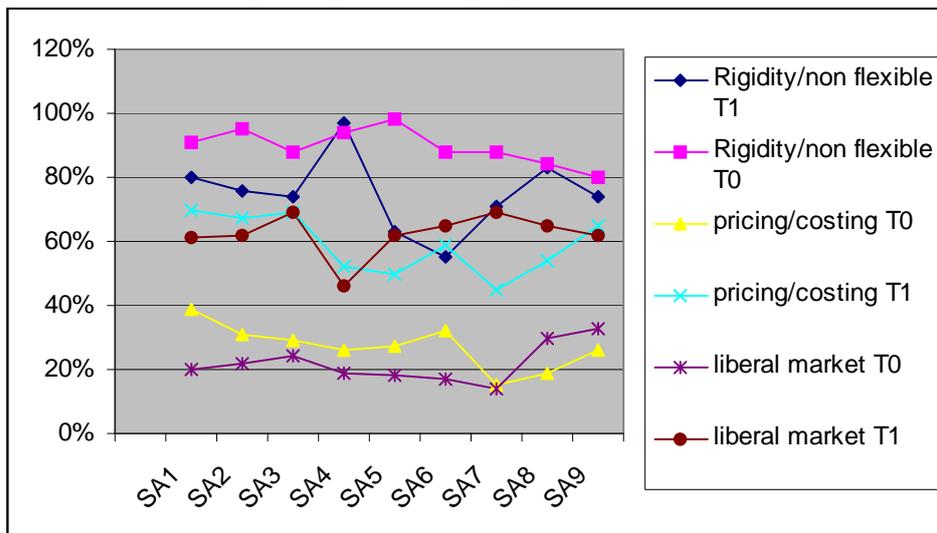
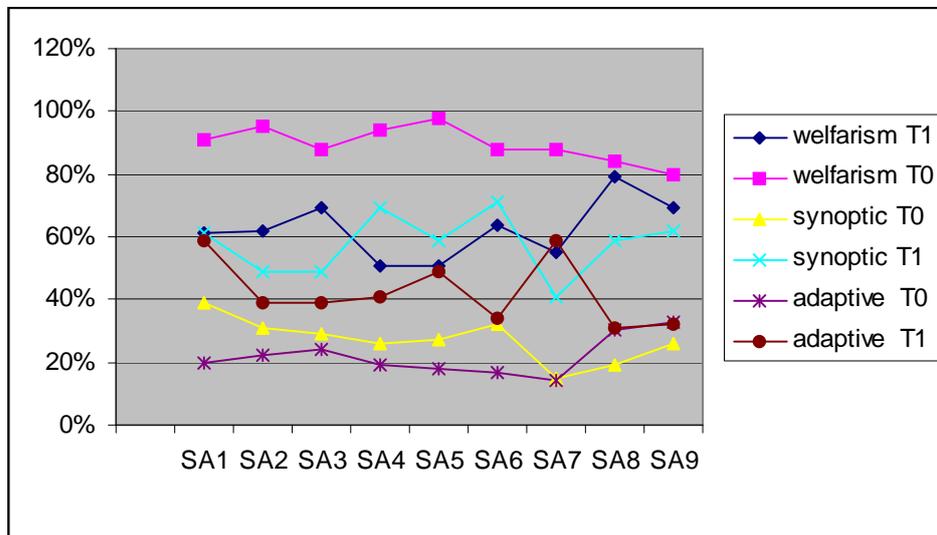


Table 6.4.5 above reveals more rigidity (100%) in the state-run projects than in the NGO-run projects, where the variable occurred at 88%. The poor pricing/costing affected the experimental group more (60%) than the control group at 40%. The liberal market was problematic, with NGO-run projects at 65% while the variable was at 20% in the state-run projects. This indicates that state-run projects experienced fewer problems in understanding the policy.

Table 6.4.6 Impact of the model on welfarism, synoptic and adaptive approaches as institutional challenges to grassroots project success



As reflected in Table 6.4.6 above, welfarism occurred at 100% in state-run projects while in NGO projects it occurred at a level of 80%. Synoptic planning occurred at 68% in NGO- and 38% in state-run projects. NGO-run projects were more adaptive at 60% than state-run projects at 20%. The state operates from capitol hill and people cannot see the synoptic tendencies, whereas NGOs may be bureaucracies brought closer to the masses.

6.5 Social/cultural challenges to grassroots sustainability

Table 6.5.1 Impact of the model on participation, commitment and trust as social challenges to local institutional strength

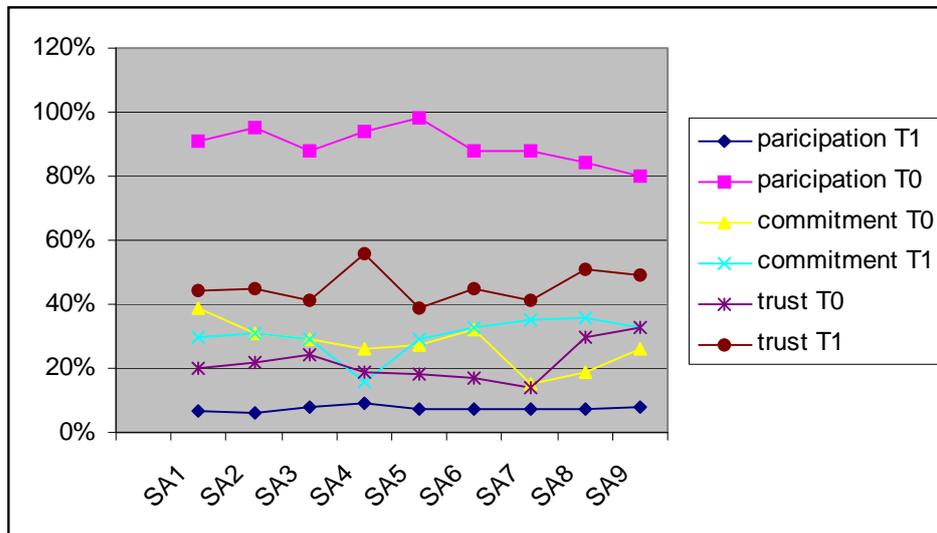


Table 6.5.1 above reflects high participation (100%) and high commitment (40%) in state-run projects, while similar variables measured 10% and 29% respectively in the NGO-run projects. However, higher levels of trust were observed in the experimental group (49%) than in the state-run projects (22%). The high participation and commitment in the state-run projects were attributed to the benefits that were evident in these projects.

Table 6.5.2 Impact of the model on solidarity, democratic culture and social obligation as social challenges to local institutional strength

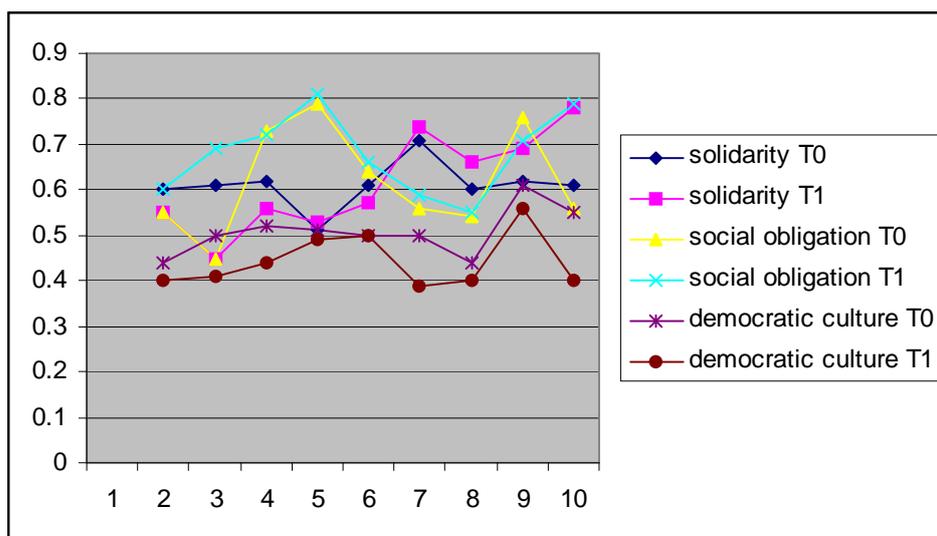


Table 6.5.2 above indicates high solidarity (80%) and social obligation (81%) in the NGO-run projects (experimental group), while these variables measured 70% and 78% respectively in state-run projects. There was a slight margin in democratic culture where the control group measured 60% and the experimental group 59%.

Table 6.5.3 Impact of the model on social relations and altruism as social challenges to local institutional strength

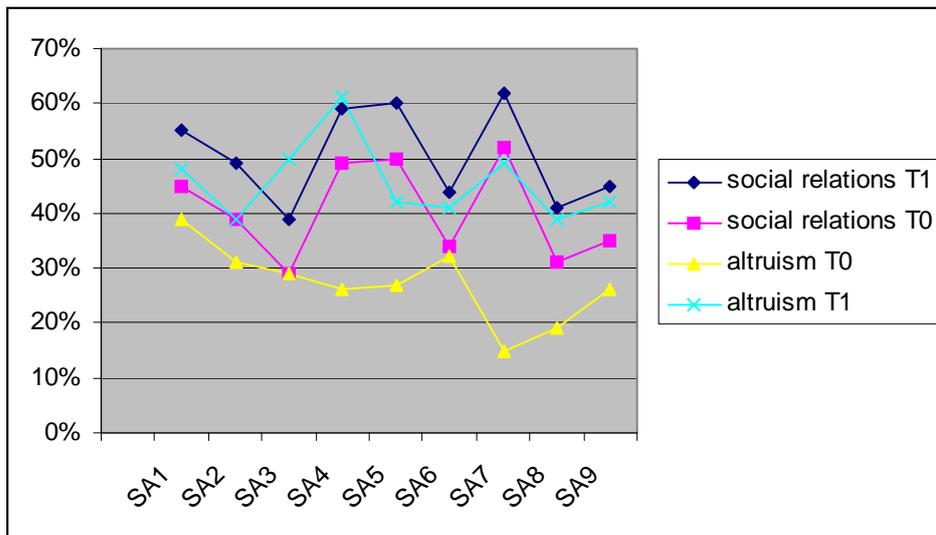
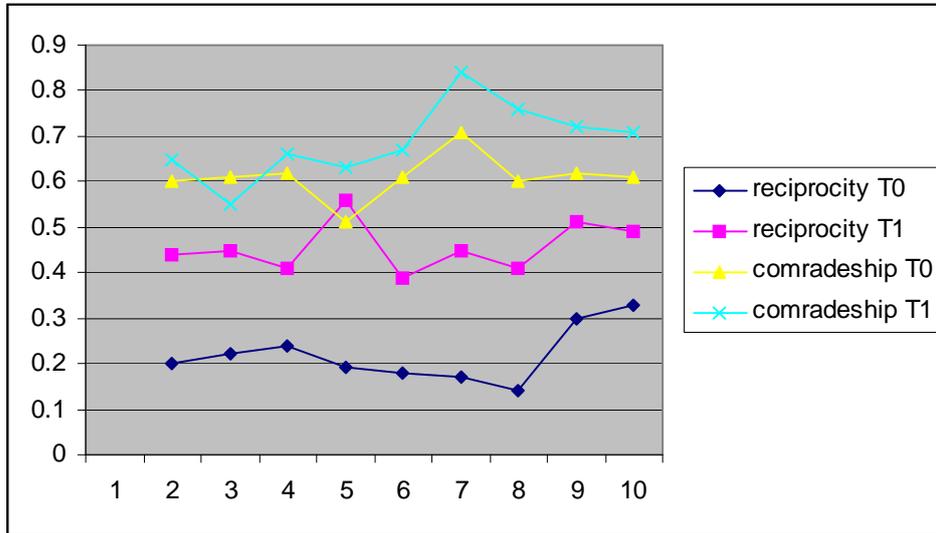


Table 6.5.3 above reflects high social relations (60%) and high altruism (61%) in the NGO-run projects (experimental group) and 52% and 39% respectively in the control group.

Table 6.5.4 Impact of the model on reciprocity and comradeship as social challenges to local institutional strength



High levels of comradeship (89%) in NGO-run projects and 70% in state-run projects are indicated in Table 6.5.4 above. Also reflected are high values for reciprocity (59%) in NGO-supported projects and state-run projects (34%).

Table 6.5.4 Impact of the model on social resignation as social challenge to local institutional strength

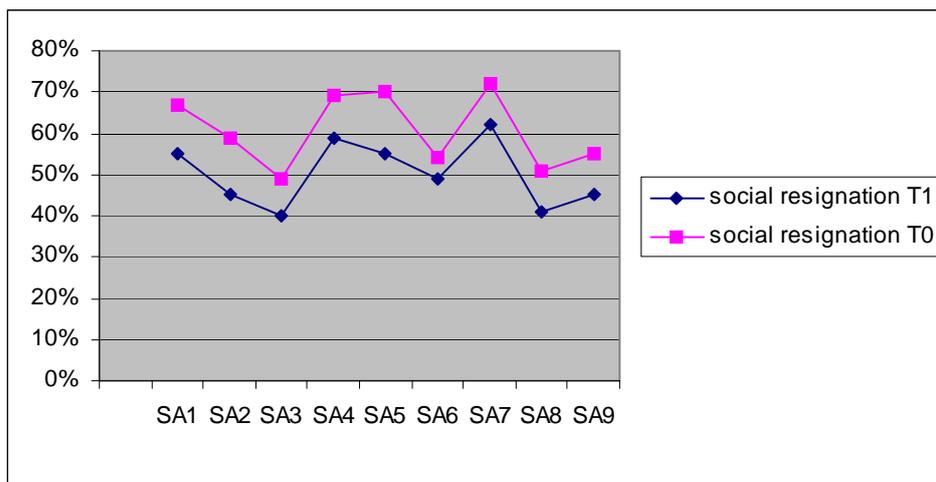


Table 6.5.4 above shows higher social resignation in state-run projects (70%) than in NGO-run projects (61%). This shows that poverty was felt in a similar way by communities involved in both NGO- and state-run projects.

Table 6.5.5 Impact of the model on handout culture as social challenge to local institutional strength

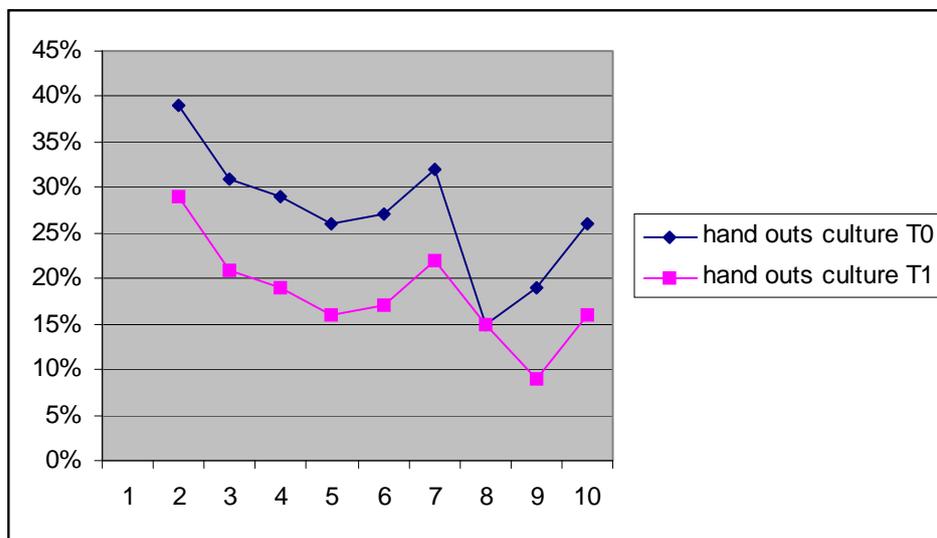


Table 6.5.5 above shows that a handout culture was more prevalent in state-run projects (40%) than in NGO-run projects (30%).

Table 6.5.6 Impact of the model on value systems as social challenge to local institutional strength

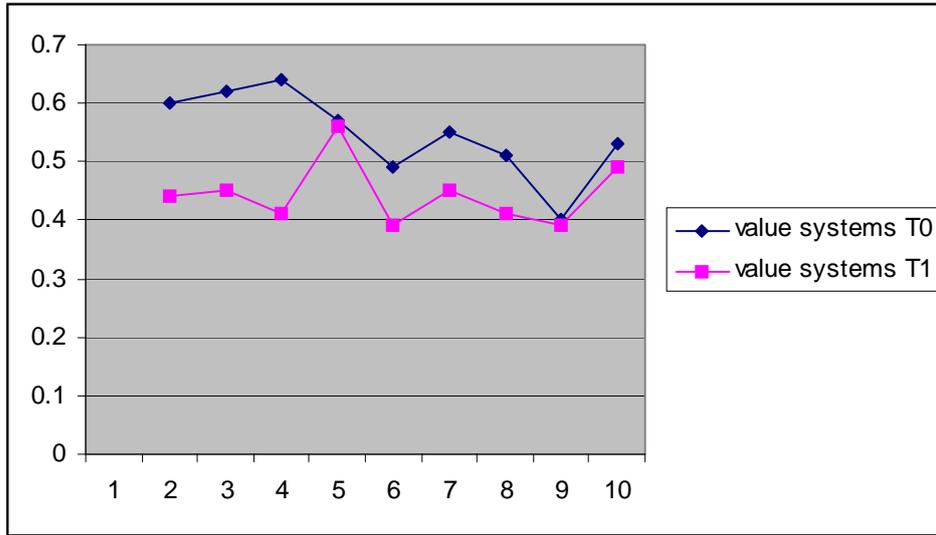


Table 6.5.6 above indicates that communities in state-run projects valued external goods and products more (66%) than the experimental group (51%). This shows the level of preference for external knowledge systems.

Table 6.5.7 *Impact of the model on self-aggrandisement as social challenge to local institutional strength*

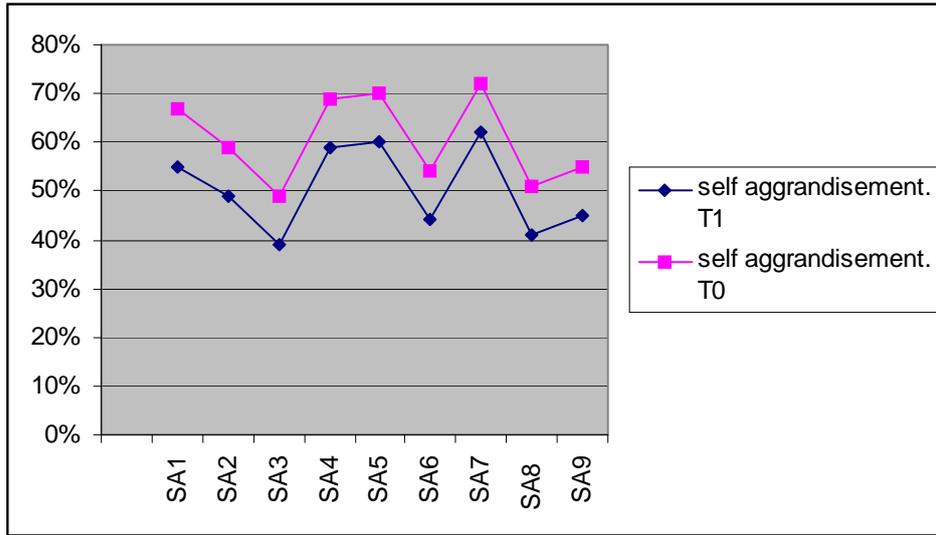
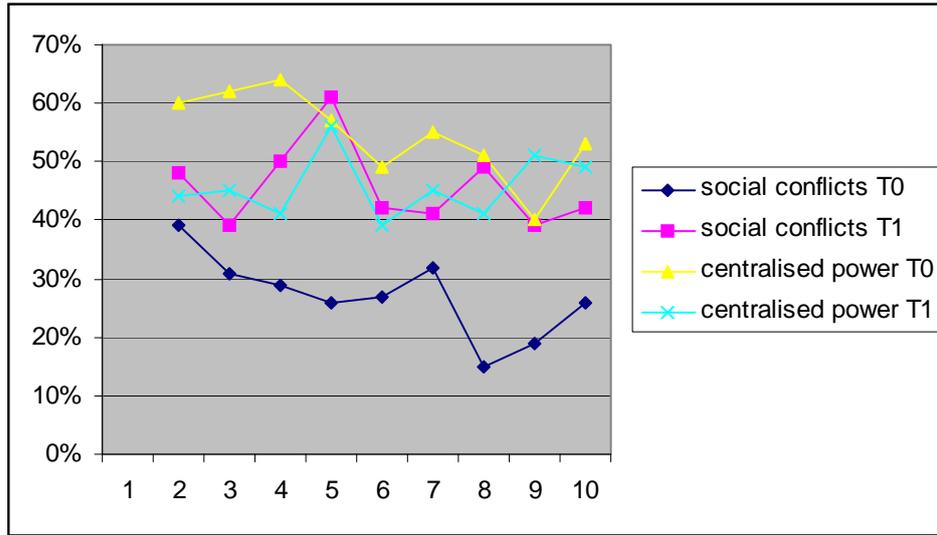


Table 6.5.7 above reflects high levels of self-aggrandisement in the state-run projects (72%) while the variable occurred at 60% in the experimental group. This indicates that participatory organisations move communities towards seeking the common good.

Table 6.5.8 Impact of the model on social conflicts and centralised power as social challenge to local institutional strength



High levels of social conflict occurred in NGO-run projects (60%), as revealed in Table 6.5.8 above. Fewer social conflicts occurred in state-run projects (40%). There was more centralised power in state-run projects (63%) while in experimental groups the same variable was measured at 56%.

Table 6.5.8 *Impact of the model on social disintegration as a social challenge to local institutional strength*

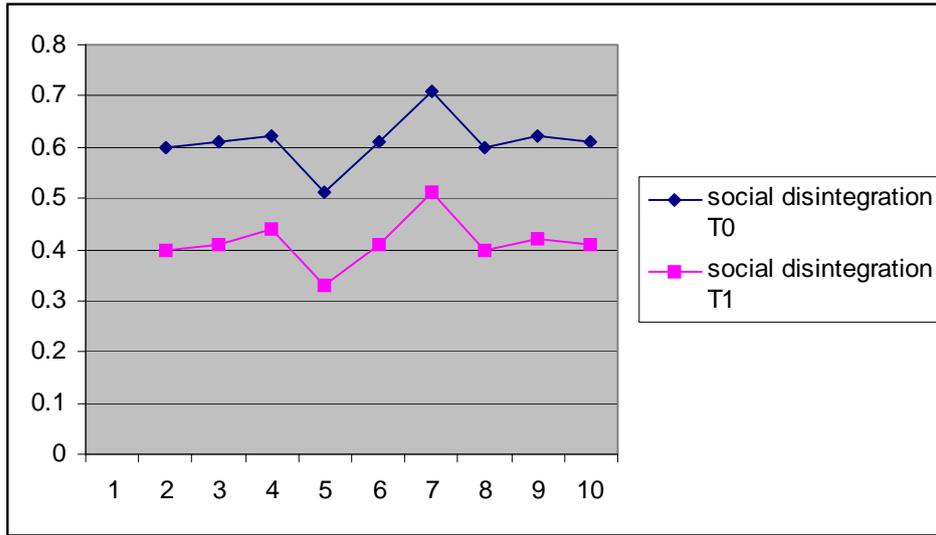
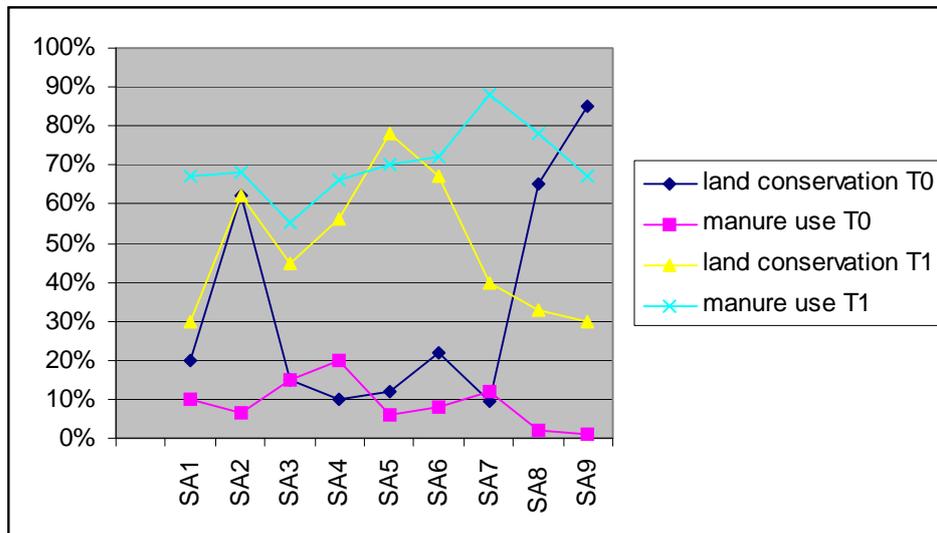


Table 6.5.8 above reveals high levels of social disintegration in state-run projects, occurring at 70%, while the same variable measured at 50% in the NGO-run projects.

6.6 Applying physical solutions to physical challenges.

Table 6.6.1 *Physical solutions (manure use, land conservation) to soil degradation affecting grassroots sustainability*



High levels of application for land conservation occurred in both state-run projects (89%) and NGO-run projects (80%), as reflected in Table 6.6.1 above. Low levels of manure use occurred in state-run projects (10%) due to heavy reliance on chemical fertilisers. In the same graph, high levels of manure (90%) were observed in the NGO schemes as they were dealing with the poorest farmers.

Table 6.6.2 Physical solutions (zero tillage, intercropping, agro-forestry) to soil degradation affecting grassroots sustainability

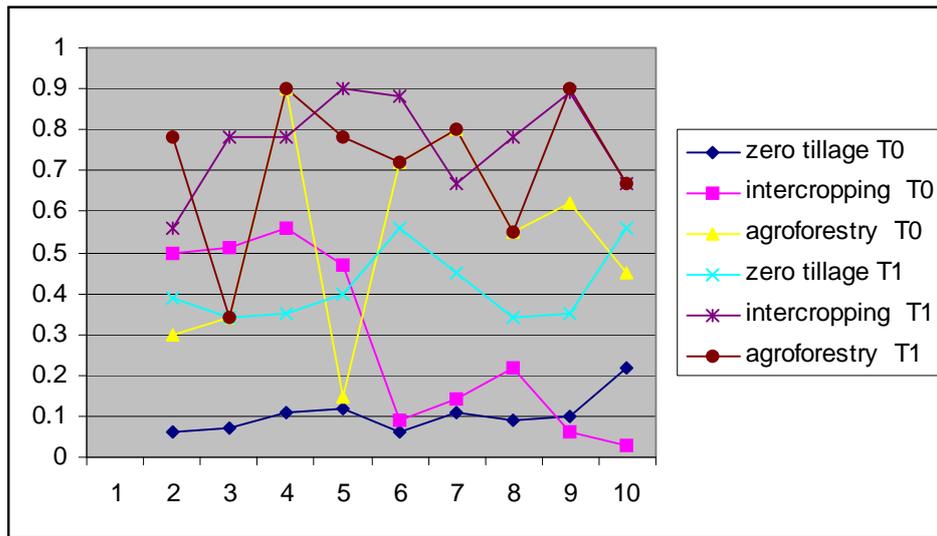


Table 6.6.2 above shows high levels of application of agro-forestry (91%) in NGO-run projects, while the same variable was measured at 90% in state-run projects. Intercropping occurred (91%) in the experimental group (NGO-run schemes) and also in the control group (89%). Zero tillage measured 59% in NGO projects, more than the same variable measured at 20% in state-run projects.

6.7 Applying economic solutions to economic challenges.

Table 6.7.1 *Enhancing food security through production, access and income at household level*

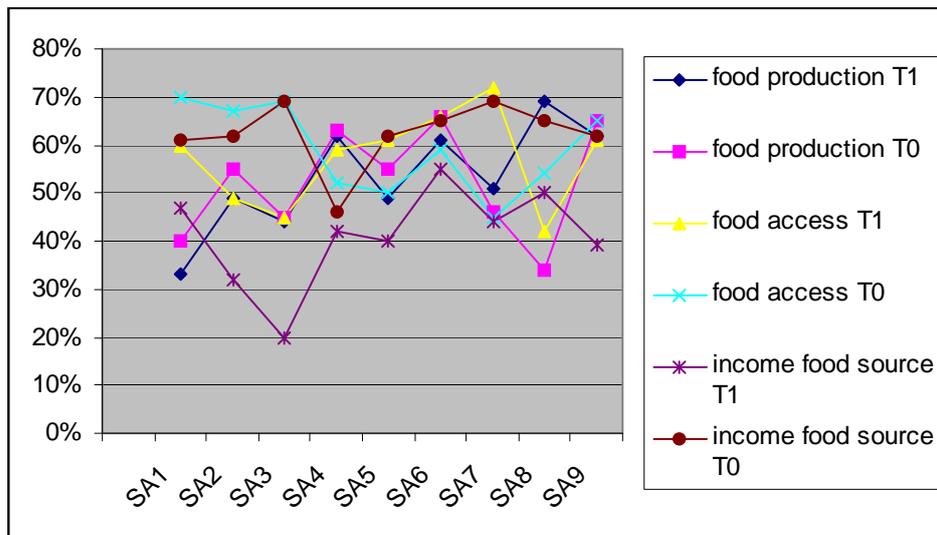


Table 6.7.1 above reflects that in both groups under study, food production occurred at 70% as a measure to solve economic problems. Food access was used equally as an alternative to enhancing economic well being. There was, however, more income food source in state-run schemes (70%) than in NGO-run schemes (50%).

Table 6.7.2 *Enhancing recurrent financing costs through micro lending at household level*

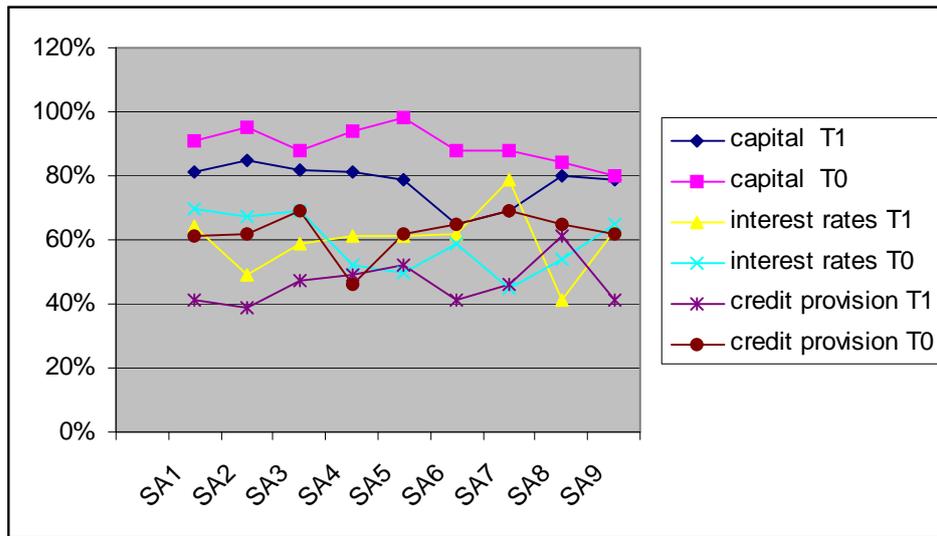


Table 6.7.2 above shows a high frequency of capital needs (100%) in the control group and 82% in the experimental group. Similarly, there is more credit demand (60%) in the control group than in the experimental group (49%). Management of interest rates was more problematic in the experimental groups than in the control group. The recurrent costs could be managed more easily in the state-run project catchments where people had better access to capital and credit.

Table 6.7.3 *Enhancing recurrent financing costs through grassroots market penetration*

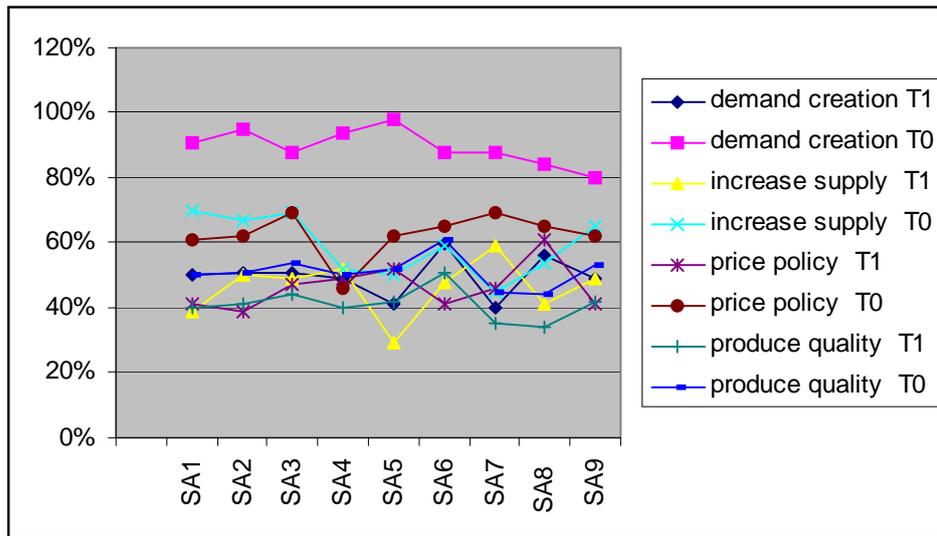
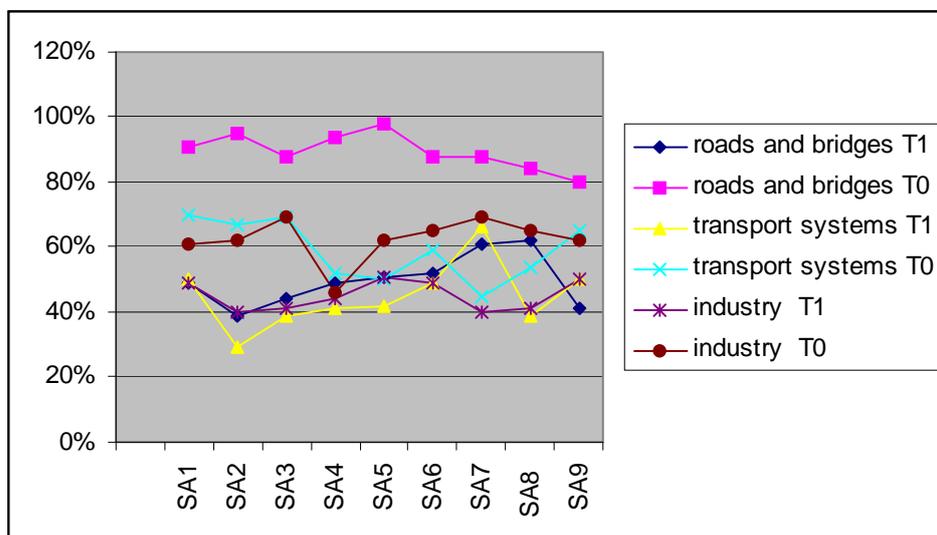


Table 6.7.3 indicates that the state-run schemes had managed substantial market penetration through effective demand (100%), increased supply (66%) and price policy understanding (62%), while the same variables measured 60%, 60% and 60% respectively in the NGO-supported projects. Produce quality was high in state-run projects at 60%, while the same variable measured at 49% in NGO-supported projects.

Table 6.7.4 *Enhancing rural economy through roads, bridges, transport systems and industry infrastructure*



More roads and bridges and transport networks were used as economic solutions in enhancing the rural economy in the state-run schemes (100% and 68% respectively), as reflected in Table 6.7.4 above. Similar facilities were not adequate in the experimental group, where they occurred at 60% and 61% respectively. The results also show that industrial-scheme linkage was more prevalent in the state projects (68%) than in NGO-supported projects (49%)

6.8 Applying social solutions to social challenges.

Table 6.8.1 *Enhancing grassroots through community autonomy, value systems and literacy*

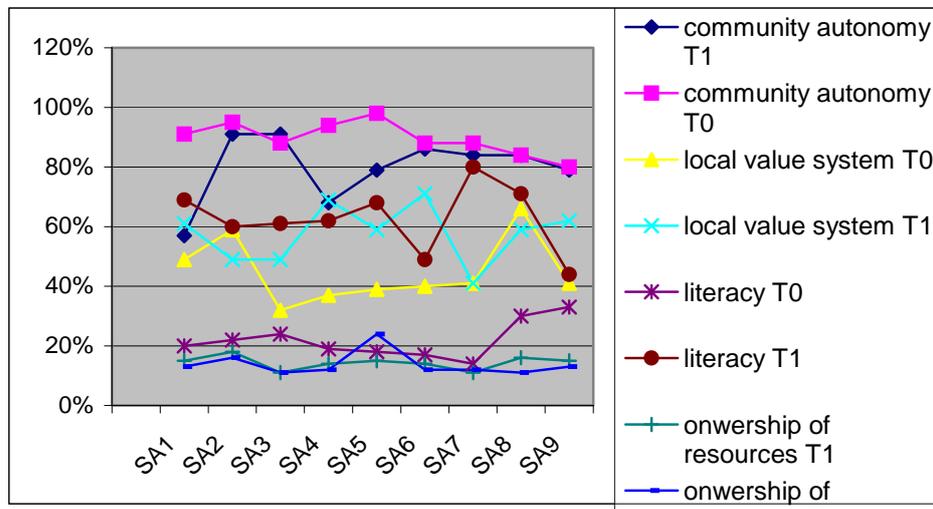


Table 6.8.1 above indicates that, as solutions to social challenges of sustainability, the measured variables revealed the following results: community autonomy measured at 100% in state projects, while measuring at 90% in the NGO-supported projects; value systems measured at 65% in the state-run projects and at 69% in the NGO-supported projects; resource ownership measured 25% in state-run projects while it measured 18% in NGO-supported projects; finally, literacy measured 30% in state-run projects, while it measured 80% in NGO-supported projects..

Table 6.8.2 Enhancing grassroots communities through transparency, accountability and democratic structure

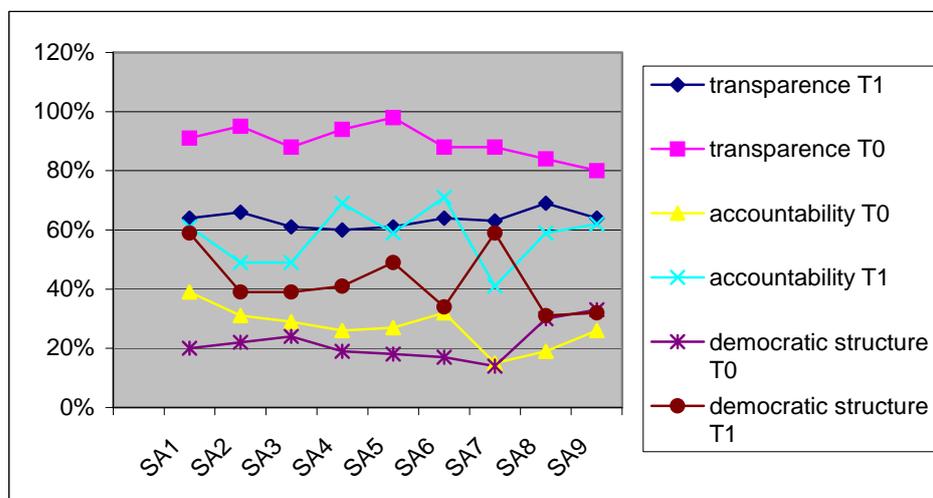


Table 6.8.2 above indicates that transparency was applied as a social solution need to social challenges 100% in state-run projects but only 70% in NGO-supported projects. As social solutions to social challenges of project sustainability, accountability measured 70% in NGO-supported projects and 40% in state-run projects, and democratic culture measured 60% in NGO-supported projects and 22% in state-run projects.

6.9 Results, interpretation and findings

6.9.1 The physical challenges to grassroots sustainability

The results of the analysis of physical challenges reveal that small villages using participatory organisations have an advantage in managing ecological problems and manage to coexist with the physical challenges. For instance, the coverage of the challenge of soil degradation (40%) after the involvement of NGO/solidaristic projects is less compared to the 70% measured after the involvement of the control/hierarchical population of study. The hierarchical data show that extensive farming, through mechanisation and clearing of large portions of land under state cultivated farming, exposed soils to erosion. In a before and after study, the solidaristic data shows that smallholder farming has registered 60% with poor market access while the state registered 50% with poor access. NGO-supported projects measure 40% affected by pests, while 50% of state-run projects suffer pest challenges. In the solidaristic data, the high vegetative cover, less shifting cultivation, fewer pest and disease problems and traditional crop use put smallholder farming at an advantage. In general terms of the severity of physical factors, the solidaristic data indicate some kind of reduction and this can be attributed to sound participatory management of the physical resources in agricultural production. Again, in terms of social development that hinges on provision of social facilities, the solidaristic data shows incremental growth. Over the past three years there have been increasing numbers of roads, markets, schools, health facilities, recreation centres and agro dealers' facilities in the programme area.

From these results one realises the advantage of participatory organisations which relate to the grassroots approaches and stem from the concept of community and grassroots democratisation. In the solidaristic data there is an increased level of shared, common interests, activism and attachment and bonding to social livelihood. The poor are able to manage their livelihoods and environment through a supportive leadership system. Such leadership brings community building and organizing processes to the people and enhances rural development. The NGO sector has advantages over the state when it comes to rural development that uses praxis, democratisation and transformation development concepts. The NGO sector is closer to the poor in the case of Malawi and hence better able to enhance human centred development and to facilitate the community takeover process in development, touching on populism as an alternative development perspective. The before and after research which represents both state-controlled development and community-managed development approaches, presents a dichotomised view of development supported by scholarly arguments. In this research, social investment from the NGO perspective will enhance participation as a tool in community development. Hence better telecommunications, better health care, more markets, skills centres, schools and health facilities will enhance participation. Social investment becomes a foundation for self-propelled engagement in rural development. According to the literature reviewed, one sees the community of technocrats' classical socialism and the community of the grassroots existing in democratic socialism. It can thus be concluded that the grassroots approach has greater advantages in that the factors of production fall more under the control of the poor and enhance resource protection, preservation and sound management

6.9.2 The economic challenges to grassroots sustainability

Since the involvement of NGOs in community programmes, there has been scant reduction in the severity of most variables. Results on economic challenges seem to suggest that in structures where hierarchical organisation was practised, the challenges

have been less critical. According to baseline data, there was comparatively low purchasing power (48%) and low employment (60%) in community-managed projects, other than the case in the hierarchical state-run programmes (20% and 7% respectively). Challenges of storage (10%), transport (55%), trade exploitation (90%), high input costs (50%) and input scarcity (79%) occur at similar intensities in the two study groups. This implies that participation may not influence the variables determined by the wider market. Variables such as access to credit (70%), banks (58%) and markets (70%) were less problematic for the hierarchical state-run programmes than was indicated by the 20%, 40%, 49% measured respectively for similar variables in community-managed projects. In classical socialism, the working class who decides the destiny of the poor masses controls the means of production. There is an entrenched state of benevolence. In the reviewed literature, one sees two distinct communities, that of the technocrats and that of the radicals supporting the poor masses. In terms of social relations, the two communities, that is the village people and the staff of the government and NGOs, are miles apart. Both geographical and mental and psychic boundaries separate the communities of peasants and the working class. How much the bureaucratic structure delivers in terms of development for the poor will depend on high incentive structures and systems. In the new professionalism (grassroots), supported more by the NGO sector, emphasis is on human centred development evidenced by state withdrawal. Thus, there is a 100% hands-off policy, 30% programming scope, 40% technology emphasis, while similar variables for the state-run programmes measured 49%, 70% and 60% respectively. The low push for industrialisation and low purchasing power reflect some underlying characteristics of the grassroots. Low industrialisation means private sector involvement is low, and hence factors of production are still in the hands of the poor. Industrialisation imperatives have caused more losses in terms of control over resources in poor communities, as the poor are dispossessed of the factors of production. Industrialisation relegates the poor to a position of labourers who end up being marginalised. In the reviewed literature mention is made of relational economy. Relations are vital currencies through which goods and services are transacted in rural village communities and in that context the low purchasing power may not be an economic

challenge of great magnitude. The move from benevolence state to localisation of development may not have a direct link with some economic challenges to sustainability. The taxation rates, exchange rates, unemployment rate, lending policies and disposable income remain constant and state-controlled issues. What determines these are the macro forces that impact on the micro reality. As perspectives of community development, communitarianism, altruism and pulling together in development localisation provides adequate responses to macro economic challenges. The adaptive and coping systems evidenced through social networks provide an environment for a self-propelled process of development. In the reviewed literature, mention has been made of radicalisation, praxis and democratisation as vital ingredients of development localisation. Hence, while the two communities may face the same macro economic challenges, the internal resilience and coping strengths make the difference. It is the response that the poor have towards conditions of poverty that makes them different. In the before and after research, the involvement of NGOs has not really influenced the reduction in the severity of economic conditions. The NGO/solidaristic does, however, play a vital role in preparing the community to face the challenges of an ailing economy.

6.9.3 Institutional challenges to grassroots sustainability

Institutions of development, whether hierarchical, state or solidaristic/NGOs, possess some elements of top downism in their approaches to development and management. Hence the results of the before and after study indicate that NGOs are no better than government when it comes to institutional failure to support rural development programmes. In the study, challenges such as hands off attitudes (100%), dwindling financial support, lack of technical support (69%), inadequate technical skills (40%) and inadequate programming support (30%) occurred more problematically under solidaristic/NGO management than in the hierarchical data, where the same variables occurred at 49%, 40%, 70% and 60% respectively. There was more project imposition (100%), top down planning (65%) and rigidity (100%) in the hierarchical state-run

programmes, while similar variables measured 89%, 40% and 88% in the solidaristic NGO-run programmes. These results again show that more welfarism (100%), synoptic (69%) and adaptive (60%) occurred under solidaristic/NGO management than in hierarchical state-run programmes (80%, 29% and 20% respectively). The results also show that development localisation lacked political support and leadership support, and suffered from the goal-seeking behaviour of the support institution. Therefore, participatory organisations do not have all the solutions for making grassroots self-sustaining. In literature, solidaristic NGOs have been blamed for causing dependencies and for the creation of bureaucracies among the grassroots. Making grassroots self-sustaining does depend on external institutions and their involvement with the grassroots. Depending on the process of socialisation and the social setting, the grassroots can mobilise themselves into self-sustaining social groups. The thousands of CBOs created are alien institutions and have no foundation for sustainability without an institutionalisation process. According to this longitudinal research, both the NGO sector and government face institutional challenges, including a lack of policy framework for engaging with the grassroots, difficulties in coordination among NGOs and between NGOs and government institutions, vague operational policies, a lack of political will and other ill-designed policies. This only serves to emphasise that NGOs are to some extent less efficient as institutions that can help the process of development localisation. However, the NGO sector has some comparative advantages over state institutions. For example, the results show that the NGO is more adaptive, less technocratic, and records fewer cases of project abandonment. The analysis of the results corroborates the views of many authors of community development literature as reviewed. The NGO sector has been challenged to undergo reforms, to restructure and to transform so that it can better contribute to grassroots development. According to the literature, the pyramid structures, the technocrats and the north-south dichotomy explain the failure of this sector in grassroots development. The results of the study reveal that besides NGOs, and GOs, there are also private institutions that affect the operations of rural programmes. Mentioned in this regard are the liberalisation policy and the behaviour of capitalists that seems to provide a private invisible hand affecting trade transactions.

In the literature reviewed, a number of suggestions have been made on how the NGO sector should support the grassroots communities. The north-south relationship must be reorganised in such a way that the south acquires some autonomy. This would prevent the south from being used as a vehicle to promote and propagate the ideologies of the north. In this regard, democratic socialism will take effect when the south is made stronger and more independent in decisions and programming imperatives. Putting the factors of production in the hands of the poor and allowing them to decide their destiny demands going beyond nationalisation of public institutions and focussing on radicalisation processes.

6.9.4 Social/cultural challenges of grassroots sustainability

Hierarchical baseline data in Tables 6.5.2, 6.5.3 and 6.5.4 indicates the variables as measured in the Upper Hills and Witimba zones. The variables measured quantitatively and qualitatively refer to the situation before NGO engagement (hierarchical/Upper Hills) and after solidaristic NGO engagement. The solidaristic current data show some change in terms of severity of these variables. For instance, participation challenge (10%) and commitment (20%) in the Witimba area, while the same variables measured 100%, and 40% as challenges in the hierarchical/Upper Hills area. Hence the success of engaging the masses to face their own poverty through rural programmes is dependent on the social behaviours and cultural socialisation processes that take place in the community. In the same tables, solidarity (80%), social obligation (81%), democratic culture (59%), social relations (60%) and altruism (61%) measured high in Witimba where the model was rolled out and measured lower at 70%, 78%, 60%, 52%, and 39% respectively in the hierarchical/Upper Hills area. Social behaviours are determined by the nature of the organisation involved in such rural programming. The list of challenges as key pointers to those social behaviours provides a trend where the participatory organisations have more chance of influencing project success, with other factors remaining the same. The results

show that the problems of low commitment, low participation, low cooperation and self-seeking behaviour were comparatively more frequent in the bureaucratic structures than in the participatory organisations in the after-research. Social behaviours were more acceptable under participatory structures, giving them a leverage point. In the same study, problems of undemocratic leadership styles, command leaderships, top downism and bureaucratisation were recorded in the after-research data as higher in the hierarchical state-run settlement schemes than in those grassroots structures managed by the participatory organisations.

The participatory organisations were found to have some comparative advantage in effecting project success through their *flexibility, trust, social confidence* and *self esteem*, parameters that were recorded in the prior data as lacking to a large extent in the state-run schemes. The hierarchical state-run schemes (Upper Hills) did not measure well on comradeship (60%), reciprocity (59%), social resignation (70%), handout culture (40%), self-aggrandisement (72%) or social disintegration. On a comparative basis the participatory organisation measured well in the after-research with 80%, 59%, 61%, 60%, and 50% respectively on similar parameters. In the after-research, similar parameters measured well in influencing project success.

6.9.5 Solutions to physical challenges of grassroots sustainability

The results in tables 6.6.2 and 6.6.3 show that the poor are able to organise themselves to counteract negative economic stimuli. It is common knowledge today that due to the global economic disorders, agricultural production attracts huge costs. Chemical agriculture is very expensive and beyond the financial means of most farmers. In this research the poor are adopting low cost farming (organic agriculture) (79%), manure use (90%), zero tillage (56.6%), intercropping (91%) and agro-forestry (90%) under the NGO-supported structures in the research model. Similar approaches or responses in the hierarchical state-run schemes (Upper Hills) in the baseline data did not feature highly as

only 89%, 20%, 59%, and 89% of the farming communities respectively mentioned the options on the solutions check list. The social behaviours in the state-run schemes in the hierarchical research data were more ecologically non-conservative compared to the NGO-supported local structures in the after-research. Traditional knowledge and values were more at play in the NGO-supported structures while there was a greater technocratic and scientific knowledge base in the state-run schemes, to a point where the community was becoming divorced from the natural resource endowment. In the literature that has been reviewed, mention has been made of grassroots empowerment and this empowerment is centred on traditional knowledge democratisation. Selener (1998:55-59) argues that knowledge is power and that by using scientific knowledge as a power base, the elite exploit the poor. The knowledge of the poor has remained dormant and has not been put to good use in the liberation of the poor. Knowledge democratisation entails infusing local people's ideas, perspectives, feelings and opinions into policies, strategies and approaches that seek to help the poor make their way out of poverty. While external knowledge or blueprints have in past decades been used as approaches to development, the complaint has always been that they remain foreign ideas imposed on the poor with little potential to change the landscape of poverty. Hence in community development, blueprints are found to be a misfit. Community-Based Organisations cannot survive on blueprints, and this calls for those structures that support these local institutions to be participative, adaptive and incremental in their engagement with the grassroots. The increased use of chemicals and of hybrids in the hierarchical state-run schemes mirrors the green revolution imperative: high yielding and fast maturing crops in a green revolution miracle. Besides heavy soil degradation, pollution and soil damage caused by such imperatives, the costs of production have skyrocketed beyond the means of most poor farmers who are in the majority in poor countries. In the green revolution, blueprints and capitalism are promoted which breeds free markets, placing the factors of production in the hands of the private sector. The poor lose control over the factors of production and their poverty is only aggravated. Therefore it can be said that the success of rural poverty alleviation programmes rests in empowering the poor and localising the development process. In the same development discussion, sophisticated, tightly

controlled programmes place the poor in the position of recipients of development benefits. Such heavily financially driven programmes will need the continued flow of donor resources if they are to be successful.

6.9.6 Solutions to economic challenges of grassroots sustainability

The results in tables 6.7.1, 6.7.2 and 6.7.3 reveal that in a high social relations community influenced by participatory organisations (NGOs), the enhancing economic indicators correlate with community empowerment. Again, the domestic economy is a priority and is given most adequate attention. In support of these arguments, participants in the research mentioned macro business, disposable income, employment creation and cooperative arrangements as vital elements in solving the economic challenges implicit in the solidaristic research results. During the compiling of baseline data some variables did not measure well. In the Witimba agro-ecological zone, there was less demand for capital (82%) while the same variable measured 100% in the hierarchical control areas. This only emphasises that the external environment influenced the development process less. There is a weakening of the external dependencies and a strengthening of the internal energies to develop and alleviate poverty. This shows that in the hierarchical settlement schemes, the external environment (trade and export) determines the behaviour of the schemes.

The tables also indicate that in the hierarchical settlement schemes, more roads and bridges (100%), enhanced communication and transport (68%), links to strong and efficient markets and information systems existed. This reflects considerable financial investment by the state and it is no wonder that such schemes have in some instances existed since the post-colonial era. The level of magnitude of inheritance, and time span of existence of these schemes after donor support depended much on the kinds of development and agricultural policies that aimed at improving the macro economic status of the country through increasing foreign exchange from international markets and trade.

On a comparative basis, the community-managed programmes in Witimba suffered from reduced investment, as evidenced by the poor roads and bridges (60%), poor communication and transport (61%) and inefficient external markets.

The scenario described above corresponds with the literature on community development. In the first instance, government can take responsibility for developing rural areas through initiating rural development programmes. True to this, the state in Malawi has remained the duty bearer of improving people's lives and alleviating their poverty, at least for the past decades. This has been described as the classical approach to community development. Again in the literature, this is referred to as classical socialism. In the second scenario, and due to the failure of the bureaucracy, grassroots are taking it upon themselves to develop their communities. It is clear that mega projects such as bridges and roads will require state involvement, but the community can still be involved in terms of decision making and planning.

In a Community-Based Organisations arrangement, it is the community through its structures that comes up with approaches and strategies to manage natural resources, rural agricultural and rural livelihoods systems. In doing so, the economic challenges are collectively managed. In the nine projects that were studied under community management, the project performance index measured well under community-managed approaches. Such results support sociological foundations of development embedded in perspectives of communitarianism. As reviewed in the literature, the cases of Harambee in Kenya, Ujamaa in Tanzania and humanism in Zambia support the results in the Witimba Zone model research data.

6.9.7 Solutions to institutional challenges to grassroots sustainability

The tables show the results of the institutional solutions that were tested through the project performance index in the before and after model research. These results reveal

that community-managed projects opted for independence (41.3%), breaking institutional dominance (14.1%) and local resources mobilisation (23.5%) as options for managing support institution failures. These options measured higher in participatory organisations than synoptic organisations in the baseline data. On a comparative basis, the hierarchical state-run settlement schemes opted for more external support (72.1%), more institutional dominance (93%) and greater use of external resources (98.5%). The results show that the grassroots sought aid that would not disrupt their autonomy (86.0%), comparing favourably to 12.3% of the respondents in schemes that opted for the same scenario in the baseline data. Self-reliant communities were mentioned by 33.6% of the interviewed respondents in Witimba Zone, comparing favourably to the 9.3% of respondents who chose a similar option in the hierarchical state-run schemes in the baseline data. The results show that participatory organisations have the capacity to diffuse community-building virtues and community spirit that eventually solidifies the community of the poor. In community-managed programmes, it was easy to achieve partnerships (26.2%), an element that featured to a limited degree in the hierarchical schemes (16.9%) in the before assessment. This corresponds with the scholarly argument that competitive spirit ranks higher among synoptic than democratic institutions. The results show a high affinity for appropriate technologies in grassroots-managed programmes (71.3%) that compared well with the hierarchical schemes (41%) during baseline data collection. In the same community, there was a high affinity for user-friendly techniques (89%), democratic governance (36.3%), and accountability (64.3%) that compared well against the 49%, 17.4%, and 24% perceived on similar variables in the hierarchical schemes during baseline data collection. Hence, participatory organisations stand a better chance of sustaining themselves beyond donor support as they are built on social behaviours that work towards collective efforts. The results show that high institution policy level solutions touching on harmonisation (56.9%), external linkages (18%), and legal and civil rights (45%) were featured highly in synoptic organisations during baseline data collection. The more bureaucratic institutions (schemes), supported by high levels of technocratism, were better able to apply and accept policy-related solutions. Hence NGOs and institutions of development are better placed to support community-managed

programmes through CBOs. As reviewed in the literature, NGOs are closer to the people than the state machinery, and tend to articulate the real needs and aspirations of the poor. In participatory research, the NGO sector has played a vital role in enhancing grassroots empowerment.

6.9.8 Solutions to social cultural challenges to grassroots sustainability

The adoption of some social values or social inclinations that have a bearing on influencing projects was measured in a model and non-model research study. Tables 6.6.1, 6.6.2, 6.7.1, 6.7.2, 6.7.3 and 6.7.4 show the results of the variables applied as solutions (elements) and tested in the project success matrix in this study. In the results, the projects' community autonomy (89%, 3%), community structure and value system (66%) elements featured as highly successful in the Witimba Zone, as opposed to the same elements which measured low (87% and 66% respectively) in the hierarchical state-run schemes in the study. In the same vein, the Witimba projects measured high on elements of conflict management, comradeship and community building while in contrast the schemes measured low on these elements, as evidenced by participants' perceptions in the study. The project success indicators such as democratic structures, adaptive planning, inclusive participation and social freedom rated at 84.2%, 92%, 90.3%, and 54% respectively, faring better in Witimba than in the hierarchical schemes where ratings of 20%, 29%, 20% and 66% respectively were recorded in the baseline data of the Upper Hills programme. In the Witimba Zone, project design elements of building self-esteem, self-confidence and trust were still at a better level than before the model programme was launched. In the Witimba Zone, projects' average rating on the project success scale for decentralisation, local knowledge use, mind-set change, local resource mobilization, participatory monitoring and participatory decision making was high. The same elements (variables) did not measure well on the state-run schemes in the previous study. The results show that project success is to a great extent determined by the empowerment

process, which in this case was facilitated by the NGOs that were involved with community-managed programmes.

The NGO/solidaristic sector was also more inclined to build on the wealth of the poor than the technocrats in the bureaucracy in the baseline study. Following this trend, donor transformation featured more frequently on the agenda of NGOs than the state-run projects in the baseline. The NGOs were more receptive to local knowledge democratisation than the state schemes in the baseline. Finally, as far as social solutions were concerned, the NGOs fostered dis-indoctrination more than hierarchical state schemes and were more learning-oriented than the state schemes in the baseline studies of the model programme.

6.10 Research findings

The first finding is that social investment provides a solid foundation for the propagation of a participatory concept in development. Hence communities with high levels of social investment have an advantage in spearheading participation. In the same vein, the state, whose policies of development are grounded in socialism, is more people-focussed and this could augur well for participation. Secondly, project success is not determined solely by participation. Other factors are equally important and should be considered. There is a world beyond the control of the poor in which there are activities that are equally important in determining project success. Thirdly, socialisation and community social set up is critical to social organisation success. Most of the CBOs created are alien institutions that must go through an institutionalisation process in order to fit into poor people's perspectives, culture and practices. Hence, external institutions could create enabling and favourable conditions for the success of social organisations.

In addressing objective one of the research study, it has been clearly revealed that programme success is dependent on the behaviour of physical, economic, institutional and social parameters. In some instances, depending on the level of social investment,

more of these parameters would influence positive success in programmes. The objective points to the discovery that in rural agricultural programmes, a critical examination of these parameters could lead to improved programme design. Programme success is not an easy feat but is more easily attainable in participatory organisations. State-sponsored and controlled community development through classical socialism, i.e. where the factors of production are in the hands of the educated (working class) and based on old blueprint professionalism, has less chance of success. This in short has been termed failure of the bureaucracy. On the other hand, development localisation controlled and managed by the grassroots – democratic socialism – leads to a successful community development process that is permanent and sustainable. This can only happen through a revolutionary process that sets the poor masses free to determine their destiny.

As a finding in this research, community-based options that are built on the traditional and cultural perspectives of society, such as the community socialisation of Harambee, provide the long lasting solutions to economic problems. Through community management, a socialisation process towards independence and self-reliance can be cultivated in the community. This would eventually lead to a solid foundation on which self-reliant development processes can be based. Through such a process a distinct community would evolve that values its own resources and energies and uses them for development. Poverty becomes a major stimulus to which the community of the poor will react through social organisations. It is participatory organisations that provide the right environment and conditions which allow the community to engage in a war against the forces that cause their poverty.

6.11 Conclusion

The results from the project success variables point to a community development perspective that supports grassroots empowerment. In the NGO-supported community programmes, the social behaviours, attitudes and perspectives correspond to the concept of community as defined in this research. All the variables measured aim at enhancement

of social relations, community solidarity and community building. There is also evidence of community organisation and community building in a shared power base, decision-making and high sense of humanism. Development is becoming relationship building rather than technological advancement. Human relations are becoming more important than growth maximisation and economic advancements. Promotion of social solutions in rural projects therefore becomes one facet of the efforts of making community-based organisations self-sustaining.

The Witimba Community Based Organisation was chosen for the study of the hypothesis tested by the objectives of this study. The efforts of participatory development, grassroots democratisation, and development decentralisation have had a significant effect on the community of this region. Understanding the causes of project failure is foundational to the process of designing better projects that can withstand the forces that cause them to fail after donor support has ended. This objective became the focal point of this research. The process of identifying the causes of or challenges to achieving project success required the deployment of a combination of methods to unearth these challenges. In as much as other external non-participation factors would cause project failure, this research focussed particularly on human behaviour as regards people's participation in development projects. Human behaviour determines the success or failure of organisations. In general, the study represents two types of organisations: participatory organisations and synoptic organisations. The radicals support participatory structures, while the liberals show greater support for organisations with synoptic structures. Development programmes may be designed with the influence of either radical thinking or synoptic and bureaucratic perspectives. While there has been much criticism of synoptic structures, practice has shown that implementation in most rural development programmes has adopted synoptic thinking. In order to fulfill this objective of the research, a hypothesis was thus developed that continued to criticise synopsis and support the radical thinking that grassroots need to take charge of in the development process.

The results of the matrix assessment show that, in the case of physical and social solutions, the participatory organisations had adopted them more ably when compared to the baseline data that evaluated the state-run schemes. This implies that elements of flexibility, community involvement, social relations and adaptive planning in the participatory organisations provided the right environment for sustainability. The synoptic organisations are divorced from the people they are intended to serve and this creates problems in terms of identifying the right kinds of policies to address poverty. The structure of the organisation has some bearing on project success. The conical structure of the state-run schemes implements centralised power and authority. Participants do not have much to contribute to the kind of business that goes on in the programmes. As far as economic and institutional solutions are concerned, the need for a parent organisation is paramount, as this cannot be influenced by the grassroots. It is on this basis that the next chapter addresses alternatives for sustainability.

CHAPTER 7

RESEARCH RESULTS

DEFINING POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES AND GUIDELINES FOR SUSTAINABILITY

7.1 Introduction

Institutions at the core of the livelihood wheel (donor agencies, national agencies, international NGOs, national policy, international policy) must have appropriate alternatives and guidelines if they are to work at developing the capacity of the grassroots communities. While pursuing the objective of attaining sustainability in donor-funded projects, the chapter does provide a functional institutional perspective, looking briefly at institutional arrangements and classifications providing diversity in terms of roles of institutions. Institutions have been divided into public, private, commercial and charity entities. In the model all these institutions consolidate and focus their attention on the community. This is where forces and actions in reducing community poverty meet. The chapter seeks to show that such hierarchical institutions interact and transact with the grassroots institutions and this interaction determines sustainability of the latter. Through services and good delivery systems, some hierarchical public institutions provide social services to the grassroots poor and a partnership arrangement might allow the grassroots to participate in repairs and maintenance of social services and goods to ensure sustainable use. In expansive growth, high institutions have also used grassroots organisations to increase their influence and geographical coverage. Hierarchical commercial sector institutions use grassroots community-based organisations as conduits to proliferate commercial activities. In this regard, these will use mostly business models of operation so that they satisfy profit maximisation. The grassroots institutions will need to apply economic principles, especially in credit and savings, to allow themselves to transact business. Hierarchical charity or private sector institutions involve themselves with activities that aim at advocacy, lobbying and civil group democratisation. The existence of charity grassroots institutions will depend on the political and legal climate

that prevails. While several alternatives appear, the use of partnerships, business models, interventionist approaches and grassroots democratisation in the classical socialism context persists tenaciously.

It is evident in Witimba Zone and Upper Hills that the grassroots play a crucial role in ensuring social economic growth, especially as it provides labour, a domestic market and enhanced redistribution of income. Millions of people involve themselves in forestry-based enterprises, agricultural production, care and management of the ecology and social protection, all of which determine the health status of the macro economic indicators. The study reveals some clear evidence that thousands of forestry-based enterprise products have come onto the global market in a way that affects forex. The study emphasises that it would take government huge resources to finance social protection through the hierarchical public structures and to ably manage conservation and protection of the ecological systems while producing enough food to feed the nation. Applying alternatives such as partnership arrangements with such grassroots institutions spares substantial resources that would have been spent by the state. This allows the state to allocate its scarce resources to sectors of greater economic imperatives. In addition, the grassroots participation and involvement ensures equity in economic growth and distribution as the partnership allows liberal economy placement in the hands of a wider public in a perfect competition market environment. Partnerships encourage participation and also ensure that policies, approaches and strategies of development reflect people's needs, aspirations and dreams.

While the alternatives ensure that the grassroots have a proper stable foundation and make a profound contribution to improving rural livelihoods, grassroots institutions face challenges upon the termination of external support. In high technology-driven projects, this has been defined as a surge and is normal for all developments that change hands from high technology to low technology. One current example is the deserted farms and ranches in Zimbabwe which were wrested from the white minority and are now operating below optimal levels. A myriad factors has brought about this low level of productivity

on such farms, despite political empowerment. As defined in the previous chapter, the challenges are both macro and micro in that they can be located at the core or the periphery of the livelihood model. The challenges are not narrow spectrum in their effect but rather broad spectrum while specific to the nature or classification of the grassroots. It is in this context that the chapter develops guidelines to assist the process of engaging with the grassroots, and to ensure adaptive and incremental planning processes to achieve project success. Hence the study deploys a plethora of methods to achieve the stated objectives, including defining alternatives and developing institutional-specific guidelines. The methods include observation, survey, literature reviews, documentation, community dialogue, community interface, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Institutional SWOT analysis also forms part of the methods that the study uses to identify and develop guidelines. The guidelines and alternatives assist communities to gain control of and own the factors of production, especially as they influence higher institutions to adopt rural development strategies.

7.2 Research objective three: Defining possible alternatives

Methodology used: survey, literature reviews, documentation

Table 7.1 Defining possible alternatives for attaining project sustainability

Alternative	Witimba Zone	Upper Hills State
Projects		
Support from		
Professional bodies	Norad Development Fund	Chitedze research station.
State policy support	Forestry Act & Policy	Forestry Act & Policy
Heavy funding support	WVI, Masaf, DDF, Norad	World Bank, European Union
Partnerships	Enhanced	Limited
Community trust funds	Enhanced	Limited
Transformation		
Development	Limited	Limited
Reducing growth	Domestic driven	Export driven
Fighting industrialisation	Expropriation	Dispossession
Livelihoods approaches	Enhanced	Limited
Ideal-seeking behaviours	Limited	Limited
Social responsibility	Limited	Limited
Business models	Infant stage	Infant stage
Social capital maximisation	Enhanced	Limited
De-subsidisation	Limited	Limited
Project indigenisation	Practised	Not applicable
Co-evolution	Practised	Not applicable
Interventionist approaches	Limited	Limited
Conflict management	Limited	Limited

Table 7.1 above indicates that the 21 alternatives were more intensified in the Witimba Zone under solidaristic/NGO management than in the hierarchical Upper Hills under state-managed community development projects. This scenario reflects that democratisation is more feasible in democratic environments than are bureaucratic set ups. Alternative analysis shows that due to globally supported governance and rural development orientation, more charity sector institutions have had easy access to opportunities of enhancing grassroots empowerment. The shift in terms of donor orientation explains this situation, where more funding and attention favours the charity sector. Though participation and creation of democratic structures is not a panacea for solving problems of centralisms and project failure, according to the 21 alternatives, project effectiveness does not happen without it. Though similar alternatives were applied in both cases, the intensity and level of commitment was greater in Witimba Community Based Organisations than in the hierarchical Upper Hills state-supported projects. The presence of a donor in any community does not automatically mean success for a project, but it takes the working culture of that donor to contribute to success. Of the 21 alternatives identified through documentary reviews, the section below centres on explaining only four: transformation development (Myers 1999:77), the intervention approach (Brue 2002:407-557), the partnership approach (De Beer 2001:15), and communitarianism in the context of socialism (Fukuyama 1997:99-112).

7.2.1 Transformational development – a grassroots alternative for project success.

Authors of development literature, especially those with a radical orientation, argue that rural communities must develop self-confidence and value their own local resources and skills in order to attain sustainability (Myers 1999:37-42). Rondinelli (1993:67-88) points to the need for moving from pessimism and a state of resignation towards optimism and this is at the heart of community self-reliance literature. According to Swanepoel (2000:16-19), transformational development must deal a heavy blow to ‘psychological poverty’. Authors observe that pessimistic attitudes towards efforts of dealing with

poverty seem to have done more harm to the poor than the scarcity of development resources (Myers 1999:87-121). The community of the poor seem to have accepted their status and to look to the rich for rescue from the shooting pains of poverty. Hence a deeply entrenched attitude towards benevolence has taken its toll on the poor. In order to deal with this state of affairs, a process of conscientisation must be set in motion, a point that Selener (1998:15-22) makes in his book – referring to ‘*participatory research*’. In this process of conscientisation, the poor encounter a certain measure of enlightenment that provides some liberation (Power 1997:55-59). The conscientisation process must build on a disindocrination process (Selener 1998:15-27) that allows the poor to unlearn the narrative, the concepts and the ideologies of the upper class that engross them. According to authors of development literature, the poor must chart their own way of defining development – anti-giantism – and of viewing their poverty-stricken situation. Kulaisi (1993:12-15), paraphrasing Paul Freire, notes that transformation development is about liberation from the social, personal, political and economic chains (social praxis). In this study, results supporting this transformation alternative reveal a low 36% of respondents saying that even when World Vision ceases to support them, they have enough capacity and skills to proceed with development efforts in the Witimba Zone. In the hierarchical Upper Hills the level of benevolence was much deeper as only 2% of the participants were optimistic about development in the absence of donor aid. This highlights the fact that only a very slight degree of transformation took place in people’s views and perceptions about development as a result of the model implemented in a deeply centrist state.

7.2.2 *Development interventionist approach – an alternative for project success*

Fukuyama (1997:22-33) contends that for the south, the economic path should be socialism and not capitalism. Under socialism the community owns and controls resources and hence the state and the people are, in principle, in the driving seat of development. Perhaps the perplexing issue is how fast African countries have adopted capitalistic notions. It should be noted that the push towards adopting capitalism has been particularly intense where aid is used to influence the process. Kinyanjui (1994:77-79)

provides an example of how developing third world countries have imitated foreign policies and ideologies as gospel truth to plan and implement their own development. A vivid example of this is the industrialisation in Uganda that threatens rain forest dwellers, privatisation policies in Africa, and some imperatives of the adjustment programmes. Locally in the Upper Hills and in Witimba CBO, one area of concern is that the forestry-based enterprises are facing market competition such that the poor are no longer able to find space in a market dominated by the private sector. Owing to privatisation and liberalisation, many private businesses are taking part in forestry-based enterprises such as honey production, mushroom production and charcoal making, and the poor are losing these businesses to the rich. The macro complications of capitalism are thus showing some manifestations at micro level. Just as in the core – periphery scenario, the poor are relegated to the production business while processing and adding value remains the domain of the business tycoons. In a liberal market, the poor are facing high prices, and cannot challenge the higher price policies that militate against them (Chambers 1983:51-69). In this context, government will need to intervene through setting up some regulatory measures to protect the poor from exploitation (Brue 2002:472-677). The rationale for intervening is that cases have been documented in Witimba Community-Based Organisation and Upper Hills where some private businesses have displaced local people or have bought out large portions of land for developing their own private industries. Although this industrialisation imperative has the full support of recipient poor countries, it must not become a means for economic growth as it only manages to reduce the poor to abject poverty as they lose their livelihoods. An interventionist approach through legal provisions would facilitate the creation of a sound environment for the poor to participate in development. Also in the interventionist approach, government will need to engage itself deliberately with community building processes. Through these processes, the community will chart its own way towards poverty management. As NGOs and governments design rural-based programmes of development, the subordinate position of the poor must be adequately understood. Raising the position of the poor in terms of power and influence, community understanding of development and its dynamism, building enough grassroots technical and skills capacity and redistributing the

economic growth will determine project success. Therefore the hierarchical state will need to intervene where the poor have lost position in the market due to complex forces. Additionally, interventionist approaches should allow more poor people to benefit from enabling policies and access to resources, and should further wider economic redistribution and growth.

7.2.3 Partnership approaches – an alternative for project success

In terms of alternatives, it emerged more clearly in the Witimba Community-Based Organisation than in the hierarchical Upper Hills that partnerships had led to some success in most of the NGO donor-funded projects. While several reasons account for this success in partnership arrangements, the poor do not lose their entitlement to resources and livelihoods. For instance, the USAID-supported environmental conservation and management projects created a management plan where community leaders took leadership in managing the resources in their area. The created leadership structures, such as Village Natural Resources Management committee, took it upon themselves to regulate the use of the natural resources surrounding their areas. The USAID project funded the skills' development workshops, marketing and produce processing capacity training, so that the community benefited economically from their conservation efforts and protection of the resource base from abuse. Hence partnerships allow communities to link up with outside institutions, and benefit from skills and technical resources. The partnership approach allows efficient use of donor resources as it avoids duplication and raises the portfolio of such local communities linked with international professional bodies. There will be a continuous flow of resources from the donor community as long as the objectives being pursued by the grassroots are also relevant to global working imperatives. The Rio summit on sustainable development is a good example, where communities involved in this initiative of sustainable development receive adequate support and recognition from world bodies on environment. Partnerships allow the grassroots the opportunity to access skills and more supportive

programming scope. Therefore it provides a solid framework through which the grassroots can engage with high institutions.

7.2.4 Building ideal-seeking behaviours in communities – an alternative for project success

Today what the world needs is development with a human face rather than an exploitative globalisation face. There is need for development that does not discriminate or benefit only a few privileged groups, leaving the masses in the agony of poverty. This is what Clerk calls appropriate development (1991:77). There is a need to take note of the persuasions of Nyerere through his Ujamma and Kenyatta through his Harambee, as some of the main concepts entrenching self-reliance. According to Putman (2000:17-22) and Smith (2001:22-29), working towards the common good helps to build relationships that form the core of participation. Therefore donors and aid agencies should not destroy the community in terms of its solidarity. It has been observed that as donors come into the Witimba Community-Based Organisation and Upper Hills, disequilibria occurs, resulting in the community showing some signs of disintegration. The lack of trust among members and low spirit of accountability are pointers to the self-seeking attitudes that are a typical characteristic of hierarchical capitalism. This has been found to be counterproductive in community-based projects. Externally supported projects have at times the tendency to disrupt community togetherness and autonomy. Observation shows that as resources of development are given to one group in the community, such actions result in unnecessary tension and ill feeling among community members. Social disruption and alienation may occur, caused by donor projects that are implemented in the rural areas. Again, a certain competitive behaviour may manifest itself in the community as a result of the social economic projects that have been introduced.

In modern development directions, according to Lewanika (1994), relationships must become the fabric of development. Hence ideal-seeking behaviours are cultivated through processes of nurturing relationships, nurturing a spirit of communalism and disallowing a

monopoly over resources and capital. As defined in chapters 1 and 2, cooperatives and associations help to create ideal-seeking behaviours (Salles 2002:22-26). Therefore alternatives should be situation specific and part of modern management skills as we build them from scanning the boundary, analysing externalities and developing a greater understanding of the livelihood wheel. Alternatives may take a particular policy direction, a revolutionised imperative, and may seek to change the status quo around development issues. Alternatives help in that the practitioners of development begin to think from a philosophical point of view. Defining possible alternatives is premised on the thinking that there is always a solution to a problem and that it takes efforts of grassroots-based reasoning to discover such solutions.

7.3 Research objective four: Sustainability of grassroots institutions

The following methodologies were used: community dialogue, community interface, institutional analysis, and documentary reviews.

7.3.1 Sustainability perspective analysis: institutional point of view

The willingness and the effort that the hierarchical higher institutions put into sustainability is critical. There are cases where sustainability of the grassroots, according to Fowler (1994:55-65), may threaten the regime, and political hegemony. In the livelihood wheel, one may ask what will become of the donors when communities become self-sufficient? Will the donors continue to exist? On the other hand, the perceptions of the poor of sustainability may determine project success. True to this, a total of nine Witimba Project committees and nine Upper Hills committees visited in the course of this study defined sustainability as maintenance of the project outcomes and continued delivery of goods and services after the termination of donor support. As a politically sensitive dimension, sustainability is a move towards self-support in development efforts. Since sustainability could be sensitive as it stands, can we ensure

the commitment of the high institutions to its achievement? The commitment of proponents of sustainability or the achievement of self-reliance or self-support becomes imperative, hence their cross-examination in this study. As parent organisations, the donor community, the project implementing partners, service providers and the charity sector determine project outcomes. In other institutional study methods, an equation of supply and demand of goods and services is used to categorise institutions into producers and consumers. The services and goods can be further classified into social and private goods. In this research, institutions have been classified as public, commercial, charity and private (Brue 2002:472-557). This has some implications on how such institutions need to approach sustainability as they all engage with the free or mixed economy structure. The study has therefore developed guidelines for each classified institution. As discussed in chapter 2 and 3, the limitations, restrictions and lack of freedom in the poverty theory found root in these institutions as these care for survival systems and structures.

There is always competition in supply and consumption of goods and services, influenced by multiple social factors. Such factors are enhancers as well as stimulators of supply and demand. Since so many factors may enhance consumption and supply and it becomes difficult to study all of them, the research has clustered these into complex variables. For instance, those factors that stimulate community empowerment are referred to as social empowerment complex variables while those that stimulate trade transactions are termed business complex variables, and so forth. These complex variables have been tested in social experiments to determine how they contribute to the attainment of self-reliance. The complex variables have been designed as programmes in combination for greater effect and synergy. The social empowerment complex variable embedded in a programme would look at issues of income, micro lending, and democracy in small projects. This would take the willingness of the support institutions that the grassroots receive the necessary capacity for social empowerment into account.

7.3.2 Institutional design: impact on sustainability

The process of making CBOs self-sustaining should take into account the design and organisational nature and types of institutions behind their formation. In broad terms, there are democratic designs, participatory designs and bureaucratic and power centralised institutions. Further to that, in this research, four types of these institutions (social service institutions, commercial institutions, productive sector (economic) institutions, and civil institutions) exist. Observations show that the public and commercial sector institutions are more bureaucratic in their construction than charity sector institutions. CBOs such as those in agricultural production, i.e. in irrigation, dairy production, soil and water conservation, and forestry management, falling under the public sector, learn from their parent organisations to be bureaucratic in their nature. Such CBOs will need to put in place a participatory design for sustainability in their structure. CBOs in the public social service sector include those in health, water sanitation and education. These are involved with delivery functions, regulatory functions, consumption and utilisation of the services provided by public social service sector institutions. The survival of such CBOs is dependent on the flow of resources, goods and services from the parent support institutions. Such CBOs are used as conduits, but have no capacity to produce the goods and services that go through them. They help in ensuring that the goods and services reach the intended beneficiaries as necessary delivery structures. Donors have a greater inclination towards social service investment than economic sector investment in their designs. Hence social service CBOs survive on a continual flow of aid from the donors.

The third category of CBOs is classified as commercial sector CBOs and these are influenced by commercial sector principles and policies in their operation and are concerned with profit maximisation. The CBOs in IGAs, savings, credit and micro

businesses survive on a profit margin concept. In most cases, MFIs form and manage their business through CBOs that are classified as commercial. These will survive depending on the market forces and their competitive capacity.

The fourth category of CBOs comprises those that are classified as civil entities. These exist to address certain social problems that affect a particular society or community, creating an enabling environment in terms of policy, rights, freedoms, governance, democracy, rule of law and legal matters. Just as in the case of the second category (public social services), these CBOs act as conduits through which large civil institutions operate to engage with the grassroots. The survival of these groups is again dependent on the continued flow of donor resources to the causes that exist, the political climate and massive participation. Also, the CBOs will take on different structures depending on which parent organisation is behind their formation and they may be staffed with people whose behaviours portray a liking for participation in management or synoptic planning systems.

7.3.3 Implications of the nature of support institutions and survival of grassroots

The institutional capacity of the hierarchical institutions of development, whether public, commercial or charitable, will determine the continuity of the local institution (CBO) that is used to spread their functions. Authors of development pay considerable attention to parent institution capacity in order to project survival of the donor-supported grassroots. The opinion 'like father like son' holds true in some cases. In other cases, those CBOs that are in the commercial and economic sector are supposed to graduate to independent institutions of development detached from the parent institutions and have to employ different sustainability strategies to survive in the market. One may take note that different sustainability design strategies are a reflection of the challenges that these CBOs face to survive. Those CBOs classified in the public economic sector have to be designed in such a way that they have control over and own production factors. The challenge

comes when they fail to own and access the factors of production such as land, labour, raw materials, skills, knowledge and markets due to synoptic approaches of development that keep the poor passive. The ability to access resources of production factors is determined by one's position in society. The poor are not usually in a position to influence access to production factors and this becomes a political or social dimension of poverty. Accordingly, the poor do not have choices to make but rather are pushed into marginalisation and suffer from geographical and physical limitations.

Those CBOs involved in proliferating commercial sector activities are faced with challenges of supply and demand, trade, market competition and competitive abilities on the market. Hence the market factors of inflation, interest rates, competition, devaluation and currency flotation affect their performance and survival.

Those CBOs proliferating utilisation and consumption of the social services sector face supply and institutional challenges. Factors such as lack of interest by the state and private sector in investing in social services, donor fatigue, reduced funding, or change of donor conditions and priorities affect the continuity of such local institutions.

Fowler (1994:56-97) points out that those CBOs in the civil group have to face some political hostility, indifference and governance challenges from the bureaucratic high institutions. In view of the discussion of the challenges above, the design of programmes and the parent organisation supporting such programmes has a bearing on the survival of the CBOs proliferating their activities: no single design strategy can be applied to all categories of CBOs, in other words.

7.3.4 The design effect and project sustainability: multiple dimensions of development

Different societies have their own perspectives of development. In advanced societies where the economic focus is on consumption-high societies, development could focus on

the social effects of that development, e.g. crime rate, moral standing of society, etc. The design of the country programmes would focus on such issues. In societies that comprise under-consuming, poor communities, the focus would be on expanding forex so as to stimulate growth. One would expect to see more economism in such societies. In both scenarios, what affects outcomes of a programme are the technical details and skills that go into the design and planning of projects. In addition, society derives different meanings from the concept of development. As defined elsewhere, development takes on multiple dimensions depending on the nature of the theory underpinning it. Development can take a moral, social, economical, psychological or political dimension. In all these dimensions, it is people's behaviour influenced by the organisational environment of the institutions under which they operate that determines outcomes. The CBOs can also take similar dimensions in terms of their functions: thus they may be moral, economic, social, psychological or political in their orientation. In this research, it has been argued that there are basically three approaches to development, namely, the social development approach, the economic development approach and the human rights and empowerment approach. In this regard, one would still see concepts such as social investment, economic investment and civil rights investment. Such investments would also determine sustainability of local institutions used as conduits for the proliferation of formal development institutions.

7.3.4.1 Social investment and rural development

In the social development approach, investments in infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, markets and health and education demands huge resources. The rural poor themselves cannot manage to mobilise their own local resources to establish such infrastructure. Such projects fall within the macro development initiatives and only the state with donor resources can invest in such infrastructure. Again, one of characteristics of social investment is that profits and the benefits are latent. Programme design for sustainability of capital infrastructure depends on efficiency in their operations

and effective repairs and maintenance. In the context of the free market, this points to a fundamental aspect of how the poor can pay for services and goods provided by the state. The community certainly pays for the consumption of such social services through repair and maintenance to avoid the dilapidation and degradation of such infrastructure in the rural community. Central governments have created central functions that look into repairs and maintenance. In the Malawian situation, documentary reviews show that in the past the Ministry of Works maintained government social infrastructure in rural areas. In the context of decentralisation, this function has passed to the local assemblies that are now charged with maintenance work of social infrastructure. In the present study, experience shows that this function of repair and maintenance is a challenge as inadequate funds are channelled to local authorities. Hence the option of going beyond decentralisation is significant to enhancing participatory development that can provide an opportunity for involving the community members in their own development.

7.3.4.2 Informal sector growth and social capital maximisation in programming

The anthropologists and sociologists in the development domain have propounded the concept of social capital. This term refers to human relations that may at times be symbiotic or a-symbiotic. Maximising relationship building provides an opportunity for relations to work as a currency that can influence distribution of goods and services. As part of designing effective programmes for community building, social capital maximisation becomes a core imperative. Under social capital maximisation, networking and internal relations become part of a programming package. Hence rural development programmes, according to the present research, must take the initiative in sharing power with the grassroots involved in the management of social infrastructure, especially in Witimba Zone. Social capital maximisation sees the need to go beyond decentralisation to local communities where one would see community members themselves taking charge and control of the social infrastructure. As a finding, rural roads, schools, water points and health centres fall under the management of local structures. Hence a

committee on water, school, or roads, enhances repair and maintenance of such infrastructure as people use their relations to work together. The economics of relations play a vital role in social capital maximisation as they provide the right skills and knowledge that community members need to repair and maintain social infrastructure such as schools, boreholes and clinics. Owing to community relations at local level, the poor are able to contribute money, skills, labour, moral support and rules and regulations that govern and assist in the process of repairing and maintaining social infrastructure.

In the pursuit of sustainability, the capacity of local institutions to meet recurrent costs is determinant for their survival (Salles 2002:17-32). According to the study of various institutions, social sector investment forms a foundation for economic growth, and third sector growth determines the performance of local structures and their engagement in the macro development processes (Makombe 2007:22-29). The underground trade, manufacturing and transactions contribute to social welfare and household income at grassroots level. At grassroots level, people survive and make a living from resources such as skills, relations, capacities and abilities. They also survive on natural resources such as land, forestry, water and minerals. Such an informal economy supports 80% to 90% of the rural masses in Malawi. The results support the argument that in community development, where the state takes the responsibility of bringing development to the poor through the involvement of the poor themselves, the informal sector economy is vital. In the context of a relational economy, transactions take place which are not governed by the monetary value system, but are based on the strength of agreements, social relations, consensus building, values and moral ethics, through which people share resources. It becomes evident that through third sector enhancement approaches, while at macro level goods, services and financial resources govern transactions, at grassroots level it is the social capital that operates. Traditional institutions such as burial committees, herbalist groups and village health and water committees are vital as learning points in the establishment and development of local structures. Such institutions operate and are governed by value systems, consultations, agreements and associations. The local structures are deeply rooted in the traditional and cultural systems of society. Their

cohesion is influenced by communal problems, social obligations, community support, acceptance and legitimacy, factors that are lacking in the higher bureaucratic institutions. The rich traditional knowledge and practices offer a learning process through which skills and capacities are passed on from one generation to the other. Such social attributes contribute social capital as a resource that is used increasingly in projects that have shown high performance. Such issues find explanation in the anthropology of development, a concept that sociologists have used increasingly to explain the significant role that sociological disciplines play in rural development.

According to a plethora of projects studied, sustainability of projects requires that traditional and cultural values are incorporated in externally initiated development projects. Development processes must be rooted in people's culture and traditional practices as traditional and cultural values determine social stability. According to the focus group discussions, values such as social relations, beliefs, practices and myths all play a role in social stability. These practices form part of existing factors that will help the group stick together or disband as in most cases conflicts have led to CBOs disbanding and failing to continue. In communities, conflicts are caused by factors such as ethnicity, personal differences, and the scramble for resources, tribalism, apartheid, disagreements and resistance to change. In the studied catchments, results show that a community does not inhabit only one tribe, but is rather a multiracial settlement and hence bound to hold different opinions and views. Forming and establishing sustainable CBOs is not a structured problem, and it requires adaptive thinking and orientation.

The study affirms that communities have strength in that they rely very much on negotiation skills, traditional leadership, traditional legal provisions, agreements and social relations in dealing with conflicts, cases and disagreements that exist amongst them. One finding to this effect is that central government has in certain instances withdrawn its involvement in conflict management at grassroots level, leaving it to traditional leadership. Hence such traditional arrangements that deal with conflicts and bring about resolutions at grassroots level reflect the central role that the people of the

community have to manage themselves. Traditional leadership structures are thus crucial in the formation and establishment of CBOs as their inclusion ensures legitimacy and acceptance of such local institutions among the people. The social investment and growth of third sector economy hinges on the support that traditional leadership gives to such initiatives entrenched by social capital.

7.3.4.3 Grassroots democratisation programming

Democratisation is the main feature of autonomous communities that live somehow independently of central government activities. As a main area of argument by the radical group, development programme designs must ensure that grassroots organisations are given adequate opportunity to realise social power and thereby self-reliance. This social power will give them a voice and allow them to reposition themselves in society so that their voice is heard, a point that more radicals share. Institutional analysis shows that CBOs in the civil legal rights field have looked at social empowerment as a significant programming area. To civil rights entities, freedom is part of development. Democratisation hence means freedom, civil influence and civil authority in governance and the formation of economic development policies. The projects that participated in the study agreed that decentralisation cannot work without democratisation. Democratisation is hence a possible strategy for enhancement of CBO sustainability. There is a general position that when the poor raise their social profiles to a point where they influence policies, governance and approaches of development, their initiatives through local institutions will have a chance of survival and they will be ready to engage with forces, institutions and policies that cause their poverty and disillusionment. Results show that those CBOs in the production business cannot survive in the face of market and policy forces that work to their disadvantage. For example, many farmers complain that the produce they bring to the market is dumped and they get little return on their production owing to a lack of social organisation. Hence a change in market policies and forces will demand that poor farmers create a voice through direct democratic political machinery. These results correspond to some global analyses on trends of development where, in

support of this concept of democratisation, the donor community influences all African states to adopt a development process, where the grassroots take charge as the ultimate beneficiaries. Initiatives such as public participation, decentralisation and democracy aim at engaging the grassroots poor in doing development.

Different donors support this process of grassroots empowerment: however, not all these donors make similar provisions for democratisation as some donors could perpetuate dependency. Hence, grassroots democratisation requires donor support, effective community development approaches, and an enabling economic environment at both political and social levels.

7.3.4.4 Donor-led grassroots democratisation – shared power design analysis

When taking a look at the livelihood wheel design for sustainability, one must take into consideration the donor push in terms of community autonomy policy orientation. The current study reveals that multilateral donor institutions such as the World Bank and IMF have a very powerful position from which to influence policy change in macro economic change processes. For example, through the structural adjustment programmes that many poor communities have adopted, there has been an adequate move in country policy change and analysis with a donor tilt towards rural development strategies. For example, the tilt is induced by a micro lending boom in Asia where 100 million of the poorest people have access to micro credit, according to a micro credit summit campaign, and seven million of the poor have access to credit in Syria. The research makes mention of the International Development Minister for Germany, Heidemarie Wiecek Zeul, who used her authority to press rich nations at the G8 summit in Germany to create micro credit funds for African entrepreneurs as a way to help the continent's poorest. According to the president, Africa has the greatest potential for a micro credit boom. According to Mohammed Yunus, founder of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, ending world poverty can be done through micro lending. According to research, adopting the Asian Micro-credit

Model that survives on the economies of scale due to high population density requires population densities that are high in order to benefit these economies of scale. The International Finance Corporation, the private sector arm of the World Bank, envisages technology and pooling borrowers as feasible ways of managing credit efficiently. It is thus clear that grassroots economic empowerment, enhanced through micro lending, is a pre-requisite for third sector growth and local institutional sustainability. As a donor programming strategy, the Overseas Development Agencies – a government-to-government funding arrangement – offers another donor initiative to grassroots empowerment. In Malawi, the Danish and German governments, through DANIDA and GTZ respectively, have focussed much attention on grassroots democratisation through promotion of rule of law, democracy and peace and dialogue initiatives in the context of the politics of democracy. Such institutions have viewed development as rights and freedoms in societies. In that regard, the grassroots are being mobilised and made aware of rights issues and the rule of law. Through donor support, the rights-based approach to development has enhanced a clearer understanding among the grassroots that individuals have basic rights. In the same context, concepts of gender equity, accountability and transparency provide the correct environment for grassroots to engage in development that benefits them. Economic growth and sustainability is ensured in a corruption-free environment. The various opinions in the study concur with a strong assumption that if all donor resources were wisely used without corruption, poverty would have been greatly reduced. Hence the bilateral donor institutions have targeted the non-profit sector and civil society so that they engage with the grassroots for purposes of empowerment in a participatory democratic environment. In support of civil society, the 1998 Church Forum Report indicates that in Malawi, the churches are increasingly becoming channels through which donors and well-wishers support poverty alleviation efforts. The reports conclude that, as institutions, churches have made a profound contribution to peace building and conflict management in Malawi at grassroots level. Adoption of these power-sharing designs in programming by various institutions requires that guidelines be put in place to act as a guide in policy formulation and standards of operation. The section that follows develops some possible guidelines.

7.4 Guidelines for community-based organisation sustainability

As explained in previous chapters, the process of attaining sustainability does not follow a structured problem perspective. The process depends instead on the community autonomy development philosophies of support institutions and their locally based development programme structures. Programme design affects four groups of institutions that have been identified, namely economic, commercial, social and civil institutions. In all these institutions, different perspectives of development opinion have emerged as to whether synoptic approaches to planning or popular planning contribute to sustainability. CBOs fall under one or more of these institutions as such higher institutions use the CBO approach to proliferate their functioning. Hence the study develops guidelines for each institution respectively.

7.4.1 Economic sector community-based organisations

The core community in the livelihood wheel has the responsibility of bringing development to the peripheral communities through following some policies and guidelines. The study undertook interface and focus group discussions, in which government officials, private sector officials and charity sector officials received responses from the community on what their roles would be and guidelines to contribute to grassroots project sustainability.

7.4.1.1 Public Sector Guidelines

According to the participants in the research, government must provide the right policies for involvement and participation of the grassroots in forestry and natural resources management. Hence the public sector must do the following:

- Invest in building capacity of grassroots so that they use the natural resources base in a sustainable manner.
- Promote rural processing industries that offer a ready market for the natural products.
- Enact enabling legislative laws that strengthen the position of the grassroots.
- Facilitate the creation of associations and freedom of association as a platform for the grassroots poor.
- Increase social investment in communication and transport networks.
- Institute deliberate rural transport and communication policies.
- Provide guidelines and a regulating framework to guide micro finance institutions.
- Provide guidance and a regulatory framework to guide the operations of the charity sector.
- Institute checks and balances to guard against exploitative tendencies towards the poor on the market.
- Institute enabling market policies.
- Guarantee credit facilities for the poor.

7.4.1.2 Commercial Sector Guidelines

According to the participants in the research, the business community should provide the right policies for involvement and participation of the grassroots in forestry and natural resource management. Hence the commercial sector must do the following:

- Provide effective demand for natural or forestry resource-based enterprise products, e.g. timber, honey, mushrooms, medicine etc.
- Invest and expand the industrial sector.
- Invest in social services, e.g. health, education and roads as a social responsibility.
- Institute deliberate lending policies to target the grassroots poor.

- Create a favourable lending environment through flexibility and supportive conditions, e.g. collaterals, low borrowing interest.
- Provide civic education and capacity building to clients to enable them to manage the loans.
- Make provision for consumption loans.

7.4.1.3 Charity Sector Guidelines

According to the participants in the research, the charity sector must provide the right policies for involvement and participation of grassroots communities in forestry and natural resources management. Hence the charity sector must do the following:

- Avoid cheap funds and handouts when they engage with the grassroots.
- Invest in civic education and capacity building around the interventions supported.
- Invest in building social infrastructure, i.e self reliance self-confidence, accountability and social power.
- Facilitate partnership building and linkage of grassroots to other institutions.
- Create massive awareness of constitutional and development rights.
- Promote advocacy for effective policies, development strategies and conditions.
- Promote local entrepreneurship.

7.4.2 Social sector community-based organisations

7.4.2.1 Public Sector Guidelines

- Enhance social investment and social spending.
- Provide an enabling policy environment for social sector investment.
- Provide adequate policy for human resource development for efficient delivery of social service.

- Promote equity in social services delivery, e.g. roads, health, education, etc.

7.4.2.2 *Commercial Sector Guidelines*

- Provide social responsibility policies that enable the sector to plough money back into the communities of the poor.
- Institute manageable user pay principles in the social service.
- Integrate micro lending, loans and credit with a social package, e.g. HIV/Aids mainstreaming in credit structures.
- Make provision for grants to support natural resource-base conservation (e.g. forestry projects).
- Institute grants provision to support forestry-based enterprises, e.g. charcoal, timber, honey, fruits, etc.

7.4.2.3 **Charity Sector Guidelines**

- Promote community involvement in repair and maintenance of social facilities, health, schools, etc.
- Promote community involvement in management of the social facilities, e.g. schools, water points.
- Promote community participation in social project identification, analysis, implementation and evaluation.
- Promote community ownership of social projects.
- Enable infusion of community perspectives in social policy, so that projects are demand driven.
- Play an advocacy role to enable increased social investment by the donor community.

7.4.3 **Civil society sector and civil community-based organisations**

7.4.3.1 Public Sector Guidelines

- Provide the right environment for peace, freedom and basic human rights attainment.
- Provide framework for cordial existence of the civil society organisations.
- Provide conditions for non-conflict and non-confrontational engagement with civil society.
- Enable cordial relationships with international funding agencies that support civil groups.
- Provide a forum and adequate opportunities for dialogue with civil groups.
- Create reasonable partnerships with civil organisations.
- Create social networks with civil groups.
- Provide adequate funding to the cause of civil groups.
- Provide enabling regulatory framework for civil group operations.

7.4.3.2 Commercial Sector Guidelines

- Provide adequate support to civil groups that fight certain market injustices, e.g. fair trade, anti-globalisation, reduced tariffs.
- Provide prudent financial support to lobby groups and advocacy groups.
- Promote integration of loan and credit facilities into advocacy work.

7.4.3.3 Charity Sector Guidelines

- Support legal protection for members of the civil groups.
- Advocate for establishment of legal mandate for operations and activities of the civil groups.

- Support constitutional rights and protection of the civil groups.
- Provide adequate funding for democratisation of the grassroots.
- Promote training and capacity building in civil groups.
- Become a voice for the civil groups, and engage with high institutions responsible for the poverty situation.

7.5 Charity sector guidelines for grassroots empowerment

- Avoid cheap funds and handouts as they engage with the grassroots.
- Invest in civic education and capacity building around the interventions supported.
- Invest in building social infrastructure, i.e. self-reliance, self-confidence, accountability, social power.
- Facilitate partnership building and linkage of grassroots to other institutions.
- Create massive awareness of constitutional and development rights.
- Promote advocacy for effective policies, development strategies and conditions.
- Promote local entrepreneurship.
- Promote community involvement in repair and maintenance of social facilities, health, schools, etc.
- Promote community involvement in management of the social facilities, e.g. schools, water points.
- Promote community participation in social project identification, analysis, implementation and evaluation.
- Promote community ownership of social projects.
- Enable infusion of community perspectives in social policy, so that projects are demand driven.
- Play advocacy role to enable increased social investment by the donor community.
- Support legal protection for members of the civil groups.

- Advocate for establishment of legal mandate for operations and activities of the civil groups.
- Support constitutional rights and protection of the civil groups.
- Provide adequate funding for democratisation of the grassroots.
- Promote training and capacity building in civil groups.
- Become a voice for the civil groups, and engage with high institutions responsible for the poverty situation.

7.6 Guidelines and research hypothesis correlation

Developing sustainability guidelines points to the fact that the development environment is fluid and the same solutions cannot be prescribed for all the challenges of sustainability. These guidelines will help institutions in designing their projects. Projects designed with full observance of these guidelines have higher chances of success than those that undermine the stated guidelines. The guidelines advocate adaptive approaches to rural project planning, popular approaches to rural project planning, and emphasise the creation of a friendly environment in terms of policy and legal instruments. The guidelines recognise that the poor have a weak position in society and they call for the stronger institutions to undertake deliberate efforts to enhance the participation and involvement of the poor in poverty eradication efforts. The guidelines recognise that various institutions interact and that this interaction has some major implications. The social, economic, physical and political environments present such a challenge that the success of the grassroots institutions cannot be guaranteed. Hence this process of guideline development addresses the hypothesis that participation, democratic environments and the way projects have been designed affect project effectiveness.

7.7 Conclusion

The conceptual livelihood wheel model provides a cross-section view of institutions with varying degrees of influence. The conceptual institutional stratum that looks briefly at institutional classification provides diversity in terms of roles of institutions in development. Adequately categorising institutions into public, private, charity and commercial entities, the interactions and transactions that go on in grassroots institutions determine sustainability. Public institutions are charged with social services provision to the grassroots poor. A partnership arrangement will allow the grassroots to participate in repairs and maintenance of social services and goods through their involvement and participation. Sustainability of such grassroots community organisations is dependent on the continued flow of services and goods or funds to enable them to transact business.

In the commercial sector institutions, the grassroots community-based organisations have to use business models of operation in order to satisfy profit maximisation. The grassroots institutions, particularly in credit and savings, will have to apply economic principles to allow themselves to transact business.

As for the charity sectors, in most cases they see themselves in activities that aim at advocacy, lobbying and civil group democratisation. The existence of such grassroots activities will depend on the political and legal events and climate that prevails.

As institutions of development, the grassroots play a crucial role in ensuring social economic growth with equity in distribution. These grassroots institutions are composed of millions of people involved in forestry-based enterprises, agricultural production, care and management of the ecology and social protection, all of which determine the health status of the macro economic indicators. Thousands of forestry-based enterprise products are on the global market, involved in international trade that in a way affects the forex of a particular nation. It would take government huge resources to finance social protection, to ably manage conservation and protection of the ecological systems and to produce enough food to feed the nation. A partnership arrangement with such grassroots institutions thus spares substantial resources that would have been spent by the state and

can now be diverted to other imperatives of development. In addition, the grassroots participation and involvement ensures equity in economic growth and distribution. It also ensures that policies, approaches and strategies of development reflect people's needs, aspirations and dreams.

Grassroots institutions face challenges of sustainability upon the termination of external support owing to high development fluidity. A myriad factors causes this predicament of sustainability and while some challenges have cross-cutting effects with a broad spectrum, others are specific to the nature or classification of grassroots communities. In short, there are political, social, economic, physical and institutional challenges. Stemming from the diversity of challenges faced by the grassroots institutions at micro level, a diversity of strategies as approaches to development have also emerged. It suffices to mention that different orientations as to what constitutes development also has a bearing on what strategies of development are developed.

The public sector infrastructure corridor (public infrastructure support projects), for instance, is a strategy of rural development where the state invest in roads and bridges to connect rural and urban areas, easing transportation needs and costs in the process. Under this strategy, the investment aims at stimulating rural growth through enhancement of livelihoods systems. Such infrastructure opens up rural areas to trade and business opportunities, which has a resultant effect of stimulating rural households' income growth.

Social capital maximisation through social infrastructure empowerment is a participation model of development that has also been adopted. Through this model, the community mobilises its own capital base to engage in the development process. Community partnership models are also tied to social capital concepts.

The micro lending and business models have also been adopted to help the grassroots secure the market in the commercial sector. Micro lending models support the communities in amassing capital with which to start their micro businesses. The Asia

Model of development, that is largely micro lending, is a global example of how grassroots poverty can be alleviated as it allows more micro business and entrepreneurship to determine people's welfare and economic growth.

In conclusion, the donor community is in favour of the grassroots providing the opportunity for it to increase its power. However, in centrist states, there are unfavourable internal environments that militate against this movement. There is more fear for its political implications. Practical application of the efforts towards grassroots autonomy require political will and adequate policy support. The alternatives and guidelines provided in this research suggest a turning point in giantism as a development orientation. The results have so far indicated that this direction of development, where the community enjoys freedom and basic human rights, and becomes autonomous, should be pursued by international bodies.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

Underdevelopment has been caused by the globalism and giantism imperatives on which poor countries have modelled their development approaches. This has led them to imitate the west in all their development efforts, to no avail. It is time that the third world charts its own path to development and calls for village level development. The causes of poverty in the third world, situated mostly within the tropics, are often astronomical disorder where the climate, geological characteristics (arid and semi arid regions), epidemiology (pests and diseases), and political socialisation of despotism, are contentious issues. This research brings out this complex global and local environment and stresses that investment threshold levels are far above the piecemeal funding going to the poor regions. Grassroots development brings down investment threshold levels in the sense that it relies on traditional skills, knowledge and organic agricultural development aspirations not influenced by giantism. This research emphasises direct democracy in small social units, power sharing structures of development, building social relations, social autonomy, and localisation of economic, political and social power. This research places two agricultural populations, under participatory democratic and non-participatory autocratic institutions respectively, under study. In short, measuring the severity of social, political, physical and institutional challenges in the two populations has led to the finding that participatory structures with direct democracy in small social units are more efficient in attaining development outcomes and sustaining them. In conclusion, it can be said that in large scale programmes covering large populations, participatory principles are difficult to adopt and may lead to project failure.

The chapter aims to introduce local institutions of development and explore how vital they are in their role as vehicles of development. The livelihood wheel reveals that without exploitation, the state, commercial and charity sectors are all institutions of

development that possess the potential to bring development to rural communities. Development takes place within four defined environments: social, cultural, political and physical. Hence the success of the project in terms of outcomes and impacts is dependent on a clear understanding of such environments in terms of the challenges they present, and well devised alternatives in the context of the fluidity of the rural environment. As said elsewhere, in this context of fluidity, the research focuses on identifying the challenges and related solutions. These first two objectives are achieved through the use of the project success assessment matrix and the LQAS survey. The matrix combines the variables that are a pointer to success in projects. In the last two objectives, the research reinforces that development as a process in a fluid environment cannot be predicted or prescribed with precision in terms of outcomes. Using a documentation review and survey research, clear alternatives that include partnerships, social capital maximisation, transformational development, capacity building and grassroots democratisation are developed at the end of the study. The alternatives are large programmes aiming at influencing the social cultural environment towards grassroots development. In the longitudinal study, measuring outcomes in the social, cultural, economic and institutional environment dimensions, participatory organisations have been found to be appropriate institutions and strategies for programme success. Over the past three years of measuring the severity of challenges in the Witimba Agro-ecological Zone programme and the adoption of feasible solutions and alternatives, the research has shown that social/cultural environment variables, physical environment variables and social political environment variables can easily be influenced through participation. Hence, the hypothesis that participation is the key to grassroots empowerment holds true. In the economic and institutional environments, participation fails to influence the variables of project success as the village economy is linked to an outer, complex macro economy. In the same study, issues of project design and socialisation in the context of society play a critical role in determining programme success. In making community-based organisations sustainable institutions of grassroots development, issues of participation, project design, organisational culture and social behaviours become critical elements. In addition, this chapter discusses findings on the four research objectives and concludes by considering

the application of the research findings, the need for further research, and the contribution this study makes to research methods.

8.2 Discussion of main research findings

8.2.1 Grassroots in nationalisation development framework

The trends in development reveal that hierarchical nationalisation of the economy, where the state controls the factors of production through the public sector, leaves the poor without much leverage. This statement finds evidence in the trends of hierarchical schemes and settlements owned and run by the state. On the other hand, where the state takes on a facilitative role and allows the grassroots to participate in the economy, some level of tangible results have been observed. Factors such as transparency, accountability, practicality, responsiveness and realism contribute to these tangible results. However, the participation of the grassroots communities in the domestic economy requires major policy and legal changes to market structure. Historically, frameworks such as nationalisation and liberalisation have operated in Malawi, defining its future in terms of economic growth and performance. Other studies have premised such development perspectives of nationalisation and liberalisation on a political agenda of liberation that aimed at self-reliance and doing away with foreign influences. However, this seems not to have lived up to its original promise as the liberalisation wind weakened nationalisation. In the context of globalism defusing nationalisation, the grassroots have control and ownership of the factors of production. This, however, depends on the kind of development policy government has put in place. In the kinds of policies that are classical in nature, the grassroots poor feature as beneficiaries and recipients of development fruits. Over the past decades Malawi has had policies that have been classical in nature and it has been the responsibility of the government to bring development to its people. Historically, while following a socialist development path for which the southern hemisphere has been well known, nationalisation has taken two forms. There has been centralisation of development, where political power is consolidated and guides and determines the development process, and decentralisation where the views and

participation of the grassroots are sought through deconcentration and devolution. The people's voices are heard through a parliamentary government as the parliamentarians are thought to represent the views of the people. Through such a structure, regulations and laws are passed that in the end govern what kind of policies are developed and to what extent the poor masses may control the development process. However, this has been defined as a bureaucracy and has received criticism recently in development circles. The move from centralisation towards decentralisation has not been a smooth one for it has raised fear in the bureaucracy. While donors have invested huge resources in this process, the fruits are yet to materialise. Politically, development continues to be in the hands of those who have the power and the poor are still looked upon as recipients. While decentralisation was a process of ensuring power sharing in the context of decisions and development control among the poor and the elites, liberalisation levelled off constraints on the market. It was a means of freeing the market so that those who wanted to enter and move out could do so, depending on how they faced up to the competition. Allowing more players into the market in terms of supply and demand would give people choices and options that would lead to enhanced living standards. Liberalisation would free more resources trapped by the non-performing actors (the state), making them more freely available to those who would maximise their use. Thus within the liberalisation framework, issues of privatisation arose and institutions and human resources had the opportunity to maximise production and increase profit margins. Efficiency in production and operations would enhance services and goods that would help the countries raise themselves in terms of trade and export performance. Liberalisation assumed that local entrepreneurs would take up the chance to participate in their own domestic economy. In the context of the locals participating in developing their own economy, the process is still part of the nationalisation of the economy. In this context, increased economic growth and export and trade participation would contribute to the efforts of increasing forex with which more balance of payments would be settled. Malawi has adopted both decentralisation and liberalisation in an attempt to empower the poor and allow them to participate in development. This empowerment, however, remains a fallacy.

The empowerment literature has been conceived to deal with despotism and political powers that were deemed to be causes of poverty. Social organisation through cooperatives, associations and community-based organisations became a potential option for grassroots empowerment. According to the model in this study, breaking the cycle of poverty demands that the oppressed develop their own knowledge and create their own voice to challenge and change the structures that cause poverty. CBOs operating in a nationalised economic framework have the chance of getting adequate support from the liberating state institutions. The CBOs offer a possible hand of partnership to the state and this relationship helps to raise the living standards of the poor. As a strategy of rural development, CBOs offer the best option in a socialist economy where the factors of production are state controlled or community controlled. Unlike a privatisation framework, where the factors of production are privately owned, resulting in the marginalisation and impoverishment of local people, in the CBO framework the people own the resources of production. However, following on colonisation and the partition of Africa, the southern hemisphere that refused capitalism has over the decades been drifting into accepting capitalism through the influences of the IMF and the World Bank. There is hence a fierce wrangle as to whether the path of westernisation is feasible in developing the third world. There is a need to strive for the survival of the grassroots poor, submerged by globalism, and for a popular development imperative in the context of capitalism. The move from nationalisation to liberalisation and from a command economy to a liberal one has major implications for the survival of the poor. There is a call for appropriate development through financial reforms, local entrepreneurship development and social empowerment. Based on key issues arising from this study, grassroots power development is foundational to local institutional sustainability. Developing the grassroots means reforming the legal and policy dimensions so that they serve the interests of the grassroots poor. Borrowing from the strong arguments for the concepts of cooperatives and associations, as discussed, grassroots can reach a position of power when they manage their own affairs, freed from the exploitative influences of the wider economy. This, however, still remains a dream as the economic equations have integrated the poor in a capitalist framework where the core is favoured over the

periphery. Strategies that focus on the poor and on providing specific remedies such as micro-lending and micro enterprises in the context of reducing growth are perhaps more appropriate. Grassroots development must include increasing the influence of the poor through allowing the state machinery to be controlled more by the citizenry. Using external efforts to reduce poverty and improve economic growth of poor countries was very evident in structural adjustment programmes. Framed by the Breton institutions, the adjustments sought to improve the balance of payments by relocating resources to the more productive private sector. However, within the framed adjustment, the objective was to engage the grassroots through popularising development. But these approaches failed as they simply aggravated the problem of poverty among the poor.

The question of how to deal with poverty or how to allow poor communities to make their way out of poverty has continued to be a puzzle of development debates over the past decades. There is now a general feeling that with the failure of carbon-copied western development approaches and strategies biased towards capitalism, the poor must chart their own way towards development. Hence a scholarly dilemma of development exists. The two extremes in terms of development perspectives exist: one supported by the radicals, called grassroots and at the other extreme, the neo-liberal perspective. The former is not a panacea in solving the problem of bringing development to the grassroots as it has its own challenges. Ending poverty through grassroots participation, however, looks to be more feasible. The section below discusses this feasibility through the concept of participation in the context of socialism.

8.2.2 Grassroots participation and socialism

The dilemma of achieving development sustainability after international donor support has ended has taken on multiple research solutions. In the context of socialism, the group of professionals who place their confidence in the grassroots look to political decentralisation and community empowerment as forming part and parcel of the research into localism. In all these concepts the focus is on the ultimate beneficiaries of the

projects as vehicles of their own development process. This has its foundation in the socialism perspective which takes a radical as well as a soft stance. From the soft stance of socialism, most literature works at chiselling away at blueprints, bureaucratisation and development technocratism. In general, community development has a service dimension in intervention, a radical dimension in community building, and an independence dimension in participatory literature. These dimensions mirror the multiple dimensions of poverty such as limitations, restrictions and oppressions, injustice and moral bankruptcy that comprise the poverty theory. In the main research, concepts defined in this study such as participation, community, socialism and empowerment, have informed the major frameworks of development to deal with poverty. In the current issues of defusing development giantism, there must be a move away from rationalisation towards development that centres on participation. As a principle of community development, participation currently has two aspects: an instrument to implement projects and programmes that require community contribution, and a transformative process in the community whose ultimate end is empowerment (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). In the first view, where participation is an instrument, development planners are preoccupied with issues of effectiveness and efficiency. When projects are designed, they seek to fulfil design objectives and purposes. Community members provide the political support and mobilise their local resources to ensure that they achieve stated, pre-planned project objectives. In most externally planned projects, or rationally designed projects, the community is targeted to achieve some predetermined purposes. Instrumental participation does not lead to project ownership, though the people may benefit from projects. Instrumental participation uses manipulation, co-optation and coercion to encourage people to participate. On the other hand, the transformative participation view says that the process of participation is not aimed at project completion or achieving milestones in logical frameworks but rather at working on the minds of the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are helped to understand, in a comprehensive manner, the project ideals. They work on accepting the ideals and on empowering themselves. In this view, grassroots people must take on decision responsibilities, guide the direction of the development processes and take control of the project (Adejunmobi 1990:226-227). Of

the two views, the second is the right one to empower the community and achieve project sustainability. In participation, resources are critical ingredients of community development and how the community gets these resources of development is an issue. The resources may be both internal and external (Monaheng 2000:124-135). Many authors of development studies have claimed that external resources bring about dependency. This, however, may not be true in all cases. In the origins of community development, indigenous people brought into their community goods they sourced from outside their community. It was really a question of where the goods were to be found and going there to fetch them and bring them to where they were needed. Hence the problem is not external dependency but rather external policies, strategies and approaches. While there is ample evidence that community development has failed with external aid, there is also ample evidence that it has been a success in many other instances where the recipient community accepted outside support but managed it in their own way. De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:4-7) agree that issues of facilitation, needs-based programming, strong local leadership and capacity building are paramount in community development. Following the radical path to development in centrist states demands a clear understanding of the possible challenges of engaging the poor in development. It must be determined whether it is possible to develop with aid, with a focus on long-term sustainability. Community development remains donor aid driven and externally influenced, and if envisaging project success is a core part of programming for poverty eradication, then planning must consider freeing the poor from the grip of the outside economic world.

In the context of a nationalisation framework, a need arises to develop a framework of community development that will lead to success in grassroots development. Many of the development efforts have gone down the drain as development outcomes have not materialised. Development as a process of change takes place in five defined environments: physical, social cultural, institutional, social economic and political environments. These environments determine the success or failure of programmes or projects. Hence, in context of the nationalisation framework, it must be determined which

of these environments support grassroots development. The framework identifies variables for project success in the five environments of development. The issue of institutional capacity is critical to understanding and managing these environments and contributes substantially to programme success. Development takes place within the confines of an institution that acts as a vehicle for development. Capacity of an institution includes policies, technical know-how, territorial coverage, influence and repositioning in society. Development carried out through projects or programmes has outcomes defined as benefits that people use to serve themselves. These outcomes are also referred to as goods and services. The production of goods and services for the benefit of mankind has a timeframe in which one may enjoy such services and goods. For example, facilities such as roads, boreholes, schools, hospitals and farms produce the goods and services and will do so during an expected life span. In this context, project sustainability is defined as the level of inheritance of a programme after the involvement of a donor. Sustainability entails maintaining the programme outcomes so that they continue to be of service to the people. Hence the process of achieving project sustainability follows a methodological approach as presented in the livelihood wheel model.

8.2.3 Sustainability framework or model and scanning the boundary

The livelihood wheel model opens our minds to the external forces that influence development in poor communities, and these forces are called pressures. The model shows that communities on the periphery of the model react to such pressures with coping and adaptive strategies. In this research, making community-based organisations self-reliant calls for a revolutionary process that in most cases works against the state of benevolence by using other methods and alternatives. According to this research, the methods include grassroots development, capacity building, policy reconfiguration, sociological dimensions of development, long-term planning, technology and financial mobilisation, and the takeover of projects from donor support. In the context of these methods, there are challenges that have to do with change of mindset, cultures and behaviours amongst the community. This means that scanning the boundary becomes

imperative to unearthing the challenges. In scanning the boundary, a critical examination of the social, political and cultural institutional environment becomes much of the focus of the model. The study suggests certain steps that are followed in the process of revolution, touching on project indigenisation, de-subsidisation and transformation. The framework looks at development as two processes, showing the tangible outcomes as a physical process and the non-tangible outcomes as soft processes of development.

8.2.4 Model assessment through household livelihood framework

There has been much rhetoric about sustainability in spheres of development of late without much evidence to support such views. Presented in this study, then, is the methodology that is used to assess sustainability. The HLS is a comprehensive tool that uses a combination of conventional as well as PRA tools of research. It offers a global as well as a contextual analysis of issues of poverty and development. While supporting variants of modernisation, as well as dependency theories, HLS is not seen as a complete departure from such and hence supports the alternative theories of development as well. The design of this research is such that poverty explanations at grassroots level are linked to global trends. This is where the HLS finds its strength. The HLS digs deeper into community life, and interfaces with the traditional cultural set up of households. It is a probing tool, a point that makes it even more relevant. The project performance matrix assesses variables that either enhance or militate against efforts of achieving sustainability. As reflected in the model, institutional capacity building helps to deal with most of these militating factors and facilitates the achievement of project outcomes. In This regards, two scenarios exist: institutional strength in terms of expertise, skills, policies and technology for the government functions that take over developments projects that were donor funded, or for the grassroots institutions themselves. In long-term projects, project planning must take on a long-term dimension as such projects are associated with complexities, eventualities and some uncertainties. Such projects that take on long term planning face minimal chances of failure. In cases where the grassroots poor take over project, grassroots development must lead to sustaining the outcomes.

Developing the grassroots involves democratisation, infrastructure growth, micro economic growth and distribution and capacity enhancement. The grassroots need new research information and new skills to handle the technologies so that they can sustain the outcomes of projects.

Traditions and cultures of some communities may clash with the outcomes of some donor-funded projects. This calls for considerable integration of culture into concepts that govern the projects. Practices and traditions of the knowledge systems that govern a project must be carefully considered. If donor funded projects are to continue, institutions that take them over will need adequate financial resources to meet the recurrent operational costs. Hence a culture of handouts and silver platter development must cease and the concepts of community self-reliance must be mainstreamed in development programming.

According to the model, the right policies work to support the outcomes of a project. Right policies in sectors such as finance, trade, industry, foreign relations and peace and security have profound effects on project success. Therefore sustainability requires a clear understanding of the challenges, solutions and alternatives and the surrounding issues of policy, institutional capacity, grassroots and cultures and traditions that affect projects.

8.3 Discussion of main research results

8.3.1 Results on physical challenges to sustainability

In favour of the small social units of the poor, natural resources form a major part of the capital resources needed for development. Achieving sustainability in emerging grassroots communities demands that the small social units of solidaristic institutions have adequate capacity to manage the adverse conditions of the surrounding physical environment. In this research, land degradation problems were more evident in the hierarchical Upper Hills projects under state-run schemes than in the solidaristic

community-managed projects. This is due to heavy soil excavations, large areas of land under cultivation that are exposed to high erosive values, and extensive farming systems. Man's economic activities have caused disturbances of the ecological balance. It should be noted that in the hierarchical Upper Hills, over-harvesting of natural resources, leading to degradation, has left behind no supportive natural capital for economic activities. The over-harvesting of natural resources is reflected in agricultural mechanisation leading to deforestation and steep slope cultivation. The results show that high pest and disease incidence occurred more in the Upper Hills projects than in Witimba which was under community management. In the Upper Hills projects there was a greater use of hybrid seeds, chemicals and other modern technology, while in the community-managed projects local seeds were used and traditional pest management methods were employed to control pests and diseases. This supports the belief that traditional knowledge systems in agricultural production have the potential to pay some dividends. In traditional agriculture, crops have a high resistance to pests and diseases, a trait that crop-breeding science has managed to pick in their programmes. Therefore, in co-evolution, a practice that environmentalists have adopted, man must live alongside nature and allow regeneration, adaptation and living within the supportive means of nature. Projects designed in such a way, in which the poor take care of the resource base, could thus be more viable than those that survive at the expense of the resources that nature has provided. The challenges of local droughts, floods, and pest and disease outbreaks are best handled through bio-cycle methods. This means that the poor must take charge of the development process and use methods that are not green revolution in their emphasis, but rather co-evolution. In co-evolution, the puritans emphasise conservation and prevent exploitation.

In a research study that investigated poverty alleviation and improved social economic status through engaging the poor masses in agricultural collectivisation, the results of physical challenge analysis revealed that participatory organisations have more success in coexisting with the physical challenges of environmental degradation. For instance, degradation coverage was 40% in the experimental catchments after the involvement of

NGOs in the study and 70% in the control catchments under hierarchical state-run management in the Upper Hills projects. The 70% result shows that extensive farming, through mechanisation and the clearing of large portions of land under state farming, exposed soils to erosion problems, while the 40% result indicates that smallholder farming has registered efficient resource use. In the experimental group data, the high vegetative cover, less shifting cultivation, fewer pests and disease problems, and traditional crop use put smallholder farming at an advantage. In terms of the severity of challenging physical factors, the Witimba data showed some kind of reduction and this is attributed to sound participatory management of physical resources. The results present a correlation where adoption of solutions or methods links positively with abilities to manage the physical challenges. For example, greater efforts of conservation were applied in local community projects where agro-forestry, intercropping and manure use featured higher than in hierarchical Upper Hills, where the adoption of chemical agriculture was more evident. Additionally, extension was better received under community projects than under state-run schemes.

In terms of social investment, over the past three years more roads, markets, schools, health, recreation centres and agro dealers' facilities have been built in the Witimba programme area under NGO facilitation. These results reflect the advantages of participatory organisation, which relates to grassroots approaches and stems from the concept of community and grassroots democratisation. There is an increased level of shared, common interests, activism, and attachment and bonding to social livelihood. The poor are able to manage their livelihoods and environment through a supportive leadership system. Such leadership brings community building and organising processes that enhance rural development among the people. In the context of physical challenges, the NGO sector has greater advantages than the hierarchical state-run sector when it comes to rural development that applies praxis, democratisation and transformation development concepts.

8.3.2 Results on social economic challenges to sustainability

An expanding and fast-growing economy is a prerequisite for self-supporting grassroots' efforts. Achieving sustainability demands that hierarchical institutions finance recurrent operational costs beyond donor support. The results in this research study show that communities surrounding the community-based organisation have relatively less household income than the communities surrounding the hierarchical Upper Hills projects. This was obvious as the Upper Hills projects provided employment to those who sought wage labour, while community-based organisations operated on a voluntary basis. It should be noted that the level of social investment and the behaviour of social economic indicators influences grassroots viability. Where the public sector takes charge of alleviating people's poverty through delivery of goods and services to the consumers at grassroots level, resource limitations, as well as skills and technical limitations, prevent the state from meeting its social obligations. Perhaps due to rural biases, the experimental data shows less social investment, low public sector involvement and greater income poverty in rural areas. It should also be mentioned that in classical socialism, there is an entrenched state of benevolence and the means of production are controlled by the working class who decides the destiny of the poor masses. With reference to the literature reviewed, one sees two distinct communities: that of the technocrats and that of the poor masses in classical socialism. In terms of social relations, the two communities are far apart: both geographical and mental, and psychic boundaries separate the two communities. How much the bureaucratic structure delivers in terms of development for the poor will depend on high incentive structures and systems. In the new professionalism (grassroots), supported by the NGO sector, emphasis is on human-centred development that determines high allocation to social services in rural areas, high public involvement, and ideal-seeking behaviour. The low push for industrialisation and low purchasing power reveals some underlying characteristics of grassroots development. Low industrialisation means private sector involvement is low, and hence factors of production are still in the hands of the poor. According to some authors of development literature, industrialisation imperatives have caused more losses in terms of control over resources

in poor communities as the poor are dispossessed of the factors of production (Sherphard 1996:77-89). Industrialisation relegates the poor to the position of labourers with the result that they are further marginalised (Brue 2002:475). The results also show that the generally high costs of production associated with agricultural production, including storage, transport, inputs and interest, affect both communities regardless of the model rolled out. Therefore, the move from a state of benevolence to localisation of development may not have direct links to some economic challenges of sustainability. Taxation rates, exchange rates, unemployment rates, lending policies and disposable income remain constant. What determines these are the macro forces that impact on the micro realities. In response to the economic challenges, the Upper Hills community uses its income to access food, and requires more credit and capital to survive, while in the communities surrounding the CBO, people depend on producing their own food, and they borrow money from friends to survive. The Upper Hills have created a greater demand for their production and have a high penetration in the market, while the CBO community fails to find a market niche.

One perspective of community development, that is *communitarianism or altruism*, a pulling together in development localisation, provides adequate responses to macro economic challenges. The adaptive and coping systems evidenced through social networks provide an environment for a self-propelling process of development. In the reviewed literature, mention is made of radicalisation, praxis and democratisation as vital ingredients of development localisation. Hence, while the two spatial, studied communities may face the same macro economic challenges, the internal resilience and coping strengths make the difference. It is the response that the poor show towards the conditions of poverty that makes them different. In the comparative research, the involvement of the NGO has not influenced a reduction in the severity of economic conditions very much.

8.3.3 Results on institutional challenges to sustainability

Any form of organisation presents its own complexities in terms of how it runs and performs. Achieving sustainability demands long-term institutional planning, adequate institutional capacity and adaptability. The results show that supported projects, such as government projects, tended to live out their lifespan, while in some cases CBO-supported projects were easily abandoned. There was less technical support, technology support or programming support in CBO projects. Therefore the grassroots communities were isolated from support institutions. This finding corresponds with the perception that CBOs are organisations of the poor and suffer a lack of attention from the high institutions. They also suffer lack of recognition and are viewed as inferior by the high hierarchical institutions. The high institutions consider these CBOs as consumers of services and goods, calling them recipient communities. The high institutions practise hierarchical top down planning and project imposition in the Upper Hills area, while in the CBO projects more participatory planning processes were adopted by the NGOs. The results also show that owing to programming support, the Upper Hills projects handled the liberal market more efficiently than the CBO projects, with the result that the latter sold their produce at give-away prices. The Upper Hills took a welfare approach while the CBO approach was to encourage people to do things for themselves. The results reflect that there is a kind of transference of organisational weakness, a culture that could either support viability or retard it. As a weakness, all institutions of development, whether state or NGO-run, possess some elements of top downism in their approaches to development and management. Hence, the results show that NGOs are no better than government when it comes to institutional failure to support rural development programmes. In the study, challenges such as hands-off attitudes, dwindling financial support, lack of technical support, inadequate technical skills and inadequate programming support occurred at two extremes, with slight changes in the data sets. The results also show that development localisation lacked political support and leadership support, and suffered from the goal-seeking behaviour of the support institution.

The results reveal that participatory organisations do not have all the solutions to making CBOs self-sustaining though they have a vantage point to influence sustainability. In literature, NGOs have been blamed for causing dependencies, and for the creation of bureaucracies among the grassroots (Fowler 1992:45-56). Making community-based organisations self-sustaining depends to a large extent on external institutions and their involvement with grassroots communities as well as on the process of socialisation, and the social setting, through which the grassroots communities will mobilise themselves into self-sustaining social groups. Therefore the thousands of CBOs are alien institutions and have no foundation for sustainability without an institutionalisation process. According to this longitudinal research, both the NGO sector and the government sector face institutional challenges that include a lack of policy frameworks for engaging with the grassroots, difficult coordination among NGOs, and between NGOs and government institutions, vague operational policies, lack of political will, among other ill-designed policies. The CBO community and the Upper Hills community adopted governance, democratic and transparent procedures to deal with social economic challenges. These solutions were more evident in the CBO community. This only underlines that participatory organisations are to some extent better off than institutions that can help the process of development localisation. Additionally, the NGO sector has some comparative advantages over state institutions. For example, the results show that NGOs are more adaptive, less technocratic, and record fewer cases of project abandonment. The analysis of the results ties in with the views of many authors in development literature, who support reforms, restructuring and transformation in order that NGOs contribute to grassroots development. According to the literature, the pyramid structures, or technocrats, and the North-South dichotomy explain the failure of this NGO sector in grassroots development. In the literature reviewed, a number of suggestions are offered on how the NGO sector could support the grassroots. The historical North-South relationship must be reorganised in such a way that the South achieves some autonomy. This would prevent the South from being used as a vehicle to promote and propagate the ideologies of the North. In this regard, democratic socialism will take effect when the

South is made stronger through independence in decisions and programming imperatives. Placing the factors of production in the hands of the poor, and allowing them to decide their destiny, requires going beyond nationalisation of public institutions and focusing on radicalisation processes.

8.3.4 Results on the social cultural challenges to sustainability

Community life thrives on the culture, traditions and practices governing it. Achieving sustainability demands that projects introduced in the community are not in conflict with the traditions, practices or myths of that community. This provides a sociological dimension to development thinking. The results in this research revealed that participation, trust, commitment, solidarity, social obligation and democratic culture were more evident in the Witimba catchments than in the Upper Hills projects. Additionally, altruism and cooperation were more evident in the CBO projects. In communities where people are passive, less easily persuaded and less proactive through a socialisation process, project success becomes a challenge. Social attributes measured revealed some significant changes in terms of the severity of these social variable data sets. For instance, low commitment, low participation, low cooperation, high self-seeking behaviours, social conflicts and low attendance of meetings were higher in Upper Hills than in Witimba. Hence the success of engaging the masses in facing their own poverty through rural programmes is dependent on the social behaviours and cultural socialisation processes that take place in the community. A list of challenges as key pointers to those social behaviours provides a trend where the participatory organisations have a greater chance of influencing project success, other factors remaining the same. The results show that the problems of low commitment, low participation, low cooperation and self-seeking behaviour were comparatively more frequent in the bureaucratic structures than in the participatory organisations. It would seem that social behaviours were more conducive to sustainability under participatory structures which gave them a leverage point. In the same study, problems of undemocratic leadership styles, command leadership, top down approaches and bureaucratisation were recorded to be more common in the state-run

settlement schemes than in those grassroots structures managed by participatory organisations. The participatory organisations were found to have some comparative advantage in effecting project success through their *flexibility, trust* and *social confidence* and *self esteem*, parameters that were recorded as lacking in the state-run schemes in the prior data. The state-run schemes did not measure well on community motivation, accountability over donor source, community relations or institutional linkage for services and goods delivery. On a comparative basis, the participatory organisations measured well on these similar parameters. The Witimba Community measured well with low aggrandisement, low reciprocity, high polycentralisation and high community integration, while similar elements measured poorly in the Upper Hill projects. As solutions to some of the social cultural challenges, the CBO community opted for democratic structures, accountability and increased ownership of resources.

8.4 Interpretation of the main findings

8.4.1 Project outcomes and impacts

An important finding of this study was that participation led to greater adoption of feasible solutions on the assessment matrix. The results so far show that the poor are able to organise themselves at village or urban parish level in order to counteract negative economic stimuli. It is common knowledge today that due to the global economic equations, agricultural production attracts huge costs. Chemical agriculture is very expensive and beyond the financial means of most farmers. In this research the poor adopted low cost farming (organic agriculture), manure use, traditional crops, zero tillage and managing soil loss under NGO-supported structures in the experimental research. Similar approaches or responses in the state-run schemes in the control data did not feature highly as fewer farming communities mentioned such solutions to physical challenges. The social behaviours in the state-run schemes in the control study were less conservative than the NGO-supported local structures in the experimental study. Traditional knowledge and values featured more markedly in the NGO-supported structures while there were more technocratic and scientific knowledge bases in the state-

run schemes, to the point that the community was divorced from the natural resource endowment (see co-evolution). In the publications that have been reviewed, mention has been made of grassroots empowerment and this empowerment is centred on traditional knowledge democratisation. Selener (1998:45-67) argues that knowledge is power and that in using scientific knowledge as a power base, the elite have been exploiting the poor. He also argues that the knowledge of the poor has remained dormant and has not been put to good use in the liberation of the poor. Knowledge democratisation entails infusing local people's ideas, perspectives, feelings and opinions into policies, strategies and approaches that seek to help the poor make their way out of poverty. While external knowledge or blueprints have in the past been used as approaches to development, the criticism has always been that they remain foreign ideas imposed on the poor, with little potential to change the landscape of poverty. Thus in community development, blueprints are found to be out of place. Community-based organisations cannot survive on blueprints, and this calls for those structures that support these local institutions to be participative, adaptive and incremental in their engagement with the grassroots.

The increased use of chemicals and of hybrids in the state-run schemes mirrors the green revolution imperative: high yielding and fast maturing crops in a green revolution miracle. Besides heavy soil degradation, pollution and soil damage caused by such imperatives, the costs of production have sky-rocketed beyond the means of most poor farmers who live mostly in poor countries. In the green revolution, blueprints and capitalism have been promoted, breeding free markets which put the factors of production in the hands of the private sector. The poor have lost control of the factors of production, and their poverty has only been aggravated. Therefore it can be said that the success of rural poverty alleviation programmes rests on empowering the poor and localising the development process. In the same development discussion, sophisticated, extremely controlled programmes that position the poor as recipients of development benefits cannot sustain development. Such heavily financially-driven programmes will need the continued flow of donor resources to be successful.

8.4.2 *High social relations and viability of projects*

The results show that in a high social relations community, influenced by participatory organisations (NGOs), the economic enhancing indicators correlate with community empowerment. In a high social relations community, the domestic economy is a priority and is given adequate attention. In support of these arguments, participants in the research mentioned micro business, disposable income, employment creation and cooperative arrangements as vital elements of a solution to the economic challenges in the experimental research. In the Witimba Agro Ecological Zone there was less demand for capital, less producing for external markets, more social collateral demands, and fewer worries about marketing of produce. This indicates that the external environment influenced the development process less. Linking this to global events, as observed in this regard, is an import-substitution industrialisation imperative. There is a break away from the external dependencies and a strengthening of the internal energies to develop and alleviate poverty. In contrast with state-run settlement schemes, there was a greater demand for capital, more production for external markets, and greater concern about produce markets in the hierarchical schemes. This shows that in settlement schemes, the external environment (trade and export) determined the production behaviour of the schemes. The results indicate that in the settlement schemes, there were more roads and bridges, enhanced communication and transport linked to strong and efficient markets, high maintenance and repair and efficient market and information systems. This reflects significant financial investment by the state and it is no wonder that such schemes have existed since the postcolonial era in some instances. The level of magnitude of inherence, the time span of existence of these schemes after donor support had ended depended very much on the kinds of development and agricultural policies in production that aimed at improving the macro economic status of the country through increasing foreign exchange through international markets and trade. On a comparative basis, the community-managed programmes in Witimba suffered from reduced investment, evidenced by the poor roads and bridges, lack of communication and transport, low maintenance of roads and inefficient external markets.

The scenario described above corresponds with the literature on community development. In the first instance, government can take the responsibility of development in rural areas through initiating rural development programmes. True to this, in Malawi the state has remained the duty bearer in improving people's lives and alleviating their poverty, at least for the past few decades. This has been described as the classical approach to community development. In the literature this has been referred to as classical socialism. In the second scenario, owing to the failure of the bureaucracy, grassroots are taking it upon themselves to develop their communities. It is clear that mega projects such as bridges and roads will need state involvement, but the community is still involved in terms of decision making and planning. In the community-based organisation arrangements, it is the community through its structures that formulates approaches and strategies to manage natural resources, rural agricultural and rural livelihood systems. In doing so, the economic challenges are managed collectively. The results support sociological foundations for development embedded in perspectives of communitarianism.

8.4.3 Community building and grassroots viability

Community building featured as an important strategy for grassroots viability. This was revealed in the results of institutional solutions that were tested through the project performance index in the Witimba and Upper Hills areas. The results demonstrate that community-managed projects opted for independence, breaking institutional domineering, and local resource mobilisation as options for managing institutional support failures. These options measured higher in participatory organisations than in the hierarchical synoptic organisations in the study. On a comparative basis, the state-run settlement schemes chose more external support, more institutional dominance and greater use of external resources. The results show that the grassroots wanted aid that was not going to disrupt their autonomy, comparing favourably with the respondents in schemes that opted for the same scenario in the study. Being self-reliant communities was

mentioned by 33.6% of the interviewed respondents in Witimba zone, comparing favourably to the 2% of respondents who selected this option in the state-run schemes. The results indicate that participatory organisations have the capacity to diffuse community-building fundamentals, and that community spirit eventually solidifies the communities of the poor.

In community-managed programmes it was easy to achieve partnerships, an element that featured as low in state schemes after assessment. This is in accordance with the scholarly argument that competitive spirit ranks higher among synoptic than in democratic institutions. The results show a high affinity for appropriate technologies in grassroots-managed programmes that compared well in schemes after assessments. In the Witimba community there was a high affinity for user-friendly techniques, democratic governance and accountability that compared well with similar variables in schemes during assessment. Hence participatory organisations stand a better chance of sustaining themselves beyond donor support as they are built on social behaviours that work towards collective efforts.

The results show that high institution policy level solutions touching on harmonisation, external linkages, and legal and civil rights featured highly in synoptic organisations during assessment. The more bureaucratic institutions (schemes) supported by high levels of technocratism were better able to apply and accept policy-related solutions. Hence NGOs as institutions of development are better placed to support community-managed programmes through CBOs. As remarked in the literature, NGOs are closer to the people than the state machinery, and tend to articulate the real needs and aspirations of the poor.

8.4.4 Project Design Effect – Influencing grassroots sustainability

The adoption of some social values or social inclinations that have a bearing on influencing projects was measured in both the control and the experimental catchments.

The results of project design effects based on certain variables (elements) show that the projects designed with more immediate results, community options and community shared power structure elements featured as highly successful in the Witimba Zone, more so than the same measure in the state-run schemes in the study. In the same vein, the Witimba projects measured high on elements of conflict management, comradeship and community building, but in contrast the schemes measured low on these elements when judged on participants' perceptions. The project success indicators such as democratic structures, adaptive planning, inclusive participation and social freedom fared better in Witimba than in the other schemes. In the Witimba Zone, project designs, elements of building self-esteem, self-confidence and trust rated better than in the schemes. In the study, the Witimba Zone projects' average rating on the project success scale where decentralisation, local knowledge use, mind-set change, local resource mobilization, participatory monitoring and participatory decision making were measured, was good. The same elements (variables) did not measure well on the state-run schemes with poor ratings in the control study. The results show that project success is determined to a great extent by the empowerment process that was, in this case, facilitated by the NGOs that were involved with community-managed programmes. The NGO sector was also more inclined to build on the wealth of the poor than the technocrats in the bureaucracy in the assessment. In the same vein, donor transformation featured higher on the agenda of NGOs than on the state assessment. The NGO was more for local knowledge democratisation than the state schemes. Finally, on social solutions, the NGO was more positive towards dis-indoctrination than state schemes and more learning-oriented than hierarchical state schemes. The results on project success variables point to a community development perspective that supports grassroots empowerment. In the NGO-supported community programmes, the social behaviours, attitudes and perspectives correspond with the concept of community as defined in this study. All the variables measured aimed at enhancement of social relations, community solidarity and community building. There was also evidence of community organisation and community building, as revealed in a shared power base, decision making and high sense of humanism. Development is hence becoming more relationship building than technological advancement. Human relations

are becoming more important than growth maximisation and economic advancements. Promotion of social solutions in rural projects becomes one facet of the efforts of making community-based organisations self-sustaining.

8.5 Fluidity of Rural Development – Defining possible alternatives

8.5.1 Transformational development – an alternative for project success

The move towards empowerment is more evident in the transformation development imperatives. The model for sustainability advocates traditional knowledge use and flexibility so that each problem identified finds a solution. This makes the model a methodological framework that really empowers. A survey in this research revealed several strategies that would lead to grassroots sustainability. Through a community value system, rural communities will need to develop self-confidence and value their own local resources and skills in order to attain sustainability. There is a pressing need to move from pessimism towards optimism. Transformational development deals with poverty of psychology or rather than psychological poverty. As defined elsewhere, pessimistic attitudes towards efforts of dealing with poverty seem to have done more harm to the poor than the scarcity of development resources. The poor seem to have become resigned to this status and look up to the rich to rescue them from the misery of poverty. A deeply entrenched attitude of benevolence has developed. A process of conscientisation must be established. In this process, the poor will be assisted in developing a certain measure of enlightenment. The conscientisation process must build on a disindocrination process. The poor will need to unlearn the concepts and ideologies they have absorbed. They must chart their own way out of poverty. Transformation development is about liberation from the social, personal, political and economic chains. The results show that the respondents have the capacity and skills to proceed with development efforts. This proves that there is a kind of transformation taking place in people's views and perceptions about development.

8.5.2 Development interventionist approach – an alternative for project success

No matter how successfully development has been undertaken, there are always sections of the community that remain powerless and suffer from the exploitative forces of market structure. A situation arises in Witimba that supports this exploitative structure in dealing with the predicaments of development. In the Witimba community-based organisation the forestry-based enterprises are faced with market competition such that the poor are not able to find space on the market. Owing to privatisation and liberalisation, many private businesses have taken part in forestry-based enterprises such as honey farming, mushroom and charcoal production with the result that the poor are losing this business to the rich. The poor are relegated to the production business while processing and adding value remains the domain of the business tycoons. As a liberal market, the poor take prices, but cannot influence the policies that militate against them. Government will need to intervene by setting up some regulatory measures that protect the poor from exploitation. Cases have been documented in Witimba where some private businesses have displaced local people or have bought out large portions of land to develop their own private industries. This is the industrialisation imperative that should not have the full support of government as a means of economic growth for it only manages to subject the poor to more abject poverty as they lose their livelihoods. This interventionist approach hence facilitates the creation of a sound environment for the poor to participate in development. In the interventionist approach, government deliberately engages itself with community-building processes. Through this process, the community is sufficiently energised to chart its own way towards poverty management. NGOs and government designed rural-based programmes of development must adequately understand the position of the poor. The performance of such projects will hinge on whether support institutions manage to raise the position of the poor in terms of power and influence, community understanding of development and its dynamism, building of grassroots technical skills capacity and redistribution of economic growth.

8.5.3 Partnership approaches – an alternative for project success

The situation in this study reveals that the creation of community partnerships in the Witimba Community-Based Organisation has led to some success in most of the donor-funded projects. In partnership arrangements, the poor do not lose their entitlement to resources and livelihoods. For instance, the USAID-supported environmental conservation and management projects created a management plan where community leaders took leadership in managing the resources in the area. The created leadership structures, such as Village Natural Resources Management Committee, took it upon themselves to regulate the use of the natural resources surrounding their areas. The USAID project funded the skills development workshops, market and produce processing training, so that the community benefited economically from their efforts of conservation and protection from abuse of the resource base. Hence, partnerships allow the community to link up with outside institutions and to benefit from skills and technical resources. This approach allows efficient use of donor resources as duplication is managed or avoided. When communities partner with international institutions, the process raises the portfolio of such communities. There is a continued flow of resources from the donor community as long as the objectives being pursued by the CBO are relevant to global trends.

8.5.4 Building ideal-seeking behaviours in communities – an alternative for project success

Any development that takes place brings with it social discomforts for certain sections of society. The situation in the Upper Hills and Witimba communities was showing some signs of social disintegration. The lack of trust among members and a low spirit of accountability was a pointer to a situation of self-seeking attitudes that are counterproductive in projects. It has become evident that externally supported projects have the tendency at times to disrupt community togetherness and autonomy. As resources of development are given to one group in the community, this may result in unnecessary tension and ill feeling among the community members. Social disruptions and alienations may be caused by the donor projects that come into the rural areas, showing insensitivity to cultural solidarity. Ideal-seeking behaviours are cultivated

through processes of nurturing relationships, the nurturing spirit of communalism and disallowing a monopoly over resources and capital. Cooperatives and associations help to create ideal-seeking behaviours.

8.6 Discussion on rationale for developing guidelines for sustainability

8.6.1 The fluid development environment

The political and social climate in Malawi, as observed by authors in development studies, makes the investment environment very unpredictable. Developing sustainability guidelines points to the fact that the development environment is fluid and hence one cannot prescribe solutions to the challenges of sustainability. These guidelines will help institutions in the way they design projects. Projects designed with full observance of these guidelines have a greater chance of success than those projects that undermine the stated guidelines. The guidelines advocate adaptive and popular approaches to rural project planning, and emphasise the creation of a friendly environment in terms of policy and legal instruments. The guidelines recognise that the poor hold a weak position in society and call for the stronger institutions to undertake deliberate efforts to enhance the participation and involvement of the poor in poverty-eradication efforts. The guidelines recognise that various institutions interact and that this interaction has some major implications. The social, economical, physical and political environments present a challenge in that the success of the grassroots institutions cannot be simply guaranteed. Hence this process of guideline development adequately addresses the hypothesis that participation, democratic environments and the way projects have been designed affect project effectiveness. These guidelines are particular to the roles and kinds of institutions that engage the grassroots poor. This engagement must show their commitment to grassroots sustainability as it happens that not all institutions have long term planning imperatives to achieve sustainability.

8.7 Interpretation of results and formulation of conclusions

8.7.1 Participatory organisations and project sustainability

In the emerging grassroots communities, it is sacrificial development that drives prowess. Project success in participatory organisations, such as community-based organisations, as well as non-participatory organisations, is determined by the social behaviours of the NGO, or GoM workforce that is to a large measure a reflection of the organisational culture. In a more democratic and participative organisation, the workforce tends to display more ideal-seeking behaviour and factors that motivate them to work hard and contribute towards the achievement of goals. Objectives are less coercive than sacrificial. The community spirit evidenced by solidarity, comradeship, a sense of duty, social responsibility, patriotism and altruism tends to dictate the social behaviours. In a more bureaucratic-autocratic organisation where development is rationalised, with more synopsis, a more goal- and self-seeking behaviour occurs and the achievement of goals and objectives tends to be through more coercive than persuasive means. In such organisations, the principles of reciprocity, individualistic gains and self-seeking tend to be more prevalent. In communitarianism as a philosophical perspective of community development, it is the common good that drives the kinds of actions, activities and persuasions of the common life. Community bonding and a sense of togetherness, social networks, associations, and agreements to do things together, tend to be the virtues that prevail. As defined, socialism as an economic policy that places ownership of resources in the hands of the common people or in the control of the state, offers the right environment for participation.

The social economic pressures of a failing free market economy or capitalism has led to the blossoming of participatory organisations. The poor want to protect themselves and to be able to fight for their lives in a kind of situation where they are bypassed by the benefits of development. The poor suffer exclusion, limitations, alienation and isolationism and, through social power attained through organising, they become an

effective tool for dealing with such external stimuli. With its basis in structurism, the dissertation tends to deal with breaking away from blueprints, economism and benevolence, into self-regulating entities with the ability to chart their own course of development. In this case the alternative theories of development, such as populism, are foundational to the thought underlying this research.

8.7.2 Discussing research relevance and objectives

This research, confined to the experiences of non-profit organisations in managing grassroots development, has relevance in the wake of dwindling aid resources being channelled to the third world poor. This study has explored ways and means of breaking away from benevolence and economism and of creating partnerships with institutions so that the poor can take charge of the development process. The research explores four objectives that are focussed on scanning the boundary, i.e. analysing the social-cultural, social-physical, political, and economic environments in terms of challenges and possible solutions to the first two objectives. This provides some in-depth understanding of the physical (geological, climatological), social/cultural and institutional challenges that face the process of establishing and developing self-sustaining institutions of development. Each objective has been explored individually using some defined and specific methods. In the last two objectives, the research explores some programming alternatives that would enhance the establishment of democratic and participatory organisations that maximise social capital and grassroots democratisation. A list of guidelines specific to institutions has been drawn up to guide the process of making community-based organisations self-sustaining. The results of the survey reveal that sustainability cannot be predicted due to the uncertainties and ambiguities associated with project success. The hypothesis that participation and grassroots democratisation facilitates project success has been validated and there was greater project success in participatory organisations, given the baseline context. In the non-participatory projects, success required significant financial investment and highly motivated staff, as evidenced in the state-run schemes that provided the baseline data.

8.7.3 Discussing the nationalisation framework and grassroots

Nationalisation of the economy, where the state controls the factors of production, leaves the poor without much leverage. This statement finds evidence in the trends of schemes and settlements owned and run by the state. In situations where the state takes on a facilitative role and allows the grassroots to participate in the economy, tangible results have been obtained. While cooperatives and community-based organisations are not one and the same thing, a model of development where cooperatives operate within a community-based organisation gives the CBOs a good chance of survival. Community-based organisations create a forum and voice for the poor in a highly exploitative economy. In the context of Malawi's capitalistic economy, the process of social change and social empowerment is imperative. Breaking the cycle of poverty demands that the oppressed develop their own knowledge and create their own voice to challenge and change the structures that cause poverty. CBOs operating in a nationalised economic framework have the chance to gain adequate support from the empowering state institutions. The CBOs offer a possible hand of partnership to the state and this relationship is profitable in the enhancement of the living standards of the poor.

As a strategy of rural development, development democratisation through CBOs offers the best option in a socialist economy where the factors of production are state controlled or community people-controlled. Unlike a privatisation framework, where the factors of production are privately owned and result in marginalisation and impoverishment of the local people, in the CBO framework the people own the resources of production. Following on the colonisation and partition of Africa, the southern hemisphere that refused capitalism has, over the decades, been drifting into an acceptance of capitalism through the influences of the IMF and the World Bank. There is a fierce debate on whether the path of westernisation is feasible for developing the third world. The move from nationalisation to liberalisation and from a command economy to a liberal economy has major implications for the survival of the poor, hence a call for appropriate

development through financial reforms, local entrepreneurship development and social empowerment has been made.

8.8 Implications of findings

The findings in this research have some major implications for current developments in giantism. The findings suggest a de-linking of the grassroots from political, economic and institutional exploitative higher powers. Villages must be involved directly in development that is under their control, in an atmosphere of self-management. Grassroots development in collectivisation systems of agriculture is more conservative regarding natural resources and ensures sustainable agricultural production, but may require de-linking from classical socialism. The use of less land in non-mechanised farming, leaving more land under vegetative cover, not only preserves the soils, but also maximises the use of available land in economies of scale. The high cost of agricultural production that keeps threatening food security finds its most feasible solutions in traditional agriculture. The use of manure, zero tillage, agro-forestry, traditional seeds and intercropping indicates that advances in technology in agriculture need to be firmly integrated with the traditional knowledge systems which seem to offer more practical and feasible solutions to agricultural production. Adoption of large scale farming and the use of intense chemical applications to mirror the green revolution may not be a long-lasting solution to low agricultural productivity and the repercussions could be great. There is need to revise the green revolution imperative to discourage the use of chemicals and to apply more organic means to achieve the same ends. The results of this research support the concept of “*reducing growth*” where local communities produce to meet their domestic grain demands.

While participation may influence social cultural variables, it fails to do the same in the case of social economic variables. This means that participation does not provide all the solutions to the challenges facing grassroots sustainability. Hence defining alternatives and guidelines becomes a core business of rural programme management. The results

from this research correspond with major theories of development, especially where the poor still maintain their peripheral characteristics. The poor are still pushed away to the periphery but through social organisation they can join forces to challenge the core forces that cause their state of destitution. In the analogy of south-north relations, the poor still operate on the dependency theory, mirroring a satellite and the cosmopolitan situation.

8.9 Practical applications of the findings

The findings in this research revealed some practical applications in the NGO sector, public sector, and civil society organisations that seek to engage with the grassroots. In following the guidelines, development practitioners find their niche as well. The NGO should focus on advocacy, grassroots democratisation and research that will enhance a critical understanding of poverty and its related dynamics in the rural areas. A sense of community, in the way the term has been explored, requires an enhancement of community bonding and social networks, so much so that such local institutions become stable. Greater application of the findings touches on the integration of productive activities through cooperatives in the context of community-based organisations, offering an important lesson where the community finds economic benefits from its communal and voluntary services. Such productive activities generate income that the poor can use to manage and solve their own problems. Hence the ability to be self-reliant is determined by the ability to mobilise one's own resources with limited dependence on external resources.

The community-based organisation has been found to have some comparative advantages over the NGOs. This finding is a vital one in the light of the knowledge that donor resources have been wasted through structures that have been found to be less accountable and less transparent.

While the results in the study support community-based organisations as a strategy of engaging with the grassroots poor, further research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of local level planning in dealing with the need for research and technology in

development. A formula for integrating research with local level planning needs must also be found. The results identify two distinct groups, particularly where there seems to be a transition from government management of projects to community management, and a surge in operations of projects occurs. This research has not dealt with this surge adequately, something that could endanger efforts by radicals to underpin their grassroots support. The project performance matrix must use agreed standards or indicators, or the coverage will remain popular opinion. The LQAS survey on the web that has been used to assess the level of programme outcomes on identified indicators is a useful one. However, it becomes irrelevant when the indicators used are not realistic.

8.10 Conclusion

In exploring potential in grassroots communities, the researcher has shown that they will need the right government policies that share power with the poor, allowing them to access and use development resources. These policies must also make provision for local people to own and control development resources. In the Upper Hills projects, through a nationalisation process, the state-owned resources viewed people as beneficiaries and recipients of development efforts. This consumer/producer relationship between the state and its people has some profound political implications. A bureaucracy survives on its capacity to deliver services and goods to the satisfaction of its populace. If poor people are to gain control and ownership of factors of production, the bureaucracy must be challenged and the policy framework reconfigured. In the model for sustainability, it is clear that handing over development to the grassroots will result in a surge in efficiency of operations. The grassroots will need adequate capacity building to acquire skills to manage this development. At times, how the poor gain such needed technical skills will demand changes in state policies of development. For example, development that focuses on rural urbanisation may be one approach to attract professionals to leave the cities and settle in rural areas where they can offer their technical expertise. This will enable local level planning to engage more easily with research. Institutions of development will need to devise long-term planning for projects that have a long life span and are more

complex. The community may find it hard to isolate outcomes in long-term projects and in their design; it becomes critical to consider some short-term benefits that will motivate those participating in such projects. This was evident in the Witimba projects that integrated forest-based enterprises, which enabled the community to gain some income as they protected and conserved the resource base. Developing the local economy through trade and production activities ensures that each household has an adequate income. It is this income that enables households to meet the recurrent operational costs of their local institutions. In this way, the community starts to meet some of the requirements for a self-supporting community development process.

Grassroots development means that there is a bottom up approach to development which challenges the powers that be. Hence grassroots planning ensures that development plans reflect people's aspirations. It also means that plans for development will meet the real needs of the community and address real, felt poverty. There is always development realism in local planning. In grassroots development, the development institutions find it easy to merge their perspectives with those of the local community, and these usually take on a social cultural dimension. This will help in reducing the social cultural conflicts that often arise when external projects enter a stable community. Developing and establishing sustainable local institutions of development requires a methodological process that examines the enabling environment in terms of challenges, devises solutions based on these challenges, finds appropriate methods for maintaining the outcomes, and looks increasingly at institutional capacity building. For the past 50 years, aid has been used without tangible results, as the bureaucracy excluded the poor from its approach. There is emerging potential in the grassroots to begin efforts of defusing globalism and development giantism.

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10 APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of abbreviations used in the dissertation

Abbreviation

ADB	Africa Development Bank
ACC	Advanced Capitalist Countries
ADP	Area Development Program
AI	Appreciative Inquiry
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
BOMA	British Overseas Management Administration
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DEMATT	Development of Malawi Entrepreneurs Trust
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
FINCA	Finance International Company
FITSE	Financial Trust for the Self Employed
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoM	Government of Malawi
HLS	Household Livelihood Security
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Program
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
LDC	Least Developed Countries
LEPSA	Learner based, Problem posing, and Action taking
LQAS	Lot Quality Assurance Survey
MARDEF	Malawi Rural Development Fund
MDC	Malawi Development Corporation
MDP	Malawi Development Policy
MEET	Malawi Environment Endowment Trust
MFCTM	Mulanje Rainforest Conservation Trust Model
MFI	Micro Finance Institution
MML	Monsanto Malawi Limited
MOHP	Ministry of Health and Population
MRFC	Malawi Rural Finance Company
MSB	Malawi Savings Bank
MSE	Medium and Small Enterprise
NGO	Non -Governmental Organisation
NGP	National Gross Product
OIBM	Opportunity International Bank of Malawi
OSM	Opportunity Saving Malawi

OVOP	One Village One Product
PAPSIL	Participatory Assessment, Participatory Planning, Implementation, for
Sustainable	livelihood
PHAST	Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation
PR	Participatory Research
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRIDE	PRIDE Malawi
PWR	Participatory Wealth Ranking
RBM	Reserve Bank of Malawi
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SA	Supervision Area
SARAA	Situation Analysis Resourcefulness, Action planning, Accountability
SDCOM	Seed co-Malawi Limited
SEDOM	Small Enterprise Development Organisation of Malawi
SPSS	Scientific Package for Social Scientists
SWCVM	Shire highlands Conservation Village Model
SWOT	strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats
TAMA	Tobacco Association of Malawi
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
VACA	Vulnerability Analysis and Capacity Assessment
VAP	Village Action Plan
WFP	World Food Programme
WVI	World Vision International

Appendix B: Terms and definitions used in the dissertation

Terms that build the foundation of this research have been defined as below

Community: A more cohesive and identical social group especially in shared beliefs, values, resources, preferences, needs, risks, family and kinship characteristics living in a defined geographical location.

Social Capital: The sense of human connection and formation of social networks, through which people share and feel secure enough to get along. Roberts D. Putnam defines social capital as the collective value of all social networks (who people know) and the implications that arise from these networks to do things for each other.

Communitarianism: Shifting the focus of interest towards communities and societies and away from an individual.

Community Development: Often linked with community work as community planning, community development is often formally conducted by NGOs, and Government Agencies to improve the social well being of local regional and national communities. Less formal efforts, called *community building* or *community organizing*, seek to empower individuals, and groups of people by providing them with skills they need to effect change in their own communities. These skills seek to build political power through large social groups, working for a common agenda. Community Building towards activism is termed community organising: Here community seek accountability, seek representation in decision-making.

Community Building: The processes of empowering local communities with skills, information, and knowledge, to enable them engage with outside forces that cause their poverty.

Community based organisation: A non-profit intentional community organisation whose activities are based primarily on volunteerism focusing on providing social services at local level.

Cooperative: An economic enterprise and profit based intentional community organisation based on collective efforts of individuals that combine wealth and resources and harness them in a united way.

Self-reliance: Continuation of delivery of projects benefits (goods and service) or project activities after phase out of external aid support.

Socialism: General term for the political and economic theory that advocates a system of collective or government ownership and management of production and distribution of goods and services.

Capitalism: An economic system in which means of production are privately owned and operated on profit, and in which investment, distribution of income, production and pricing of goods and services are determined through the operation of a free market.

Economism: Idolised focus and attention on economic growth that ends into institutionalisation of aid.

Rural development: A collection of rural development activities that aim at enhancing and improving conditions of living among the poor.

Self-Help: Personal development endeavours expressed in independent activities as well as self-employment, personal initiatives expressed in helping the self-first.

Livelihood: Assets, capabilities, capacities, and entitlements through which people earn a living.

Sustainable Livelihoods framework: A procedure where the poor use adaptive and coping strategies to use their assets, capabilities, activities to reduce poverty.

Participation: The process in which members of an oppressed community or group actively collaborate in the identification of problems, collection of data and analysis of their own situation in order to improve it.

Transformational Development: Action oriented development efforts to effect desirable social change.

Indigenous Knowledge Democratisation: The process of empowering popular knowledge as legitimate source of information to be used to promote solutions to the problems of poverty and exploitation.

Empowerment: Any process by which people's control (collective or individual) over their lives is increased.

Sustainability: A longer-term viability of development projects and establishment of socially sustainable conditions.

Sustainability model: A methodological procedure that uses participatory processes to measure the level of inheritance after donor involvement and how such inheritance can be enhanced to continue being of benefit to the community.

Appropriate development: Nature of development that is not externally driven, focussing on improving human beings living standards, increasing choices and within the means of the poor to manage.

Populism: Alternative development theory that allows people to lead their own development process through decisions, control and using their own options and resources.

Livelihoods theory of development: Nature of development that uses adaptive and coping mechanism, local capacities, abilities, and resources as a point of departure.

Modernisation theory: A theory of development mostly propounded by the west that characterise development as a path from traditions to modernity.

Appendix C: Livelihood wheel sustainability model.

Managing Global level triggers of poverty		Global Factors of concern
Tropical climate and weather (rainforests, arid regions, semi arid regions, droughts, cyclones, disasters, desertification, deforestation, soil degradation, soil fertility)		
Social factors (human economic scales, human epidemics, environmental pollution, famine, hunger)		
Environment (direct solar-radiation in the tropics, heating and high temperatures)		
Economic orientation (global trade, market, bilateral relations, political relations, globalism, giantism, aid)		
<hr/>		
Managing National triggers of poverty		National Factors of concern
Tropical climate and weather (rainforests, arid regions, semi arid regions, droughts, cyclones, disasters,)		
Economic orientation (export, raw material production, labour productivity, economism, aid).		
Politics and social conflicts (autocracy, despotism, dictatorship,		
National institutions of development (classical socialism)		
Bloated public service (non skilled placed in rural areas, departmentalisation, compartmentalisation, urban biases)		
National economy performance (social service infrastructure, Aid gaps, economic institutions biases, low industrial growth, taxation, inflation, unemployment, domestic budget growth).		
<hr/>		
Managing Community triggers of poverty		Community Factors of concern
Social cultural environment		
Personal World View (Values, norms, traditions, practices, social setting, fatalism, myths, believes , lies)		
Social and Economic disparities (costs of production, transport costs, entrepreneurship, household income, labour productivity, alienation, class struggle, resignation, social disintegration).		
Community politics (elitism, despotism, individualism, opportunism, bureaucracy).		
<hr/>		
GLOBAL THINKING AND LOCAL ACTION-S OCIAL PRAXIS		
<hr/>		
PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT ACTIONS		GLOBAL/NATIONAL LEVEL
Traditional knowledge democratisation		Policy reforms
Project indeginisation.		Threshold limits
Local protectionism		Decentralisation
Less modernisation		Devolution
Conflict management		Market and trade reforms
Radicalisation		Direct Democracy
COMMUNITY FOCUSED ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES		
<hr/>		
Component	subcomponent	
Social	community attachments	
Cultural context	Community movement	Development As a process
Grassroots empowerment.	Community involvement , participation	
<hr/>		
Inside community support.	NGO, CSO, actions	Development as projects
Outside community support.	Government, Donors, actions.	

Adopted in 1996 Participatory Resource Book- UNDP

Appendix D: Project performance assessment matrix rating tool

1.0 Introduction.

The success in any project could be determined by the severity of certain physical, economic, political, and social conditions that are prevalent in an environment. Development aims at reducing these conditions or impediments allowing for more favourable conditions. In the same line of thinking development programmes come up with interventions, solutions to the perceived conditions whose level of application would indicate project success. This tool is an adaptation of the community based organisations such as cooperatives, associations, assessment tools used in Israel, Ethiopia, and Uganda in assessing sustainability of community managed cooperatives. In longitudinal studies the tool can be used for pre and post interventions assessments.

CATEGORIES

<i>Physical sustainability Challenges</i>	<i>Clustered Variables</i>	<i>Variable Prevalence</i>	<i>Perception Rating 10 Seed Technique</i>			
			<i>25 %</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>75%</i>	<i>100%</i>
<i>Definitions:</i> Project success is at times dependent on the nature of the physical environment with factors that include disasters, land productivity, land degradation, agriculture practices and social facilities and infrastructure	Land productivity	Soil erosion Soil fertility Marginal Land Forest Cover Slopes				
		Floods Droughts Pests/diseases				
	Natural Disasters	Floods Droughts Pests/diseases				
	Practices	Shifting cultivation Micro cropping				
Average variable rating	Social facilities	Markets facilities Schools facilities Roads Health Facilities				
Economic sustainability challenges:- <i>Definition:-</i> The economic environment determined by income	Income poverty	Un employment Purchasing power Disposable income Savings Investment				

poverty, economic growth and distribution, cost of production, economic infrastructure currency flow, value and distribution and import/export ration.	Economic growth and distribution	Micro Lending Lending institutions Entrepreneurship Informal sector growth Exchange rates Taxation				
	Economic Growth and Distribution	Trade Pricing Processing				
	Cost of Production	Storage Costs Transport Costs Product Exploitation Low Prices Input costs Interest Rates				

	<i>Clustered Variables</i>	<i>Variable Prevalence</i>	<i>Perception Rating 10 Seed Technique</i>			
			25%	50%	75%	100%
	Economic Infrastructure	Industries Companies Banks Credit Institution Markets Business				
	Currency Flow Distribution and Value	Exchange Rates Taxation Buying power Lending policies Lending institutions Economic Diversification				
	Import/Export Ratio	Trade Entrepreneurship Producer exploitation				

		Political structures Private involvement				
Average variable rating	Clustered variable	Variable prevalence				
Institutional challenge of sustainability <u>Definition:</u> The institutions that consists of agencies, policies facilitate community managed projects are factors such as nature of support, domineering, policies and conditions, development approaches, and influence market and structures that affect sustainability of projects.	institutional support	Hands off policy Financial, technical, programming support. Technologies support Leadership support				
	Institutional domineering	Project imposition Project abandonment Short time frames of completion Top down planning				
	Institutional policies and conditions	Aid conditions Non flexibility Policy framework Liberalisation Free trade Pricing and costing structures				
	Institutional development approaches	Welfares Synoptic planning process Rationalisation				
	Market structures and policies	Liberalisation Nature of competition Private hand Exploitation Vested interests of financial institutions				
	Average variable Rating					

<i>Category</i>	<i>Clustered Variables</i>	<i>Variable Prevalence</i>	<i>Perception Rating 10 Seed Technique</i>			
			25%	50%	75%	100%
Social/Cultural challenges of project sustainability <u>Definition:</u> Sustainability of a project is affected by the social motivation, institutional structure/linkages, ideal seeking behaviour, social seeking behaviours and dependency socialisation of the affected country.	Social motivation	Participation Commitment Cooperation Democratic Leadership Trust Social obligation				
	Ideal seeking behaviour	Social relations Common good Comradeship Social conflict Social gathering Reciprocity Accountability				
	Goal seeking behaviours	Oppressive structures Bureaucratisation Social alienation Communication efficiency Power struggle				
Average variable rating	Dependency culture	Social resignation Hand outs Goods/services valuing system Project imposition Creativity Self esteem Confidence				

PROJECT DESIGNS AND SOLUTIONS PERFORMANCE INDEX

			<i>Perception Rating 10 Seed Technique</i>			
			25%	50%	75%	100%
Physical Solutions to Sustainability Challenges <u>Definition:</u> Physical	Environmental conservation	Low cost farming Soil improvement Tillage practice				

solutions that use biological systems, physical environment patterns, are applied as alternatives to social/economic and physical shocks		Traditional crops				
Economic Solutions Definition: The community managed program will need to apply a lot of economic solutions that include micro lending, enterprise development, market structure, ownership of factors of production, economic policies and accountability of goods and services to attain project success.	Food Security systems	Food variety Diversification Income for food Food Access and distribution				
	Micro Lending	Disposable Income Create jobs Capital Social security Interest rates Credit				
	Enterprise Development	Entrepreneurships Diversity of business Produce quality Pricing policies Industrialisation				
	Market Structure	Demand of goods Supply of goods Marketing Market information systems				
	Ownership over factors of production	Market protection Domestic market Growth Price Liberalisation Cooperatives				
	Infrastructure development	Roads and bridges Communication				

		Transport Road Maintenance Financial Institutions Goods and services				
Institutional solutions <u>Definitions:</u> Institutional environment determined by nature of governance, partnerships, and institutional imperatives such a community empowerment, donor transformation are solutions to apply to address challenges of institutional sustainability.	Governance	Democratic governance Accountability and transparency Exploitation and consumption Policy Legal framework				
	Partnerships	Agreements Cautions External Linkages Social Partnerships				
	Community empowerment	Community autonomy Building self reliance Ownerships over resources Local resource mobilisation Local value systems Institutional domineering				
	Donor Transformation	Aid dependence syndrome Empowering aid structure Social aid policies				

Appendix E: Focus Group Discussion/interface meetings tool.

INTRODUCTION.

Thank you for being one of the participants to be interviewed as a beneficiary of the activities of CBOs. The idea of my interviewing you is to solicit information that will help the community based organisations serve you better as a beneficiary.

Name of interviewer -----

Date of interview-----

Name of interviewee-----

Name of village-----

2.0 HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS.

Sex ----- (1) male (2) Female.

Marital status. (1) Single (2) Married (3) Widow (4) Widower (5) Divorced

2.3 Age of respondent : (1) below 20 (2) 20 (3) 30 (4) 40 (5) 50
(6) Above 60.

2.4 Literacy levels of respondent

primary.

(2) JC

(3) MSCE

(4) Technical level.

2.5 Number of people in the household (1) 2

(2) 5

(3) 6

(4) 7 & above.

3.0 COVERAGE OF CBO ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY OF STUDY.

3.1 Are there Community based organisations in this community. (1) Yes, (2) No.

If Yes to 3.1 Above, Which of the following categories of CBOs exist in this community?

(a) Agriculture Clubs

(b) Irrigation committee

(c) Dairy group farmers

(d) Village Forestry committee

(e) Soil and conservation water committee

(f) HIV/Aids committee

(g) Home based care Committee

(h) Nutritional Groups

- (i) Water and sanitation committee
- (j) Orphan care committee
- (k) Pre-school/CBCC
- (l) School Parent committee.
- (m) Credit groups/credit associations
- (n) IGAs committee
- (p) Savings committee
- (q) Marketing committee
- ® Micro business committee
- (s) Political committee
- (t) Advocacy /Human rights committee
- (u) Recreational committee/football/netball/festivities.
- (v) Agro-dealers.

3.2 Which of the following services and goods do you benefit from the inside Community development institutions?

- (a) Credit/loans access.
- (b) Seed and farm inputs.
- © Extension transfer
- (d) Animal product (milk, meat, skins).
- (e) Orphan care
- (f) Care for the HIV infected
- (g) Disease control and prevention.
- (h) ITN nets
- (i) DRFs services
- (j) Pre-schooling
- (k) Environmental protection
- (l) Information of human rights.
- (n) Recreation
- (m) Moral regeneration
- (o) Spiritual nurture.

3.3 Is it possible for you to access most of these activities, or services as a Community based organisation. (1) Yes (2) No.

3.4 If no to 3.3 which of the following are your physical, social, economic and institutional limitations.

- (a) Land availability
- (b) Seed and fertilizer scarcity.
- © Pests and diseases.
- (d) Water shortage.
- (e) Technology limitation.
- (f) Inadequate extension.

- (g) Lack of training.
- (h) Lack of markets
- (i) High prices of inputs
- (j) Poor soils.
- (k) Lack of income
- (l) Distance to the facility.
- (n) Lack of government support
- (m) High interest rates
- (p) Loan collateral requirement.
- (q) Lack of civic education on the service
- Ⓡ Non-availability of the services.

Other specify-----

4.0 NATURE OF SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY.

4.1 As a house hold which of the following social services and goods are you able to access.

- (a) Health clinics.
- (b) Roads network.
- Ⓢ Dip tanks
- (d) Market infrastructure
- (e) Telecommunication (phones).
- (f) Electricity /Solar power.
- (g) Jobs
- (h) Employment
- (i) Media print /press/radio.
- (j) Maize mill
- (k) Recreation centres.
- (l) Schools.
- (n) Skills development centres

Other specify_____

4.2 How would you describe conditions of roads network in your community?

- (a) Passable all year round
- (b) Passable in dry season

Other specify_____

4.3 Which of the following vehicular transport frequent these roads?

- (a) Bicycle
- (b) Oxcart
- Ⓢ Vehicle

(4) Other specify_____.

4.4 What is the distance to the nearest clinic?

- (a) 5km
- (b) 10km
- (c) 15km
- (d) 20km
- (e) 25km
- (f) 30km

4.5 What is the distance to the nearest health centre?

- (a) 5km
- (b) 10km
- (c) 15km
- (d) 20km
- (e) 25km
- (f) 30km

4.6 What is the distance to the nearest lending institution?

- 5km
- (2) 10km
- (3) 15km
- (4) 20km
- (5) 25km
- (6) 30km

4.7 What is the distance to the nearest market?

- (1) 5km
- (2) 10km
- (3) 15km
- (4) 20km
- (5) 25km
- (6) 30km

4.8 What is the distance to the nearest School? ?

- (1) 5km
- (2) 10km
- (3) 15km
- (4) 20km
- (5) 25km
- (6) 30km

5.0 INSTITUTIONAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Do you feel as community-based organisations, the discussed institutions are having any significance or importance in this community? (1) Yes, (2) No.

If yes to 5.1, what are these significance or impacts?

- (a) Improved nutrition status
- (b) Improved health status

- © Improved income levels
- (d) Improved human rights understanding
- (e) Improved literacy
- (f) Improved advocacy.

6.0 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

As a community, are you involved in repair and maintenance of social goods and services facilities? (1) Yes (2) No.

6.2 If yes, how are you involved in repair and maintenance of such goods and services?

- (a) Financial contributions.
- (b) Labour contribution
- © Rules and regulations
- (d) Community skills contribution
- (e) Community committees.
- (f) Moral support

Other specify _____

7.0 COMMUNITY ORGANISATION.

7.1 Do you belong to any farming/ business club or group? (1) Yes (2) no

7.2 Besides community based organisations, which other informal groups/structures are in this area.

- (a) Burial committee
- (b) Beer den committee/ mobile market
- © Chiefs council
- (d) Village health committee
- (e) Village water committee
- (f) Herbalist groups
- (g) Political committees
- (h) Sports committee

Other specify _____

7.3 Which is the most critical factor that keeps the CBOs running in this community?

- (a) Strong and visionary leaders
- (b) Finances
- © Social obligation
- (d) Communal problems
- (e) Support from donors

(f) Benefits

7.4 Which is the most critical factor that keeps the other informal groupings running?

- (a) Communal problems
 - (b) Benefits
 - (c) Social obligation.
 - (d) Win support of the community
 - (e) Felt need of the people
 - (f) Our Tradition
 - (g) Support community life
- Others specify

7.5 As a community of interest, do you contribute to development projects? (1) Yes (2) no

7.6 Which kind of contribution do you make?

- (1) Financial
 - (2) Labour
 - (3) Skills
 - (4) Time
 - (5) Moral support
 - (6) Management decision
- Other specify

8.0 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SYSTEM AT GRASSROOTS.

8.1 Are you aware of the established rural community development funds placed at the district level in Malawi (1)? Yes (2) no

8.2 If yes to 8.1 above have you as village submitted any project proposal seeking funding from the community fund (1) Yes (2) No

If yes, which of the following donors are you aware of in this community?

- (1) Masaf
- (2) WVI.
- (3) DDF.
- (5) HIPIC

8.3 are you aware of the development decentralisation initiatives? (1) Yes (2) no

8.4 Which of the following definitions of decentralisation do you agree with?

- (1) Power to the rural masses.
- (2) Power to grassroots government structures.
- (3) Development under people's control.
- (4) Failure of government delivery systems.

Other specify _____

8.5 How are projects identified in the community?

- (1) Problems/issues are identified by village people.
- (2) Village head discusses with subjects.
- (3) Government gives us projects
- (4) Community members identify problems
- (5) We borrow ideas from our neighbours

Other specify _____

8.5 Do you participate in project identification? (1) Yes (2) no

8.6 How many donors are supporting the CBOs in this community.

- (1) MASAF
- (2) WVI
- (3) ACTION AID.
- (4) DDF
- (6) MICAH
- (8) FITSE
- (9) MRFC
- (10) ADECOM
- (11) CHURCHES

Other specify _____

9.0 COMMUNITY SELF RELIANCE

9.1 Do you think community based organisation in this community will continue after support of donors in general.

(1) Yes (2) No.

9.2 If no to 9.1 which of the following factors would you support for sustainability of CBOs.

- (a) Continued donor support.
- (b) Handing over projects to government.
- © Increasing number of donors.
- (d) Partnership with other established institutions.
- (e) Collaboration among CBOs.
- (f) Capacity building /training.

(g) Organisational Development.

(h) Community Trust Funds.

Other specify _____

9.3 In your view do you feel donor money and material are well accounted for by the CBO Committees. (1) Yes (2) no

9.4 If no, to 9.3 what should be done to ensure financial and material accountability for the project?

(a) Select accountable leaders

(b) Select honest leaders

© Train CBOs on audits and simple accounts.

(d) Proper identification of members of CBOs.

(e) Intensify monitoring visits.

(f) Constitutions development.

(g) Legislation of CBOs.

(h) Security and safety measures.

Other specify _____

9.5 Which of the funding procedures would you prefer if given chance to choose?

(1) Direct to community projects.

(2) Through NGOs then to community.

(3) Through Government to Community

(4) Through government/NGO/ community

(5) Through CBOs then community.

Other specifies.

10. POVERTY, CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

10.1 Do you have some old traditions that still exist in this community (1) Yes (2) No.

10.2 If yes to 10.1 which of the following cultures and traditions still exist.

(a) Beliefs

(b) Myths

© Practices

(d) Customs.

Other specify _____

10.3 Which of the following practices are still common?

(a) Poly gamy.

(b) Beer drinking.

© Child bonding (Kupimbira).

(d) Witchcraft

(e) African doctors.

(f) Fortune telling.

10.5 Do you experience some chieftainship wrangles in this area.

Yes (2) No.

10.6 If Yes to 10.5 how are these resolved?

- (1) Through community dialogue
- (2) Through negotiations
- (3) Through elders of the community.
- (4) Traditional courts.
- (5) Through magistrate courts.