

**TOWARDS PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

THE CASE OF KUDUMANE DISTRICT

SAMUEL ASARE BOTCHWAY

TOWARDS PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE CASE OF KUDUMANE DISTRICT

**BY
SAMUEL ASARE BOTCHWAY**

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SUPERVISOR: MR S P TREURNICHT

STUDENT NUMBER: 0854-626-6

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Student number: 854-626-6

I declare that *Towards People's Participation and Rural Development: The case of Kudumane District* 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.



SIGNATURE
(MR S. A. BOTCHWAY)

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DATE

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SUMMARY

Traditional development theories concentrated on stimulating economic growth without considering the extent to which growth would affect rural people's quality of life. Modernisation has failed to improve life in rural Third World areas.

Current development thinking emphasises the human aspect of development and is more inclined towards participatory rural development.

Referring specifically to the Batlharos Water project, the study investigates and identifies the causes of the limited initiatives in participatory development within the Kudumane district in the North-West Province of South Africa. Trends in the evolution of development thought to people's participation, including factors, processes and approaches that may facilitate participatory development in the Kudumane area are discussed. Factors that have affected and limited earlier participatory initiatives in this area are isolated.

The study concludes that unless rural communities constantly become the planners, initiators and executors of local development, no real transformation of their lives can be accomplished.

Key terms:

Rural development; people's participation; development; modernisation; decentralisation; nongovernmental organisations; Kudumane; local organisations; communication; development agents; local government; empowerment; sustainable development; participatory development.

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ACRONYMS

ANC	-	African National Congress
AGRICOR	-	Agricultural Corporation
Agribank	--	Agricultural Bank
BA	-	Beneficiary Assessment
BNA	-	Basic Needs Approach
BNDC	-	Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation
BIC	-	Bantu Investment Corporation
BMC	-	Bantu Mining Corporation
BWSA	-	Bophuthatswana Water Supply Authority
CD	-	Community Development
CARE	-	Corporation for American Relief Everywhere
CIDA	-	Canadian International Development Agency
Const. Dev.	-	Constitutional Development
CBD	-	Central Business District
ECLA	-	Economic Commission for Latin America
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GNP	-	Gross National Product
GEAR	-	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HRD	-	Human Resource Development
ILO	-	International Labour Organisation
IUCN	-	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (now World Conservation Union)
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
IRD	-	Integrated Rural Development
LDC	-	Less Developed Country
MRC	-	Municipal and Regional Council

MEC	-	Member of the Executive Council
n.d	-	Not dated
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIEO	-	New International Economic Order
NWDC	-	North West Development Corporation
OPD	-	Out Patients Department
PAR	-	Participatory Action Research
PRA	-	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PD	-	Participatory Development
PTA	-	Parents Teachers Association
PRDF	-	Provincial Rural Development Forums
RD	-	Rural Development
RSA	-	Republic of South Africa
RDP	-	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRA	-	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SADC	-	Southern African Development Coordination
SCC	-	Systematic Client Consultation
SD	-	Sustainable Development
SMMEs	-	Small Medium and Micro Enterprises
SPDU	-	Strategic Planning and Development Unit
SBDC	-	Small Business Development Corporation
TDC	-	Transitional District Council
TLC	-	Transitional Local Council
TRC	-	Transitional Regional Council
TMC	-	Transitional Municipal Council
TB	-	Tuberculosis
USSR	-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNEP	-	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNCTAD	-	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children's Emergency fund
UN	-	United Nations
UNISA	-	University of South Africa
UCDP	-	United Christian Democratic Party
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
WCARRD	-	World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
WB	-	World Bank
ZOPP	-	Zielorientierte Projektplanung (Objectives-Oriented Project Planning)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The aim of this chapter is to:

- give a general background to the study area of Kudumane,
- explain the socio-economic conditions found in the rural communities of Kudumane that clearly show the need for rural development,
- define the problem in the area that was identified for this study,

outline the research methods used in the study and summarise the various chapters.

The Kudumane district is a typical example of the many rural areas in the North West Province of South Africa. It is very isolated from the North West provincial capital and other urban areas in South Africa. There are several villages¹ in this district, and the majority of the inhabitants are landless, farm tenants, farm labourers or peasant farmers. They earn meagre incomes (from their farming activities, which are mainly of a subsistence nature), which are less than the necessary average for human existence as defined by the United Nations (World Bank 1992). Despite this poverty, little seems to occur in terms of formal development in this area.

The social and economic plight of the Kudumane people, like many others in South Africa, is similar to what Chambers (1983,1997), Kruijer (1987) and Cernea (1992) bring to the fore about the nature of the poor in rural areas. These authors consider the poor as people who have long been deprived of their essential needs for existence. Development practitioners are

¹ The Bophuthatswana 1991 population census gives a complete list of all the villages and their total populations by gender, age etc.

enjoined to encourage these poor people to take on poverty alleviation programmes and activities, which would improve their living conditions substantially.

The promotion of rural development from grassroots to bring about poverty alleviation and improvement of living conditions in one such rural area of South Africa, Kudumane, needs to be considered as being very important for the socio-economic development of the North West Province and South Africa in general. The majority of the people in South Africa who live below the poverty line reside in the rural areas (ANC 1994). These areas were severely neglected and exploited by the apartheid system (May 1998:3-6). Yet the rural sector plays an important role in the provision of natural resources, feeding the nation with agricultural produce and providing labour for industry, both skilled and unskilled. The past isolation and poor accessibility of the rural areas made such areas economically and politically not worth while for politicians to invest in. If the government is to ensure the welfare of its rural population, then the rural sector, in particular Kudumane, should be given a high priority in development funding with regard to infrastructural development. This means, however, that development action rests with the local people themselves, who should decide what they need and determine the local resources available that they can contribute to supplement the government's efforts.

It is evident that the villages in the Kudumane district, as in many other black areas in South Africa, lack basic infrastructural facilities, fertile farmlands, water and other life-sustaining services, because past governments systematically and forcibly removed the black people and dumped them in infertile, under-resourced areas. In this respect, the ANC (1994:2) correctly notes that:

"Rural areas have been divided into underdeveloped Bantustans and well-developed, white-owned commercial farming areas. Towns and cities have been divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites."

T.J.D. Fair, writing in *South Africa: Spatial Framework for Development* (1982), also notes this particular point. The absence of basic infrastructure in townships and villages for blacks is pointed out by Suckling & White (1988) as historical (due to apartheid), and still exists despite some attempts to rectify this injustice through the reconstruction and development

programme (a development programme of the current South African government). Rural electrification attempts at providing purified and easily accessible water and the current rural housing projects in some areas attest to this. The lack of infrastructure can also be attributed not only to apartheid, but also to low population pressure, poor regional planning, improper allocation of resources to areas requiring them, and many others.

Some of these development projects have been and are being tackled in Kudumane. Rajakutty (1991: 39) pointed out that efficient, quick and sustained implementation of the rural development activities requires joint action by government, development agents and the rural people. Such action must give priority to addressing the needs of the very poor, gradually promoting awareness of their capabilities and enabling them to express and analyse their realities (Chambers 1997: 130; Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997; Kotzé & Kellerman 1997: 46). Through this joint action or collaboration of the poor villagers in Kudumane and the government, the incidence of poverty in rural Kudumane may be minimised.

1.2 THE STUDY AREA AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

The Kudumane magisterial district is located in the western part of the North West Province of South Africa. It lies within the Kalahari Desert and is bounded by the districts of Vryburg in the east and north, Kuruman in the west and south, and Ganyesa in the north-east (see maps in appendices I & III). From the maps, it can be seen that the district covers an area of 1 070 629 hectares (South Africa 1996a) with a population of about 267 434 (South Africa 1996b). It is also one of the most sparsely populated areas in South Africa, with a density of about 4 people to a hectare. This low population density hampers development, because it is not easy for the people to reach each other quickly and to assemble for any development activities.

Kudumane's location in the Kalahari Desert is not very conducive to the development of agricultural and social conditions. Geographically, it experiences desert climatic conditions; a very short annual period of low rainfall (200 to 400 mm between November and February, with its peak in February) is followed by a very cold, dry winter. While summer temperatures are very high, reaching a maximum of between 38 and 40 °C, winter temperatures are low (between 10 and 6 °C) and sometimes drop to -6° with frost at night. There is a lack of surface water, and the grassland vegetation ranges from stunted trees, tall

grass and bushes to bare sandy and rocky land surfaces (Swanevelder *et al* 1996). These conditions, as noted earlier, do not make the place attractive to politicians to visit or invest in its socio-economic development.

Water, the lifeline of every community, particularly surface water from rivers, is extremely scarce. All streams (if of any significance) are non-perennial. Dry river valleys may flow with water for a short while after rainfall. This can be seen between Mothibistad and Kuruman. Generally, water has to be obtained from subterranean sources. The limestone nature of the land or the karst geomorphology (see Barnard and Nel 1976; Swanevelder *et al* 1996: 118) results in the disappearance of surface water and emergence of underground water (Kuruman Town Council 1998: 5). A typical example can be noted about five kilometres outside Kuruman towards Vryburg, where a spring (referred to as Kuruman's 'Second Eye') has been dammed for use as a tourist attraction. It disappears again a few metres away after crossing the main road. The only visible permanent surface water is the Kuruman River and a stream that originates from a spring called the 'Kuruman Eye' or First Eye (refer to map in appendix II). Boreholes and wells have been what the people have depended on for water supply for years. Ensuring a supply of safe and easily accessible water in Kudumane can be considered as a great relief.

Both the karst or limestone geomorphology and the low annual rainfall of between 200mm and 400mm cause dryness and water shortage. The dryness of the region and its grassland vegetation make the soil poor and unsuitable for any crop farming, except where intensive irrigation can be managed efficiently. Livestock farming therefore forms the bulk of agricultural practice. This has led to scattered settlements that characterise this predominantly pastoral area, where about 80% of the animals are cattle.

Although the district has the highest number of cattle in the North West Province (Potgieter *et al* 1972), livestock farming generates little income here. Firstly, good grazing land is limited. Secondly, a large number of stock farms are in the hands of a very few well-to-do commercial and emerging farmers who, by using their vast herds as collateral, are able to obtain more credit to buy feed and drill boreholes to provide water² for their animals

²Subterranean water is available to those who can afford to sink boreholes. This is expensive; consequently only a small minority of farmers accumulate large incomes from stock farming.

(Agribank, (no date): 3-4). The rest of the population may have one or two animals that roam over long distances in search of grazing. Thirdly, livestock farming is seldom undertaken on a commercial basis, and western agricultural practice seems foreign to the rural population. The impression is that they are not prepared to enter into or associate with the traditional western consumer economy. Stock farming there can thus be understood in a cultural context. Cattle have an important cultural value in the African traditional economy. Cattle must be kept as a store of wealth. The animals are only occasionally sold to neighbours for cash, and when the owners experience financial emergencies; the rest of their stock is kept for social use such as funerals, weddings and other festivities and as a sign of wealth and status. Therefore little income accrues to the farmers. Generally they show little interest in western agricultural initiatives and practices; in their context, keeping a small number of cattle and having children to herd them brings satisfaction, a sense of self-sufficiency and pride.

Traditional land ownership practices are also significant. In Kudumane, land holdings are very small and communally owned. They are tribal traditional lands held in trust by the chiefs who allocate them after a lessee has paid a customary amount (Potgieter 1977:39). The payment of the customary amount is not a confirmation of purchase, but proof that the chief recognises one's temporary use of the land. It also serves as revenue for the chief and the tribal authority. Land allocated for exclusive usage by families becomes hereditary. The land allocated to tribesmen cannot legally be owned or sold to anyone; in fact, no tribal land is sold or bought³ (Potgieter 1977:39). This may have positive and negative effects on production. On the positive side, all members of the community and generations to come would have access to land and a means of livelihood. On the negative side, landholdings are small and fragmented, and output is therefore small and insufficient for subsistence.

For a population of which over 80% lives in the rural villages (Bophuthatswana 1991, South Africa 1996b) and the majority engages in agriculture, especially livestock farming, the question of land ownership should be of great importance. This is because stock farming requires a large area of grazing land per farmer to avoid overgrazing and soil erosion. By owning the land and fencing it in, one would avoid other farmers' animals straying onto and disturbing one's pasture. Secondly, an enclosure would discourage stock theft. The farmer

³This information was personally verified with Chief Toto, the chief of the Batlharo Tribal area.

could also grow hay or feed for his animals, provided he could afford the huge cost of irrigation in this dry area. The current arrangement where there is free-range grazing by animals on common community land contributes to overgrazing, soil erosion, stock theft, tough beef and spread of cattle disease. The difficulties of land ownership and tenure therefore affect the socio-economic conditions and impose economic constraints on the people. These in turn affect living levels.

The standard of living generally is low in the region, though there have been improvements in recent times, as clusters of people can be found with comparatively high living standards. Educational standards are also low, judging from the number of schools⁴ for 1976, 1993 and 1999 (see schools statistics in appendix IV). Although the number of schools has increased, if one considers that the statistics cover a twenty-three year period the growth is nothing remarkable.

Geographic isolation has resulted in very little rural industrial development. Rural industries comprise Mothibi Bricks and Concrete Works, a small steel and glass works in Mothibistad, an automobile repair workshop in Batlharos as well as other small mechanical workshops located in the small industrial building complexes at Batlharos, Mothibistad and at Cassel. A few small cafés and shops can be found. Prominent shops among them are located in the Mothibistad, Batlharos and Cassel Shopping Centres, which have rapidly lost their patronage and importance to Kuruman (this is discussed in detail in chapter four). Because the rural industry is so small, only little income flows to these rural people. The people's survival and subsistence depends on the pensioners' and teachers' incomes locally and on remittances from mine and other workers in the urban centres. Others close to wetlands do cultivate vegetables.

As regards health, there is a high incidence of tuberculosis and asbestosis due to the presence of limestone and asbestos dust⁵. The majority of patients diagnosed with and admitted for tuberculosis, according to Tshwaragano hospital's Outpatients Department records (1995), are from the poor remote villages. There is a community hospital at Batlharos and a good

⁴Source: Kudumane District Education Office.

⁵Information gathered from doctors and medical records at Tshwaragano Community Hospital and Department of Health at Mmabatho.

clinic at Mothibistad. Clinics are also located in other villages, but they are not well staffed and stocked with essential medicines and equipment. This has caused high patient inflow at the main Tshwaragano hospital at Batlharos and Kagiso clinic at Mothibistad.

As regards demographic conditions, data from 1976 to 1996 population census reports show rapid population increases and low levels of literacy and health. In 1976 Kudumane's population was 98 700 (Potgieter 1977:12). This increased to 150 000 in 1991 and to about 267 434 in 1996, i.e. by 52% and 80% in the respective years (Bophuthatswana 1991; South Africa 1996b). The Batlharos village population was 11 130 in 1991 (Bophuthatswana 1991). Using the percentage increases in the district generally, Batlharos' population can be estimated to be about 20 000 in 1996. The 1996 population census figures, unlike the 1991 records, do not show the population of individual villages; but going by the average increase of 60% in five years for the district, the population of Batlharos should be approaching 25000 in the year 2000.

These figures show a substantial number of people living in this poor rural region⁶. The population pressure is high, considering the low carrying capacity of the Kalahari Desert and the growth rate of about 4%. Furthermore, the majority of the population lives in villages located in the remote south-western part of the district. The north-western and north-eastern parts have sparse populations. A large proportion of the population is below twenty-one years, which increases the dependency ratio, unemployment and the spatial extension of settlements. All these conditions call for a rapid development appraisal and the need for reliable information to encourage development initiatives in the district.

1.2.1 Settlement Patterns in the District

The majority of settlements in the district are scattered traditional villages, with the exception of Mothibistad, the district capital, which is a township growing into a modern town. Potgieter (1977: 40-41) classifies the settlements in the former Bophuthatswana into four categories: modern towns, meted-out settlements, traditional villages and squatter areas. Meted-out settlements are areas where people have been resettled as a result of the former

⁶According to South Africa 1996, the NAW province has a non-urban population of 2, 183,091 and an urban population of 1, 171, 734 (65.1% and 34.9% respectively of the provincial total). It does not show individual villages.

South African government's homeland resettlement policy. Such a township is described as a low-density residential area, with no differentiated land use zones. Mothibistad falls into this category. Modern towns and squatters are not conspicuous. On the other hand, some traditional village settlements such as Batlharos, Maruping, Soeding, and Magojaneng are nucleated but spread over a wide area due to the sizes of plots. Each plot has space for a main building and allowance for a family subsistence farm. Some of these are linear and string along roads, in particular the 30 km tarred road from Mothibistad to Batlharos. They tend to merge with each other along the tarred road, for example, Maruping and Batlharos. In future, these are likely to merge into one large traditional village.

Many of the villages in the interior of the district and away from the district capital, such as Bendel, Cassel and Vyks, are small, completely isolated from each other and scattered over large areas in an amorphous pattern. This isolation and the long distances between them are closely linked to their lack of infrastructural facilities, particularly good surfaced roads, water and electricity. It is very expensive to connect the various isolated houses with electricity and piped water. Water and road systems are but a few of the infrastructural problems in the area.

A good road network is lacking, and this inhibits easy communication and quicker assembly of the communities when necessary. The only tarred road within the district is the one that links Vryburg to Kuruman, formerly considered as an RSA road network, which branches off to link Mothibistad and Batlharos for a distance of about thirty kilometres (noted above). In reality, therefore, the district had for a long time only a 30 km tarred road connecting Mothibistad and Batlharos. Recently, road links of about ten kilometres from Maruping to Kuruman and also about ten kilometres from Dikweng to Kuruman have been tarred. Elsewhere, the villages are linked by gravel roads or, in many cases, by mere tracks in the veld.

In view of the low population density, the cost-benefits analysis of projects shows that further formal development projects are not justifiable, and that is why there are few projects there. However, it must be pointed out that development should be a matter of the people's welfare as shown in chapters 2 and 3 if the political system is people driven. Another factor is that the

previous apartheid government had isolated and exploited these black rural areas for a long time. The profits and urban prosperity built on labour from the villages for mines and construction works in the urban areas did not trickle down to the people and the areas they came from. It can be argued that if there is commitment to improve the village people's welfare, then cost should not be a major hindrance; rectifying the injustices of the past should be the primary factor. However, this viewpoint is open to much debate and beyond the scope of this study.

Nevertheless, in the previously advantaged areas of South Africa telephone links, access roads and electricity supplies were provided to remote, isolated farm settlements with populations of less than two family households. The welfare of the white farmers and commitment by the apartheid government to ease the suffering of its support base were of prime concern. Thus the South African government provided the entire necessary infrastructure in the rural sectors of the previously advantaged communities.

Since the current South African government has made rural development its priority, efforts to spread development evenly and reduce the inequalities that characterised the country must not depend on cost and economic viability to justify development inputs in areas of sparse population densities such as the Kudumane, but rather on concern for the welfare of the people. In other words, the welfare of the people, their poor living conditions and their suffering should be the prime motivating factors despite cost and economism (May 1998). If the people's poor conditions are transformed, the economy of the area may also improve accordingly.

On the other hand, since funding for development projects is not forthcoming as expected, the people need to organise themselves and pressurise the authorities for the funding of development projects in addition to their own meagre contributions. This is referred to in chapter three on local organisations. The question is whether the people are organised to pursue this course. In the past they were not properly organised. Only ad hoc committees were set up (this will be seen later in chapter 4). Lately some organisations, such as the RDP forums, have been established to determine and coordinate development projects in the area.

Furthermore, the current district council should design strategies to motivate and pursue the forming of grassroots organisations for development activities by the rural people. The provision of funds for projects should be a serious consideration, bearing in mind the poverty of these rural people.

1.3 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF POVERTY IN KUDUMANE

The above are indicative of the social and cultural dimensions of poverty that exist in the district. One way of identifying poverty in recent years has been the basic needs approach. This deals with the absence or presence of minimal human requirements for life as well as essential services (Burkey 1993: 5). The basic needs approach is further detailed in chapter three. Poverty in general and in the district must be seen here as deprivation and lack of the basic infrastructure, resources and socio-economic needs of the people (World Bank 1992: 29-31). For example, in Kudumane people were deprived of quality education that could have helped them to be more creative and self-supporting. Poverty was systematically brought on the rural people of Kudumane by the apartheid government (see chapter 4).

Much of the agricultural practices, the main occupation in the area, are rooted in traditional subsistence farming, and not directed at the market and profit. The little surplus from agriculture earns them low incomes. A contributory factor to this low-income earning from agriculture is the land ownership system, which has been discussed in section 1.2 above. Very few people therefore are large commercial farmers. Another factor is the present encroachment of residential areas of the rural community on lands needed for farming. Large portions of arable land are now occupied by rural housing. This leaves little land for farming and grazing. It also means that the carrying capacity of the remaining land is low for large commercial stock farming (i.e. insufficient grazing land for greater numbers of cattle, whether for commercial or subsistence purposes). This is a general problem in South Africa.

The lack of land has made a large percentage of the people unemployed, which in turn has resulted in large numbers of people living below the poverty line, which is an income level needed for a decent life and is determined annually by the United Nations (World Bank 1992: 30). These are the landless agricultural labourers, marginal and small farmers referred to earlier. The magnitude of poverty increases day by day. It has caused development in the

district over the last decade to be uneven and will continue to do so for a long time if self-initiatives, interventions or alternative development processes do not emerge.

This being the case, as in many rural areas in South Africa, the central position of rural development in policy formulations must be emphasised. This position was seen by the ex-president of the former Bophuthatswana (now North West Province) Lucas Mangope, who emphasised the need for development in his country through community efforts and launched rural development campaigns and established parastatals such as Agricor, Agribank and the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation (now North West Development Corporation) as main agencies to facilitate rural development (Jeppe 1985: 23). Local government institutions were established and strengthened by appointing local administrators (called "Governors") to oversee the various districts' development by 1991 (Chikulo 1992). These agencies tried to facilitate rural development activities until the dawn of the new democratic South Africa in 1994, when their status changed.

Thus institutions were set up to bring development closer to the people, which culminated in branches of development agencies being opened in the Kudumane district. It was envisaged that their presence would encourage the disadvantaged community to implement development projects for their own empowerment. At the end of that era of homelands and apartheid in 1994, other institutions such as Bophirima District Local Council and RDP Committee were established to implement development projects.

The researcher has lived and worked in this rural area for over eight years and has had personal contacts with many members of the community. The researcher has experienced personally the problems faced by the people in Kudumane and has therefore thought it fit to undertake this study in this community in order to help highlight and to bring about, even if only partially, some relief to their problems. Furthermore, the knowledge gained can also be used in other rural areas when community service comes into play.

1.4 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

From the foregoing it is evident that the Kudumane district is a rural and socially, economically and politically disadvantaged district. The population's plight cannot be transformed without their own initiative and involvement (Korten 1980: 496-497; 1983: 179; Gow & Vansant 1983: 427). It would therefore have been expected that rural development

activities which are people driven and participatory would be greeted with much enthusiasm, as indicated in the literature (Korten 1980, Chambers 1997). This seems not to be the case, because external development initiatives here have been limited. Indigenous initiatives are rare; when they do occur, they are 'occasional' and involve only a few elite groups in the area. The scope of group participation appears to be limited to people who share a common cultural identity. Otherwise, the people hardly get involved in rural development ventures in the district. Hardly ever does one find any formal development project in which the people actively participate.

Pertinent questions arising from this are: (1) What has caused this low rate of participatory development activities? (2) Why have there been only very limited development initiatives? (3) Why do people take a negative view of participatory activities?

The fact that only a few development projects have taken place and the lack or absence of interest on the part of the people to participate in these are cause for concern, and this is the problem this study seeks to investigate.

1.5 MOTIVATION AND PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The problem of low or limited participation in development initiatives in the Kudumane district was been chosen for study because of an honours study in Development Administration with UNISA on participatory development activities in the Kudumane district. At the time, the researcher noted the low level of community participation and found that this was due to (amongst other things) obstruction by local elites, bureaucratic interventions, difficulty in land acquisition, the structure of decentralised administration and the authority of field officers (Botchway 1994: 47-55). It was realised that there might even be more to it than had been found. The honours study was limited in scope and could therefore not go into the details. In the conclusion (Botchway 1994: 58), it was indicated that obstruction by local elites was a factor that damped enthusiasm for the development process. Incomplete knowledge of people's attitude to development prompted the researcher to delve more deeply into the problems of local participatory development problems. The research experience there, and into popular participation as pivotal to development, put the researcher in a better position to determine the causes and extent of problems with participatory development initiatives in the Kudumane magisterial district.

Thus from the research problem in section 1.4 and the foregoing, the study sought to:

- identify the causes of the limited participation in rural development projects by the communities in the Kudumane district, and
- suggest actions through which people's participatory initiatives might be achieved in the district.

1.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Kudumane local government often stresses that the district is 'backward' in development projects and needs development (Mothibistad 1999). Yet very few attempts have been made to engage the people fully in development projects. This is because government, when initiating development interventions in the Kudumane district, ignored the people's perceptions and attitude towards development. Yet the people's cultural background shows the diversity of perceptions they have on rural development (Norgaard 1994; Verhest 1990). Their cooperation with any agent, or their self-initiated development action, depends on their cultural diversity. How they perceive government performance and the attitudes of bureaucrats in relation to their own efforts is very important for a development process in the area. Norgaard (1994: 6) points out that the cultural differences of a people must be recognised in order to encourage them to work out a common problem together. It provides knowledge for a harmonious development (Norgaard 1994: 173).

Such perceptions may also lead one to question what historically happened in the district developmentally and whether enthusiasm for development initiatives could be activated and popularised.

Furthermore, the district does not attract investment or trained skilled manpower. It has long been ignored or neglected by government, development agencies and even NGOs, perhaps due to its geographical location and the discredited former system of government - apartheid. These might have caused further socio-economic stagnation.

Lastly, very little research has been done with respect to developmental activities in the district. Therefore this research into the causes of low-level local initiatives in participatory development would, hopefully, bring to light problems existing in the district and inform development practitioners and stakeholders in the district with regard to the particular

development policies to formulate and implement.

1.7 METHODOLOGY / RESEARCH PROCEDURE

A methodology encapsulates techniques, procedures and skills used in social research (Mouton 1996). Research technique is defined by Mouton (1996: 20) as "... specific and concrete means that the researcher uses to execute a specific research task". He mentions typical stages in the research process such as sampling, measurement, data collection and data analysis. Besides being a collection of research methods and techniques, a methodology includes assumptions and values regarding their use in specific circumstances.

Three methodological paradigms, which are not mutually exclusive, can therefore be distinguished. These are qualitative, quantitative and participatory action research. In this study, the qualitative methodological paradigm was followed because of the study area's specific circumstances.

Quantitative methodology is used where the research involves measurements and quantities. It is impossible to quantify attitudes and values in this kind of social research. Besides, survey data of the area was difficult to obtain. O'Barr *et al* (1973), Peil (1982), Cohen (1973), Bulmer & Walwick (1983) all confirm this difficulty to obtain survey data for quantitative research (particularly in the rural areas of Africa, where research tradition is not well established) and where such results as are available are unreliable. For example, data on rural migration in the Kudumane area was not available to the researcher at the time of this research. The data would have been used in discussions of rural-urban migration. Therefore qualitative methodology was necessary, because this is an attempt to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the Kudumane area and its people (Marais & Mouton 1988). World Bank (1996), Burkey (1993) and Van Veldhuizen (1997) all offer comprehensive documentation of success in the use of qualitative research in rural communities.

Currently there are many qualitative methods that are very participatory and available to researchers. Such methods include participatory action research (PAR), participatory rural appraisal (PRA), objectives-oriented project planning (ZOPP), beneficiary assessment (BA), systematic client consultation (SCC) etc (World Bank 1996, Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997). None of these was specifically selected for this study, as they were not accessible to the

researcher at the beginning of this study. Qualitative research methods were familiar, however, and qualitative procedures along the lines of PRA methods were followed.

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA), as stated by the World Bank (1996: 183), is a body of participatory approaches and methods that are based on local knowledge and enable the people to do their own appraisal, analysis and planning. It facilitates information sharing, draws on everyday experiences, uses visual tools and in the end makes participants feel empowered. They also see their contributions as valued (World Bank 1996; Van Veldhuizen et al 1997; Chambers 1992; 1997).

Thus qualitative methods used involved fieldwork and techniques which were very empirical. Their use is appropriate because the study was to gather factual information for analysis and allow a thorough understanding of some development problems in the area. Mouton (1996: 20) rightly states that “the aim of empirical social research is to gather (descriptive, factual) information about the social world with a view to describing its features more systematically and rigorously”. Techniques and other social research processes followed, such as sampling, data collection, data analysis, were therefore in order because they involved intensive observation and in-depth study and insight of a milieu such as the village community, associations and organisation or institutions (Bulmer & Walwick 1983; Chambers 1992; 1997).

This research procedure again allowed the researcher an experience of the subject matter and social situation at first hand from November 1996 to October 1998, when fieldwork ended.

1.7.1 Research Methods

The study made use of common procedures in qualitative research such as informal interviews, discussions, observation and the use of archival documentary analysis, by which, according to McClintock *et al* (1979), a more holistic view of the research object could be achieved. In-depth interviews, using unstructured questionnaires, were conducted. Due to the illiteracy of the local people and the researcher's limited knowledge of the local language, three educators were chosen as assistants to help with the translation, interpretation and the administration of the interview schedule to the illiterate local people. The competency of these assistants was verified first. The use of unstructured interview questionnaires helped the

interpreter and assistants to administer uniform questions to respondents.

However, the method was not without problems. Some respondents felt initially uneasy about answering questions; some were evasive, while others totally refused to open up to any discussions for fear of political repercussions. It was realised that there were some inherent ethnocentrism and xenophobia in this (typical) ethnically segregated area (chapter four discusses this problem). Later revisits made them become familiar with the team. They became relaxed then and volunteered authentic responses.

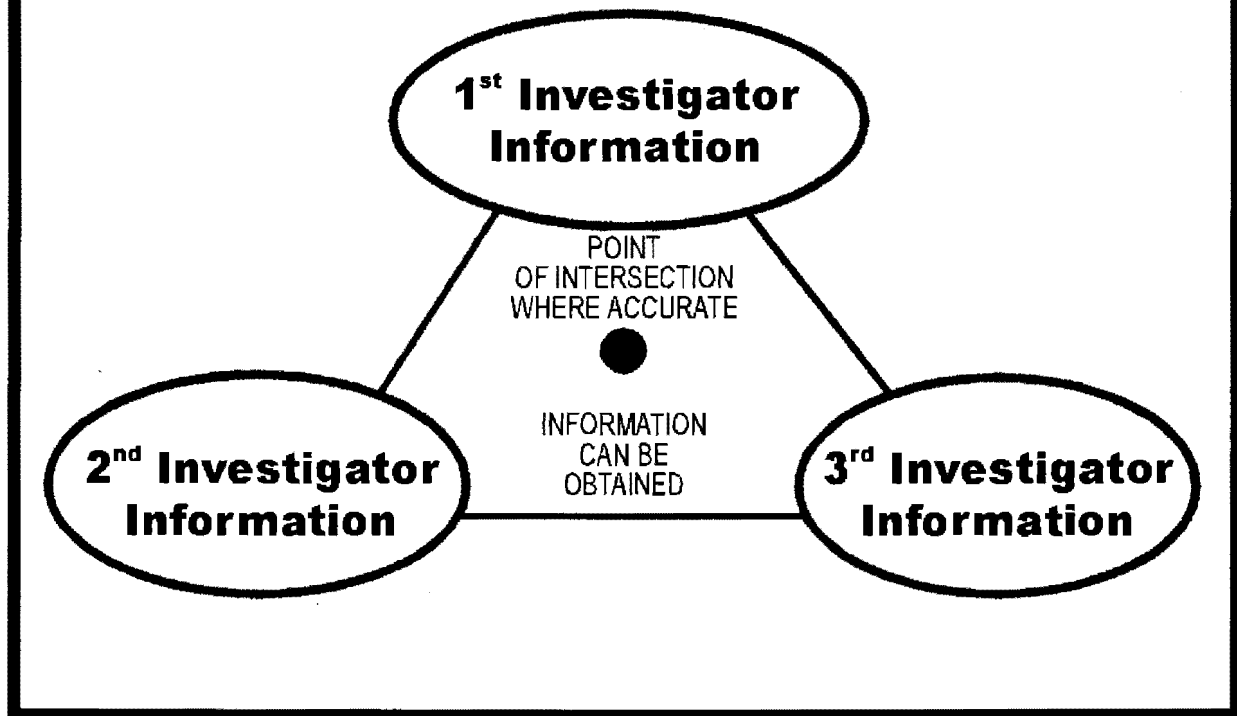
This prompted more frequent visits by the assistants to verify the validity of answers previously given. It was a form of triangulation (an investigator triangulation) used to validate information presented by respondents. Diagram 1 below illustrates this procedure. In this form of triangulation, multiple observers were made to observe and verify answers from respondents (Berg 1998: 5; Nachmias & Nachmias 1996). Berg (1998: 6) argues that because each method of observation "...reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed" to validate data. This is one way of double-checking, and he recommends this to new researchers because "It increases the depth of understanding of an investigation" (Berg 1998: 6). It worked well for this researcher.

1.7.1.1 Interviewing Procedure

Bearing the above in mind, an unstructured interview questionnaire was administered to gather in-depth information and to gain knowledge of the attitudes and values of the people in the Batlharos (in particular) and Kudumane (in general) communities. The interview was face to face and the interviewer tried to make the interviews much less formal, which allowed for more details to be elicited (Berg 1998:103). The informal nature of the interviews enabled the respondents to become relaxed and thus able to give the real and true picture of events and not what they thought the interviewer wanted as "socially acceptable (rather than true) answers" (Blumer & Walwick 1983:10). It ensured reliability of answers from respondents.

Diagram 1

Validation by Triangulation



1.7.1.2 Sampling Techniques Used

Respondents were selected by means of sampling, since not everybody in the village could be interviewed. Two types of sampling available for use are non-probability and probability sampling (Mouton 1996; Marais & Mouton 1988; Walizer & Wienir 1978). Marais & Mouton (1988) classified five non-probability sampling types as convenience sampling; judicious sampling; goal directed sampling; quota sampling and haphazard sampling.

The non-probability sampling types reflected in this study are the 'convenience', 'judicious' and 'goal directed' which combine to become a quota sampling (Van der Merwe, Erasmus *et al* 1991: 31). By using these types, a readily accessible part of the population and those who may be considered as typical representatives were selected at the discretion of the researcher.

This technique ensured that those key stakeholders with knowledge and important information were not overlooked (Bulmer & Walwick 1983). A sample size of 20 officials was interviewed using this technique.

The following people, groups and institutions were contacted and interviewed.

- (i) Ba-Ga-Motlhwane Tribal Authority.
- (ii) Local Government and Municipal Council officials at both local and head offices.
- (iii) Community leaders.
- (iv) Officials of development agencies such as Agribank, NWDC, Agricor.
- (v) Mothibistad local government officers including the Mayor and Town Clerk.
- (vi) Church leaders.
- (vii) Officials of the project and other government officials.
- (viii) Grassroot residents of Batlharos.
- (ix) Kuruman municipality officials.

The second type of sampling is probability sampling. This includes simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and purposive sampling. The techniques of simple random, systematic and purposive sampling were used to select representative respondents at the grassroots level. Owing to the vastness of the area and the scattered nature of the villages, an interval of twenty (20) houses was selected, i.e. every 20th house on every other street was selected and residents interviewed. Simple random and systematic sampling strategies were combined to ensure that the local peoples' views were all represented. A sample size of 45 people representing households was interviewed. These techniques complemented each other.

According to Berg (1998), purposive sampling, like convenience sampling, noted under probability sampling, is used "...after field investigation of some groups, in order to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study" (Berg 1998: 229). This was thus a good sampling strategy because it enabled the researcher to interview randomly young adults and high school leavers roaming the streets. Interviews took place periodically between November and December 1996, June to August 1997 and October to January 1998.

1.7.1.3 Participant Observation

The local people were unobtrusively observed to determine their feelings and attitudes to work. People targeted for observation were members of the local water committee, the officials at the tribal offices, the project officers and the general members of the community. The observation of officials took place when the water project was being carried out.

Observation of the beneficiaries as individuals was done as they gathered water from standpipes and in groups as they came to pay for their water bills at the Batlharos branch revenue office. During this time the researcher also had discussions with officials and the ratepayers concerning their feelings about the project. The observations were made from January to December 1993 through to December 1997 while the researcher was living in the area.

1.7.1.3.1 Constraints

As noted in section 1.7.1.2 above, the cut-off date for interviews and participant observations for this study was January 1998. However, it took the researcher a longer time to complete this work because of many problems encountered. In the first place, the first supervisor of this work retired. It took some time for the researcher to adjust to the current supervisor (and vice versa). Secondly, the researcher was at a place far removed from good libraries, making it difficult to make use of a wide variety of current secondary sources. Thirdly, very little research had been done on the district, and therefore secondary data on the area was difficult to obtain. This is discussed in chapter four. Finally, by the end of 1997 the researcher relocated to Mafikeng to join a new employer, which complicated contact with the research area and verification of data.

1.7.2 The Literature Study

A comprehensive literature study was undertaken in order to acquire a sound theoretical knowledge of the problem. Delving into theory first is important because theorising in the social sciences gives plausible explanations of events in the social world. According to Mouton (1996: 20-21), theory in the social science explains "... why things are as they are, why people act as they do, why things develop as they do". Thus social science theory not only predicts future behaviour or events, but also explains and gives comprehensive meaning to events, behaviours, attitudes and values.

The library of the University of South Africa was requested to do a literature search. Information was also requested from the district library at Kuruman, the library facilities at the University of North West and the tourist information desks at Kuruman and Mmabatho. Some books were obtained from private individuals. The search for development literature and information on the area at the department of Constitutional Development, regional services council, the department of local government and tourist development centres proved largely unsuccessful. What was obtained was very scanty. It emerged that development activities in the area were not fully documented, and very little relevant research work had been done in the area. At the department of local government in Mmabatho, it was said that literature and documents on the homeland of Bophuthatswana had been either destroyed or were impossible to trace. Unfortunately, the relevant officers were new at their offices of employment and could therefore neither provide much of the information needed nor trace the documents.

The lack of a comprehensive literature on the district and its development projects - also noted in the historical work of Breutz (1989: 1) - put a heavy constraint on this work. In the circumstances, more of the primary sources of information on the study area had to be resorted to. Much of the information was obtained from interviews, discussions with members of the community and observations of development activities and people's behaviour.

Greater care was taken, therefore, to verify that the information gathered was accurate. In case of doubt, further enquiries, interviews and verification were done by using the triangulation method discussed earlier (page 17). The process of triangulation or a multiple method of investigation portrayed the people being studied more holistically and improved understanding. By this verification method, different people with different perspectives were made to comment on an aspect in order to bring about a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of that aspect. Commenting on triangulation, Jick (1979: 138) indicates that:

"... triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge".

The literature reviewed (secondary sources) delved into the fields of development administration, public administration and other relevant fields such as economics, sociology and political science. These areas covered mainly development theory, people's participation, indigenous knowledge, culture and rural development as well as institutions influencing development, such as the bureaucracy and local organisations. The review of the literature had a historical perspective, because a people's participation in development has a historical evolution and underpinning.

A card was made for every bibliographic item containing information about the author, book or article, title, name of periodical for a journal article, year of publication and a brief note on what the article or book dealt with. This was made easier from the literature search sent by the UNISA subject librarian. It was even simpler by using University of South Africa's Library book and periodical request forms format. These cards were arranged in alphabetical order for easy reference. In addition, notes of relevant points of information were made on each book or periodical read. Sources and quotations used were then acknowledged in the text by the Harvard style outlined in the Guidelines on reference techniques prepared by the University of South Africa for post-graduate students.

1.7.3 Definitions of Key Terms

This section defines and briefly evaluates some key development terms for the purpose of this study.

□ Development

The key concept in this study is 'development', as all activities within the society and the rural communities in particular are geared towards improving the standard of living and quality of rural life. Different meanings of the concept have been noted in the literature by development practitioners (Kotzé 1997:2; Bergdall 1993:2; Oakley & Marsden 1984:18). There is a lack of consensus about its meaning, which suggests that it must be defined according to one's particular context, albeit with caution (Hettne 1992:2; 1996:21-66).

In past decades, development was regarded as a matter of economics. In the 1960s, it was defined in terms of economic growth rates (GNP) and modernisation through a

series of stages (Rostow 1960; Baran & Hobsbawn 1961; Chenery 1979). Following intensive debates in the 1970s and 1980s about the failure of economic growth to bring the expected outcomes, the focus shifted to human and eco-development. It is now seen in a broader perspective as including social, political and administrative processes (Glasson 1982:32; World Bank 1992:34; Todaro 1997). The World Bank notes that development means improving the well-being of people as well as giving them equal opportunities.

The study focuses on people and their attempts to realise their needs. Thus, for the purpose of this study, development must be viewed as:

A multi-dimensional process of improving the well-being of people by raising living standards, education, health, and offering equal opportunities to all. The process includes radical changes in the entire economic and social systems and structures, attitudes and institutions, thereby accelerating economic growth and at the same time reducing inequality, eradicating poverty, decreasing unemployment and allowing the people the opportunity to take initiatives in decisions that affect them.⁷

Development then must be considered as social, economic and political advances that address the pressing needs of the poorest sectors of society.

□ Participation

As shown above, development includes human development, which Oakley and Marsden (1984) indicate as having been ignored. Participation encapsulates this human development. In this study, participation means giving people the opportunity to work out their own problems and to find more lasting solutions to them. It further means involving the target people (all stakeholders for whom the development is meant) in the decision-making process of development. It connotes that the people have the right to take part in decisions that affect their lives, whether any benefits would follow from their involvement or not (Vasoo 1991:2). Finally, the participatory approach to development must be seen here as bottom-up, people-centred and a process through which the stakeholders influence and share control over

development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (World Bank 1996:xi).

Rural development

From the foregoing, rural development must be understood to mean a participatory development action evolving from the rural people and focusing on their needs in order for them to improve and have a decent standard of living. Government and external agents become facilitators giving advice, guidance and financial and material support.

Development initiatives essentially belong to the rural people (Aziz 1978; Korten & Klaus 1984; Rondinelli 1993). Now, there is a shift from outsiders (external agents) taking initiatives and making decisions to the rural people taking the initiatives and decisions, while outsiders become facilitators and guides. It is a shift from Robert Chambers' 1983 emphasis on outsiders to his 1992 and 1997 emphasis on insiders taking development initiatives.

Empowerment

Empowerment is considered as the primary objective of popular participation in development. The principle is that development must be by the people and not only for them (Coetzee & Graaff 1996).

Empowerment should mean building local people's capacities in order for them to deal with challenges that they may face, and equipping them with organisational as well as technical skills through their participation in the development processes and activities (Gow & Van Sant 1985; World Bank 1996; 2000/1).

Sustainability and Sustainable Development

Sustainability in development is achieved when people assume responsibility for local development. A sense of ownership of local resources and interest in caring for what belongs to them for their own sake and for posterity are developed (Rajakutty 1991;

⁷ See World Bank 1992:34; Todaro 1997 chapter one; Seers 1977; Stewart 1997, and chapters 2 & 3 of this study, for a comprehensive explanation of the concept.

Bambeger 1991). The World Bank (1992:34) simply puts this as "... development that lasts". This is what is implied in this study. Sustainable development should thus improve the well-being of people today as well as the well-being of their children and their children's children.

□ Decentralisation

Decentralisation is considered in participatory development as restructuring administration to positively affect effective and efficient local development and making sure that the local people take part in the development process. That may lead to the local people's empowerment. In this study, it is defined (cf. Rondinelli *et al* (1984:18-24)) as the transfer of authority for development planning and administration from the central bureaucratic administration (government) to the field, regional units and local administrative structures.

□ Local Organisations

Local organisations form the nucleus of the participatory strategy for rural development. Local organisations are institutions through which rural people's views can be expressed and their aspirations revealed. The lack of local organisations or the presence of inactive organisations therefore limits participatory activities (ILO 1978:35-36). Local organisations can also be considered as institutions that can empower local people and equip them with a voice and capacity to make credible demands on government and on others in charge of resources and public policy (Monaheng 1995:57).

□ Non-Governmental Organisations

NGOs such as the local organisations defined above are private, voluntary organisations formed to help the poor in the society articulate their needs (Van der Kooy 1990; Bonbright 1992). These organisations engage in development assistance at the local level or internationally. Local small voluntary groups formed to assist local poor people, street children, the homeless, abandoned old men and women etc. in need of care, are all referred to as NGOs.

All these above terms interrelate and form the component parts of the study. Without any one of them, people's participatory development may not be well articulated.

1.8 The Layout of the Dissertation

Chapter one of this dissertation gives a background of the study area of Kudumane and serves as a general introduction to the study. It states the problem to be researched, its significance and the research objectives. This chapter ends with an outline of the research methods used and a summary of the component chapters in the dissertation.

The theory of development permeates all facets of socio-economic life of the rural and peri-urban life. This provides the point of departure for the study. The concept of development and how it affects the rural people of Kudumane is then discussed in chapter two. The discussion covers the theoretical concept of development participation, its historical and theoretical evolution as well as the basis for rural development. The chapter also examines the problems of rural development strategies for providing in rural needs and formulates a working definition of 'development', and 'rural development' in particular, for the study.

Chapter three discusses and elaborates the major aspects of the theory of participatory rural development, which must activate the rural people to change from passive adopters into rational decision-makers and implementers.

It looks at the factors that may facilitate people's participation, such as organisations, decentralisation and bureaucracy, government and NGOs. It also gives an historic background of local administration in South Africa and the North West Province. This background helps to examine rural development activities in the Kudumane district in its proper perspective.

Chapter four reviews the socio-economic conditions of the Kudumane district and its historical development process. It then looks at the Batlharos Water Project as a test case for participatory development theory. It makes an appraisal of the approach followed in designing and implementing the project. It further analyses and presents the degree to which participatory initiatives exist in the Kudumane district.

Chapter five summarises the different arguments about development in the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for action that would achieve a more effective

participatory rural development in the Kudumane district. Three key areas for research that would throw light on and encourage people's participation in such rural areas are recommended.

Chapter six summarises the components of the dissertation.

1.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, it is noted that the Kudumane district is a poor rural area located in the Kalahari Desert. It is pointed out that the promotion of rural development in order to alleviate poverty and transform Kudumane society is vital. It ends by stating how the literature on the study was reviewed and the definitions of key concepts.

In chapter two, these concepts are explained and discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT AND EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this chapter are to discuss some relevant development theories in order to:

- Firstly, enable the reader to understand changes that have occurred in development thinking over the years.
- Secondly, review various meanings that have been given to the concept of development, and to deduce from them a radical working definition of development that is applicable to current development processes in the rural areas. That is, a conceptual definition which, when adapted, would give a criterion whereby the achievement of sustainable rural development in the Kudumane district can be determined.
- Thirdly, demonstrate that 'top-down' development approaches have failed in achieving the objectives of development, and that a shift in the development paradigm to a 'bottom-up' approach, where villagers themselves initiate development activities, is the concept that is likely to reduce the development problems - if not eradicate them completely.

As has been indicated in chapter one, a level of poverty prevails in the Kudumane area that has been described in the literature as socio-economic deprivation and lack of resources to make life worth living (World Bank 1992; 1996; Sen 1986: 16; SADC 1998: 50). Currently, the World Bank holds the view that poverty means not only low consumption, but also lack of education, poor nutrition and health. It expands the definition of poverty to include 'powerlessness,' 'voicelessness,' 'vulnerability' and 'fear' (World Bank 2000/1). The gravity of this poverty and these low living levels is clearly reflected in the growing numbers of unemployed and landless people in the Kudumane villages. A large number of young adults and high school leavers are loitering about in the streets. Being poor is a bitter experience in such an area (see chapter 1 subsection 1.3). This calls for the involvement of

the local people in the development of the Kudumane area as opposed to the development assistance, intervention and direct development provision by change agents proposed by the earlier school of development thinking.

Occasionally, the rural people of Kudumane have depended⁸ on the central government for their basic needs, especially food (in times of crises such as drought), schools and clinics. The provision in such basic needs as an approach to development has been theorised and discussed in the literature; according to Hettne (1996: 176-180), development contents have to be needs and satisfaction oriented in order to reduce poverty. Writers such as Hopkins *et al* (1983), Spalding (1990) Keeton (1984: 139-150) make interesting contributions to the debate on this basic needs provision.

Continued dependence on government for basic needs supplies, which are rarely met, would lead to the stagnation of rural life and the erosion of the human dignity⁹ that is so highly cherished in such a rural area. The notion of development is therefore crucial to the sustenance of rural life in Kudumane and to the elimination or reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequalities¹⁰ common in the area. Clarity on this issue can be obtained by looking at what development thinking used to be and what it is currently.

2.2 A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is problem oriented, and over the years it has become a phenomenon about which many popular theories and strategies have emerged (Setty 1985:73; Burkey 1993). This has arisen out of the realisation of the deplorable and deteriorating living conditions of the rural poor and of disparities in their living conditions and material resources, which are exemplified in Kudumane (Hettne 1996:1).

The poverty of the rural population in Kudumane has been noted in chapter one, in 2.1 above and detailed in chapter 4. The poor in the area can barely afford any basic necessity of life,

⁸ Children of these poor parents have come out to the streets to beg for food and money. As they do continue to receive such gifts, they have refused to return home to be useful and productive. Dependency on ready-made supplies makes people lose their sense of self-initiative (actuation). This dependency perpetuates poverty.

⁹ Todaro 1997 depicts dignity as a social value greatly protected and used as a criterion for development in Third World countries. The maintenance of dignity has sustained the cultural well-being of the people of Kudumane.

¹⁰ Seers (1977) in analysing the meaning of development clearly shows that poverty, unemployment and inequality are the major ills of development and a reduction of these in any society is indicative of development.

culminating in the majority resigning themselves to destitution whilst their children roam the streets – the "street children" of the urban areas. This is a common issue in all rural areas, but it is only recently that government, development agents and specialists have concerned themselves with the plight of the poor in the rural areas.

Economists and development practitioners have at various times come up with different theories of development as a means of solving rural problems. As Burkey (1993: 27) puts it:

“The field of development studies is a veritable jungle, inhabited by theories, counter-theories, approaches, paradigms and programmes of all sizes, shapes and colours”.

Over time, different emphases have been given to these theories as changes in socio-economic conditions occurred. The concept of development is very dynamic and has been regularly reformulated by development practitioners, academics and politicians to suit changing conditions.

The idea of development in the Third World officially gained currency after the Second World War. In the course of its evolution, development theory has become complex and multidisciplinary and has changed its perspectives. That is, different people have considered development from different perspectives as changes in economic structures and social institutions occurred (Todaro 1997: 13, Reddy 1987: 261, Stewart 1997: 2). Different schools of thought have evolved to give an understanding of the basis of emerging socio-economic problems impacting on national development strategy (Hettne 1996: 14). The evolution and role of different schools of thought have helped to reshape the development paradigm.

Furthermore, development has also been conceived in this evolutionary continuum as technocratic, reformist and radical in approaches and strategies (Moris 1981: 2-3; Streeten 1981; Griffin 1973; Hopkins 1983; Spalding 1990; Chambers 1992; 1997; Bergdall 1993; Pretty 1995; Hettne 1996). In the technocratic and reformist approaches (which must also be viewed as paternalistic), development has been considered - albeit not always - as a period of economic growth. Coetzee (1987b: 177) breaks down this development evolution historically and conveniently as: “The growth approach (1950s and 1960s); the employment approach (1969 to early 1970s); the income distribution or poverty-orientated approach (early 1970s) and the basic needs approach (since mid 1970s)”.

Hettne (1996) and Bukey (1993) add the period of post basic needs dimensions of 'anotherness' or 'alternative development' (from 1980s). Burkey (1993: 30-39), referring to the multiplicity of 'anotherness', notes that discussions on development are peppered with expressions such as 'modernisation', 'community development', 'dependency theory', 'structural adjustment', 'eco-development', 'appropriate technology', 'self-reliance', 'women in development' etc.

In this study, for simplicity, three divisions are recognised and discussed below: the technocratic, the reformist and the radical. These approaches conform to the approaches to rural development distinguished by Lea and Chaudhri (1983) and Griffin (1973).

2.2.1 The Technocratic Approach: Growth and Employment

The early theoretical approaches were based on economic growth paths, which regarded increased GNP per capita as a sufficient condition for sustained development from which benefits would trickle down to the rural areas. Some Marxist and capitalist economists believed that what was needed in development was modernisation, industrialisation or westernisation, and in the words of Coetzee (1987: 181), "... (to) create a modern sector to trigger off the growth process and multiplier effects". A booming economy would then result. The modernisation theory was born out of this need for growth in the late 1950s.

2.2.1.1 The Modernisation Theory

Basically, the modernisation theory is a western concept derived from the experiences of Western economic history. It attributes development to a structural evolutionary process that passes through various incremental economic stages (Rostow 1960). W.W. Rostow, one of the theorists of modernisation and an outspoken advocate of this idea of transformation and modernity, indicated that all countries should pass through a series of steps or stages, progressing from underdevelopment by increasing their levels of savings and investments until reaching the stage of self-sustaining development. He identified these steps as:

- traditional society
- pre-condition for take-off for self-sustaining growth
- take-off
- the drive to maturity

- the age of high mass consumption.

These details will not be examined further in this study. They are discussed at length in Blomstroom and Hettne (1984), Hettne (1996), Coetzee (1987a) and George (1988). Briefly, the theory postulates that a society's development should go through drastic transformation in production methods from traditional to modern technologies by following a set of rules. This was supposedly to result in economic prosperity and relative political stability. By undergoing such transformation, a society would become modern and developed (George 1988; Erasmus 1992; Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 40-46; Coetzee 1987a). Foster-Carter's (1985: 13) contention is that Rostow popularised the idea of 'take-off' into self-sustaining economic growth. The take-off is the key stage of the development process. This cannot be denied when dealing with economic development.

The modernisation theory then encapsulates the idea of change and progress, which is a continuum from primitiveness to modernity (Coetzee & Graaff 1996:40; Norgaard 1994:6-9). Coetzee and Graaff (1996:41-42) note that classical sociologists, such as Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, all incorporate this idea of change, which can be interpreted as a western progress, in their classical works. For example, he notes that Durkheim saw modernisation as the movement of a simple society with minimal role differentiation towards a modern society of complex roles that lays emphasis on individuality, achievement and interdependence. Tradition and culture were seen as stumbling blocks to development. Norgaard (1994: 7) also sees modernisation as a westernised process that ignores cultures of different societies.

One school of thought holds that modernity has some distinguishable conditions and characteristics and becomes implicit when sufficient numbers are present. Such characteristics are listed by Coetzee and Graaff (1996: 43) and include:

- Increasing social complexity
- Increasing control of the environment
- Increasing specialised adaptation
- Production and absorption of knowledge
- Rational understanding and flexibility
- Social maturation.

Coetzee and Graaff (1996: 43-45) note that Inkeles and Smith are adherents of this school of thought, which according to the literature, characterised the industrialised world and modernity. These adherents indicate that modernisation can be seen as historical continuum, a process with definite and distinguishable conditions (Inkeles & Smith 1974). The developing world was to emulate the pattern and path taken by the western industrialised world. Expectations from this concept were rapid economic growth and employment; however, Third World countries that emulated have not achieved the envisaged change.

In South Africa, administrators were readily persuaded to adopt this development thinking, as evidenced in the development initiatives of field administrators. In the late 1980s, the National Development Corporation (formerly Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation) opened offices and built small-business industrial complexes at Mothibistad, Batlharos and Cassel to encourage rapid industrialisation and employment. However, the 'universal' characteristics did not materialise in Kudumane; mass unemployment and poverty persisted in the area. In his 1994 book, *Development Betrayed* (which considers that development everywhere is culture specific), Norgaard contends that modernity promised increased transformation of everything in the course of human progress - from natural science to social organisations. Yet these promises have (among other things):

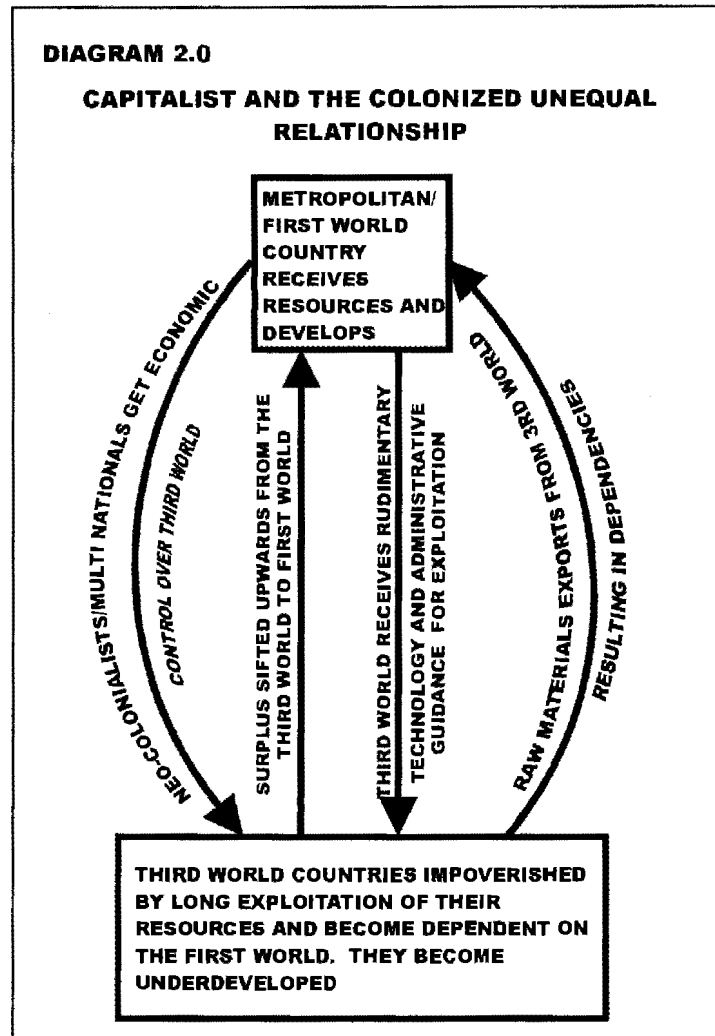
- ... imprisoned the devotees of 'modernity' in bureaucratic gridlock;
- ... depleted the stock resources and degradation of the environment;
- ... caused a multitude of regional wars;
- ... produced political and economic refugees; and
- ... brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of mutual nuclear annihilation (Norgaard 1994: 1-2).

The tenets of modernisation, though progressive in western thought, have gone awry in the Third World. This is because they were founded on the fallacy that the theory would work everywhere (Burkey 1993). The conditions in the rural communities of the Third World, of which Kudumane is one, prove this fallacy.

Generally, the modernisation approach ignores other development processes that are taking place and cultures that exist in the developing world. It assumes that the western style and values are the most worthy of emulation, while ignoring the peculiarities – e.g. historical and political dynamics - of the Third World. It advocates eurocentrism (Hettne 1996:21). The optimism of modernisation has not been sustained in the Third World because growth without development but with poverty has increased with its consequential debt crisis (Burkey 1993:28). Many sharp criticisms of modernisation and the rise of nationalism in Latin America led to the rise of 'dependencia' (Hettne 1996:75) – a theory spearheaded by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). Its strategy was based on import substitution, export promotion, state intervention and nationalism. It was very much top-down in its approach to development, a move not far from modernisation theory (Hettne 1996:93), which required a small class of elites and dependence on imports of industrial hardware. Thus by the 1970s, 'dependencia' as an indigenous approach to the problem of development in Latin America, Asia and Africa was being formulated. An integral part of the indigenous approach was its depth. A brief survey of it is given below.

2.2.1.2 The Dependency Theory

In reacting to modernisation, the dependency theory - formulated by many Latin American economists and social scientists, such as Paul Baran - focuses on the concept of underdevelopment expressed as a Third World view of imperialism. Adherents of Marxism (classical Marxism as well as neo-Marxism) and Latin American structuralism, with Frank (1969) as its vociferous neo-Marxist proponent, postulate that the underlying causes of Third World underdevelopment are capitalist penetration and the material exploitation of the Third World's resources in order to develop the industrialised western world (Frank 1969; 1966; Hettne 1996:89-93; Baran 1962). Simply put, dependency is a condition in which a country's economy is distorted or infringed upon by the development of another country's economy (particularly by the capitalist system as a whole), so that the relationship between the two becomes dependent and exploitative (Foster-Carter 1985; Coetzee 1987b). That is, the colonised areas were deprived of their economic surplus through the mechanism of imperialist exploitation.



[The Diagram illustrates the relationship depicted by Frank (1966 & 1969)]

While capitalist development was increasing in a western country, a rapid impoverishment of the masses was at the same time taking place in a Third World country through exploitation and expropriation of raw materials (Frank 1966; 1969). The theory thus questions the asserted mutual benefits of international trade by modernisation and growth proponents (Burkey 1993:28). Diagram 2.0 above clearly demonstrates this unequal relationship and exploitation. This assertion is correct; experience has shown that benefits are skewed in favour of the developed world. The trading inequality makes the Third World dependent on the developed world. A clear example of this dependency is the granting of development loans to developing countries for rural development. Such loans attract high interest and have strings attached that make it impossible for any developing country to redeem the loans. They become heavily indebted, and have to borrow more in order to finance their development budgets. A cycle of borrowing and poverty starts that results in perpetual dependency of the borrowing countries on the financiers. Because of the huge profits on the loan, whether or not

it was being used for the purpose for which it was granted, developed countries would look on unconcerned. Their concern is the profit. This is exploitation. Thus modernisation is capitalistic in content, exploitative and creates dependencies.

Wood (1996:74) supports this view by citing Sweezy's statement that the Third World becomes of interest to the First World when the former either needs raw materials or is looking for outlets for investment or for markets for its manufactured goods. They only help or involve themselves in economic activities in the Third World in areas that directly benefit their own (developed world) growth.

The dependency theory presents an explanation of exploitation and underdevelopment, and this is what obtains in the Kudumane district. In this area there is an exploitative relationship between Kuruman (a municipal area) and Kudumane (a rural area). This relationship, in terms of the use of human resources and land, has led to the underdevelopment of Kudumane (see diagram 5.1 and 5.2 in chapter 5). The human resource of Kudumane has been intensively employed in Kuruman, but in return very little is offered as remuneration. The productive land resource of Kudumane has been exploited for the benefit of Kuruman. This theory leads us to put the blame for underdevelopment on external factors, unlike modernisation, which blames internal factors. In Kudumane's case, the town of Kuruman and the former South African government can be identified as the causes of underdevelopment in terms of this theory, because there was no equal reciprocal exchange of resources. Resources were taken from the poor rural people without compensation (South Africa 1997b: 11; Letsoalo 1987: 29 - 41; Bundy 1978). For example, Kuruman residents forcefully acquired land during the apartheid regime. This has made many Kudumane residents landless and unemployed.

However, dependency has been severely criticised by modernisation supporters and Neo-Marxists alike for unacceptably assuming that there is uniformity in the socio-economic and political conditions in all Third World countries. It overemphasises underdevelopment and colonialism as the main external cause of underdevelopment. It has also been criticised for neither contributing positively to the development debate nor offering an analysis of the Third World's internal political development and underdevelopment (Chazan *et al* 1988). It advocated a revolutionary overthrow (but not evolution) of the existing systems and their

replacement by socialist systems. Though these arguments may have some merit, they do not go far enough to completely or partly refute the notion of dependency.

The above discussion shows that these theories were technocratic, with rigid, preconceived ideas that did not leave room for internal dynamics. What these approaches envisaged in rural development initiatives were structural and institutional changes (Goldthorpe 1984). The institutional changes are associated with top-down initiatives in rural development whereby decisions about rural needs and how they are to be provided for remains in the hands of bureaucrats and rural elites. However, the dependency theory did lead to a critical re-examination of the modernisation theory and undermined the idea that progress is an automatic and linear process. By the 1970s, the stage was set for an increasing concern about concrete ways to implement development instead of theories about its occurrence (Burkey 1993:30-33).

2.2.2 Reformist Approach: Basic Needs and Income Distribution

The technocratic approaches portrayed as paternalistic by Stiefel and Wolffe (1994) and as a directed process of change could no longer be taken as adequate for the conceptualisation of development approach from the 1970s (Coetzee & Graaff 1996). This was because these approaches oversimplified development as a process and showed that development theories are based on exogenism and endogenism. By the mid-1970s through to the 1980s, global reform debates took place that demanded a new international approach to the development problem in the Third World countries. At an Algiers conference in 1973, the non-aligned countries proposed a New International Economic Order (NIEO) that would favour the Third World's development. By the end of that decade, the North had published the Brandt Commission report. The reformist strategy implied in the report was interdependence, rather than dependence, and mutuality (Burkey 1993: 30, Hettne 1996: 171).

The UNEP-UNCTAD symposium at Cocoyoc in Mexico, which came up with the Cocoyoc Declaration of 1974, also emphasised that "a process of growth that did not lead to the fulfilment of basic human needs was a travesty of development" (Hettne 1996:181). Underlying this was a vision of international cooperation, rather than the de-linking proposed by the advocates of the dependency theory, and a foundation of trade, mutual cooperation and finally self-reliance. This is well expressed in the 1974 Cocoyoc document:

“We believe that one basic strategy of development will have to be increased national self-reliance. It does not mean autarchy. It implies mutual benefits from trade and cooperation and a fairer redistribution of resources satisfying the basic needs. It does mean self-confidence, reliance primarily on one’s own resources, human and natural, and the capacity of autonomous goal setting and decision-making. It excludes dependence on outside influences and powers that can be converted into political pressure”.
(Hettne 1996:181)

The response to these ideas was the basic needs approach (BNA) adopted by the ILO in 1976. The BNA brought awareness that growth did not necessarily trickle down to benefit the poor, but was accompanied by increases in absolute poverty (Hettne 1996:178). The basic needs approach and incomes distribution (which must be seen as another blueprint) came as a new development paradigm (Hopkins 1983:4; Spalding 1990:91; Hettne 1996:177-181; Burkey 1993:30-32).

Central to the meeting of the basic human needs of poor people was the provision of these elements:

Minimum requirements of a family for private consumption, including:

- Adequate food
- Shelter
- Clothing

Essential services provided for the community at large:

- Safe drinking water
- Sanitation
- Public transport
- Health
- Educational facilities

Others

- Freedom
- Justice
- Equality
- Job opportunities

(Spalding 1990; Streeten 1979; Streeten et al 1981; Burkey 1993:31; Todaro 1997).

These were to provide all human beings with full life opportunities and to ensure access to minimum basic goods of consumption and the eradication of poverty. This approach had concrete objectives of providing the people with both private and public needs. According to Burkey (1993: 31) UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund was the most influential proponent of this meeting of basic needs. However, NGOs too played a very influential role in this regard, their objective being to ensure the meeting of basic needs in disadvantaged communities.

It could be noted here that the shift to basic needs was not different in its entirety from the growth and employment approaches. This is because it also aimed at redistribution of wealth and income and emphasised poverty and unemployment. The types of economic activities that would achieve the growth and redistribution and also the welfare of peasants and smallholders were its points of departure and attraction (Pourgerami 1991). Another new element in the debate about meeting basic needs was that it made a distinction between economic growth and needs satisfaction (Hettne 1996:178). However, it concentrated more on the material aspect of development and ignored the non-material factors. In other words, it concentrated on the extrinsic side and ignored the intrinsic aspect of human life.

Owing to its top-down approach, which had earlier been adopted by modernisation adherents, it was to degenerate into a global charity programme. It craved dependency, not interdependence. It did not take on any radical development reforms or transformation. How this concept was to sustain development was also vaguely stated. Finally, one could conclude that the basic needs approach did not show any prospect of being accompanied by social and economic transformation. Friedman (1992:66) notes that it was a political claim to entitlements and poverty. It can thus be concluded that the basic needs approach was a form of disempowerment and dependency. It therefore lost its appeal and meaning at the beginning of the 1980s, but it continues to be found in many forms in post basic needs thinking (Gran 1983).

Because of the idea that government must meet basic needs, many rural communities have become dependent on external provisions. In a place like Kudumane, the people could see this external involvement in development as a welcome relief because conditions of poverty were so critical that intervention was called for. On their own, they could not provide in their needs - particularly in capital projects such as hospitals, public transport or access to clean

and safe drinking water. However, as a craving for external assistance tends to produce a dependency syndrome, it did make the local people creative enough in rural development activities. Their local capacities were not fully utilised. Lea and Chaudhri (1983:20) emphasise that redistributive land reform had to be a precondition for a reformist strategy to succeed in such a rural area. In South Africa, this was not possible in the Kudumane area because of the political system of apartheid and deprivation. The approach was ideal, but not sustainable in practice.

By the mid-1980s to the 1990s, the evident ineffectiveness of this approach caused the focus of development thinking to shift radically to the local people and their capacities in all development planning and action as well as their levels of living. A major emphasis in development in the developing countries then shifted towards improving the quality of life, self-reliance and concern for the environment (Todaro 1997).

2.2.3 Post Basic Needs Period and Thinking

The period and thinking following BNA is rightly referred to by Hettne (1996) and Burkey (1993) as 'Another Development'. Nerfin described it as being:

- *Need-oriented* (being geared to meeting human needs, both material and nonmaterial).
- *Endogenous* (stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and the vision of its future).
- *Self-reliant* (implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members' energies and its natural and cultural environment).
- *Ecologically sound* (utilising rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations).
- *Based on structural transformation* (so as to realise the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world as a whole, without which the goals above could not be achieved (Hettne 1996:177).

Nerfin's description illustrates the new trend in development thinking. In this humanistic approach, self-reliance as the antithesis of the dependency paradigm arrived on the scene even before NIEO at the Non-Aligned Conference in Lusaka in 1970. It became a matter of national concern and particularly a theoretical field of special concern for Caribbean

economists. The later concept of NIEO saw self-reliance as something to fall back on if the West reneged on trade and cooperation.

Self-reliance was to be achieved at all levels - regional, national and local. It was believed that self-reliance would strengthen internal sovereignty. At the local or community level, self-reliance must be aimed at strengthening the community's capacity for independent action. However, it has been seen that aid agencies often provided expensive inputs such as vehicles, buildings, foreign experts *et cetera* in their projects while talking about making people become self-reliant (Burkey 1993:50). This is inconsistent with the concept of self-reliance. People have to 'become' instead of being 'made to become' self-reliant.

Self-reliance must be understood then to be doing things for oneself, maintaining one's own self-confidence and making independent decisions as an individual or within a group. It comes from within and is directed outward. It is learned, not given.

Finally, neither a government nor a development agency is ever going to develop a rural community. It can only be done by the people themselves, in some cases with the assistance of government or a development agency (Burkey 1993:50-52). This has been the point of departure of this study and will be detailed when discussing participatory development as a grassroots action. Self-reliance is embodied in participatory development, which is one of the concepts derived in the search for another development. To conclude this subsection, it must be pointed out, as Burkey (1993) did, that self-reliance has become another piece of jargon in development circles similar to 'basic needs'. Other new concepts, for instance sustainable development, have since emerged.

2.2.4 The Sustainable Development Concept as Alternative Development

Another development concept, which came to the fore in the alternative development debate in the early 1990s, is ecodevelopment - now referred to as sustainable development. It is a version of participatory development, which will be discussed in the next section. If one looks at the on-going environmental degradation in the Kudumane area and many rural sectors of South Africa, the current interest in ecology and sustainable development becomes well founded. It is founded on a sense of ownership and interest in caring for the environment and what belongs to the people for their own sake and for posterity. Interest in local resources is developed, and the people ensure that the resources last for other generations'

use. The interest in sustainable development came to the fore at the UN conference on the environment in Rome in 1972 and at Rio in 1992 (Hettne 1996). Scarcity, the non-renewability of some natural resources and emerging ecological crises brought increasing awareness of the ecosystem and the environment and led to a school of thought called ecodevelopment.

The ecodevelopment school of thought rejected the unfettered exploitation of the environment and held the view that efficient use had to be made of the natural and human resources of specific regions, such that minimum basic human requirements were only used in order to maintain a viable, ecologically balanced environment (Adams 1990, Adams & Thomas 1993). That would bring along with it economic sustainability. The use of resources and the type of technologies being employed were said to be endangering the livelihood of mankind and the future generation (Adams & Thomas 1993, Vivian 1991, Redclift 1984). Meeting the needs of the current generation should not compromise the future generations' ability to meet their needs; neither should development take place be at the expense of the environment (Adams 1990; World Bank 1992:44; Brundtland 1987).

The populist argument on this thought is that each eco-region must not emulate, but must have specific solutions to particular problems in the region, based on their cultural and indigenous knowledge systems (Verhest 1990). As Hettne (1996:190) puts it: "A 'backward' country should not look for the image of its own future in the 'advanced' country, but in its own ecology and culture". This means that local self-sufficiency and local knowledge systems should be promoted above external systems. It shows a strong people-centredness. Thus grassroots participation and moves towards empowerment and capacity building are what would encourage environmental sustainability, it is claimed (Treurnicht 1997a).

Others, such as Korten (Kotzé 1993a: 302), argue that "...environmental destruction has reached crisis proportion as even the poor, having been deprived of all other options, became increasingly dependent for survival on the most fragile fringes of the environment". From this statement it sounds as if the poor do not care for the environment. It may not be so. Circumstances and the cultural environment may prompt their actions. They may see their actions as 'usage', not destruction. They may use the resources in the environment for their survival, as they may have no alternatives. In the absence of electricity supply, chopping down trees for fire (especially in winter) is an example. They do not have the purchasing

power for paraffin stoves and heaters. They therefore depend on their specific environment to address their physical, social, psychological and economic needs. Criticism of or arguments about people's use of their resources requires an in-depth knowledge of their cultural practices system and knowledge.

When culture and local knowledge are borne in mind, maintaining an environmental balance will arguably be relevant in the study area, especially around the villages of Cassel and Bothitong, where overgrazing takes place and chopping of trees for firewood is the order of the day. Greater competition for the scarce vegetation is observed among livestock that roam freely in the area. Soil conditions are poor because the land surface is exposed to the direct heat of the sun and other weathering processes, resulting in the many gullies observed and the absence of any large-scale agriculture. This is in addition to the administrative isolation (discussed in chapters 1 and 4) that has caused the poor local conditions. Noting the environment as a vital factor contributing to the quality of human life, development was redefined to reflect -

“... the modification of the biosphere and the application of human, financial, living and non-living resources to satisfy human needs and improve the quality of human life” (Adams & Thomas 1993: 592).

From the many definitions given and as a new umbrella term for development thinking, two components - culture and environment – stand out. Sustainable development then means literally a development that can be maintained for an indefinite period of time and takes into account the cultures of people. This means a development that makes careful use of resources and takes into cognisance future availability and use of the resources by future generations. Lifestyles and cultures that support and take into account the conservation of the natural environment are to be promoted. Since debates on sustainable development mention poverty as both a major cause and effect of global environmental problems (Brundtland 1987: 3), development action must involve the poor in the rural sectors to ensure the sustainability of the environment. As already indicated, it is not the intention of the poor to destroy the environment.

Bawa (1989) as well as Brundtland (1987) write that there are fears of an environmental and ecological threat as the Third World strives to catch up with the West in industrialisation. A rational planning of land use should be people orientated and ‘bottom up’. The needs of the

poor and the redistribution of resources are of great importance; above all, control of development planning must be placed in the hands of the poor, because in that case they will care for the environment (Adams & Thomas 1993:601; Adams 1990). However, an analysis of this statement shows that the concern for the development of the poor is derived mainly from concern for the environment and not from the welfare of the poor per se. Sustainable development must be more concerned with the welfare of the poor at the village grassroots level.

Many views with respect to sustainability, such as technocentric management, deep ecology, Marxists and coevolution, have been expressed and given attention (see Kotzé 1997: 83-91; Norgaard 1994). For the purpose of this study, their mention here must suffice. What is of greater importance here is that sustainable development has continued to be encapsulated in all recent development thinking that has people's participation as the core.

2.2.5 Participatory Development - Current Trends in Development Thinking

Widespread concern for the problems of poverty, inequality and sustainable development became the major themes in the 1980s and 1990s. This is because the poverty problem not just persisted, but continued to worsen, especially in the rural communities (Roodt 1996). The third development approach, the radical populist and humanist alternative, which dethroned the earlier versions of development, concerned itself with people-centred, grassroots rural development from the mid-1980s (Lea & Chaudhri 1983:1-4). According to Coetzee's historical breakdown (see subsection 2.2), the period must start from the end of 1970. However, since ideas are not static and confined to a specific period but overlap, this is not a particular concern here. The main objective is the achievement of social change and redistribution of power, assets, influence and gains of development to the most disadvantaged members of society. This would reduce inequality, poverty and unemployment and preserve the environment for use by future generations. The evolving understanding of development is that the root cause of poverty has been inequality in power relationships and access to assets. Since the rural poor are considered capable of bringing about their own development without external assistance, a bottom-up process in which all development initiatives come from the poor themselves is envisaged in this approach. Thus arose the idea of community development and self-reliant programmes. However, community development was more of a top-down process, and gave way to a more grassroots approach of people-centred development.

The new grassroots approach is recognised as participation (Roodt 1996: 313). Coetzee (1987a: 183), referring to participation as new development approach, recognises this and agrees with Perroux (1983:14) that:

“ ...development is therefore a multi-dimensional process in which the non-economic factors are as important as, and sometimes even more than, the economic factors”.

He further shows that “... it has also become clear that the fundamental concern of development is people and their needs” (Coetzee 1987a; Coetzee & Graaff 1996). Broadly speaking, the people’s needs are self-actualisation and empowerment (Roodt 1996; Freire 1978). If development action is considered people oriented and bottom-up, rural people will develop capacities, which can reduce the development problems. Therefore rural people are to be included in the processes of planning, decision-making, implementation, evaluation and monitoring of development programmes, activities and projects (refer to chapter 3).

As regards this participatory development paradigm, the radical and humanist writers, Mathur (1986), Maddick, (1963) Goulet (1978), Freire (1972 & 1978), Kruijer (1987), Todaro (1997) and Gran (1983) all agree that development is basically about people, the maintenance of their environment and efforts towards the successful elimination of poverty (Stewart, in Kotzé 1997:4). This approach, though not entirely new, deals with people's active involvement and initiatives culminating in the attainment of cultural and environmental sustenance (Pretty 1995: 174; Chambers 1997, Roodt 1996:315-318). The priority of development should therefore be 'people'. Coetzee (1987a: 184) emphasises this by stating that development should have “... development for people and development of people ... by people” as its top priority. This means that development plans and strategies must not neglect the participation of the people, their leaders and the community as a whole, for without them no plan can be executed. Their participation will ensure the sustainability of their projects, because they will care for their projects.

Objectives and strategies of participation must lead to the development of all members of society through a bottom-up approach. It also includes, as pointed out by ILO, the protection of basic human rights and liberties (Coetzee 1987a). In this way the need for self-determination, self-reliance, security and participation in franchise by citizens is satisfied.

The humanist radical approach is to liberate and empower the poor in the Third World. Goulet (1978), Freire (1972), Kruijer (1987), Chambers (1997), Bergdall (1993) all recognise this approach as being able to transform the oppressed (the poor) from the dehumanised state to independence of thought (humanised state). Herein lies the development thinking that could provide solutions to the development problems of Kudumane where this study is focussed.

These approaches are ideal types representing development on a continuum. The evolution of development thinking has now reached the point of people's participation, where people are being allowed to do development by and for themselves, while external agents play only facilitating roles. Friedman and others describe it as an alternative development (Friedman 1992).

The meaning and concept of development can now be considered using all the evolved thoughts as the basis. The UN declaration in December 1986, which Hettne (1996) considers as controversial, sums up the meaning of development as follows:

‘Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free, and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom’ (Hettne 1996:161).

This is an alternative development in the perspective of the excluded masses.

At this stage of the evolution of finding alternative development thinking, numerous variations of the main concepts are found, all adapted to local circumstances, which makes it difficult to fit specific cases neatly into one category or the other. These include sustainable development (see Norgaard 1994; Treurnicht 1997a), rapid rural appraisal (RRA) (see Chambers 1992), participatory rural appraisal (PRA) (see Chambers 1997), participatory rural mapping (PRM) (see Pretty 1995; Bergdall 1993), participatory learning and action (PLA) and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) (see Chambers 1983, 1992, 1997). These concepts radically enrich the meaning of development. As regards development in Kudumane, any version of participation mentioned above could be applied when implementing a rural

development programme. It must, however, be accepted and emphasised that not everybody would want to be involved in a participatory development action. Individuals and groups should have a choice either to join in a community action or not, unlike the earlier approaches, where - according to Sachs (1992:116) - "...people are dragged into operations of no particular interest to them, in the name of participation".

The development concept and its meaning may depend on what programmes and goals different people or countries have set to achieve. It is subjective, area specific and contextual, that is, it depends on the ideals and realities that a community stands for and which the community considers as giving meaning to its existence. This means that defining development depends on the target people and varies according to where the people are and what objectives they set. Several meanings, definitions and schools of thought have evolved. Some of these will be examined in order to obtain a relevant meaning and definition for this study.

The FAO's study guide on development states that: -

"The ultimate purpose of development is to provide everyone with ever-increasing opportunities for a better life, 'acquiring' ... equitable distribution of income and other social resources in order to promote justice, efficient production, to raise levels of employment ... expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing, social and cultural well-being" (Mehta 1984: 5).

Here it has to be realised that development must involve a dynamic process of changing the people's conditions and attitudes, making them self-reliant in the final analysis. Adding to this, Keesing (1975) refers to development as part of the transformation and expansion of supply capabilities up to what can be called a high modern standard. This statement, however, ignores the social implications of development. It only emphasises the debate on economic growth and modernity and ignores the fact that what the rural poor need is social well-being as well as economic transformation.

According to Seers (1977:21), the challenges of development arise out of the analysis of poverty elimination, inequality and unemployment reduction within the context of a growing economy. These give rise to his famous three questions concerning the process of a country's development:

What has been happening to poverty?

What has been happening to unemployment?

What has been happening to inequality?

He noted that these are the central problems of development. A reduction in these issues leads to a country's development; if any one of the three worsens, development does not occur in spite of per capita income doubling. Korten also notes this (Kotzé 1993a: 302).

It is a fact then that it is the socio-economic transformation of the people that will lead to economic growth, reduction of inequalities, poverty and unemployment, increased production and the satisfaction of their basic needs and justice. It is not the concept of economic growth *per se*, but the equitable distribution of this growth and the right kind of growth which are of importance and relevant to development (Seers 1977: 13). It could be deduced then that the development concept has social, economic, political and technical implications, which Conyers & Hills (1984:28-29), Sen (1983: 748), Oakley *et al* (1991), Ghai & Vivian (1992), Oakley & Marsden (1984: 25-27), Seers (1972: 21), Hughes (1978: 138-141), Coetzee & Graaff (1996) and the World Bank (1992; 1996) all acknowledge. It covers the entire gamut of changes by which social systems move away from widely perceived unsatisfactory living conditions to better and sustainable conditions. The idea of the people being involved in their own development at the grassroots level is what should be of concern to every development practitioner.

2.3 GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Grassroots participation, as we shall find in chapter 3, means that everything about a project is of local content and locally inspired, i.e. a complete bottom-up process (Chambers 1992; 1997; Bergdall 1993). If the people at the grassroots see the projects as 'our projects' and not 'their projects', then managing, monitoring and sustaining them will be effective (Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997, Chambers 1992: 8). The grassroots approach embraces participatory rural appraisal (PRA) strategies. In this approach, the rural people are involved in the process. They are allowed to do the decision-making, initiation, implementation as well as the research on the development activity. They will learn and have the capacity to improve on their planning and management systems, while their conditions also improve (World Bank 1996). The earlier idea of 'providing community needs' is then discarded as not being development (Swanepoel 1985).

Oakley & Marsden (1984: 9-11), Bryant & White (1982: 15-16), Stewart (1997), Liebenberg (1997), Chambers (1997) and May (1998) all generally recognise that development is about local capacity building and empowerment of the rural poor. The inequalities that exist must be eliminated in order to make sure that the gains derived therefrom are sustained. As the empowering process takes place, material assets for their own self-reliant development are created. In the end, a sense of self-fulfilment and realisation may be reached (Todaro 1997; Goulet 1978). Oakley and Marsden (1984: 9) further show that a qualitative development philosophy is self-reliance, and that "... man is seen as the subject of his own world rather than the object of other people's worlds". All this happens when the common people are involved in the development process. By participating, people become capable of taking the initiative to organise themselves for activities that will improve their living standards. Korten and Klaus (1994), like Oakley and Marsden, refer to this as the '*Human Factor*' in the development process. It means that development should be given a human face.

Finally, according to the views above, development can now be seen as increasingly transforming or improving the quality of human life (in particular that of the rural poor majority) by empowering and building capacities in order to achieve set goals that will make life worth living, and in the process preserve the environment within which people interact and equitably share the gain derived. This encapsulates the essential aspects of development thinking: the human aspect and dignity, and the elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Reddy (1987) contends that the rural people can realise their identity, personality and status in society only through participation. A sustained rural development action should therefore occur in the area under study if their poverty problem is to be addressed. But it should be remembered that this process should be initiated by the rural poor themselves, with external agents acting as facilitators only (if there is any need for them). Further development thinking has evolved to the radical point where the poor rural people ought to be at the centre of the development process initiated by them from below, despite a scarcity of resources.

There is a scarcity of capital in the rural area, while labour resource is abundant. It happens more often than not that this rural abundant labour is not only alienated, but also isolated from the conception, formulation, implementation and benefits of any national and local socio-economic plans aimed at them (Kolawole 1982: 121). Yet they can be very resourceful

when they are given the opportunity and their knowledge is sought. The objectives of development would be achieved if the rural resources were merged with external resources. All these have a great bearing on and implications for any discussions on Kudumane's development.

2.4 THE IMPLICATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING IN KUDUMANE

The overview of development concepts shows that rural development should have appropriate and relevant programmes that reach and encapsulate the rural poor. In Kudumane, these programmes must focus on the needs and aspirations of the people. The programmes should help them to develop their skills, use their capabilities and make meaningful decisions concerning the area (Oakley *et al* 1991; Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997).

Lea & Chaudhri (1983) quote the World Bank's conception of rural development that "it is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people - the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural area. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless" (Lea and Chaudhri 1983:12).

Accordingly, Lele (1984: 8-9) and others contend that rural development must be considered as programmes and activities at the grassroots level, designed to overcome the effects of poverty. Such programmes must be drawn up with a specific aim, for example to provide a wide range of social services and assist participants or target groups to increase their productive capacities and also to provide rural employment. Lele (1984) takes this further and describes them as designed to stimulate local initiatives for their own development, from planning through implementation to maintenance. However, 'designed' suggests that the initiatives are drawn up by outsiders - a top-down strategy that only encourages local people's passive involvement. Referring to Kudumane, designing an RD programme without them may not lead to building the people's planning capacities. If there is any designing to be done, then the people concerned at the grassroots level must do it.

Chambers (1992) suggests that besides stimulating local initiatives, rural people should be allowed and enabled to take command of their resources and to decide what suits their needs (Chambers 1992:14). He talks of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) principles, which shift the initiative from outsiders to villagers, from "provision" to implementers and producers

(Swanepoel 1985; Norgaard 1994). This makes the rural people self-reliant and empowers them (Mehta 1984: 6; Olawa 1977: 403; Bergdall 1993; Chambers 1992:9; 1997). Taking cognisance of the fact that the local people become dissatisfied and disillusioned with the biases of the normal processes of rural development, adopting PRA should allow the rural people to overcome their disillusionment and be "... more in command of investigation, ... own and retain more of the information and ... identify their priorities" (Chambers 1992:9). Unfortunately, village initiatives are lacking in Kudumane, the study area. The top-down western approach permeates the development process there (see chapter four). Pursuing and applying the PRA principles, the radical concept of development that has now evolved, in Kudumane would help them a great deal.

In the literature, rural development has been described in many ways as providing in basic needs, or a planned change by public agencies to bring about the improvement of the quality of life of the rural people by supplying them their life-supporting resources (South Africa 1998). This is more of a reformist conception discussed in section 2.2.2. The top-down blueprint can hardly alleviate the plight of the rural poor in Kudumane and build their capacities. Many bureaucrats take the reformist line, which has proven disastrous and brought disillusionment (South Africa 1998).

The modernisation theory does not have concrete answers to rural development and to poverty in the Kudumane area. Neither does it address the issues of capacity building, access to technology and appropriate use of resources.

The UN suggests a comprehensive development of the rural areas through an integrated approach - not individual, isolated programmes and projects - to sustain the life of the rural populations as a whole and eliminate dependence. It is hoped that this will replace the rural life of dependence with self-reliance, entailing participation, capacity building and empowerment. This view of the UN entails a blueprint approach as well and may not eliminate dependency.

Ruttan (1984:392), on the other hand, notes that since the 1950s and 1960s, continued and pervasive poverty in the rural areas has concerned national governments. Governments may be in positions to address the poverty problem if they engage local institutions in designing and mobilising local resources. A grassroots approach is needed. It is possible that the

blueprint may not be followed when local institutions are generating their own resources and initiating their own programmes. They may not be looking for handouts, but wish to generate capacities to achieve their needs. This kind of thinking could be suitable for Kudumane. However, because local resources are quite often limited, particularly finance, the approach may be forced to follow the blueprint in some cases.

Despite its good intentions, be it the blueprint or participatory process at grassroots level, rural development can be affected by certain natural forces that may either thwart it if ignored or catapult it to success if well observed and harnessed. At this point it is reasonable to assume that the participatory process is likely to generate a genuine and acceptable rural development in the Kudumane district.

Finally, consideration of all these changes in the development thinking will enable development planners to determine which rural development strategy and organisational management to adopt in order to accelerate and sustain the momentum of rural development.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter, it must be noted that development theory, on the basis of which strategies have been formulated to improve the quality of human life, has since its inception shifted in emphasis from economic growth via material basic needs to the non-material and more people-oriented goals. Thus three kinds of approach to development have emerged. These are the technocratic, reformist and radical approaches.

Development has also been noted to mean a process of transformation or improvement in the quality of human life, in particular that of the rural poor, that empowers and builds people's capacities to achieve set goals. The process will make life worth living and sustain the environment within which people interact. In this light, rural development is basically to be understood not as development programmes and strategies designed to transform the rural living conditions, but as programmes planned with them to address their needs and encourage them to further action in capacity building.

Rural development, which must be seen as a transformation of rural life, should be both quantitative and qualitative. In planning and implementing development, none of these should assume precedence over the other. In the past, when quantitative (production-centred)

needs assumed precedence over qualitative (people centred) needs, development models failed.

There have been many strategies to eliminate development problems and transform the rural people's living conditions. Many of these failed either because they failed to involve the target people or only benefited the elite instead of the poor for whom the development was meant.

From the discussions on the changes to development thinking and strategies, it was apparent that the radical approach, which has the human welfare content and the emphasis on encouraging development from the grassroots level, is the more appreciated approach to rectify the past failures. Several alternative approaches with grassroots emphasis, such as sustainable development, participatory rural appraisal and participatory learning and action, have thus emerged.

All these fall under the umbrella of participatory development or people's participation, often referred to as popular participation. It is a more people-centred strategy, which (it is hoped) will bring about the envisaged transformation in the rural areas of Kudumane. Chapter three will detail the nature and strategies of this concept of people's participation.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONCEPT AND NATURE OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT AND SOME INSTITUTIONS THAT MAY PROMOTE IT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It was noted in the previous chapter that the concept of development has radically changed into what is now known as participatory development. This is a grassroots approach to development. The concept has now been widely used in the development paradigm because earlier theoretical frameworks such as modernisation (Rostow 1960), community development (Lombard 1991), integrated rural development (Graaf 1985) *et cetera* to promote development failed to sustain it. Because of the bureaucratic and other impediments to rural development, they failed to create conditions pointed out by Kotzé (1997:71-76)) as 'enabling settings', that is, conducive and motivating environments which were to lead to the attainment of the objective of empowerment discussed in chapter 2.

The purpose of this chapter therefore is to:

- Explore in detail the radical concept and nature of the theory of 'people's participation' considered in chapter two.
- Secondly, point out the various versions of this concept and the version favoured in this study, and show the perspectives that people have of how participatory development should be initiated, either internally or externally.
- Thirdly, show the various ways in which some institutions may promote people's active participation in development within the local communities. In this regard, the chapter examines how the involvement of the local people could enhance development, and shows that a bottom-up development process may build sustainable and collective human capacities that depart from the top-down process of the modernisation theory.

- Fourthly, try to show that the nature of development that was conceived in chapter two is more of a human concern and that concentration on this human factor at the grassroots may bring positive resolutions to the rural problems.
- Finally, point out some factors that would encourage the full achievement of participatory development and hence the achievement of rural development goals.

3.2 THE SEARCH FOR A NEW RADICAL PARTICIPATORY CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

In the previous chapter, it was noted that a new alternative development approach involving planning with the people (being more people-centred) evolved from lessons of past ineffective theories - the now often talked about participatory development, with its alternative radical approaches such as participatory rural appraisal and its sustainability (Korten 1980: 496-497; 1983; Coetzee 1987; Chambers 1992; 1997; Adil Khan 1995; Treurnicht 1997a). Participatory development should, of necessity, involve the poor and the majority of the community, whose indigenous or local knowledge is then optimally utilised for their own development (Treurnicht 1997a; Verhest 1990). It can be said that 'the vehicle of development should not only pass by them or take them along; its motion should be generated by them and the journey begun with them'. Thus participation has become popular in the current debates and thinking about development.

People's participation in rural development had been a theme among development practitioners for some time, and since the 1980s it became even more popular in development circles, though elusive in practice (Bergdall 1993). Bergdall notes that the promotion of this concept was demonstrated in 1990 in Arusha at the "International Conference in Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa" organised by the United Nations Commission for Africa. The Arusha conference was attended by an assembly of various development practitioners, academics, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), donors and government officials and heard various views about participatory development at local levels. Views of the delegates at the conference highlighted participation as meaning different things to different people, as had been demonstrated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in the 1980s. For the purpose of

this study, it is useful to quote the sample of various interpretations in the ILO's published survey of 1984, assembled by Bergdall (1993: 2) as well as Oakley and Marsden (1984: 18):

- “(a) Participation is considered a voluntary contribution by the people to one another of the public programmes supposed to contribute to national development, but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its content.
- (b) Participation means ...in its broadest sense, to sensitise people and, thus, to increase the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programmes, as well as to encourage local initiatives.
- (c) With regard to rural development... participation includes people's involvement in decision-making processes, in implementing programmes... their sharing in the benefits of development programmes, and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes.
- (d) Popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in the decision-making process in so far as it affects them.
- (e) Community involvement means that people, who have both the right and the duty to participate in solving their health problems, have greater responsibilities in assessing the health needs, mobilising local resources and suggesting new solutions, as well as creating and maintaining local organisations.
- (f) Participation is considered to be an active process, meaning that the person or group in question takes initiatives and asserts his /her or its autonomy to do so.
- (g) ...the organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control.”

A conflicting interpretation can be seen in (a) as opposed to (b)-(g). In (a), the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its content, while from (b)-(g) local initiatives are to be encouraged. The people cannot be encouraged to take initiatives and at the

same time not be allowed to take part in shaping the programme. These views demonstrate that participation may be considered by some people as (in (a)) either an exogenous action that should bring the local people actively on board, or (in (b) and (c)) an endogenous action emanating from the people themselves. In any event, the general view is that the local people are seen as the active players.

It is stressed by Oakley and Marsden (1984:6) that the earlier development theories, such as modernisation, ignored the “human factor” of well-being and emphasised the “material factor” of production and growth. They also ignored the poor, the physical environment and the socio-political context within which development was being sought (Chambers 1997). Oakley and Marsden (1984) feel strongly that past development strategies failed because of the absence of the “missing ingredient” of participation. This missing ingredient, they argue, is the human factor, that is the involvement of the people at the grassroots in active control of their own affairs.

3.2.1 Origins of People-Centred Development

Although the people-centred participatory development approach is not new and has existed side by side with other development approaches, it has only recently come to the fore (Roodt 1996: 312). Historically, local people’s organisations for rural development promoting people-centred participatory development did exist, but failed to live up to expectations. Some of these were co-operatives and community development organisations, which were noted in chapter 2, subsection 2.2.5.

Another approach that emerged was community development that saw the rise also of “animation rurale”. This was an approach found in the colonial French-administered areas of Africa. This type of community development had a trained local organiser known as an “animator” who facilitated all local rural development activities.

Community development was widely used in Africa and Asia, with emphasis on local self-reliance, local project planning and implementation. It asserted, rhetorically, a grassroots initiative approach to development and assumed simply and wrongly that villagers had a common interest and would all work together as one group in planning and promoting local development activities

(Swanepoel & Kotzé 1983). This assumption, amongst others, caused its failure. It was later seen as promoting centrally planned projects of government and bureaucrats instead of grassroots initiatives. Roodt (1996: 314) asserts that governments employed it as a legitimating exercise that did not enjoy much popular support from the populace. Rural people were manipulated to participate in projects designed in distant government offices that did not consider rural people's real interests.

Community development was to promote self-reliance among village communities. But this again ignored the social and economic problems of poverty, access to land and conflicting cultural interests in the villages. It could not survive ultimately because it concentrated on government and external 'provision', became top-down, followed a blueprint and could not achieve the self-reliant goal (Swanepoel & Kotzé 1983).

Even when genuine projects did emerge from local efforts, they were often neither integrated into nor coordinated with government macro plans. This resulted in duplication and waste. Dissatisfaction occurred with these earlier participatory approaches. Their methods and practices now remain only in our memories (Swanepoel 1985).

In these earlier efforts at grassroots rural development, we find that they had built foundations and set agendas for future participatory development. The problems that remain are firstly how to involve the people at the grassroots to take the initiative and control of development activities; secondly, how to make general administration more responsive to local needs (Moris 1981: 8-11).

Before looking at approaches that give control of development activities to the people at grassroots level, the concept and nature of participatory development are worth exploring.

3.3 THE CONCEPT AND NATURE OF PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION

Participation in rural development refers to the process of actively involving or engaging the rural community in development activities for their own benefit. Rural development cannot take place, and solutions to rural problems cannot be sustained, without the rural people sharing in the process - from planning to monitoring. However, in many instances rural development in the past

had been initiated from outside the rural communities. It had been made the preserve of outsiders, with the local people only seeing projects being implemented. The local people therefore regarded those projects as 'their' (the outsider's) projects. This was because local content was disregarded. But in the current search for development, the rural people are being encouraged to take the initiative in development meant for them (World Bank 1996). This is what Robert Chambers (1983; 1992; 1997) has been championing. Likewise, Anyawu (1988:11) states that:

"The whole concept is based on the premise that when people are given the opportunity to work out their own problems, they will find solutions that will have a more lasting effect. Hence in the final analysis, it is not necessarily the physical improvement effected within the community, but principally the changes that have taken place in the people themselves, that count as important... the impact upon the people, of group discussion... and the involvement of large numbers of people in discussion and action is of greater account... The essence is that people should be given the opportunity to identify their problems, deal with their problems and learn from their problems".

Some practical examples of what this should be are demonstrated in the *World Bank Participation Source Book* (World Bank 1996:23). It refers to an example in Benin where a successful health project involved whole communities and all resources were of local content. Another interesting example was Kenya's Water and Sanitation Service project in the village of Maina (World Bank 1996:228). Initially, users (i.e. beneficiaries) were not consulted. They only saw work being done and so did not understand the motives for the project. They resisted collaborating with project teams because they feared that the engineering plans would alter their building structures and massively destroy their houses. A subsequent revision of the plan, which involved site committees of community residents in its design and management, ensured that services matched what people wanted, were willing to pay for and could strive to maintain. A strikingly successful result was achieved.

Van Veldhuizen *et al* (1997) also give illustrations of a variety of such examples from the field in which farmers, while participating, have learnt to transform their lives. Ruddell (1997:199-208) for example illustrates an experience in Bolivia where farmers through training acquired knowledge and became empowered to take on roles that hitherto had been reserved for technicians. In the end, increases in production were achieved.

These examples support the above assertion that rural people must take the initiative in development. This means that people are to be allowed to become subjects, rather than objects, who will control their destinies and determine their desires. However, there are limits to participation that need to be noted. In rural areas, where people are scattered, it is difficult to get them all to participate. Involving the rural people does not necessarily mean that a one hundred per cent involvement of all members of the community can be achieved. Others may choose to stay away, but majority participation is the ideal (Gow & Vansant 1983). It is very important to note that an activity concentrated in a small local area tends to encourage greater participation and commitment. It can draw more people in that local area to it. The people may also prefer and enjoy working together in smaller rather than in larger groups - especially in groups where they share common characteristics.

In the community of Kudumane, where there are numerous smaller tribes such as Bakgatla, Bakwena, Ba-Xhosa and Barolong, people prefer, enjoy and are comfortable working together in the smaller tribal groups within the larger tribes of Tlhaping and Tlharo. There is better understanding, cohesion and fellowship whenever they undertake any development action. When they are given the opportunity to identify and deal with their problems, as stated by Anyawu (1988:11) above, the cellular context of participation will be meaningful and the people will actively involve themselves in the development activity. In these smaller groups it is easier to identify common interests around which they can work (see discussions on organisations).

Clarifying this concept, Kolawole (1982:122) asserts that participation is "a total commitment of both the initiators and beneficiaries in carrying out a mutually planned project to its completion through the involvement of participating agencies and recipients using a multi-sectoral approach in which rural people take part in decision-making". On the other hand, it is suggested that development efforts should be initiated by the local people and not by external change agents, because whatever occurs in the rural community is embedded in and sanctioned by their culture. Thus, Treurnicht (1997b) concludes that "... technical knowledge, social institutions, decision-making and management of diverse natural and skilled labour "are all culturally laden in the rural communities" (Kotzé1997: 95). This is plausible if the local community is self-motivated.

However, this may differ from community to community. Therefore the indigenous knowledge of a specific community has to be utilised for the successful achievement of the development process there (Mazur & Titilola 1992; Verhest 1990: 32). At the end of the project, if the people realise that it was their own contribution and knowledge that led to the existence and success of a project, their sense of despair can be replaced by self-confidence and knowledge of their potentialities.

Liebenberg (1997), contributing to this debate, opines that "...Development actions, goals and processes... could best be defined and managed by the people who are the focus of such actions, within a participatory development paradigm" (Liebenberg 1997:10). Here the importance of outside initiative and assistance are acknowledged as stimuli and catalysts for the implementation of rural development programmes. However, the success and sustainability of any outsider's development action will depend on the indigenous knowledge of the people concerned. This must not be ignored. Ghai and Vivian (1992) and Wang (1986) all agree with this assertion, stating that what is most crucial in rural development is the use of local knowledge in matters of participation as well as the sustainment of the development programme. It could be noted that the use of indigenous knowledge and allowing local initiatives can best generate higher levels of rural development participation and progress in developments (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980: 62-69; Mazur & Titilola 1992; World Bank 1996; Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997). Yet considering the socio-economic and political conditions of the poor in the rural sector (which have been alluded to in chapter two) and the arguments advanced above, it will be appropriate to consider also that not all participatory rural development activities are, or would be, self-initiated by the rural people, as Liebenberg (1997) would like us to note. This is because not everybody would like to join a cooperative action, and others may choose to maintain their *status quo* (see section 3.3.7 on outsiders). Though the rural people's initiatives are essential and ideal, as illustrated by Van Veldhuizen *et al* (1997), it is in some cases not easy to get participatory development started by local people. Freire (1978) as well as Burkey (1993: 51) show that this is because many poor people have a low opinion of themselves and their own ability to change their situation or assert themselves. The conclusion concluded here is that the use of local knowledge by outsiders is crucial in matters of participation and that the local people's initiatives are possible provided they have the necessary education (Korten 1980; Uphoff 1986; Rondinelli 1993; Cernea 1986). This

is because local knowledge will give direction and guide all activities. For example, the local knowledge of the terrain, weather, history etc. will guide the decision where to site a welfare centre, a clinic, agricultural demonstration station, a public piped water tap etc.

From all the discourse above, two perspectives of the concept of participation emerge. The first is what Chambers (1983:24) originally noted: that participation may originate or be mooted from outside the participating beneficiaries, who are only invited and carried along in development actions, i.e. through external or exogenous development initiatives (Oakley & Marsden 1984). The second is a development action through the initiatives of the local people.

When people have had sufficient local experience, through learning by doing, and have accepted the idea of self-reliance or are - in other words - sufficiently empowered, they will have the capacity to take initiatives and actions that are stimulated by their own thinking (Rahman 1993; Swanepoel 1992). Participatory development therefore may be an intervention that might combine what Liebenberg (1997:11) calls "scientific knowledge of external change agents with the unique blend of internal social knowledge in order to deepen people's understanding of their situation". The use of indigenous knowledge is therefore a necessary and sufficient condition for participatory development. Although the components of the blend may not be of equal weight or proportion, whoever is in control of the programme may have a proportionate advantage.

Friedman (1992), who recognises it as an alternative development approach, also supports participation and the use of local knowledge. He never loses sight of the fact that the development of the poor majority should be initiated from among the poor, depending on their capacities and abilities.

There is a second perspective or version, which holds that unless the local people take development initiatives and are socially, economically and politically involved in a development activity, development policies for the alleviation of the development problems such as poverty may not be effective. Conflicts with authority and high crime levels in South Africa will also not abate, if the people themselves are not allowed to take initiatives in all the processes of development (The Citizen, 26 January 1999). This version is referred to as the endogenous or

internally generated participatory development initiative. It is considered a radical or active participatory development action (Bergdall 1993, Pretty 1995:174, Liebenberg 1997:11). It is the version this study considers capable of generating effective rural development.

In connection with this internally generated development perspective, many community development writers, for example Keeton (1984), Ghai and Alftan (1977), Swanepoel and Kotzé (1983), all agree that internally generated participatory development is the core strategy of rural development and may bring solutions to development problems in the rural areas. The concept is denoted as an intrinsic part that serves as “an input to development” and a way of “empowering the rural poor to play an effective role in rural development” (Reddy 1987: 261). Accordingly, the objective of participation then can be seen as “educative, integrative and empowering” as well as being control over development. In playing an educative role, it is to be considered as developing human resource potential that is corrective and adaptive. Such potential, Setty (1985) points out, creates the people’s sense of awareness, a sense of involvement, a sense of belonging to and a sense of possession or ownership of a development project. People develop self-confidence, competence and managerial capacity to control development activities that will enable them to become self-reliant.

Participation therefore means the people concerned must first be consulted (in an externally generated development programme) and allowed to determine their needs because they are better placed to identify their priorities and control the programme in their local area. They also have the advantage of processing a depth of knowledge about the local, social, environmental and ecological systems.

Many external agents who refuse or fail to consult the grassroots, the major stakeholders in any development activity, erroneously think that by making contact with and receiving the approval of local elites, particularly the chiefs, they obtain a hold over the majority of the local people, their tacit approval and support. It should not be assumed that the minority local elite is very altruistic and would share accruing benefits with the disadvantaged poor majority. They may not be. More

often they appropriate¹¹ facilities and benefits belonging to whole villages (see chapter 4). Frank (1969) labels such appropriators as compradors who connive with outsiders to exploit their community's resources for some little benefits. Because of this exploitation, the local people - who are the major stakeholders - often seem to be uninterested in such development activities.

In this regard, Oakley and Marsden (1984:11) point out five important problems confronting local people, the solving of which would improve the rural poor's active participation in development and their chances of a better livelihood. These problems are firstly the people's lack of access to resources for development in the rural areas; secondly, the absence of viable local organisations to mobilise them for rural development; thirdly, the powerful domination by local elites; fourthly, lack of motivation (resulting from the dependent and marginalised nature of their lives) to initiate or even think of development action; and fifthly the state of despondency and despair, which might arise from the first and third problems. In the latter case, one can reasonably say that in some rural communities people become poor by choosing not to join a development activity. Choosing to join development activities can perhaps eliminate their poverty, according to Goulet (1978:158); however, this is not always so because in some instances the development activity may not be directed towards employment, and in others the sole beneficiaries may be the rich people within the community.

This section can be summed up by drawing from Kotzé and Kellerman (1997:36-41) as well as Oakley and Marsden (1984:11-14) to provide the key issues and themes of participation. They indicate that development is people-centred and that any development action has to enhance the people's capacity to participate in the development process. Above all, the creative initiative of the people is to be regarded as the fundamental development resource, which the bureaucracy should encourage. It would lead to the ultimate objective of development, which includes the mental and material welfare of peoples (Kotzé 1997:36).

Such a people-centred development is characterised by (among others):

¹¹Zaki Ergas (1980:387) catalogues many such cases in Tanzania's Ujamaa villagisation policy. In this villagisation, money meant for the construction of basic infrastructure for villages was 'pocketed' by the leadership (bureaucrats), who ruthlessly exploited and suppressed the villagers. He states: 'The bureaucrats in general are allergic to dialogue with peasants ... They regard them as ignorant, conservative and irrational...'

- “the optimal use of human resources
- acceptance of mental and physical welfare as an indicator of success
- taking human and individual values into consideration in the decision-making process” (Kotzé 1997: 36).

In this regard, the local people’s contribution to the development efforts is very important. This view of participation then is a shift from central planning and co-option to local people voluntarily getting involved with development programmes and sharing in their activities. Kotzé and Kellerman (1997: 37) point out again that such a shift would result in:

- facilitating the release and development of local capacities and resources
- partnership between development agencies and people
- learning from mistakes
- people’s empowerment,

all of which support local communities in taking rational decisions in the context of their own environment and field of experience.

Other aspects of participation that illustrate the nature of people’s participation include the communication links between people and allowing them to identify and analyse development problems for themselves. This is further discussed in Section 3.5. Another important aspect is the change and adoption of new attitudes by government officials or bureaucrats. In participation, the latter become accessible to the people and facilitate the optimal use of the local human resources. Finally, the behaviour and influence of development agencies or change agencies also change. They adapt and share experiences with the local people. It must be emphasised that although participation is a necessary ingredient for the successful implementation of development projects, it does not guarantee its success; participants may merely influence increases in the efficiency of projects (Bryant & White 1982:212–213; Kotzé 1997:44).

Many versions of the concept of participation can thus be identified. The older version, noted above, is institutional co-option, the typical top-down approach, which was influenced by Cohen & Uphoff (1980) and Kruijer (1987). Other versions are the process of cooperation between local people and development institutions, the ‘blueprint’ planning and implementation, the learning

process and the local initiatives bottom-up decision-making approaches (Kotzé 1997: 40; World Bank 1996). In this study, the discussion concentrated mainly on the bottom-up decision-making approach, although other versions were brought into the discussions when the need arose.

Finally, from all these above discussions it can be concluded that people's participation is a process that can transform the capacities of all stakeholders that embark on development activities. The transformation that results ensures full self-expression by all members, co-operating on equal terms. The World Bank's (1996:3) description of participation correctly fits in here. It states:

“Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them”.

This definition should therefore guide the discussion on participatory rural development in Kudumane throughout this study.

3.3.1 The Need for Participatory Rural Development

Ollawa (1977: 403), and subsequently Lele (1984), indicate that rural development is: “... any clear and consciously applied strategy designed to restructure the economy in order to satisfy the material needs and aspirations of the rural masses...” (Ollawa 1977:403). By so doing, individual and collective incentives to participate in the process of development will be enhanced.

Ollawa (1977:403) also shows that rural development is undertaken because the rural sector has declined due to lack of effective mechanisms to mobilise and motivate the people for rural projects, especially in Kudumane. The rural masses must therefore be induced to appreciate and participate in their own development through education, both formal and informal, within local organisations. By forming groups, and having group discussions and workshops, their inherent capacities will emerge. A widespread involvement of the rural community in both the planning and the execution of development programmes can change both the physical and environmental conditions of the community (Kolawole 1982).

It was pointed out in section 3.3 that villagers may have low opinions of themselves and may often think they are not capable of achieving anything of substance. This low opinion of themselves continues to lurk in their minds and is a mindset that is difficult to change. Recognising this, Chambers (1997:133) states that:

“... the practical principle has been to assume that people can do something until proved otherwise ...” “Once they have started, local people often surprise themselves. PRA video ... in Sri Lanka has as its title a villager’s remark: ‘We could do what we never thought we could’”.

According to this statement, villagers have a large store of knowledge and capacities; yet outsiders (external experts) conservatively continue to rely on themselves and ignore the people in the development process and the project cycle. This has led to agents facing difficulties in getting people to work and even people refusing to use completed facilities meant for them. Such a situation is clearly exemplified in Kudumane, where multipurpose skilled centres (now known as the Mine Workers Development Agency) were constructed in 1998 and have since not been fully utilised (see chapter four for further details) because the people were not consulted and did not become part of the process. The store of knowledge the poor villagers have needs to be acknowledged and harnessed in any participatory rural development project.

Even though difficulties could be (and actually have been) encountered by generating rural development from outside the main stakeholders, many rural development practitioners continue to feel and argue that for the rural communities to involve themselves actively in rural development, rural development action should be externally initiated on ethical grounds (Goulet 1978; Freire 1978; Kruijer 1987). That means there must be state intervention in initiating and implementing rural development instead of rural development emanating from the people themselves through education (Friedman 1992; Rahman 1993; Reddy 1987).

3.3.2 Limits to External Intervention in Participatory Development

The arguments in section 3.3.1, though sound, must consider that they are limited by local culture and knowledge systems. External intervention could take place in certain specific instances where a community is in crisis. For example, in times of malaria, diarrhoea or bilharzia epidemics, external intervention would be in the form of a clinic the community could use to deal with the

epidemic. Owing to local technical and perhaps financial constraints, strong outside initiatives may take place.

External initiatives may also result when an external agent feels that a community requires certain needs and the agent would like, for philanthropic reasons or as a matter of duty, to assist the community. Stewart (1997: 2), amplifying this point, shows that some of the motives of external agents may be that they may have "...ideals they must act out; others "do" development out of an organic connection with the people concerned." In many instances they may get involved with a community out of selfish interest, not because of the rural people's welfare.

In contrast with Lele (1984) and adherents of his school of thought, it is a truism that development can occur very informally and not be designed by external agents (Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997). Van Veldhuizen and others give various instances of research in the field in Tanzania, the Punjab and Central America where external agents did not design local farmers' activities. Development activities in these rural communities were both 'felt' and 'real' needs for which solutions were identified, troubleshoot, diagnosed, experimented with and implemented by the rural people (Hocdé 1997:49-54). They had been spurred on and assisted by their indigenous knowledge systems, that is, their cultural orientations and experiences. Herein lies the idea that development activities are internally generated. As Swanepoel and Kotzé (1983) point out, it should not be a case where the outsider may say, 'I provide, so I determine the priorities'.

It must be clear also that local people have a depth of knowledge about the local social, environmental and ecological systems by means of which they can model, observe, estimate, compare, rank, score and make diagrams of these systems even better than outsiders. When participatory development is internally generated, people are better placed to identify their priorities and control the actions taken. It is a bottom-up approach.

3.4 EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTERNALLY GENERATED PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

From the foregoing, certain conclusions could be arrived at. Firstly, that interventionist development may bring either a positive or a negative result, but real development that goes with

sustainable empowerment should first be generated within the rural communities and supported by government or external agents later (Friedman 1992). In the cases of public works and crisis situations, where development may of necessity be generated by an external agent or government because local people may not have access to the necessary technology, the rural community's ideas must be sought during the planning and implementation process (Anyawu 1988:11; Kolawole 1982: 121). After all, they are the beneficiaries and the ultimate monitoring and sustainment of the project depends on them. Self-reliance at a later stage may evolve when they have adapted and learnt from the external agents.

Secondly, the current circumstances demand the active involvement and utilisation of the rural poor's knowledge. Rajakutty (1991: 35) recognises this as a means to improving the effectiveness (especially of monitoring and evaluation) of the development process and efficiency (Bryant & White 1982: 212). This means both the 'software' and 'hardware' of their indigenous knowledge must be used, i.e. their ideas and skills must be incorporated with those brought in by outside facilitators (Kotzé 1997: 95). Coupled with the cultural systems, traditional institutions and their environmental settings, these will greatly help to achieve the type and level of development envisaged. In a sense, the rural people may become what Oakley and Marsden (1984: 13) refer to as producers as well as consumers instead of consumers only. That is, they may be in control of development by taking decisions on projects that are beneficial to them instead of waiting to act on decisions made without them or only sharing in the benefits of such decisions. In this connection, the late President Nyerere of Tanzania noted while encouraging rural development in Tanzania that:

“A country, or a village, or a community, cannot be developed, it can only develop itself. For real development means the development, the growth of people. Every country in Africa can show examples of modern facilities which have been provided for the people - and which are now rotting unused. We have schools, irrigation works, expensive markets, and so on - things by which someone came and tried to 'bring development to the people'. If real development is to take place, the people have to be involved... For the truth is that development means the development of people. Roads, buildings, the increase of crop output, and other things of this nature, are not development; they are only tools of development. A new road extends a man's freedom only if he travels upon it” (Barnett 1988: 185).

What is stressed in Nyerere's statement is that rural projects must focus on what the people actually need for them to become and remain functional. At this point, development can be seen as purely endogenous. Of course, intervention from outside can have positive as well as negative results (Moris 1981). Yet it does not provide what the people need and would want to use regularly. The crux of the matter is that the blueprint project's management and sustainability, after the interventionist has left, cannot be assured. At the end of the intervention process, the community must have had the capacity to initiate further development themselves and not to continue to depend on outsiders. But in many instances the outside agents do not give the local people sufficient training and experience. This cannot bring about the desired self-actualised and empowered community envisaged by development objectives. It creates dependencies and does not make the people creative and innovative.

Thus a characteristic of participatory development is that it must evolve from and focus on the rural people. It must be a bottom-up process initiated and administered by the rural people themselves (Bryant & White 1984; Korten & Klaus 1984; Van Veldhuizen *et al* 1997; Kotzé 1997:36-37; Aziz 1974:87; 1978; Korten & Klaus 1984; Rondinelli 1993). Herein lies the effectiveness of the people participating in their own development. The shift from outsiders (external agents) making decisions and taking initiatives to the rural people taking the initiatives while outsiders become facilitators and guides is what the latest efforts by Robert Chambers (1992; 1997) on PRA also emphasise.

That may not be the only characteristic of participatory development. The value of culture is also an important characteristic (Verhest 1990; Norgaard 1994). It is by these characteristics that the inhibited human potential will be exhibited and realised (Barnett 1988:185). This exhibition of potential through taking initiatives enhances people's self-esteem; their commitment becomes stronger, capacity building becomes operational and the elusive empowerment is achieved (Todaro 1997:16; Anyawu 1988:11; Rahman 1993; Oakley & Marsden 1984:14). However, it must be noted that the degree to which people involve themselves in activities depends on their beliefs, attitudes and psychological state.

Arguably, participation is based on a “concern for giving the rural people a voice in development decisions, access to productive assets and a share in development” (Oakley and Marsden 1984:14). This concern is on empowerment, from which the people of Kudumane cannot be excluded. In an internally generated development, attention must also be given to the levels at which rural people should participate.

3.5 SOCIAL LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

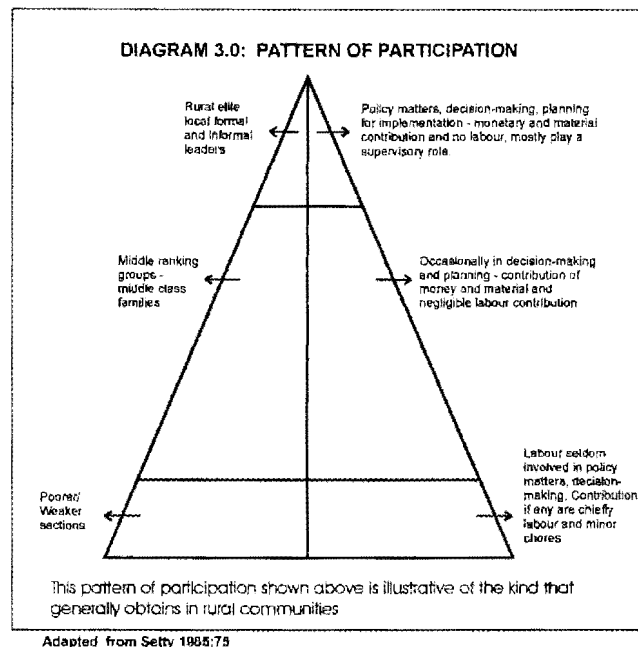
Development activities in a society are increasingly facilitated by way of voluntary organisations, either formal or informal. They are also facilitated through representative leaders from the village councils, consultative committees, seminars and workshops held at various social levels (Korten 1980: 482; World Bank 1996). Thus various kinds of participation such as decision-making, implementation, evaluation and monitoring occur at various levels in society. Setty (1985:78) shows that “participation at the village level depends on the social structure of the community, the class composition, social stratification and status, hierarchy of groups, the distribution of power and authority, and traditionally determined decision making patterns”.

It is participating at these societal levels that people get empowered. Empowering the poor simply means widening opportunities of participation to include the marginalised and ignored rural poor so that they may take an active part in the development process. This could be achieved also through groups formed at different social levels (Setty 1985; World Bank 1996). Personal matters can be and are easily discussed with confidence in groups. Through group discussions, the marginalised - for example, women - can fully and freely express their views (Bryant & White 1982:210).

Achievement of power is also a matter of access and control of all the resources necessary to protect livelihood. The power is shared or redistributed among the people considered as beneficiaries of development. By sharing power, they are enabled to function or take action to obtain some assets and thereby strengthen their social and economic base. A fundamental improvement in the socio-economic position of the excluded rural poor would then be noticed (Oakley & Marsden 1984:10).

3.5.1 Group Formation for Empowerment

It is evident that participation entails the sharing of power and scarce resources. It can only come about by giving people the opportunity of identifying their socio-economic groups within which they are educated, become conscientised, share in the scarce resources and thereby become empowered, i.e. become equipped with organisational as well as technical skills (Cernea 1992). See also the sub-section 3.6.2 on local organisations. A pattern of participation presented diagrammatically below, culled from Setty (1985:75), is very illuminative of the level, kind and pattern of participation in rural communities.



At the lower level of the diagram 3.0 are the poor, who form the weaker group in the social structure. In many development activities, they provide labour and are given little or no chance at all to participate in decision-making. Such a situation should now change; this poor group must be allowed to contribute to decision-making.

At the middle level of the diagram are the middle-class group (families) who contribute money and material and very little or negligible labour. Their form of labour is just to appear on the site to see or inspect what is going on. They occasionally take part in decision-making and planning.

At the top of the diagram is the elite group. This group makes policies and decisions that are to be implemented by the middle class and the bottom groups. They make monetary and material contributions and supervise the labour contributed by the poor lower group.

It may be observed that these groups participate according to their competencies and class levels. However, it must be conceded that each group is capable of making decisions and plans for development projects of their areas. Within the group, each individual can make a far-reaching contribution. Decisions arrived at could then be corroborated with those of the middle class and elite groups.

From the diagram it can be seen that it is quite an uphill task for an individual peasant to wrench power or empower himself. An individual's empowerment then should be through group action. Slabbert (1984:26) shows that development cannot be done on behalf of the people, and Nyerere concurs with this when he states that it should be only through the people by the people, and with the people (Barnett 1988:185). They will participate only if they have a say in decision-making that concerns them. Thus direct or active participation is obtained by restructuring the society to facilitate group formation and full participation of members within them.

Cohen and Uphoff (1980:222) contend that considering the poor as "aggregate mass" would make it difficult to assess their participation. Therefore those who should participate must be grouped according to their characteristics and social levels, as in the diagram above, because as they work in groups they assert themselves more easily in groups (Setty 1985:78).

It can thus be concluded in this section that groups of people that involve themselves in development programmes vary, and in this connection Setty (1985:78) notes that:

"In some groups women and children are excluded. In some decisions that concern the total community (community projects), the weaker sections and the less influential are ignored or left out. When participation is voluntary it depends on self-interest, obligations to the community and socio-economic conditions of the family. Sometimes, the participation, mostly in terms of labour, material or money, is compulsory or is done under pressure... Outwardly there will be participation without the psychological and emotional involvement... when a programme is not apparently of interest to some individuals and groups or if the programme does not show any immediate benefit, or meet their needs, or solve their problems".

This aptly shows that groups are essential conduits to promote successful participatory activities in community projects. This is detailed in the following sections, which deal with organisations.

3.6 INSTITUTIONAL PROMOTION OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

Thus far the conceptual framework of this study has been in the radical view of participation, where decision-making takes place from the bottom up and people's (or popular) participation has to be perceived as a voluntary process consistent with democratic values (Mathur 1986: 21; Oakley & Marsden 1984: 64-72; Cernea 1992; Kotzé 1997; Pateman 1970; ANC 1994). The development activities may be formally structured or non-structured so that every individual gets the opportunity to play a major role in promoting development. How these structural and non-structural forms may promote participatory development will be examined in this section, especially as they may impinge on development in the Kudumane district.

Local organisations, bureaucratic decentralisation and non-governmental organisations will be dealt with in this final section. These can directly or indirectly steer the course of development in the Kudumane area.

3.6.1 How Organisations May Promote Participation

How participation occurs depends on who initiates it or from where the process approach to empower the rural people emanates. It may occur top down if it is initiated or sponsored officially by government. On the other hand, it may be bottom up if the people at the grassroots level initiate it spontaneously. A people's organisation is then formed for the purpose of encouraging the people to take development initiatives. We find in practice that in a group action the individual who hitherto was passive now becomes active, expresses his/her feelings and can make a constructive contribution to decisions (not forgetting that destructive contributions can also be made in certain cases) of the group.

In this regard, Cohen and Uphoff (1980: 224) contend that as regards social and personal benefits, an individual from the poor group is powerless to establish any meaningful project or obtain any financial credit for his private venture. A recognised group enhances or creates an opportunity for him to obtain the necessary power inputs (capital). Kruijer (1987: 130-140) supports this and

claims that through an organisation, leadership empowering also can be achieved. WCARRD's 1979 declaration states:

“Rural development strategies can realise their full potential only through the motivation, active involvement and organisation at the grassroots level of rural people... In conceptualising and designing policies and programmes...”
(Oakley & Marsden, 1984: 65).

This declaration, adopted by FAO and other United Nations agencies, concerns itself with organisations giving power to the people, allowing them to have direct access to decision-making, a say in policies, a means to have direct involvement in rural projects and to influence events which they are part of. How they are able to affect these is a matter of concern here. The poor by themselves cannot express power. There must be a medium, either formal or informal, through which power can be expressed. This is first found in organisations of the poor where leadership and leadership skills emerge. The emergence of such leadership is what will have a great impact on development initiatives in Kudumane. Through them the marginalised, especially women and children, will be able to express themselves and contribute to the development process there. It will give them direct access to decision-making, which will otherwise not be possible (ILO 1978: 35).

However, this may not always be the case. Informally, culture may bring people together to promote development action or to discourage group action. The possibility of 'group phobia' should be noted, in which case ways of helping or encouraging individual action should be found. In support of this, Wetlasinha, Gunaratna and Vithane (1997:102-114) document that individual families of farmers are able to mould their own future where they are given support. That support could be from an organisation.

It is difficult for a rural poor person himself to play a direct and influential role in any meaningful project implementation (in particular, a general public or community project) unless he becomes part of an organisation (Oakley & Marsden, 1984: 65). An organisation, particularly within the local community, is therefore a vital ingredient of a participatory strategy in rural development (Goldsmith & Blustain (1980: 7).

Furthermore, organisations may lead to empowerment or power sharing (Gran, 1983: 164). Even where local people may not want to work together, an organisation serves as a conduit through which they can express themselves. In this respect the people must be encouraged to create social organisations that can identify their needs clearly and carry them through the processes of implementing development activities. The organisations must grow informally out of their own needs and designs and under their own control towards specific interest goals. Nyoni (1987), for example, shows that through grassroots organisation, local NGOs in Zimbabwe were able to improve themselves. In the same vein, Friedman (1992) also recognises that cellular organisations encourage the formation of networks and social movements that can be potent forces in the struggle for social change, which he calls planning from below. But these may sometimes encounter problems of political intervention and control, and the envisaged planning from below may end up coming from above, as it did with cooperatives and community development programmes referred to earlier in section 3.2.1.

It can be stated then that of all factors that encourage people to participate in rural projects, an organisation, particularly the local organisation, is pivotal for any participatory action. In addition, benefits to be derived, social base and local control become the basic motivations¹². No member of a community will join an organisation where benefits are not clear to him. It goes without saying that:

“It is naive to expect rural people to band together merely because a project desires local input or wants local residents to engage in cooperative action. Tangible and immediate incentives are the *quid pro quo* for widespread participation in base-level organisations” (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980: 10).

From the above statement, also noted by Chinchankar (1986), it is clear that a community will congregate for development action where the gains are attractive and greater than the cost, with a shorter accrual period. Bryant and White (1984) make the same point; they divide the benefits into ‘private’ and ‘public’ goods and indicate that projects that will bring personal (private) good are more attractive than those that provide communal (public) good.

¹²Many young respondents interviewed in Kudumane indicated that they would not join nor participate in any organisation that would bring no monetary benefits because of cheating by ‘big men’ - referring to elites in the villages and corruption.

Secondly, organisations incorporate the specific community's identities and interests. The unit must be contextually local, that is, built on the already existing local culture. Ouedrago states that organisations must:

“... start by identifying a conscious ‘will to carry out together’, a joint task and a joint design... fostering constant co-operation and a common resolve among members of the group so as to avoid conflicts and failures... It means that the individual members of the group have the same concerns, the same hopes and the same fears. This shared interest strengthens the ties within the group” (Lecomte 1986: 47).

Ties are strengthened in the group not between members of varied interests and aspirations, but between members with common aspirations who may have a higher level of involvement in the organisation.

Thirdly, benefit recipients must organise, lead and control their associations themselves (Lecomte 1986:104-106). Since local organisations may lack administrative and organisational skills and experience, external management skills can be solicited, but Goldsmith and Blustain warn that too much dependence on external skills is dangerous (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980: 11; Korten 1980; 1983;).

It must be stated here that the relevance of an organisation, particularly in the rural communities, is that it provides social cohesion. As the members share a common interest and have group discussions within the organisation, lessons of leadership, skills etc. are learnt. Emotional support and identity, security in one's being are all given (Nyoni, 1987; Ergas 1980; Oakley & Marsden 1984). They serve as what Korten & Klauss (1984: 303) call a ‘... mediating structure insulating the individual from the shocks of the larger society within which he or she is only one among faceless millions’.

Local organisations therefore provide the foundations on which external development agents can build and influence participation (World Bank 1996)¹³. Members will take full advantage to

¹³Experiences shared in the World Bank participatory source book (WB 1996: 9-117) and the methods and tools reflect what is documented here.

participate in any project as long as they see that powerful elites are not exploiting them and their interests are being safeguarded (Oakley & Marsden 1984; Korten 1980; Uphoff 1986; Ghai & Vivian 1992).

3.6.2. Types of Local Organisations and Their Influence on Participation

Many types of local organisations that exist are differentiated by the nature of the activity or task they are formed to tackle and by the benefits expected to accrue to members. They are all guided by some general principles. Many such organisations include local development associations (or committees), cooperatives and interest associations (Monaheng 1995: 58; Esman & Uphoff 1982; Lecomte 1986: 42; Goldsmith & Blustain (1980). Local development associations and interest associations are the ones of interest in this section.

3.6.2.1 Local Development Associations

Some of these local development associations, which may also be called development committees, can be recognised in some geographical confines (Monaheng, 1995). For example, the local organisation formed to implement a water project in Kudumane (the study area) was referred to as the 'Water Development Committee'. Recently RDP committees and forums have come into existence. Local associations bring communities together for self-help work and to lobby government's assistance. Goldsmith and Blustain (1980) add that their formation is project specific and so are given various names reflecting the specific projects. The local government may also inspire their formation. Chapter 4 section 4.4.1 details such examples within the Kudumane area.

By means of local development associations, bottom-up planning, implementation and evaluation groups are set up. These groups become the basis for economic 'take-off' and are used to build collective solidarity (Oakley & Marsden 1984: 72). They develop and draw on the leadership potentials of community members.

In the Kudumane area, the Water Development Committee that was formed at Batlharos village enabled the emergence of a new local leadership (instead of the elites who had been in control of affairs in the community) around whom people converged. They became a source of inspiration

for the community's participation in that particular development project. The aim then of forming an organisation is to encourage greater 'participation' of their members in rural development (Cernea 1992: 9-11). At this point, the most important issue is that the organisation must be based on common interest, for example, social, economic, gender and age factors noted in section 3.3.7 and 3.3.8. Local knowledge will then sustain it. At Batlharos, the availability of pure drinking water closer to them and in their homes was a thing of great social and economic interest to them.

3.6.2.2 Interest Associations

Interest associations, which are also local organisations, include Youth Forums and clubs such as Boy Scouts, Young Farmers' League, Women's League, burial associations et cetera. These have emerged to foster rural development, as they concern themselves with the social as well as economic interest of the public (Swanepoel 1992). They provide public good and are utilitarian in character, unlike cooperatives. In the Kudumane area, burial societies, small farmer associations and youth forums are the types that can be found.

Ghai (1988) points out that these may, more often than not, be formal organisations that follow standard procedures. Governments or external agents establish them. They are referred to as "standard" or "organised" organisations. But as can be gathered from Swanepoel (1992), if in the long run control of these organisations is handed over to members, they can play an active participatory role to bringing about development in the rural communities where they exist.

The difference between these 'standard' organisations and informal participatory organisations (though the distinction is often not a clear-cut one) is that unlike standard organisations, a local organisation's formation is inspired by the members themselves and the organisation is small in size, while standard organisations are large and externally inspired, for example, the Boy Scouts and political associations (Ghai 1988).

What comes out clearly from these organisations is that they are all local associations at the rural community level fostering and motivating people to be involved in development activities. Through them the rural people take part in the planning or decision-making of projects beneficial to them. They become associated with the projects' progress from the implementation stages to

evaluation, the sharing of benefits and monitoring (Nyoni, 1987; Swanepoel 1992; Rajakutty 1991).

3.6.3 How Local Organisations May Promote Participatory Development

The ways in which the local organisation can promote participation include two-way communication processes, legitimisation (i.e. building communication of trust), mobilisation, cooperation and encouragement of local self-reliance (Goldsmith & Blustain, 1980: 8-9; Esman & Uphoff 1982: 8-9; Clarke 1980; Lecomte 1986: 4). Lecomte (1986) refers to them as ‘social methodologies’ by which participation is achieved.

3.6.3.1 The Establishment of a Two-Way Communication System

The planning and establishment of projects require knowledge of the project area and the target people or project beneficiaries (Esman & Uphoff 1982: 8-9; Wang, 1986). Field administrators acquire this local knowledge that is effectively communicated through groups (Oakley & Marsden 1984: 72) in the local organisation, both from the top down and from the bottom up. In other words, organisations promote a two-way communication system (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980; Wang 1986). This is demonstrated in diagram 3.1 below.

As people participate in rural development, the problem of coordinating activities may occur. This problem may be due to poor communication links between authorities and the local people. It may also lead to further problems such as delays, misunderstanding, inefficiency and ineffective performance. These problems can be overcome if organisations establish two-way communication links (see diagram 3.1) directly between field administrators and local groups and individuals or through their organisational structures. From the diagram it can be noted that much more active involvement and understanding is obtained when the link is through local organisations, because they then all receive the same information and share ideas. The field administrators receive collated ideas that may be more comprehensive upon which they may also be able to express their opinion.

Through the communication system, priorities and capacities of the local people are identified and waste of resources is prevented. It will also provide effective means of evaluation and monitoring

of projects and services, both before and after completion (Ergas 1980; Lecomte 1986: 42; Rajakutty 1991). Through the exchange of information, mutual trust is established, which helps ensure the success of rural development activities.

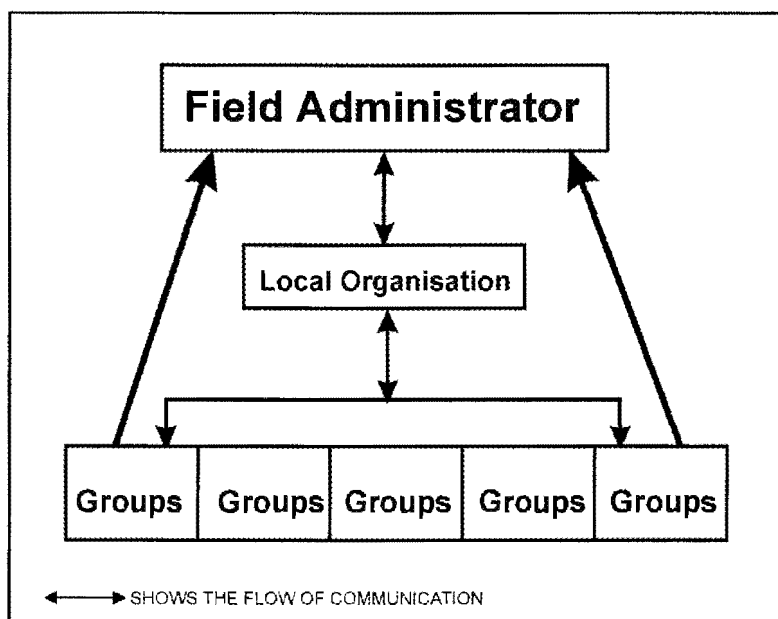


Diagram 3.1: Communication Links between Organizations and Administrators

3.6.3.2 Legitimising of Information

More often than not rural people become suspicious of project interventions because politicians deceive them with promises in order to obtain their votes in an election year. They become disillusioned, so they need reassurance. In order to build the local people's confidence and to reassure them, planning must be done with them and their organisations. The group members will then regard information received through the organisation as legitimate and trustworthy. In many of the development programmes being carried out in Kudumane by the RDP forums referred to in chapter 4, if the existing formal and informal organisations such as the churches, youth forums etc. had been consulted fully, the community's participation could have been achieved. It can thus be stated that local organisations instil confidence in participants, legitimise the intentions of the interventionist agency (if they play a role), and then mobilise local support for programmes.

3.6.3.3 Mobilisation of Local Grassroots Support and Cooperation

Lecomte (1986: 4) draws attention to the fact that in addition to legitimising information, local organisations are able to mobilise local support and resources to support and supplement what government may not be able to provide. For example, they are able to mobilise contributions of labour, money, materials and skills for ongoing projects and to maintain and monitor completed ones. If local organisations are involved, support and cooperation of local opinion leaders and the elites (who may be part of the interest group) are easily enlisted, so they do not block development programmes. As Leonard (1982: 195) and Gow and Vansant (1985: 116) point out, any programme of rural development must deal with these elites, who may be facilitators or obstacles. Organisations can stimulate interest and awareness of development programmes (Oakley & Marsden 1984: 45) and solicit cooperation among the people, elites and development agencies. This is also the appropriate stage to ensure sustained growth by building self-reliance and encouraging innovation.

Goldsmith and Blustain (1980: 9) believe that the existence of local organisations is critical, as they can go a long way to assist local improvement. However, their existence is only a necessary and not a sufficient condition for rural development. It follows therefore that local organisations have the potential and capacity for enhancing participation in rural development in a sustainable manner.

3.6.3.4 Effective Local Leadership Training at the Grassroots Level

Finally, leadership responsibility is very important in bringing about participation (or mobilisation for participation). Yet this leadership is lacking amongst the poor. The few leadership skills that exist in the rural communities are 'drawn from a narrow circle' - the elites. It is their management skills that strengthen the organisations within which they participate (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980: 85; Chinchankar 1986).

Sharing the same view, Gow and Vansant (1985) reason out that leadership depends on many factors such as qualifications, skills, volition, time to spare, economic background and experience. Since these factors are skewed in favour of the elites (who often have prior leadership experience), they become the logical choice as leaders. The two groups (i.e. the general masses

and the elites) sometimes become estranged because the elites exploit the poor. This is not a good sign for rural development. It is beneficial to bring them together, since the different roles they play could affect the success of programmes and the empowerment of the community.

Good leadership from the grassroots is good for any local organisation, especially one that seeks external aid (Lecomte 1986). To this end, Kolawole argues that effective leadership in rural development should be from the grassroots in order to:

- a) “Assist the community in recognizing its development needs and potentials;
- b) help the community to identify and remove factors that might impede the course of development schemes, and
- c) stimulate and develop local leadership” (Kolawole 1982:131).

Oakley and Marsden (1984: 47) note in their study of Bhoomi Sena that people assert themselves in their organisation and in the process break away from previous economic and cultural ties of dependence. Such local organisations reflect the will and interest of the people involved. Thus even if external assistance may be needed as a supplement, the independence of a local organisation and its leadership are essential to bring people into the development process.

Activities in these organisations can be very effective if efficient grassroots leadership and management skills are available. However, an organisation and its leadership are but one of the many conduits that may influence people’s active participation in rural development. Another influencing factor, which sets the tone and enables participatory development, is the decentralisation of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy can either encourage or inhibit people's participatory activities in rural development; when considering rural development, attention should therefore be paid to how decentralisation of the bureaucracy can help promote active participation in it.

3.7 DECENTRALISING THE BUREAUCRACY FOR PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

Participation in groups noted in the above section leans on the fact that it should, in its radical form, allow local grassroots to take initiatives in planning and decisions directed at their own welfare. It was noted that the bureaucracy ought to allow these local group actions. This is done through decentralising the relevant administrative authority. The bureaucracy has a great influence on rural development, and in this section, decentralising the bureaucracy to effect active participatory development will be examined to determine whether it could encourage local peoples' initiative in rural development participation. First, some concepts concerning decentralisation must be understood.

3.7.1 The Concept of Decentralisation

Local organisations can materialise if central administration is decentralised and local area administrations are made autonomous. Autonomy is possible if the government is committed to decentralisation, has the political will and allows favourable environmentally supporting conditions to exist (Kotzé 1997:71-73). Such supporting conditions include an appropriate legal framework and financial support. A congenial atmosphere will enable decentralised institutions to emerge to encourage the proliferation of local development organisations. Local administration then should enhance the people's well-being and control over their environment and hence the achievement of local capacities on the economic, social and political fronts (Wunsch & Olowu 1990; Rondinelli *et al* 1984; Barrington 197-no date). Decentralisation puts the focus on the means and capacity of bureaucracy to effect efficient local development. The latter promotes local people's initiatives in participatory development (Rondinelli *et al* 1984).

Decentralisation is generally referred to as the transfer of authority for development planning and administration from the central administration to the field or regional units and local administrative structures (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 18-25; Bennett 1990: 29; Conyers 1986; Rondinelli 1983).

According to Wolman (1990: 29), such decentralisation encompasses several different types of structural arrangements¹⁴ such as delegation, devolution, privatisation and deconcentration. These arrangements fall within political administrative and economic spheres. For the purpose of this study, the focus is placed on administrative decentralisation, which is defined broadly by Rondinelli *et al* (1984: 8-9) as:

“...the transfer of responsibility for planning management and resource raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to: (a) field units of central government ministries or agencies, (b) subordinate units or level of governments, (c) semi autonomous authorities or corporations, (d) area wide regional or functional authorities, or (e) non governmental private or voluntary organisations.”

These authors declare that decentralisation can be broad or constrained in scope, and the degree of responsibility and authority transferred by the central government can vary in many forms.

3.7.2 Forms of Decentralisation

The transfer of authority is described as assuming four forms, although others recognise three only (Rondinelli *et al* 1984, Cheema 1983, Conyers 1983). These four forms are (a) deconcentration, (b) devolution, (c) delegation and (d) privatisation.

(a) Deconcentration

Deconcentration is the least extensive and the weakest form of decentralisation (Cloete 1988; Cameron 1990: 41). It amounts to no more than shifting the workload within central government ministries or agencies from officials in the state capital to staff in offices outside the state capital (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 10; Conyers 1983). At one extreme, field staff may be given only limited discretion to operate within central government guidelines and the central government remains the source of major policy decisions. At the other extreme, field staff is allowed no discretion: they operate under the instructions of the central authorities (Cameron 1990: 40; Cloete 1988: 17; Rondinelli 1981, 1986, 1988).

¹⁴ Cameron (1990:40), Fesler (1965:336) and Rondinelli & Nellis(1986:136) all make the same point that decentralisation has different meanings and applications for many people and countries, and that the structural arrangements vary accordingly (see diagrams 3.2, 3.3, & 3.4).

Where the latter form of decentralisation exists, rural development would be a plan from above that is given to field staff to implement on which they submit regular reports to head office. Problems arising would have to be dealt with at head office and not by the field staff on the spot. This obviously causes delays and thwarts the rendering of efficient services at the local level.

(b) Delegation

Delegation represents greater decentralisation than administrative deconcentration, but still falls short of full decentralisation (Rondinelli 1981:138; Cameron 1990: 41). In this case the central government transfers broad powers to organisations that have functional and administrative capability to plan and carry out specific activities within specific geographical areas. Government ministries control such organisations only indirectly, but retain ultimate responsibility. Those organisations that receive delegated responsibility are outside the regular bureaucratic structures of government, e.g. development corporations, special function authorities, autonomous project implementation units, parastatals or public corporations (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 23; Cheema 1983).

(c) Devolution

The most extreme form of decentralisation is devolution. Here relatively independent levels of government or units are created or strengthened and exercise more or less complete responsibility for activities or functions under their direct control (Rondinelli, *et al* 1988: 22). Devolution would imply that local government would be separate from and independent of central government control. This had led some administrative theorists to the conclusion that ‘decentralisation and devolution are two separate phenomena’, but this debate falls beyond the scope of this work.

Devolution therefore brings effective local administration. The participatory approach to rural development is possible under this form. It encourages local initiatives; thus this form of decentralisation may be crucial to the solution of the problem of this study. This is the form currently being practised in South Africa. See section on local government

(d) Privatisation

Some authors regard privatisation as a form of decentralisation. Here a government divests itself of responsibility for certain functions and transfers them to either private enterprises or voluntary

organisations. Governments have also been known to transfer responsibility to 'parallel organisations' such as 'national industrial and trade associations, professional groups, religious organisations, political parties, or cooperatives' (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 23). Privately owned or controlled enterprises may also be charged with producing goods and supplying services, functions which were previously undertaken by parastatal or public corporations (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 23; 1988: 24-25). For example, in Kudumane, the provision of water and its control is in the hands of Goudveld Water.

To conclude, deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation refer to degrees of decentralisation. The classification of decentralisation relates to the scope or 'degree of responsibility for and discretion in the decision-making' that is transferred from the central government to area or functional units, autonomous or otherwise for performing what are traditionally the functions of the central government. All four types of decentralisation have been and are being tried in many Third World Countries, some with success, others without because the government did not commit itself to it (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 9-10). The success of decentralisation depends on the political commitment and stability of government. Even though governments give lots of verbal commitments, in practice centralisation is the trend in many Third World countries. This promotes a top-down approach to development and decreases 'own' local development initiatives. The state of affairs in South Africa and in Kudumane at this point in time is no exception. The South African government has embarked on a massive drive for local government and indeed, on 5 December 2000 a democratic local government election was held. The country is yet to see whether real transfer of authority will take place or whether in practice authority will revert to the centre.

Bennett (1990: 30) considers these forms of transfer of responsibility and authority to local agencies as 'dispersal', which correctly depicts how the responsibility is distributed to field officers. In field administration, the success of decentralisation may depend on its structure. Two polar types of field administration structures can be distinguished: functional field administration and integrated prefectoral (areal) field administration.

3.7.3 Functional, Prefectoral (Areal) and Field Administration Models in Decentralisation

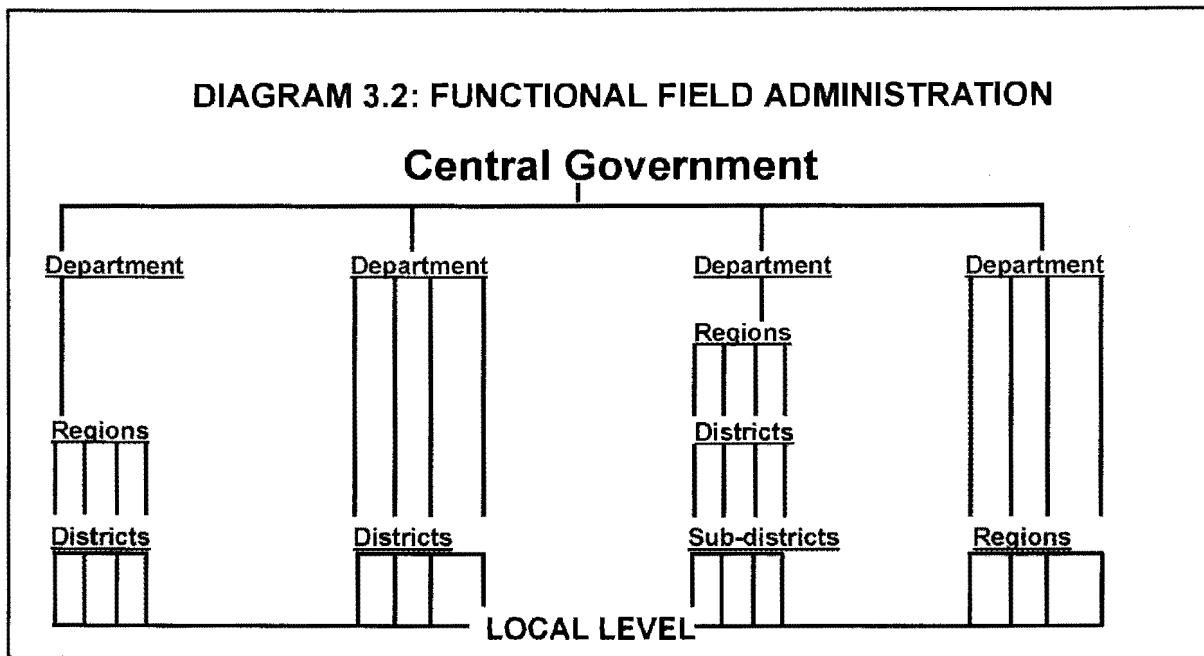
These differ in respect of their specified operational areas.

3.7.3.1 The Functional Model

In the structure of functional field administration, authority is given to specialised organisations such as departments and ministries at the national level to perform specific tasks and activities (Smith 1985:152). Field offices within departments that deal with sectoral or local issues are then established (refer to diagram 3.2). Each department has its own hierarchy of field administration. Coordination is effected at the highest ministerial or departmental level, i.e. at the centre. There is no general state representative at district or regional levels; this is a completely centralised system. In diagram 3.2, it can be seen that coordination is top-down – from the central government to the local level administrators.

3.7.3.2 The Prefectoral Model

At the other extreme, field administration may entail the transfer of authority to perform certain functions to organisations within well-defined sub-national boundaries such as regions, districts or municipalities (Rondinelli 1981:137). The organisations may only exercise those functions transferred within the specified geographical or political boundaries.

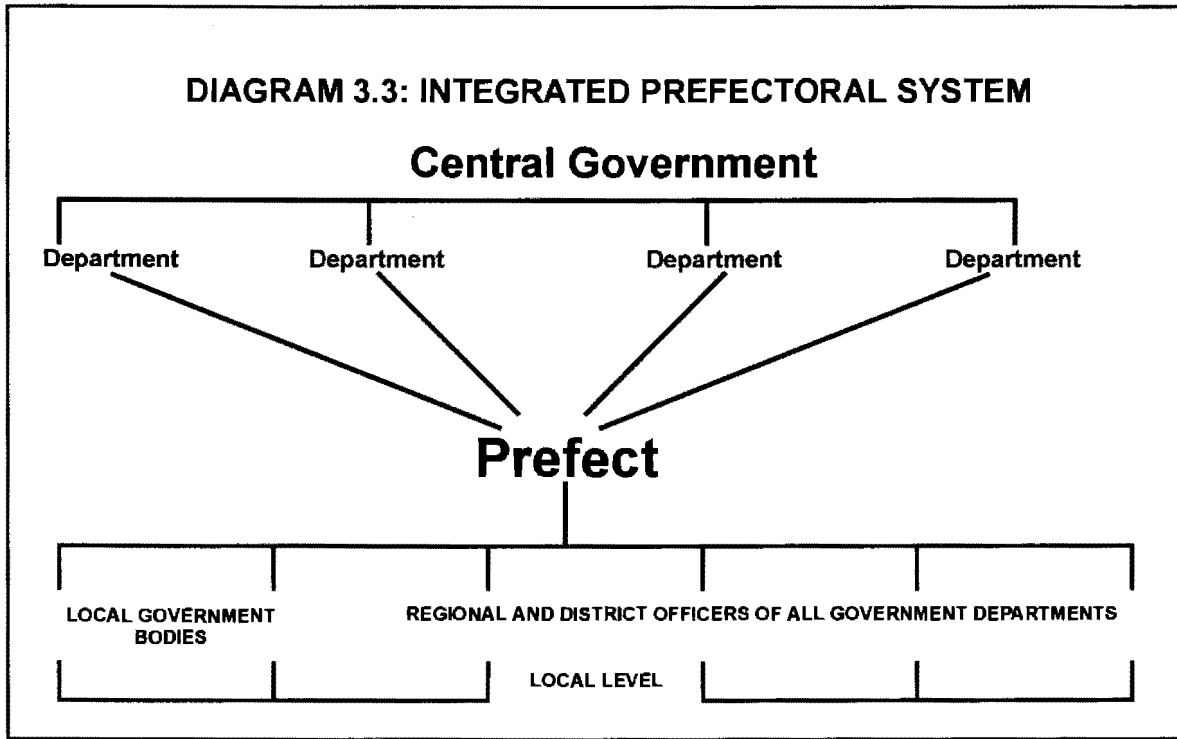


Smith (1985: 153) refers to this structure, where a general representative of the central government in the local area is appointed, as 'prefectoral' (see diagram 3.3). Depending on the relationship between the representative (prefect) and other local representatives of government departments and local government bodies, Smith further distinguishes two broad structures referred to as integrated and unintegrated prefectoral systems.

3.7.3.3 Integrated Prefectoral Model

In this model the general representative (prefect) is the head of the region or district and responsible for the coordination and integration of policy-making and execution at the local level. All local levels of departments are subordinate to the prefect and are under his control (refer to diagram 3.3). Such an administrative structure is what existed in the North-West Province (formerly Bophuthatswana, where these prefects were designated as governors). In this system local level departments did not have complete autonomy. They could not act without reference to the prefect. This system had a great influence on local development in the Kudumane area, as detailed in Chapter 4.

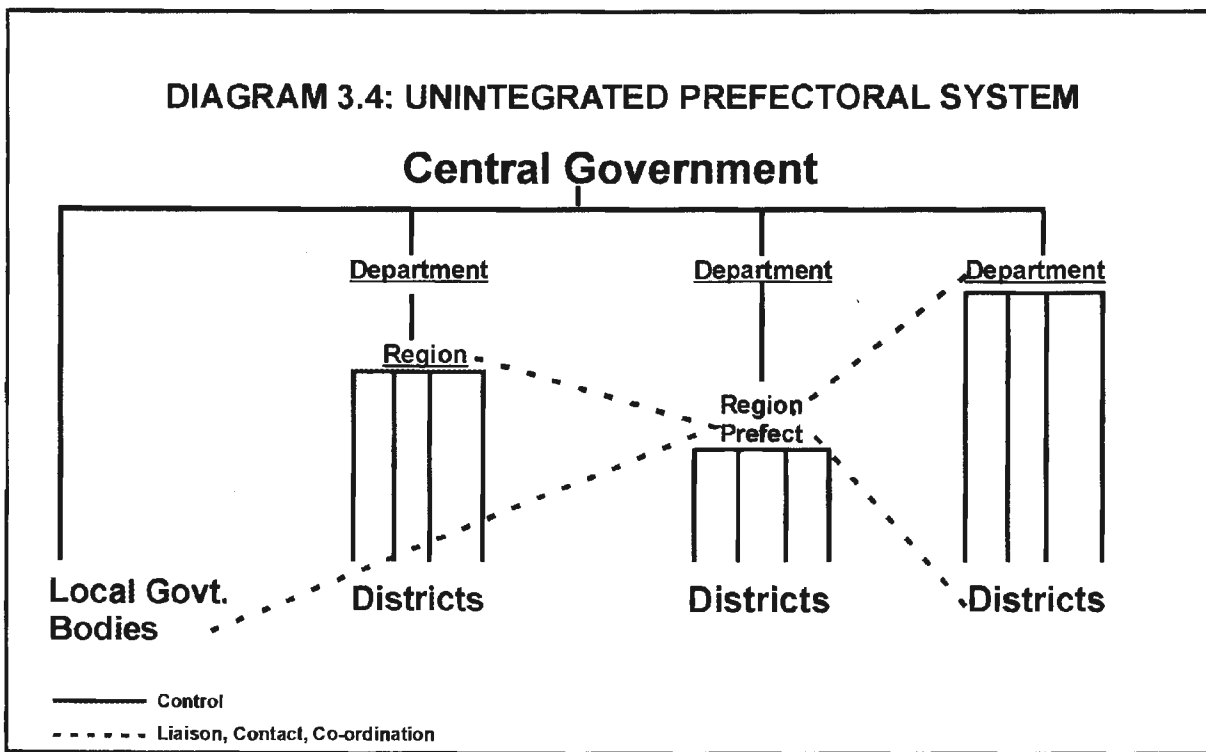
The prefect (governor, district commissioner etc.) served as central government representative in his region or district and became part of the chain of command linking headquarters and field administration for all departments (Chikulo 1992). Better coordination could thus be effected. Through these structural systems, authority is transferred to field officers. The prefectural system corresponds to the devolution form of decentralisation, unlike the unintegrated system.



(SOURCE: JEPPE, 1982)

3.7.3.4 Unintegrated Prefectoral Model

Under this model (demonstrated in diagram 3.4), field personnel of central government departments work independently of each other and are supervised directly by their respective sectoral headquarters. The prefect only coordinates their activities. He is one among many channels of communications between localities and capital or head office. All these field administrative systems show one form or another of decentralisation.



Through these structural systems, authority is transferred to field officers based on certain specific objectives of decentralisation.

3.7.4 Objectives of decentralising development administration

In field administration models, as shown above, authority is transferred to local authorities either direct or through representatives of the bureaucracy, which might save time and encourage efficiency. It shows that decentralisation is widely practised in order to achieve greater efficiency in administration at the regional and local units of government (Bennett 1990; Rondinelli et al 1984). Thus, it is undertaken with the dual objectives of promoting an accountable development administration as well as continuous capacity building and empowerment of the local people (Wolman, 1990: 30). It is also believed that it will create an environment conducive to people's participation in an open-ended, adaptive way. The bureaucracy and local leaders become responsive to the needs of the community, thereby effecting a two-way communication system (Cernea 1992: 3; Luke 1986: 77; Korten 1980: 492). Ultimately, it is undertaken as a result of poor service rendered by central ministries or their agencies in the local communities, for example

as regards the maintenance of roads, irrigation, distribution of farm inputs to farmers and the provision of other basic infrastructure (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 5-7).

In South Africa, administrative devolution and privatisation have become government policies and seem to be working well since 1994. The former is a 1996 constitutional provision which has led to the demarcation of municipal areas and the establishment of autonomous municipal and local governments (South Africa 1998a; 1998b). However, these are not without their problems. Local administrative areas, that is, municipalities, face financial and political constraints and are struggling to make ends meet. They find it difficult to raise funds for development, as many people do not pay for services or pay irregularly. This makes it impossible for the municipalities to deliver efficient services, as is the case in Kudumane.

Another constraint is that field staff or officers are political appointees. Many of these officers may have limited administrative capacities and tow the party line. Group interest thus takes precedence over community interest. Officers do not have the full administrative autonomy as expected, and efficiency is compromised (Kotzé 1997: 72). In Kudumane, the case of a town clerk's appointment is an example. He is a political appointee and not well versed in local administration. The youth of Mothibistad have on several occasions protested against the Town Clerk and have made many attempts to unseat him. Councillors were also elected¹⁶ on political platforms. On the other hand, it is difficult to attract capable and qualified local administrators to places such as Kudumane. The administrative efficiency which decentralisation envisages is therefore compromised.

In the functional model discussed earlier, senior staff cannot reach the high position of prefect, since that is a political appointment. But it augurs well for continuous flow and exchange of information. From Rondinelli *et al* (1984: 6-8), the main objectives can be summed up as the reduction of overload and congestion in the channels of communication. Here, delays are reduced and administrators' indifference is overcome. This will improve government's responsiveness to the public by increasing the quantity and quality of services to the rural people.

¹⁶ This is a constitutional provision, however, see the 1966 South African Constitution.

A second objective is to increase central government officials' ability to obtain a less suspect and continuous flow of information about local or regional conditions and to plan appropriate programmes, and to react more quickly to unanticipated problems arising during their implementation. Maddick (1963: 26) adds that it is 'to make effective the broad policies of government'. Furthermore, it also allows projects to be completed early, give local managers discretionary powers in decision-making and thereby cutting through red tape.

A fourth objective is to create greater democratic participation in decision-making and planning by the people. This will lead to the distribution of experience to leaders at the local level. Greater equity in resource distribution will be promoted (Rondinelli 1983: 6; Maddick, 1963: 10-11; Barrington 197- n.d: 144-228).

Consequent to these set goals and this rationale, one can then state that decentralisation is a means of creating large numbers of skilled local administrators, which a centralised system cannot do. Experience has shown that decentralisation: -

- (1) Increases knowledge of local conditions
- (2) Motivates community leaders and various local groups to play active roles in development
- (3) Creates better communication between local residents and national officials
- (4) Increases community solidarity and interest in land reform projects.

These objectives can be achieved only when problems or critical issues of coordination are properly addressed (Maddick 1963).

3.7.5 Coordination to Effect Successful Decentralisation

Chikulo (1992) refers to "the synchronisation of the activities of the various agencies and their functionaries involved in the socio-economic development process at district level" as coordination. This ensures that policies are mutually supportive rather than contradictory. All contributions are synchronised in a single integrated program of development.

Coordination has two dimensions, namely vertical and horizontal. The vertical dimension exists between different tiers of government or hierarchical levels, while the horizontal coordination involves agencies working at the same areal operational level. In decentralisation, failure to achieve coordination at district level would adversely affect the effectiveness of development administration.

Chikulo (1992: 16) argues extensively that the issue of decentralisation revolves around 'which system' of field administration to adopt in order to enhance the penetration strategy adopted by the centre.

As a consequence, the systems of district administration discussed above have increasingly become central to the debate on the appropriate structure of decentralised administration at the sub-national level. They are, therefore, of particular relevance to this study. It should be noted here, as Fesler (Chikulo 1992: 18) has pointed out, that:

“Centralization and decentralization are best regarded as opposite tendencies on a single continuum whose poles are beyond the range of any real political system”.

Chikulo (1992: 17-18) indicates that of the various models of field administration discussed above, most scholars view the integrated prefectoral system to be more effective, especially with regard to coordination at the local level, since it entails devolution of power. It is also held to be more amenable to popular participation in both decision-making and the execution processes, since it makes it easier to attach representative bodies to regional/local administrative units of this nature (Lee 1970:60).

Functional field administration and the unintegrated prefectoral model, on the other hand, entail weak coordination of central government departments and are said to have difficulty in organising and getting people motivated to join participatory activities at both decision-making and execution levels. This is particularly prevalent in Anglophone countries that have a colonial history. However, even in the case of unintegrated prefectoral system, where deconcentration occurs - provided that it is substantial - increased participation may occur, since local officials may become

the object of increased local pressure in a way that could not occur where issues are decided at the centre, as in the case of the functional system of field administration.

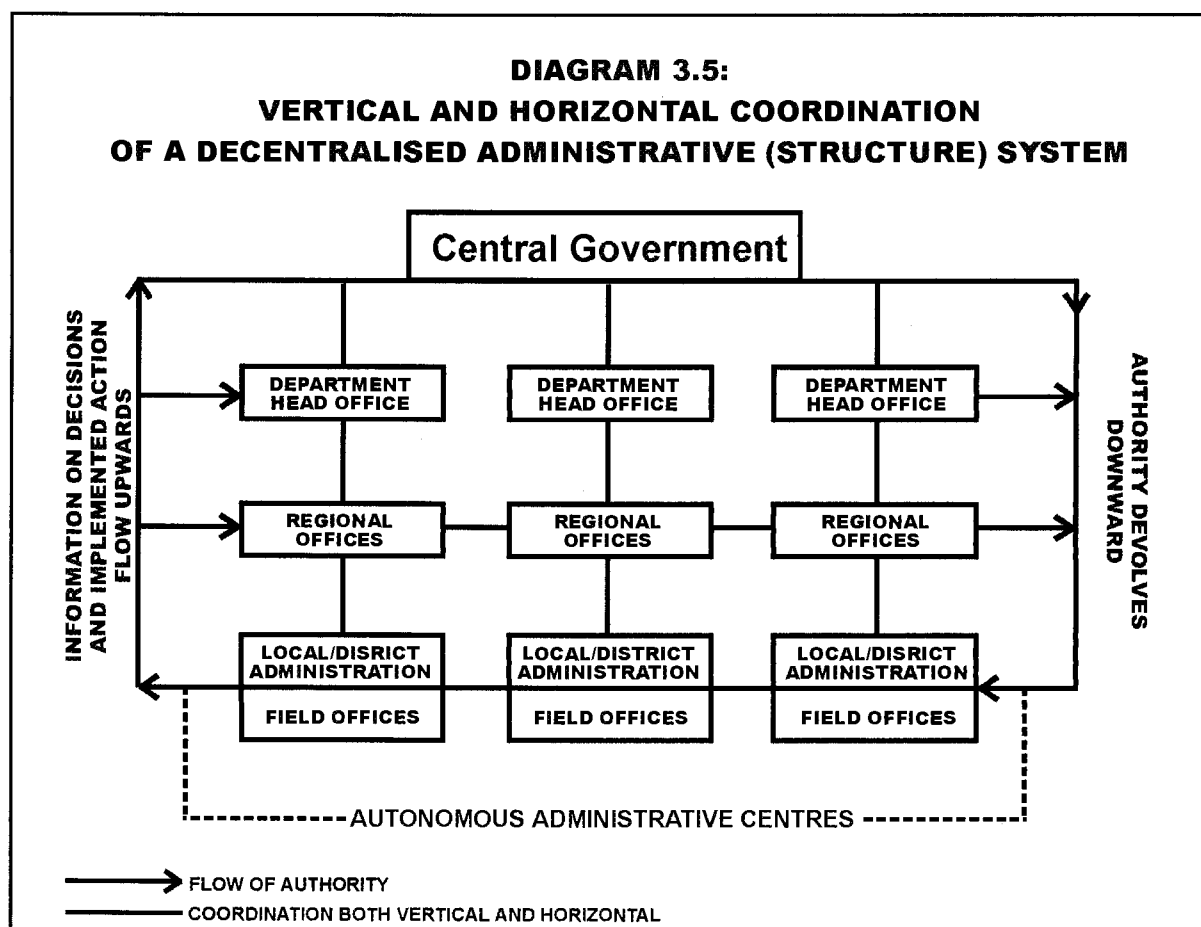
In reality, therefore, the various forms of decentralisation are not mutually exclusive; political and administrative structures may consist of a combination of all forms. What is at issue here is not just which mode of decentralisation is most appropriate, but rather how political and administrative structures may be patterned in order to realise the socio-economic developmental goals set for them to encourage participation.

Consequently, what is required is a dynamic integration between political and administrative structures to promote need-oriented development. In other words, what is needed is an efficient system of vertical and horizontal communication linking all levels in the polity. This is what is normally referred to as political and administrative penetration strategy.

Having noted that coordination at local levels is important; it raises the issue of the elite and traditional leaders' involvement in either encouraging or discouraging coordination in a decentralised system. The development administration structure that existed in Kudumane at the beginning of the 1990s was an integrated prefectural system, a politico-administrative penetration.

This model was used to encourage better administration at local levels. It was accepted and encouraged by the elites and the traditional leaders, since the prefect was one of them.

Effective field administration therefore could be said to have received a small boost in Kudumane in motivating local development activities. However, it will be noted when reviewing local government that field administration without autonomy at the local level could not generate much participatory action because the political will was often lacking. The administrative structure that may provide local autonomy, with vertical and horizontal coordination, to generate participatory action is demonstrated in Diagram 3.5



3.7.5.1 How a Well-Coordinated Decentralisation can Promote Participatory Development

So far it has been established that in a participatory development, the bureaucracy has to allow local group initiatives by decentralising development administration authority and properly coordinating the various local authorities. Rondinelli *et al* (1984: 46-61) suggest four factors that may lead to the success or failure of coordinating decentralisation and how these factors may encourage participation in local development activities. These are: -

- (1) The degree to which central political leaders and bureaucracies support decentralisation and the organisations to which responsibilities are transferred;
- (2) the degree to which the dominant behaviour, attitudes, and culture are conducive to decentralised decision making and administration;
- (3) the degree to which policies and programs are appropriately designed and organised to promote decentralised decision making and management; and

- (4) the degree to which adequate financial, human and physical resources are made available to the organisations to which responsibilities are transferred.

These factors have a great bearing on development in the Kudumane area; therefore a little elaboration on these factors is essential here. The first factor deals with political commitment and administrative support of the leaders and the bureaucracy. If the bureaucracy and leaders have the ability and political will to facilitate and support the activities of the local field officials, success will be achieved. Enabling administrative conditions and structures that will support development action have to be established and properly coordinated (Kotzé 1997:71-73; Rondinelli 1983; Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 47).

In numerous cases, commitment and willingness have been lacking. Global cases of Kenya and Sudan as well as Tanzania, Sri Lanka and Pakistan are cited by Rondinelli *et al* (1984: 47-51) to support this claim. In some historical cases, for example in Tanzania, the leadership was committed and willing, but the bureaucracy (poor administrative support) frustrated its efforts, culminating in the president resigning or giving way to a new one (Ergas 1980). Thus without any strong commitment of the leaders and the willingness on the part of bureaucrats to give support, decentralisation will be 'rhetoric and a fad' in South Africa especially in Kudumane.

The second factor is traceable to the local areas. The success of decentralisation depends to a large extent not only on the behaviour and attitudes of the individual participants, but of a group, and on the culture of the area. They must all have respect for each other in a group action. The decentralised procedures being introduced must be made compatible with the local area's culture.

There should also be reciprocity and autonomy in decision-making. Where paternalistic attitudes exist, rigid top-down (centralised) procedures will result. These will lead to ethnocentrism, racism, skewed channelling of resources and inadequate funding.

The third factor shows that where programmes are designed with consideration of the local level of technological know-how and where procedures are uncomplicated and well organised, decentralisation may achieve its objectives (Ergas 1980).

The fourth factor, like the third, considers adequate funding of the local authorities as crucial in order to coordinate development activities. If the central authorities refuse to transfer funds to the local levels, which inevitably have very few financial resources, such as a tax base, programmes will stall. Alternatively, they would have to impose a heavy tax burden on their people, who are already poor (Wolman 1990: 36).

In the Kudumane area, where the Bophirima local council and Mothibistad TRC have jurisdiction, practical evidence shows a local lack of skilled technicians and management personnel to carry out the decentralised programmes, with the result that the implementation of many development programmes is being delayed. Unless priority is given to the training of more local officials or the provision of more incentives at the local level to attract top technicians and personnel who will be willing to stay in their jobs for longer periods, investment funds will be wasted (Rondinelli *et al.* 1984: 64). The prevailing poverty and poor living levels might worsen. Participatory action might not be encouraged or take place. Government's commitment to the development of the area is therefore essential.

As regards the fourth factor, Wolman (1990:94) argues that it may appear that local governments relying on central government funding would lead to resource dependency and loss of their discretionary autonomy. But a counter-argument is that it does not necessarily limit their discretion if only the grant given is of the 'general grants or revenue sharing' type. Wolman (1990: 40) buttresses this by stating that: -

“In short, subnational governments may be 'dependent upon' national government for a substantial amount of their revenue without at the same time being obligated to or controlled by national government. High levels of decentralisation can coexist with high levels of 'grant-dependency'”.

It can therefore be argued that governments have been urban biased, and that if they wanted to commit themselves to the welfare of the rural people and thus embark on the policy of decentralisation (taking note of its objective of encouraging greater participation, effective control and programme efficiency), then the centre would have to see to it that limitations on local discretionary authority are removed (Rondinelli *et al.* 1984: 47; Bennett 1990). The centre's

willingness to decentralise and devolve authority is crucial here. To avert the feared dependency, it might be more advisable to grant local authorities substantial initial funding. However, in South Africa a dominant bureaucratic and political culture exists that makes decentralisation actions seem cosmetic. Such a culture is difficult to abandon. If the central government is willing to embark on decentralisation, as noted above, it might have to break down the bureaucratic bottlenecks by educating the public service on decentralised development and the need for local participation in the development process, by devolving authority to the local governments through workshops. For the decentralised system to work effectively, local authorities should have more funding.

A note by Barrington (197-n.d: 13, 227-229) here is of interest. He puts it succinctly that one needs to 'centralise what needs to be centralised and decentralise the rest'. Here he implies that the bureaucracy should take care of policy and some decision-making. For decentralisation and government functions to be efficient and effectively implemented, policy is to be centralised and decisions on implementation are to be decentralised or devolved to local authorities. However, on critically analysing this statement it can be found that decentralising is administratively expensive and politically risky; therefore, what would be less expensive and politically safe needs to be decentralised. This would also mean that the appropriate decentralised form to opt for is deconcentration of functions. This may be called a decentralised centrist school of thought that would not achieve the objective of local independence of thought and efficiency. It would compromise self-initiatives, effectiveness of field staff, their efficiency and voluntary activities.

Moreover, since the objectives of decentralisation are efficiency, self-sufficiency and empowering the local people by promoting participatory actions, it is suggested that in the initial stages of decentralisation, greater revenue should be provided from the centre until the local resource base has been broadened and strengthened. The local areas must be given all the assistance they need to become 'revenue self-generating'. Thereafter they can depend on the centre for only the general grants, which is their part of revenue shared.

Though local governments are sometimes criticised as being inflexible, outdated and incapable of performing their functions fully to the satisfaction of the people, such criticism must be directed

at the central government for its strict financial and pervasive controls (Barrington 197-n.d: 54). It must be concluded at this point that central planning does not inspire active local participation. However, if it is necessary, it should be done in consultation with local and regional planners to encourage public participation in all economic, social, cultural and institutional matters of the country, particularly at the local levels. Thus decentralising administration would empower local people to take initiatives in the decision-making processes and all the processes of development that affect them.

It is quite reasonable at this point to determine how local government handles decentralisation in South Africa and how effective the practice is in promoting participatory development.

3.8 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DECENTRALISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

As noted at the end of the previous section, it is appropriate here to discuss local government in South Africa, within the time frame of this research, in order to ascertain whether devolution as a form of decentralisation is developmentally oriented and whether it promotes participatory development in Kudumane specifically.

According to Sabela and Reddy (1996:3), local government is created deliberately to get the grassroots involved in political processes that control their daily lives. This political process is administrative and governance at local level. Indeed, Swilling (1996) intimate that local government as a system of decentralisation is assumed to be a necessary condition for successful democratisation and decentralisation. These assertions should not be construed to imply only political involvement of the people. As acknowledged by Sabela and Reddy (1996), local government calls for popular participation of the people not only in political affairs, but also in their own local development and welfare, which then allows them to influence decisions and their implementation. Local government is a vehicle of participatory development, particularly in the rural sector of the country. However, underlying local government and rural development in South Africa are politics and democracy.

The history of South Africa shows that politics, democracy and exclusions impinge greatly on the welfare and attitudes of the rural people. Sabela and Reddy (1996:5-10) note that there is the

need for people of all levels and different political groupings and views to be allowed to articulate their views and canvass for support. This cannot be done if local governance and administration are not allowed at the local levels of society.

Vawda and McKenna (1997: 591) describe the conditions in South Africa before 1994 as a highly differentiated social order (termed separate development or apartheid). Local government was thus shaped by the nature of political culture at the time - the culture of alienation, which led to the creation of Bantustan homelands, one of which was Bophuthatswana (now part of the North West Province). By this political culture, Kudumane was cut off from local government structures, isolated and underdeveloped. The discussions in this section will largely focus on what pertained in the homeland of Bophuthatswana, because the study area formed part of that homeland. What this homeland system was and what its operations were are beyond the scope of this study.

In the Bantustans or homelands, limited local governments were established that had no autonomy to embark on any rural development programme. By the Bantu Affairs Administrative Act of 1971, the type of local administration that came to exist was the Local Tribal Authority, which played no major role in providing services except the collection of taxes and distribution of licenses (Ritchken 1997: 200; South Africa 1998b). The administration of the homeland was highly centralised and similar to that of the Colonial administration (McIntosh 1996:240). Service delivery was in the hands of Native Affairs, where magistrates and commissioners had supreme authority to represent government while using traditional leaders as policy implementers.

Ritchken (1997:200-203) notes that the homeland state was patrimonial in character and prefectoral, which ensured no room for independent organisation within civil society. Speaking of democracy then was absurd. No voice of dissent was entertained (Jeppe 1982; Chikulo 1992). In the words of Ritchken (1997:200): "To voice opposition was potentially life threatening". Thus government saw 'own development initiatives' in the Kudumane district as inimical and contrary to government's development principles, essentially because the homeland government was not widely recognised by its own people and the fear that any grassroots organisation could

be politically used by the opposition to destabilise it. Where self-initiative is stifled, no meaningful own development or “Own Management” can be attained, and so was it in Kudumane.

Ordinary residents did not have direct access to the administration’s services. The people were never involved in the local and central political, administrative and social organisations. Although local governments existed in Bophuthatswana, there were no developmental local governments in the countryside. Accordingly, the development process was top down, which gave no room for the residents to have any voice in whatever services were to be rendered in the local areas (Reddy 1996; Ritchken 1997; South Africa 1998b). The local governments that existed had no authority to decide on what the local community needed; real needs of the people were ignored in favour of what the government felt was good for the people. Bremner and Visser (1997:221) write that this form of development model, where “war on poverty” fed the “warriors” and not the poor, did not bring any trickle-down effect but generated prolonged conflict and complicated the empowering and people-driven development paradigm.

Regional authorities existed (which consisted of chiefs and headmen and relevant tribal elite), tribal and community authorities, township councils or urban local government, magistrates and regional administrators (governors) that were supposed to carry out local administration. However, many existed only to carry out instructions from government or the central administration and acted as prefects. This was because field officers were juniors accountable only to their line ministries upwards and not downwards to the local communities (McIntosh 1996).

Consequently, local government or decentralised coordinating mechanisms did not exist at local levels, and so there was no cooperation between the departments and the local communities when projects were implemented. This lack of cooperation is contrary to the theoretical considerations in this chapter. This state of affairs could also have affected the area of study in question. Thus local governments existed to carry out functions delegated to them by the central government to ease the workload at the head office (Rondinelli *et al* 1984: 11). The flow diagram 3.6 below illustrates the one-way coordination between the centre and the local administration.

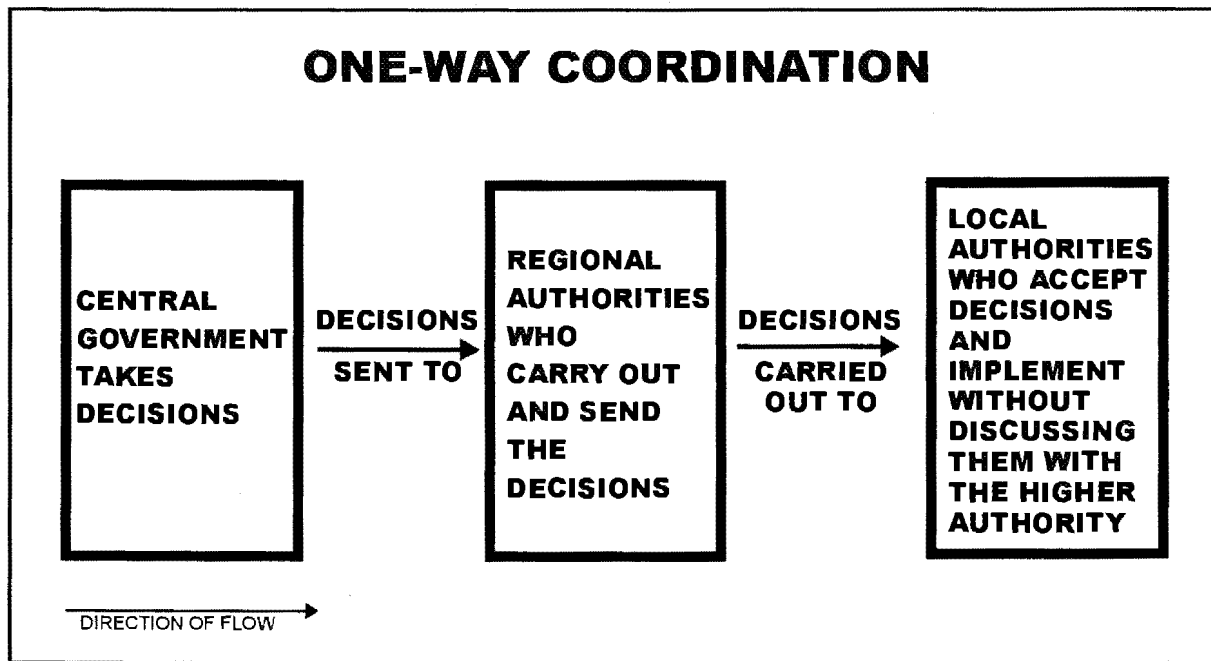


DIAGRAM 3.6: FLOW CHART OF A ONE-WAY COORDINATION

Given this rigid centralisation, it was difficult to provide in the basic needs of the rural communities of Kudumane, as they were not brought into the mainstream decision-making processes. McIntosh (1996:240) characterises the homeland governments as:

“... highly centralised, non-responsive and unrepresentative ...of local administration and services delivery and the fragmentation of administration.”

This statement underscores the points made above.

Democracy devolves authority for development, although this is not a necessary condition for participatory development to take place. As participatory development only takes place in an enabling environment of a committed government and bureaucracy, whether the system is central or local, people’s participation will depend on the type, support and attitude of government. It must be re-emphasised that there must be institutions in place and a legal framework in existence to create a free, stable atmosphere for participatory development. People will then be fully engaged in the process because, the intrinsic benefits apart, they are free to join or leave (Kent 1993:257).

During the period prior to 1994 referred to in this chapter, what can be concluded on decentralisation in South Africa is that the lack of commitment by government to democratic

values and decentralisation thwarted participatory development in rural South Africa. The administration was highly centralised and the pattern of development was top down. A change from this pattern was imperative to reverse Kudumane's isolation from development.

The next section demonstrates the current South African government's attempt at changes and commitment to local development and democracy, and hence decentralisation and participatory rural development.

3.8.1 Restructuring Local Government in South Africa

The democratic system succeeding apartheid in 1994 deviates from what pertained earlier. Local government administration in South Africa now is focused on many forms of decentralised administration, and in particular on devolution of powers and some degree of deconcentration and delegation, discussed in section 3.7.2.

Seeing the costly nature of the previous administration and the current constraints on resources and finance, it is not by accident that decentralisation structures have been put in place by the government. Furthermore, the political culture of the country as well as the external financial assistance sought by the government through various agreements make it imperative for the government to rely on the involvement of local areas in development. External financiers such as the IMF & World Bank insist on limited state involvement in the market system. Therefore the government's plan to divest itself from many development activities and involve local people is an approach welcomed by many development agents and local development organisations (Fitzgerald *et al* 1997:19).

Local government in South Africa began restructuring in two phases from February 1994 to November 1995 (Reddy 1996:58-61)¹⁶. Apartheid structures were abolished so that local government structures could include those from the former establishment and those excluded previously from the local government structures. Local government has been revolutionised.

¹⁶ Reddy shows that the two phases were pre-interim and interim. Provincial committees for local government were established. The administrative structures established were:

1. Transitional District Councils (T.D.Cs)
2. Transitional Local Councils (T.L.Cs)
3. Transitional Regional Councils (T.R.Cs)

Provinces have been charged with the responsibility of developing the rural local government system. A clear, rational direction in this regard was given in the White Paper (South Africa 1998b) on local government as well as the Act of 1996. The 1996 constitution also placed ultimate responsibility for service delivery to municipalities on local governments.

Thus enabling executive authority has devolved to local and municipal authorities since the new democratic government assumed power in South Africa in 1994 (South Africa 1996c; 1997a). In these circumstances, the Kudumane area now has an autonomous local administration. However, the effectiveness of the local government in rural development depends on the training and motivation given to staff and members of local organisations (Martwana & Chamala 1991; Korten 1983; Killian 1988: 122; Anyawu 1988; Ramirez 1990). It also depends on how the local administration is able to facilitate the formation of grassroots development organisations. A more purposeful training can be achieved through cooperation and proper coordination, both horizontally and vertically, between government, the local people and their development forums (Kotzé 1997:30). Effective coordination and guidance will also forestall such problems as corruption, high project costs and powerlessness of communities (Leonard 1982; DeWall 1993; Bryant & White 1982). Through workshops, the bureaucrats would shift their attention to the needs of the people and promote people's participatory activities. Thus the bureaucracy would become "user friendly".

On the other hand, though the bureaucracy may be willing to decentralise and change their attitude towards local development, yet if in practice they lack government support, decentralisation may not fulfil its expectations.

All the institutions or development facilitators that were considered above are conventional structured organisations that may seek to promote participatory development. It is possible that in practice they may not succeed because of their structures. They may either lack proper coordination, or their coordination may tend to be one way, which will make communication ineffective and cause delays in the delivery system. In the end, the people's enthusiasm to participate may dissipate (Lele 1984: 71).

Further, because of the size of structural organisations they need huge financial support in order to be effective and motivate staff. A lack of finance would slow down local development activities.

Finally, in addition to government efforts to achieve participation, development agents - in particular, non-governmental organisations - play leading roles in rural development among the local communities. The role of these NGOs is discussed in the following section.

3.9 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR ENCOURAGEMENT OF PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

Apart from the structural form of institutions, other non-structural forms exist that promote participatory development. These are non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which have emerged from organisational processes and government's difficulty in ensuring efficient local grassroots developments. In these organisations, the people have their own base of authority (Drabek 1987; Van der Kooy 1990; Cernea 1988). The NGOs, either local or external, play a major role in rural development participation (if not a leading role). The overview below shows their roles and strengths and their importance in participatory development and the need for them in Kudumane's development activities.

3.9.1 What are Non-Governmental Organisations?

As the name implies, an NGO is any form of private non-profit organisation that has been established on humanitarian grounds or inspired by philanthropic motives. NGOs serve people other than their own members (Van der Kooy 1990: 72; Masoni 1985). Cernea (1988), Bonbright (1992) and others view NGOs as voluntary organisations meant either to help their own members or members other than their own to identify or articulate their needs. Therien (1991:265), on the other hand, contends that the term must be applied simply and specifically to institutions rooted in civil society and engaged in development assistance at the grassroots level both locally and internationally. Despite these different definitions, they must evidently be considered as voluntary non-profit organisations which are rooted in the rural communities that facilitate people's own development actions and also solicit development assistance for the poor and needy.

There are different groups of NGOs. The first group comprises local community-based organisations through which participatory development takes place (Drabek 1987). They arise out of common group interests and are informal in structure. The second is formally structured and has an external power base, outside the rural areas in which they operate. They may consist of external agencies formed for philanthropic purposes. In these, people's participation does not take place, but they serve as facilitators or catalysts for the promotion of people's participation (Erasmus 1992: 14). Swanepoel (1997:86-87) contends that these are civil (social and economic) movements that have arisen in response to the challenges of the modern world. A variety of them, small and large, have all directed their attention to various rural needs.

The first group of NGOs emerged from the grassroots' initiatives as participatory development organisations, which are voluntary, informal and share a common interest of alleviating poverty and improving the quality of their rural life. However, they do not only improve the lives of the rural people, but those of the urban people as well. This implies that there are urban grassroots NGOs as well as rural grassroots NGOs. The common factor is that they are voluntary and localised¹⁷ in their activities. Localisation and sensitivity to the local people's needs has led to their survival (Van der Kooy 1990:71; Cernea 1988).

With their activities concentrated in specific, small local areas and targeting a specified population, they are able to carry out development activities better than government agencies. Masoni (1985: 38-41) explains this by indicating that in areas where governments do not have effective focus and are reluctant to help, the people get discouraged and disorganised. They are then rallied around a common objective - often a short-term, easy undertaking - by the NGOs (Korten 1987:46). People therefore gain confidence in them. The themes around which they operate - self-reliance and people's participation- become operational concepts admired by the people (Therien 1991; Smith 1985: 304).

¹⁷ Van der Kooy 1990: 137 – An extensive list of these localised NGOs is documented in this book.

3.9.2 How NGOs can Promote Rural People's Participation in Development

NGOs play advocacy roles by seeking development or donor assistance for underdeveloped communities. In order to establish their legitimacy for requesting donor assistance, they facilitate community initiatives in development activities (Van der Kooy 1990). They also play active roles in adult basic education. This focus is important to the promotion of the people's participation, because education makes people aware of their current predicament. Such awareness goads them on to seek changes in their particular society and can easily make the rural people spontaneously undertake beneficial voluntary development initiatives to transform their living conditions.

NGOs know the local people better than the government because they are likely to have emerged from and consist of the local people. Those external to the rural areas have their activities based within the rural areas. Such NGOs possess local knowledge, empathy and commitment to the welfare of their own people. Thus they motivate their people to get involved and share in the development activities of their area.

In areas where government does not have the competency and good rapport with the people, development responsibility could be turned over to the NGOs. The government could then continue to support them financially. Considering the roles being played by the NGOs as facilitators or promoters of development, NGOs would be a great asset to the Kudumane area, which is greatly underdeveloped and neglected by government in the context of empowerment. The presence of NGOs in Kudumane would accelerate its development. People would be encouraged to take development initiatives. Their physical presence would boost the people's enthusiasm for taking development initiatives immensely. They would complement the little that government is able to do. However, besides church organisations or missionaries, NGO activities can hardly be seen or felt in Kudumane. There is therefore an urgent need for these NGOs in Kudumane to boost participatory development and empowerment. Kindervatter (1979:6) defines empowerment as a group action where:

“...people gain an understanding of and control over social, economic and or political forces in order to improve their standing in society”.

All development agencies then should have a firm commitment to facilitate participatory development in Kudumane. If such commitment exists, the development of these rural people will be enhanced through proper, well-considered approaches. When the institutional factors discussed above impinge positively on Kudumane's development, participatory initiatives are likely to arise.

However, such initiatives are not without pitfalls, as is illustrated by the field study of participatory activities in Kudumane in the next chapter.

3.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, it was shown that any type of development should be people-based and that rural development is attainable and sustained if the rural people are involved, particularly in the decision-making process. They will regard projects as belonging to them, and will participate in a collective action in order to be eligible to share in the benefits.

Government funds allocated to the rural sector are often insufficient. If this sector is to benefit from development or is itself to be developed, then active rural development participation by the target people should be the major strategy.

Though participation may be externally generated, in the long run the rural people must be active initiators of their own programmes over which they can exert effective control. It was noted that although indigenous knowledge is required in rural development, not all rural development programmes are self-initiated. However, self-initiated attempts at rural development transform the people from passive spectators into active thinkers, rational decision-makers and implementers. Herein lies the attainment of empowerment of the rural masses.

Participatory rural development should be an active process and internally initiated where possible. This means that a situation should arise where the rural masses take active initiatives and actions stimulated by their own thinking and that they should in only some cases be guided by outsiders, deliberating with them, in order to have effective control over programmes. It is argued here that whoever is or should become the owner of a development action should be the

decision-maker and controller of such a programme. Since rural development is meant for the rural people (owners), they must be the major decision-makers and controllers of the activities.

Another dimension is that participation in rural development is a people driven development activity. It provides people informally with skills that they could utilise for their livelihood. This people driven development shows the extent of roles people exhibit in development programmes at various societal levels.

It has been noted that not all people participate in development activities. Generally, the type of project or activity, its stage, interest and motivations determine who participates.

Various factors and institutions can retard or promote participation in rural development. Their nature and functions as well as their strengths and weaknesses have been looked into. These institutions include local organisations, interest associations, a decentralised bureaucracy and non-governmental organisations.

It is concluded here that local organisations and beneficiary support are pivotal to the success of rural development. However, rural development cannot succeed without the involvement of grassroots leadership. Local elites cannot be sidelined in any development activity, since they wield a very strong local influence. The local organisations should involve the local elites, who should be prepared to make concessions to the poor. A local organisation's existence depends on the benefits to be derived by members, and where the good to be derived is private and not public, participation in such organisation is high. Good communication links, confidence and cooperation can be established between field administrators and local communities through organisations. Local self-reliance may also be achieved.

Furthermore, it was noted that with the commitment of government to undertake rural development and the bureaucracy's willingness to devolve authority to field officers, participatory development could be achieved. Local government in South Africa was briefly referred to in order to show that devolving authority to local field staff promotes local participatory development.

An examination of the functions and nature of non-governmental organisations shows that these organisations are voluntary, autonomous and committed to the rural people's needs. Because of their altruistic character, they stand a good chance to lead in rural participatory development. Their activities complement government's efforts, but their need of funding threatens their autonomy. They could retain this autonomy if they maintain professionalism, become strong and stay level-headed when looking for funding. They could assist in grassroots development at Kudumane, but unfortunately they seem to be inactive there.

Finally, the people have to be convinced of local realities. Through the cooperation of development agents, learning organisations and NGOs, knowledge capacities and skills will be attained to bring about effective and efficient administration of rural development. This will ensure the sustainability of projects and the scope for problem-solving mechanisms in the rural areas such as Kudumane.

Thus, through bottom-up local initiatives and institutional factors, active participatory initiatives in rural development projects may be promoted. This is what the next chapter seeks to establish at Batlharos in the Kudumane district.

CHAPTER 4

RURAL DEVELOPMENT PARTICIPATION IN THE KUDUMANE DISTRICT: THE BATLHAROS WATER PROJECT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, explanations of the theory of participatory development and factors that impinge on its success and failure were given. Together with chapter one, this explained the background to and expectations of rural development activities in the Kudumane district, which currently falls under the Bophirima district council with its headquarters at Vryburg. Against these theoretical insights, the Batlharos water project is now discussed and assessed as to whether it was a people's project.

The chapter therefore has three goals:

- The first is to give a historical background to explain the disparities in development and the development process in the Kuruman and Kudumane districts.
- The second goal is to give a detailed account of the information that was gathered about development activities in Kudumane and in particular about the Batlharos water project.
- The third goal is to demonstrate why the participatory development initiatives by the people in the Kudumane district are limited. To achieve these goals, a case study in Batlharos, which is a village in the Kudumane district, was used because it is typical of the area.

4.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT IN KUDUMANE

The literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 showed that solutions to the problems of the rural people reside in the actions of the people themselves and their willingness to determine and to participate in their own development activities (Chambers 1997; Kotzé 1997). This being so, it is important first to determine how rural development action used to take place previously in Kudumane and how it is handled at present.

Secondly, this chapter examines whether activities in Kudumane can measure up to what is acceptable in theory as people's participation as discussed in the previous chapters. Thirdly, the question whether participatory activities are popular among the community is investigated. These are pertinent issues that must be examined carefully and critically in order to find answers to the research questions.

In the introduction, it was stated that the statistical records of development activities in the district are hard to come by. The size of the district and the infrastructural problems stated in chapter one became a constraint forcing the researcher to use a single project (the water project in Batlharos) for the study of participatory development in Kudumane.

No research tradition exists in Kudumane among the illiterate community. This partly explains the tremendous difficulties encountered in collecting data about the area from the people (see O'Barr 1973 and Peil 1982, who discuss some of these difficulties of research in Africa). Most of the data for this study were gathered through personal contacts, observations and interviews¹⁸. However, every possible effort was made to avoid any bias as much as possible by rechecking when in doubt. In such cases, efforts were made to get to the people concerned to confirm and substantiate, as recorded in the footnotes.

The water project in Batlharos was chosen because it was a major project meant for all members of the community. Batlharos is a large village with an estimated population of about 20 000, the highest in the district, and typifies any other village in the area (South Africa 1996b). It is also an indigenous community with some communal and ethnic cohesion. Its members belong mainly to the Batlharo tribe; however, there are few clusters of minority tribes such as the Xhosas and Ba-Kwenas. It is generally held that community participation in many projects may not face difficulties where there is tribal homogeneity. Of course, this may not always be the case; culturally, unity may be there, but they may choose not to work together because people differ individually within a group and may not like to join up with some others to work (see subsection 4.5.1.1 for further details). The proximity of Batlharos to the fast growing regional resource and service centre of Kuruman, which should, all being equal, encourage development initiatives, also affected the choice of project.

¹⁸ See discussions on methodology in Chapter One.

In order to pursue the goals of this chapter, and bearing the above statements in mind, a review of the historical trends of rural development in the district, starting from the era of Bophuthatswana (now part of South Africa's North West Province) is given first.

In chapter 3, local government and its influence on development in Kudumane was discussed briefly. It was noted that in the apartheid era development initiatives were centralised, racially defined and deliberately neglected in places of black concentration. The apartheid government stifled the administration and economic development of Kudumane, which was a black area. Capital accumulation for self-development was not possible because the government did not allow it. The local government established there had no development administration capacities. Worse of all, the area had no economic resources. If development occurred at all, it was approached top-down. Indeed, De Clerq (1984) confirms that: -

"...the economic development of the homelands was not given a totally free rein the central government made sure that the extent of independent development and accumulation remained limited. All capital investment had to be channelled through parastatal organizations such as the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) and the Bantu Mining Corporation (BMC)" (De Clerq 1984:5).

These corporations were to provide the homelands with technical and financial assistance for building social and industrial infrastructure. The arrangement was to ensure perpetual bondage and dependency of the black people of South Africa.

Such dependency is the case locally in Kudumane. Kuruman was racially segregated, and the Kudumane sector was not given free rein, encouragement and necessary inputs to develop. According to interview respondents, Mothibistad (the black township and district capital of Kudumane) was originally named Ga-Mothibi and was located 200 metres away from the centre of Kuruman (between the present Wrenchville, a coloured suburb of Kuruman, and the Kuruman business centre). They were relocated seven kilometres away¹⁹ in the 1960s during the implementation of the 1948 separate development act (Potgieter *et al* 1972).

¹⁹Information attested by the Kudumane district council and the local chiefs. Unfortunately, officials from the Kuruman municipality and white Kuruman residents I interviewed denied knowledge, ever, of the existence of this Ga-Mothibi in Kuruman, despite clear evidence. Interpretations of the origin of the name Kuruman abound (Potgieter 1972:488), but what is credible is that Kuruman is a corrupted name of Kudumane, the name of a San family head (Breutz 1989:189). The mere naming of Kuruman after a San leader shows that the Kudumane and Kuruman used to belong to the same

This has given rise to the long-standing political wrangling between the North West Province residents and Northern Cape residents to either incorporate Mothibistad township and Kuruman into one province, or to leave them as separate entities under the two provinces respectively. It was envisaged that the Municipal Demarcation Board appointed to determine municipal boundaries extending across provincial boundaries would solve this problem (South Africa 1998a). The North West Provincial Gazette (South Africa 1999) indicated that the Demarcation Board entrusted with this task had made inroads into the solution of disputed municipal boundaries. Final re-demarcation of district boundaries had been completed. By March 2000, the Board made submissions and gave notice of the final²⁰ municipal boundaries arrived at, which were to be used for local government and municipal elections in December 2000. At the end of it all, indications were that Mothibistad township was going to be incorporated into Kuruman as one municipality regardless of the provincial boundary by the municipal demarcation board.

During interviews and observations, the above was also confirmed by what was taking place in Kuruman. There had been a continuing rush of the Mothibistad residents in particular and residents of the district in general to buy property and accommodation in Kuruman (or relocate to Kuruman) after the 1994 elections. Research here showed that the majority of the economically active population of Kudumane had looked for wage employment and residence in the 'White South African' urban areas previously. However, with the introduction of influx control they had to reside outside the urban area and commute. De Clerq (1984:13-14) argues that there had been a persistent urge and attraction to settle in the white areas of South Africa, including Kuruman, which even increased after the passing of the influx control act. With the repeal of such a law, it should come as no surprise that the rush to settle in the Kuruman municipal area resumed intensely.

With the division into black and white areas, the provision of local government services and hence development activities followed suit. The rate at which services and development projects were being provided in Kuruman was fast. The government and mining companies operating in the area largely funded the municipality. Roads were built and bitumen surfaced, clean water was supplied,

people.

²⁰Refer to Maps in the appendix that show the locations of the two districts.

well-equipped schools and a hospital were built, and many other infrastructural services were provided. Thus local development here was stimulated by government and private companies. As this occurred, affluent individual Kuruman residents contributed money to the success of the projects²¹. Many residents saw tangible gains from development activities taking place and so were attracted to fully participate in a collective action by providing materials, cash or labour. With their participation, the town developed into a municipality that provided in every basic infrastructural need. The public met regularly to deliberate on the formulation, implementation and evaluation of projects and to monitor the municipality. In chapter three it was noted that such participation was essential to satisfy the needs of the people (Oakley & Marsden 1984; Bergdall 1993:7).

4.2.1 Bophuthatswana Local Authorities and Development

On the other side of the divide was Kudumane. The area came under the authority of the former Bophuthatswana (homeland) government. From the outset, no attempt was made by that government to institute any developmentally oriented local government. Kudumane was an area placed under a local authority that had no developmental authority and was controlled by the Bophuthatswana central government.

The local authorities of Bophuthatswana had no autonomous developmental authority devolved to them by the central government because they lacked skilled and experienced personnel. The central government itself was unwieldy and lacked capable, skilled and experienced personnel. It was therefore unwise to entrust local service provision to lower ministries²², where capable personnel were not going to be available.

Also, the potential for conflicts between local authorities and district officers of central ministries made local government seem unnecessary to central government. Most importantly, government saw that devolving development authority to any lower or grassroots organisation would breed potential political conflict. This could be seen in the conflicts between the political parties, the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) and the African National Congress (ANC), at the

²¹This information was given verbally by an official at the Kuruman municipality. Written reports were not available. But files and ledgers showed records of receipts from companies and individuals attesting contributions towards the development of Kuruman.

²²Personal information gathered from the local government information directorate at Mmabatho.

time. Devolving authority was seen as dangerous to the ruling UCDP's political survival, legitimacy, recognition and support at the district level (Jeppe 1974; Picard & Morgan 1985). Every action of rural development was therefore to be government led, i.e. top down. The people of Kudumane had to see development brought to them to accept or leave it. They had no say in any development activity (Bophuthatswana 1990). There was therefore no motivation for the people to participate in any local development. While the local government was developing Kuruman, Kudumane had no autonomous local government to pursue development actions and so had to wait on central government's subventions to survive. Basic infrastructural needs therefore lagged far behind those of Kuruman.

Financially, Kuruman's development was funded locally by the mining companies, property tax and municipal rates collected from residents. In addition, they received government development grants. Many Kuruman residents were rich businessmen who also became property developers for the town. The town also derived wealth from the rich agricultural land and the farming communities around²³.

On the other hand, Kudumane's only financial resources were the government and small irregular contributions (which were for specific projects) from residents. It had neither mines nearby nor wealthy businessmen who could or were prepared to finance locally initiated development activities. The Local Authority (or tribal authority), on the other hand, did not have authority to collect rates and taxes for local development. In addition, the soil is poor and the subsistence farming practised could not bring sufficient incomes. Economic resources in Kuruman show viability of independent development, while Kudumane's resources do not.

For quite a long time, the people of Batlharos were denied any development facility and continued to remain rural and poor. They saw no real or tangible benefits from government coming their way. They could see, with envy, how services were provided in Kuruman and how living standards were rising. This was a place where they belonged historically, so they could not understand why they were being denied whatever was occurring at Kuruman.

²³This information was received during a short, in-depth interview with officers from the Kuruman municipal council and perusal of council records. The same goes for that of Kudumane.

The booming development in the Kuruman area next door to the stagnation of Mothibistad and Batlharos towns was bound to have either a negative or positive impact on people's participatory development in the Kudumane district.

4.2.2 Major Development Projects in Kudumane

While development activities were seen taking place in Kuruman, in the Kudumane area the local Batlharos tribal authority, led by their Chiefs, tried in their small way to elicit support from the community for development activities. This was done through tribal meetings (called kgotla) held to discuss developmental issues and needs. People were required to participate in rural development by attending these meetings and contribute cash, labour or materials²⁴. Levies were agreed on at the kgotla meetings and collected from households to support development activities. Government was requested to support them financially and materially. In this way, development projects such as Lesedi High School, K. P. Toto Primary and crèches came into being. This is an indication of initial community-based development activities.

The school project as a developmental activity is crucial to be included here because it is a typical example of development action initiated by the people. It is common knowledge that children's education and health are two important issues in every community. Therefore, for the Batlharos village community to have considered and built schools and crèches for the kids is an important development activity to be included here.

Rural development activities at Batlharos and Kudumane revolved around the chief in the earlier times. The organisation through which the people participated in rural development activities was the kgotla. In chapter three, attention was drawn to the fact that it is through local organisations that people feel free to participate in and ensure sustained development actions. In the monitoring and sustaining processes of school projects, the parent-teacher association through its meetings played a pivotal role. It became an active functional organ that financed and equipped the schools and instituted school governing bodies (committees) elected by them. Such a body or committee played a leading role in administering the schools by appointing principals and teachers as well as terminating their appointments²⁵.

²⁴ Interview with Chief Toto, the chief of Batlharos tribal area.

²⁵ Source: Information gathered at the tribal authority offices.

The kgotla also tried to establish a model vegetable farm for the community²⁶. This model farm became the pivot around which the community could be conscientised and mobilised for any community action needed. It became also a platform for the dissemination of rural development information both to the people and from the people.

With respect to their health needs, the Tshwaragano Community Hospital was established through the assistance of the Anglican mission²⁷. This was a mission hospital, which served a very large community around Batlharos and Mothibistad. To date it is the only hospital that serves the Kudumane area.

During interviews, respondents indicated that the community became fully involved in putting up this hospital. It was originally named St Michael's Hospital and later changed to Tshwaragano Community Hospital to reflect the community's contribution and future role in it. This project has rendered enormous services to the community, which continues to be plagued by tuberculosis and other lung diseases²⁸ such as asbestosis.

It was stated earlier that people-oriented development action could not be found in the Kudumane district when the black community was separated from the white Kuruman community. This must not be seen to contradict the people's development projects or actions that have been discussed immediately above. It must be made clear that such people's actions referred to occurred earlier, in the 1960s and 1970s. It was in the late 1970s, when separate development had taken roots and homelands creation had occurred, that people's actions stalled.

4.3 KUDUMANE UNDER BOPHUTHATSWANA ADMINISTRATION

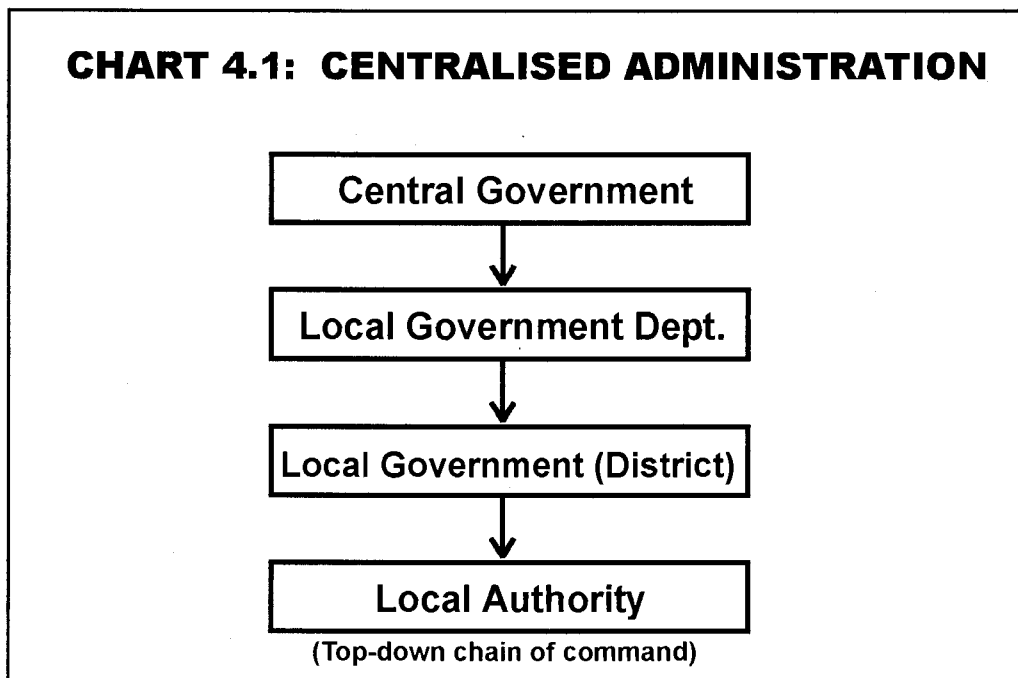
In chapter 3 it was noted that development in South Africa generally had been top-down and that tribal authorities were thriving on a patron-chief relationship. The expected outcomes of this top-down approach or centralised system, which was to have a trickle-down effect, actually did not

²⁶Source: Information gathered at the tribal authority offices.

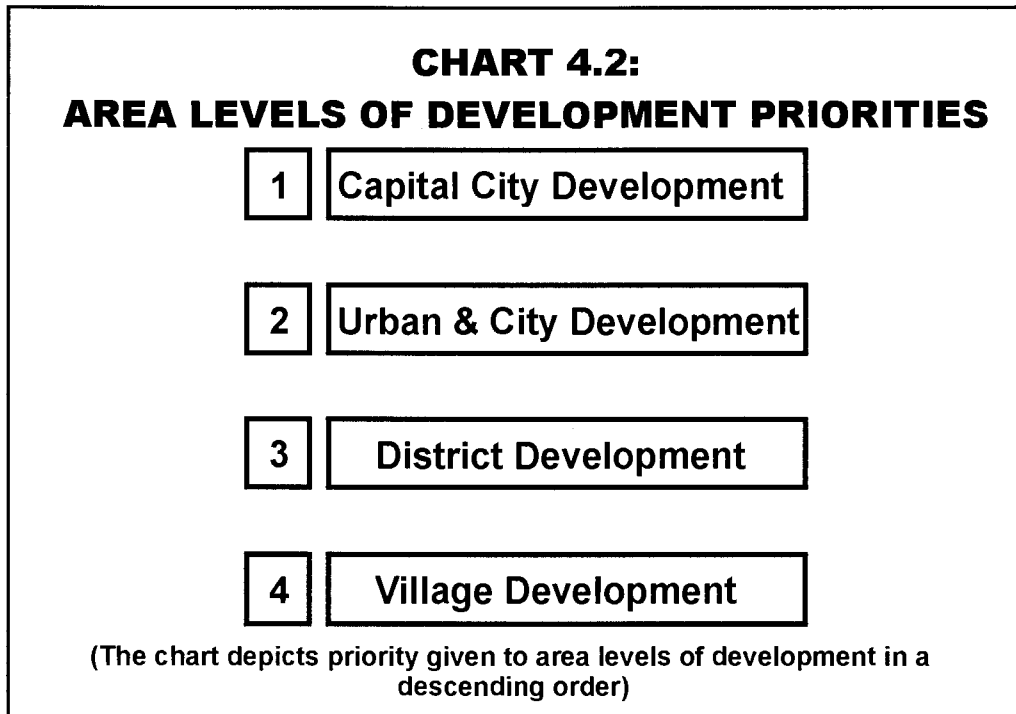
²⁷The Anglican Mission had long been established here, together with the Moffat Mission at Kuruman.

²⁸OPD records of the hospital and the TB ward show continued admittance and treatment of this disease. TB afflicts a large number of people.

trickle down. If they did, they flowed to the "uppers" in the society (Chambers 1997:58). Thus development concentrated on the cities and urban white areas, where the affluent lived. Where development did extend to the rural sector, it was the white farming establishment that benefited²⁹. In these areas, rich farmers could be found. Road construction and maintenance, water systems, telephone lines, electricity and other basic needs were provided and available in these white farm settlements. This highly differentiated social order is also noted by Vawda and McKenna (1997:588-596) in their study on Tamboville. When the RSA government handed over black rural segments to homeland governments, the same centralised system was adopted. See Charts 4.1, 4.2 and 3.6 in chapter 3 for illustrative explanations of this discussion.



²⁹Evidence obtained by empirical observation. Along roads one could see the telephone lines linking the farm settlements. Also conspicuous are windmills, showing availability of water in the farms and settlements.



One would have thought that since "own ethnic administration" now was in charge and the majority of the homeland areas were rural, priority of development would be given to the rural sector. This was not the case. The homeland governments, particularly Bophuthatswana, had their own agenda to build their own cities (e.g. Mmabatho), towns and the country parallel to the status of RSA and to gain international recognition as independent states (De Clerq 1984:14-16).

With the existence of rigid centralisation it was difficult to provide in the basic needs of the rural communities. Firstly, government resources were limited³⁰. Secondly, central government did not know the rural areas very well, as they were remote and isolated. Thirdly, government was urban biased, the general attitude of undemocratic governments, which are non-responsive to rural needs. This is well documented by De Clerq (1984:15), who states that: -

"A breakdown of the development expenditure budget of Bophuthatswana reveals a heavy bias towards the more developed regions of Bophuthatswana and Mmabatho in particular. In 1980 out of a total budget of R107.2 million, R27.8 million was spent on special projects in the Mmabatho area".

³⁰In the homelands the main source of finance was a grant from the RSA (white) government. The homelands, as was the case with Kudumane, were areas bare of natural resources, with the exception of the platinum mining area of Rustenburg in Bophuthatswana.

Expensive projects, motivated politically and not cost-effectively, were executed in and around Mmabatho - for example, the Mmabatho airport and stadium, which are currently very under-utilised.

Finally, the rural communities did not become part of the planning and decision-making processes, since the government was undemocratic. All decisions were made at the central government level and sent through command structures direct to the local authorities, which had no autonomous authority, to discuss the implementation of the decisions. Chart 4.1 shows a chain of command authority that is typical of a one-way, top-down administration. Chart 4.2 shows the government's priority areas for development. The village communities, and therefore rural development, came last in this development priority list.

By 1994, after eighteen years of the homeland's independence, it was not a coincidence that Bophuthatswana was not industrialised nor characterised by a process of even development. Its development strategy was bound to accentuate the uneven development pattern (a strategy that selected the already partly developed areas, such as Babelegi, Mafikeng, Ga-Rankuwa etc, and ignored the more under-developed regions, such as Kudumane, Ganyesa and Taung).

During this period, Kudumane district could only expect development flowing from Mmabatho, the seat of the centralised administration. A wait-and-see attitude then had to be adopted. They had seen or fancied development in Kuruman being RSA government-led; so they expected that the Bophuthatswana government would lead rural development in their area. In short: the notion was that development was government's business and a process that expected little or no contribution from the people below. The Bophuthatswana government's development inclinations also showed this and created within the community the impression of a paternalistic government being the sole provider in all needs. Thus, that government's attitude and actions can be seen as not encouraging people's initiatives in rural development in Kudumane but reliance on outside intervention.

4.3.1 Parastatals as Development Agents and Their Involvement in Kudumane

In spite of the institution of local administration (governorship), local development initiatives could not be attained. This was because the local administrators (governors) were seen as "Rara and Rakgaolo" (father and head of the region). They wielded too much authority over the people

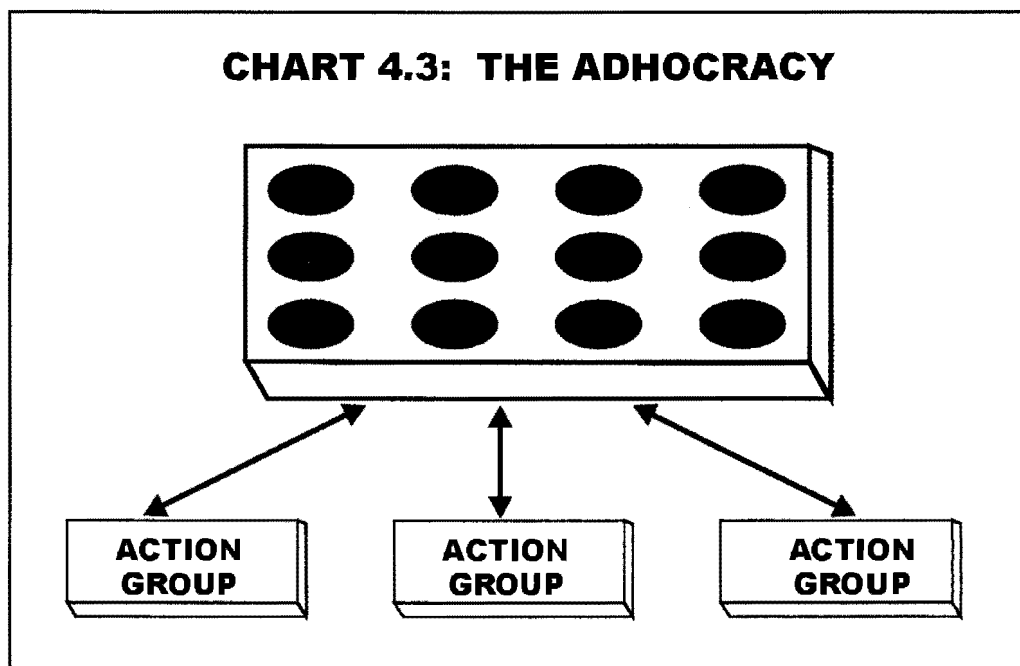
and had control over every activity within the areas under their jurisdiction. By devolving authority to the governors, a decentralised system envisaged to bring development could be seen as established. The system could be that of deconcentration (refer to chapter 3), where the rural development workload was shifted to field staff, as was happening at the local administrative office and at the present Department of Agriculture and the North-West Development Corporation offices. The Governor (i.e. the district administrator) was to co-ordinate their activities.

In chapter 3, it was argued that decentralisation, is a factor encouraging local development and empowerment. Thus, if the decentralised trend had been properly followed, it would have encouraged local development. However, in this case it created fear in the people and inhibited their initiatives. The fear stemmed from the fact that governors were government appointees who wielded much power. The people preferred discussing private family and personal matters with the administration rather than development issues, which might turn too political for their comfort. The community's interest in participating in development waned.

It was noted also that local organisations play an important role in involving the people in development projects. It was found that in the Kudumane district, the local organisation within which people were either active or nominal members (Goldsmith & Blustain 1980) was the kgotla. The local kgotla facilitated development, so they could count on it. Within the kgotla, ad hoc local development committees were appointed and assigned the responsibilities of administering, evaluating and monitoring each project to be undertaken. Any committee that was thus appointed was project specific. It conformed to De Waal's (1993:32-35) model of adhocratic style of administration, where a number of ad hoc groups are used towards specific goals. The adhocracy concept illustrated in Chart 4.3 shows that varied expertise available is integrated into a variety of (ad hoc) action groups.

Any expert might be called to serve on more than one action group. When an activity has been successfully executed, the action group ceases to exist and the expert refers back to the adhocracy to be allocated to another action group when needed (De Waal 1993:32-33). It is noted here then that an action group is assigned a specific project. Through adhocracy, the management process becomes adaptive, ensures innovations and enables integration of centralised inputs with community decision-making and use of local resources (De Waal 1993:32). Adhocratic groups

are innovative, more flexible and coordinated as the day-to-day operational issues are decentralised to functional units. A typical example is the committee for the water project in Batharos that will be dealt with shortly. The committee formation enhanced the little development projects that had occurred and helped achieve the then existing development objectives.



SOURCE: AFRICANUS 23 Nos.1 & 2

After the 1990s, the local authority administration still existed, but it lost much of its powers and functions, as its sole function now was to oversee traditional tribal matters (Bophuthatswana 1979). The Bophuthatswana government, noting that local authorities did not have project implementing capacities established parastatal or semi-autonomous agencies and entrusted or delegated rural project development to them. Offices of the North West Development Corporation (NWDC), Bophuthatswana Water Supply Authority (BWSA, now Goudveld Water), the Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Bank (Agribank) were all opened for that purpose. It was government actions like this that made the people start regarding development as government's responsibility, and their mindset that it was the government that had developed Kuruman was firmly fixed.

Perusing the objectives of these parastatals, one finds that they were to promote local participation in rural development in order to eradicate poverty among farmers. Agribank was to financially empower the farmers in agro-economic activities, whilst Agricor was to assist the farmers to raise

agricultural production (Agricor 1989:29). The BNDC was to identify and finance small as well as large-scale business activities in the Kudumane district. The Public Works department was also to give technical support to community-based projects, and the Bophuthatswana Water and Sewerage Authority was to supply water in the area. These were laudable objectives to encourage and motivate rural development participation. However, in practice they hardly ever promoted the process of local development participation. Government gave large sums of money to these institutions for rural development. But the money was used to benefit their staff, friends and relatives. This precipitated a massive government reorganisation within these institutions in 1996 after the ANC government had come to power.

4.3.2 Limits of Participation in Kudumane

It has been noted that institutions or organising institutions are fundamental for any development transformation; it will be within these institutions that effective participation will be attained. Participation comes about within the organisations. The neglect of institutional organisations that establish links between the people and their environment has frustrated many people seeking development in Kudumane.

Thus rural development has stagnated in Kudumane because adequate attention was not earlier paid to development-oriented institutions. No recognisable local grassroots organisations existed which could take on development at grassroots level in this area at the inception of Bophuthatswana except the local tribal authority's kgotla with its ad hoc committees³¹, which operated until the late 1980s.

4.3.3 Organisations Existing After the Late 1980s

4.3.3.1 Ad Hoc Committees

Research surveys and observations in the region show that no formal, voluntary organisation from the grassroots (i.e. grassroots NGOs) emerged to mobilise or involve the people to undertake developments projects, as is theorised and exists in most participatory developments elsewhere (Nyoni 1987; Cernea 1988; Clark 1991). The only credible organisations had been the ad hoc

³¹Information obtained from the Batlharos tribal authority office.

committees referred to earlier. These had existed in some villages (Cassel, Batlharos and Heuningvlei).

The committees had consisted of the tribal chief and elders, progressive farmers, political leaders and some literate and important members of the village, with the chief presiding as chairman. It was the only formal institution readily available to undertake any development activity. It represented the community, made decisions on behalf of the latter and served as a link between the villagers and government.

4.3.3.2 Governor's Committees

Another committee that came to exist was Governor's development committee. By the early 1990s, the regional administrator aimed to encourage rural development at grassroots level. The office of the administrator consequently appointed various district committees for various development projects (Bophuthatswana 1990). For example, the office had committees responsible for coordinating, liaison, and security. The coordinating committee, which was the major machinery for rural development, was to integrate and synchronise the disparate district agencies into a coherent development front, and to determine the productive utilisation of manpower and other resources for projects and services (Chikulo 1992:38).

The liaison committee was "to identify, determine and review, from time to time, the needs and requirements..." of the district. While the security committee was also "to determine, review and assess, at least once in every month, the security situation within the district..." (Chikulo 1992:40-43).

Ad hoc subcommittees were also set up to look into specific issues like:-

- Stock theft
- Cross-border rural development disputes
- Shortage of classrooms
- Unemployment, and
- Communications.

All these committees were under the chairmanship of the district governor. The governor (co-ordinating administrator) in the district was seen as playing the roles of link between central

government and regional institutions, a conduit for information dissemination and facilitator of cooperation between tribal, community and regional authorities (refer to the prefectural administrative system in chapter three).

The governor then can be said to be the local level administrator with rural development responsibilities. The manner of involvement was mobilisation. But how actively could the people of Kudumane be involved in RD without motivation? Every observation and enquiry showed that they were not actively involved because the area had been neglected by the state for so long. They were weary of government and agency promises.

Yet the above institutional arrangements were expected to influence development initiatives in Kudumane. They could neither act as catalyst for grassroots involvement in development nor fully draw the masses into initiating RD ventures. This is because the rural people saw rural development as government's responsibility and externally generated.

4.4 POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN KUDUMANE

In addition to participation in rural development being considered as a process of involving the target population (i.e. the people of Kudumane) in development activity, it should also stimulate a process of collective action (Kellerman 1991; Sesoko 1994). Kotzé (1997), Swanepoel (1997) and many other academics agree on this point of collective action and the attraction of the target population to a collective investment as already detailed in chapter three. It is essential at this point then to take, as a working definition, participation (noted in chapter 3) to mean a process of creative social involvement and initiatives of those concerned, the target population, in defining their needs and in fulfilling those needs. Creative here means action stimulated from within themselves or by their own thinking. Such action becomes radical and active, which is good for the achievement of objectives of participation. But where enthusiasm is lacking, external agents need to stimulate and support them (Friedman 1992).

The radical development view of participation holds that any alternative development should build on the people's own initiatives, with the State (or any external agent) playing only a minimal supportive role (Kotzé 1993b: 119; Friedman 1992). This should be the case in Kudumane. Section 4.2.2.1 indicates that in the period prior to and immediately after 1980, the poor in this

region had in many small ways tried to initiate development projects by building schools and sinking boreholes for water. But because of their poverty,³² they could not progress beyond putting up a few structures of schools. Not much enthusiasm had been generated for them to continue with development projects requiring their labour and support.

Whether popular participation will ensue, transform and achieve its goal of empowering the Kudumane people will depend to a large extent on how the external agents mentioned in section 4.3.1 above can stimulate the process of collective voluntary action. It will also depend on how the people themselves react to the situation about to be changed. The onus was therefore on these agencies to help.

4.4.1 Intervention Activities by Development Agents in Kudumane

Accounts given by Agricor officials at Mothibistad indicate that when some development agents such as Agricor (acting as facilitators) arrived in Kudumane, they held consultations with the chiefs and village committees and later educated the people about stock production and improved yields. This seems to be a good start because the villagers' top priority then was how to manage and increase their stock.

Furthermore, Agricor established agricultural service centres in seven major villages. Prominent among these are those at Seoding, Bendel, Wesselsvlei and Heuningvlei. These service centres were decentralised to make the basic agricultural inputs readily available at the exact time they were needed. The centres were to reduce farm input costs, increase yield and profit and promote rural development (Agricor 1989:8,29). The decentralisation brought stored agricultural inputs, feed and seedlings nearer to the farmers. The objectives of these centres were the promotion of local participation in rural development, raising agricultural production and eradication or minimisation of rural poverty. In pursuance of this objective, stock raising demonstration farms where farmers were given instructions on farm management, animal health care management and the administration of animal drugs were established around the service centres.

The establishment of different agricultural projects, such as "large stock" (cattle and donkeys) and "small stock" (goats and sheep) breeding projects, poultry farms and piggeries around the centres encouraged the farmers and led to increases in stock³³.

³² This information is the result of an extensive discussion with project officers at the department of Local Government head office at Mmabatho.

³³ Interview with Agricor service centre project managers.

Working in conjunction with Agricolor, Agribank started giving out loans to farmers in the region to help them purchase farming inputs, hire labour and fence their farms. This assistance increased farmers' purchasing power and generated a little more employment for the villagers. Hitherto this had not been possible. By the 1989 financial year, the region was rated the third largest recipient of Agribank loans in Bophuthatswana, or 26% of the total Agribank loans (Agribank 1989:9).

Farm assistance was given not only to groups, but also to individuals, and not only the big farmers, but also any type of farmer needing assistance. It is worth noting that cooperative farms no longer exist; those that did have collapsed³⁴.

Agricolor's assistance encouraged farmers to learn farm management in order to establish their own farms and manage them profitably. With increased earning capacity, they were in a position to undertake any development project that would enhance their self-esteem and their living conditions. However, this improvement did not cut across the broad spectrum of the village communities. Only a minority achieved this success. These were referred to as improved farmers.

Agricultural development encourages industrial development where there is a link between the two. This means that agriculture may provide raw materials and other inputs to the industry, and in return industrial output should provide agricultural inputs, such as fertilisers, so that each supports the other. It would also increase investment in industry. The spin-offs of this linkage (mutual interdependence) would be increases in productivity and production output, increased earnings and employment, a reduction in rural poverty and ultimately an increase in the rural people's abilities and enthusiasm for development activity. Unfortunately, in Kudumane there was and still is a total absence of this linkage (mutual relationship); hence very little rural industrial development has occurred. Information gathered from the development agents and the communities indicates that there is very little rural industrial development because the area is too desolate.

³⁴ Information supplied by local Agricolor officials. Observation and interviews conducted showed no existence of any cooperatives in the district. Refer to Chapter 3 on the evolution of participatory action where cooperatives are discussed.

Very little industrial development has taken place in the study area. BNDC, the agency tasked with this responsibility, has financed local entrepreneurs, given advice and provided industrial estates for industrial practices. The agency built shopping centres at Mothibistad and Cassel, and small industrial buildings at Batlharos and Mothibistad for use by local craftsmen and small-scale entrepreneurs. However, since the BNDC and Agricor failed to encourage agricultural and industrial linkages, development efforts rarely bore any fruit.

In view of the efforts made to establish development organisations in the district, their activities from the late 1980s and early 1990s and the need for development activities to improve the socio-economic standing of the Kudumane people, one would have expected genuine, active and massive development initiatives by these organisations as well as the implementation of development plans and projects in the area. While collecting data it was observed, to the dismay of the researcher, that the area had been ignored over a long period and that those expectations were far from being realised. A study at Batlharos and of conditions in Kudumane might give insight into the probable causes of these limited participatory initiatives and the blueprint, top-down approach to development that had been followed here.

The Batlharos water project was selected for this study because it epitomises actions and processes of similar projects in the district. Secondly, as a project that benefits all members of the community, it should inspire their maximum support and involvement in all its processes.

4.5 BATLHAROS WATER PROJECT

The preceding section traced the historical and contemporary processes of rural development in the Kudumane district. It was noted that there had been a lukewarm attitude towards rural development in the district on the part of the governmental authorities that had in fact led to the neglect of the area. Again, there was unwillingness on the part of the people themselves to support development projects. The discussion in this section deals specifically with one rural development project (water supply) and the approaches to its implementation. The object is to demonstrate that participatory initiatives are limited in the district and that one of the reasons is the government's top-down interventionist approach, which is in conflict with the theory discussed

in chapters two and three. A brief background to Batlharos, where the case study is located, will first be sketched.

4.5.1 Background Information on the Water Project

Batlharos fits the descriptions of physical, geographical, historical, economical, social and political characteristics of the Kudumane district already given in chapter one. The only discernible difference is social. Socially, it is originally a settlement of the Batlharo tribe and therefore the seat of the Batlharo tribal authority, referred to as Ga Bacwa. This is mentioned because ethnic origins and culture can impinge on the attitude and behaviour towards and the character of development initiatives. While one social group might be highly active and dynamic, the other might be typically traditional, conservative and passive. Such characteristics affect development.

4.5.1.1 The Ethnic Differences in Batlharos That Limit Group Activities

In Kudumane generally and in Batlharos in particular, many people do not cooperate in development activities. This lack of cooperation seems to be rooted in ethnicity, leadership and the influence of western capital. The ethnic differences in Batlharos therefore seem to have a negative effect on participation.

Although it is true that, as was established in section 4.2, that the majority of the Kudumane people have a common ethnic background and are all Setswana-speaking people, there is a wide range of tribal differences between them (Breutz 1989:144). Tribal groups include the Batlharo, BaPhuduhudu, Ba Moduana Gamorona, Tokwane, BaPhuduhudutswana, Batsweng Masibi, Lotlhwane, and BaXhosa (Breutz 1989:190).

These tribal groupings regard each other as foreigners within the same locality. Rural town settlements are therefore clusters of tribal settlements. There is some kind of superiority and inferiority conflict amongst them. This is not conspicuously noted, but was revealed by many people during interviews and discussions with them. Such ethnocentrism discourages working together in large groups of heterogeneous tribes and encourages cooperative work in small groups of homogenous tribes. Consequently, a mass participatory development action for the benefit of whole or larger communities would be hard to achieve. Ethnicity (or ethnophobia) can be seen as the underlying reason why initiatives and collaboration in rural development are hard to get off the ground. Many refuse to join activities initiated by the other groups; others object to activities

under the leadership of one ethnic group. This is due to the suspicion that the outcome would benefit the leader's group only.

Besides such ethnic connotations, the fear that the leadership might be elitist, which would most likely result in dictatorship, nepotism and egoism, contributed to limited involvement of the people. They might suspect that the development activity would ultimately benefit only the leaders. This suspicion could cover a wide range of local elites, such as the leaders of political parties, councillors and district council officials as well as outsiders not from their tribes.

The majority of the elite in the Kudumane district come from Batlharos. This assertion is not based on statistics, but on the observation that almost every senior official that was contacted during the period of this study claimed descent from the Batlharos tribe and community. Observations and enquiries at the Mothibistad district coordination and information office (formerly the governor's office) during this research work revealed beyond dispute that the first governor or regional administrator in the Bophuthatswana regime in the district, his deputy and secretary were all from Batlharos. But this does not necessarily mean that the Batlharos community is any better off than the others. Frank's (1969) and Chambers' (1997:78-81) assertions that elites exploit and appropriate the surplus of the poor for their own good apply here. The elites of this place do nothing to enhance the well-being of the poor, and they jealously guard against anything that might be detrimental to their own interest. They remain isolated from or get involved with the people when it would benefit them.

In chapter 3 it was indicated that local elites need to be brought on board in any rural development action to ensure its smooth running because they wield power and have a large following. But they need to be sensitive to the needs and reality of the conditions of the poor so that their plight would be given priority or considered in any decision (Chambers 1997). A case of the elite being obstructive was demonstrated in 1992 by the rejection of the upgrading of a clinic (the Kagiso clinic at Mothibistad) to hospital status. According to hospital officials, and some members of the community, the Kagiso clinic at Mothibistad was to be expanded and upgraded to hospital status owing to congestion, lack of space for expansion and lack of facilities at the main Tshwaragano community hospital in Batlharos. The Tshwaragano hospital would become a tuberculosis hospital (in chapter one, section 1.2.3 reference was made to the incidence of tuberculosis and other chest diseases). The local elites, such as the former secretary to the local administrator (governor) as

well as the district education manager at the time, objected to this. Regrettably, the money earmarked for a new hospital³⁵ was used for the renovation of the Tshwaragano hospital without any physical expansion. The elites' interest came first, and a large number of people were deprived of easy access to a hospital. The reason for their objection was that the impression would be created nationally that Batlharos was a tuberculosis-infested area³⁶. The Tshwaragano hospital continues to experience overcrowding and shortage of doctors due to the poor facilities. Such elite interventions discourage the poor local people, who become demotivated to undertake or join any participatory project.

4.5.2 Rationale of the Water Project

The Batlharos main piped water supply project started in April 1992. This was towards the end of the homeland system and the regime of Lucas Mangope. The project came about as a result of the deep concern of the then government for rural upliftment. It thus launched an integrated rural development programme (Jeppe 1982). The need for regular supply of clean water readily available was essential for this area located in the Kalahari, where only subterraneous water was obtainable (refer to the discussion in chapter one).

Although a number of boreholes existed (a borehole sinking programme was undertaken only a few years earlier), few households had them near their homes. Therefore the government, through the then Bophuthatswana Water and Sewerage Authority, a parastatal, decided to supply Batlharos with piped water. Ironically, since water was available from the boreholes, the people had not considered piped water as an urgent or priority need, and due to the huge cost the possibility of their initiating such a project was remote indeed.

4.5.3 Objectives of the Water Project

As pointed out in Chapter 3, with the establishment of the department of governors, government intended to get closer to the people and provide in the needs of the rural people. The government considered water as the real need for the Batlharos community. Besides, it was thought that a water project would greatly enhance the government's image. The Bophuthatswana Water Supply Authority was therefore commissioned to undertake the project.

³⁵ Kagiso Clinic continues to function as a clinic (as at the time of writing, serving a large community around Mothibistad), although it has the facilities and capacity to expand into a hospital.

³⁶ Interview with former Deputy Secretary to the defunct governor's office and the Tshwaragano Hospital's

The specific objectives of the project were to:

- Provide the people with clean safe running water.
- Improve the health and sanitary conditions of the place.
- Enhance the local people's capacities to plan and encourage them to supplement government's development efforts.
- Develop in the people the concept of community action and self-development and self-initiatives.
- It also had a political objective of making government acceptable in the district.

Generally inherent in these objectives, the first two in particular, were the establishment of an institutional structure through which participation of the rural poor in planning and implementing village-based development activities would be promoted. This was gathered from interviews with the chief and officers of the Ba-ga-Motlhwane tribal council office in June 1998.

Development theory, as we saw in chapters three and four, evolved into a participatory approach where, in radical terms, project initiatives should emanate from the local poor people and be implemented by themselves with little outside facilitation. A project then becomes "our project" and the project's sustainability is enhanced. On the other hand, if a less radical approach is followed where development is seen in terms of an agent facilitating people's participation or bringing people on board a project, it becomes "their project" and less sustainable. The Batlharos water project, it was established, reflects the less radical approach to development. Its objectives indicate an attempt to follow such an approach. This will be made clear when the project is evaluated in chapter 5.

4.5.4 Phases of the Water Project and Its Implementation

The water supply project was implemented in two phases.

4.5.4.1 Phase I: Borehole Sinking

By the late 1980s, at the inception of the Bophuthatswana government's programme, a project to provide borehole water to the people was launched. In Batlharos, up to the early 1980s,

superintendent brought out this information. They feared a dent in the Batlharos community's reputation and status.

boreholes were sunk by private contractors for those very few people who could afford them. The chiefs and headmen of Batlharos had earlier requested a water supply from boreholes from the government. This request emanated from a decision taken at a kgotla meeting. Private homes as well as public areas were to be provided.

People had participated in the decision to make this request through the Kgotla. However, the decision as to the cost and location of the public borehole pipe stands were not taken by them. Government officials and contractors decided arbitrarily on the pipe stand numbers and their sites. Batlharos people were the beneficiaries and paid the costs, yet they were ignored in these vital decisions. Government officials took decisions and sought Batlharos people's agreement only. As implementation took place, it was discovered that few households could afford to pay for this service (it was indicated earlier in this chapter that the incomes and living levels of the people in this community are low; it was therefore not easy for individuals to raise the money required). At any point in time when people cannot afford the cost of any programme and so would not benefit by participating (referred to in chapter 3), they show little interest in it. Many Batlharos people thus showed little interest in the project at this stage.

Decline of interest in a project usually leads to discontinuation of such a project, and so was the borehole project. The programme of mass borehole water provision was discontinued because it was unaffordable, even though people needed the water. One reason for this was that the decision to provide borehole water was top down. The people were in agreement with the supply, but were not part of the whole design. They could not air their views or negotiate the cost and terms of payment for the drilling. Had the people been involved, perhaps project initiators would have understood their financial situation and would have lowered their cost. Phase one quickly came to a halt.

This exemplifies a project that initially gives an impression of a bottom-up approach, but after due consideration and analysis one finds that in reality it was a typical top-down one. It has been pointed out that participation by the majority of the community's members should take place from project design through implementation up to the delivery of benefits in order to be considered as a people's activity. This may or may not be the trend in Kudumane when a typical development project such as the water reticulation is considered.

4.5.4.1 Phase 2 - Reticulation

By 1991 the Bophuthatswana government had embarked on a programme of integrated rural development. The aim was to provide all the rural people with good drinking water, improved roads and clinics, as well as providing rural towns which were district capitals (the meted-out towns referred to in chapter 1) with basic infrastructure such as electricity, telephones, schools *et cetera*. It was in line with this integrated rural development programme that a bulk water reticulation project was embarked upon in the Batlharos area as a continuation of the borehole water provision project.

In order to ensure the success of this integrated rural development programme, and to achieve the objective of bringing government closer to the local people and encourage their participation in rural development, local level administration in the form of governors (referred to earlier) was instituted. The local administrator (governor) was directly involved in the water project in Batlharos.

4.5.5 Initiatives and Decision-Making Process of Phase 2

The project was Bophuthatswana government-led and sponsored. The project's decision-making process commenced³⁷ in April 1992 and progressed through to June 1992. Information gathered from the tribal office and Goudveld Water Supply indicates that the idea, mooted by government, was brought before the Batlharos tribal authority. The tribal council at its meetings debated the idea, and unanimously agreed to support it. A critical enquiry shows that they were only informed and that the project would have been carried out anyway with or without their approval. This was a rural development project, and they were to practically combine their efforts with those of the government in all the processes of the project's implementation stages (South Africa 1997b).

4.5.6 Implementation Process of the Water Project

The kgotla was the main local institution to mobilise or motivate people for this project and be a liaison between government and the people. For effective liaison, motivation and implementation of the project, the kgotla elected a ten-man ad hoc water committee under the chairmanship of Mr O.P. Tagane, a school principal.

³⁷ Record and interviews from the chairman of the water project committee.

The ad hoc water committee, henceforth to be referred to as the committee, was charged with the responsibility of mobilising the people and their contributions to the project, overseeing the construction work and appraising it. It became the direct link between the people and the government as well as the local technical project consultants. The link with the people was informatory, regarding the processes and progress of the project. The committee's duties included organising and collecting voluntary contributions in cash or in kind; receiving the people's input such as advice on the location of public standing pipes; and making them aware of the cost to be incurred when homes were connected to the main grid. This link was important, because where property might be destroyed in the process; it would be easier for the committee to resolve any conflict than it would be for the contractors or government representatives.

The local administrator represented the government. He acted as a facilitator and conduit of two-way information from central government to the people and back (Chikulo 1992:33). The administrator informed them of the financial, technical, and physical resources required from them and received their complaints and requests to government. The governor's contact with the people and supervision of the project took place through its administrative wing, called the district coordinating committee in charge of development. A cordial link was forged between the two parties. They had regular meetings on this project and important decisions were taken which in the long run led to the successful implementation of the project. This project and its processes represent similar ones undertaken at various places in the district.

4.5.6.1.1 Implementation Stage 1

The piped water project was also implemented in phases. The first phase started in June 1992 and ended in November 1992. The general community's involvement was through direct labour, levies and voluntary contributions mobilised by the committee. The Bophuthatswana Water Supply Authority, through a consultancy firm, started the construction work. By November 1992 the former Bophuthatswana president, L. M. Mangope, commissioned the first supply of water. Phase one came to a successful end.

At this stage, water was supplied to only a few areas where streets were accessible and direct pipes could be laid. The areas supplied were those around the hospital and the main road. At this

stage, public taps were erected at suitable points. In areas where the street pattern and houses hindered the laying of pipes, they were left for the second phase. During this phase and in the other phases, interviewed respondents indicated that community members involved themselves in the project by selling their labour. However some offered voluntary labour. The committee members were often on the project sites, offering advice and other services. Other locals came to the sites just to see the progress of the project. However, because people had got used to the idea that needs were to be met and things were to be done for them by government, many were unwilling to give any form of support.

4.5.6.2 Implementation Stage 2

Phase two was to concentrate on the extension of pipes to link less accessible areas. This is where the problem came. As is usually the case with a village, some streets did not follow a grid pattern (they had been blocked by fences between houses and some blocks of houses). To proceed with pipe laying, those fences had to be removed and re-erected later. Some people refused to remove their house fences, so that many areas that are quite a distance from the main road and streets were left without water³⁸ supply.

What had gone wrong? According to interviewees, compensation was not going to be paid for refencing and any destruction to house property. To them that was not the agreement. Secondly, many felt they would not directly benefit after all, because they were in no position to pay the high fee of R835 -00 for the extension of water to their houses. The public standpipes were also far away from their houses. These objections, coupled with the fact that consumption was not free and rates were to be paid, triggered people's resentment. Their expectations had been free supply and consumption of the water. They became alienated from the development efforts. The project was therefore delayed for some time because intended beneficiaries were not co-operating. This was not in the public interest.

It was not until June 1994 that this phase was brought to an end. Some houses remained unconnected to the main pipelines, while others could not be reached because of their location - they were far apart and it was uneconomical to lay pipes to those areas. At present, the BWSA (now privatised and renamed Goudveld Water) has further extension programme on the drawing

³⁸ Officials of Goudveld Water revealed this. They faced stiff opposition from some community members and they

board⁴². The indication of the water corporation is that it is studying the enthusiasm in rate payments before embarking on further work. Goudveld Water, being a private company, is cost conscious and will only work on the extension programme provided the community meets the cost, which it probably cannot do. Until then nothing is being done. An initiative for the continuation of the project was expected to come from the community, but this has woefully failed to come. That may be due to the cost content, the current socio-political trends and apathy in the village. Above all, the people had in many respects not concerned themselves with the broad processes of development. In the end, an arsonist completely burned down the branch office meant for rate payments at Batlharos.

When the new South Africa government came to power in 1994, friction developed between the committee and the new political leaders. Some local residents also thwarted the committee's efforts. All these troubles led to its dissolution. However, in the committee's view, the assignment had been successfully implemented and completed. The community also considered it as work well done, since pure water had been made readily available to a large part of the village.⁴³

The question now is, with the trend of development having been set, couldn't the community members who could not be reached or connected during the second phase initiate action for extension of water to the unsupplied and undersupplied areas? This brings back the research question as to why there is limited development at Batlharos now. In order to answer this question, an analysis of the project is needed, which will follow in another chapter.

It was mentioned above that the committee was dissolved unilaterally because of political differences between supporters of the former Bophuthatswana government and supporters of the ANC government. What could be deduced is that the project committee members were ideologically inclined towards the Bophuthatswana government. In chapter 3, the reluctance of the Bophuthatswana government to accept any political challenge from the ANC was indicated. Thus the new political leadership regarded this as an opportunity to take revenge. This

had to suspend work in some areas for some time.

⁴² Information gathered from Goudveld concerning their future strategic plans. This corporation is looking at the economic gain to them before engaging on further action. It is up to the village community to come together to press for the reactivation of the process. But unfortunately action in this respect was absent at the time of writing.

⁴³ Interview with committee chairman and some members who felt strongly that they were successful in achieving their objectives.

underscores the political upheavals between the committee and the new order. Political strife inhibited development initiatives. When this happens, the intention will be to outdo the opposition. Development action will be the provision of what the leadership feels would score more political points than the real or felt needs of the people. Beneficiaries may not be the villagers, but the political leaders. On the other hand, projects may tend to be white elephants.

4.5.7 The Project's Beneficiaries

The people's involvement brought the success of the second phase. People interviewed mentioned that they had contributed to the success of the project mainly because they were going to benefit from it directly. The project was for the benefit of the whole community, hence their enthusiasm from the beginning to participate. However, not all community members gained the private benefits envisaged. Those who really benefited more were the elites and their neighbours and those who could afford the house connection fee. This is borne out by the fact that they were the first to receive water by the end of the first phase. Public standpipes were sited close to the elites, who in addition have boreholes, which they now use to water their lawns and backyard gardens.

Generally, the majority of the people in Batlharos benefited from this project because water was connected to their houses. Some, in the minority, continue to draw water from boreholes. That notwithstanding, the fact is that they obtain public benefits from it in the form of water supplied to the hospital and other places where they enjoy the facility. Thus they all participate in the benefits - directly or indirectly.

4.5.8 Evaluation and Monitoring of the Project's Sustainability

With respect to the people participating in evaluation and monitoring, interviews and observations showed that there was an on-going process in this respect. The committee often nominated some community members to help with evaluation. The process took place together with government field officers and those of the water authority. However, the committee, which was the major stakeholder in the project, did not have much authority to control the affairs of the project. Though they monitored it, the final decisions on their findings and recommendations as to changes, directions and improvements rested on the government officials at head office, who hardly visited the project site. The capacity to evaluate the project by government itself was limited, because very few qualified project evaluators were available at head office. These were overburdened with the task of evaluating the whole country's IRD programme. Thus, the absence

of officials to give quick response to the committee's findings and recommendations discouraged committee members and diminished the interest of the local community in that development activity. The committee's lack of authority to give direction to the project did not stimulate them to participate in the monitoring process.

Currently, the members of the community are carrying on further monitoring of the project's sustainability. It has become the responsibility of individuals to report leakages and vandalism to public taps to the Goudveld water authorities. The water corporation has a task team to deal with any leakage and breakdown of pipes,⁴¹ and the community has been cooperating and informing these task teams promptly whenever they find or encounter any water problem. The public standpipes are therefore still functioning, though not regularly. The burning down of the Batlharos branch of the water revenue office recently has challenged the effectiveness of the monitoring process. This shows that formal development initiatives should foremost consider the needs of the people. If the development project had been the prime priority of the Batlharos people, the community members would have apprehended the arsonist long before he acted.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter it was shown that the poor geographical location and socio-economic conditions of Kudumane district had led to stagnation of development and increased poverty. Historical trends of segregation had worsened the conditions.

The South African government's racial policy of segregation created the Kudumane district out of Kuruman led to development occurring on one side of the divide and underdevelopment on the other. The Kudumane tribal authorities did in the past try to elicit popular participation in rural projects, and this led to their building community schools, a hospital and other community improvements.

With the creation of Bophuthatswana, of which Kudumane formed the western region, people saw the development of the area as the sole responsibility of government due to that government's attitude and actions.

⁴¹ Information gathered from the Mothibistad Goudveld district office.

Development, as with many other governments, was urban biased, skewed in favour of the more developed regions such as Mmabatho, Babelagi and Ga-Rankuwa, and centralised (De Clerq 1984). Local development initiatives were considered politically unacceptable.

Rural development activities in Kudumane were later delegated to parastatals and regional administrators. Thus development in this instance was considered as externally generated, and organisations formed to deal with it should be considered as standard and not participatory ones (Swanepoel 1992). Standard organisations⁴² serve the interest of the authorities and are harmful to the poor, while participatory ones serve the interest of the poor.

The Batlharos water reticulation project was discussed as a test case for the people's development initiatives and action. It was noted that the government initiated the project.

A participatory organisation, which was the water committee, was appointed to liaise with government and oversee the project's implementation. By June 1994 the project had come to an end and the committee dissolved. Further people's development activities were hampered due to political conflicts between the local leaders of the ruling party and the previous ruling party. There was unwillingness to politically accommodate opposing views.

Ironically, the launching of the RDP did not generate people-oriented development in Kudumane. Development initiatives in the district at this time came to low ebb owing to the people's misconception of the RDP. The RDP was misconstrued because the government before the 1994 elections had promised basic needs delivery.

The study shows that rural development in the area had been approached top down. There was a lack of motivation for people-oriented action and of political will to seek grassroots support for development.

Political bickering, innuendos, failure to accommodate opposing political views and suggestions and the desire of the local political leaders and administrators to outdo the previous administration

⁴² See chapter 3

have led to white elephant projects in the villages (as will be seen in the next chapter) and stifled the people's desire for 'own projects'.

The next chapter will put together issues raised and analyse the findings in this study.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

When this research began, very little rural development activity was taking place in the Kudumane district. Development initiatives had been left to central and local government, mainly because government had promised to provide in the people's needs such as water, housing, electricity, roads etc. (South Africa 1998/99). In fact, most projects in progress by 1995 were capital projects undertaken by the Mothibistad representative council. These included street and sports field lighting, a library and sewerage extension (Mothibistad 1999). Development projects and programmes had now become more politicised.⁴³

The tribal authority office continued to exist, but was frequented only by the chiefs, headmen and a few interested leaders. The kgotla meetings, where decisions on local development were taken, had become irregular, and even when they were held, representatives failed to inform the community at large about decisions taken.⁴⁴ Most elders had become disillusioned⁴⁵ with rural development, so much so that community members failed to turn up for development work that had been planned. Many of those who had now decided to boycott meetings were members of the UCDP - the ruling party of the former ex-Bophuthatswana - who vehemently expressed their disappointment and frustration during interviews with them.

NGOs and other development agents that could mobilise the people for development activity were not available either. The development corporations at this time were on the brink of collapse. National reorganisation exercises stalled their rural development programmes, and officials were either being retrenched or transferred or were resigning voluntarily. This state of affairs motivated the researcher to find out why people no longer wanted to involve themselves in development projects after 1995.

⁴³ See Chapter 4 on the Batharos committee's frustrations at the end of Phase 2 of the water project.

⁴⁴ Information provided by Chief Toto. See Chapter 4.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 4 Section 4.3.

In this chapter, the strength and level of development initiatives in Kudumane are determined by analysing and discussing the research results. The goal is to answer the research problem, namely why development initiatives in the Kudumane area are limited.

5.2 ORGANISATIONAL POLARISATION

In the literature, Easman and Uphoff (1982), Wang (1986), Ghai (1988) and Cernea (1992) correctly show that organisations play a crucial role in bringing a people's project to fruition. In chapter 3, section 3.7.1 of this research work, where organisations are discussed, indications are that it is when the people have been organised into groups that they can feel a sense of importance and assert themselves. It is within these groups that they can make their voices heard and participate in all processes of development.

Chapter 4 also documents that rural development became an important matter that was embarked on by the former Bophuthatswana government together with the rural communities. The process was primarily top down, even though theoretically it was presented as a people-led rural development process. At Batlharos in the Kudumane district, the major development project was water supply to the community.

When people were asked during the interviews how a development process could be administered to achieve its goal, they all mentioned the formation of committees - an organisation was needed. Thus the local traditional authority and people in general felt the importance of organisation, which culminated in the setting up of an ad-hoc water development committee when the need for a water project arose.

In April 1994, at the dawn of the new dispensation in South Africa, the Bophuthatswana administration was incorporated into South Africa. In June 1994, the water project committee fell out of favour with the new local political leadership and was dissolved. Its dissolution thus can be attributed to the fact that the project emanated from the government and was manipulated by it; had it been a popular people's initiative, the committee would have survived and the project continued. This is clear from sentiments expressed during interviews by members of the committee and other community members who attend the kgotla meetings. When they were asked how they now viewed the kgotla as a means of initiating development activities, they indicated that at kgotla meetings the new political leaders shouted them down when they aired

their views. Their views in fact were not tolerated because they belonged to or supported the former government's party. They had therefore stopped attending the kgotla meetings⁴⁶ and had no faith in the kgotla with regard to development.

Many people on the other side defended themselves during interviews by claiming that the old committee members, who had links with the erstwhile Bophuthatswana government, were ill motivated to help the new government to succeed in its RDP programme. Hence the (negative) criticisms and rejection of the opposing group's proposals. Whatever project was in progress was the brainchild of the former government, not the people's, and was therefore to be discontinued. However, the need for an organisation to administer development was not disputed.

Some members of the community interviewed also indicated that community work without pay was a thing of the past, that participation in any rural development project would not be voluntary. These sentiments showed that a negative response to participatory action is the result of the participation of a rival group that tends to be domineering (see chapter four subsection 4.3 on limits to participation). At this time, there was a lack of political accommodation and tolerance alluded to in chapter four. New political groupings and disunity had arisen. This greatly affected development initiatives. It became difficult to convince and mobilise the disparate groups and people for rural development activities. Polarisation had become a drag on development.

In this new democratic era, one would expect that with an elected popular regime in power new grassroots organisations would be formed and that initiatives calling for rural improvement programmes and more projects would increase, but these have not materialised. This was clearly pointed out by the people interviewed and empirically found to be correct.

Moreover, with a new government in power the policy of reconstruction and development should have generated a stronger people's approach to development here, but this has not been the case. The people discussed no new projects. Development approaches continued to be top down, following the blueprint approach. The fact that a committee was set up previously to coordinate and supervise the project, which might have led to the successful implementation and completion of the water project, confirms the need for local organisations in all participatory rural

⁴⁶ General responses obtained from members of the community and others who supported the erstwhile

development projects. This means that development organisations free from government domination should have immediately been set up in Kudumane to facilitate the process of regional development by the communities.

With regard to popular participation, although the development initiatives emanated from government, the committee comprising solely of local representatives forged a closer link between the government and local people. It motivated the people to participate by calling for regular community meetings. This also achieved one of the objectives of the local administration - linking the government and the people at grassroots level, a departure from the past noted in chapter three. Decision-making about the development of the district was brought closer to the people. They were thus helped and expected to identify their own needs and formulate plans to provide in them, having had a learning experience. This was what had occurred in the past. Unfortunately, own initiatives do not occur now or are hardly seen in spite of the learning process and experience. The people's mindset had now been focused on expectations of government handouts.⁴⁷

5.3 WHY LOCAL INITIATIVES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT ARE LIMITED

At this juncture, the new government of the ANC at its political rallies had promised rural project deliveries, rural housing and help to the disadvantaged populations by local governments (South Africa 1998/9). This had been well noted by the people, and thus when the RDP was launched in 1994, rural development expectations were high and the people hoped government was going to do everything for them. Why this expectation? People interviewed were of the view that they had endured exploitation and injustices from the previous government for too long. They expected the injustice to be rectified by also being provided with facilities enjoyed by the other advantaged areas and people. It could be deduced here that they had nurtured high expectations from the new political system and cadres. They had been made to develop a culture of handouts and provision (which were hardly forthcoming) from the previous government. They expected the new government to inherit the system because they were deprived of opportunities for self-initiatives and achievements. Many of government's pronouncements and manifestos had given

Bophuthatswana regime.

⁴⁷Three social workers were interviewed independently and they all expressed the same view - that people only expected government to deliver on promises made, and it was government's responsibility to provide in basic needs as indicated in the RDP document (ANC 1994: 52 Section 2.13.2).

rise to their hopes and aspirations in the village; hence the people of Kudumane had adopted a deliberate 'wait and receive' attitude.

In chapter 4 section 4.3 the reason for this attitude is confirmed by De Clerq (1984), who indicated that the development of the homelands had not been given free rein by the central government. Bergdall (1993:3), dealing with the promotion of participation, rightly notes that in post-independent Africa "centralised authority has matured into an established way of life... The slightest sign of independence or autonomy is often dealt with quickly and harshly". Paternalistic governments wrongly believed that through the 'provision' of handouts from the centre, authority and obedience could be established in the rural sectors.

Thus attempts at locally initiated rural development were not made, and those made failed due to centralisation. This was also the case with the ex-Bophuthatswana regime. The lack of participatory initiatives in Kudumane is therefore no exception to this trend.

Interviews with a large number of people and own observation showed that the following were the causes of low enthusiasm for development initiatives:

1. The participation of one interest group, for instance the ANC, that prevents others (such as the UCDP) from participating.
2. A long cultivated habit of rural people to expect government to bring rural projects to them - the culture of handouts and expectation of "provision".
3. The lack of facilitators to motivate the people to become aware of themselves, their capacities and potentials, which could inspire them to assume responsibility for rural development.
4. Political feuds and wrangling.
5. The demotivation to start development initiatives caused by the RDP. Instead of making them enthusiastic to take development upon themselves, the RDP rather made them expect government to completely shoulder rural development. It was a case of social

planning as an approach in urban development being imported or transported to the rural area.

5.3.1 POVERTY AND EXCLUSIONS

Another factor that emerges clearly as a cause of low development initiatives is the effect of poverty and exclusion. Freire (1978) and Goulet (1978) state that the poor are oppressed and dehumanised, and in this frame of mind they consider themselves as not being able to do anything. Chambers (1997) shows that people in the lower hierarchy of the social structure often undermine their own capacity to take the initiative or do anything of quality, even if they have the potential and capacity. So they refrain from acting and do not pursue any action whatsoever to improve themselves.

Similarly, the poverty of the people in the village under consideration and the political repression in the past have 'cocooned' their initiatives. Because they are unemployed, the people in Batlharos, particularly the young ones, prefer to work for wages or would like to take part in community projects provided they are given some remuneration. This does not tally with the working definition of participation as discussed in Chapters two and three.

It was revealed in the interviews with the chief social worker and some youths that during the negotiations for the water project, which the government had mooted, people's forums were organised to seek people's views and to motivate them to participate in the processes. People expected payment in the form of food when attending such meetings. The realisation that no immediate financial gains could be attained led to poor attendance at such meetings. This trend accounts for the low number of on-going projects in Kudumane and community-based rural development initiatives. Poverty is thus a great constraint to rural development participation. People need to be fed first before participating; yet participation is said to be a voluntary action (Bergdall 1993; Liebenberg 1997).

5.3.2 THE KURUMAN FACTOR

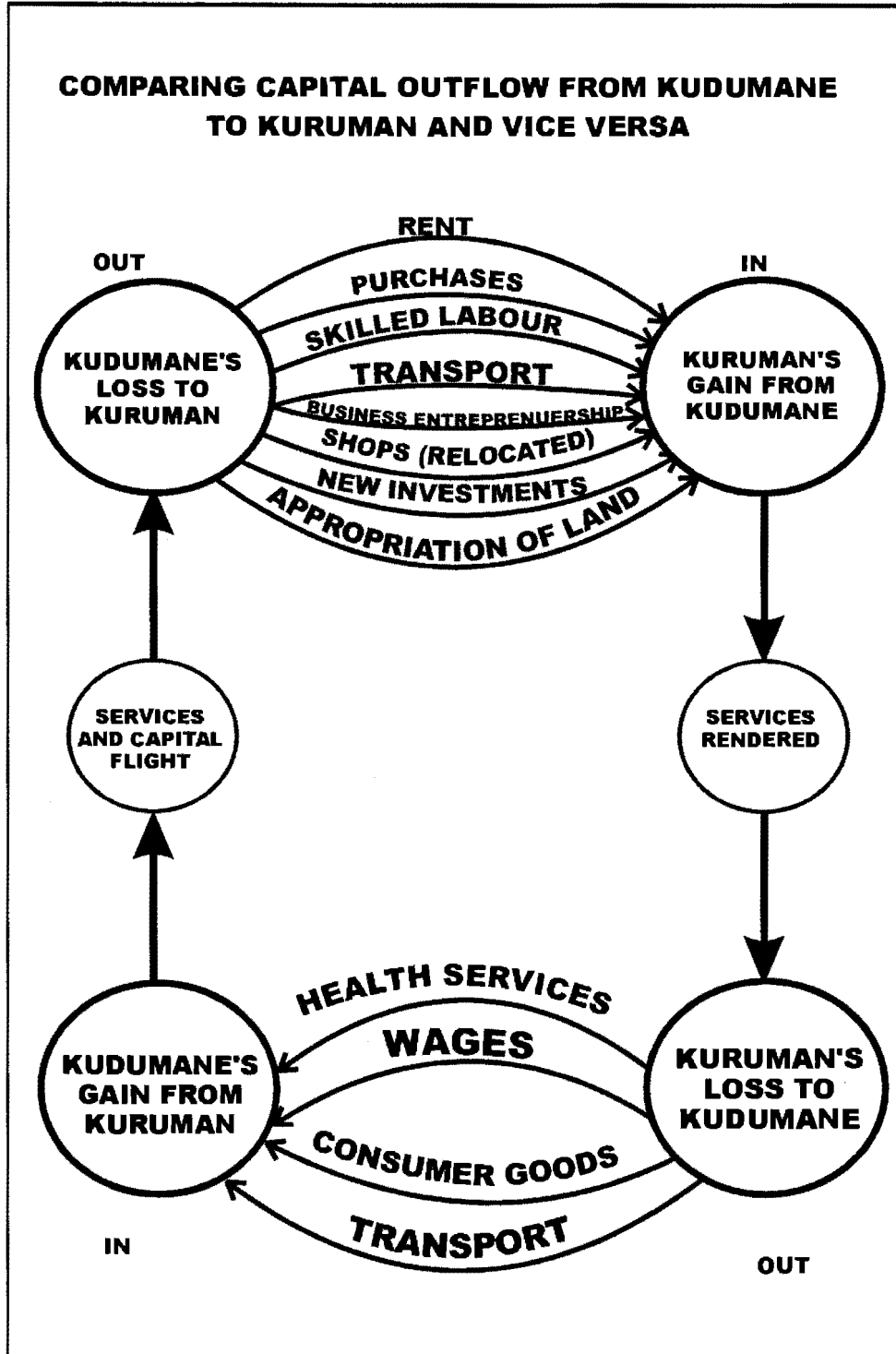
The current development situation cannot be assessed fairly without going back to the past apartheid development. All respondents in this study expressed this view. In the past, there were development initiatives flowing from the people. This was because they perceived government

to be unwilling and unconcerned about them. It was pointed out that traditional leaders therefore had to mobilise their people for development work.

From the discussions with the people, and also through empirical observation, it emerges clearly that these past initiatives have diminished in recent years due to the influence of the growing urbanisation in nearby Kuruman, where the community's active physical involvement in local development projects had been minimal, purely representative and in the form of financial contributions. Unfortunately, the urban activities of Kuruman have influenced the Kudumane community so much that it is hard to think of rural development originating from the people themselves.

5.3.2.1 Flight of Capital and Labour from Kudumane to Kuruman

With the dismantling of apartheid and the coming into being of the new government, one would have expected the communities in this district to clamour for agricultural and small industrial businesses in the district as well as social infrastructural improvements. But contrary to expectations, it emerged clearly during the research (see chapter 4 section 4.2) that an obsession arose among Kudumane residents and businesses to relocate to the residential and industrial sectors at Kuruman. This situation has led to a massive capital and labour outflow from Kudumane. All capital and commercial investments, particularly private ones, have been attracted to Kuruman, including skilled labour. Business infrastructure, such as a shopping centre, has been abandoned by local businesses in Mothibistad. Big commercial enterprises such as OK and Oxford Furniture have all moved away from the shopping centre. In Batlharos, a business centre built by a local businessman, Mr Kesiemang, is underpatronised. Kuruman, on the other hand, has not given up anything of substance that could be considered as a gain to Kudumane. What is transferred is wages for the labour gained and consumable items - this is to Kuruman's advantage. With such general disinvestment, Kudumane has been deprived of much-needed income for development as well as skilled labour and entrepreneurship.

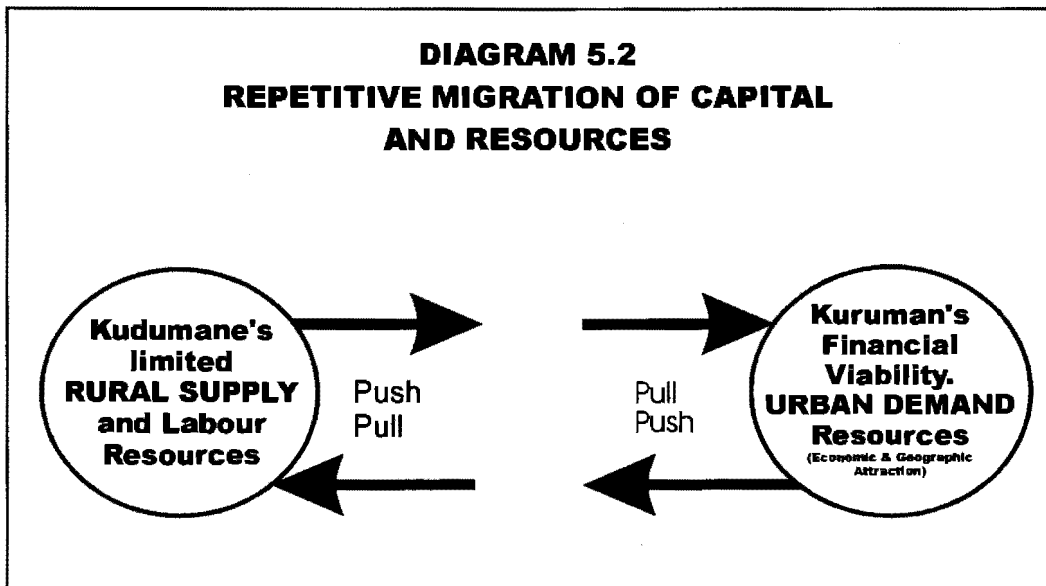
DIAGRAM 5.1

Interest in developing their district has waned. Why should their interest wane? Why should they not be interested in and proud of the prosperity of their own indigenous and ethnic areas? This is explained in chapter 4 section 4.2.1: they are part of Kuruman, and any development of the Kudumane area is a continuation of apartheid development or the continued existence of the Bophuthatswana homeland, which they reject.

The people are prepared to participate in activities in Kuruman. Yet – ironically - Kuruman is a town created and improved by apartheid, where the cost of living is highest. One has to wonder about the urge for the exodus. The reasons arrived at after a thorough analysis of the people's views are that by doing so, the Bantustan borders are broken down and cooperation and unity are forged between the two districts.

Another factor is the belief that the RDP projects were empty promises and that it would take long to implement them in the Kudumane district. In addition, infrastructural facilities were already in existence in Kuruman, and there was no reason for not taking advantage⁴⁸ of the situation.

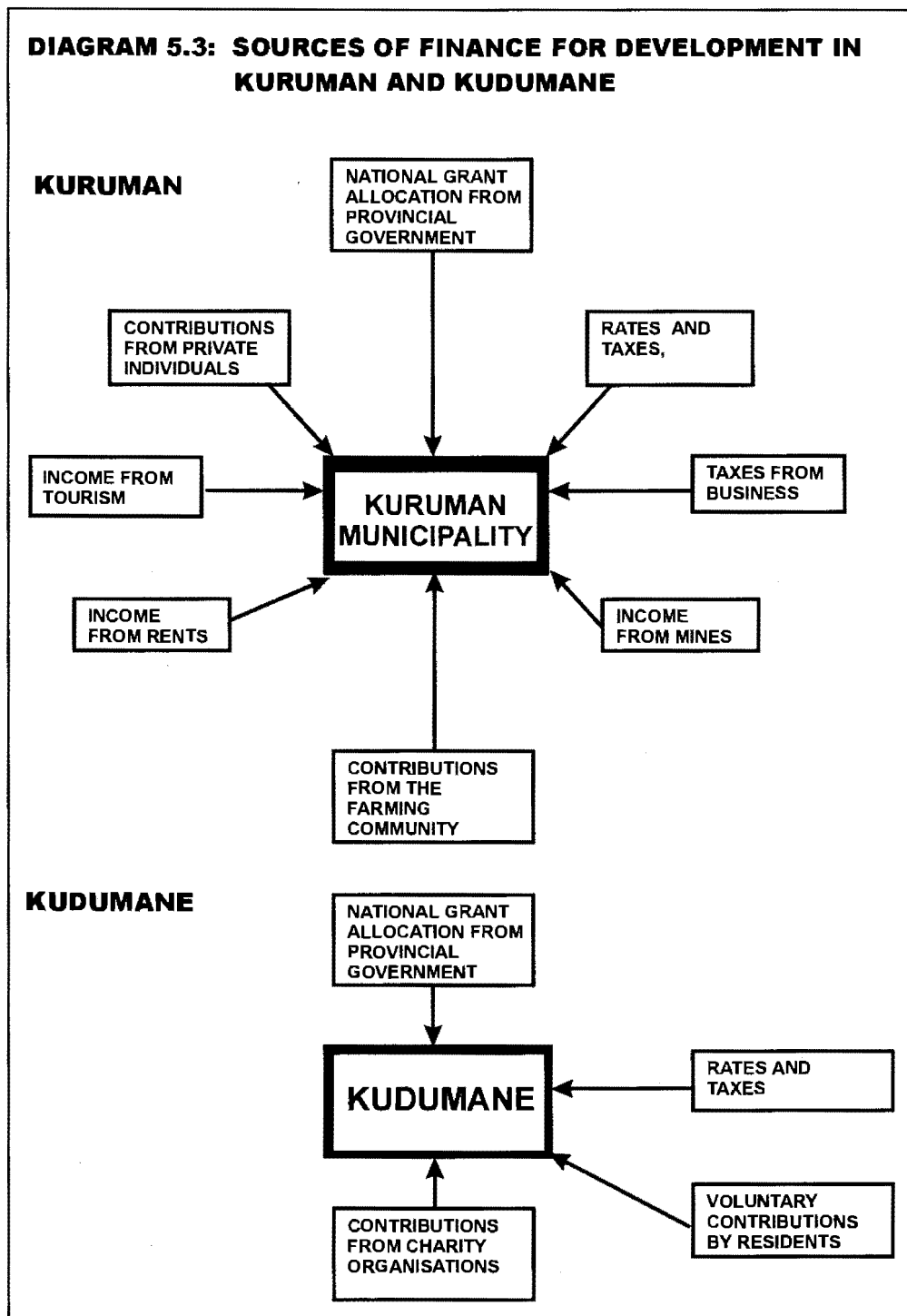
Further, the geographic conditions and economic prosperity noted in chapters one and four have served as pull factors discouraging development in Kudumane. Refer to diagrams 5.2 and 5.1.



In diagram 5.3, where sources of finance of both districts are compared, the economic viability of Kuruman becomes quite clear. Kuruman has a wider source of income, while Kudumane's sources of income are very limited. This financial viability has led to the flight of business from Kudumane to Kuruman.

⁴⁸ Reasons given by the local businessmen.

All these factors reduce the people's motivation to initiate development projects in the Kudumane district.



5.3.3 THE DEMOTIVATION OF THE TRIBAL CHIEFS

Interest in local development had been high - as gathered from the chief of Batlharos headmen and elders - but had waned substantially by 1967. The reasons adduced related to the Bantustan

(homeland) system. Before then, the tribal authority had funds that could be used. Activities were therefore people-based. Chiefs and headmen were paid allowances, which motivated them to call on their people for development activities. Later, headmen's allowances were cancelled and the chief's salaries reduced. The authorities that could mobilise the people became disgruntled. Headmen frequently absented themselves from the kgotla.

The disgruntled headmen either could not relay information from kgotla meetings to the communities because they were absent, or simply refused to do so. It is a painful realisation that the local administration itself could not encourage development initiatives, as they themselves were demotivated.

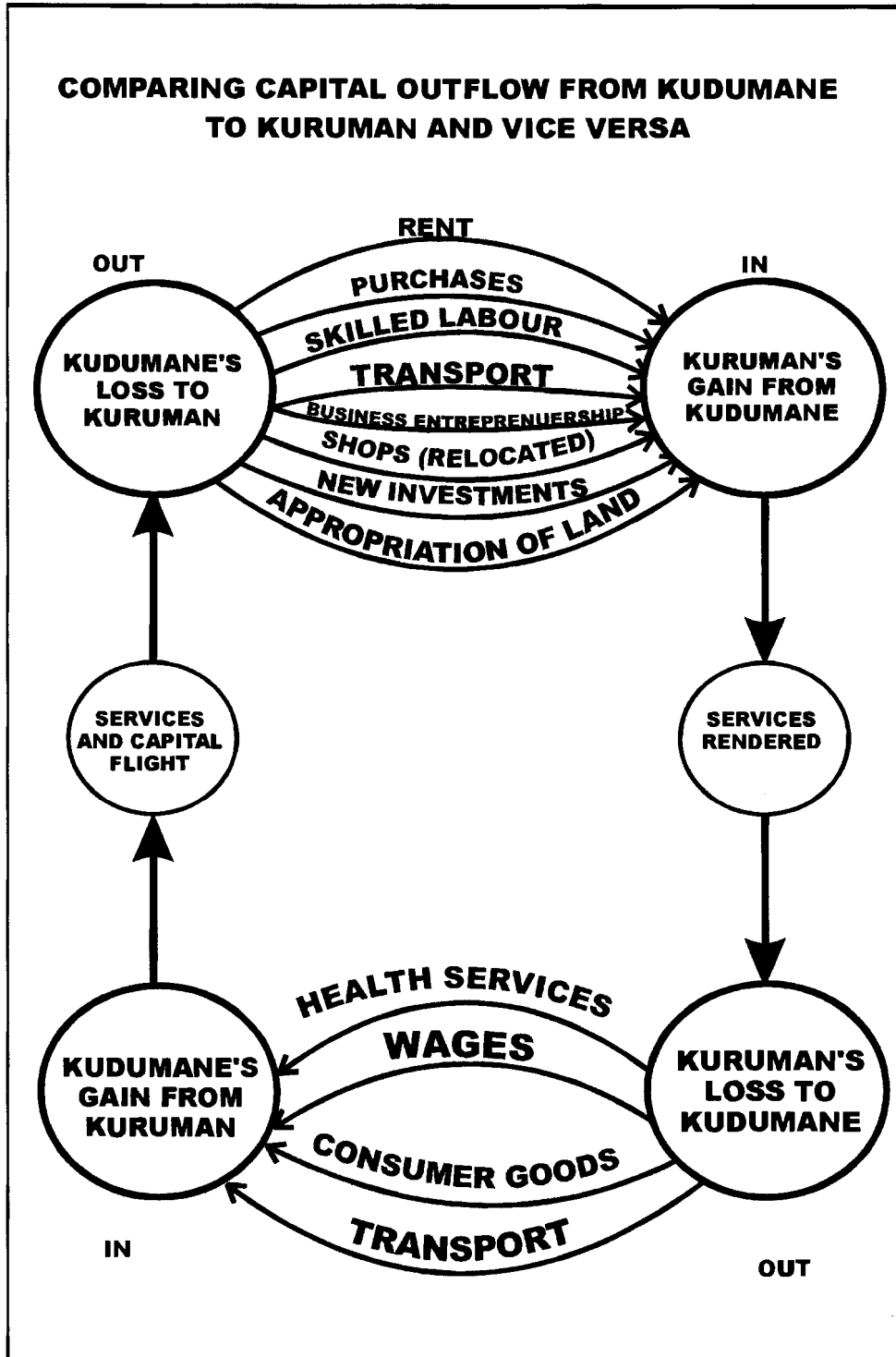
In chapters 3 and 4, sections 3.2 and 4.4 respectively, the issue of active involvement of the people and local leadership in the learning process was noted. The change agent was to determine how the local leadership could help bring about participation in local organisations. The suggestion was that the interests of the two groups should be taken care of so that they could be brought together. As was seen above, the financial interest of the local leadership was not taken care of, and this may have blocked the implementation of viable projects that would have helped improve the living conditions of the poor communities and empower them for self-development.

However, recent events suggest that attempts have been made to rekindle the interest of the chiefs and headmen. They are now involved in the new local councils and are to play very high contributory roles⁴⁹ in mobilising their people for local development.

5.3.4 GOVERNMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN KUDUMANE

In chapter five it was noted that participatory development in the local areas would ensue if only government became genuinely committed to rural development and if government's bias in favour of the urban communities changed. It was then suggested that this could be achieved by

⁴⁹ Information gathered from the Local Government head offices. Information suggests that with the establishment of the Provincial and National houses of traditional leaders, their remunerations have been greatly improved as an incentive to involve them in the governance of the country and in local development.

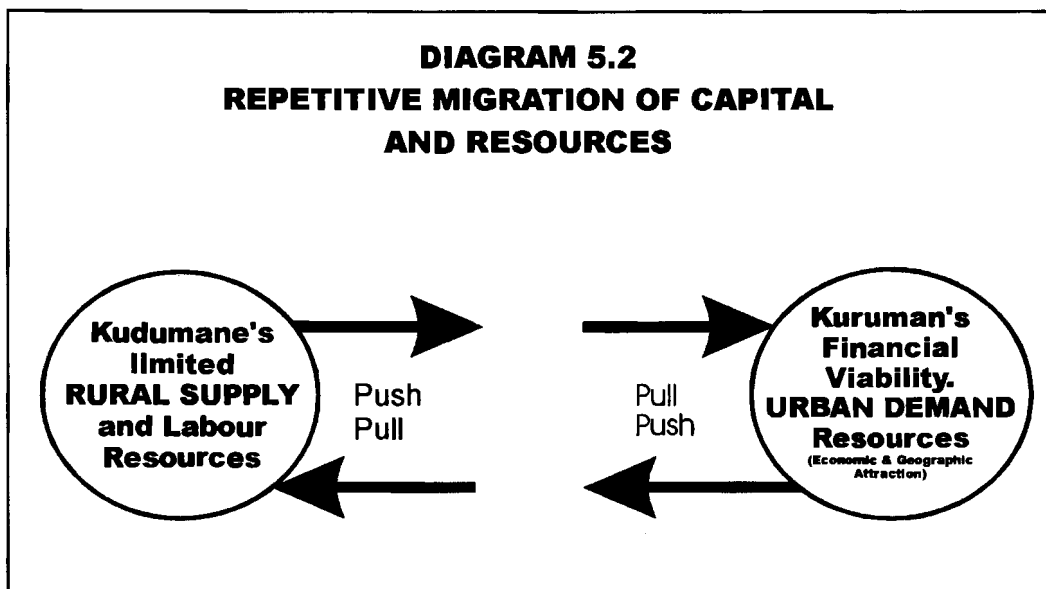
DIAGRAM 5.1

Interest in developing their district has waned. Why should their interest wane? Why should they not be interested in and proud of the prosperity of their own indigenous and ethnic areas? This is explained in chapter 4 section 4.2.1: they are part of Kuruman, and any development of the Kudumane area is a continuation of apartheid development or the continued existence of the Bophuthatswana homeland, which they reject.

The people are prepared to participate in activities in Kuruman. Yet – ironically - Kuruman is a town created and improved by apartheid, where the cost of living is highest. One has to wonder about the urge for the exodus. The reasons arrived at after a thorough analysis of the people's views are that by doing so, the Bantustan borders are broken down and cooperation and unity are forged between the two districts.

Another factor is the belief that the RDP projects were empty promises and that it would take long to implement them in the Kudumane district. In addition, infrastructural facilities were already in existence in Kuruman, and there was no reason for not taking advantage⁴⁸ of the situation.

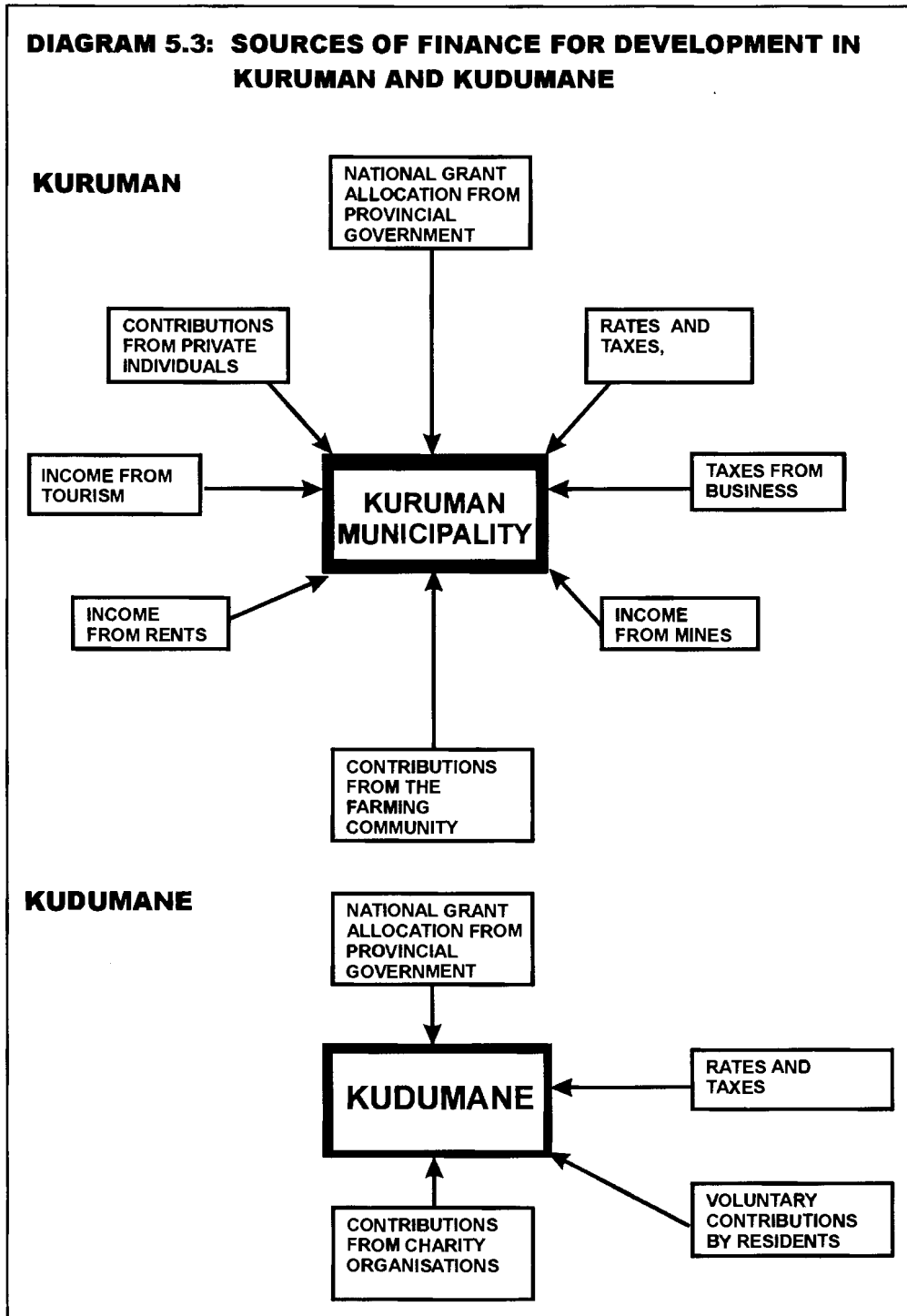
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decentralisation and administrative reforms to motivate and empower the administration at the local level. For effective people's participation, the approach should be a bottom-up one.

But in the survey undertaken for this work it was realised that government's approach to rural development up to the time of writing had been top down even though there had been talks and actions indicative of a bottom-up approach. In practice, not enough has been done to make it so. For example, the form of decentralisation that took place under the Bophuthatswana Government, which was meant to bring government closer to the people, was in practice a top-down administrative process (see charts 4.1 and 3.6). Bottom-up structures and processes had been contemplated for rural development as well as other legal structures, but autonomous authority was not devolved to the administrators to make decentralisation effective in practice (Bophuthatswana 1990). That form of decentralisation then may be described as a deconcentration of administrative functions.

The government found that decentralisation was politically risky, and so only a semblance of it was put in place (Jeppe 1982; Bergdall 1993). There was no local administration or field administration that had autonomy, despite the declared government intention. From the Department of Local Government's offices in Mmabatho (head office) and Mothibistad, information gathered revealed that officials from head office very infrequently visited the local areas. These shortcomings culminated in discouraging and reducing people's participatory activities.

Activities in the local communities must display some kind of power sharing to bring in participants. In the last days of Bophuthatswana, when the Government was encouraging rural development and local administration, Chikulo (1992:54) concluded that "...one can safely say that the new structure of district administration has brought decision-making with regard to district development closer to the people". But bringing decision-making closer to the people per se did not necessarily mean the people were actually making the decisions. Even where they did, whose decisions mattered? Definitely the government's! Unfortunately, this is not how people's participation in rural development activities is espoused in the literature (see chapters 2 and 3, especially Chambers 1997 and Bergdall 1993). Potential for the sustainability of development is lost when the context of development becomes development "for the people" instead of development "by the people" (Bergdall 1993:16).

If at any point in time it was suspected that there was a political risk in allowing autonomous local field administration, decisions coming from the people were not going to be accepted, no matter how “close” decision-making was brought to them (Bergdall 1993). Furthermore, the governorship was a political institution to make government policy felt by the rural people. Although they had development mandates, a people-based development was far from a reality.

In the current democratic dispensation, discussed in chapter 3 section 3.8, a decentralised system of administration has been adopted in the country as well as in the North West Province. The South African Constitution (1996), Local Government White Paper (1998) and the Local Government Act (52, 1997) all together put devolved authority and enabling settings in place (Kotzé 1997) for the devolution of authority to local and municipal authorities. Accordingly, transitional district (TDCs), local (TLCs), regional (TRCs) and Municipal (TMCs) councils responsible for local and rural services provision and administration have been set up. The earlier political risk of allowing autonomous local administration is no more, because representative councillors are there on political party basis. Since the ruling party’s representatives are in the majority, they may be able to contain any risk. Decisions may be in favour of government.

The local administrative structure therefore puts Kudumane district under Bophirima local government. However, the ability of this decentralisation to effect rural development in particular and the people's active participation in the Kudumane district is yet to be seen. The problem is the ability of local governments, which are now autonomous to implement programmes, in the face of limited capacities and resources as well as the limited tax base in the local areas.

The reality of the situation is that institutions of civil and local elites tend to monopolise local affairs and development resources. Considering the strength of local elites in the Kudumane area, active participatory development will be difficult to realise in spite of decentralisation. Decentralisation as discussed in Section 3.5.2 seems to be a laudable proposition to bring about local development in Kudumane, but it may also encourage unscrupulous and corrupt elites to discourage participatory development in the area. Development intervention would thus have to come from external change agents, unless, as stated in section 3.5.2.3.1, committed local political leaders see grassroots development as a vehicle for growth locally and nationally.

5.3.5 NGOs AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

In chapter 3 section 3.5.3.2.1, the role of NGOs (voluntary organisations) was seen as pivotal to development in the rural areas, as they are closer and have better access to the poor communities than government. They are able to motivate the people and provide in their needs (Cernea 1988; Clark 1991). In Kudumane, very few NGOs have made themselves available for the people to benefit from them. Perhaps this is due to the geographical location. However, the performance of the few that are there has been commendable.

These NGOs have been solely church organisations, namely the Anglican and Catholic missions. The Anglican churches in Kudumane and Kuruman have had historic mission work done by David Moffat, the first translator of the Bible into Setswana, and David Livingstone, the missionary and explorer.⁵⁰ The activities of these church organisations, such as those of the Catholic Mission, earlier helped greatly to motivate the people to build community primary schools, open crèches and an old people's home, and encouraged a spirit of community work among the people in Batlharos.

The fact that government schools are recent projects gives credence to chapter 3 section 3.9.3.3, where it is stated that NGOs thrive and are successful in areas where government has failed. The activities of NGOs (the church missions) and their motivation for rural development in this district is immense, and if other credible NGOs had later appeared on the development scene, the state of participatory initiatives and the number of development projects would have been high.

Further research work needs to be done to determine the reasons for the absence of recent NGO activities in this area. Those reasons would have a bearing on the answer to the research question. Owing to the limited scope of this study, suffice it to say that the apparent reason is that the previous government and traditional leaders did not encourage them to work in these areas. Van der Kooy (1990) points out that chiefs in traditional societies do not welcome outside interference in grassroots initiatives, so they block NGO initiatives. This might, perhaps, have discouraged large external NGOs from entering this traditional area. Empirical evidence to support this is found in the fact that when all the community schools were taken over by government, the

⁵⁰ Historical briefs of these church missionaries are to be found in the Kuruman Moffat Mission, which is a declared national monument.

communities were discouraged from making further extensions to the schools. Parent associations were dissuaded from raising funds to add any structures to the existing schools, since that was government's responsibility.⁵¹ This attitude is a demotivation for local development initiative. The prohibition discouraged any voluntary organisation from making an impact in the district.

5.3.6 RDP AND PARTICIPATION

On assumption of office in 1994, the South African Government of National Unity, headed by the ANC, released a policy document that was to ensure rural development, an acknowledgement that the countryside people had been marginalised (ANC 1994). Chapter Three alluded to the purpose of this policy as having people's participatory programmes entrenched and providing employment and opportunities for people to develop themselves, whereby poverty would be eliminated.

However, in Kudumane - as in many other places in South Africa - it was misconstrued as a programme of job creation providing 'jobs for the boys'. That is, employment for all followers of the ruling government party. The programme was viewed, erroneously, as being meant to provide in all the needs of the rural communities by government. There was therefore no need for any self-initiated community projects. Thus rural development projects that sought the people's participation came to a halt, and thus ended the Batlharos ad hoc water committee's work.

It was envisaged that government would provide in the rural infrastructural needs, *viz.*: - further water supply, housing, roads, levelling of the village streets etc. through public works. The people's involvement and contributions were hardly mentioned or emphasised by the new political leaders. Perhaps this was a deliberate attempt to win a large following and election votes. In the end, the communities became disappointed because neither their expectations were fulfilled nor their needs addressed properly.

The conception of the RDP in the district has been that of an organ for the restoration of rights and the correction of social and political wrongs - and inequalities - as embedded in the RDP

⁵¹ A typical example to support this is obtained from Batlharo Tihaping High School, where the researcher taught for 9 years. Here the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) raised a voluntary contribution to the tune of R45 000.00 for the purpose of building a school administration block. They could not implement their decision because the department of public works told them that since the school was a public institution, all extensions to the school were their responsibility. The money was then used to buy duplicating equipment for the school.

principles of Meeting Basic Needs and Democratising the State and Society (ANC1994: 14-52; 119-133). The RDP's implementation was to be through mass participation at the level of individuals, groups and communities. Funds were to be mobilised nationally and locally. However, these ideals could not be achieved within the stipulated time frames of two and three years. After six years, many of its objectives are yet to be achieved. Others have been abandoned. Performances have been dismal.

In Kudumane, the RDP programme has been a total failure as far as mass participation in RD is concerned. Because of the politicisation of committees formed to initiate RD, they have not been able to mobilise the masses for community-based RD activities. There was infighting within the RDP committee itself over positions and funds, and it consisted of mostly ANC party activists. This, together with ethnocentrism discussed in Chapter 4 within the community, alienated many people from the development process. Furthermore, the committee's activities followed a blueprint approach to development. The commitment of the leadership to the success of the programme was low. Some leaders considered it as a means of making money and embezzled funds allocated for projects. They had therefore not been able to fulfil the high expectations of the village communities.

In chapters three and four it was argued that by involving the people, particularly in the decision-making process, any project would become viable and sustainable (Tacconi & Tisdell 1992). It is also when the felt needs can be satisfied that the real needs could materialise. Participation of the people in community projects in the Kudumane district since 1994 has been very rare. Often the communities are called to meetings⁵², but these meetings are merely for their information. They are told what the leaders have decided on and intend to implement rather than discussing the needs of the community and soliciting the people's inputs.

Typical cases to support the above are the construction of the multipurpose skilled centres in the name of the RDP at Batlharos, Kagung and Vyk, as well as the library at Mothibistad. While the Batlharos community wanted a sports field, which was to be one of the target projects after the water project, the political leaders and the RDP committee (newly set up) advocated a multipurpose skilled centre. The RDP committee, which was also basically a political committee - an offshoot of the local branch of ANC - used its political influence to build a 'multipurpose

⁵²Information obtained from the town clerk and the mayor of Mothibistad.

centre' on the site earmarked for a sports field. It was a political decision, in the name of the RDP, by the local elites.

The centres have been completed and officially opened by the North West Provincial MEC for industry, but have remained unutilised since completion in 1997. They have become white elephants. This vividly illustrates a typical case of a top-down approach where the views of the people are ignored in favour of the 'uppers' and the project is seen as 'their centre' and not 'ours' (Swanepoel 1983; Chambers 1997).

5.3.7 CAPACITY BUILDING THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Arguments in section 4.4 had proposed that for participation to succeed in building capacities and for the people to take their own development initiatives, it had to take place through a group action where opportunities would be widened and shared (Johnston 1982; Cohen & Uphoff 1980).

It has been noted in this chapter on Batlharos that although government might contend that participation and local development initiatives might be inimical to it, it is not the intention of participation to obstruct government in carrying out its responsibilities regarding local development, but to bring the people into this process so that they may learn from it and enhance their capacity to understand, appreciate and initiate development action.

As indicated in Chapters 3 and 4, government may sometimes have no genuine commitment to participation even though they talk of local development and 'bringing government closer to the people'. What this phrase meant was making government's political authority and strength felt and achieving better political control over the local people. At that point in time, government functionaries were to dictate the tone and content of the development process. Although local people were brought into the water project, genuine commitment of the past Bophuthatswana government to empowering the people through this project was not there.

The failure to genuinely empower the people at that time had been caused by the absence of what Cohen and Uphoff (1977) called an uncondusive political environment. Kotzé (1997) corroborates this and points out that there should be a more conducive and enabling environmental setting to bring about local development that encourages capacity building. Fisher (1994) also demonstrates that a democratic political trend is significant and necessary to facilitate participation and its offshoot of empowerment. Yet despite the new democratic political

environment, an analysis of the present research shows that this empowerment for local development initiatives has not taken place in the Kudumane district.

5.4.1 CONCLUSIONS / RESEARCH RESULTS

The conclusions arrived at in this study are set out below.

5.4.1 Conclusions regarding the objective of the study

The objective of this study was to identify the causes of the people's limited participatory initiatives in rural development by the communities in the Kudumane district. Through investigation and analysis of rural development conditions in the area, and specifically the Batlharos water project, it can be established that the level of popular participation and development initiatives is low. Very few people are prepared to actively take part in rural development activities. As a consequence, fewer development projects initiated by the people are implemented.

The above conditions have arisen as a result of the following causes:

- (a) The apartheid administrative structure.
- (b) Government's attitude towards rural development.
- (c) Political rivalry, fear and suspicions, which caused one group's participation to discourage the participation of the others.
- (d) Conservatism and poverty of the people and their preparedness to accept and maintain their status quo (poor conditions).
- (e) The unwillingness of the youths to undertake voluntary activity.
- (f) The continued oppression of the oppressed by the local elite - the legacy of apartheid.
- (g) Demotivation stemming from the failure of the RDP and a culture of handouts.
- (h) The influence of the nearby urban service centre of Kuruman.

(a) *The apartheid administrative structure*

To impute one of the causes of low development initiatives to the apartheid administrative structure is appropriate because it has been shown in this study that separate development did occur and the people of Mothibistad were alienated from Kuruman. This resulted in

bitter resentment, animosity, impoverishment, an attitude of rejection and withdrawal within the community.

The community of Mothibistad looked on Kuruman with jealousy and envy. The rapid implementation of development projects in Kuruman was seen as government initiated and implemented. They expected the same treatment.

Being disadvantageously located in a barren and impoverished land, they regarded their status as a lost cause and expected nothing good for themselves. This attitude is indicated in chapters 2 and 4 in this study. They expected government to provide in their needs. This attitude of 'expectation' was nurtured over a long period. It is a bad omen for rural development in the area, because government's resources are limited. Dependency on government's provisions will cause the poor conditions there to deteriorate further. A radical people's rural development action must be encouraged if people's living levels are to be improved. The culture of handouts should be discouraged.

(b) *Government's attitude towards rural development (political factors)*

The second cause of limited development initiative as derived from the study is government's attitude towards rural development. Rural development was not considered as a means of empowering the local communities and building their capacities for development. In the Batlharos water project and other rural development programmes in the Kudumane district, those in power subjected ad hoc development committees to the domination of political functionaries and chiefs. This was due to government's fear of political challenge by local group formation.

Because of this fear, the project under study was implemented in a hostile political climate that emphasised the lack of commitment to participatory development by government and local bureaucrats. The authorities formulated development plans and brought them down to the people to form implementation committees that consisted of their cohorts. The false impression was created that people-based committees had been formed for the initiation of participatory development projects. In fact, the processes of forming committees were not used as vehicles of development participation, but as government's information channel. Such actions also created the impression that development was a

political concept and the sole responsibility of government. This conception is empirically wrong if government's limited resources and lack of local knowledge are carefully considered.

However, all indications are that when development committees (despite ideologies) are properly utilised, they form a basis for grooming a sympathetic local leadership that would encourage the formation of local groupings or action groups and participation in development projects.

(c) *Political rivalry and fear that discouraged others from participating*

The third cause, which is related to the second, is political rivalry. This is demonstrated in chapter 4. Apart from apartheid and the general revulsion against it, local political rivalry existed between the ANC and the UCDP parties. Because of this rivalry, when one group might be keen to contribute ideas and participate in a development project, the other obstructed it. In the past, the UCDP would not entertain any contribution by the ANC, and so the ANC sought to undermine projects of the UCDP. In the current dispensation at kgotla meetings, ANC groupings downplay and frown on a UCDP contribution and criticism, no matter how constructive they are. All these stifle development participation and initiatives by others, who have good ideas and local knowledge, but fear victimisation.

In this chapter, it has emerged that the government feared that participation and local development initiatives might be inimical to it and therefore discouraged local participation and development initiatives. This is reflected in the attitude of the people of Kudumane towards such initiatives.

(d) *Conservatism and poverty of the people and their preparedness to accept and maintain their status quo (poor conditions)*

In Chapters 1, 2, and 4, the poor conditions of the place and people were made clear. Being poor inhibits them to take development action, as explained in section 5.3 of this chapter. Conservation and the maintenance of their status quo have resulted. They feel that they can do very little to change their environmental and social conditions. An external agent, particularly government, is therefore expected to come to their rescue and

provide in their basic needs. This tendency is due to the absence of other credible national and local NGOs working in this area. Chapter 3 dealt with this. If NGOs, which pride themselves on being closer to the people and so know local needs better than government, had been found active in the area, their guidance and education would have changed the people's conservative attitudes.

(e) *The unwillingness of the youth to undertake voluntary activity*

Responses from social workers and interviews with some youths revealed that unemployment had made the youth unwilling to undertake any voluntary activity. This has been noted in Chapter 4. In a situation where the youth form the majority in the rural towns, their response to development is critical to a successful evolution of active people's participation. In this instance, where their responses are negative, participation has not taken place.

(f) *The continued oppression of the oppressed by the local elites, i.e. the legacy of apartheid*

A sixth factor identified is the continued oppression by the local elites, who have primacy over local affairs. The picture that emerged during observations and interviews was that the local leadership had attained so much supremacy over local affairs that they could block local development initiatives not emanating from them. They have also assumed some political power and influence and thus pose a threat and generate fear among the people. This is borne out by the stalemate that occurred in trying to convert Kagiso clinic to a full hospital (discussed in chapter four). Current emerging leadership is not different from earlier leadership.

(g) *Demotivation stemming from the failure of the RDP and a culture of handouts*

A seventh factor is the demotivation of the people by the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme. Rather than making the people enthusiastic about taking development upon their shoulders, the RDP has instead led them to expect government to completely shoulder rural development - it seems to have reinforced the culture of government handouts. This is a misconception of the objectives of the RDP by not only the Kudumane people, but also by others in the country experiencing similar conditions. Their misconception may be justified, since the people's involvement and contributions were hardly mentioned or solicited when the programme was launched. It was a political

manifesto or programme, therefore the harsh realities to be encountered by the people were not disclosed. Since the RDP did not motivate them to undertake rural development by themselves, it did not have any significant meaning for the people of the area.

The approach of the programme has been top down. That does not encourage the people's participatory initiatives. Local administration has not been effectively functional, and senior officials are still not frequenting the area to evaluate and appraise rural development at Kudumane. Administratively, the government does not have the effective capacity to deal with rural development and to change things in the area. One can easily see that the bureaucracy has administratively isolated the area. This isolation has had a detrimental effect on development.

(h) *The influence of the nearby urban service centre of Kuruman*

The eighth factor is the influence of Kuruman, a nearby urban service centre and district. The influence of Kuruman is detailed in chapter 4, where the frustration of the people in the Kudumane district and their attitude towards participatory development initiatives is described. Kuruman is sucking the resources out of the Kudumane area, which is progressively becoming more underdeveloped (see Frank 1966). Indicators of this underdevelopment are empty shops in the shopping complex, very few taxis using the taxi ranks provided at the complex and a preference to go shopping in Kuruman despite the availability of the same items at Mothibistad at the same prices.

The growing importance of the rapidly flourishing district of Kuruman, of which Kudumane district used to be part, is not having any positive social or economic effect on the Kudumane district. The wealth of Kuruman and capital outflow from the Kudumane community are only used for Kuruman's development. The trend to relocate there is inhibiting self-generated rural development in the Kudumane district.

From these causes that inhibit self-initiated rural development or a people's development process in Kudumane, it becomes quite clear that where competition occurs between groups in a community, popular participation is no cure for rural underdevelopment. Participation requires cohesion and unanimity of action. Despite Batlharos' cultural unity, the political disunity does not encourage a sustained people's self-initiated rural

development. However, despite its limitations, people's participation is the most effective development strategy so far.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The failure of the ad hoc water committee to continue its work under the new political administration due to rivalry between groups, and the undertaking of 'white elephant' projects under the aegis of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, call for a development framework for the area.

5.5.1 Pertaining to the Apartheid Structure - Merging the Two Districts

The continued separate existence of the two districts does not augur well for a harmonious participatory development. Therefore the governments of the North West and Northern Cape provinces should meet with the local elites, officials and representatives of the two districts for the purpose of charting out an amicable co-existence of the two districts. Elsewhere in Chapter 4 it was noted that the Boundary Demarcation Board has proposed merging the Mothibistad TRC and Kuruman TLC into one municipality. However, they would still remain under separate provinces. This is likely to cause some administrative problems and bottlenecks. It is proposed that these two come under the same political (provincial) administration. This would remove the vestiges of apartheid and the alienation, which the people want to do away with.

- (a) Reorganisation of the district administrative structure should be done such that some whites go to work in the offices of the Kudumane area and some blacks go to the Kuruman area. The current system, where only whites administer work in the Kuruman municipal council and blacks work in the Kudumane district, makes for distrust and animosity when the two come together.
- (b) Development funds and revenue from the local mines must be spread evenly to cover the rural sectors of Kudumane as well.
- (c) Education and strong canvassing for the patronage of rural services must be undertaken, so that the communities patronise services in the rural service centres and increase income and growth in the Kudumane area.

5.5.2 Political and Governmental Attitudes Towards Rural Development

- a) Government should consider local organisations in the rural communities as instruments for empowerment and not as a means of political control. Local organisations must be apolitical to be sustainable. Their formation and autonomy should be encouraged. Political functionaries should not be imposed on them as leaders, as has happened with RDP committees.
- b) Village-based skills training for self-employment and development activities spearheaded by the social workers in the district should be undertaken and given adequate support by the provincial government and national NGOs. Grassroots NGO formation is essential and must be encouraged.
- c) Since the tax base of the rural community is very narrow, Government should allocate more funds to the development activities in the rural areas, particularly for the integrated activities of the health services, road construction, improvement and resurfacing and the supply of potable water that is readily accessible. These public works would also ensure employment to local people.
- d) The local government election of 2000 ended the transitional nature of councils in the North West Province. The provincial department of Local Government and Housing envisages that institutional mechanisms for coordinating rural development in order to address the issue of capacity constraints and development initiatives should function within a decentralised system as depicted in Chart 3.5. The agency with the responsibility for rural development will be the District Councils. These would have to establish horizontal and vertical integration of development activities within the rural areas. The coordination of these activities provincially should be vested in the Department of Local Government and Housing through the Directorate of Rural Development Unit. The department could then establish a Provincial Rural Development Forum (PRDF) comprising representatives from all provincial departments involved in rural development initiatives and representatives from the district councils.

Currently, the Strategic Planning and Development Unit (SPDU) in the Office of the Premier performs the provincial coordinating role. It has its district office at Mothibistad. The key role of this SPDU is only to gather information about existing and ongoing projects and programmes, rather than to coordinate provincial rural development programme initiatives before they are implemented. This restricted role has caused underemployment,⁵³ or rather redundancy, at the Mothibistad office. The functioning of the district coordinating office should be reactivated to coordinate the rural development activities of the various government departments in the district.

In fact, the government must strengthen and spell out the coordinating activities of the office at Mothibistad clearly. This will enhance the administrative capacity of local government field officials, who will be more in touch with or closer to the local people, thereby encouraging and motivating rural development initiatives from the grassroots.

The PRDF roles should thus be to:

- coordinate all provincial development initiatives
 - maximise rural development through the utilisation of provincial resources
 - ensure that District Councils are fully engaged in all provincial development initiatives that impact upon rural people.
- e) Political rivalry should not be allowed to interfere with development activities in the district. Proper political and development-oriented education should be given to the elites and local political leaders, through workshops and socio-political rallies in the Kudumane district. Through education, local elites can be taught to understand the needs of the poor and hence help to fight for their cause.

5.5.3 Poverty, Conservatism and the Youth

- a) In order to facilitate a more people-centred approach to development initiatives and to get the youth to actively participate in rural development, the following is worth noting: -

⁵³ This was clearly observed over a period of roughly one year. Often employees were found loitering or sleeping on their desks. Computers and word processors were shut down or covered. Employees' explanations were that they were not being assigned work to do. A welfare officer seconded to this office from Agricor had to return due to the underutilisation of her services.

- b) The adoption of the food-for-work principle. This would be a motivation for those who have no means of subsistence after a hard day's community service. It also would encourage cohesion among the local people.
- c) Donor agencies must come to the assistance of the people in the district with long-term flexible funding arrangements suited to the rural people's conditions and needs, departing from blueprint arrangements. This means donor agencies, government and other funding organisations must be prepared to finance starters of small farming and business ventures at very low rates of interest. Repayment should be spread over a long period. This will encourage the youth and others to find work for themselves, reduce poverty and encourage their participation in rural development. In this regard, Rural Banks that would operate according to the needs and conditions of this specific area could be established by the Central Bank.

5.5.4 Elimination of Other Demotivating Factors

- a) Membership of RDP Committees should be all-inclusive, regardless of any social or political inclinations or lineage.
- b) RDP education focused on helping the people to execute development plans they have worked out for themselves should be rigorously carried out provincially, nationally and locally.
- c) Chiefs and headmen acting as focal points for coordinating rural development in the villages must be appropriately remunerated.

5.5.5 Principles Forming the Basis of Effective People's Participation

The following principles are suggested to form the basis of a more participatory form of development, which could also be applied elsewhere in the same circumstances.

- a) Rural development and people's participation in it should be seen as a strategy for human development in the rural areas and the identification and fulfilment of rural needs. These needs are embodied in a mix of what Bhandari identified as a set of three, being:-

“.....the physiological needs which must be met to sustain life

“.....gaining the satisfactions of a productive life”

“.....social and psychic fulfillment”

(Korten and Alfonso 1983:173).

The understanding that participation is based on the fulfilment of these human needs and not on material growth should lead to the successful development of people who voluntarily involve themselves in many development projects.

- b) The formation of grassroots or local organisations is a necessary and sufficient condition for the rural people’s participation in community activities. It is through such organisations that they can make their voices heard in a democracy, feel wanted and can make contributions to their community. Fear of oppression and suppression is eliminated and not even thought of because they are free to opt out in case of dissatisfaction. That is why the promotion of participatory organisations to motivate people’s own initiatives in a development process was suggested earlier. Otherwise, development will continue to be a top-down process that ignores freedom and people’s needs.
- c) Education of the people with regard to the need for 'own initiatives' and 'own development' is crucial for rural development participation. This should occur through a learning process that ensures accumulation of knowledge and self-reliance and eliminates of dependence among the rural people. It also facilitates a bottom-up development process.
- d) The commitment of the bureaucracy to the welfare of the underprivileged rural poor is of great importance. A flexible bureaucracy can respond to the problems and needs of the rural poor. Therefore, a flexible bureaucracy that is committed to rural welfare and the political will of government to make rural development work is necessary to increase the extent of development initiatives in Kudumane.
- e) Another important factor is the involvement in rural development of NGOs and research organisations. Research organisations can clarify the needs, conditions and problems of

the rural areas. They will bring about a greater understanding of the people that will foster people's participation, and NGOs could use such knowledge when implementing government programmes and projects entrusted to them.

The presence of NGOs, as we have noted in chapter 5, would help channel funds and development aid properly. They will also manage and implement development projects better. With NGOs, the radical approach to people's own initiation of participatory projects can be ensured.

5.5.6 Recommendations for Further Research

For a deeper understanding of the rural development process in the Kudumane district and in order to encourage people's participation, the following areas need to be researched.

- a) How NGO activities in the area can contribute to a more active and people-oriented rural development.
- b) The relevance of the provincial education system in the area and ways in which it can help achieve participatory development should be investigated.
- c) Further research is also needed to establish why the urban service centres of the former RSA are now preferred by the rural people, not only in the Kudumane district but also in Ganyesa, Pampierstad etc., to the adjacent rural service centres established under the former Bophuthatswana government. Such a study could suggest ways of making rural service centres viable.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The Batlharos project did not offer genuine capacity building, although the people were brought into the process, owing to the unhealthy political climate and rivalry. Political statements, bitter pronouncements, bickering, promises (often unfulfilled) have all tended to stifle development initiatives under the new government. In fact, these have produced dependency instead of the self-reliance and community initiatives that are so sorely needed, given the current shortage of resources.

One hopes that the current local government transformation exercises noted in chapter 3, the promulgation of the Local Government Act 209 and the White Paper (South Africa 1998b), as well as the local and municipal election of the year 2000 will turn this situation around, and that they will encourage people's participation and more community-based and community-initiated rural development programmes and projects.

CHAPTER 6

SYNOPSIS

This work has been an exploratory as well as an investigative study of participatory rural development, using the Kudumane district as a case study. The aim of this chapter is to give a summary of the salient points made in the various chapters.

Chapter 1 presented a detailed background of the study area to provide insight into the rural nature of the area, against which the problem that formed the basis of this study was presented. It was noted that rural development aims to enhance people's potential to take self-actuated development action. For self-initiated rural development to occur, activities must be people based, voluntary and involve the majority of the community.

In the Kudumane district, the challenge to rural development is the people's limited initiatives and their lack of enthusiasm and interest in people-based rural development programmes. This was the focus of this study. This problem had led to very little rural development activities taking place, the existence of few development projects and infrastructure and the persistent migration of the youth to the cities.

Flowing from this problem, an objective was formulated for the study: -

To identify the causes of the people's limited participation in initiatives in rural development projects in the Kudumane district.

The methodology pursued in order to attain this objective and to collect data was thereafter indicated as qualitative, which involved the use of open-ended interviews and participatory observations. A detailed literature study on this problem was pursued in order to survey past and present thinking in the field of development administration.

Poverty was raised as a fundamental problem in Kudumane's development, and it was postulated that its elimination should be the main focus in any consideration of rural development and development generally. Poverty was found to be endemic in the area and drawing the youth to the urban centres, yet nothing was being done by the government and the

people themselves to alleviate it. Poverty could be eliminated through the people's own initiatives, which were found lacking. Without the people themselves taking the initiative or being very proactive about their own development, their poverty - defined as 'lack of resources for self-improvement and advancement as well as deprivation' - could persist ad infinitum. What had gone wrong was that very little attempt had been made to resolve the problems of narrow ethnic and political differences and interests. Poverty therefore provided the basis or point of departure for this chapter of the study.

Chapter two discussed the meaning of participation, the key concept of this study, and the various approaches that had been adopted. It was noted that development perspectives have changed in emphasis from modernisation through the reformist basic needs to the radical and the more humanistic approaches. These perspectives were examined with respect to rural development, its problems and the strategies that would effect the provision in rural needs. It was postulated that the involvement of the people in their own development, particularly in taking the initiative and in decision-making (a bottom-up strategy), was a sine qua non in all development approaches. This was related to the area under study.

The rural people have to see development as a self-initiated action. Through participating in development activities, they could be increasingly transformed and empowered with not only technical and economic capacities to achieve their set goals, but also social, political and environmental awareness, which in the process of development would sustain the environment within which they interact, making life worth living. They could then share the gains equitably.

Other major aspects of the theory of participatory rural development were discussed and elaborated in chapter three. In this chapter it was shown that development should be people-based and bottom up; that rural development is attainable and sustained where the people are involved. Participation in projects among the rural people is either externally or internally generated. Active popular involvement is internally generated and brings about a major transformation and rationalisation in decision-making. Where it is externally generated, it should facilitate the activation of the rural people from passive adopters to thinkers, rational decision-makers and implementers. With regard to participation in the Kudumane district, attention needs to be drawn to the above, because such internal initiatives and facilitation do not often occur. The customary practice was that government provided directly in their needs,

which cultivated a culture of handouts. This situation does not conform to theory, and hence the problem identified for this study.

Factors that could facilitate people's participation, their nature and functions as well as their strengths and weaknesses were also discussed in this chapter. It was indicated that these factors include local organisations, interest associations, decentralisation and the bureaucracy, government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It was noted that participatory development could be achieved through the commitment of government to undertake rural development and the willingness of the bureaucracy to devolve authority to field officers or local administrators. The altruistic character of NGOs enables them to mobilise the people in participatory activities where government has failed to reach or is incapable of reaching the people. These factors and many other political and economic forces should have encouraged Kudumane's development. As the past government had found it difficult to decentralise administration and had neglected Kudumane for a long time, and NGO activities that should have supplemented government's efforts had been negligible, no development had ensued.

The coming into existence of local organisations depends on the benefits to be derived from them. Where private good (benefit) would be derived, the participation level becomes high and vice versa. Through autonomous local organisations, the participatory development approach may become a bottom-up process that may lead to the attainment of effective and efficient administrative capacities, skills and sustainability of projects. But the formation of local organisations to engage in local development was not popular enough to effect any bottom-up community action in Kudumane. Due to poverty, immediate individual interest became a greater concern.

In order to facilitate the examination of rural development activities and participation in the Kudumane district, a historic background to local administration in South Africa and the North West province was given. The changes that have occurred, how they have impinged on development administration, the level of rural development participation as well as development initiatives by the local people in the Kudumane district were all discussed in chapter four. The socio-economic conditions of the Kudumane district, its development processes and the design and implementation of a rural water project in Batlharos as a test case for participatory development were reviewed.

It was discovered during the study that the change from apartheid structures augurs well for participatory rural development in Kudumane and that institutional support would encourage any self-initiated programme in the rural communities. By 1995, local government reform structures had been put in place in the North West province and South Africa in general, giving autonomy to local councils for local self-initiated development programmes and projects, while also allowing a proper look at some rural problems and their suggested solutions.

It was noted that the poor geographical location and socio-economic conditions had led to stagnation of development and increased poverty. In addition, apartheid had also taken a great toll of the people's well-being. The blueprint approach to development had been applied in all development actions in the apartheid past, except for a few cases of self-initiated people's development actions. Currently Kudumane's rural development efforts have been top down, with designs made by government and the people later called upon to join in the process. This was seen in the case of the Batlharos rural water project - a case of passive participation, which is radically referred to as 'sentimental' participation (Pretty 1995).

Thus the past and present governments' attitude and actions had made people think that development was the sole responsibility of government (The Citizen, 10 October 2000). Hence the prevailing expectation of handouts as against the need for self-initiated, sustainable development in the district.

In chapter 5, interview results, fieldwork and other issues raised in the study were analysed and some conclusions were drawn. It was observed that genuine empowerment of the people had not occurred, owing to the non-conducive political environment and rivalry. Political conflicts, sectoral interests and lack of political accommodation for opposing or dissenting views had stifled rural development in the district. The people of Kudumane misconstrue the RDP, a supposedly people-driven programme, to be the ruling government's programme to score points. Therefore motivation is low in this sector and the people have refused to participate and use effectively the rural development projects recently completed. Here two issues arise: (1) The disregard for real needs of the people and (2) the perpetuation of the attitude of dependency on government.

The findings of the research work presented in this chapter were that the major causes of lack of initiative among the people in local development had been political rivalry and competition between groups and the cultivation of the culture of government's handouts. In addition, the apartheid system, poverty and conservatism, local oppression by elites, the influence of Kuruman (a border town and urban service centre) as well as some other demotivating factors all contributed immensely to the limited rural development initiatives in the Kudumane district.

Chapter 5 presented recommendations which, it is hoped, will facilitate the solution of the problem – namely that the Kudumane people are relying on and expecting handouts from government - which has stifled their development initiatives. Recommendations for further research in the area were also made.

6.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Considering the conclusions arrived at and recommendations made in chapter 5, it is hoped that the commitment of government and bureaucrats to the development of the poor and minimal intrusion in their local affairs (in the form of advice and more funding) will bring about a more active people's participation in projects in the Kudumane district and other places with similar conditions. Active participation in development projects by the local population can change the living conditions of the poor and the disadvantaged and ensure true rural development and empowerment. In the end, the poor rural people's initiatives and decisions on local development should matter more to any development practitioner than those of the elites and outsiders, because local people possess the greatest knowledge of local conditions, culture and the ecology.

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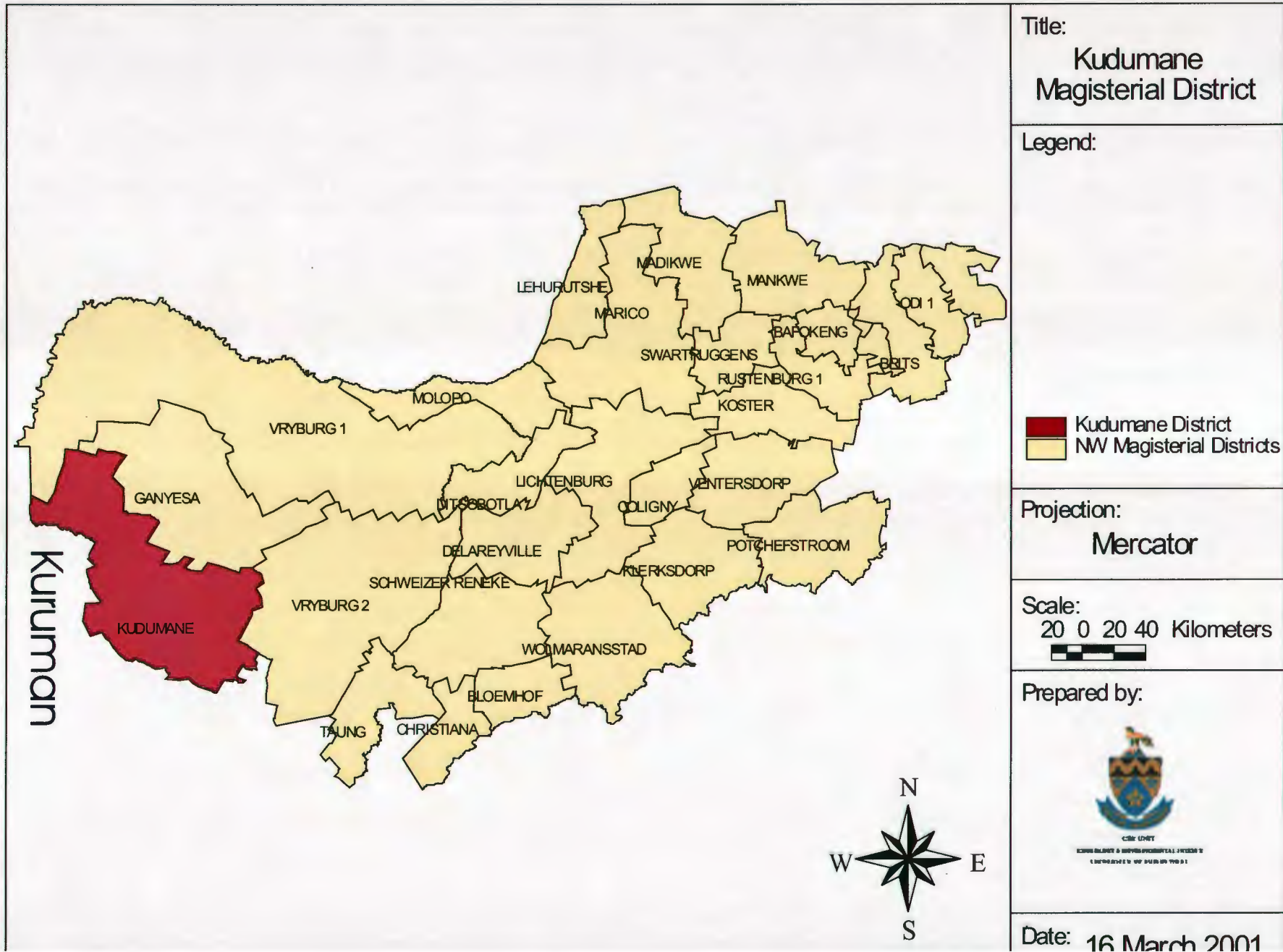
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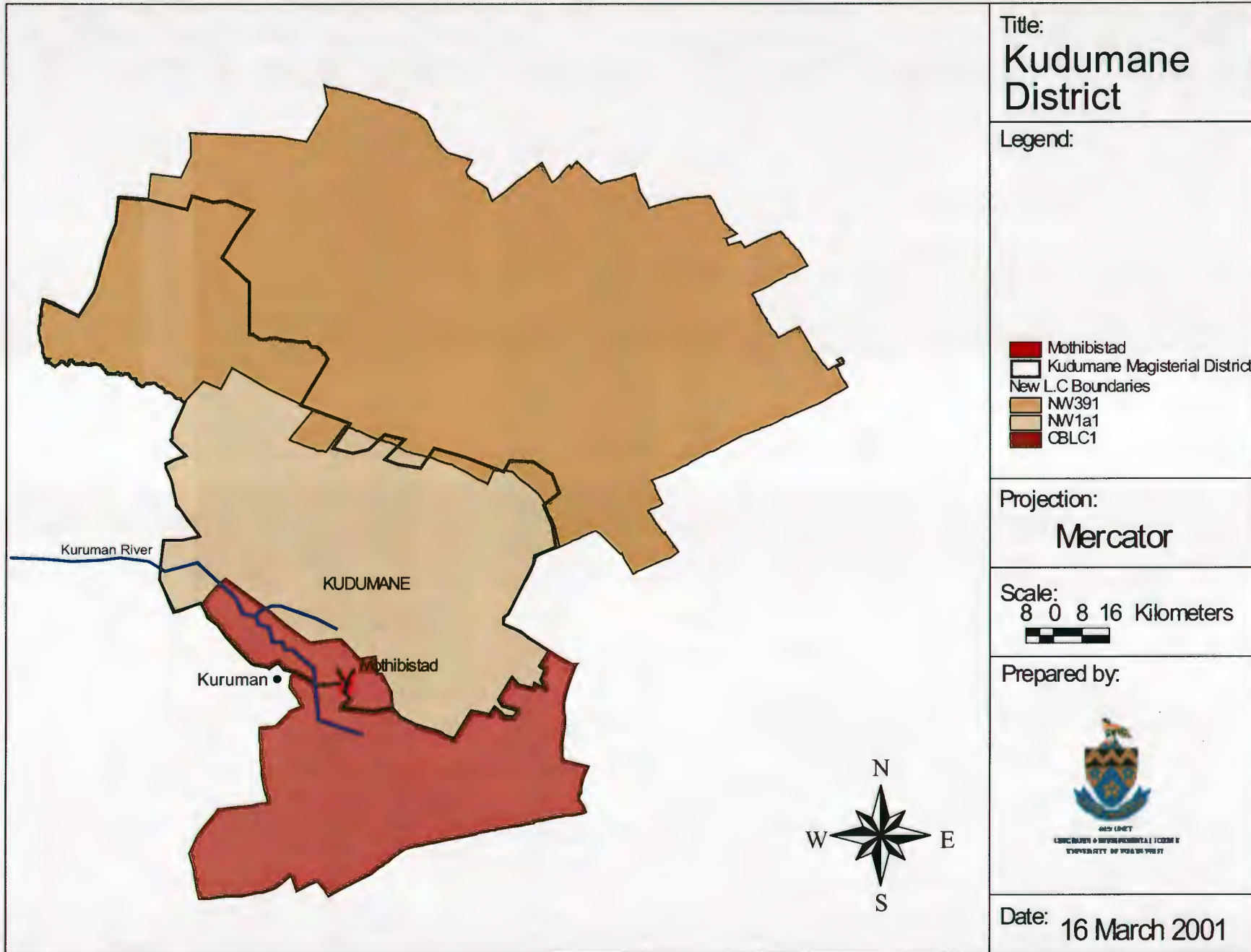
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APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II



Title:
Kudumane District

Legend:

- Mothibistad
- Kudumane Magisterial District
- New L.C Boundaries
- NW391
- NW1a1
- CBLC1

Projection:
Mercator

Scale:
 8 0 8 16 Kilometers

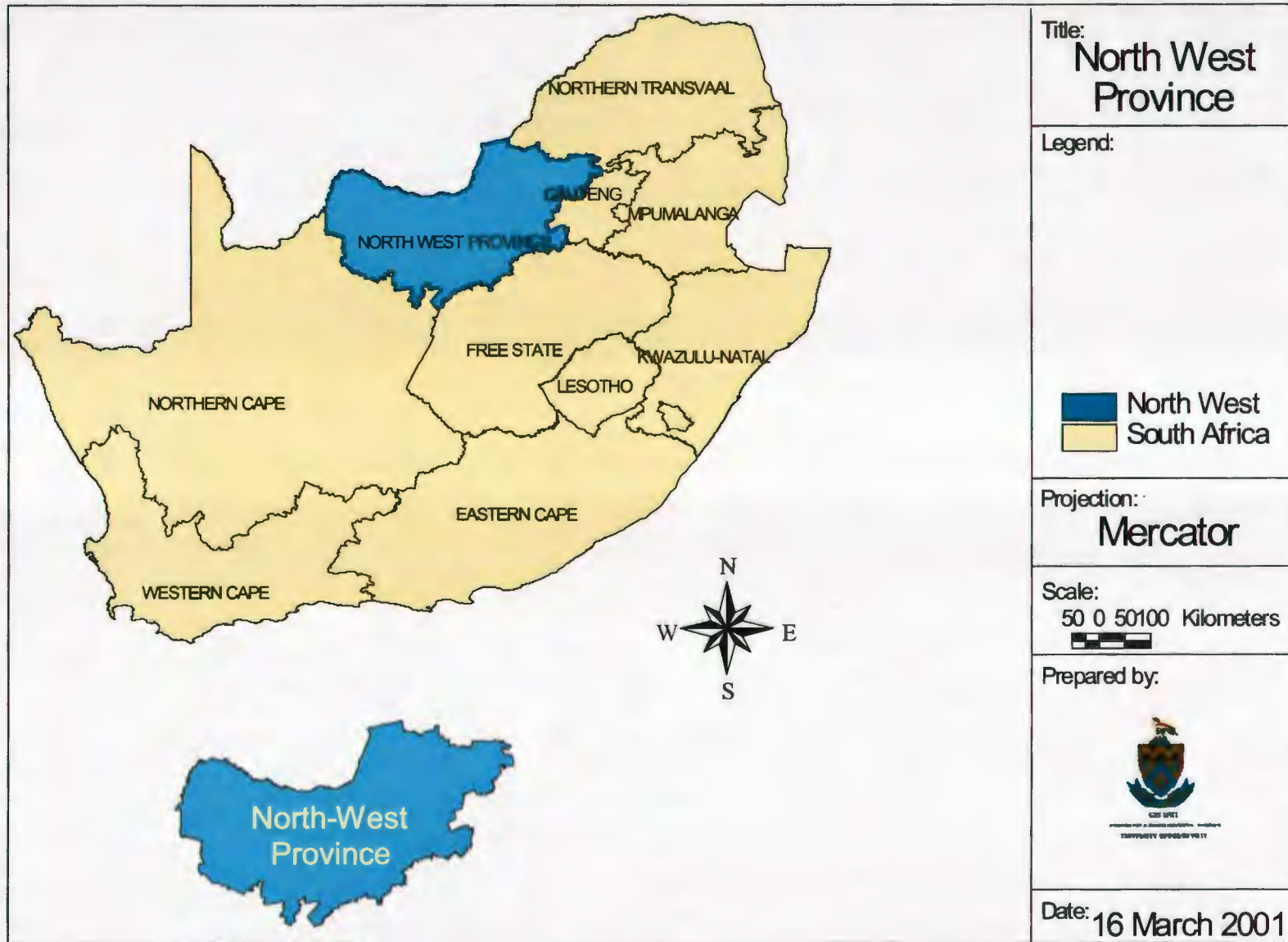
Prepared by:

UNIVERSITY OF FREE STATE

Date: **16 March 2001**



APPENDIX III



APPENDIX IV

Statistics showing number of schools in the Kudumane area from 1976 to 2000

	1976			1993			2000		
	TYPES	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS			
TYPES OF SCHOOLS	CRECHES (PRESCHOOLS)	-	35	32					
	PRIMARY	111	122	133					
	MIDDLE	8	38	41					
	HIGH	3	10	16					
	ADULT CENTRES	-	5	35					
	SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR THE PHYSICALLY & MENTALLY CHALLENGED	-	1	1					
	TOTAL NO. OF SCHOOLS	122	211	258					
	CIRCUIT EDUC. OFFICES	1	1	5					
	NO. OF EDUCATORS	N/A	N/A	1778					
	NO. OF LEARNERS	N/A	N/A	48,094					

SOURCE: KUDUMANE DISTRICT EDUCATION MANAGER'S OFFICE (MOTHIBISTAD)