EVALUATING COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

By

Nobayethi Dube

**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Philosophy (Social Science Methods)
at the University of Stellenbosch**

Supervisor: Prof. C. J. Groenewald

March 2009

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 18 October 2008

ABSTRACT

Community participation is a concept that is frequently mentioned in community development. Practitioners in development believe that in order for projects to succeed, communities need to actively take part in designing, implementing and shaping the projects that affect them.

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate community participation by measuring quantitative and qualitative indicators of participation. It is important to note that there are no universal indicators of participation. The thesis presents three projects as case studies.

In order to measure participation in the three cases, the quantitative and qualitative indicators of participation of Oakley et al. are reviewed. The indicators are applied across all three cases and the analysis indicates whether they were high, low or absent.

It is also important to note that to measure participation effectively requires one to spend lengthy periods at the project site and this proved to be a challenge, as will be shown in the thesis.

The thesis also demonstrates that to a large extent community participation is contextual. Of the three projects, two were rural projects and one an urban project. The two rural projects, Mongoaneng Development Forum and TsweloPele Women's Co-operative, were initiated by members of the community and aimed at addressing issues of poverty. The urban project, Motherwell Youth Development Forum, was specifically targeting young people with the aim of providing them with skills.

Key findings include the fact that each of the cases was highly diverse, and furthermore, when measuring these cases, a common thread was that not all participation indicators were present at any given stage. Another key finding is that co-operation amongst project members tends to yield positive results and the reverse yields negative results. Another finding relates to the sustainability of the projects, pointing to the fact that even though two of the cases were doing well, their sustainability was questionable.

The fundamental question for development practitioners still persist, namely how to design methodology to measure community participation accurately.

OPSOMMING

Gemeenskapsdeelname is 'n konsep wat dikwels in gemeenskapsontwikkeling gemeld word. Praktisyns in ontwikkeling glo dat vir die projekte om suksesvol te wees, gemeenskappe aktief moet deelneem in die ontwerp, implementering en formering van projekte wat hulle affekteer.

Die doelwit van hierdie tesis is om gemeenskapsdeelname te evalueer deur kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe aanwysers van deelname te meet. Dit is egter belangrik om aan te toon dat daar geen universele aanwysers van deelname is nie. Hierdie tesis verteenwoordig drie projekte in die vorm van gevallestudies.

Om die deelname in hierdie drie studies te meet, is Oakley et al. se kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe aanwysers van deelname hersien. Hierdie aanwysers is toegepas op al drie die studies en die ontleding daarvan dui aan of die aanwyser hoog, laag of afwesig was.

Dit is ook belangrik om aan te toon dat om deelname effektief te meet, vereis dat 'n persoon lang periodes op die perseel van die projek deurbring. Dit op sigself is 'n uitdaging in hierdie projek, soos aangedui sal word.

Die tesis demonstreer ook dat gemeenskapsdeelname grootliks kontekstueel is. Van die drie projekte, is twee plattelandse projekte en een 'n stedelike projek. Die twee plattelandse projekte, Mongoaneng Development Forum en TsweloPele Women's Co-operative was geinisiëer deur sekere lede van die gemeenskap, wat daarop gemik was om die kwessie van armoede aan te spreek. Die stedelike projek, Motherwell Youth Development Forum, was spesifiek gemik op jong mense met die doel om hulle van lewensvaardighede te voorsien.

Sleutelbevindings sluit die feit in dat elkeen van die studies redelik verskillend was en verder, dat by die meting van hierdie studies, 'n algemene bevinding was dat nie al die aanwysers teenwoordig was by al drie projekte op 'n

gegewe tydstip nie. 'n Ander belangrike bevinding was dat samewerking tussen projeklede positiewe resultate opgelewer het en dat die teenoorgestelde, negatiewe resultate opgelewer het. 'n Verdere bevinding verwys na die volhoubaarheid van die projekte, deur te wys op die feit dat, hoewel twee van die projekte goed presteer het, volhoubaarheid bevraagteken was.

'n Fundamentele vraag vir ontwikkelingspraktisyns bly steeds, om 'n metodologie te ontwikkel wat gemeenskapsdeelname suksesvol kan meet.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

1.1 Background

Community participation is a well-known concept in the development sector, but is described differently by authors in the development field. The concept of community participation has been widely written about in development literature and can differ depending on the context. A World Bank article by Mansuri and Rao (2004:10) describes community participation as the active involvement of a defined community in at least some aspects of project design and implementation. The authors mention that while participation can occur at many levels, a key objective is the incorporation of local knowledge into the project's decision-making process. According to the article, participation is expected to lead to better designed projects, better targeted benefits, and more cost-effective and timely delivery of project inputs.

Simanowitz (1997:128) describes community participation as something that happens in relation to something else. He mentions that in most development projects, community participation relates to the involvement of a community in externally initiated development interventions. In this case, an external body initiates a project and the community participates. Oakley (1991:12), on the other hand, indicates that participation implies voluntary or other forms of contribution by rural people to predetermined programmes and objectives. In this case an external agent, sometimes government, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) initiates development projects and then individuals from a rural community participate in the programme. Objectives are set in the beginning with the exclusion of the community. This may create problems where communities feel that they have been excluded from the design process (Everatt, 2001:33).

According to Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin III (1989:573), participation is understood as the contribution of beneficiaries to the decisions or work

involved in the projects. The paper notes that participation occurs through stages and manifests varying degrees in development projects. For example, it notes that "the level of participation increases substantially with the progression through the stages, beginning with almost no beneficiary participation in project origin or design and ending with substantial participation in maintenance for many projects" (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin III, 1989:575). Although this is true (that no beneficiary participates in the design) of many development projects, some projects experience problems where communities do not want to participate at a later stage because the community felt left out during the design and planning stages, (Everatt, 2001:33). The basic premise behind most development literature is that where a community participates in designing key components of the project, this is likely to yield positive results. I discuss this in detail in the literature review chapter.

Interestingly, communities are not homogeneous. Oakley makes a point that "rural people do not necessarily constitute a homogeneous, economic and social unit" (Oakley, et al., 1991:13). The authors also mention that rural people may share their poverty but there may be many factors which divide them and breed mutual distrust. Various dynamics within communities exist and community participation itself, which may relate to differences within communities such as economic or social class, and these are usually cross-cutting. This may be exacerbated by how "people without voice" are included, or people who may want to be part of a project, but are often unlikely to be represented at project level. De Beer (cited in Raniga & Simpson, 2000:183) asks: "When talking about community participation, who do we mean should participate? Often it is those who are most visible and vocal, the local elite or those who already have a strong voice in decision-making who are targeted". Mansuri and Rao refer to those who do not have a voice or who are not the elite as "marginalized groups" (2004: 4). These are usually people who may not belong to local organisations and including them in processes usually poses a problem.

1.2 Project context

Earlier I mentioned that literature indicates that where communities participate, project success is more likely, and most literature (Mansuri and Rao, 2004:11; Simanowitz, 1997:128; Marais et al., 2007:13) maintains that community participation can be successful in cases where the community has genuinely been part of the process. This process involves equality in decision-making throughout the Project Cycle (Simanowitz, 1997:128). Recent research studies show that community participation has evolved, and encompasses many types of participation. For example, (Marais et al. 2007:12) indicates that public participation in local governance and development occurs in a variety of forms that range from the opportunity to vote in local government elections to participating in ward or municipal public meetings, organising petitions, staging public protests, using call and drop-in centres, or in project committees, community-based monitoring, a host of CSOs and so on. Such initiatives are evidence that community participation has been given a platform.

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate community participation in development projects. Community participation in development projects is evaluated using Oakley's quantitative and qualitative indicators. An indicator is the means by which the outcome of a project can be understood and, in one form or another, measured or explained (Oakley, 1991: 247). The projects that are presented as case studies are measured on the basis of Oakley's indicators.

It should be noted that the indicators used in this thesis are not in themselves authoritative in that there are no universal indicators of success or failure in community participation.

For the purpose of the thesis, I use the World Bank's definition (Mansuri and Rao, 2004:13) of a unit to describe a community. This is a unit that is actively involved or is actively participating in some aspect of a project. I will discuss three projects that are presented as case studies, to indicate how effective

community participation can contribute to the success of a project as well as how a lack of effective community participation can contribute to the failure of a project. The case studies chosen for this research have elements of both interactive participation as well as spontaneous mobilization (I.T. Transport, 1997:4). Participation is interactive when people join with external professionals in analysis of their situation, developing action plans and determining common projects. In spontaneous mobilization, people participate by taking their own initiative independent of external professionals to change their situation. This may lead to self-help projects or requests to other institutions for assistance.

For the purpose of this thesis, community participation is understood to have elements of both interactive participation and spontaneous mobilization, in that communities selected external assistance (interactive participation) and took the initiative to address problems affecting them, (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:4). This is clearly demonstrated in the three projects that are chosen as a unit of analysis for the thesis.

Theories in community participation do not discuss this concept in isolation but tend to also include other key variables such as community empowerment as a component that may be achieved through community participation. In this research study I also discuss two key variables, community empowerment and capacity-building and the role they play in community participation. The purpose of discussing these variables is to show that if community participation has been present, it is likely to empower communities as well as build capacity. Most development literature (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:20; Marais, 2007:25), however, highlight that these keywords are often vague and can rightly be described as catch phrases or trendy phrases. The next section briefly discusses these variables and will be discussed extensively in the analysis. I return to this in the literature chapter.

1.3 Key variables in community participation

1.3.1 Community empowerment

Community empowerment as a concept does not have a universal meaning. It differs in context and is also largely influenced by programme objectives. Empowerment and participatory approaches may be described differently. Empowerment is said to have an explicit purpose, namely to bring about social and political changes embodied in its sense of liberation and struggle (Laverack, 2001:138). This implies that communities are empowered if their social conditions change for the better and in a political context where they organise and work together to achieve shared goals. A common denominator in the case studies chosen is that the communities organised themselves to address problems that they were facing, working together to achieve shared goals, and mainly addressing their social issues.

An article under the title "conversation in empowerment" Mauch & Paper recorded a conversation amongst women participants who grappled with the concept of empowerment. In the article empowerment is described as a trendy word. It mentioned that "empowerment is used in many contexts, where it means all kinds of things. The women mention that empowerment has become a very powerful political label which is deliberately employed in order to give a desired progressive or feminist outlook to activities which are in fact promoting quite different perspectives" (Mauch & Paper, 1997:197).

In other literature, empowerment is associated with development of community skills in relation to the project (Marais & Krige, cited in Raniga & Simpson, 2002:183). It is assumed that if project members are trained and as a result gain some skills, they are empowered. The Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP) implemented by the Department of National Public Works, is an example in this regard where community participation also includes skills development in areas such as bricklaying, plumbing and life skills. In "Conversation in empowerment" one of the definitions provided by a

participant mentioned that "empowerment means that people become aware of their problems, gain knowledge, competencies, take action, and gain control and power over their resources (Mauch & Paper, 1997:198). Mauch and Paper's definition of empowerment where people become aware of their problems, gain knowledge, competencies, take action, and gain control and power over their resources will be applied in this study. Projects identified as case studies for this research show how the different communities identified problem areas within their environment and took action to address those problems.

However, it is important, to note that most projects start from a weak position, especially at the design stage, because communities are not involved and as the project progresses, communities increase their participation.

1.3.2 Capacity-building

Capacity-building is another frequently used term in community development language, often linked to empowerment. Ntsime (1999:56) refers to capacity-building as including skills training for project beneficiaries. In the context of community participation, capacity-building is defined for the purpose of this study as "skills training which also includes identification of training needs amongst project members". This definition would also refer to the transfer of skills by externals to project members. This transfer of skills can be done in the provision of support to a project. Capacity-building can also be in relation to community building – the building of networks with other external projects or organisations in order to sustain projects. Capacity-building in this instance relates specifically to project beneficiaries in that they are provided with training and skills.

Both the concept of community empowerment and capacity-building will be discussed extensively in the literature review chapter as well as in the analysis of projects.

1.4 Definition of the projects

In this thesis three projects are examined and use them as case studies. While case study findings cannot be generalised, they do allow one to carefully examine the peculiarity of a case and its distinguishing features.

Gummesson (adapted in Everatt 2001:4) mentions that case studies lead to knowledge of the studied organisation (unit) and its actors, an ability to develop a language and concepts that are appropriate to the specific case and concentrate on the processes that are likely to lead to understanding rather than on a search for causal explanation. The case study procedure provides an opportunity to look at the identified projects for this research, examining the distinguishing features of a particular project, evaluating community participation and the indicators leading to its success and failure.

Though one cannot generalise findings of case studies, (Yin 1994:15) points out that case studies have a distinctive place in evaluation research. There are two important features of a case study research design that need to be highlighted for this research report. Firstly, the case study explains the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. Secondly, the case study strategy may be used to explore those situations in which the interventions being evaluated have no clear single-set outcomes. Yin's (1994:15) features are most appropriate for the cases in this research project. Case studies for this thesis are unique and complex in their own right. There were no similar outcomes and yet the research process demonstrates that they exhibited success and failure indicators. The methodology of the research is further discussed in Chapter three.

The three projects used as case studies in this thesis are Mongoaneng Development Forum, a vegetable garden in rural Limpopo, Tswelo Pele Pitso, a women's co-operative in Matatiele, Eastern Cape; and Motherwell Youth

Development Forum (MYDF), a youth project in Motherwell township in the Eastern Cape. The three projects were researched as part of a study conducted for the World Bank by Strategy & Tactics. Permission was granted by both the World Bank and Strategy & Tactics for the projects to be evaluated as part of this thesis.

1.4.1 Mongoaneng Development Forum

The first project, Mongoaneng Development Forum, is a vegetable garden project located in a rural village in Limpopo, 40 kilometres from Polokwane, the capital city of Limpopo, and close to the University of the North. The project was initiated by the community of Mongoaneng to address issues of poverty in their community.

1.4.2 Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative

The second project is Tswelo Pele Pitso, a women's co-operative comprising various projects such as poultry, sewing, garden and baking projects. This project is located in Potseng township in a deep rural area in Ward 28, Umzimvubu Local Municipality in Matatiele. The project is about 91 kilometres from Kokstad, a border town between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. The project was initiated by the community with funding provided by the Department of Social Development. The Independent Development Trust (IDT) disbursed funds to the project and also offered technical support.

1.4.3 Motherwell Youth Development Forum

The third project is Motherwell Youth Development Forum (MYDF) situated in Motherwell Township about 25 kilometres away from the city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. Motherwell township is an urban node and was identified by the State President as a poverty pocket. This is a youth development project aimed at providing training and employment opportunities for the youth of Motherwell. It was initiated by the community and is provided with funding

by the Department of Social Development. Again the IDT disbursed funds and offered technical support to the project.

The first and second projects are described as successful in this study. The third project had major weaknesses and for this thesis is described as unsuccessful. As indicated earlier, there are no universal indicators for success and failure, although Oakley's indicators are used as a guideline in this thesis.

In the next section, the report discusses literature around community participation and the success and failure indicators.

1.4.4 Chapter outline

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter two of the report is a literature review dealing specifically with community participation as well as the indicators of success and failure. The indicators have been adapted from Oakley et al (1991:248-250). The literature review chapter also deals with empowerment and capacity-building which are key variables in this research study.

Chapter three of the thesis deals with the research design and methodology followed in this research report. This chapter will discuss in detail why the case study procedure is deemed an appropriate procedure for this particular research. The chapter also addresses the techniques used for collecting data.

Chapter four of the thesis is a descriptive overview of the three projects presented as case studies. It provides detail on their geographical location, the type of projects and activities that are taking place in those projects. The chapter will also provide information on the project participants.

Chapter five of the thesis will provide an analysis of the findings in a comparative mode. The chapter also details the challenges and complexities of these case studies.

Chapter six will present the broader findings of the evaluation on community participation, and recommendations based on the findings, as well as a way forward.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Indicators of community participation

Community participation varies in developmental projects. In a newly democratized country such as South Africa, community participation has become a central theme in the broad field of social development as a model for addressing and balancing the injustices of the past (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:36). Community participation provides previously disadvantaged groups (in the case of South Africa) with the space to actively participate in development activities affecting them. Schurink (as cited in Raniga & Simpson, 2002:183) defines community participation as "the creation of a democratic system and procedure to enable community members to become actively involved and to take responsibility for their own development and to improve their decision-making power". Blair (as cited in Marais, 2007:16) credits public participation with ensuring better allocation of resources at local level and boosting poverty reduction, as does Osamani (as cited in Marais, 2007:16). Nampila (as cited in Marais, 2007:16) hails its role in enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of projects, while Taylor & Fransman (as cited in Marais, 2007:16) welcome its usefulness in "strengthening citizens' rights and voice, influencing policy-making, enhancing local governance and improving the accountability and responsiveness of institutions". This would seem to be the ideal to which community developers should aspire. In reality there are differing degrees of community participation.

In this literature chapter various authors are discussed who have written about community participation. The chapter is a review of literature and indicates how authors in the development field view the concept of participation, particularly in the context of projects. Since there is not much South African literature in this regard, this section on indicators largely draws on international studies. For the purpose of this thesis, the conceptualisation draws on quantitative and qualitative indicators using Oakley et al.'s

(1991:248-250) framework, which largely discusses indicators that would contribute to the success of community participation in a project. Raniga & Simpson's indicators that contribute to the failure and/or weakness of community participation in a project have also been drawn upon. When discussing these indicators examples of other research work in development projects are also drawn upon.

It is useful to note that participation is not a new concept. In the late 1960s, Arnstein developed the ladder of participation – a model that remains a useful tool because it is internationally widely used to understand and measure participation, allowing for comparisons across case studies (Marais, Everatt & Dube, 2007:20). In Arnstein's ladder, on the lower rungs are forms of participation in which external structures involve the public in approving decisions which, in broad outline at least, are *fait accompli* (Marais, Everatt & Dube, 2007:21). The lower rungs are: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation and placation.

At the higher, more idealistic, rungs we find forms of participation that are potentially liberatory in process (insofar as they entail and trigger empowerment and self-mobilization) and transformatory in content (in that they redistribute access to resources and services) (Marais, Everatt & Dube, 2007:21). The higher rungs in Arnstein's work are partnership, delegated power and citizen power.

Other authors (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:182; I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:4) also discuss participation using different frameworks. Although these authors have used different languages the idea behind their framework is influenced by Arnstein's ladder of participation.

In their article, Raniga & Simpson (2002:183) have developed a framework on the levels of participation. The framework (adapted from Pretty, Scoones and Thompson, 1995) identifies seven levels of participation. In Raniga & Simpson's framework, the lower rungs are what Marais et al. (2007:21) describe as more idealistic (forms of participation that are potentially liberatory

in process) and the higher rungs are forms of participation where external agents are the driving force with very little participation from the citizens or communities. The sequence of participation in this case is directly opposite of Arnstein's ladder of participation.

Raniga & Simpson's seven-point framework on participation ranges from passive participation to interactive participation. This framework is ideal in that it describes the types of participation as well as the elements contained in the framework. The framework is similar to Arnstein's ladder of participation as it also measures the levels of participation, and although the language is different the thoughts captured are similar.

Below, and following Raniga & Simpson, I briefly discuss the seven levels of participation.

- Passive participation: people participate by being told by an outside development agency what is going to happen.
- Participation in information giving: People answer questions posed by an external organisation which may or may not take the answers into account in their planning efforts.
- Participation by consultation: People are consulted and an external organisation may or may not modify their views in light of what they hear.
- Participation for material incentives: People participate by providing resources, for example, labour, in return for material reward.
- Functional participation: People participate by joining groups to implement projects, usually after major decisions have been made by an external organisation.
- Interactive participation: People participate by taking part in joint needs assessment and planning as well as implementation, together with external organisations.
- Spontaneous mobilization or self-mobilization: people participate by taking their own initiative independent of external professionals to

change their situation. This may lead to self-help projects or requests to other institutions for assistance.

In all the types of participation above, the community or people living in it are involved in one way or the other. At the upper end of the scale, participation can be seen as an attempt by the external organisation to co-opt communities to "rubber stamp" decisions and to gain legitimacy for funding and personnel. At the lower end, participation is seen as a liberatory process that leads to empowerment and self-mobilization (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:183).

It is important to note that in all these types of participation, communities or people living in them do not necessarily constitute a homogeneous economic and social unit (Oakley et al., 1991:13). Dynamics within communities shape them in a way that may result in different types of participation manifesting themselves within those communities. Schafft and Greenwood (2000:27) mention that "an implicit assumption in much of the ideological invocations of participation for community development is the notion that participation itself makes economic inequality, educational differences, and ideological divergences disappear". This assumption presumes that the differences among people are superficial and that they can be mediated by group process, rather than 'eradicate' them (Schafft and Greenwood, 2000:27). This is, however, not the case because power differentials, economic gender differentials and other inequalities reflect in the structure of every community. These differences can manifest themselves in any type of participation and at worst paralyse the process of participation.

Oakley et al. (1991:13-14) indicate that "the important issue to stress is that participation, whatever form or direction it might take, cannot be regarded simply as some kind of physical or tangible input into a development project." Any form of participation occurs within a particular context and will be influenced by the economic and social forces that mould that context.

For the purpose of this thesis, a literature on community participation is presented, followed by a case study used in Raniga & Simpson's work on the

pitfalls of participation, and a comparison with Arnstein's ladder of participation is made. The chapter also discuss the indicators of participation in Oakley. The indicators of participation will be used to measure participation within the projects that have been forwarded as case studies for this thesis. These are a combination of interactive participation and spontaneous mobilization or self-mobilization. In this chapter I will demonstrate that the cases to be presented are a combination of interactive participation and spontaneous mobilization as discussed in the analysis chapter.

2.2 Levels of participation

2.2.1 Passive participation

In passive participation, projects have been started but have not involved the primary stakeholders or end-users. In the paper, Community Participation in the Maintenance of Infrastructure (I.T. Transport Ltd 1997:4), passive participation is described as people that participate by living in the area of the project. They may be told what is going to happen, or has already happened, but will have no other input. Such projects are likely to result in confusion and little activity in communities, and sustainability is less likely. In most instances, communities feel that they were not consulted and ownership becomes a problem, with community members less likely to embrace the projects.

A case study cited as an example in Community Participation in the Maintenance of Infrastructure (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:14) refers to a project in Tanzania where implementation of hand pumps went well, but was short-lived because the local government was not involved. An external company was driving the project. The paper indicates that 'when hand-over stage arrived there was confusion amongst the community' (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:14). The paper indicates that there was some unreported resistance from Tanzanian authorities to the technology as it was seen to be inferior and only a stopgap until piped gravity systems could be installed. However, it was reported that the villagers were very grateful for the new pumps. During this

time some of the earlier pumps had started to fail, but as they were of Dutch origin they could not be maintained with local parts (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:14).

The local authorities were not involved in the project because they felt that they were not at all responsible for maintaining the pumps. The pumps were not locally made which further compounded the problem. In the end it was difficult for the council to assume ownership. Passive participation is likely to mean certain failure for any development initiative.

2.2.2 Participation by resource contribution

Participation by resource contribution usually requires communities to contribute money, time and/or labour. Literature suggests that while the resources contributed by the community may be money, materials or labour, the contribution of money underpins the sustainability of most maintenance systems after project support and funds have run out (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:16). This can largely be attributed to the fact that having contributed money, the community sees itself as having a stake in the development.

The water supply sector is mentioned as one sector with varying degrees of success in participation by resource contribution. Articles on water projects (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:43; Simanowitz, 1997:128) provide good examples of communities who participate by contributing money towards the implementation and maintenance of water schemes. A number of water projects seem to bear success beyond implementation. For example, in the urban slums of Dhaka, Bangladesh where many NGOs such as Forum and Plan International have set up water points (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:16) these points provide taps for drinking and cooking water and a bathing area. A nominal charge is levied to manage a number of points and inform the NGOs if there are any serious problems. The article does not disclose the type of problems but these may likely relate to maintenance. Although the charge is nominal, due to the high population density, there is a great demand, so the water points can self-finance routine maintenance and some periodic needs

such as tap washers. The demand for water ensures that communities contribute the nominal fee, thus encouraging maintenance of the taps (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:16).

A second water example is that of a project in Morapalala village in the south east of Tzaneen in Limpopo province. In this case the community was responsible for maintenance of their water taps after project completion. There was a water committee responsible for the functionality of the taps, "ensuring that there is ongoing functioning of the taps, broken taps are repaired and money for repairs is available" (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:48). In order to maintain the taps each household contributed R5-00 a month. Participation of these communities (both in the Bangladesh example and Morapalala) indicate that to some extent when the community actively takes charge of a project it yields good results.

DeGabriele (2002:7) mentions that there are other unknowns, such as responsibility, commitment, goodwill, how the intervention of a water point affects relationships within a community, and the effect of key individuals on management. The author further mentions that suppliers of water can bear only so much responsibility for the failure or success of a programme; the users must shoulder their part of the bargain. To a large extent, programmes such as the South African Community Based Public Works Programme in the Rural Anti Poverty Programme have similar stories of success and sometimes failure where communities take on such responsibility.

In participation by resource contribution, most communities are poor and may not be able to make large financial contributions, yet they demonstrate their commitment towards the maintenance of the taps as shown in DeGabriele's case study. DeGabriele (2002:8) points out that there should be involvement of the users at every stage as far as possible. The users should assume as much responsibility as possible during the implementation and for the subsequent management of the water point (DeGabriele 2002:8). The article by DeGabriele also largely points out that prior to involving the community there needs to be sufficient lead time between primary and secondary

stakeholders, (De Gabriele 2002:9). This lead time can sometimes be anything between a month and a year, or even longer. Of course there are complexities that may affect lead time such as timelines and budgetary constraints, especially where government projects are concerned. However, the important point in participation by resource contribution is that communities contribute money towards development in their areas.

2.2.3 Participation by consultation

Participation by consultation is described as usually involving external agents consulting with locals. Raniga & Simpson (2002:183) describe this type of participation as people being consulted and an external organisation then possibly modifying their views in light of what they hear.

The article, 'Community Participation in the Maintenance of Infrastructure' mentions that this type of participation is perceived in a number of ways. In larger scale projects where the majority of decisions are of a technical nature, the planners or project designers may wish to involve the community by offering them options. A warning is offered that, in most instances, this consultation process is nothing more than a one-way exchange of information rather than a dialogue based on mutual self-interest (I.T. Transport Ltd, 2000:4). Marais (2007:22) indicates that although one of the motives is to ensure legitimacy, the approach tends to undermine itself.

The pitfall in many of the projects where external agents are in charge is that communities do not understand technical language and therefore will leave external agents to drive the process, especially at the design stages of a project. This proves to be a pitfall in many projects particularly when the project designers withdraw at the end of the project. The Rural Anti-Poverty Programme (RAP-85), a poverty alleviation programme implemented by the National Department of Public Works (NDPW) had a number of examples where the external agents were largely involved, leading to communities feeling excluded and in some instance not embracing the projects (Everatt, 2001:54).

The evaluation of RAP-85 reveals that implementation of the programme was to take place within four months as directed by the Department of Finance. Everatt (2001:1) mentions that the implementation of RAP-85 was inevitably affected by the speed required by the Department of Finance's directive. The findings of the evaluation also point out that there are "inherent tensions in trying to produce sustainable development while under pressure to work extremely quickly. The scale of the challenge is clear when the four-month period is set against the reality of participative development" (Everatt, 2001:1).

Everatt (2000:1) point out that "development projects have to be designed, budgeted, and piloted. Specific beneficiary communities have to be identified, projects negotiated with them and redefined if necessary, and goals agreed to such as the employment of women, participatory management and so on". Achieving community participation, capacity-building and financial viability to create sustainable projects requires time, commitment and appropriate skills. The challenge of consultation is that project objectives are already pre-determined and the community has to rubber-stamp the ideas presented by external agents.

2.2.4 Interactive participation

Interactive participation has been defined as the inclusion of the intended beneficiaries in diagnosing and then solving problems (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:4). This type of approach has many names but can be seen as being rooted in participatory rural appraisal or participatory learning and action (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:18). In all cases there is no set definition as to the type of participatory approach that is adopted; there are several pillars in the process (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:18).

It is important in this type of participation that the behaviour and attitudes of outsiders (that is, secondary stakeholders) should facilitate, not dominate the process. Second, the methodology used should shift the balance of participation from closed to open, from individual to group, from verbal to

visual and from measuring to comparing. This leads to the "sharing of information, experiences, food and training, between insiders (primary stakeholders) and outsiders and between organizations" (Chambers, as cited in I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:18). The notable point about this type of participation is that much of the participatory effort and outcomes may not fit into the economic and sectoral approach to planning taken by most governments, implementing agencies and donors. To embrace this type of participation requires a change in the planning process that provides and allocates money towards the development of rural communities.

From the above, we note that external organisations would most likely play a facilitating role. It would therefore mean that project members are respected and given some measure of responsibilities. To sum it up they are treated as partners in a project. We can also safely assume that interactive participation allows project members to identify problem areas and take corrective action in those problems. Outside organisations would play a facilitating role by providing guidance and support to the process. Interactive participation further assumes that the intended beneficiaries are included in diagnosing their own problems and then taking action to solve their own problems.

Although this approach appears attractive, there are pitfalls if not carefully planned. It is usually time consuming and most programmes operate on tight timelines and tight budgets especially those of government. So, although interactive participation may be an attractive and ideal option, reality may dictate otherwise.

2.2.5 Spontaneous mobilization

Spontaneous mobilization is when a group of people decide to take action without initial outside intervention (I.T. Transport Ltd, 1997:19). Raniga & Simpson (2002:183) describe it as people participate by taking initiatives independently of any external organisation. I.T. Transport Ltd (1997:19) indicates that this type of participation usually lies outside the experience of most development planning and as a result, for all stakeholders there is little

documentation or even anecdotal information available. Spontaneous mobilization is characterised by communities getting together for a common purpose and contributing towards the common purpose, and is slowly gaining ground in South Africa.

In the South African context, spontaneous mobilization in most projects largely includes components of interactive participation. This is understandable when we consider South Africa's history and development background. The advantage of spontaneous mobilization is that communities are entrusted with decision-making powers. Harrison (as cited in Marais 2007:21) mentions that participation may be seen as "a process around which social groupings can organise to present their interests" within a conducive environment. This also means that initiatives are sometimes found beyond the perimeters of conventional development planning, and can straddle the realms of legality and illegality (Marais, 2007:23). In the case studies presented in this thesis, the initiatives did occur beyond the perimeters of conventional development planning, in that the communities involved in the projects were given some latitude in relation to decision-making and resource management. In Arnstein's ladder of participation this would fall within the higher rungs (partnership, delegated power and citizen power) of participation.

Similarly, the case studies identified for this thesis have a combination of both types of participation, interactive participation and spontaneous mobilization and would therefore also fall on the upper rung of Arnstein's ladder of participation.

As will be shown, the projects presented in this thesis are a combination of interactive participation as well as spontaneous mobilization. Each of the case studies presented falls between these two levels of participation. In evaluating participation in these case studies, I have used indicators of participation as distinguished by Oakley et al. (1991:247). Oakley's work describes the indicators as a gauge for measuring participation. In this thesis, the more present the indicators, the larger the extent to which the community has participated within a project. Raniga & Simpson's (2002:187) factors on weak

participation to describe what could lead to poor participation in development projects.

It is important to note that not all indicators need to be present for a project to be viewed as more successful or inclusive. In reviewing literature on public participation, Marais (2007:25) points out that the qualitative or quantitative division (in Marais' literature review) seems too opaque an abstraction. This is true when considering the case studies presented for this thesis. More will be said about this in the chapter on analysis.

2.3 Key indicators of community participation

Indicators are a means by which the progress, effectiveness, or outcomes of a development project can be understood and measured or explained (Morrissey, 2000:59). Morrissey (2000:62) makes a point that "until recently, the quality of participation has been largely ignored in the literature." She further adds that to answer the question of quality, we need to know what type of participation, under what circumstances, creates what results (Perlman, as cited in Morrissey, 2000: 62).

Oakley (1991:247) mentions that there are no model lists or authoritative guidelines of indicators of participation. This is a fact since the literature does not provide an exhaustive list of success indicators in community participation. In South Africa very little is documented in relation to indicators of community participation in the development arena. In various research work dealing with community participation there are no set criteria to measure success or failure in community participation in the South African context. Firstly, the degree of success or failure varies from project to project and most writers identify success indicators and failure indicators in different contexts.

Cloete et al. (1996:18) refers to a five-point measuring scale for the evaluation of community participation in projects, based on work done by Rifkin & Bichmann, (1988). The five-point scale considers needs assessment,

leadership, the development of organisations, mobilization of resources and management, amongst other things. At given times during the course of a project these areas get evaluated with the aid of a simple measuring scale. By measuring community participation during the different stages of a project it becomes clear in which areas community involvement increases or decreases (Cloete et al., 1996:18). Participation varies from broad participation (where the community identifies the project, implements and evaluates it, and professional people are used as a resource) on the end of the scale most distant from the axis to "narrow" (or none) participation (where professional people take the decisions with no inputs from the community) at the end of the scale closest to the axis (Cloete et al., 1996:18).

Literature (Morrissey, 2000:59) mentions that it is important to separate indicators of participation from project impacts. Project impacts usually affect the community after the project has been completed. Separating indicators of participation from project impacts is useful to gauge the level of quality in community participation (Morrissey, 2000:59). This is especially so because the quality of community participation will likely relate to the process, for example, the mechanisms available for project members to make decisions. This is true when considering that participation is shaped by project objectives.

Using Morrissey's process of indicators, for example, she mentions that these indicators largely focus on the meaningful presence and involvement of citizens in the process of participation itself (Morrissey, 2000:64). She draws on indicators from a pilot study of participatory evaluation by Learning Teams at ten rural sites of the Empowerment Zones (EZ) and Enterprise Communities (EC) Program. The EZ/EC programme, launched by the Clinton Administration in 1993, challenged communities to develop and implement their own strategic plans for revitalization through a comprehensive approach including extensive public involvement and the formation of community-based partnerships among diverse groups (Morrissey, 2000:64-65). Morrissey points out that in her evaluation of indicators of citizen participation, her evaluation with participants identified indicators of inclusive planning and implementation

process. In order to measure these indicators, the Learning Teams looked at visible efforts by EZ/EC programme entities to involve citizens. Participants in the EZ/EC programme identified the following process indicators: inclusive planning and implementation process, leadership development, social capital, organisational capacity and democratically skilled facilitators. Each indicator had a number of measures to gauge the level of citizen participation. In her paper, Morrissey (2000:65) describes these as process indicators that would largely indicate whether the community is participating or not. In Arnstein's ladder, the process would definitely fall on the higher rungs since the participants are challenged with various issues which would require their own initiative.

Nussbaum (1997:37), in her study conducted in Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape, identified quantitative and qualitative indicators of success. This study focuses on how a community took their destinies into their own hands and reshaped thousands of lives without legislated support from any government, and in spite of the negative socio-political environment of the day (Nussbaum, 1997:1). This was facilitated through the growth and development of the Stutterheim Forum and the Stutterheim Development Forum (SDF), a community-based organisation (CBO) through which extensive reconciliation, reconstruction and development in Stutterheim has taken place. Describing the conditions in Stutterheim, Nussbaum mentions that 'black and white communities were not only divided but mutually suspicious and distrustful' of each other. Township conditions were horrendous. The inequalities amongst communities led to an escalation of crime and violence (Nussbaum, 1997:1). Nussbaum (1997:1) mentions that there had been very little development in the township surrounding Stutterheim. From 1985, residents became increasingly angry about forced removals and unfair labour practices in local shops and factories. This resulted in a boycott in 1989 against local White-owned businesses. In 1990 a historic meeting was held by both black and white residents and a number of resolutions formulated (Nussbaum, 1997:2). This community self-mobilised itself without any external agents assisting or guiding them (Nussbaum, 1997:1).

2.4 Quantitative indicators

According to Oakley, quantitative indicators are easier to measure than qualitative indicators (Oakley et al., 1991:249). Identified quantitative indicators in the Stutterheim study included things like a decline in marches and political violence which would be measured in the reduced frequency of marches taking place. In this area, the study points out that mutual trust and open dialogue resulted in a more conducive environment for this community.

Other quantitative indicators in Nussbaum's study point to the improvement in services such as water and sanitation services, electricity supply, economic development, and education (Nussbaum, 1997:29-30). The study shows that there was significant improvement in the access of services with disadvantaged communities gaining services which they lacked before. This related directly to addressing the imbalances and injustices of the past. In Nussbaum's study this was seen through the involvement of the previously disadvantaged communities in areas such as economic development, and their access to services.

As indicated, in evaluating community participation Oakley's framework in both quantitative and qualitative indicators of success is discussed. Oakley's quantitative indicators are economic indicators, organisational indicators, participation in project activities, and development momentum. The next section discusses these quantitative indicators in detail and will also provide appropriate examples that show how, in other projects, these indicators have manifested themselves.

2.4.1 Economic indicators

Economic indicators look at measurable economic benefits of a project, through the use of commonly employed quantitative techniques (Oakley, 1991:248). The quantitative indicators would therefore look at areas where, for example, a project has employed members of the community as workers as well as beneficiaries on the project. The economic indicators would also look

at the direct economic gains to project members. The Community Based Public Works Programme largely dealing with infrastructure provision is a good example in this regard. In some of its projects, the programme employed community members who were paid a minimal wage. These community members are subsequently beneficiaries of the community in that most of these projects took place within their (beneficiaries) areas, for example, infrastructure projects such as road construction and water projects.

Another example is the Zivuseni Poverty Alleviation Programme or Zivuseni as it was commonly known. This programme started after the Gauteng Executive Council, in response to the need to provide short, medium and long-term employment opportunities in the province, had embarked on a labour-intensive job creation programme (Ntsime & Jennings, 2004:1). A specified percentage of women and youth had to be included as part of the workforce and earn about R100-00 a week as a wage. For these types of programmes it is easy to measure the economic indicator since the programme managers have to account for the number of people who have worked on the project, as well as the direct economic benefits to those people. Officials in Zivuseni had to keep records of the number of people who went through the programme, as well as the salaries paid, both for efficiency purposes and for political reasons.

One important aspect of the economic indicators is that those involved need to be as inclusive as possible. Johnston & Start (as cited in Marais, 2007:24) mention that participation needs to take into account the question of whether existing inequalities between classes, social groupings, and men and women are diminished or perpetuated. Although at times providing a minimum wage to participants or beneficiaries in development projects may be viewed negatively, it can produce positive results. A current example is the development of infrastructure towards the 2010 World Cup, which has created a significant number of jobs.

2.4.2 Organisational indicators

The second quantitative indicator refers to the organisational indicators, which look at the percentage of rural adults within a project area who have some knowledge of the existence of project organisation, percentage of rural adults within a project area who are formal members of the organisation, frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings, and changing size of membership over project period (Oakley, 1991:248). This indicator assumes that an external organisation is involved, such as the district council or the local municipality, or perhaps the presence of an implementing non-governmental organisation (NGO).

In most instances, rural people involved in development projects possess very limited knowledge where project organisations are concerned, particularly if the organisation is an external agent. Individuals who may possess extensive knowledge could be members of the steering committee. This is a real weakness in most South African development projects.

The Mongoaneng Development Forum is a good example that shows that this indicator may be difficult to measure and may not necessarily be attributed as failure or as success. We found during interviews with some members of the steering committee that the project members had attended micro-organism training at the University of Turfloop in Limpopo (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:39). Those interviewed could not provide information on how this training had been organised. Later, during a telephone interview with the project co-ordinator he mentioned that he had arranged the training with the university and gave information on the process. The problem for the Mongoaneng project is that the project manager knew more about the arrangement than other project members.

The above demonstrates that project members may know very little about the project organisation. In most projects where an external agent is involved this kind of information is only known by the project leader or a few individuals who make up the steering committee. Marais (2007:25) refers to this as

'capacities and processes'. Questions to ask include whether participants are well-informed about the process and their roles in the process. If participation is to be successful then it is important for those involved to be provided with knowledge relating to the involvement of external agents, for example. If project members are aware of what the external agents' role is, it fosters empowerment. It also leads to greater participation by community members. Of course in some situations project members tend to be ignorant and rely on a few individuals such as the steering committee.

Measuring the percentage of rural adults within a project area, as well as the frequency of attendance at project organisational meetings, is relatively simple because most rural projects work on a quota system of including women. The Community Based Public Works Programme, for example, had to have fifty per cent of the workers being women in all their community development projects, in accordance with government policy. There are challenges in ensuring that women are also afforded the same status as men. Where projects are organised, they are able to keep a register of names for project members who attend meetings. This was the case in both Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng.

2.4.3 Participation in project activities

Participation in project activities as a quantitative indicator includes areas of association of project groups formed, attendance rates at meetings, the number of members actively involved in project group meetings, work days and project group members who acquire positions in other formal organisations.

In relation to the first measure (associations of project groups), projects seldom form associations with other project groups. In other words, there is little room for social capital. Data for the projects in this thesis indicate that projects are more likely to work as individual groups rather than form associations. The forming of associations (by projects) has been a real

weakness in the development arena in South Africa. A number of studies (Dube, 2004:22) indicate that most projects tend to operate in isolation. There could be a number of reasons for this. For example, development projects involving rural communities face the challenge of lack of resources, or networking experience. The geographic position of these projects is also a challenge since the projects are located in deep rural areas. The other problem is that in most instances the projects are competing for funds and thus unlikely to join forces. A study on the Impact of Victim Empowerment Projects (VEP) highlights the issue of projects operating in isolation. Even in cases where they offer the same services, projects surveyed in that study preferred to operate on their own (Dube, 2004:22). The negative aspect of this is that in areas where the projects could share experiences they fail to do so because they may also be competing for funds.

Organisational indicators also include the frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings and the changing size of membership over the project period. The project organisation meetings are easy to measure because in most projects, meetings form part of the process of participation. This is a success indicator because it facilitates involvement in information-sharing and trust among participants. During these meetings, project members are able to voice concerns regarding how the project operates and enquire about the progress of the project. Attendance of the community in this instance could be used as a measure of success.

The changing size of membership over project period is also an easy indicator to measure. Community development studies indicate that no project is static and that the number of project members often changes. Any decrease in size could be influenced by factors such as lack of time. Project members may lose interest and leave the project whilst other members of the community are attracted to the project. An increase in participation could be influenced by the fact that the project is doing well prompting other community members to take an interest in it.

In the Mongoaneng case study, for example, during interviews we were told that 79 people had initially participated in clearing the land for a garden in 1994 (when the project was conceptualised). At the time of the follow-up research in 2004, members of the steering committee mentioned that there were only 39 members participating in the project. Over a ten year period the size of the project had decreased by half. Obviously, an increase in the number of participants would mean that the community sees the benefits and have an interest in joining the project. The converse of this could be that the project faces challenges which may affect project participation. In all the case studies visited for this thesis, we found that the size of membership fluctuated throughout the project's existence. Other reasons for the change of size in projects could relate to factors such as migration, death, loss of interest and squabbles amongst project members, although laziness was also cited as a reason for people leaving the projects.

2.4.4 Development momentum

The measure in this indicator relates to developmental aspects of project members as they participate in the process of participation. In other work (Morrissey, 2000:67) this aspect is identified as empowerment of project members. Areas mentioned in this indicator include project members obtaining training, establishing links with formal organisations and internal sustainability or the ability of the project group to maintain its own development momentum. Of interest is that a number of development projects in South Africa (for example, Community Based Public Works Programme and Zivuseni) have included training as a component of their programmes.

Within the Zivuseni Poverty Alleviation Programme, there were various projects such as renovations, sewing, and plumbing. In all the cited projects the sewing project provides a good example where members received training on the job and were able to apply that training. In order to assess this indicator a diagnostic evaluation study (DES) was conducted in Zivuseni. This showed that training was indeed provided to project members and the sewing project was doing exceptionally well (Ntsime & Jennings, 2004:12-17). In this

example, it is easy to assess whether training has been a success or not, by accessing records and looking at the number of people who attended and completed the training provided as well members using the skill. However, for training to qualify as a success there are other things to consider, such as the quality of training and members practically implementing the skill they have learned, although largely the success is measured in relation to the number of people who underwent training.

The training is linked to sustainability, because once participants have completed training then it is assumed that the projects are likely to be sustainable since project members will be applying knowledge gained from training. The skill provided also benefits the project members beyond project implementation where they are able to utilise it.

In all three case studies, training of project members did take place. However, from the interviews held with project members, in some cases it was not clear whether the training provided had benefited the project members. The Motherwell Youth Development Forum (MYDF) for example, is a project where it was difficult to measure whether the training had benefited the participants, since those interviewed indicated that they were still struggling to successfully run the project even though they had undergone training. Aspects of this will be discussed further when analysing the projects.

The second measure in the development momentum indicator is the contact made with development agencies' service and whether project members are aware of this. This relates to the ability of the project to get in touch with development agencies, perhaps for the purpose of obtaining training support or getting more information on the project. In the three case studies this indicator was a weakness. The only project that had contacted development agencies was Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative. As will be explained, these project members had been able to access resources from external organisations (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:64). In some instances, these resources are not financial contributions but in-kind contributions, such as the building of infrastructure for the project to operate from. The Independent

Development Trust (IDT) where possible had been able to provide technical support to Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative. This will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapter.

Internal sustainability or the ability of the project group to maintain its own development momentum refers to the members identifying existing skills gaps within the project. It is important that once the project is fully functional, the project members are able to identify, for example, further areas where they can develop skills such as managerial skills, basic bookkeeping, or daily management of the project. This enhances the chances of project sustainability.

In the three research studies there are varying degrees of development momentum in each of the projects. For example, training took place in all three projects. However, the ability to contact development agencies was lacking amongst some of the projects namely Mongoaneng and Motherwell Youth Development Forum. This again reinforces the argument that indicators of participation cannot be measured holistically. Although projects can exhibit indicators in certain areas they may not be apparent in all the areas. The above quantitative indicators will be used as a benchmark to gauge the extent of participation in the projects presented for this thesis.

2.5 Qualitative indicators

Oakley et al. (1991:250) makes a point that monitoring qualitative indicators is a challenge. Literature (Oakley et al., 1991:250) in this area varies with some papers providing measures that are easy to verify whilst others are not as easy to measure (Oakley et al., 1991:249). Oakley groups these qualitative indicators into three areas – organisational growth, group behaviour and group self-reliance. As indicated earlier in this chapter, I consider Oakley's qualitative indicators to measure the extent of community participation in the projects visited for the thesis. In most instances in development work, qualitative indicators manifest over time and some authors (Morrissey,

2000:65; Laverack, 2001:134) are more comfortable in discussing them as process indicators.

Whilst some qualitative indicators are easy to observe, other qualitative indicators such as empowerment are not. Nussbaum describes empowerment as a successful qualitative indicator. Empowerment in Nussbaum's context relates to the skills acquired by those involved in the project. It includes the development of human resource skills, such as technical, supervisory and business skills (Nussbaum, 1997:37). Skills acquired during the project also mean that project participants are able to continue maintaining the project beyond implementation. Empowerment is discussed in other literature (Laverack, 2001:138.) as an indicator that may be observed after project completion. In relation to the case studies presented, some of the indicators were easy to measure whilst others were not. The qualitative indicators are discussed below.

2.5.1 Organisational growth

Organisational growth refers to internal structuring of project group, allocation of specific roles to group members, emerging leadership structure and formalisation of group structure. In an internally structured project group, project members have clear roles and responsibilities. For example, the project is made up of groups of members. If the project has a structure, then some members will form part of the steering committee, with each steering committee member having some responsibility. A number of South African projects have taken the approach of forming steering committees. In Mongoaneng, for example, the steering committee was made up of the co-ordinator, the chairperson, the secretary, the treasurer and usually deputies for each position. In most projects, these members are elected to such positions, so in theory no member holds a permanent position, although in practice this may be different. If a project is internally structured it is then feasible to assume that tasks within a project are allocated to different steering committee members.

Organisational growth also advocates democracy within a group. In theory, the project does not revolve around a single person but all project members are actively involved in the running of the project. Emerging leadership structures could refer to the fact that abilities and capabilities of steering committee members are not the same. Projects have registered (Tswelo Pele, Mongoaneng) that some members may assume or play stronger roles that are beyond project activities. In most instances, these individuals are viewed as the leaders of the project by other project members. The problem with this approach is that a single individual may take on too much responsibility.

Literature (Oakley et al., 1991:250) shows that formalisation of the group structure also forms part of the organisational growth. Most developmental projects have a constitution and utilise this constitution to discipline other project members and help in the running of the project. Formalisation could relate to the project adopting a constitution or guidelines with regard to how the project functions. Formalisation of the group could also relate to the project registering with external organisations that support the project activities.

2.5.2 Group behaviour

Qualitative aspects of the group behaviour in Oakley's work relate to the changing nature of involvement of project group members, an emerging sense of collective will and solidarity, involvement in group discussions, and the ability to analyse and explain issues and problems, (Oakley et al., 1991:250). In Arnstein's ladder of participation, this falls on the upper rungs where citizens are empowered to solve their own problems. The Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative is a good example with regard to the changing nature of involvement of project group members. Although they have a recognised steering committee, the chairperson mentioned that it was important to have other project members involved in aspects of managing the project. For example, men working in the project were being assisted by the steering committee to learn management functions in order to get them more involved. The reason given by the chairperson was "in case we are not here when

visitors are here they should be able to answer questions relating to the project" (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:67).

The second aspect refers to the emerging sense of collective will and solidarity, whilst the third indicator relates to involvement in group discussions and decisions (Oakley et al., 1991:250). Laverack (2001:139) indicates that problem assessment is most empowering when the identification of problems, solutions to the problems, and actions to resolve the problems are carried out by the community or community members. The Mongoaneng vegetable garden, for example, had faced problems when their electrically powered irrigation system (which assists in pumping water) had been cut off and the project had been suspended for about eight months as it had no water. To overcome this situation, the project members decided to contribute money from their own pockets to pay the electricity supplier. The fact that the group came together to overcome a challenge shows that once the project group has established norms they are able to take action and deal with challenges that the project faces internally. This also shows characteristics of empowerment – where the group identified the problem and took action to address it.

Actions such as these indicate that the group has reached a stage where they operate more as a collective than as individual members.

The fourth aspect is the ability to analyse and explain issues and problems. Actions by the Mongoaneng project to take action on their project indicate that members have solidarity. Rather than leave the project closed, project members acted on their own to revive the project. Another appropriate example would be where project members decide to identify households in their communities affected by poverty and provide them with food parcels.

Involvement in group discussions and decisions is the third aspect in the group behaviour indicator. In theory, community participation should involve active participation of communities in group discussions and decisions. These

activities should not only be lip service but communities need to feel that they are actually making contributions during the process of implementation.

2.5.3 Group self-reliance

The project group is self-reliant once it is able to independently take action on challenges and problems. Mentioned areas are: the group is self-reliant if it has knowledge and understanding of government policies and programmes, increasing ability of project group to propose and to consider courses of action, changing relationship of group with project staff/group facilitator, formalisation of independent identity of the group, and independent action undertaken by the group.

The ability to understand and interpret policies by rural project groups is still lacking except in cases where they are working closely with NGOs or CBOs. The establishment of the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) in the country has been an improvement since their functions are to ensure deeper development impact. The establishment of the IDPs also provides a chance for communities to be represented, through ward committees and to participate in development (Everatt & Gwagwa, 2005:19). Everatt & Gwagwa (2005:20) assert that the process of preparing IDPs is critical in deepening democracy, accountability and transparency. The Municipal Systems Act (in South Africa) stipulates that municipalities must facilitate the participation of communities in the preparation of IDPs. It emphasises the importance of building capacity and allocating resources for community participation. However, there are challenges faced by municipalities. Marais, Everatt & Dube (2007:19) argue that the IDP process extends over 8-10 months but in truth public participation occurs at a few discrete points in that period. Furthermore, currently public participation is largely gauged by the number of participants or people who attend meetings. Although there are challenges, forums such as the IDP need to be better utilised to deepen and improve public participation.

The third indicator relates to the projects' ability to change their relationship with project facilitators or project staff. This assumes that the relationship changes for the better and that project members are able to approach the project facilitator or the project staff as equals. Secondly, if the group formalises its identity (which is the fourth indicator) and is able to take independent action without any assistance from anyone (which is the fifth indicator) this contributes to self-reliance and shows that project members are empowered. Most projects tend to be reliant on external organisations because of a lack of resources, ranging from finance to telephones and computers.

To use the Tswelo Pele project as an example, a project officer from IDT was assigned to assist the project. In an interview with the project officer, he mentioned that although he considered the project successful he was still concerned that the group lacked independence in taking action: "it would be very difficult for project members to work independently once I leave the project" (interview with IDT manager). The chairperson of the project echoed these sentiments, mentioning that they found it difficult to establish trust with any organisation with the exception of the Department of Social Development and IDT. The former had provided funding and the latter offered technical support to the project. The project members may, of course, in time gain confidence and be in a better position to take the initiative.

The above is quite a challenge in many development projects. From this, we can deduce that qualitative indicators, unlike quantitative indicators, are not easy to measure, especially since it usually takes some time for projects to reach a stage of self-reliance. It therefore poses a challenge to researchers and evaluators because they may need to study a project for longer periods to establish whether the project has reached the stage where they are self-reliant and do not need outside intervention.

Self-reliance also poses a challenge to external agencies that are facilitating development. These agencies need to ensure that their involvement in supporting the community does not foster project members to be solely

dependent on them. Self-reliance also means that the projects have enough resources, that the environment is enabling and conducive.

2.5.4 Empowerment as an indicator

Earlier on, I indicated that empowerment and capacity-building are important variables because they can be used as determinants of successful community participation. Empowerment is another indicator used in development literature. Literature in community development indicates that just like the self-reliance indicator, empowerment can also be measured over longer periods. The concept of empowerment has been described differently by various authors. Simanowitz (1997:129-130) indicates that to empower communities, strategies must be developed to allow people the knowledge needed to make real choices and the skills necessary to understand the implementation of development. Empowerment and participation are goals (and processes) with complex ramifications since their pursuit invariably leads to choices that some parties – including on occasion the community development workers – may not accept (Craig, 2002:5).

Laverack (2001:134) indicates that community empowerment is a process, progressing along a dynamic continuum which includes individual empowerment; small groups; community organisations; partnerships; and political action. Most authors agree that this concept is sometimes used as a political label. In the context of this thesis, people participating in a project are considered empowered once they are able to take meaningful decisions that contribute to the benefit of the entire project.

In the case studies, the concept of empowerment differs considerably from one project to the next. For the purpose of this thesis, empowerment relates to the ability of project managers to take control of project activities, make decisions in relation to the project and control their resources.

The next section deals with factors that contribute to weak community participation.

2.6 Factors contributing to poor community participation

There is not much literature that deals specifically with failure indicators in community participation. As with success indicators, various authors (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187; Everatt, 2001:91-93) have identified areas that they think could attribute to community participation being a failure in development work. In Raniga & Simpson's study, the community identified factors which led to project failure. In the analysis of the case studies, I have used factors by Raniga & Simpson to highlight those factors that could lead to poor or weak participation. These areas are lack of transparency, weak leadership, conflict within the community, lack of commitment and lack of skills (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187).

2.6.1 Lack of transparency

Lack of transparency relates to aspects of lack of consultation and lack of information-sharing, the lower rungs in Arnstein's ladder of participation. There are many examples where community participation fails because project members feel they were not adequately consulted by external organisations. An evaluation study (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:184) on a community garden project in Shakashead in KwaZulu-Natal highlighted poor consultation as an area that contributed to a disinterest on the part of the community towards the project. The community of Shakashead (a rural informal settlement) was identified as a beneficiary of a community garden. The researchers involved in the evaluation study conducted interviews with all the people in the project, including the funding organisation that was actively involved in facilitating a number of projects in the area (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:185).

Raniga & Simpson's (2002:186) research revealed that the steering committee felt that there had not been adequate community participation. For example, there was a feeling that there was lack of transparency regarding

how the project was identified in the first place. Furthermore, the representative from the local authority tasked with initiating projects within the local authority area lacked the necessary expertise. The representative had been employed by the local authority for a number of years but admitted to having no training in the implementation and management of community projects (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:185). This on its own was a recipe for failure. If the local authority is involved in facilitation it is imperative for people involved to possess experience in development work, especially when working with communities.

Lack of transparency also meant that there was no information flow amongst parties involved in the project. The research study notes that "all respondents 'heard' about the project from varying sources" (Raniga & Simpson 2002:186). Furthermore, none of the respondents was aware of the source of funds and there was much confusion about the amount allocated to the project. From this, we note a number of areas that may have led to the community losing interest in the project. The steering committee members interviewed did not know where the funds were coming from. They were not sure how the funding organisation and local authorities had decided to implement a garden project. If communities feel that they are not genuinely participating in the project, it is unlikely that they will take an interest in it. This was evident in the Shakashead community, which felt that the project was being imposed on them and this contributed to its failure. In fact, the article by Raniga & Simpson indicates that the project was never implemented. This is in contrast to the case studies for the thesis. All three projects knew about their projects, and in fact Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele had initiated the project.

An evaluation study on the Rural Anti-Poverty Programme (RAP-85) conducted by Strategy & Tactics in 2000 also identified different reasons that led to failure of community participation within RAP-85. Everatt (2001:33-34) indicates that "one of the principles of community empowerment is to involve the target group in the design and location of projects intended to benefit them". The report points out that where communities feel that they are not

part of the design they are likely to lose interest and not assume ownership of the project.

In Arnstein's ladder of participation, the approach used in the Shakashead project would definitely fall on the lower rungs – somewhere between informing and consultation. Interviewees mentioned that they had no knowledge of where the project idea came from and where funding was sourced or how much funding they had. Marais (2007:18) highlights the point that accurate information is likely to improve public participation. He further highlights that "the stronger the involvement and influence of those groups, the more appropriate and effective development initiatives will be" (Marais, 2007:17). The Shakashead project failed in this regard because very little information was provided to participants.

2.6.2 Community leadership

Another identified area that leads to project failure is that of leadership (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187). In the Shakashead community, the evaluation by Raniga & Simpson showed that there was evidently "lack of strong leadership" in that community. The study indicates that there was competition amongst leaders which meant that the project group could not function optimally.   Raniga & Simpson mention that respondents in their study commented on a number of issues relating to lack of co-operative leadership. Of note was that "the ward councillors and the various structures in the community are in conflict" and "the leadership in the area is not operating well" (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187). Leadership is a critical area in order for projects to succeed.

Gruber & Trickett (cited in Laverack , 2001:13) argue that participation without a formal leader who takes responsibility for getting things done, dealing with conflict and providing a direction for the group often results in disorganisation. In a programme context leaders are historically and culturally determined and programmes which ignore this have little chance of being accepted or utilized

by the primary stakeholders. Leadership in community participation can make or break the project.

A paper by Schafft & Greenwood mentions that "power relations play a significant role in the success or failure of a project" (2003:27). This is evident in the Shakashead community where leaders were competing against one another.

An important point mentioned by Schafft & Greenwood is that if these power differences are not mediated or managed appropriately then projects will fail. Again this is evident in the garden project in the Shakashead community. Lindsey & McGuiness (1998, cited in Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187) highlight the fact that "in order to develop a participatory approach to development, leadership needs to be characterised by facilitation, collaboration, co-ordination and suggestion". This therefore means that prior to project implementation, facilitation needs to take place to smooth out differences amongst members, as well as leaders of the project. Some sort of buy-in from all concerned, especially representatives from communities, is important. In reviewing public participation in the IDP process, Marais (2007:23-24) mentions some pertinent points. For example, key factors, it seems, are two-fold: firstly, the type and the depth of participation, and secondly, who in the community gets to frame the needs and press home corresponding demands (and the extent to which those demands also reflect the needs of the most disadvantaged sections of the community). It seems that in the Shakashead project, external agents such as the local authority and the funder pushed forward the idea of the garden project and the community was left with no choice but to accept the project.

Returning to the Shakashead community garden, a point to make is that there were various stakeholders involved in the process but poor participatory approaches resulted in leadership 'fights'. An obvious area here is that there was not enough facilitation to smooth out power relations and dynamics. This spilled over from the leadership and affected project members.

In the Motherwell Youth Development Forum, leadership was a challenge. Interviews revealed that leaders in this project had personal problems that affected the smooth running of the project and this spilled over to project activities and in the end caused project paralysis. This will be discussed further in the analysis section of the case studies.

2.6.3 Conflict within the community

Raniga & Simpson (2002:187) also identify conflict within the community as a failure indicator. If the environment is not conducive, it is impossible for effective community participation to take place. The lack of co-operative leadership in Shakashead also impacted on the project. According to the research paper (Raniga & Simpson 2002:187) "one respondent felt that because of this, it was almost impossible for people to come together and to participate in the planning and implementation of projects" (Raniga & Simpson 2002:187). The entire process was paralysed. As mentioned, in most cases if leadership cannot work together this often leads to community segmentation and community factions. Community members also tend to take sides supporting leaders that they like.

If leaders do not buy into the process then there is a strong possibility that the project will fail. Conflict cannot be restricted to the community only but also relates to conflict amongst project members. If project members do not work in unity, this poses a threat to the success and sustainability of projects.

2.6.4 Lack of commitment

Another failure observed by Raniga & Simpson (2002:187) is lack of commitment by project members. Development does not happen overnight. Sometimes it takes time for development projects to even get off the ground. This means that negotiations at the beginning of a project can take up a lot of time before a project is implemented.   Commitment also means that participants have to give up their personal time to be part of the development.

Individuals interviewed in Shakashead mentioned that "community development calls for a lot of devotion and energy" (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187).

In the Shakashead community garden (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187) lack of commitment resulted in the committee not attending training that had been intended to help them develop relevant skills. According to the research study, attendance was so poor at the first training session that only half (six) of the steering committee members attended the training, and subsequent meetings were not attended at all (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187). Of course, on the surface it could be seen as lack of commitment, although there could have been deeper underlying issues.

Everatt & Gwagwa (2005:23) also mention that good development projects very rarely move at the pace demanded by financial calendars (especially when the State is involved). This places huge challenges on those in charge of development projects.

2.6.5 Lack of skills

It is common knowledge that if project members do not possess the necessary skills then this affects project sustainability and eventually leads to projects failing. The findings of the evaluation study indicated that most participants believe that a lack of administrative and project management skills impacted negatively on the ability of community members to participate fully in the garden project (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:188). The Shakashead committee had not attended any significant training and this impacted negatively on their ability to participate fully in the project. Interestingly, the evaluation of the project shows that if training is part of the project from the beginning then it is easier for members to participate in the project. This also allows for members to learn soft skills such as communication skills and conflict resolution, and is linked to the foundation laid in the beginning. The representative from the local authority lacked experience and therefore could

not mediate group processes and community dynamics. It is a challenge for projects to offer training at the commencement of every project; it is also useful to mention that the Shakashead project seems to have been polarised from the beginning.

2.7 Conclusion

For the purpose of this thesis, the above factors could be identified as critical indicators (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187-188) contributing to community participation being a failure in development projects. Earlier, a reference was made that development is time-consuming and this may clash with family or other commitments. For community participation to succeed it is essential that those involved devote time as well as energy, which sometimes they do not have. However, a fact, is that there will always be people who see the value of participating in community projects and those who may regard it as a waste of their time.

In the analysis chapter I compare the projects visited and measure participation against the indicators presented in this chapter. The next chapter focuses on the methodology used during the collection of data.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The procedure followed in this thesis is the case study procedure. Three projects were visited for the purpose of collecting data - Mongoaneng Development Forum, Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative and the Motherwell Youth Development Forum. The three projects will be presented as case studies for the purpose of evaluating the indicators of participation in development projects. I chose the case study procedure because it allows one to report findings whilst assessing the context of a project.

The case study procedure has both advantages and disadvantages that will be expanded on in this chapter. I will also discuss the steps that were followed in gathering data.

3.2 Case study procedure

Yin (1994:9) indicates that although the case study is a distinctive form of empirical inquiry, many research investigators nevertheless have some disdain for this strategy. Thus, the case study has been under criticism because of "the lack of rigor of case study research" (Yin, 1994:10). Yin indicates that the case study, like experiments, is generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample" but a specific incidence of a theoretical proposition (Yin, 1994:10).

Yin (1994:15) also indicates that case studies have a distinctive place in evaluation research. He mentions that there are at least five different applications to this design. I mention four of the applications because they are relevant to the projects that were visited, for purposes of analysis.

Firstly, the most important point is to explain the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex to grasp with the survey or experimental strategies. The second application is to describe an intervention and the real-life context in which it occurred. Thirdly, case studies can illustrate certain topics within an evaluation, again in a descriptive mode and even from a journalistic perspective, and fourthly, the case study strategy may be used to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes.

The four applications listed above are appropriate to the chosen projects. When considering the projects that were visited, each of the projects had unique features. For example, each of the projects went through different and complex processes to get off the ground. Secondly, each of the projects received different kinds of interventions as regards both monetary and human resources. Thirdly, the projects have been described in the next chapter to provide a picture of how they operate, their structure and project management amongst other things. The fourth application, considers that the case study method does not have a single set of outcomes. This is appropriate in that each of the projects operated under different conditions and the outcomes were different. In chapter four, a detailed description of each of the projects is provided.

Case studies explain what happens in context, unlike surveys where respondents can only choose between responses. In a case study, intervention is not always neatly packaged, it sometimes takes long periods of time before a project can be implemented, and in most instances realities on the ground dictate otherwise. The case study also allows one to describe the project, for example, how the project was born, the process of implementation and challenges that the project may be faced with. The case study allows researchers to study attitudes and behaviours within their natural setting. In case study research, researchers examine many features of a few cases in-depth over a period of time. The data are usually more detailed, varied and extensive. Most involve qualitative data about a few cases (Neuman,

1997:29). It should be noted that for the thesis a number of limitations prohibited a lengthy in-depth visit to the projects, which will be explained.

The case study research has both advantages and disadvantages. The first disadvantage is that it cannot be generalised to a larger population. The second disadvantage is that it can be subjective in that the researcher can influence the study, particularly in the analysis stage. To overcome being subjective, triangulation or multiple methods are used when conducting case studies.

Triangulation was applied during the data collection process. Data collection was not limited to visiting the project only. A number of sources were contacted to get background information on the projects. In all the three projects people who were connected to the project were interviewed to obtain information on the project. This is further discussed in the analysis chapter.

In order to avoid subjectivity an instrument was designed and applied in all the three projects visited. The questionnaire was open ended and allowed respondents to freely express their thoughts and nuance on the particular subject or question being discussed. When describing the projects, in order to avoid subjectivity, the projects are described providing information within their context. In the analysis chapter the projects are analysed on the basis of qualitative and quantitative indicators of participation thus avoiding subjectivity.

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) provided information in relation to projects that they were managing and two of the projects, Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative and Motherwell Youth Development Forum were projects that they suggested could be visited. The third project, Mongoaneng Development Forum was part of a project that was implemented during a Public Works Programme, RAP-85. Finding the third project was a challenge in that it was no longer under the auspices of the National Department of Public Works, but was now managed through the Department of Agriculture in Limpopo.

Once the projects had been identified individuals who were project co-ordinators were phoned to ask for permission to visit the projects. When phoning the co-ordinators, the purpose of the research was explained. The projects to a large extent had to be community-driven, be able to manage their own resources, as well as have a component of community participation. There was no formal requirement and most correspondence was conducted through the electronic mail system.

By the time data collection started, I already had background information on the projects. The Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative and Mongoaneng Development Forum were suggested as projects that were functioning well whereas Motherwell Youth Development Forum was said to be having serious challenges. Additionally, at each project that was visited, I spoke to people who have had dealings, or deal with project members to get views other than that of project managers. This was done to obtain an independent view. Unfortunately, the process of collecting data did not allow one to interview community members to obtain their views on the projects.

It is important to note that each project had its own structure. For example, Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative and Motherwell Youth Development Forum both had a project co-ordinator and a community liaison officer respectively who were providing support to the projects. Mongoaneng Development Forum, on the other hand, had a project co-ordinator who assisted the project on a part-time basis.

As indicated above an instrument was designed and applied during data collection. The same instrument was used in all the three project sites.

3.3 Limitations of the research

There were some limitations encountered during the collection of data. The first limitation relates to the selection of projects. The initially selected projects

had to be substituted because permission from the project managers to visit these projects could not be obtained.

The second limitation relates to the method of collecting the data. Initially, it was planned to have focus groups conducted at each project site with steering committee members only. This, however, proved to be impractical since all project members that were present when the sites were visited and steering committee members (at Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele Pitso) wanted all project members to participate in the discussion. A focus group usually lasts between an hour and half and two hours and at some of the sites we could only meet with participants for an hour. This is further discussed under data collection below.

The third limitation relates to what would be called key respondents or informants. Not all key respondents were available during the collection of data. For example, in Mongoaneng the co-ordinator was to be interviewed, but he was not available on the day. This meant that the interview had to be cancelled and a follow-up with respondents conducted telephonically. Interviews that were not conducted at the project site were followed up by telephone because of project time lines and budgetary constraints.

To overcome the limitations, firstly, the projects were substituted but keeping to the required criteria of community-driven development and community participation. Secondly, rather than insisting that the interviews be held with committee members only, other project participants were allowed to sit in and contribute to the discussion. Thirdly, where key interviews were not found on site they were later contacted by telephone and the interviews conducted then.

3.4 Data collection

As indicated above, a number of organisations were contacted to find suitable projects, including the National Development Agency (NDA), the Independent

Development Trust (IDT) the National Department of Public Works and the Provincial Department of Public Works in Natal. The IDT, a parastatal tasked with implementing government's development programmes, suggested projects that could be used as case studies, which were at the time co-managed by the IDT, which disbursed funds and provided technical assistance.

Once the projects had been identified the project co-ordinators were contacted to inform them about the study and to seek permission and advice on how to approach the projects. Letters were written mainly through the electronic mail to the respective projects to seek permission to visit the projects and conduct interviews. The letters stated the purpose of the visit as well as the proposed dates for the visits.

As mentioned above, for both Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative and the MYDF, the contact was made through the IDT in the Eastern Cape. The IDT had been tasked by the Department of Social Development to disburse funds to both projects. We contacted the programme manager at IDT's office in the Eastern Cape, who in turn made arrangements for the projects to be visited.

The same procedure (of notifying the project) was followed with regard to conducting interviews at the MYDF project. At MYDF, the Chief Community Liaison Officer (CCLO) an employee from Social Development, was seconded on a part-time basis to this project. The CCLO performed the same duties as that of a project officer from IDT (supporting the project and offering technical advice). At this project, a group discussion was held with members of the steering committee and a separate interview with the CCLO.

Face-to-face interviews at Mongoaneng were conducted with the steering committee and members of the project. As indicated above, the co-ordinator who is a school principal was not available for a face-to-face interview and a telephonic interview was arranged and conducted with him at a later date. Other interviews and discussions were held with the officials from both the provincial and district offices of the Department of Agriculture in Limpopo.

Interviews with steering committee members in all three projects were recorded with the permission of the respondents. The tapes were transcribed to provide data for analysis purposes. Notes and transcripts from the research sites are available as appendices.

3.5 Research instrument

A semi-structured questionnaire was designed as the instrument for collecting and facilitating data collection. Designing the instrument proved challenging since it had to include both the components of the World Bank study, particularly information on community-driven development as well as components of community participation. The World Bank study's focus was on community-driven development, particularly projects where financial resources were directly controlled by project members and where they were able to make and implement decisions.

The instrument went through a series of drafts before it could be finalised as appropriate for data for the World Bank study. Firstly, the instrument was circulated amongst members of the research team for comments. Secondly, the instrument was submitted to Professor Groenewald, the supervisor responsible for quality assurance of the thesis. Once comments were received, the instrument was corrected and finalised. The instrument used for collecting data was an open-ended instrument and focused on themes, which could be divided into the following:

- Project background information
- Funding
- Targeting
- Partnerships
- Integrated Development Planning (IDP)
- Community participation
- Project management
- Sustainability.

In chapter four, a descriptive analysis on each of the visited projects is provided drawing out the themes from the research instrument.

3.6 Data recording

A tape recorder was used to record the interviews. Participants were informed that the recording of the interviews were solely for analysis purposes. In two of the projects, MYDF and Tswelo Pele the recording was conducted, as well as note taking. However, in Mongoaneng this proved difficult since the interviews were held in an open space. For the latter project responses were recorded on the questionnaire.

3.7 Analysis framework

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate community participation in development projects, using both quantitative and qualitative indicators. In the analysis section I draw on these indicators to demonstrate the strength or weakness of participation (Raniga & Simpson, 2002:187).

The three case studies are analysed in a comparative mode. I did not conduct a survey on the projects but rather relied heavily on qualitative methodology. Therefore, to measure the indicators, I have used a scale of one to five, with one being weak and five being strong, to make a case on the presence of both the quantitative and qualitative indicators of participation. It should be noted that not all indicators were present in the projects visited for the purpose of data collection.

The quantitative indicators fall under the following broad areas:

Economic indicators:
- The measurable economic benefits of a project, by the use of commonly employed quantitative techniques;

- Who is participating in the project's benefits; an analysis of those sections of the rural population who have directly benefited and a quantitative assessment of this benefit on their lives and their future ability to sustain the level of activities.

Organisational indicators:
- Percentage of rural adults within a project who have some knowledge of the existence of the project organisation;
- Percentage of rural adults within a project who are formal members of the organisation;
- Frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings;
- Changing size of membership over project period.

Participation in project activities:
- Number of project groups or associations of project groups formed;
- Number and attendance rates at project group meetings;
- Number of members actively involved in project group meetings;
- Total work-days contributed by members to project activities;
- Number of project group members who acquire positions in other formal organisations.

Development momentum:
- Number of project members aware of, and in contact with, development agencies' services;
- Number of project members who receive some kind of formal training from the project;
- Number of links established with similar project groups;
- Internal sustainability, or the ability of the project group to maintain its own development momentum.

The qualitative indicators fall under the following broad areas:

Organisational growth:
- Internal structuring of project group;
- Allocation of specific roles to group members;
- Emerging leadership structure;
- Formalisation of group structure.

Group behaviour:
- Changing nature of involvement of project group members;
- Emerging sense of collective will and solidarity;
- Involvement in group discussions and decisions;
- Ability to analyse and explain issues and problems.

Group self-reliance:
- Increasing ability of project group to propose and to consider courses of action;
- Group members' knowledge and understanding of government policies and programmes;
- Changing relationship of group with project staff/group facilitator;
- Formalisation of independent identity of the group;
- Independent action undertaken by the group.

The analysis chapter measures participation in the three case studies using the above indicators. In the analysis, I discuss each indicator and critically compare the projects visited on the presence or absence of the indicator.

Other important variables discussed in this research report are empowerment and capacity-building and how they manifest themselves in participation. Empowerment in the context of these projects relates to the project member's ability to take control and make decisions within the project.

Capacity-building in this context refers to the skills acquired by project members, skills transfer by externals to project members as well as leadership skills in projects. Capacity-building also relates to training and the opportunity to apply the training. All three projects were provided with some training in relation to their related activities. Empowerment and capacity-building are critical to the success of a project. If project members have the ability to make key decisions and they have the necessary skills, this should lead to the sustainability of projects.

The next chapter describes the case studies in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR
PROJECT FINDINGS

This chapter is a presentation of the project findings, and will broadly discuss the three projects in relation to why they were selected as success and failure projects. Each project will be described separately, providing an overview and description of its structure, what it does, and its formation. Analysis of the project in terms of the indicators of successes and failure will be provided in the next chapter.

4.1 Mongoaneng Development Forum

Mongoaneng Development Forum is a vegetable garden project situated in a rural village called Mongoaneng in Limpopo province. Mongoaneng village is twelve kilometers from Mankweng district and borders the University of the North. Group interviews were held with seven members of the steering committee. Other interviews were held with officials concerned with the project from the Provincial and District Departments of Agriculture.

Interviews with the steering committee were recorded with their permission. The interview was transcribed after the project visit for analysis purposes.

4.1.1 Project development

The Mongoaneng vegetable garden was initiated by the community of Mongoaneng in 1994. The project was started by the community because of high levels of poverty as well as unemployment in the area. During interviews, the steering committee members indicated that their children were exposed to the threat of severe malnutrition, hence the idea to start the vegetable garden.

The steering committee mentioned that it was quite a challenge to start the vegetable garden. At the time, those who were in the forefront approached the principal and members of the governing body of a local school to find out if

they could plant a vegetable garden there. This request was granted and a vegetable garden was established.

In 1995, the then committee approached the Tribal Authority to find out if they could get a tract of land to develop into a vegetable garden, and were given about 2.5 hectares. The community did not pay anything for the land but contributed their time and labour to clear the area. One respondent mentioned that "we had to work hard clearing the tree stumps and shrubs."[1]

Once the land had been cleared the garden project was started. Another finding in this project is that the community contributed financially towards developing the project. Of significance is that there was no real start-up capital. When the project started community members who were involved at the time (recollected by the respondent to be seventy nine. No documentary record available to confirm) contributed about R50 each towards the purchase of seed.

4.1.2 Community participation

In the earlier chapters we indicated that for the purpose of this research report, the community relates to a defined community as set out by project members. It is important to note that in Mongoaneng, initially only ten individuals (who formed part of the steering committee) had initiated the process of starting the vegetable garden. Once the Tribal Authority had granted the committee land, the entire community was invited to take part in the project. The steering committee mentioned that they had managed to involve over seventy individuals from the community, mostly women, in the project.

In order to have an inclusive process, the steering committee devised a mechanism of providing food parcels through a local shopkeeper. The respondents mentioned that through this arrangement they were targeting the

---

[1] Interview with steering committee members, Mongoaneng Development Forum, 22 July 2004.

poorest amongst their community, where those who came to collect food parcels should be considered to be from poor and needy households. So, if a member of the community came forward they were invited to participate in the project.

Respondents mentioned that those who came for food parcels were invited to take part in the clearing of the land. By default, they were also granted individual vegetable garden plots. As noted in community development literature (Mansuri & Rao, 2004:13; Oakley et al., 1991:12-13), the fact that a community may be physically in the same geographical area does not necessarily mean that they are all needy. This is clear in this instance, because only those who identified themselves as the poorest were allocated vegetable plots. A limitation on the part of my visit is that I did not measure the plot sizes.

Steering committee members mentioned that they were happy with the process of identifying the poor amongst their community. They felt that considering the concerns (poverty and high levels of unemployment) everything possible was done to include the poorest in their community.

4.1.3 Project structure

At the time of conducting interviews and visiting the project, respondents mentioned that there were thirty-nine members currently benefiting from the project through their individual plots. Of the thirty-nine members, four are male. This number also includes the youth although we could not establish their exact number.

There is a steering committee that includes the co-ordinator, who is a principal at a local high school. The co-ordinator has played a critical role in the functioning of the project, although he is only available on weekends or during school holidays as he has a full-time job. The steering committee comprises the co-ordinator, the chairperson, the secretary and the assistant secretary. In the absence of the co-ordinator, the chairperson and the secretary are

responsible for the project, and all others are project members. Members of the steering committee are elected on an annual basis. Elections foster democracy within a project.

Having such a structure suggests that there are clear roles and responsibilities for committee members. Literature indicates that having a structure is a component contributing to the success of the project. If a structure operates well, then there is no need for project members to depend on a single individual. This fosters democracy within the project group. We return to this later in the analysis section.

4.1.4 Project management

At the time of the project visit, the prevailing arrangement was that members report to the project everyday to tend their garden. There are no strict rules that members should be present at the project on a daily basis. At the time of the project visit, there were a number of project members who had come to plough their garden plots. The fact that the onus is left on project members to look after their plots enforces democracy and responsibility for the project. It could also mean that the members may be less committed. Project members have been entrusted with the responsibility of looking after their own plot.

The project also has an arrangement with regard to how the vegetables are planted. All project members are required to plant the same type of vegetables. For example, at the time of the visit these were spinach, carrots, onions and groundnuts. The project members also have an arrangement to sell vegetables from their plots to the community at large. If there have been any sales, they are recorded in a register kept by the secretary. The project members can then collect their money from the sales either at the end of the week or on a monthly basis.

There is a constitution that provides guidelines on how the project functions. For example, one of the issues raised by the secretary during the interview

was that some project members may decide that they do not want to participate in the project. If such a case arises, then the constitution provides guidelines on how to deal with the issue. For example, participants who no longer want to associate with the project are required to inform the project in writing that they are leaving; their plot is then handed over to the project and any proceeds from the sale of that plot goes to the project's bank account. The arrangement is that the plot is taken over for three years. If a member wanted to return to the project they are requested to make a formal request.

As indicated earlier, there are no hard rules with regard to how members report to the project but the committee members mentioned that they do their utmost to encourage people to come to the project on a daily basis. During the project visit we noted that a lot of hard work goes into the tending of the garden and each member is required to contribute.

Project meetings are held monthly, and the issues discussed at these project meetings relate to how the project progresses, as well as to any pressing matters. If there are any problems, meetings may be held twice or thrice a month. Although the steering committee is entrusted with taking decisions, project members are consulted with on all matters. The fact that decisions are taken on a consultative basis also indicates that democracy is practised at project level.

4.1.5 Training

The project members received no training prior to the commencement of the project. They mostly contributed their knowledge at the beginning of training. Project members only received training once the project had started. The training was provided through the University of the North. The co-ordinator mentioned that he had arranged the training through a workshop which trained project members on micro-organism substances. Project members could not remember how many times they were offered this training but most mentioned that they went twice to the university.

The committee mentioned that they had benefited from the training offered, which had assisted them to look after their gardens and identify problems that may affect these.

4.1.6 Sustainability

Sustainability is a concern in development or poverty alleviation projects such as Mongoaneng. In most instances, such projects close because project members drop out, lack funding or cannot attract any funds from outside institutions. There are, however, two commendable points about this project. The first point is that the community saw the need to initiate the project and contributed their own funds. The second point is that although the project has not been able to attract any steady funding, it is still operational, albeit it under trying conditions.

An earlier evaluation by Strategy and Tactics (S&T) in 2000 of the same project showed that the project had received support through the Rural Anti-Poverty Programme (RAP-85). This programme was implemented by the Department of Public Works, Everatt (2001:1). Through RAP-85 the project had obtained a fence to secure the project as well as a powered irrigation scheme. The support indicates that the implementers of RAP-85 saw potential in the project. When the project started operating, project members had used their own tools to plough the garden and they indicated that it was not an easy process and hard work.

As noted, there are challenges facing the project. At the time of the project visit, the steering committee mentioned that they had been without water for some time and this had forced them to stop operating for about eight months. The supplier had cut off the generator supplying electricity. Project members came together and again contributed individually to pay the electricity supplier and resume work. This will be discussed further in the analysis section.

Of note in this project is that, through spontaneous mobilization, the community of Mongoaneng started a project, largely because they saw the need to address the poverty situation they were facing. Despite difficulties, the project has been able to raise funds and address issues. This is quite remarkable, considering that this is a deep rural area faced with many challenges. These facts contribute to the project being a success.

4.2 Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative

Tswelo Pele Pitso is located in Potseng location, a deep rural area in Ward 28, Umzimvubu Local Municipality. This project is about 91 kilometres from Kokstad, a border town between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape.

The project was established when a number of small projects came together to form a single co-operative in 2001. Prior to this, women's projects were functioning separately as different projects. The need to join projects as a single co-operative was a process driven by the Department of Social Development (DSD). At this project, we interviewed members of the steering committee and they all sat together during the interview, which was recorded with the permission of the respondents. The limitation experienced during the interview is that whilst members of the steering committee were encouraged to speak, the chairperson spoke the most and the rest were quiet.

4.2.1 Project development

Prior to amalgamation in 2001, there were a number of projects operating on their own. The chairperson mentioned that they had heeded a call from the former South African President for communities to start their projects, during the era of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The chairperson mentioned that she attended a number of RDP workshops where participants were encouraged to start projects in communities.

The chairperson mentioned that she had then approached the Chief in the village to find out if they could call a village meeting and discuss ideas about projects. After the meeting, different projects were formed and were operating on their own. She mentioned that she and other women had formed a sewing project operating from her house. It is also important to note that people contributed financially to the starting of projects in 1999.

It was only in 2001 (after Social Development's call) that these projects came together to form a single entity. When the co-operative was formed in 2001 they then received funding from Social Development. In total the amount to be received by the project is R500 000. The funding was to be disbursed to the project in three years. During our interview we learned that two transfers had been disbursed to the project and they were waiting for the final transfer.

4.2.2 Community participation

The entire community was invited to take part in the project. When the Chief gave permission for the meeting to be held, members of the community came together to discuss ideas about starting projects in the area. The decision to be part of the project was largely left to individuals.

The community was encouraged to start projects by the chairperson. For example, we learned that the chairperson had attended a number of meetings which dealt with how communities could go about initiating projects in their areas. The chairperson had then asked for permission from the Chief to address and provide information to the community about how they could start their own projects. We learned that everyone was invited to the meeting and people were encouraged to participate, including women and the youth.

From the interviews, we gathered that there were no special mechanisms to target individuals or households to join the projects. However, during community meetings it was stressed that it was important for the community to start such projects because it would provide food and income to project

members. It was largely women who joined the projects, including a poultry project, baking project, vegetable project and sewing project.

The chairperson mentioned that this was not an easy decision to take, since people were ambivalent about which project to support. Eventually, those who were interested came together to form the Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative.

4.2.3 Project structure (organisational growth)

Tswelo Pele has established a structure that assists in the operation of the different projects, with four projects operating under the co-operative: sewing, baking, poultry vegetable garden. Each project has a sub-committee made up of three people. In addition to these sub-committees, there is an executive committee comprising six individuals who are all female. In addition to the project structure, the IDT project officer is responsible for assisting with technical support (such as purchasing stock or material) and also offers advisory support to the project.

Each month the sub-committees for each project hold meetings to address issues of progress as well as other urgent matters that may emerge. The project officer visits the project at least twice a month. We learned that the arrangement is not a permanent one, since IDT's role is to disburse funds for three years, and once the funds have been disbursed the project will have to function without further IDT support.

There is a separate monthly meeting involving the entire sub-committee and the executive committee. The benefit of a structure is that project members have clear roles and responsibilities. Having a project structure also enforces democracy. For example, in the women's co-operative each sub-committee knew that they played a role in operating the projects.

4.2.4 Project management

The number of project members in Tswelo Pele has changed. For example, we were told that initially seventy-nine people had been part of the project. At the time of the interview we were told that only thirty-nine people were left, although it is a pure coincidence that both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele project members were the same in number. There are four projects in total and each of the projects has a sub-committee. Each sub-committee is responsible for its respective team. The project has a constitution which governs how the project should operate.

Project members are required to report to the project daily. Unlike Mongoaneng project, where project members have greater flexibility, in Tswelo Pele project members are required to sign a register to indicate their presence on a daily basis. A work-plan is drawn up on a monthly basis for each project component, which helped to set production targets.

The project is required to submit monthly bank statements to the IDT project officer and to Social Development, as well as monthly progress reports to indicate how much profit they have made. These measures have been put in place to ensure that finances are not mismanaged and also to monitor how the project functions.

Tswelo Pele has managed to involve other stakeholders in their project. For example, they have been assisted by the District Municipality (DM) and the Local Municipality (LM). The DM has assisted in building the project two structures worth R550 000 each. The baking project has secured a contract with the Department of Education in the area to supply four schools with freshly baked bread daily. We were told that this is an open contract as long as the project exists. At the time of our visit, the committee mentioned that they were currently in negotiations to make school jerseys. This demonstrates

the ability of the project to sustain itself. This will be discussed further in the analysis section.

We were told that the different projects are able to make a profit on a monthly basis, and the profits were shared equally amongst project members. We were told that at times the project members forego sharing the profits and instead use the money to buy stock. At the time of the interviews, the chairperson mentioned that they had been waiting for the third tranche of money from IDT and have had to operate the project using the profit.

4.2.5 Training

The project members were offered training by the Department of Labour through a training centre called Maluti Skills Development, consisting of baking, poultry, sewing, vegetable gardening and business skills. The chairperson mentioned that the training had been quite useful to the project members, assisting them to operate better. However, an area of concern was that there were still things that they could not do even when offered this training. This was also confirmed by the IDT manager.

We learned that the Department of Labour was still actively involved in assisting the project with technical advice, and the District Department of Agriculture was also playing a major role.

4.2.6 Sustainability

As discussed above, the project has been able to attract a number of stakeholders. For example, we noted that they are supplying schools in the area with bread. The project is also supplying the locals as well as other surrounding villages with their products, such as bread, eggs, chicken and vegetables. There was also a sewing service. The project has been able to make a profit and show signs of sustainability.

There are issues of concern that were raised by both the chairperson and the project officer. For example, the project officer mentioned that he was concerned about the project's dependence on IDT. He felt that although the project was functioning well they still relied on him to make decisions for them. For the purpose of this report, this project is described as successful, although there are components identified by project members themselves as a weakness.

The above is an ongoing debate in development work. Clearly, sustainability of projects relates to more than the project making a profit. It also relates to decision-making and the ability for projects to face challenging situations considering the success indicators in the literature review section. This raises the question of benchmarking success. For development projects it is difficult to have all the indicators of success present. This will be discussed further in the analysis section.

4.3 Motherwell Youth Development Forum

The Motherwell Youth Development Forum (MYDF) is situated in Motherwell Township, about 25 kilometres from the city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. Motherwell was identified as one of the townships to benefit from government's Urban Renewal Programme (URP).

The MYDF received funding from the Department of Social Development and the funds are disbursed by the IDT. The forum has received R1 million which was disbursed in tranches. At this project we interviewed the chairperson, the secretary, the social cluster head and the skills and economic development cluster head. We also separately conducted telephone interviews with the project manager from IDT who has played a role in assisting the project. We also briefly had conversations with the Chief Community Liaison Officer (CCLO) from Social Development. As indicated earlier, the CCLO is tasked with the same functions as those of the IDT's project officer. Indications were that the project had been in existence for over a year.

It is important to note that there were a number of constraints in collecting data on MYDF. The first constraint relates to the time spent at project level. There was not enough time to spend at project site and we could not conduct observations. The second constraint is that the respondents were unhappy that their project would be classified as an unsuccessful project, and preferred to say they were facing challenges. The third challenge is that not every person that we would have liked to interview to get a fair assessment of the process was available. For the purpose of this research report, the project is described as a failure project.

4.3.1 Project development

The Motherwell Youth Development Forum (MYDF) was established in 2002. The aim of the project is to provide skills to the youth of Motherwell. Unlike the other projects discussed above, MYDF's focus is on youth. MYDF's task is to specifically recruit young people who have completed grade 12 and provide them with training and place them in jobs. Respondents mentioned that the aim of the project is to "empower the youth economically as well as engage them in development"[2] We learned that a number of organisations (including the civic) were involved in the formation of this youth structure.

The chairperson explained that it had been a long process to start the project, about two years. First, they had to engage existing structures in the process of consultation and meetings. We were told that the civic organisation played a crucial role in getting the process off the ground, and actively involved other structures in Motherwell.

Since Motherwell is an urban area, the process also included engaging Ward Committees. This is further discussed in community participation below. Unlike the two projects discussed above, MYDF did not contribute financially towards establishing the project.

---

[2] Interview with cluster heads, Motherwell, 22 October 2004.

4.3.2 Community participation

The process to involve the community took a long time. Unlike the two projects which are both rural and where the focus was on villages, Motherwell is a big township. Therefore, in order to achieve representation, the civic engaged about fifty Ward Committees to represent their different constituencies.

Once the Ward Committees were part of the process, they then identified youth structures on the ground. This culminated in a number of meetings to engage the youth. Representatives were elected to form the executive at MYDF. The series of meetings also resulted in the drawing up of a business plan that was submitted to the Department of Social Development. As mentioned, the project specifically aims to recruit young people. We were told that the target group for the project is from 18 to 35 years. The youth should strictly be out of school and unemployed. The project was aiming to reach five hundred youth but at the time of the interview they had not reached even a quarter of their target.

4.3.3 Project structure

The forum is managed by the ten executive committee members, elected through the Ward Committees. There are forty-eight youth Ward Committee members who are the link between the executive and the broader youth in the community.

The forum is divided into three clusters, the administration cluster, the skills and economic development cluster, and the social cluster. Each cluster has been entrusted with a specific role. From the interview we learned that each cluster has a head and two project managers. The CCLO from the Department of Social Development (district office) has been assigned to the project to assist with technical support and also play an advisory role. Her role is similar to that of the project officer.

4.3.4 Project management

The forum operates from the offices of Social Development in Motherwell. We learned that the project only started operating from the offices of Social Development in 2003, and for two years had no office.

The different clusters meet to discuss implementation plans fortnightly, and monthly with the CCLO from the District office of Social Development. Meetings are held quarterly with the Ward Committees and youth structures from the community to inform them about progress. The forum is required to submit a report to the District office of Social Development and IDT on a monthly basis.

Respondents mentioned that managing the project has been a challenge, describing it as a priority area to be improved. Forum members mentioned that they lacked the necessary skills to manage the project, which had earlier been compounded by lack of office space. For example, we would meet, then take resolutions and go our separate ways. When we next meet the same issues would be on the agenda.[3] The project manager from IDT, in her interview, mentioned that the project was performing poorly. She mentioned that when they noted that the executive members were struggling with various tasks they had arranged for workshops to assist them. At these workshops the executive had been given guidance in terms of improving their manner of operating. The programme manager mentioned that this on its own indicated failure on the part of the executive members.

The respondents also cited leadership as a problem. During the interview, they frequently said that because they come from different youth committees they were finding it difficult to work together, and this had hindered progress. Since MYDF has received funding from DSD they manage the funds and there is a treasurer who is accountable.

---

[3] Interview with forum members, Motherwell, 22 October 2004.

4.3.5 Training

The executive members have attended training on leadership and NGO capacity-building, although there were few details about how long the training took, and where it was held. Training has also been offered to about fifty-four youth. We were told that the youth have been trained in different skills such as bricklaying and plastering. At the time of the interviews we were told that about five youth were attending an events management course at Damelin College in Port Elizabeth.

It is important to note that there were no clear details of how the beneficiaries are identified to attend training, although the respondents mentioned that they have developed a screening questionnaire which the youth applying for funds need to complete. The youth provide biographical data and specify their training needs. It was, however, not clear on what basis the youth are chosen for training.

4.3.6 Sustainability

Motherwell Youth Development Forum is not an income-generating project. Its mandate is to provide youth with skills and place them into jobs. Respondents mentioned that to sustain the project they need funds. They also mentioned that they were in the process of approaching various government departments for assistance.

Respondents further mentioned that to sustain the project they need to achieve project objectives, although this was proving difficult because to date they have not been able to place any young people in any jobs. Some young people had been trained in bricklaying and plastering but had not found work.

The project manager from IDT was quite critical of this project. She mentioned that it was quite worrying that the forum had received so much funding and yet little has been achieved. She further mentioned that she was aware that these kinds of projects operated under difficult circumstances. Her view was that the

whole thing needs to be re-engineered and re-organised. A further analysis of this project is provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECTS

In this chapter I analyse the three projects or case studies visited for the purpose of the thesis. These were Mongoaneng Development Forum, a vegetable project located at a village called Mongoaneng in Limpopo Province; Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative, located in rural Matatiele in the Eastern Cape; and Motherwell Youth Development Forum, located in Motherwell township in the Eastern Cape.

In chapter three, I mentioned that the projects will be analysed using the indicators in Oakley et al. (1991:248-250). The indicators are quantitative and qualitative in nature and Oakley frequently implies that they apply also to rural settings. For the purpose of this analysis I have used the indicators to measure community participation in both a rural and urban setting. Where an indicator is present I indicate whether it was high or low in the three cases. The analysis will be written up in a comparative mode, with all three projects highlighting whether the indicator was present, how strong the presence was and where the weaknesses and challenges were.

In chapter three, I indicated that there were limitations faced during data collection. The biggest limitation was that in visiting projects, I did not spend much time at the project site, due to the budget and time factors. This was a major challenge considering that case study methodology requires extensive time at project sites. An advantage with case study methodology is that it allows one to contextualize the results.

Broader areas covered by quantitative indicators include economic indicators, organisational indicators, participation in project activities and development momentum. Broader areas covered by qualitative indicators include organisational growth, group behaviour and group self-reliance. I will first

analyse the quantitative indicators of all three projects, then the qualitative indicators using the same approach.

Each broad area has a number of indicators falling under it. It is important to note that some of the indicators under the different project activities overlap. Where such overlaps occur I have tried not to repeat the information. The indicators are discussed below.

5.1 Economic indicators

5.1.1 The measurable economic benefits of a project using quantitative indicators

Economic benefits of a project could be measured by how much a project is making, purely from a monetary point, especially in the South African context, and looking at development programmes by government. The modus operandi for all three projects was different. For example, Mongoaneng Development Forum since its inception had been financed by project members and even when the project experienced problems, project members contributed from their own pockets to have it working again. The project had started at a very small scale but improved to the extent that it was at some stage supplying a local supermarket. At the time of my project visit, the project had just been reopened after closing down for about eight months. From an economic point of view, the project might not have been doing well but one needs to consider that it had undergone problems and this resulted in its closure. I return to this later.

On the other hand, Tswelo Pele Pitso Women's Co-operative had started the project through their own contributions, and had later received a substantial amount (one million Rands) from the National Department of Social Development which was disbursed through the IDT. The third project, Motherwell Youth Development Forum project members had not contributed any finance toward the formation of the project. Like Tswelo Pele the project had been financed by the Department of Social Development again using the

IDT as a conduit for disbursing the funds. Motherwell Youth Development Forum was different in that the project was not an income generating project but formed in order to benefit the youth in areas of skills development.

In assessing the presence of this indicator in the three projects, Tswelo Pele was found to have been doing well in respect of generating income for the project. Tswelo Pele had managed to extend its activities from just a sewing project to including activities such as operating a bakery, a poultry project, and a vegetable project. In all these projects, the project members had been able to identify a market where they traded in order to generate income. For example, the sewing project had a contract with a school where they supplied them with school jerseys and tracksuits. The bakery had a standing order with some of the local schools, particularly those that were benefiting under the government's feeding scheme. During the visit I did not manage to look into the projects' financial books but was told that the project was able to achieve small profit margins.

Mongoaneng Development Forum, on the other hand, was struggling at the time of my visit where I was informed that the project had been closed for about eight months because there was no water. Prior to closing the project, members had been able to supply a supermarket in the area with the vegetables and generate income. However, at the time of my visit I learned that since the project had just resumed its activities, they were still to explore areas in which they could trade. Economic benefits of this project were low.

Motherwell Youth Development Forum was not generating any income for the project. The project had been mandated to assist young people in obtaining skills like building, carpentry, financial skills, and computer skills. The indicator was absent in the project.

5.1.2 Analysis and assessment of impact on beneficiaries

When analysing the three projects, one can safely conclude that in two of the projects, namely, Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng, the project members as members of the rural community had not only participated in the project but benefitted from it as well.

In Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative the indicator was high – the project members had directly benefitted in that they were able to fully participate in operating and they also benefited in that they were able to get a share of the profits generated by the project activities. Although it is difficult to provide a quantitative assessment of this benefit on their lives, I can mention that it had assisted them in addressing poverty. The project had made a difference in a number of households within the project area. For example, during the interviews, project members mentioned that the project had identified households experiencing poverty or that were affected by HIV and AIDS deaths and had provided vegetables to those families at no cost. The future ability to sustain the level of activities was also high, in that some stakeholders in the area had been impressed by the project and had made some input in the project, for example the District Municipality had built a structure where project members operated from.

While the Mongoaneng Development Forum was experiencing problems, one sensed that the project was resilient and determined to succeed. Initially project members had initiated the project, contributed financially and had managed to attract support from government departments such as the National Department of Public Works, and had benefitted through the department's programmes. Project members were also directly benefiting from the project in that they were able to get vegetables from the plots that they were tending. During my visit, the steering committee members that I managed to interview indicated that although they had just resumed activities on the project, they were already discussing which markets they could sell

vegetables to. This largely indicated that they had a sustainability plan for their activities.

Motherwell Youth Forum faced a number of challenges. The project was not benefiting a large number of the target population they were meant to service. The project members indicated that they had not been able to attain their objectives, citing lack of training and experience as major challenges. Other project members, however, mentioned that to a large extent it was their fault that the project found itself experiencing these challenges since they were not operating as a unit but rather in silos. Sustaining their project needed substantial funding and the chief community liaison officer interviewed mentioned that the project members had not been able to account for funds that they had already spent. I will return to this later.

5.2 Organisational indicators

The second broad area is organisational and has the following indicators:
- The percentage of rural adults within a project who have some knowledge of the existence of project organisation;
- Percentage of rural adults within a project area who are formal members of the organisation;
- Frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings; and
- Changing size of membership over project period.

5.2.1 The existence of project organisation

This indicator was quite low in all three projects, although the level of knowledge of the existence of project organisation differed considerably.

In Tswelo Pele, the chairperson possessed a lot of information in relation to how the project was formed and how it progressed to a co-operative. For example, the project had started purely as a sewing project, and at the time most of the women were working from their homes. When the Reconstruction

and Development Programme (RDP) was introduced to the Matatiele community, the chairperson mentioned that she and other women had gone to attend meetings where they were informed that in order to benefit from the RDP funding, they had to operate as a co-operative.

The chairperson had more knowledge in relation to how the project had progressed to the level at which they were. She also had a lot of information in relation to how the Independent Development Forum (IDT) was assisting them with technical advice and the disbursements of funds. Therefore it is easy to conclude that the chairperson had much more knowledge in comparison with the other thirty-eight project members. Perhaps it is also important to mention that since the interview was held with everyone present, other members could have been shy or found it awkward to speak in front of the chairperson.

In Mongoaneng Development Forum, interviews held with the steering committee indicated that no external organisation was assisting them. The project had been formed by community members and they had benefited from RAP-85 in that the project had been fenced (Everatt, 2001:18). At the time of data collection for this thesis, the project was managed by the community and they had plans to register it as a Non-Profit Organisation. Mongoaneng was different from Tswelo Pele in that it had a smaller committee.

Motherwell Youth Development Forum functioned completely differently from the other two projects. Motherwell is an urban programme and its purpose is solely to assist young people to obtain skills. This was being done through the provision of funding to the youth. The project worked with a number of local organizations, such as the civic organisation, and had tried to be inclusive. During the interview with the committee, participants were very knowledgeable about how their project had come into existence, but they were also frustrated that the project had not borne much fruit.

One can conclude that the three projects varied in relation to percentage of rural adults within a project who have some knowledge of the existence of project organisation. In Tswelo Pele, the indicator was low and in the other

two projects, the indicator was absent since these projects operated differently.

5.2.2 Percentage of rural adults who are formal members of the organisation

This was a relatively difficult indicator to measure, in that in all three projects visited, I did not manage to interact with members of the community who were not part of the project (control group) living within a project area. As pointed out in the methodology section, there was limited time to visit the projects. In all three projects this indicator scored low.

In Tswelo Pele, we were informed by the respondents interviewed that through their various projects within the co-operative, they had managed to reach out to their community members. This they had done by identifying households affected by HIV and AIDS and offering vegetable parcels to those communities. However, all the members (thirty-nine, including the chairperson) from the project area.

In Mongoaneng Development Forum, coincidentally, there were also thirty-nine members, and in interviews with the steering committee, I learned that each member of the project had their own plot which they were tending. The interviews also revealed that the project was able to sell vegetables to members of the community. This indicator would again score low in this project since one could not conduct any observation or interview with members of the community who were not part of this project.

In Motherwell Youth Development Forum, the committee interviewed had indicated that they were not reaching the target number of youth. The target was five hundred, but at the time of the interviews the project's executive committee indicated that they had not reached a quarter of the youth. A number of reasons were cited for this, but lack of leadership and clear direction seemed to have been the main reasons for their failure. I will elaborate on this further.

This indicator has scored low in all three case studies for two reasons: firstly, limitation on the time spent at the project site, and secondly, because no figures were examined in relation to the communities that were supposedly benefiting from the project.

5.2.3 Frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings

The projects varied slightly in relation to the frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings. This indicator is slightly misleading, in that one should provide figures on how many project members attended the meetings as well as how many times each member attended. A limitation on my part is that I did not thoroughly investigate how many members attended the meetings. I relied solely on the information provided by the respondents. I also did not request the attendance register or minutes to see whether the attendees frequently came to the meetings. The number of times the meeting was held was easy as I directly asked respondents how many times they held meetings.

In Tswelo Pele, there were five meetings held on a monthly basis. Each of the four projects held a separate meeting each month to discuss progress and any challenges facing the project. This meeting included the sub-committee members from each project. A separate meeting was held by the executive committee.

In Mongoaneng, the steering committee indicated that they held meetings once a month. The steering committee was made up of the co-ordinator, chairperson, secretary and assistant secretary. The steering committee indicated that prior to taking any decisions, matters were first discussed with other project members. This indicator scored low in this project because the broader members of the project were not included in the meetings.

In Motherwell Youth Development Forum, the indicator scored high. Since the project was made up of different clusters I was informed that they met fortnightly as project members and once a month with the Chief Community Liaison Officer (CCLO) from the Department of Social Development. The CCLO confirmed that the meetings were indeed taking place, but she found it disappointing that little was implemented outside the decisions taken at these meetings. The executive committee also mentioned that there was very little progress being made as in many instances decisions were taken and then at the next meeting people would raise the same issues again.

Further to those meetings there was an additional meeting with the community structures to report on the operational activities of the project, also held on a fortnightly basis. In total there were three separate meetings during a month. An important issue to note is that sometimes, even if an indicator scores high, that does not necessarily translate into any meaningful output.

5.2.4 Changing size of membership over project period

It is difficult to say with certainty that this indicator scored low in the three projects visited. The two rural projects were easy to measure, in that numbers were provided by executive members of how many people were still a part of the project.

In Tswelo Pele, when the co-operative started, it had seventy-nine individuals as project members but at the time of collecting data for this thesis we were told that the project had been left with only thirty-nine members. A number of reasons were cited, such as despondency when project members felt that progress was slow.

In Mongoaneng, when the project was formed there were seventy-nine households participating in project activities. This had changed over time, because at the time of our research only thirty-nine people were project members. The steering committee interviewed indicated that the project had

undergone difficult periods and had suspended operations for some time; this had led to some project members losing interest and dropping out of the project. The respondents also mentioned that being part of this project meant that members had to work hard and some people were lazy and therefore dropped out.

In Motherwell Youth Development Forum it was difficult to get accurate figures on how many members were part of the project when they started operating, as well as at the time of data collection. At the time of my visit the forum was managed by ten executive committee members and there were forty-eight youth from the ward committee structures who served as a link with the project. There were no clear indications of whether the number of project members had changed or remained the same.

An observation to make is that although the projects were operating, they did not seem to attract a large number of community members to be part of the project and therefore scored low on the change of size of membership indicator.

5.3 Participation in project activities

There are five indicators under participation in project activities and only two were present. The five indicators are:
- Number of project groups or associations of project groups formed
- Number and attendance rates at project group meetings
- Number of members actively involved in group meetings
- Total work-days contributed by members to protect activities
- Number of project group members who acquire positions in other formal organisations.

Not all of these indicators were present or observable, again due to the fact that I spent limited time at project level. The two indicators that were present are discussed below.

5.3.1 Number and attendance rate at project group meetings

In all three projects, meetings were held and two of the projects scored high in this indicator, Tswelo Pele and Motherwell Youth Development. However, I did not probe to find out what the attendance rate was at each of the meetings in the three projects, and therefore cannot conclude whether the indicator scored high or low.

5.3.2 Total work-days contributed by members to project activities

In measuring this indicator I use the number of times project members are required to report to the project site. Tswelo Pele Pitso excelled when it came to this indicator. Project members were required to report daily to the project. A work-plan was drawn up on a monthly basis for each of the projects and project members were required to meet targets they set for themselves, therefore, workdays were directly related to project outputs. The project scored high on this indicator.

In contrast, Mongoaneng left the decision to report to the project site entirely up to the members of the project. Steering committee members indicated that they encouraged members to try and report to the project daily but in reality could not control them. A limitation on my part is that I did not probe to obtain the number of people who actually reported on a daily basis.

MYDF also did not have any standing rule on members reporting to the project site. The executive committee was not required to report daily to the project and only came when there was a meeting or when they felt like it. Some of the steering committee members belonged to other youth structures in Motherwell but this seemed to hinder rather than help the functioning of the project. Their attention was divided and commitment to the project was questionable.

5.4 Development momentum

The indicators falling under this broad area overlap with other indicators discussed earlier. The indicators are:

- Number of project members aware of, and in contact with, development agencies' services;
- Number of project members who receive some kind of formal training from the project;
- Number of links established with similar project groups; and
- Internal sustainability, or the ability of the project group to maintain its own development momentum.

5.4.1 Number of project members aware of development agency services

On face value, all three projects scored low on this indicator. An observation made is that in all the three projects the executive committee seemed to know relatively more in relation to other project members. I, however, did not independently interview project members so this may be a subjective view.

In Tswelo Pele, the chairperson provided information on their relationship with the IDT, and the fact that they had managed to get the District Municipality involved in building them a structure that they could make use of. The Department of Labour was also involved in providing them with training, and this is discussed later. The project scored high on this indicator.

In Mongoaneng, since the project had resumed functioning a few months prior to the data collection, it appeared that there was no contact with any other outside agencies. At the time of my data collection the steering committee mentioned that their goal was to establish a flourishing vegetable garden again so that they can operate at an optimum level. The indicator was absent in this project.

While MYDF had been in touch with a number of development agencies in their area, in most instances they failed to follow up particularly because they were assisting young people to gain skills. The project, although situated in a metropolitan area, failed to identify opportunities that could enhance their functionality. MYDF scored low on this indicator.

5.4.2 Number of project members receiving formal training from the project

This indicator was present in all of the three case studies in varying degrees.

In Tswelo Pele, respondents indicated that all members of the project had been offered training through the District Department of Labour. This had been conducted through Maluti Skills Development at the Maluti premises, and consisted of baking, poultry management, sewing skills, vegetable garden management and general business skills. The chairperson commented that the training had been useful to the project members and had helped them to operate better, especially in matters relating to production. The District Department of Agriculture was also playing a major role in assisting Tswelo Pele Pitso maintain their vegetable garden project. The project scored high in this regard.

Members of the Mongoaneng Development Forum also indicated that they had received training when they first started the project. This was done through a workshop and project members were trained on micro-organism substances as well as general vegetable garden maintenance. This training was offered by the University of the North at their premises. The steering committee members could not recall how many times they had been trained but some of the members mentioned that they had gone at least twice to the University to attend the training. Members of the steering committee mentioned that the training had been quite useful and had assisted them in caring for their gardens. Training received by members was quite limited when compared with Tswelo Pele, although it proved to be particularly helpful when the project resumed operating after a gap of eight months. This indicator was

low in this project but one needs to consider the context in which they were operating at the time of my visit.

In MYDF's group interview, respondents mentioned that they had received training from various quarters, covering leadership skills and NGO capacity-building. It was not clear who had provided this training, and the executive committee mentioned that in their view further training was needed. When probing to find out what kind of training they needed they could not provide any details. During a separate interview with the CCLO, she mentioned that this group had not shown any sign of progress and it was a worrying factor since they had been offered so much support through the Department of Social Development as well the IDT. The score on this indicator was high but the group failed to use the knowledge from the training to assist them in managing their project efficiently. Lack of commitment and leadership were cited as problems for poor performance. Gruber & Trickett (adapted in Laverack, 2001:138) argue that participation without a formal leader who takes responsibility for getting things done, dealing with conflict and providing a direction for the group often results in disorganisation. This was evident in MYDF. Members of the executive committee seemed to operate as equals with no single individual or number of individuals taking the lead or the responsibility. There were no clear objectives and no clear strategy by the different clusters at this project.

5.4.3 Number of links established with similar project groups

The three projects had not established any links with similar project groups. This indicator was therefore absent in all three projects. There could be a number of reasons for this. The two rural projects, Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng Development Forum were geographically situated in deep rural areas in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo respectively. Both projects were doing well in their respective areas (particularly Tswelo Pele); however, one needs to bear in mind that these types of projects lack the resources needed such as vehicles for travelling, networking opportunities and may also lack

knowledge in how to establish such links. They are also often satisfied operating on their own without forming any links. MYDF on the other hand indicated that they were in the process of approaching government departments for assistance in sustaining their project.

5.4.4 Internal sustainability

Internal sustainability relates to the project to withstand problems or challenges that they may be facing. This indicator likely relates to the project's capacity for introspection, identifying skills gaps within the project and addressing those skills gaps. This indicator could also refer to the number of years that the project has been in existence.

This was a difficult indicator to measure in the three projects. On the surface, one can easily ascribe a particular score but one needs to contextualize the indicator in relation to the three projects.

Tswelo Pele was receiving a lot of support through the IDT and government departments such as the District Departments of Labour and Agriculture. The project functioned fairly well and structurally they seemed to be doing well. However, there was still concern in the area of project management as the chairperson felt that there were things they could not do even when offered training, such as networking, and negotiating for extra funding.

Mongoaneng, on the other hand, had been through a difficult time that had forced the project to close down. The project members had been able to resume working on the project despite these challenges. The project showed resilience and was determined to make the vegetable garden a success again. Motherwell Youth Development was struggling to identify problems affecting them and deal with them effectively. Their executive mentioned that they lacked the necessary experience and commitment to operate efficiently and produce desirable results.

In all three projects, the context and environment were different and both Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng scored high in this indicator. Although not all quantitative indicators were present in the three projects, two of the projects, Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng, demonstrated high levels of community participation in their projects from a quantitative point of view. The next section is the analysis of the qualitative indicators.

5.5 Qualitative indicators

Oakley (1991:249) mentions that qualitative indicators relate to changes which occur in the nature, growth and behaviour of the project "group" as a result of the project activities. Morrissey (2000:63) refers to the qualitative indicators as focusing on the meaningful presence of citizens in the process of participation itself. In essence, qualitative indicators focus on how rich and meaningful the process of participation is to those who are involved, rather than on impact. An important factor is that qualitative indicators are not quantifiable and therefore would need to be measured over a period of time. A limitation on the part of data collection is that little time was spent at project level.

Oakley (1991:250) groups the qualitative indicators into three broader areas: organisational growth, group behaviour and group self-reliance. In measuring the indicators falling under these broader areas, I apply the same principle of applying the scoring of high and low.

5.5.1 Internal structuring of a project group

This indicator was present in all three projects, which had structures designed to fit the manner in which the projects functioned. In Tswelo Pele, the co-operative had an executive committee overseeing the overall co-operative. In addition, each of the four projects had a sub-committee to deal with each of the projects that they were operating. The project had also drawn up a constitution that governed how they should function.

Mongoaneng had a steering committee responsible for ensuring that the project was operational. The project had a constitution which governed how project members operated and what penalties to apply if they did not operate within the guidelines. The project had a bank account and the steering committee kept a record of their banking activities, for example, when deposits and withdrawals are made.

In Motherwell Youth Development Forum a similar process was followed, in that they also had an executive committee responsible for the management of their project. The project was divided into three clusters – administrative, social, and skills and economic clusters. Each cluster was supposedly dealing with different project areas, but it was not clear what each of the clusters was really meant to do, except to hear from the executive committee that the clusters had achieved very little. Since all the projects had some kind of functional structure within their projects, all three scored high on this indicator.

5.5.2 Allocation of specific roles to group members

This indicator was present in all three projects. Since each of the projects had committees, each committee was dealing with specific tasks. In both Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng, the members were coping well with their specific roles. In Motherwell Youth Development Forum there were challenges and problems raised by the executive committee members as discussed below.

The interviews held with both the Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele project members indicated that the structures were coping with their specific roles although they had challenges. In Tswelo Pele each of the four projects had specific tasks; for example, the bakery had a contract to make bread and members of the community were able to buy bread from them. As indicated earlier, the bakery was also supplying some schools within the area. The sewing project also had a contract with a local school to sew school uniforms.

In Mongoaneng each of the project members was responsible for cultivating and working their own vegetable garden. The steering committee, on the other hand, was responsible for ensuring that the project functioned and ran smoothly. In both these projects there was a working and functioning system.

In Motherwell Youth Development Forum, roles had been allocated to the group members but the group was experiencing challenges. On numerous occasions during the interviews the project members indicated that they found it hard to work as a collective. Although the project was divided into three clusters, very little had been achieved by them. The CCLO attached to their project indicated that very little was achieved by the project members since they seemed to compete with one another. Again we note that the presence of an indicator within a project does not necessarily translate into success on its part and Mongoaneng is a fitting example.

5.5.3 Emerging leadership structure

Tswelo Pele Pitso scored high on this indicator. Members of the different committees within this co-operative had been able to manage the different project components well. A leadership structure was very much present in this project, and is very important since survival and sustainability of the project may be dependent on the leadership.

Mongoaneng Development Forum also scored high on this indicator. The steering committee in this project had been faced with a mammoth task since the project had closed. They had to turn things around and they had managed to do this. Although the project had been faced with challenges, it had a lot of potential and the steering committee was committed to having the project operate smoothly again.

Motherwell scored low on this indicator. The executive committee that was taking the lead in the different clusters was doing a poor job. In this project there was clearly a lack of leadership ability, and the respondents admitted

that their project lacked leadership. Competition and complacency was the root of problems in the Motherwell Development Forum. Perhaps the source of the problem could be traced back to how the project was designed in the first place.

5.5.4 Formalisation of group structure

Both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele had drawn up constitutions to assist them in the administration of their projects. Both projects had a high regard for their constitution and indicated that it provided guidance. Mongoaneng mentioned that they were interested to register their project as a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO). In Motherwell Youth Development, this indicator was low. There was no indication from the group on whether they intended to register their organisation.

5.5.5 Group behaviour

Group behaviour cannot be monitored over brief periods of time. Again I stress the fact that I spent very little time at the project site, a major limitation on the part of the data collection process. The information provided by respondents assisted in determining how well the project was doing in that particular indicator.

The respondents were frank and open about their project and this assisted me in inferring whether the indicator was high, low or absent. Indicators falling under group behaviour are:

- Changing nature of involvement of project group members;
- Emerging sense of collective will and solidarity;
- Involvement in group discussions and decisions; and
- Ability to analyse and explain issues and problems.

5.5.6 Changing nature of involvement of project group members

This was a tricky indicator to measure in the three projects. This indicator pre-supposes that the nature of involvement of project group members changes over time. The time spent on the projects was very limited and therefore I could not conduct any observation and relied heavily on the interviews from the project members and also from some of the stakeholders that I managed to speak to.

Obviously a point to make is that in all the three projects, a project structure was present and challenges were present. Tswelo Pele interviews revealed that the project had tried to draw on a wider spectrum of individuals from within the community to join the project. Initially the project members were women but the chairperson mentioned that they had also urged men to join the project as members. At the time of my project visit there were male members, but I did not probe to find out what role the project members were playing at the time of my project visits.

In Mongoaneng, although one did not have enough time to spend at the project site, one of the weaknesses identified was the fact that the chairperson, who was not present during the time of the visit, was highly regarded by the steering committee members and in some areas they conveyed that he was much more knowledgeable than they were. Interestingly, the chairperson was male. This was a worrying factor because if such an individual decides to leave the project, the chances of sustainability are likely to be reduced. It is well and good to have a strong individual in a project, but it may also be detrimental to the project, particularly since the person is more likely to be much more knowledgeable than other project members. The project members in the long run leave things entrusted to such an individual. This may be harmful in that, if the person leaves, then sustainability may become an issue.

MYDF also had a structure, but the project was beset by a number of problems, particularly in fulfilling their mandate. It was therefore difficult to measure this indicator.

5.5.7 Emerging sense of collective will and solidarity

In two of the projects, Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng, this indicator was present and high, whereas in MYDF it was absent.

When the Tswelo Pele project was established, it took individual community members to share a vision and contribute towards the building of the co-operative. During the data collection process, I learned that the chairperson had taken the initiative to make financial contributions so that they could start operating. Once they started operating as a co-operative they had managed to function as a disciplined unit. For example, since they were now operating the four different projects there were times when they felt that their profit margins were not large enough for them to share any profit. On such occasions, they forfeited the profit and would wait for a much more favourable period. The project had also extended its services to the community in that it had identified poor households and those affected by HIV and AIDS, and had supplied vegetables to these households at no cost. This was a huge sacrifice for the project considering that such projects are not producing large quantities and yet they were fulfilling a social responsibility.

Mongoaneng had undergone tough challenges as explained in chapter four. The project had closed down because Eskom had cut off the power supply. The steering committee mentioned that this had been caused by a misunderstanding because as members of the project they had not been fully aware that they were supposed to pay for Eskom's services. As indicated earlier, the project had benefited by getting an electrically generated irrigation system through a RAP-85 allocation (Everatt, 2001:19). Nevertheless, after the project had been closed, the steering committee and other members had met to discuss how they could resume operations again. To pay Eskom the

project members had contributed money from their own pockets and the project resumed operating again. This could not have been easy considering the socio-economic conditions of some of the rural areas in our country. The emerging sense of collective will and solidarity were thus high in this project.

In MYDF the indicator was absent. The group lacked collective will and solidarity, which is in stark contrast to the other two projects. Marsden and Oakley (1990:155) describe solidarity as perhaps one of the most neglected functions in conventional thinking. They further indicate that, for sustained development, a collective needs to have mechanisms which will ensure that conflicts and tensions are handled fairly; that people care for each other in distress; and that some elements of the body do not develop at the expense of other elements so as to retard the process of development for all of them. In MYDF, rather than work as a collective, the executive committee chose to work in silos with very little progress being seen. They were competing with one another and there were a lot of personal differences which was a source of frustration for the CCLO tasked with assisting them.

5.5.8 Involvement in group discussions and decisions

Information gathered during interviews suggests that this indicator was present in all three projects. All the projects held meetings where they discussed issues pertaining to their projects. It is, however, difficult to reach a conclusion that all members were involved since this is something measured over time.

In Tswelo Pele, I can conclude that this indicator was high. The executive committee had a monthly meeting and in turn the sub-committee representing the different projects reported to the executive committee. Because each project had its own meeting this afforded all project members the opportunity to participate in the activities of the co-operative. It was not easy to discern whether the process of meetings was open and democratic, allowing project members to perhaps criticize some aspects of the project.

In Mongoaneng, information provided by participants suggests that this indicator was low. The steering committee met to discuss issues and reported back to all the project members. However, one did not manage to interview other project members and find out if they were able to fully participate. Information provided was that decisions taken by the steering committee were fed back to the project members.

In MYDF I did not get a sense of whether the intended beneficiaries had any input into how the project was meant to function. The executive committee did meet with other community structures such as the ward committee but there was no sense on whether they had also provided beneficiaries of their project the same opportunity.

This indicator presupposes that project members are fully involved in the process of their project activities. For one to measure this indicator, one needs to at least attend meetings at project level and observe for longer periods of time.

5.5.9 Ability to analyse and explain issues and problems

This is a challenging indicator to measure. It may require one to spend considerable time at the project site; for example, longitudinal studies are best in measuring such an indicator because they provide one with intervals between the study period.

In Tswelo Pele the chairperson had indicated that they were still lacking management expertise. She mentioned that they were still very reliant on the project manager from IDT and this was a concern in that she felt anxious about the period when the IDT exits the project. Her biggest concern was that they did not have any negotiating skills; for example, a number of potential funders had visited the project with the hope of injecting more funding into the project. The chairperson mentioned that it had been difficult for them to make

an informed decision because the project manager from IDT was not present on the day of meeting with the potential funder. So, although they had the ability to analyse and explain issues relating to their own project activities they did not have the ability to deal with the scope beyond their project.

In Mongoaneng one could say they scored low on this indicator because the steering committee was also strongly reliant on their co-ordinator who was a school principal and could not be present at the project on a daily basis. Although they had been able to come together as a collective unit to resume project activities, they were still very reliant on the co-ordinator.

MYDF, on the other hand, had been able to identify issues affecting their project but were not taking decisive action. There were meetings held by the executive members but resolutions from these meetings were not implemented, leading to a paralysis in the project. The group had very good ideas but was very weak in initiating things and taking responsibility.

5.5.10 Group self-reliance

In many of the development projects group self-reliance is difficult to measure. The nature of these projects makes it a challenge in that when conducting evaluations, budgetary constraints and time constraints are always put forward as a reason for evaluators not to spend reasonable time at project level. It is also difficult for the same group of evaluators to be recalled for further evaluations. I will also argue this more extensively in the final chapter.

Marsden and Oakley (1990:46) mention that people's power comes ultimately from self-reliance. Self-reliance is strengthened by a collective identity, deriving not only material strength but also mental strength from solidarity, sharing and caring for each other, and from acting together to move forward and resist domination. Group self-reliance presupposes that externals play very little part in projects.

There are five indicators falling under the broad area of group self-reliance. They are:
- Increasing ability of project group to propose and to consider courses of action;
- Group members' knowledge and understanding of government policies and programmes;
- Changing relationship of group with project staff/group facilitator;
- Formalization of independent identity of the group; and
- Independent action undertaken by the group.

Not all indicators were present in the projects visited for the purpose of the thesis. Again, the time factor was a challenge in that these indicators need one to spend considerable time with the project.

5.5.11 Increasing ability of project group to propose and to consider courses of action

It would be premature to announce that the projects scored high or low on this indicator. All three projects faced challenges, some minor, and some big as discussed under some of the indicators above. Tswelo Pele's challenge was that they were not confident they would function well after IDT exits from the project. Mongoaneng had the challenge of ensuring that their project became as productive as it was before it was shut down. MYDF had problems in meeting its targets and fulfilling its mandate.

The time spent on each project did not provide an opportunity to observe that the challenges mentioned above were successfully resolved by the projects. It would be interesting to go back to the projects and find out whether they are still operational and have effectively dealt with their challenges.

5.5.12 Group members' knowledge and understanding of government policies and programmes

This indicator presupposes that the projects are exposed to information about government polices and programmes. This could hardly be the case considering the type of projects that were visited for the purpose of this thesis. Both Mongoaneng Development Forum and Tswelo Pele had limited information on broader issues, except for what was occurring within their project areas.

Tswelo Pele was aware that the Reconstruction and Development Programme had provided the community with insight on how they could access funds. When the co-operative was fully functioning other government departments such as District Municipality had worked with the project but this also raises a question of whether they did not see the projects' potential. Of importance in this project is the fact that the group had also attended IDP

meetings and their structure from the District Municipality was an output from the District planning.

In Mongoaneng the indicator was also low. During our interviews there had been no mention of them being aware of, and understanding, government policies and programmes. The Department of Agriculture, for example, has programmes that benefit such projects, but it did not sound like project members were aware of this. The same applies to MYDF.

5.5.13 Changing relationship of group with project staff/group facilitator

I did not spend considerable time at the project site and therefore could not effectively measure this indicator. In Mongoaneng, the IDT's project manager appeared to have a good relationship with the project. However, the project manager had indicated that the members were relying too much on him, which was a worrying factor.

In Mongoaneng there were no external agents and one can safely say that this indicator was absent. In MYDF, on the other hand, the CCLO had difficulties with the executive committee and had raised a number of issues that have already been discussed. The relationship between the CCLO and project members was characterized by a number of problems. Again, it would be interesting to go back to the project and find out whether relationships had changed for better or worse.

5.5.14 Formalization of independent identity of the group

This indicator was present in both Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng Development Forum. Both projects had drawn up constitutions serving as a guideline on how they operated the projects. Both projects were operational and had managed to identify a market for themselves, particularly Tswelo Pele. Mongoaneng wanted to register their project as a Non-Profit

Organisation (NPO) which would mean that they would be included in a database managed by the National Department of Social Developement.

MYDF was struggling to function optimally (as already mentioned) and therefore this indicator was absent. The group could not outline their future plans.

5.5.15 Independent action taken by the group

Mongoaneng Development Forum scored high on this indicator. The project had been able to resume operating after eight months of inactivity, based on individual contributions from the group members. This was quite remarkable considering that they had no institution like the IDT assisting them with any human or financial resources. Also remarkable is the fact that they were able to contribute money toward the project despite the fact that they come from a challenging socio-economic background.

The other two projects, MYDF and Tswelo Pele, had an advantage in comparison with Mongoaneng. Both projects had been provided substantial funding, even though they were receiving it in tranches, and also had support through the arrangement from IDT since they had a project manager and CCLO to assist their sites.

The support provided to MYDF was not translating into improved operations, and the CCLO mentioned that the project had even failed to account for some of the funds that were used. There was potential for this group and the executive committee mentioned at the time of the visit that they were in the process of approaching a number of institutions to form partnerships. The CCLO was sceptical of this information and stated that the project had thus far failed to produce any results. Furthermore, the project manager assisting Tswelo Pele had indicated that he worried about the group's independence once he exits the project.

Earlier on in this chapter I indicated that the presence of both quantitative and qualitative indicators does not necessarily translate in the projects being a success. The analysis of the indicators provides evidence of this. We also need to consider the type of projects that I visited. Two of the projects were in a rural setting and the contexts in which they functioned were completely different from one another.

In the following and final chapter, I will draw on Arnstein's ladder of participation and whether the three case studies presented fall on the lower or higher rungs of this ladder. The concluding chapter will also provide a brief assessment on the gaps identified by the findings, as well as the way forward.

5.5.16 Summary

The following table is a summary of both the quantitative and qualitative indicators discussed in this chapter. The table provides information on how the projects performed in relation to the indicators, and whether the indicator was high, low or absent.

It also provides comments on key points and issues relating to the projects.

Summary table showing the indicators

Indicator	Mongoaneng Development Forum	Tswelo Pele Women's Cooperation	Motherwell Youth Development Forum	Comment
Quantitative				
Economic indicators				
The measurable economic benefits of a project using quantitative indicators	Low	High	Absent	This indicator differed considerably in all the three projects.
Analysis and assessment of impact on beneficiaries.	Low	High	Low	This indicator was not easy to measure in that one needed to spend considerable time at project site and maybe interview beneficiaries of the project.
Organisational Indicators				
The percentage of rural adults within a project who have some knowledge of the existence of project organisation.	Absent	Low	Absent	In Motherwell the project operated from an urban area and therefore this indicator was absent. The other two projects were struggling in this aspect.
Percentage of rural adults who are formal members of the organisation.	Low	Low	Low	In all three projects members of the community had not participated at a maximum in the projects.
Frequency of attendance at project organisation meetings	Low	High	High	It was difficult to assess this indicator since I did not review minutes to check on attendance. The scores relate to the number of meetings that were held by projects.
Changing size of membership over project period.	Low	Low	Low	The participants in both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele had dropped. MYDF was struggling to reach their target.
Participation in project activities				

Number of project groups or associations of project groups formed.	Absent	Absent	Absent	Projects operated in silos and had not been able to network.
Number and attendance rates at project group meetings.	Absent	Absent	Absent	Could not measure this indicator - a major failure on my part.
Total work-days contributed by members to project activities.	Low	High	Low	In both Mongoaneng and Motherwell, reporting at project site was left entirely to the members. In Tswelo Pele it was required that they report daily.
Development momentum				
Number of project members aware of development agency services.	Absent	High	Low	Tswelo Pele had managed to attract the District government to build a structure for them through the IDP programme. In Mongoaneng the indicator was absent whilst MYDF scored low since they did not utilise opportunities.
Number of project members receiving formal training from the project.	Low	High	High	Interestingly MYDF scored high but their project output did not match the training they received.
Number of links established with similar project groups.	Absent	Absent	Absent	Projects operated in silos.
Internal sustainability.	High	High	Low	Mongoaneng was particularly remarkable in the manner in which they were able to resuscitate their project. Tswelo Pele had a solid working relationship and MYDF was characterized by leadership problems.
Indicator	Mongoaneng Development Forum	Tswelo Pele	Motherwell Youth Development Forum	
Qualitative indicators				
Internal structuring of a project group.	High	High	High	All projects had established a structure.
Allocation of specific roles to	High	High	Low	MYDF struggled when it came to this indicator.

group members.				
Emerging leadership structure.	High	High	Low	MYDF struggled because they lacked leadership. The other two projects performed well in this indicator.
Formalisation of group structure.	High	High	Low	Both Tswelo Pele and Mongoaneng had drawn up guidelines which they were following. MYDF on the other hand struggled when it came to this indicator.
Group behavior				
Changing nature of involvement of project group members.	Low	Low	Low	This was a difficult indicator to measure since very little time was spent at project site.
Emerging sense of collective will and solidarity.	High	High	Absent	Both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele had members who worked and respected and had a strong sense of social cohesion. This was lacking in MYDF since there was too much competition amongst the project members.
Involvement in group discussions and decisions.	Low	High	Absent	Tswelo Pele had a culture of holding meetings and involving members. In Mongoaneng the steering committee seemed to hold meetings and then pass on decisions to the rest of the members. In MYDF the indicator was absent.
Ability to analyse ad explain issues and problems.	Low	Low	Low	The projects seemed to lack confidence in dealing with their problems.
Indicator				
Group self-reliance				
Increasing ability of project group to propose and to consider courses of action.	Absent	Absent	Absent	This was a difficult indicator to score. All three projects faced challenges - however it was not easy to assess.
Group members' knowledge and understanding of government policies and programmes.	Low	Low	Absent	There was very limited information provided to assess this indicator. In both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele the indicator was low.
Changing relationship of group	Absent	Low	Low	Time spent at the project site did not allow one to

with project staff/group facilitator.				thoroughly assess this indicator.
Formalization of independent identity of the group.	High	High	Absent	Both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele had a constitution to operate within.
Independent action taken by the group.	High	High	Low	In comparison, Mongoaneng scored high in the sense that their project had faced more challenges. Motherwell scored low in this regard since they were not able to solve problems.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in chapter 2 indicates that for community participation to yield positive results in development projects, practitioners need to think out of the conventional box. The upper rungs in Arnstein's ladder of participation indicates that if citizens are truly participants of a process then the results should provide some form of citizen power. Oakley's indicators of community participation provide an interesting mix of quantitative and qualitative measurements. The quantitative indicators are easy to measure since one is able to apply numerals, for example, how many times project members attend meetings. However, the qualitative indicators require periodic assessments and prolonged periods of time to be spent at the project site. Oakley et al. (1991:250) mention that "it is of course, one thing to present a list of indicators; the next and more difficult task is to determine how these indicators might be observed and recorded". The limitation on the part of this thesis is that one could not spend considerable time at the projects and therefore I could not vigorously measure the indicators.

An important fact is that not all of the indicators need to be present for a project to be analysed as performing well and this was evident in the projects presented for this thesis.

6.1 The analysis

The projects presented in this thesis are different and unique, and the analysis indicated that the projects each had their own distinguishing features. Their manner of operation was different and the levels of community participation differed in all the three cases.

In Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative indicators falling under the quantitative and qualitative areas were present. The levels of participation in this project were high, mostly scoring five. A unique feature of this project is that at its

inception it had begun operating on a small scale (a sewing project) but had been able to grow and include other activities in its operation, such as the bakery, the poultry project and the vegetable project. When the project began, the chairperson had to make personal sacrifices and contribute financially to the project. The second unique feature of this project is that the project participants had been able attract a government department to fund them as well as get human resources for support in the form of IDT providing a project officer as a temporary arrangement. The financial support provided by the Department of Social Development and disbursed through IDT was also a major boost for the project. At the time of visiting this project, they were reaching out to the community by identifying households that needed assistance and providing them with food parcels. Indicators falling under the broad area of group behaviour scored high in this particular project. The project was functioning well – at least that is what they projected during the interviews, but there was some concern about what would happen once IDT exits the project.

Mongoaneng Development Forum had started operating from humble beginnings. Some community members from the village had initiated the vegetable garden, contributed financially, and operated from a local school. It was at a later stage that the community members had approached the chief in the area to ask for land so that they could have personal plots. There are two remarkable features with this project. The first is that the community had no support when they began functioning and although they had been able to benefit from the Rural Anti-Poverty Programme (RAP-85), a poverty alleviation programme implemented by the National Department of Public Works, this had only been once-off support. They were able to get their project fenced off and obtain an electrically operated generator for their irrigation system. Both the fencing of the project and the irrigation system had been once-off support. The second remarkable feature of this project is the fact that the project had experienced a challenge when their electricity was cut off by Eskom. They then stopped operating for about eight months. The project members had come together once again and made financial contributions to reopen the project. The project members had demonstrated

the emerging sense of collective will and solidarity. Their resuscitating the project did not involve any external agents but rather they had worked on their own and made individual contributions. A weakness in this project is that there was a tendency to rely heavily on the chairperson. This was evident during the interviews held with some members of the steering committee. When conducting interviews with the project co-ordinator who is a school principal, he also conceded that the members tended to rely heavily on him. When analyzing the project and measuring community participation, one is able to deduce that although not all the indicators were present, the project scored well in many of the areas, for example, group self-reliance and group behaviour.

The Motherwell Youth Development Forum was unique in that it was an urban project. The idea for the project came from the Department of Social Development, which indicates a different (external) origin for the project in comparison to the other two projects which started on initiatives from within. The focus for the project was to identify youth from the community of Motherwell and provide them with finance so that they could attain skills. In comparison with the other two projects presented for this case study, MYDF seemed to have consulted broadly with local organizations, thus scoring high on this indicator. They had engaged with the local civic structure as well as other youth political formations so that they could reach their target. The project, however, scored low in other indicators, falling both under quantitative (organisational participation in project activities) and qualitative (organisational growth, group behavior and group self-reliance). MYDF received support from the IDT similar to that of Tswelo Pele Women's Co-operative, receiving funds disbursed through the IDT and a person attached to the project. The project failed to take advantage of this support, they lacked foresight and scored low, particularly in issues of an emerging sense of collective will and solidarity, as well as the ability to analyse and explain issues and problems. At the time of visiting this project, they had not reached even a quarter of their target group and experienced a number of problems.

6.2 Arnstein's ladder of participation

When reviewing citizen participation in the IDP process in the Gauteng province, the authors (Marais, Everatt & Dube, 2007:20) indicate that the special appeal of Arnstein's ladder lies in the criteria it uses (and implies) to distinguish between different degrees of public participation. Of interest is what the indicators of community participation used by Oakley allow one to do.

All three projects would lie on the higher rungs of the ladder where partnership, delegated power and citizen power are located. However, the analysis clearly shows that this does not translate into all three exhibiting favourable results. Motherwell Youth Development Forum failed to produce results in spite of the extensive support they were receiving from institutions such as the Department of Social Development and the Independent Development Trust.

A notable feature in Arnstein's ladder of participation is that development should enforce empowerment and self-mobilization and redistribute access to resources and services, (Marais, Everatt & Dube, 2007:58). Both MYDF and Tswelo Pele had been provided substantive financial resources and provided with support through the IDT. MYDF had not managed to utilize this in promoting community participation whilst Tswelo Pele had been able to perform well, although there was some concern about what would happen when this support is withdrawn from the project. Mongoaneng Development Forum had been able to face challenges on their own without any external agent assisting them. The weakness of this project was that they seemed to rely on the project co-ordinator who was not always present at the project site.

Both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele demonstrated the commitment and determination to succeed. This is a remarkable feature for these projects, considering that they are located in rural areas and have limited networking exposure. Commitment is therefore a pertinent feature for projects to succeed.

6.3 What leads to poor community participation?

Raniga & Simpson (2002:187-188) identify four factors that may lead to poor community participation in development work: lack of transparency, problems associated with community leadership, conflict within the community, lack of commitment and lack of administrative and project management skills on the part of community members. It should be noted that these factors are not exhaustive in themselves.

When one considers the three projects considered for this thesis, one observes that the poor performance within MYDF could be a result of some of the factors mentioned herein. The project lacked foresight and leadership. All members of the project regarded themselves as equals and there was seemingly a competitive spirit amongst the project members. Because there was no 'leader' a number of activities remained unfinished, in contrast to both Mongoaneng and Tswelo Pele, where both had chairpersons who had assumed leadership roles and made sure that all activities were carried out.

Earlier on in this chapter I mentioned that commitment is a pertinent factor in development projects. Development projects demand time, patience and hard work from members and this is also true of project partners. MYDF lacked commitment and this was evident in their poor community participation. Their project had failed to reach even a quarter of their target group. Although they scored well in meetings they did not produce any positive results, with items repeatedly being discussed and little implementation. The project performed poorly even though it was provided with the necessary support. Those interviewed at this project mentioned that they had lacked the necessary skills to effectively run the project although they had attended training.

Lund (cited in Raniga & Simpson, 2002:188) mentions that " …it is in training that the material and social objectives of projects are transferred to a core group of local people, and it is this that makes the project self-sustaining and viable over time". It was not clear from the project participants what type of

skills they still needed and they had failed to identify what skills they lacked. They therefore lacked in developing their momentum. Their commitment was also questionable.

6.4 Identified gaps

In measuring these projects, a common thread in all three cases is that not all indicators were present at any given stage.   This is true of community participation, which is a process, and the indicators take shape throughout project life.

The gaps identified in this thesis relate to the project's ability to stamp its authority or lack of it. Two of the projects were performing well but questions of long-term sustainability cannot be ignored. Development takes time and may yield positive results over longer periods. However, one can only measure this through prolonged periods. Unfortunately, in many studies researchers or evaluators do not have the necessary resources to conduct such studies. A question for development practitioners might therefore be how to design methodologies that allow measuring community participation successfully. Budgets and time constraints are always an issue even with government institutions.

When considering the indicators by Oakley, and indeed Arnstein's ladder of participation, how does one conclude that projects have performed successfully without taking the context of such projects into consideration? At what level do project members feel confident and ready to perform at their peak and be able to hold their development momentum?

The above questions need to be given consideration in that for development to succeed, time, energy and hard work are important for projects to survive and remain sustainable.

REFERENCES

Abers, R. (2001). Practicing radical democracy. *Plurimondi,* 1(2): 67-82.

Babbie, E., Mouton, J., Vorster, P. & Prozesky, B. (2001). *The practice of social research.* South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Bickman, L., Rog, D.J. (Undated). *Handbook of applied social research methods.* London: SAGE Publications.

Bradshaw, T.K. (2000). Complex community development projects: collaboration, comprehensive programs, and community coalitions in complex society. *Community Development Journal*, 35(2): 133-145.

Cloete, P., Groenewald, C., Van Wyk, M. (1996). People First! A practical guide to community development. *Community Leadership Project,* 180-210.

Craig, G. (2002). Towards the measurement of empowerment: The evaluation of community development. *The Community Development Society,* 33(1): 125-146.

Daas, D. (2008, February). Making the Development Worker More Effective. *Sangonet Newsletter,* pp 1-4 [Sangonet Newsletter]. Retrieved February 02, 2008 from the World Wide Web: http://www.sangonet.org.za/portal/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=8...

DeGabriele, J. (2002). *Improving community based management of boreholes: A case study from Malawi*. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Dube, N. & Everatt. D. (2001). *A process evaluation of the Winterveldt youth alliance.* Commissioned by the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. Johannesburg: Strategy & Tactics.

Dube, N. (2004). *Impact analysis of the victim empowerment projects (VEP).* Researched for the National Department of Social Development. Johannesburg: Strategy & Tactics.

Emmet, T. (2000). Beyond community participation? Alternative routes to civil engagement and development in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa,* 14(4): 501-518.

Everatt, D., Gwagwa, N. & Shezi, S. (Undated). Empowerment through infrastructure delivery: taking public works into the next millennium. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Everatt, D. (2001). *RAP-85 survey report.* Commissioned by the Department of Public Works. Johannesburg: Strategy & Tactics.

Everatt, D. & Gwagwa, L. (2005). *Community-driven development in South Africa,* 1992-2004. Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 92. October. World Bank.

Finsterbusch, K. & van Wiklin III, W.A. (1989). Beneficiary participation in development projects: Empirical tests of popular theories. *Economic Development and Cultural Change.* University of Chicago.

"Good development can't happen quickly". *Strategy & Tactics Newsletter,* 1-2. [Strategy & Tactics Newsletter]. Retrieved December 12, 2006 from the World Wide Web: http://www.s-and-t.co.za/page.php?article_id=71&from=newsletter&category_image=none

Green, P.G. (2003). Civic involvement, organisational ties, and local economic development. *Journal of the Community Development Society,* 34(1): 1-17.

Gummesson, E. (1991). *Qualitative methods in management research.* SAGE, Newbury Park, Ca, London.

Hustedde, R.J. & Ganowicz, J. (2002). The basics: What's essential about theory for community development practice? *Journal of the Community Development Society,* 33(1): 1-19.

Irvin, R.A. & Stansbury, J. (2004). Citizen participation in decision making: Is it worth the effort? *Public Administration Review,* 64(1): 55-65.

I.T. Transport Ltd. (1997). *Community Participation in the maintenance of infrastructure. A literature review.* Prepared for the Department for International Development. Research Scheme Number: R6476. Ardington: Nr Wantage Oxon.

Jennings, R.T. (1997). *The development of a youth policy for the Gauteng Legislature: An understanding of the position young people occupy in Gauteng.* Unpublished master's thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Laverack, G. (2001). An identification and interpretation of the organisational aspects of community empowerment. *Community Development Journal,* 36(1): 134-145.

Mansuri, G. & Rao, V. (2004). Community-based and -driven development: A critical review. *The World Bank Research Observer,* 19(1): 1-39.

Marais, H. (2007). *Annexure A: Public participation and Integrated Development planning. Critical review of literature on public participation in local development.* Johannesburg.

Marais, H., Everatt, D., & Dube, N. (2007). *The depth and quality of public participation in the integrated development planning process in Gauteng.* Researched and written for the Gauteng Provincial Department of Local Government. Johannesburg.

Marsden, D. & Oakley, P. (Eds). (1998). *Evaluating social development projects.* Development Guidelines No. 5.

Morrissey, J. (2000). Indicators of citizen participation: lessons from learning teams in rural EZ/EC communities. *Community Development Journal,* 35(1): 59-74.

Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your masters & doctoral studies. A South African guide and resource book.* Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.

Neuman, W.L. (Third Edition). (1997). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Allyn & Bacon: United States of America.

Ntsime, M.J. (1999). *The role of project managers in the Community-Based Public Works Programme.* Unpublished master's thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Ntsime, N. & Jennings, R. (2004). *Socio-economic impact of Zivuseni: Retrospective analysis (April 2002-December 2003).* Analysed for the Zivuseni Programme Office-Gauteng. Johannesburg: Strategy & Tactics.

Nussbaum, B. (1997). *Indicators of Success.* In Dewar, D. (Eds), *Making a difference: Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Development in Stutterheim.* (pp.29-38). RSA. Florida Hills.

Oakley, P. et al. (1991). *Projects with people: The practice of participation in rural development.* International Labour Office. Geneva.

Oldfield, S. (2000). The centrality of community capacity in state low-income housing provision in Cape Town, South Africa. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 24(4): 858-872.

Raniga, T. & Simpson B. (2002). Community participation: Rhetoric or reality? *Social Work: A Professional Journal for the Social Worker,* 38(2): 182-191.

Ritchie, D., Parry, O., Gnich, W. & Platt, S. (2004). Issues of participation, ownership and empowerment in a community development programme: tackling smoking in a low-income area in Scotland. *Health Promotion International,* 19(1): 51-59.

Saavedra, R., Zŭńiga, M., Tanchuling, M.L.G., & Papen, U. (1997). Making a difference: Innovations in adult education. *German Foundation for International Development.* UNESCO Institute for Education.

Schafft, K. & Greenwood, D.J. (2003). Promises and dilemmas of participation: Action research, search conference methodology, and community development. *Journal of the Community Development Society,* 34(1): 18-35.

Simanowitz, A. (1997). *Community participation/community-driven*. Paper presented at a seminar on "Water and Sanitation for All: Partnerships and Innovations", 23rd WEDC Conference, Durban, South Africa.

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) (2000). "Community empowerment through community learning centres in Thailand". [PAI/April-June 2000]. World Wide Web: www.unescap.org/rural/doc/pai/vol%2010%20%202%20-%April%20June%

University of Pretoria (Undated) "Community participation in the Saldanha Steel Project: A case study". Retrieved September 24, 2003 from the World Wide Web:

http://www.up.ac.za/academic/soba/SAAPAM/administratio%20%publica/vol8n.../part3.ht.

Warner, G. (1997). Participatory management, popular knowledge, and community empowerment: The Case of Sea Urchin Harvesting in Vieux-Fort Area of St. Lucia. *Human Ecology,* 25(1): 29-46.

Watt, S., Higgins, C. & Kendrick, A. (2000). Community participation in the development of services: a move towards community empowerment. *Community Development Journal,* 35(2): 120-132.

Wetmore, S.B., & Theron, F. (1998). Community development and research: Participatory learning and action – a development strategy in itself. *Development Southern Africa,* 15(1): 1-26.

World Bank (1995). *World Bank Participation Sourcebook.* Environment Department Papers Participation Series. World Bank. Washington.

Yin, R.K. (Second Edition). (1994). *Case study research. Applied social research methods series.* Volume 5. United States of America. SAGE Publications Inc.

APPENDIX
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is ……………………………… from Strategy & Tactics. We are conducting a study on Community Driven Development. In this study we are looking at projects that have a community-driven component and that were initiated by the community prior to 1994 and that have stayed successful and those projects that were initiated prior to 1994 and have not stayed successful. We are also looking at projects that were initiated by the community after 1994 and have stayed successful. This study also seeks to identify best practices to help other projects.

The study requires that we interview members of these projects. Please note that this interview is confidential and we will not quote you by name in any of our reports. I will also be using this information for the purpose of my studies. With your permission I would like to record this interview. Please note that the questionnaire is just to help facilitate our discussion. Please feel free to add whatever information relevant to the discussion.

Name of respondent	
Position of respondent	
Name of project	
Type of project	
Year in which project began	
Province	
Type of area	
Name of local site	
Date	
Project successful pre-94 failed later	1
Project successful pre-94 still successful	2
Project initiated post-1994 failed later	3
Project initiated post-1994 and still successful	4

1. Could you please tell me what is your understanding of community-driven development? How would you explain in your own words?

2. Could you please describe your project in two lines? **(Probe to find out what the project does, how many members form part of the project)**

_____

_____

_____

3. We understand that this project (**PROJECT X**) began prior/post 1994. Could you please in your own words tell me how the project was initiated? **(Probe to find out what steps were followed by the community to start this project, e.g. identifying leaders/committee, who did the project approach etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

4. Who was involved in initiating the process? **(Probe to find out what positions these people hold in the community. Are they community leaders for example? Are they part of the project now? How many were they?)**

_____

_____

_____

5. Could you please tell me how your project obtained funding? **(Probe to find out if members contributed anything towards the project, approached CBO, local municipality etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

6. Could you please tell me who were the main beneficiaries of this project? **(Probe to find out if this has changed over time)**

_____

_____

_____

7. I would like us to speak about targeting for a moment. How were community members for this project targeted? **(Probe to find out how the project ensured that poorest in the community were identified – ask respondent to outline the process that was involved in identifying the poor)**

_____

_____

_____

8. Were there any mechanisms to ensure that women or young people were included in your project? **(Find out what mechanisms have been put in place to ensure that the project includes marginalised groups such as women or children.)**

_____

_____

_____

9. If yes to above question, how were women or young people selected? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

10. Does your project have women who form part of the project? **(Probe to find out if women form part of the management structure, how many they are, if they take part in any decision-making? Are the quotas in place?)**

_____

_____

_____

11. Does your project have young people who form part of the project? **(Probe to find out if young people form part of the management structure, how many they are, if they take part in any decision-making? Are the quotas in place?)**

_____

_____

_____

12. How were the poor on this project identified? **(Please explain process. Did they have to work for the project?)**

_____

_____

_____

13. Are you happy with the process in which the poor were identified? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

14. Does the project hold regular meetings? If yes, what issues are discussed? **(Probe to find out how regular are the meetings held. What issues are discussed, management or just operations)**

_____

_____

_____

15. How are decisions in the project taken? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

I WOULD LIKE US TO TALK ABOUT PARTNERSHIPS FOR A MOMENT

16. Has your project formed any partnerships with any other Community Based Organisations (CBOs)? Community Based Organisations are small local structures that are not part of the government. **(Please explain in detail what kind of partnerships have been formed, with whom and why. Probe to find out what are the benefits/problems etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

17. Has your project formed any partnerships with any Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)? NGOs are formally registered non-profit making organisations that are not part of the government. **(Probe to find out in detail what kind of partnerships have been formed with whom and why. Find out if the partnership is formally constituted. Probe to find out what are the benefits/problems etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

18. Have you formed any partnerships with the District Municipality? **(Please explain in detail what kind of partnerships have been formed. Probe to find out which municipality it is, why did they choose that particular municipality. What are the benefits/ what are the problems etc.)**

_____

_____

19. Do you receive any financial support from the District Municipality? **(Please explain in detail)**

_____

_____

20. Have you formed any partnerships with the Local Municipality? **(Please explain in detail what kind of partnerships have been formed. Probe to find out which municipality it is, why did they choose that particular municipality. What are the benefits/ what are the problems etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

21. Do you receive any financial support from the Local Municipality? **(Please explain in detail)**

_____

_____

_____

22. Has your project formed any business partnerships with any private organisations? **(Probe to find out what kind of partnerships were formed? What are the benefits of such partnerships)**

_____

_____

_____

23. Do you receive any management support from the District Municipality/Local Municipality? **(e.g. managerial or technical support. Ask for each level)**

_____

_____

_____

24. If partnerships have been formed specifically with the District Municipality/Local Municipality, does the project take part in any meetings? **(Probe to find out what kind of meetings are these and how often do they take place and so on)**

_____

_____

_____

25. Does the project play any role in how resources are allocated by the District Municipality/Local Municipality? **(For example participation in IDPs)**

_____

_____

_____

26. Are you happy with the role that the District Municipality/Local Municipality is playing in this project? **(What are the challenges? What needs to be improved etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

I WOULD LIKE US TO TALK ABOUT IDPs FOR A MOMENT

27. Is the project aware of the Integrated Development Planning Process (IDPs) **(If no skip to question 30)**

_____

_____

_____

28. Did your project take part in the IDP process? **(Probe to find out how they found out about the process)**

_____

_____

_____

29. Are you happy with the manner in which the project took part in the IDP process? **(Probe to find out what the problems are and how they can be improved)**

_____

_____

_____

I WOULD LIKE US TO TALK ABOUT COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION FOR A MOMENT

30. How, if at all, is the community participating in this project? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

31. If community is participating in the project, what effect has it had on the project's performance? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

32. In your opinion do you think that the project has empowered the community in any way and if so how? **(Probe to find out if other community members who are not part of the project are benefiting from the project in any way. Do they use the project? What are the inhibiting factors?)**

_____

_____

_____

33. In your opinion what would you say have been the main contributing factors for the success of this project? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

34. In your opinion what would you say have been the main contributing factors to any failings of this project?

_____

_____

_____

I WOULD LIKE US TO TALK ABOUT ISSUES OF SUSTAINABILITY FOR A MOMENT

35. Does this project have an operations and maintenance plan? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

36. Does the project have a monitoring and evaluation plan? **(Please explain)**

_____

_____

_____

37. Does this project hold a regular strategic planning process?

_____

_____

_____

38. In your own opinion, do you think that this project has people with the required management skills to run/operate this project? **(If not what skills does the project need)**

_____

_____

_____

39. In your own opinion, do you think that this project has people with the required technical skills to run/operate this project? **(If not what technical skills does the project need)**

_____

_____

_____

40. Does your project embark on any fund-raising activities? **(Probe to find out how the project generates income and how it has survived thus far)**

_____

_____

_____

41. Has your project since its implementation had to change or adapt its manner of operation because it was facing closure? **(Probe to find out what problems were facing the project? Probe to find out how the project survived?)**

_____

_____

_____

42. Does your project have a bank account?

Yes   1
No   2

43. Does the project have a bookkeeper?

Yes   1
No   2

44. Thinking back to our conversation what suggestions would you make about issues of community-driven development?

_____

_____

_____

Thank respondent and end interview.