

**PARTICIPATION OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN DEVELOPMENT POLICY
AND PRACTICE: THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE AND ITS
RELEVANCE FOR RWANDA**

By

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters
of Arts at the University of Stellenbosch.**

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December 2002

Declaration

I, the undersigned, Théogène Bangwanubusa, hereby declare that the work contained in this Thesis is my on original work and that I have not previously in entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

Summary

Several indispensable variables for effective community development include, among others: development skills, networking and partnership, and community participation in the development project life cycle. The study aimed to derive relevant lessons about these factors for Rwanda from the South African community development experience.

A literature study was first undertaken on key concepts such as participation, rural community, development, and policy and practice. Literature on principles and policies guidelines for community development in both the South African and Rwandan contexts was also reviewed. Within the perspective of comparative analysis, the socio-political and historical backgrounds of both countries served as the basis of criteria for selecting four case studies. From South Africa, three case studies were selected from both the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. One post-apartheid study was regarded as unsuccessful and one was successful. The third is a successful ongoing case that straddles the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. From Rwanda, a post-genocide ongoing case was selected on the grounds of its perceived success. A comparative analysis was undertaken of practical results and the South African experience provided actual relevance for Rwanda in specific ways.

In complete contrast to the current view that community driven development depends on the political context, the study shows that it depends rather on a number of objective principles for active community participation. What is demonstrated is that community driven development cannot be adequately supported by the developer-centred, consultation, and blueprint approaches because they fail to inspire active community participation. Nor can community participation be seen merely as cheap labour or superficial involvement. Instead, it implies empowering the community with development skills that enable people to acquire more choices and gain control of their community life.

To achieve such empowerment, the study stresses the need for a shift toward the bottom-up approach to the planning and implementing of rural-based development projects.

Opsomming

Verskeie onmisbare veranderlikes vir doeltreffende gemeenskapsontwikkeling sluit, onder andere, die volgende in: ontwikkelingsvaardighede, netwerk en vennootskap, en gemeenskapsdeelname aan die lewensiklus van die ontwikkelingsprojek. Die studie het gepoog om relevante lesse omtrent hierdie faktore vir Rwanda af te lei uit Suid-Afrika se ondervinding ten opsigte van gemeenskapsontwikkeling. 'n Literatuurstudie oor sleutelbegrippe soos deelname, landelike gemeenskap, ontwikkeling en beleid en praktyk, is eers onderneem. Literatuur oor beginsels en beleidsriglyne vir gemeenskapsontwikkeling in sowel die Suid-Afrikaanse as Rwandese omgewings is ook bestudeer. Binne die perspektief van vergelykende analise, het die sosio-politiese en historiese agtergrond van albei lande gedien as die basis van die kriteria waarvolgens vier gevallestudies gekies is. Drie Suid-Afrikaanse gevallestudies is uit die apartheids- en die post-apartheidsera gekies. Een post-apartheidstudie is as onsuksesvol beskou en een as suksesvol. Die derde geval is 'n suksesvolle, voortgaande een uit die apartheidsera en daarna. Uit Rwanda is 'n voortgaande geval uit die era na die volksmoord op grond van sy sigbare sukses gekies. 'n Vergelykende analise van die praktiese resultate is onderneem, en die Suid-Afrikaanse ondervinding het op spesifieke maniere wesenlike toepassings vir Rwanda verskaf.

In algehele teenstelling met die huidige opvatting dat gemeenskapsgedrewe ontwikkeling afhang van die politieke omgewing, wys hierdie studie dat dit eerder van 'n aantal objektiewe beginsels vir aktiewe gemeenskapsdeelname afhang. Wat gedemonstreer word, is dat gemeenskapsgedrewe ontwikkeling nie voldoende deur ontwikkelaaigesentreerde, konsultasie- en bloudrukbenaderings ondersteun kan word nie, aangesien hulle nie daarin slaag om aktiewe gemeenskapsdeelname te inspireer nie. Net so kan gemeenskapsdeelname nie bloot gesien word as goedkoop arbeid of oppervlakkige betrokkenheid nie. Dit impliseer eerder die bemagtiging van die gemeenskap met ontwikkelingsvaardighede wat mense in staat stel om meer keuses te bekom en om beheer oor hulle gemeenskapslewe te verkry.

Die studie beklemtoon dat, ten einde hierdie bemagtiging te bereik, daar 'n skuif moet plaasvind na die benadering waar die gemeenskap betrokke is by die beplanning en implementering van landelikgebaseerde ontwikkelingsprojekte.

Dedication

To my beloved wife, ***Monique Nsanzabaganwa***, and

To our lovely sons:

Aimé Mpano Bangwaneza, and

Pascal Mpetá Bera

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deep appreciation to the following people and organisations:

- My Study leader Professor S.B. Bekker and the Co-Study leader Professor C.J. Groenewald for their support, guidance and encouragement throughout this Thesis;
- The National University of Rwanda and Government of Rwanda for granting me study leave and financial support, in order to complete my Masters Programme;
- Miss Maryth Meise for editing the research document;
- Miss Naomi Visser for translating the summary from English to Afrikaans;
- The staff of the CRDP, CDC members, and the community beneficiaries for providing relevant field information to the research;
- Nzeyimana Elie Makeba for his facilitation in the collection of fieldwork data;
- The Korean family of Sung Jin Jun for its friendship during my study leave;
- The Almighty God, for His generosity in giving me love, strength and good health to pursue this study to the end, and for keeping my family safely afar from me during my study leave.

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Acronyms

CBO: Community-based Organisation

CDC: Community Development Committee

CP: Community Participation

CRDP: Community Reintegration and Development Project

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

ENGO: Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation

ERRP: Emergency Reintegration and Reconstruction Programme

FEPD: Forum for Effective Planning and Development

FPC: Forest Protection Committee

IDP: Integrated Development Planning

JFM : Joint Forest Management

LED: Local Economic Development

M.R.N.D: *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement*

MINALOC: Ministry of Local Administration (Translation from French)

MINEDUC: Ministry of Education (Translation from French)

MINERENA: Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources (Translation from French)

MSB: Municipal System Bills

MWO: Misiththuke Women's Organisation

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

RSA: Republic of South Africa

SDF: Stutterheim Development Foundation

ZCP: Zimiselini Community Project

PDAG: *Projet de Développement Agricole de Gikongoro*

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Statement of the problem

This chapter views the problem of community participation within the broader sub-Saharan context. Through a process of deductions the study establishes similarities with some international cases that are later used to illuminate the specific problem of community participation for Rwanda.

1.1.1 The broad problem of community participation

While the concept of development has served as a dominant slogan for political survival for many African regimes, low social and economic development is increasingly becoming a characteristic problem in sub-Saharan countries. The persistence of widespread rural poverty throughout most Third World countries in general and in sub-Saharan countries in particular, is a key witness to low social and economic conditions. The World Bank annual Report (in Bratton, 1980:33) mentions 780 million people living in absolute poverty, in cases where “60 to 95 percent of the population of individual countries derives livelihood from the land.” According to the assumption of the same author, poverty has probably been causing a drastic situation in the sub-Saharan countries for some time. In these countries the situation has presumably arisen in the post-colonial period, which was characterised by failing strategies for community development.

Since the period of African independence in the 1960's, development strategies have aimed at a redefinition of development policy to tackle the issue of low social and economic conditions. However, obstacles have been encountered, and the efforts made have subsequently yielded very few of the expected results. The implementation of the redefined development policy is now exposing weak approaches to development as some of the causal factors of this failure. These approaches have rendered non-operational most of the rural development projects organised in conjunction with the earlier policies.

According to Bratton (1980: 35), communities deriving a livelihood from the land have particularly suffered from the effects of that failure. The concern to be raised is why the efforts made in matters regarding development strategies have yielded such poor results.

Currently, the responsibility for such a severe failure is viewed as a lack of community participation and empowerment in the approach to development. As an illustration, “The problem of nonexistent popular participation is heightened...by the colonial heritage of African countries. Administration’s role under colonial rule was to subjugate citizens and exclude them from participation.” (Gracia-Zamor, 1985: 31) There was a failure to create an awareness in people of their own resources and hence, to mobilise them for self-reliant development. A specific explanation, to be tested later, is that a weak conceptual framework of development projects in rural communities stems from a lack of participation. The resulting low rural incomes, high rate of rural unemployment, permanent migrations to urban areas to seek work, and so on, have become entrenched problems in Africa. Moreover, these effects of the poor conceptual framework for rural development projects have led to lower self-reliant local development. Bratton (1980:3-4) associates this situation in rural areas with a straight-down vertical state intervention, or a top-down approach to planning, both of which have contributed to community apathy. As a result, the community has failed in carrying out responsibility and subsequently sustaining the community settlements.

It is not an appropriate approach for the community developer to impose on the community what is to be done. Instead, community developers are expected to network with the community in an empowering way, as Buckland (1998: 237) indicates. He notes, “Community empowerment occurs when new networks and norms of trust and reciprocity evolve in the face of national and global change: e.g. networks and norms of reciprocity move beyond traditional kinship and ethnic groupings, to encompass all members within a special community.” In paraphrasing Hall (1981), Selener (1997: 21) views the network as making “significant contributions as facilitator...by assisting in the analysis of reality from different points of view, by bringing new information...by

helping find funds for training...as well as stimulating...ability to generate new knowledge.” Without such a network, the community fails in carrying out its responsibility and subsequently in sustaining the community settlements. In other words, the rural community becomes an area characterised by a lack of community-based participatory approaches that involves the community in making decisions affecting its own life. It also implies an area where the development planning is hardly translated into practice, as a result of the community's exclusion from participation because “The area of local participation and local decision is the most critical in the whole development process.” (Hunter and Jiggins, 1976:15)

1.1.1.1 Approaches to community participation with regard to the broad stated problem

The responsibility for the problem described above can be found in the approaches to community participation. The community development approach currently appeals to numerous approaches that involve the community purposely for bridging the gap between the community and the developer during the post-colonial period. This section analyses some approaches, chiefly: the developer-centred, consultation, and the master plan or blueprint approaches. In a practical manner, some criticisms of these approaches are raised as illustrations of the broadly stated problem of community participation.

In most cases, development professionals essentially drive the developer-centred approach to community development. This approach is said to be responsible for poor results if one considers that most post-colonial development strategies have failed. The effects of development professionals are invariably as follows: “if a development professional is the pivot around which development initiatives are built, any community can easily become dependent on the presence and ideas of such a development champion who in turn may hinder participatory development by undervaluing the input and experiences of non-professionals.” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 41) What is meant is that development professionals fail in promoting community self-reliance. Instead, they contribute to widening the distance between themselves and the beneficiary

communities. Undervaluing the input and experiences of non-professionals exacerbates community participation and related development decision-making.

Whereas the developer-centred approach resulted in top-down policies, so also did the approach to consultation. As Chapter two indicates later, the weakness of consultation as an approach to community development consists of the way community partners are selected. In most cases, it is wrong key informants that provide community developers with inputs and experiences for the conceptualisation and design of rural development projects that are to be implemented. In the process of developing the community, the consultation approach considers people merely as informants. On the contrary, “people are genuine participants in these activities rather than simply 'involved' as data givers or recipients of research findings.” (Selener, 1997: 19) Even if they are involved as data givers, the key informants for generally include the most visible and vocal, wealthier, more articulate and educated people. It often happens that these people are not necessarily concerned with the social problem to be addressed by the rural development projects. What is later found out is that “Consultation with the community may simply be to legitimate existing decisions i.e. to tell people what is going to happen by asking them what they think about it. Community participation is in these cases nothing more than attempts to convince beneficiaries what is best for them.” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 43) Not only do the community inputs from non-credible community stakeholders fail in involving the genuine target populations in the design of development projects, but the related rural development projects also appear to be little less than predetermined plans for the community. Such projects simply reflect master plan approaches or blueprints.

However, using a master plan as a basis for development is also criticised as being inappropriate and ethnocentric approach to community development. To address such a deficiency, Botes *et al.*, (2000:53) note that the “Guidelines for promoting participatory development should therefore neither be seen as blueprints, nor recipes, but rather as a framework of values, principles and approaches to promote the ideas of participatory development.” Both the consultation and master plan approaches fail in bridging the inadequacies of the post-colonial period that were manifested in terms of poor community participation. In line with the reference above, it is important that effective

participatory development approaches should rely upon the self-development that takes root in local traditions and perceptions.

However, it seems that the concept of development was not viewed as being viable in specific cultural contexts: “It is difficult to incorporate CP[Community Participation] into project strategies and entuse beneficiaries to be active in community participation when...the country/sector does not have a social tradition supportive of community participation.” (Samuel, 1987:vi) Mackintosh (1982:13-14) offers an eloquent and practical illustration that becomes conclusive if one considers the criticisms above against the consultation and master plan approaches. He notes, “.... many items are very effectively provided in the informal sector... though such a sector may be flourishing in one country, India for instance, and almost absent in others such as Botswana. This has important policy implications.” In conclusion, there is a belief that the factors that promote or inhibit community development hinge greatly on the specific cultural context. The disqualification of developer-centred, consultation, and master plan approaches relates to their failure in integrating cultural sensitivity in the approach to planning.

1.1.2 Statement of community participation problem in Rwanda

The problem of community participation as a broader concern is applicable to Third World countries in general, and to sub-Saharan countries in particular, Rwanda included. Within the sub-Saharan context, Rwanda has experienced the problem of top-down approaches in decision-making as well. From historical perspective, the understanding of the state officials is that there was poor community participation during the post-independence period. The most striking features of the situation are the way in which the decision-making was distributed and the manner in which the representative structures were held accountable. The evidence on community participation in Rwanda documents a major lack of management of decision-making and exposes the central government as having the monopoly of the required power. Thus the accountability relationship was skewed. For instance, it is noted that the “Decision-making authority and resources were tightly maintained by the central government allowing its domination over political,

social and economic life. Citizens were deprived of any role in decisions that directly affected them. Accountability of public sectors was upwards to the centre rather than to citizens and communities.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001b: 3)

Furthermore, “The history of Rwanda shows that, much as the population is willing to work it has never been sufficiently involved in its own development...The community has therefore, never had an opportunity to exercise its powers in decision-making in its affairs concerning its own development.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 3-5) While past periods are characterised as above, similar evidence indicate the persistence to date of the same unacceptable situation under a number of leaders. The situation manifests itself in their authoritarian attitude (Republic of Rwanda, 2001b: 4). As the above references indicate, the lack of community participation could well document the possible biases inherent in community development for the mainly rural Rwandan society. To a given extent, the same authoritarian attitude may have infected the National Policy for Decentralisation, which came into being from “the brainstorming within informal meetings and workshops with the community and regular consultations between politicians, government officials and the civil society.” (Interview with the Government Official in charge of Regional Planning on the 3rd of July 2002) The assumption is based on the active role played by such leaders in the process of running the informal meetings as well as workshops. Importantly, the problem of community participation in Rwanda can be viewed within the broad context of the failure of top-down planning if one thinks of the outcomes from community development. The chapter on Rwanda provides the evidence from the field to verify this statement.

The experience of the lack of opportunity to practise decision-making by the community during the post-colonial period, concerning community development in rural areas may have been particularly felt in the top-down way. This statement is illustrated by the fact that a minority of political agents has been deciding on behalf of “...the population (that) is predominantly rural (90%)...” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001a: 257), and that has experienced the maximum exclusion from participation. Therefore, it would not be surprising if development projects failed to enhance people’s capacity to effect social and

economic change according to their felt needs. This failure has led to issues of poverty, with which the government is coping under a number of participatory development programmes. Therefore, to involve the community in participation implies a reversal of the above situation, a situation that in fact gives rise to three main challenges.

First: the need to avoid having recourse to the methodological approaches to development of developed countries, which are based essentially on financial investment. Instead, the human development approach based on human resources, which is suitable to developing countries, should be used. As in most Third World countries, the interventions of developed countries in Rwanda have been characterised by material donations. These donations have hardly intervened in empowering the community with skills, experience and knowledge to sustain itself. The challenge here is not to undervalue human resources. A reversal of the situation would essentially consist of changing the focus and subsequently putting human resources at the centre of the process of rural development projects.

Second: the combination of inadequate self-help by the poor with inconvenient conclusions from social research that has not been conducted properly, and the use of unimaginative techniques to make the population cooperate with community developers. These techniques include, for instance, the social animation, mobilisation, sensitisation, agricultural extension, and so on. As a result of not coming from within the community, the projects related to the above-mentioned techniques have not established any distinct way of allowing for community participation in planning and implementation. Therefore, the starting procedures for planning and the expected results from the proposed rural development projects have led to irrelevant conclusions in updating community development policy-making.

The third challenge flows from the second. The irrelevant conclusions, which have not come from within the community, have ignored a context basically governed by tradition, which underlies any system of social regulation. With the view to reversing the above challenges, Rwanda, like most Third World countries, has initiated action-

plans for poverty reduction programmes through grassroots participation and involvement, which are often said to be the prerequisites for the success of action-plans. Gilbert *et al.*, (1987: 75) support that statement as follows: “Community participation is worthwhile and can help improve the living conditions of low-income communities.” Within those action-plans the Rwandan state National Policy for Decentralisation, and the Community Development Policy are seen as participatory mechanisms for fostering the community level decision-making.

In terms of those policies, the Republic of Rwanda (2000b: 42-43) claims to no longer restrict the role of local government to exclusively communicating and implementing central decisions and instructions to citizens or to mobilising community labour for public work. As a result, the local government has become an engine for transformation, playing key roles in planning, implementing, monitoring, evaluation and advocacy. However, “Rural communities are not yet ready for planning development initiatives by themselves...till nowadays communities still have in mind that the authority would do everything on their behalf.” (Interview with the CDC representative of the Municipality in Butare on the 19th of July 2002) Thus, community participation is still major concern at local government level, and needs more research to clear up the inconsistency between policy and practice.

Based on the problem formulated, this study seeks to discuss how rural communities can organise themselves and participate in the community development process in order to attain self-reliant local development in rural areas. The study could then be a modest contribution to improving the problem of community participation that has increasingly hampered the efforts made within the international NGO approaches to community development since the 1994 genocide and war in Rwanda. Léger describes the situation that has prevailed, “...rural development project failures seem to be related to the planning method used by donor agencies and their intermediaries.... The implementation phase must follow a predetermined project design (master plan) based on assumptions concerning environmental behaviour that often proves to be correct.” (Burkey, 1993: 121-122) In turn, this study would contribute to the reversal of the situation by arguing

that “Beneficiary participation in the design, implementation and monitoring of projects can help reduce targeting errors and increase the sustainability of benefits.” (Cavarlho & White, 19996: 26)

1.2 Definition of the topic and of the approach

After the problem has been formulated, the next step concentrates on the brief introduction of the topic to the readers. The four key concepts: participation, rural community, development, and policy and practice, are then briefly defined.

Participation: the study agrees with the definition given by Gumbi (2001: 15). Within the rural development context, he designates participation to refer “to people’s involvement in decision-making processes in implementing programmes and sharing the benefits of development programmes and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes.” According to Burkey, such an understanding of participation is increasingly being accepted at international level. Subsequently, the latter is documenting people's active participation in community-based development initiatives. He (1993: 56) notes, “The interest in analysing the question of participation of the poor in development is indicated by the number of special international programmes which have been established during the past 10 years.”

Rural community: in line with Chapter two, which describes the concept in detail, the study refers to poor people located in rural areas, deriving their livelihood from farming activities and who do not have the opportunity of participating in the transformation of their lives in the community through development initiatives. Therefore, the study understands ‘rural community’, as a geographical entity including “The poor (that) have not participated in the benefits from the massive development efforts...neither in proportion to their numbers nor their needs...” (Burkey, 1993: 56). As a result of the above description, the people targeted here are those who mostly live below the level of acceptable living standards.

Development: the definition by Chambers (1983: 47) is crucial to an understanding of the topic of this study: “...development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand more control of the benefits of development.” The definition focuses on how the various social categories of human beings can organise themselves to improve their lives.

Policy and practice: this study considers both the policy and practice as intertwining concepts. Within the context of this study, ‘policy’ is viewed as the guiding “principles designed to influence and determine decisions and actions. Policies are inseparable from the broad goals of society that are implicit or explicit in them.” (Knutson *et al.*, 1983: 12) In current use, “Policy is determined in the political arena...[Therefore], [p]olicy decisions are fundamentally political decisions” (Knutson *et al.*, 1983: 13). A relationship is established between policy and practice in that “Programmes are devices by which policies are implemented” (Knutson *et al.*, 1983: 13). A policy could also consist of “any intervention or set of activities mounted to achieve external objectives, that is, to meet some recognised social need or to solve an identified problem.”(Rutman, 1984: 11) Practice, in turn, consists of the implementation of the principle designed, and the intervention or set of activities that achieve the predetermined goals and the related external objectives. Within the context of this study, the understanding of ‘policy and practice’ refers to the implementation of political decisions that reflect the principles designed to influence and determine decisions and actions viewed as programmes or development projects.

With regard to the stated problem, the topic needs an appropriate approach to tackle the analysis properly. In this respect, this study supports that the bottom-up approach to making decisions and planning as being appropriate and enabling rural communities to realise a shift from the top-down to the bottom-up approach. For the process of shifting toward the bottom-up approach, the literature provides the study with three principles used to:

- Analyse three South African case studies;
- Analyse the CRDP, a post-genocide ongoing case study selected from Rwanda; and
- Summarise and indicate the relevance of the South African experience for Rwanda.

In connection with the three principles, the lack of participation in rural communities due to top-down approaches needs concrete and testable inputs from the field, which will be incorporated into an effective explanation of the failure of development policy and practice. As detailed below, these principles guide the study in the collection of necessary data for the purposes mentioned above.

1.3 Principles formulation

According to the discussion above, this study is guided by three principles. They are formulated as follows:

1. Development in rural communities that operates within the top-down approach is unable to empower the community with development skills and subsequently to address the problems faced by rural people. Instead, a reversal of the situation must encourage the bottom-up approach that enables people to have more choices and to gain control over their lives by acquiring development skills themselves.
2. Development in rural communities can address the community needs if different development stakeholders network as partners with one another in implementing development projects.

3. Rural development policy and practice can only be successful if the rural communities can participate in the identification of needs, in planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of related rural development projects.

1.4 Approach of the study (situation)

The study straddles both Rwanda and South Africa with expectation of deriving relevance for Rwanda from South African rural development projects. The socio-political and historical backgrounds of both countries serve as the basis of the criteria for selecting and involving South Africa in this study. Chiefly, attention is paid to the pre and post-apartheid period in South Africa, on the one hand, and on the post-genocide period in Rwanda, on the other hand. The focus in South Africa is well referenced by Oranje *et al.* (2000: 16). He mentions that “Development Planning in South Africa has similarities with many of the international cases...[and] is also informed by the requirements of addressing the apartheid legacy. So, for example, one of the goals of South African-style [of]...Development Planning is the promotion...of rural development.” Not only does this study seek to discern similarities, but it also focuses on differences in community development planning and practice in the two countries. The differences and similarities learnt from South African rural development projects are expected to result in lessons on which Rwanda may model the development planning.

However, the implementation of these lessons and experiences needs to be careful so as and not to perpetuate the biases induced by the developer-centred, consultation and master plan approaches as well as to rise to the challenges that face the stated problem. Implementation has to allow for maximum flexibility and adaptation to the particular Rwandan cultural context, and to adhere to the anthropological understanding inspired Franz Boas (1858-1942) of understanding “each culture on its own terms, instead of making evolutionary or ethnocentric generalisations.” (Gardner and Lewis, 1996: xiv)

The South African method of planning development results from a particular context of perceptions together with the particular felt needs that it addresses. In the view of Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945), this could mean that the cultural context is a good basis that impacts heavily on community development. The relationship between community development and cultural diversity can be established from Keesing's view on culture, which he refers to as the "...designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of man" (Kluckhohn & Kelley (1945) paraphrased by Keesing, 1976: 1). It is there that the lessons and experiences learnt from South Africa need to be adapted to the Rwandan culture, which is itself a particular design for living.

1.5 Required criteria for the selection of case studies

The criteria for selection of the four case studies are presented here. The first three case studies are chosen from South Africa, whereas the fourth is chosen from Rwanda. The selection of each case study meets at least a number of criteria or a specific motivation as detailed below.

1. The Misiththuke Women's Organisation (MWO)

The MWO is "a case study of a 'finished' rural development project which ended by being 'unsuccessful' in meeting needs, problems and aspirations of the community..." (Gumbi, 2001: 141). The project was designed and implemented to provide mothers with children less than five years of age with employment avenues. The focus is on learning from the mistakes that made the project unsuccessful.

2. The Zimiselini Community Project (ZCP)

The ZCP is "a 'finished' rural development project which proved to be successful in meeting needs, problems and aspirations of the community" (Gumbi: 2001: 181) concerned. It aimed at caring for and keeping occupied and productive the blind people

who were no longer receiving medical treatment at Manguzi Hospital. The study intends to learn from the factors that served as the basis of the success of the ZCP.

3. The Stutterheim Development Foundation (SDF)

The SDF is an ongoing case study that is widely known to be successful. While the two previous case studies occurred within the post-apartheid period, the SDF straddles both the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. The review of the problem of rural community development accuses the apartheid structures of having led to failures, as a result of hampering community participation. Yet, paradoxically, the SDF has been prosperous irrespective of the apartheid or post-apartheid period. Therefore, this study intends to discover the variables that have supported this case.

4. Community Reintegration and Development Project (CRDP)

The CRDP is a post-genocide ongoing community development project located in Rwanda. According to two mid-term evaluations so far completed, it is unanimously said to be a successful project that could offer lessons to similar public and private community development projects operating in Rwanda. Because of its success, this case is chosen to serve as a comparison with the South African experience.

1.6 Rationale and objective of the study

Within the post-1994 Rwandan period, reformist approaches to governing people are increasingly focusing on good governance as a key element. The understanding of good governance itself inspires the participatory approach, for example, the state documents that refer to “decentralization...grassroots participation in development and decision-making; an all-inclusive economic system that allows the effective participation of all social and economic groups in the population and creates an economy of stakeholders.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2000c: iii)

This means that, in terms of addressing immediate needs, the central government is sufficiently involving the community as full partner at grassroots level. As a result of the 1994 war and genocide in Rwanda, living conditions have severely deteriorated, and the approach to revitalising people is by targeting the support of the community (empowerment with the required prerequisites) to help itself. The main national goal consists of putting the community at the centre of the process of revitalising people. In the words of Gilbert *et al.* (1987: 75), as previously cited, it is a matter of community participation, judged to be worthwhile and helpful, to improve the living conditions of low-income communities. In this way, political efforts are being made to equip the state administration with the means to establish participatory planning. To implement participatory planning, institutions, non-governmental organisations and individuals are becoming involved in the design of development projects in which, increasingly and jointly with the community, they identify the felt needs, then plan, implement, monitor and evaluate.

It is evident that the introduction to good governance implies a shift from centralised to participatory approaches to planning. While the approach to good governance has been newly identified as a mechanism for involving the community, contact with information system is poorly conducted. The ideal is a community meeting led by the grassroots elected representative bodies. This approach to involving the community in planning meets the gap regarding community meetings identified by Burkey (1993: 75), which are “all [too] often limited to a few village meetings where the project is explained and the people are asked to give their comments, and where the few comments are made by the school teacher in a language unintelligible to the majority.” The reference points out the schoolteachers, but the whole context also refers to the opinion leaders of the community who make decision on behalf of the community even without necessarily being mandated. In connection with the principles and policies guidelines, this study discusses further the appropriate approaches to involving the community members.

Within the context described above for Rwanda, the study seeks the required orientation, knowledge and skills necessary to face the challenges related to the innovations for governing that include the participatory aspect of planning at the community level. Within this view, the goal for the study is to provide the relevant partners involved in rural development projects with guideline proposals for effective participation and empowerment at community level. The study intends to meet this goal by determining the level of participation and empowerment of communities involved in rural development projects. The goal above targets a long-term outcome for the study. From the guideline proposals, the outcome for the study is to make policy-makers meet, improve and to formulate rural development policies. In so doing, this study needs to find the required inputs for this purpose by providing cogent answers to the research questions.

1.7 Research questions

The research questions focus on development policy-making, and on the implementation of development policy.

Table 1.1: Establishment of relationship policy and practice

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POLICY-MAKING PROCESS	THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY-BASED DEVELOPMENT POLICIES
What do the community-based development policies say about participation?	What are the measures and principles in the community-based development project for participation based on?
What do the community-based development policies say about empowerment?	How does the rural-based development project empower the community with development skills?
What are the principles and policies guidelines for community development?	To what extent do the principles and measures for the rural-based development project correlate with the principles and policies guidelines for community development?
How do the community-based development policies define networking in community development?	Is the community networking with the relevant stakeholders as full partner in the rural-based development project?
Which life cycle phases do the community-based development policies plan that the community participate in?	Do the measures and principles for the community-based development project allow the community to participate in the whole process of the rural development project cycle?

As **Table 1.1** indicates in summary, the questions are formulated so that the relationship is horizontally established. Each question in the left column is associated with a corresponding practical question on the right side. The study assumes that the above-formulated research questions will find relevant answers under an appropriate methodological approach.

1.8 Research methodology

1.8.1 Definition of the approach

As previously indicated, the study intends to attain the assigned goal by determining the levels of participation and empowerment. The relationship between participation and empowerment is established within the problem statement as well as in Chapter two. This relationship is invariably one of causality. Most views unanimously agree that to empower communities with development skills consists of helping them “to gain the ability to take responsibility for their own development, bringing them into contact with information systems and training opportunities.” (Swanepoel and de Beer, 1996: 27) Taking responsibility implies for the community a greater degree of participation, which is attributable to empowerment.

The ability to take responsibility is widely attributable to information systems and training opportunities, and is importantly said to be a prerequisite for handling the community responsibility for development. Establishing the relationships means that “Through community empowerment, a sense of collective participation of community members is greatly enhanced...In other words, as many as possible will be affected by the project and should be involved in making decisions, as well as actually participating in finding a solution to the problem.” (Gumbi, 2001: 78) Therefore, the determination of the levels of community participation and empowerment requires a methodological process that is now discussed. With regard to the research questions (**see Table 1.1**), the study examines the determination of the levels of participation and empowerment within

the community-based development policy-making and implementation processes. To tackle the task of determining the levels, appropriate research instruments are needed that will elicit accurate responses to the research questions.

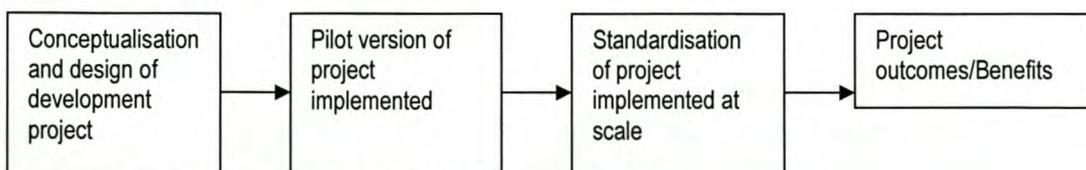
1.8.2 Research instruments

On the one hand, the determination within the community-based development policy-making process involves the analysis of relevant official documents from both Rwanda and South Africa. The research instruments concerned summarise the main features of the principles that define the bottom-up approach to the community-based development policies. These features are expected to provide the study with the theoretical view on principles and policies for community development. The following features are to be considered:

- Empowerment with development skills
- The role-playing of partners in community development
- The areas for community participation

On the other hand, the evaluation of participation and empowerment will also take place within viable rural development projects that reflect the community-based development policies. Four case studies are purposely identified from South Africa and Rwanda (see **Section 1.5**), from which the study intends to draw some conclusions on the extent to which participation and empowerment are effective during the process of the development project life cycle (**Figure 1.1**). The concern is to respond to the research questions resulting to the implementation of the community-based development policies with rural development projects.

Figure 1.1: The rural development project life cycle



Source: Hnndout of the Programme Evaluation Module, 2002

The research questions stated expect to derive the appropriate answers from the research instruments in order to access information on the selected rural development projects. The research instruments that will be used to describe these projects are:

- The name of the project
- The criteria for the selection of the project
- The description of the project (see **Figure 3.1** for detailed information)
- The evaluation of the project outcomes or benefits
- The evaluation of participation and empowerment

1.8.3 Operationalisation of participation and empowerment

The discussion of both the research questions and the research instruments that access information omit a crucial question the response to which would ensure the extent to which the levels of participation and empowerment are effective. The concern is focused on the indicators and degrees by which participation and empowerment materialise, as described in **Table 1.2**. The Table consists of an analysis grid developed from theoretical references. The references put forward strong arguments that serve as a basis for illustrating guidelines for the principles of community development. The researcher intends to apply the grid to the identified case studies in order to determine the degree to which the related community beneficiaries participate in the implementation of rural-based development projects. At the same time, the grid will improve the understanding on the level of empowerment induced by the development project.

The literature review has produced a range of definitions regarding what participation and empowerment represent. Chapter two discusses in depth a number of understandings of both concepts. Understanding the dependence of the concepts on each other defines the related measurement instruments. Accordingly, this study seeks to analyse the degree of participation viewed as “an active process by which beneficiaries/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-

being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish.” (Paul, 1987: 2) At the same time, Rubin and Rubin (1986) quoted by Gumbi (2001: 75) consider that the “degrees of empowerment can be measured...the more people in their own organisations determine the goals, act together to achieve the goals, directly receive benefits, and evaluate whether or not the action was worthwhile, the more local empowerment exists.” This means that the extent to which the community participates reflects its level of empowerment. As far as the evaluation of the levels of participation and empowerment is concerned, the key indicators of the degree of participation and empowerment serve as a good basis for the reflection that is expected to result in an analysis grid for this study. The analysis grid presents the degrees of participation and empowerment of the community in a development project, as ranging from “the low end of the scale (no responsibility for decision-making) to the high end (control of decision-making).” (Brager and Specht (1973) cited by Gumbi, 2001: 59) The analysis grid includes four degrees to evaluate seven identified indicators.

Obviously, the analysis grid requires a range of information to support the conclusions on the degree of participation and empowerment to be drawn in connection with each indicator. The following section discusses the approaches to collecting data for this purpose.

1.8.4 Approaches to data collection

In collecting data, the study utilises two different approaches. On the one hand, it involves the documentary analysis of the identified case studies for South Africa. The reason for choosing the documentary approach is that these case studies have been subject to a number of studies that have focused on empirical research. Therefore, the comprehensive notes of qualitative data collected through fieldwork that involved individual interviews and group discussion with relevant key informants are seen to be enough to tackle the current study.

Table1.2: Measuring scale for the community participation and empowerment in rural development projects

INDICATOR	NONE	VERY LIMITED	AVERAGE	ABOVE AVERAGE
1. Approach to planning	Development projects are designed by planners and scholars from afar	Community developers are busy tailoring, planning and implementing development projects to the needs and capabilities of intended beneficiaries	Communication is created by community developers and the situation is achieved in which the local communities are in a position to identify needs, analyse a development problem for themselves, and plan accordingly	Under the organisational support from community developers, the communities organise themselves, plan and act in such a way that they can improve their own lot
2. Implementation of rural development projects	Development projects are implemented by technicians and agents	The community is not involved in the direct management of the development project, but has a level of control over the activities of the technicians and agents	The technicians and agent manage the project subject to and with involvement from the Community Committee	The Community Committee becomes involved in decision-making processes, implementing projects, sharing the benefits of development projects, and in the efforts to evaluate such projects on behalf of the community
3. Locating decision-making power in non-elite people and freeing them from manipulation and co-option	The opinion leaders are consulted by the community developers to mediate between them and the community	The community is convened for meetings to receive information on the development project to be implemented and for legitimating the project.	The Community developers discuss with the community and therefore, the views and decisions of the intended beneficiaries are integrated in the design and implementation of the planning process, which implies a greater degree of control or influence on the project	The intended beneficiaries are proactively involved and able to take the initiative in terms of actions pertaining to a particular development project
4. Mobilization of resources	The Community developer is the main founder of the project and has the control over the resources	The community developers make efforts to increase control over resources by groups and movements excluded from such control	The development project makes use of local resources, both physical and human, on which to build (e.g. talents and resources available in community)	The development project facilitates the release and development of local capacities and available resources
5. Formal and informal education to	Before the development project	Mass meetings are organised to get	Awareness is acquired within the	The community gain knowledge,

create awareness	began, it organised the training activities to empower the staff with relevant knowledge to handle assigned tasks	people to talk about the needs and problems prevailing at the time and to raise concern to do something about it	formation of community organisations whereby people gain confidence in themselves, develop solidarity, and work out how to act collectively	experience and skills within specific creative techniques of participation, such as focus groups, participatory rural appraisal and face-to-face discussions between participants where the sharing and discussions of different viewpoints are organized
6. System of partnerships	The funding organisation imposes on collaborating partners the process of designing and planning and compliance is expected	The funding organisation maintains partnerships with the state institution responsible for the community-based development policy	The community representatives are involved in the partnerships between the funding organisation and the state institution responsible for the community-based development policy	The relevant partners for community development are networking and supporting local communities to take rational decisions in the context of their own environment and field of experience

On the other hand, fieldwork was conducted in Rwanda, as the case study chosen does not present the same advantage as the South African cases, namely that of already having the required data for the study. As the Appendix A indicates, the fieldwork utilised the interview guide approach, the standardised open-ended interview, and focus group interviews in the practical manner, as suggested by Gray and Mackintosh (1998: 86), and observation. The key informants involved in the process of data collecting are identified for specific reasons. They include project staff (Project Coordinator and Development Agents), the government official in charge of regional planning in the MINALOC, the Community Development Committee members and the intended community beneficiaries.

The significance of the identified key informants

This paragraph presents the relevant key informants and conveys the reasons for selecting them. In agreement with Rossi and Freeman (1999: 164), the project staff are viewed as important key informants because they are “persons with firsthand knowledge and experience of the programme...Programme managers...are especially relevant because of their positions of oversight and responsibility.” In targeting the project staff, the study expects relevant inputs on the whole process of planning and implementing the project. At the same time, the government official in charge of regional planning is chosen from the range of the state policy-makers. The criterion for selecting him is based on the fact that policy-makers “often have a broader view of the objectives and goals of a programme and its significance to the community...” (Rossi and Freeman, 1999: 164). The information expected from the state official must contribute to establishing the coherence between the community-based development policy and the related development projects.

Further, the community beneficiaries form the target group of the case study. The particular emphasis on this supports the assertion that the “Critical sources of information related to the various components of programme theory are members of [the] target population the programme serves” (Rossi and Freeman, 1999: 164-165). While the community beneficiaries may be defined as in the reference above, the community development committee members are characterised as follows: “representatives of the target population will generally have a unique perspective on the programme, sometimes one at variance from that of the other informants.” (Rossi and Freeman, 1999: 165) This means that the categorisation of informants allows the study to analyse the consistency of the data collected. The following paragraph concentrates on the sample size and related concerns.

Discussion of choice of sample

As **Table 1.3** indicates, the fieldwork in Rwanda involved a sample of 125 respondents. The fieldwork took place while the site-visits scheduled by the CRDP were running. These site-visits were interpreted to monitor the infrastructural sub-projects in process. The communities concerned, as well as the corresponding CDCs, were convened to participate in the site-visits. The researcher was associated with the monitoring team. Informants for the standardised open-ended and focus groups interviews were selected on an ad hoc basis during the site-visits. The criterion for selection essentially considered the ownership shown by the community in accepting the invitation to participate in the monitoring of the projects.

Table 1.3: Approaches, key informants and composition of Focus Groups

Approach to data collection	Key informants involved	Number of informants	Number of focus groups	Size of focus groups	Total number of informants
Interview guide approach	The CRDP Project Coordinator, The government official in charge of regional planning, The CDC representative in the Municipality of Butare	3			3
Standardised open-ended interviews	Local CRDP Development Agents	2			32
	Community beneficiaries	21			
	CDC members	9			
Focus group interviews or group discussions	Community beneficiaries in Maraba		3	12	90
	Community beneficiaries in the Municipality of Butare		3	12	
	CDC members		2	9	
Documentary analysis					
Observation					
Total size of the sample					125

Within the same period of site-visits, the CRDP also scheduled the distribution of goats to vulnerable groups and to Rwandan returnees from the neighbouring countries. This opportunity served the researcher to meet with these people. Again, the informants for

the standardised open-ended and focus groups interviews were selected on an ad hoc basis. In the meantime, the arrangements for appointments with the remaining informants (see **Table 1.3**) were made. The questionnaires that were used are included in the Appendix A. The above details elaborate on the manner of the data collection.

1.8.5 Interview guide approach

As per the Appendix A, the topic and issues to be covered were specified in advance, in outline format. The researcher, depending on the experience of the informants, determined the sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interviews.

1.8.6 Standardised open-ended interviews

With reference to the Appendix A, the questions were worded and sequenced in advance. The interviewees were asked the same basic questions in the same order.

1.8.7 Focus group interviews or group discussions

It is assumed that this approach to data collection allowed fieldwork collection of high quality data in the social context of the CRDP community beneficiaries and CDC members. They were asked to reflect on questions included in the Appendix A. Within the face-to-face discussions in smaller and relatively homogeneous groups there was confrontation of various views.

1.8.8 Documentary analysis

For both case studies and fieldwork, as well as for the theoretical framework, the secondary material analysis contributed to gathering relevant input. The general documentation contributed to writing up Chapters one and two. At the same time, Chapters three and four appealed to the South African and Rwandan documentation respectively.

1.8.9 Observation

In agreement with Rossi and Freeman (1999:164) and with reference to the Rwandan case study, “The most descriptive documents are usually written to persuade some outside party to support the programme and, naturally, have a self-serving bias. Others...describe an official or historical view of the programme that does not coincide well with the programme reality...” This assertion makes the study aware of the inherent limitations of key informants. Such a situation could result from the partisan role of informants in relationship to the development projects and to particular purposes and vantage points. To rule out the limitations inherent both in documents and key informants, and to check on the consistency of the information collected through the above approaches, the site-visits and the direct observation were organised and conducted in two areas: the District of Maraba and the Municipality of Butare.

1.9 Division of the study

Chapter one: Introduction

The Chapter concentrates on an overview of rural community participation in development policy and implementation. It therefore integrates the statement of the problem, the definition of the topic and the approach, the formulation of principles, the rationale of the study, objectives, the methodology, and the approach in the study or situation.

Chapter two: Definition of the key concepts and literature review

This chapter provides an overview of general material on concepts such as participation, rural community, development, policy and practice, and theoretical approaches related to each concept.

Chapter three: Introduction to principles, policies and practice for rural community development in South Africa

The Chapter is concerned with the principles related to rural community development and the development policies that reflect such principles. It also analyses the way South African rural development case studies apply these principles and policies.

Chapter four: Introduction to principles, policies and practice for rural community development in Rwanda

In the same manner as Chapter three, Chapter four offers an overview of the principles for rural community development, and the development policies that reflect such principles in Rwanda. A case study, said to be successful, verifies how these principles and policies are applied.

Chapter five: Relevance of South African experience for Rwanda; recommendations and conclusion

Chapter five is concerned with a comparison of principles and policies, on the one hand, and practice within case studies, on the other hand, between Rwanda and South Africa. From the comparison, together with the verification of the formulated principles, the relevance of certain conclusions is pointed out and related recommendations or guidelines for Rwanda are made.

Chapter Two: Definition of the key concepts and literature review

This chapter discusses in detail the topic of study, which was briefly attended to in Chapter one (Section 1.1.3). Four sub-sections that are directly linked to formulated principles and the statement of the research problem are discussed: Participation, rural community, development, and policy and practice.

2.1 Participation

With reference to principle one, this section deals with theoretical approaches to participation and their contribution to empowering rural areas.

2.1.1 Attempts at definition

“Many development thinkers and practitioners have been pondering over community participation for the last two to three decades – some even called the 1980s the decade of participation. To a large extent the current decade of social movements, n[on-]governmental organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs), is a manifestation of organized community participation.” (Botes and Rensburg, 2000:43)

This opening quote is informative of how community participation culminated in the 1980s. However, in the definition of the topic in Chapter one (Section 1.1.3), Burkey (1993:3) raised a contradiction to the above quote concerning the real practice of participation in rural areas over the past period; he includes the decade of participation. This contradiction may be seen as a result of both the understanding of participation and the contrasting approaches to implementing participation, which so far have been viewed as key factor of the success of development initiatives. In a number of cases, for instance, the understanding of participation has recently narrowed.

In providing sustainable development for poor rural and nomadic communities, the Islamic government in Kalhor (West Iran) restricted participation to cooperation (Haidari and Wright, 2001: 57) during the formative phase (1983-1989) of development. Similarly, Keough (1998: 201-202) takes 'participation' as 'cooperation' for sustaining development programmes and making them effective. Later on, he equates 'participation' to 'consultation' for providing genuine feedback to project agencies, then 'design, implementation and outcomes' to improve projects. He supports his argument by the World Bank experience according to which information gathering and consultation helps to improve project design (Paul, 1987: 19-21). In addition, Smith (1998: 197) has come to entail five forms of participation, namely, utilisation, contribution, enlistment, cooperation, and consultation. According to Smith, benefits may derive from these five in developing countries in general and in rural communities in particular.

The above references offer concrete evidence of the misunderstanding of participation that needs being put right. That is, the relevance of participation as a subject here devolves on various issues such as the insufficiency or the extreme lack of participation. However, some research has concluded that participation is a human right on condition that it grants a voice to the poorest of the poor or to marginalized groups. With reference to *The Peasants' Charter, FAO*, Burkey (1993: 56) highlights participation as follows: "Participation by the people in the institutions and systems which govern their lives is a basic human right and also essential for realignment of political power in favour of disadvantaged groups of social and economic development."

To handle these issues, it is important that they be based on an assumption according to which the imbalance between countries successful in community participation and those that fail, can be related to a varying understanding of participation itself, as a concept. Today as well as in the past, diverse understandings of that concept are still causing considerable disagreement among community development thinkers and practitioners. In this connection, De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 20) assume that "participation is ... an elusive concept", similar to 'community' and 'development', which are discussed later. Later, Patricia Lundy, inspired by Cernea (1985) and Rahnema (1992), concurred with

De Beer and Swanepoel, saying as follows: “...some have come to see participation as an elusive concept which is more myth than reality in development projects and have cast doubt over whether it can actually be achieved.” (Lundy, 1999: 125) At the same time, Haidari and Wright (2001: 53) expressed the view that “the meaning of participation has been long debated and its implementation is often contradictory.”

On the one hand, as a result of divergent understanding and poor implementation, active participation focuses on political decision making. On the other hand, it inspires a significant control over the decisions by people belonging to a given organisation (Paul, 1987: 2). The second view, documented by Paul, is strongly supported by Haidari and Wright (2001: 54), with reference to Nelson and Wright (1995). In line with this source, Burkey (1993: 58) also distinguishes two kinds of participation: on one side, participation is a means used to bring the people involved in a given community development project to achieve a completion that is more efficient, effective and cheaper. On the other side, participation is an end in itself. This is the case when the community sets up a process of genuine participation to control its own development.

With reference to the second view, Oakley and Marsden (1984) have concluded, after experiments, “participation is an end itself and is the unavoidable consequence of the process of empowering and liberation.” (Burkey, 1993: 58) Paulo Freire, quoted by Burkey (1993: 57), has come to see the process of liberating the rural poor without their own participation as an effort made in vain. He states, “Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building...” In contrast, the view of what participation should be would perfectly meet the definition given by Cernea (1985: 10), “empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives.”

All that can be definitely stated is that the current literature is relevant enough in defining what participation stands for. For this specific study, participation does not refer to

political aspects, such as voting in elections, political lobbying and so on, according to the first view documented previously by Paul (1987). It rather implies a context in which rural community members contribute to solving their own problems in concert, even better still, through joint action. Operating in concert contributes a new aspect to the concept of participation this study intends to investigate, shifting from individual to collective participation, as emphasised by most definitions. This focus allows the study the use of participation as a compound of community. In other words, 'community participation' is accepted as a complex concept that carries the most relevant understanding.

By 'community participation' Paul (1987: 2) entails, "a process by which beneficiaries/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish." Similarly, Mohammed Anisur Rahman (1983a), quoted by Burkey (1993: 57-58), concurs that such participation is "...a process whose course cannot be determined from outside – it is generated by the continuing praxis of the people, by the rhythm of collective action and reflection." Some completed research assumes that this process can only happen through a genuine participation in the life of community. And some prerequisites were outlined. For instance, this study supports the findings of Bruwer (1996: 24) in the following formulation, "Community participation requires a common awareness of problems and needs, determining common priorities, cooperative community action and access to resources. The key to full participation is to be found in the internal dynamic of the community itself." Similarly, Burkey (1993: 57) refers to a process of awakening, rising of levels of consciousness, or conscientisation. He expresses the end for community participation as follows: "It is becoming more and more apparent that the first step in achieving genuine participation is a process in which the rural poor themselves become more and more aware of their own situation, of the socio-economic reality around them, of their real problems, the causes of their problems, and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing the situation." That seems to be the real starting point of community participation, which has to encompass a multidimensional contribution. What is needed, in embracing community participation,

is a new approach that should be holistic. The holistic approach has to be understood as one that “seeks to focus on the [community] as indivisible entity, the total being...[that] form a unity out of the diversity.” (Joda-Mbewe, 2002: 18)

2.1.2 Holistic approach to participation

The question this section aims at responding to is 'Who is committed to participating in what?' The response given by Nussbaum (1997: 23) is simple and a pillar for this study, “...it is important to embrace a holistic approach, since it ensures that the development agency is interested in all aspects of the lives of beneficiaries.” Rural poor or communities are fully concerned as active subjects and not as passive objects. Swanepoel and De Beer (1998: 26) are consistent with this view when they warn as follows: “Every individual adult, whether relatively poor, poor or poorest of the poor, has the right to be part of the decision-making mechanism regarding his/her development.”

It has become quite common that some social categories of a population are always excluded from the representatives designated to decide on their destiny. Older as well as younger people are often excluded while other people decide on their behalf. However, a number of researchers emphasise the respective importance of these two groups in taking part in decision-making mechanisms to ensure successful implementation. For instance, Peter Kenyon of Western Australia himself focused on the potential of younger people. He says, “One of the best barometers to the health of any rural community is its capacity to retain and involve young people in terms of its future ... But more important than viewing them as leaders of tomorrow, is to see them as co-participants in development today. They have energy that we often lack, they have perspectives [such] as we don't have; they have a sense of impatience that we as adults often need in terms of the process.” (Stutterheim Development Foundation, 2002: 1)

In the same way, Aigner, *et al.* (1999: 18) argue that community revitalisation should be based on the partnership of all of the components of rural communities, “The revitalisation of persistently poor rural communities requires both broad participation in

community-based partnership by all segments of the community and widespread participation by residents themselves.” Some proposals for a holistic approach channel participation using groups under community-based partnerships during the design and implementation stages. The same source (Aiger, *et al.*, 1999:13) notes, “To adapt new approaches to rural development and to partnerships between and across sectors, scholars and practitioners need to build trust individually and between segments of the community and levels of government.”

The holistic approach to community participation has so far discussed human group components. At the same time, this type of approach also encompasses areas for participation. Rural poor in their communities should take part in the decision-making, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development. If they are not, Bruwer (1996:12) describes the apathetic reaction against external developers as the gentlest way of using the veto, as a result of not being involved in the above dimensions in which the rural poor should participate. A rural poor beneficiary says, “This may be something good, I do not know. But it belongs to you. I have not asked for it and I'm not buying it. Besides, I do not trust you. If you were really interested in me, you would first take the time to get to know me. Perhaps I would have told [you] what my needs are, but it seems to me that you have already decided what my needs are. Is it worthwhile going on with this?”

To avoid such complaints, Aigner, *et al.* (1999: 18) also underline the importance of community participation. They note, “The extent to which the community designs the strategic plan, 'benchmarks' activities to reach goals, and 'drives' the process of implementation, however, depends in part on the nature of citizen participation on the governance structure ... Discovering two ends of a continuum of citizen participation, we investigated the approach to placing citizens on the governing board.” Finally, the holistic approach to participation should address a number of crucial elements that contrast with community participation such as discussed above. The same approach would, as a result, monitor the appropriate interpretation of participation for rural communities.

2.1.3 Interpretation of participation

The poor implementation of community participation was said to result from the misunderstanding of participation itself. According to the current literature, the misunderstanding has arisen from the way in which participation is interpreted. Accordingly, it is interpreted as cheaper labour, involvement and empowerment.

Cheaper labour

Cheaper labour differs from participation. While cheaper labour means the reduction of expenses, participation means people take part in implementing development activities. Caution should be exercised in checking injustices and oppression in the process of reducing expenses. De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:21) warn, "...in rural development projects participation often reflects the labour input of community...by community members offering themselves for manual work... many implementers of programmes have reported high levels of participation. An estimate would be given showing how much the free labour force reduced the total costs." In most pre-determined development plans, the belief of project managers, and even more of donor representatives, is that their understanding of the needs of rural poor communities remains the best. To respond to these needs, participation is viewed in terms of efficiency. The concern to be raised here is to make sure that this understanding is appropriate with the definition agreed to above. Obviously, participation interpreted as cheaper labour does not ensure that members of a rural poor community participate as active subjects. At one extreme, some researchers have even excluded participation seen in terms of cheaper labour from approaches susceptible to promote participation. One of the convincing examples refers to Burbidge (1988) cited by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 21), "Many 'forced' contributions or the well-known 'self-help labour' contributed to a project management can hardly be labelled as participation." Some well-conducted research has so far confirmed the above statement.

De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 46) further illustrate this point, “Community participation is not the mere provision of free labour for projects, but a motivating idea shared by people with a common problem that affects their lives. They must know why it is a problem and why it should be eradicated.” In other words, participation is a tool which assures the getting together of people sharing a common issue in their everyday life. And it goes beyond a mere reduction of labour expenses. It is likely some authors view participation as a full concentration of energies for a collective purpose. In this way, Burkey (1993: 57) suggests that the mobilisation of people should go beyond a labour force. He argues, “Participation, if it is to really release the people's own creative energies for the development, must be much more than the mere mobilisation of labour forces or the coming together to hear about pre-determined plans.”

Participation conceived as cheaper labour fails as long as efficiency is its main preoccupation. Beneficiaries are taken only as passive objects designated to comply with predetermined plans. Like the preceding references, this study subscribes to Bruwer's (1996: 24) statement that addresses the reverse of cheaper labour interpreted as participation. He notes, “People become the subjects and not the mere objects of the developing process. This requires community participation. The premise is that lasting development only occurs when the whole community takes part.” (Bruwer, 1996: 24) At the same time, Buckland (1998: 236) paraphrases Oakley *et al.* (1991) and notes, “Participation is seen as critical in that it ensures development projects are oriented to producing outcomes that meet the felt needs of the community. However, the widely overused term, participation, has a variety of meanings: minimally, as a contribution to reduce implementation costs, to a means of achieving political empowerment.” Provided that community participation is not understood as cheaper labour, should we agree with participation seen as involvement?

Involvement

While forming Forest Protection Committees (FPCs) for the JFM programme, it seems that a very considerable task consists of convincing a sizeable number of villagers to join the programme. As a result of initiating the programme through outside developers,

Tewari and Isemonge (1998: 34) note, “The initial phase involves frequent meeting and discussion with village leaders, the sharing of perceptions and opinions, and declaration of values and interest.”

The narrow understanding of participation has limited it to consultation, cooperation, mobilisation, conscientisation, and so on. The central theme or focus of those dimensions of participation is to establish the involvement of beneficiaries. However, (Lundy, 1999: 128) affirms, “... participation means more than occasional attendance at committee meetings or limited involvement in day-to-day activities and projects.” The bias induced by such approaches from outside community developers is strongly criticised as an expression of paternalism that rather much impeded participatory development approaches by attempting to sell preconceived proposals.

As illustrations, the community member statements below remain relevant indicators of the attitude against paternalistic development expert. Quoting Cadribo (1994), Botes and Rensburg (2000: 42) note, “They (developers) arrived already knowing everything. They come here and look around, but they see only what is not here (Indian villager). 'Developers just came overnight, they just arrived. They did not tell the people. They made us think that they were coming to save us'...” This case expresses an extreme lack of community participation, resulting from the paternalistic attitude of outside developers. Gradually, some practical experiences have shown that outside paternalism derives from outside experts or local elite people. Mohammed (2001: 189) illustrates, “The British system of planning was established in Caribbean colonies to serve first British interests and then the interests of the local plutocracy associated with them.” Under a dichotomy between powerful and powerless, between rich and poor, involvement becomes not a tool for empowering poor people but one used by powerful and rich to gain much benefit from the poor and powerless people. Accordingly, Bruwer (1996: 57) enlarges, “The poor may be consulted, but are never part of decision-making. In effect they are saying, 'How stupid you are'. The usual way people help the poor is doing something for them, sometimes sacrificially, yet always remaining in control.”

Burkey (1993: 211) sounds an apparently paradoxical warning: “Don’t do any thing for the people that they can do themselves.”

The paternalistic approach to participation has its roots in predetermined plans. Paternalist developers are rather concerned with gaining acceptance of an already assembled package (Botes and Rensburg, 2000: 43). Referring to consultation they note, “Consultation with the community may simply be to legitimate existing decisions i.e. to tell people what is going to happen by asking them what they think about it. Community participation is in these cases nothing more than attempts to convince beneficiaries what is best for them.” At the same time, Bruwer (1996: 21) underlines the lack of similar participatory approaches within mobilisation. He states, “Mobilisation took place primarily to involve individuals and communities in programmes predetermined by government...It is a typical example of a top-down, ‘co-opted involvement’ of people which left very little room for their initiative and empowerment...”

The problem to be raised now consists of knowing the extent to which involvement contributes to empowering and making powerless and poor people free from the control of powerful and rich people. Consultation, cooperation, mobilisation and conscientisation are assumed to be participatory approaches but may not be merely used unless they provide inputs for active participation in needs assessment, decision-making, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating. Let us now turn to empowerment or popular participation and assess its qualification for community participation.

Empowerment

Similar to cheaper labour and involvement, empowerment forms part of interpretation of participation. While this paragraph will scrutinise what empowerment entails and how it relates to participation, the main theme it is committed to is bridging the gaps of previous interpretations of participation. Consistently, participation as empowerment and conceived in the way of Buckland (1998: 236) would be a cultural and need-based approach. He notes, “Participation as empowerment... implies the community itself

becomes organised – socially, through e.g. peasant associations and women's groups ... – to meet their felt needs. Here the accent is placed on the process of community involvement and organisation.” This study subscribes to this approach for its quality of meeting the above-mentioned principles of empowerment. Subscribing to this approach means supporting Nussbaum (1997: 23) whose view about empowerment is as follows: “As a general principle, it is important to empower the community with skills and to provide with the opportunity to manage resources as soon as possible. It is essential to ensure that people have as sense of being able to solve their own problems.”

According to Racelis (1986) cited by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 24), the formal mechanisms acknowledged for effecting empowerment are: learning skills, organisational training, and access to basic services. In addition, the issue would firmly involve both control and decision-making as directing strategies from the community. In most cases, a number of partners are required for a workable empowerment. In this regard, De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 24) note, “...government has been, and for a long time will be, responsible for providing material and other support to developing communities. NGOs, local and international, can and should play an important role... Finding the appropriate role for each and accommodating the various roles is part of the question addressed by empowerment...” The way governments interact among various stakeholders correlates empowerment with decentralisation. According to De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 24), it can be said that empowering communities “...implies decentralisation of decision-making processes, without merely replicating the present centralised systems at a lower level.” Quoted by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 24), Korten (1984: 301) determines the responsibility for decision-making to be the result of decentralisation. He argues, “...decision-making must truly be returned to the people, who have the capacity and the right to inject into the process the richness – including the subjectivity – of their values and needs. Decision-making processes should be fully informed by whatever analysis available experts can provide, but only as one of several data inputs available to the main participant.” In line with the above opinions, Onyx and Benton (1995) cited by Christian (1998: 21) argue, “The concept of empowerment is located within the discourse of community development, connected to concepts of self-help, participation, networking

and equity. Empowerment is the taking on of power, at both the individual and social levels.” Thus, an exploration of what entails empowerment would reveal some of its components.

According to Christian (1998: 21-22), empowerment would first entail a social mechanism, which allows underprivileged individuals, communities and groups to be able to take advantage of social opportunities. Secondly, it would ensure access to all employment opportunities, resources and services regardless of race, colour, gender or religious affiliation. Thirdly, it would make sure that people are able to control their own destiny. And finally, empowering, especially rural communities, should be a process by which people who are usually excluded develop knowledge, skills and the power to challenge decisions that affect their lives and the wider community. Equally it is about having their power to make decisions. On the other side, De Beer and Swanepoel (1996: 24-25), as well as many other researchers, are right when they argue that empowerment is collective action, action at grassroots level, that creates self-awareness and finally releases people from the trap of poverty. Stone (1993: 8) and Ledwith (1997: 17) have respectively viewed empowerment as something created by bringing co-operating actors together, not necessarily as equal claimants, but often as unequal contributors to a shared set of purposes. From another perspective, empowerment is considered as a transformative change attained by oppressed people acting on their own behalf. It is argued that when liberating themselves they liberate at the same time those who are the oppressors, and create a just and fair society as a result.

The combination of the above components of empowerment sufficiently expresses the relevance of the concept. Of utmost relevance is that community empowerment in a practical sense is very important, and that communities themselves reveal their needs, and that there be a basic framework in place to ensure that specific initiatives are successful. In the following Table are a number of prerequisites for ensuring empowerment on a practical organization level.

Table 2.1: Empowerment

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment in practice should be sensitive to issues of gender/race/ class and other aspects humanity and to interaction where social inequality can emerge. • Empowerment in practice should endeavour to analyse existing resources in the given local community in a productive manner wherever possible. • Empowerment in practice should give people who live and work in the given community an active role in the decision-making process regarding the delivery of services. • Empowerment in practice should mean that accountability entails in the delivery of services. In other words, those who receive services are not passive, but are active and should be given or demand a role of responsibility. • Empowerment in practice ought to mean that training and re-training is encouraged and aimed at improving the competency of staff, within the organisation, via regular support and supervision. • Empowerment in practice should entail that information is made available between both the giver and the user of services in order to ensure equal partnerships in the planning and delivery (along with the evaluation) of services. • Empowerment in practice means that organisations should aim to reflect the broader society in their workforce. For example, Black people should be visible at all levels of the organisation (not only part-time capacity), preferably at the senior, middle, and lower levels

Source: Christian, 1998:24

In conclusion, based on the above facts drawn from the literature review, this study concludes that this is the rural community participation it is looking for. This view depends more on the fact that empowering or popular participation is purely a people-centred approach; initiatives arise from people themselves. This seems to be the opposite of participation regarded as involvement and as cheaper labour.

2.1.4 Representation and participation

“Decision-making bodies should be fully representative, democratically elected and accountable.” (Groenewald, 1989: 261)

This opening quote expresses clearly the impact of representation on participation. However, there is a limiting constraint related to expert developers that still create an obstacle. Lundy (1999: 129) says, “It is apparent that in order to legitimate projects, and to meet funding requirements set by international donors, some NGOs have 'overstated'

the level and the type of participation in their organisation and projects. Donors seem to assume participation is taking place because of a handful of individuals [who] claim to be representative.” A gap between foreign development donors and eventual target groups is a remarkable characteristic if one vigorously scrutinises the mandate of community groups. A very strong debate is currently being waged about whether representation generates participation among poor people. Two views about such an issue arise.

In the first view, experience show conclusively that poorer people are excluded from having a part in community representative structures. Local elites are used to unanimously dominate over community representative organisations that claim, however, to be community-based. Botes and Rensburg (2000: 45) describe this weakness as selective participation. They note, “Very often it is the most visible and vocal, wealthier, more articulated and educated groups that are allowed to be partners in development without serious and ongoing attempts to identify less obvious partners.” Botes and Rensburg accentuate the fact that the manner in which community representatives are selected does not obey democratic principles. Therefore, such representatives can only be assumed to represent their own voice, which should not necessarily reflect the views and perspectives of the whole community. Chambers (1990: 39) designates the community representatives described above as the main key informants of rural development agents, as well as of officials and social sciences researchers. As the former are the most informed and contacted people, they articulate their own concerns and interests and are susceptible to driving community development programmes to their own advantage, as a consequence of their relationship with the latter. Likewise, Bruwer (1996: 10) posits a situation that this study agrees does exist, namely, “The structure of society is sustained through the middle class. They set the tone. They frame the ideology that determines the functioning of the whole of society... The power of the upper/middle class is vested in institutions. The middle class plays the tune and the poor have to dance accordingly.” Bruwer (1996: 11) has himself come to generalise a kind of dichotomy opposing upper/middle classes against lower classes in each society. Furthermore, related characteristics are determined by this dichotomy as well.

The above situation would seem to be a major challenge if a relationship is to be established between representation and community participation. The literature on empowerment strongly emphasises a reversal in the manner of choosing community representatives. In this regard, Bruwer (1996: 73) offers substantial insight. He finds that, "In the promotion of change within a poor community, one of the most important aspects is to allow the poor freedom to choose their own leadership. Those having a problem are the best qualified to identify the need and show the way out." Accordingly, this study shares the above idea with Bruwer of placing poor people first in the whole process of community participation. This attitude finds justification in what Bruwer himself (1996: 74) advocates concerning the fair relationship between community representatives and the whole community itself, "Trusting and supporting those leaders who are themselves involved in the problem of poverty is one of the most important conditions in a process towards transformation of the poor." To achieve this trust, leaders should be democratically elected and be accountable.

Lundy (1999: 127) presents an equally negative view of the status of strangers as community representatives: "In addition to the unrepresentative nature of the groups, the research findings indicate that because volunteers and staff were usually drawn from the middle classes and better-off groups in society, they were frequently out of touch with the social circumstances in poorer communities." Therefore, the upper/middle class keeps on being the trusted sector of each society, and is invested with loans, leadership and decision-making.

From her experience with Jamaican Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS), Lundy (1999: 127) proposes an alternative opinion that challenges the view on community representation expressed above, "... it could be argued that, even though a group does not match the local population socially, it could still represent the interests of 'the community' and act as an effective advocate on their behalf." However, in the Jamaican ENGOS it is acknowledged that such outside community representatives know very little about grassroots concerns, despite their best intentions. Community

representative structures conceived in such a way might yet introduce a bias in the various forms of participation. As an illustration Smith (1998: 197) notes, “Some forms of participation are often criticised as tokenist, giving participants no power.” This idea may refer to participation in government schemes, which in some cases treat people as objects in ‘self-help’ schemes that have not been designed by those affected and where community representatives have little awareness of grassroots concerns.

2.1.5 Principles of the practice of participatory initiatives

It is deemed necessary at this stage that this study, as it concentrates on participation at grassroots level, should present an overview on the linkage between planning (theory) and implementing (practice). From the community development perspective, the issue is a matter of translating ideals into practice. With emphasis on the particular role of outsider experts, Keough (1998: 187) offered some reflections on both international communities and his own local community. He sums up the issue as follows: “Practitioners of *participatory development* are often faced with the challenge of bridging the gap between ideals and what is done in practice.” However, he was conscious of the manner in which grassroots level partners get involved in making predetermined plans of participatory development. He (1998: 187) argues, “Participatory development can be a manipulative tool to engage people in a pre-determined process, an expedient way to achieve results, or an attempt to support a democratic, empowering process.” As an attempt at addressing that bias and linking ideals with practice, Keough (1998) himself outlined a number of principles of community participation. It is assumed that lessons from some of them would serve this particular research on both Rwanda and South Africa. The following are some details.

- ***Approach each situation with humility and respect***

This advice warns especially those practitioners of participatory development whose tendency is to dominate community members. Whoever considers the latter as ignorant people will as a result conceive master plans for them. Both humility and respect for

local skills and knowledge would overcome any conflict with and domination by practitioners and community members. Accordingly, Keough (1998: 189) warns, “Practitioners of participatory development must begin with a sense of humility, an awareness that each person brings unique skills and knowledge to a process and that the experience and formal education practitioners bring to a process is valuable ...Those people will likely share that knowledge...” To achieve this, community members need to be fully involved in the phases both of planning and implementing, and even further, in monitoring as well as evaluating.

- ***Understanding the potential of local knowledge***

From practical experience, it is becoming clear that working with societies or specifically with human communities differs from working with laboratory experiments. For too long there has been the mistaken assumption that communities are uniform. Wherever this assumption was applied, it led to negative implications for translating ideals into practice, as a result of the replication of community projects. However, the assumption is totally wrong. Uniformity of community is now widely denounced and therefore uniqueness of societies, of people and of knowledge should be admitted in each and every case. Keough (1998: 189-190) takes this uniqueness into consideration as follows: “Practitioners of participatory development recognise the power of local knowledge...Working with communities highlights the uniqueness of people's knowledge like no textbook can. In my practice of participatory development I have had the opportunity to see the power of local knowledge in many communities.” This belief taken of Keough underlines the difference alluded to earlier between experiences in living communities and in the laboratory

- ***Adhere to democratic practice***

Democratic practice and community participation were discussed earlier (Section 2.1.4). The major concern was about how representative structures are formed within communities. Subsequently, current literature reveals a questionable situation in which

community representative structures are in most cases formed of people with little knowledge of the community members they are supposed to represent. Thus, the interests of poor people keep remaining outside of the relevant debates. Keough (1998: 190) raises an issue related to democratic practice. He notes, "All too often, in our work lives we neglect the principles of democracy our societies are supposed to be built upon... In participatory development, practitioners recognise the tensions between democratic ideals and hierarchical structures and work towards overcoming the barriers to truly democratic work." For any presumed successful initiative for poor rural communities, handling the matter regarding community representative structures is one of the prerequisites for community participation.

- ***Acknowledge diverse ways of knowing***

If cognisance is given to the principle according to which each person brings unique skills and knowledge to a process of community development, the principle of a diversity of ways of knowing will follow. The diversity supported by the uniqueness of skills and knowledge in each community allows people to conclude that poorer rural communities can overcome their passivity and become active partners. In this way, diverse ways of knowing constitute a powerful input for directing community participation and, in turn, provide the mechanisms for avoiding master plans. Keough (1998: 190) acknowledges that diverse ways of knowing have a wide cultural value which, for this study, is relevant for a good basis to community participation. He argues, "In the natural world diversity is seen as a virtue... Diversity gives birth to possibility. The more diverse the opportunities to learn, the more diverse the methods employed, the more systems of knowledge explored, the more satisfying and successful will be the development process." Therefore, expert developers may not exclusively dictate ways of community development planning, nor development implementation. Not only will communities influence methods because of various related skills and knowledge but also methods will vary from one community to another as a result of the uniqueness related to each community.

- ***Maintain a sustainability vision***

When one thinks about sustainability in the perspective of community development, the insight gained focuses on maintaining and improving both current and forthcoming generations. In other words, the target is to maintain a material standard of living for human beings without degrading environment as long as the human system belongs to the ecological system. In this sense, from the perspective of participatory practice it is necessary to widely make “Participatory practitioners act as advocates of sustainability.” (Keough, 1998: 190) Therefore, it makes sense to affirm that policy on participation has a broad impact on generations to come, in fact, as long as human beings exist.

- ***Put reality before theory***

The major constraint that master plans are responsible for relates to the misplacement of reality. A theory of change is made before obtaining sufficient knowledge from the communities that are involved as active subjects. However, “...theories are merely simplified, useful, but incomplete, approximations of reality.” (Keough, 1998: 192) The tendency is to put theory ahead of reality and then to make reality fit theory in the context of a predetermined theory of change. Thus the principle of putting reality before theory would inspire a reversal of forging master plans.

- ***Recognise the relativity of time and efficiency***

It has become commonplace that during their work, community developers alternatively view process as less important than product, on one side, and process more important than product, on the other side. Both alternatives impact differently on the decision-making dynamics. In the first case, a developer-centred approach is established and becomes characterised by top-down decisions taken by the development elite (Botes and Rensburg, 2000: 52). Paul (1987: 10), who accuses community development projects of being preoccupied with the product and ignoring people, experienced the frustration of this pressure of time. He notes, “Organising beneficiaries is a time consuming and complex process. Those who expect quick returns from this investment may be

disappointed.” In the opposite case, a people-centred approach is developed with bottom-up decisions taken by community members or their legitimate leaders (Botes and Rensburg, 2000: 52). Promoting the process over the product is the way community development projects organise rural communities and, at the same time, empower them in active participation. This approach heeds the warning that Keough (1998: 193) formulated as follows: “Saving time and working efficiently are unassailable principles of the modern world. But human process keeps its own time and defines efficiency in qualitative and quantitative terms.”

- ***Take a holistic approach***

The holistic approach to participation was discussed in this chapter (Section 2.1.2). The emphasis was on the pulling together of relevant stakeholders in community development, an approach resulting from the complexity of human interactions and the limitations of human designed linear process models. Given the importance of a holistic approach to participation, the current literature has come to include it among community participation principles. Keough (1998: 193) warns, “In participatory practice complexity is a reality not to be eliminated but to be understood, become comfortable [with] and incorporate into practice. [Therefore], in the development process, we still desire to break things into small pieces to understand the whole.” Complementarily, this warning acknowledges the respect required for the unique skills and knowledge related to each individual and their related contributions.

2.2 Rural community

In its every day use of ‘rural community’ always conveys a dichotomous understanding. Some correlate ‘rural community’ with ‘countryside’ defined as follows: “land not in towns, cities or industrial areas which is either used for farming or left in its natural condition.” (International Dictionary of English, 1995: 313) The emphasis here is on geographical location. This section will deal with the definition of the topic together with

principles one and two introduced in Chapter one (Section 1.1.3 & 1.2). The concept 'Rural community' will be discussed in detail within the next three sub-sections.

2.2.1 Definitions and discussions

Any attempt to define the concept 'community' will invariably lead to confusion as there is not yet a standard definition agreed on by researchers from various scientific fields. As a resort, researchers like Swanepoel (1989: 87), who is later supported by Bruwer (1996: 25), have come to conclude, "Community is an elusive concept and can hardly be utilized for community development." The diversity of definitions discussed below leads this study to adhere to the above statement.

Most generic forms of the use of 'community' serve to describe any collectivity of persons sharing values, ideas, lifestyles, and so on. The sociologist George Hillery (David *et al.*, 1991: 9) specialised in and sought out 94 separate definitions of 'community'. The more diverse they are, the more the criteria supporting each of them increases in number. Consequently, one would find, for instance, rural communities, urban communities, neighbourhood communities, communities of scholars, and so on. From the above, it seems that community has a polarity aspect in itself, which leads people to determine different communities with reference to location. In this way, Marx experiences the rural-urban difference and supports his argument in terms of a more fundamental dichotomy and opposition. Ferdinand Tönnies was influenced by Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian polarity and from it he documented a dichotomy through the terms *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (association) (Bonner, 1998: 173). The former reflects rural community while the latter reflects urban community where the reference involves the changing modes of social relationships in the context of capitalism in Western civilisation.

The *Gemeinschaft* would be closer in context to criteria related to rural community. David *et al.* (1991: 9) note, "He [Tönnies] defined *Gemeinschaft* as the kind of traditional

community that existed in a feudal organization where persons were bound by shared values and sacred traditions. In the *Gemeinschaft*, social solidarity stemmed from members' common identity and kinship." Foremost, the *Gemeinschaft* was conceived as an ideal type, which proceeded from "the assumption of perfect unity of human wills as an original or natural condition is preserved in spite of actual separation." (Tönnies, 1940: 99) This view of community through *Gemeinschaft* seems to be shared by Groenewald (1989: 258), "In community literature this refers to locality-bound groupings, such as neighbourhoods or smaller rural areas, where some degree of local identity and mutual interdependence and common fate exist." Related culture sharing, through a common identity and kinship, is a key variable responsible for the dichotomy, which helps in identifying the meaning of community. In turn, Holmes (1932: 1-2) also notes family-farm organisation and factory system as key variables. Accordingly, a population organised into family-farm groups and people drawing their substance from family farms, on one hand, and the factory system, on the other hand, are respectively viewed as rural communities.

Whatever the diversity of definition, current literature does agree on some common considerations or criteria to describe the community. Paraphrasing Roland Warren (1972: 9), David *et al.*, (1991: 50) firstly emphasise the following *social functions*, as key characterising variables:

- Producing and distributing the goods and necessary services for the maintenance of a particular locality;
- Generating social control mechanisms to ensure predictable behavioural order;
- Providing institutional sources for social participation by its members;
- Being a context in which individuals find the mutual support provided by a primary social relationship.

While the central issue of what community represents is, according to Roland Warren, constituted by social functions, Talcott Parsons is concerned with human interdependence

and his attention is focused on the nature of *social systems*, viewed insofar as they constitute an identity, which characterise people located in the same geographical area. Closer to this argument, Marvin Sussman (1959) is interested in *the structure of community interactions* commissioned for meeting individual needs as well as finding solutions to collective group concerns. Therefore, according to Kaufman (1959) and Martindale (1958), both quoted by David, *et al.* (1991: 50), the community could be described as a network of interactions or “interactional fields” located in a specific geographical space where networking is the result of shared common interests. The combination of the system of networks of interaction with the geographical aspect of the community is the basis of what Gray and Mackintosh (1998: 61) understand as community. They note, “The community may be defined geographically in terms of its location and boundaries, or it may be interest-based in terms of common interests around which community projects develop.”

The expressed intention at the outset of this section was to find explanation in the various criteria for the diversity of definitions. Hence, three recurrent and persistent elements are retained as relevant criteria to document the understanding of community. David *et al.* (1991:50) note, “1) Community is generally seen as delineated by a geographically, territorially, or spatially circumscribed area. 2) The members of community are seen as bound together by a number of characteristics or attributes held in common (values, attitudes, ethnicity, social class, and so one). 3) The members of community are engaged in some form of sustained social interaction.” Each criterion will be individually considered according to the purpose for which community is defined.

In line with the above discussion, there have been ongoing efforts by scholars to clarify the meaning of community. When the common use of community entails a quality of solidarity, or togetherness, Dwight Sanderson draws on the Latin origin of ‘community’ with a number of connotations. On the one hand, the concept comes from *communis* or “fellowship, community of relations or feelings.” On the other hand, it is represented by *universitas*, meaning “a body of fellows or fellow townsmen.” The combination of these

two different aspects leads Maciver (cited by Sanderson, 1932: 1-2) to define a community as follows: “By a community I mean any area of common life, village, or town, or district, or country, or even wider area.” This definition is very broad and at some level it cannot cover the full content of meaning of community. The contribution of Graham Crow and Graham (1994: 1-3) to defining community has also emphasised its features and characteristics in terms of interlocking social networks of neighbourhood, kinship and friend. In their definition, they emphasise the links that keep together people as being common residence, common interests, common attachments or some other shared experience generating a sense of belonging. These links are what contribute to the identification of community as ‘territorial community’ or the ‘place community’.

It is evident that community is variously defined, and this study does not presume to cover all definitions comprehensively. The above brief discussion has proven that statement. Correspondingly, it is obvious that most definitions so far discussed converge on a common conclusion: the internal community harmony or homogeneity in its sense of “similarity in acquired, socio-psychical characteristics, such as language, beliefs, opinions, mores, patterns of behaviour, and so on.” (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929: 23) Tönnies exemplifies with his research that community predominantly consists of relationships of mutual affirmation (David *et al.*, 1991: 9). David *et al.* (1991: 14) propose that the relationships of mutual affirmation are a means to having access to harmony. Such a view is contrary to that of Emile Durkheim who raised the concept of collective conscience, which generates a mechanical solidarity from social segments when they become organised into a division of labour. Like Durkheim, but unlike Tönnies, “mechanical solidarity prevails where individual differences are minimized and then members of society are much alike in their devotion to the common weal.” (Coser, 1971: 131)

There is a point of view, which strongly mediates the debate and leads to the conclusion made by Pahl in the following formulation: “He adduced evidence from community studies in both the United States and Europe to show that far from there being an

exclusive continuum from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, relationships of both types could be found in the same locality.” (Buttel and Newby, 1980: 7-8) Hence, the homogeneity in the community should be variously interpreted. But without enough evidence at hand, it is clear that this fluctuating intra- and intercommunity homogeneity is widely questionable. This study will come back to this assumption later.

Whatever criteria the definition of ‘community’ is based on, this study needs to decide on an understanding of community that fits in with participation in the context of rural community. It is necessary to specify that the concept of community is used here in the context of community development. Despite the profusion of opinions about community components, this study holds the following definition: “...community refers to a group of people within a particular geographical area. Such a group is often referred to as the target group or target population.” (De Wet Schutte, 2000: 2) Deciding on this definition from the perspective of community development should not however lead to confusion or to thinking that the discussion about the concept of community was done in vain. The accepted definition is a globalising definition if one considers the criteria, which served as a relevant basis to the various definitions discussed. People are bound together in this defined community around a target of meeting social functions within a system of networking interactions. And they handle community issues as a homogeneous body of fellows where the basis of homogeneity consists of finding solutions to collective community concerns. The study assumes that all of the above criteria are genuine and promote the factors of rural community participation so far outlined as general themes.

2.2.2 Rural context of the community

The discussion on ‘community’ as a concept illustrated the extent to which it is an elusive and ambiguous concept. For this study, as well as elsewhere, a clear understanding of the concept is pointed out by numerous concepts of which it is compounded. Among many others, ‘rural’ and ‘development’ are compounds with community. This section discusses the profile of the rural community.

The rural community is widely recognised as being in full, direct relationship with nature, and therefore totally occupied within cultivation and usually with few representatives of other non-agricultural pursuits. A dichotomy is always distinguished by comparing the urban with the rural community: rural differentiation and stratification is less than urban. The same may be said regarding territorial, occupational, and other forms of social mobility. Where the extensive agriculture is dominant, the concentration of farming peasants into large communities is prevented, and likewise the density of population is lower than in urban communities. Groupings of human beings in rural communities are usually family-based. Hence, the populations of rural communities are more homogeneous in racial and psychosocial traits. In addition, the rural community forms a narrower area of interaction for its members and the whole aggregate. Primary contacts keep remaining prominent for a large part of community social life. It shows predominance of personal and relatively sustainable relations (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929: 56). What can now be discussed is the potential of rural communities with the above profile for contributing to solving their own problems.

The current context put forward of people in a rural community is obviously related to poverty. It is a residential space where people are not able to cope in the modern world, and who are therefore condemned to be or to become increasingly poor. The facet of poverty in rural communities is mainly revealed as follows (Wilson and Ramphele cited by Bruwer, 1996: 8-9): overcrowding, the struggle for sources of energy, the need for water, unemployment and underpayment, hunger, malnutrition and endemic sicknesses, housing shortages, illiteracy, and so on. This aspect is widely supported by the literature, which always refers to the poor when matters regarding community development are raised. That was the understanding of Burkey (1993: 258): "...community development the emphasis is generally on 'the lowest of aggregation' of people that are in some or other way dependent upon each other for their existence." That dependence upon one another is so far relatively a monopoly of rural areas if one takes into account the extent to which such dependence relationships are permanent and intensive. Quoted by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998), Midgley (1986: 25) tends to make community development a monopoly of extremely poor communities because they are uniquely affected by poverty,

“Deprived rural communities ... are comprised of the poor, the very poor and the not so poor who have differential access to resources.” And the situation seems to persist as a result of the advocacy for the poor community that is made up essentially of local elites who have the strong voice in decision-making regarding the interests of the poor.

To defend their responsibility, however, community representatives and developers selected from those local elites develop a judgmental perception of rural communities to keep the latter depending on the development expertise of the former. Community developers are frequently heard to say, “...our rural people are genuinely backward! They are superstitious, mistrustful, refuse to co-operate with us or with each other, are resistant to change, and will not listen to good advice.” (Burkey, 1993: 205) The same author (1993: 258) describes the context of rural communities by locating them geographically and emphasising their sociological characteristics, “In community literature this refers to locality-bound groupings, such as neighbourhoods of small rural areas, where some degree of local identity and mutual interdependence and common fate exists.” The above quotations illustrate community developers’ perceptions and judgements, which constitute a serious obstacle to community participation.

Although there is a well-established contrast between rural and urban communities, this is not to deny that they are some similar situations in urban communities. Urban communities do also have poorer people, identity, mutual interdependence and a common fate. Differences can however be identified from the supporting factors on both sides, how long they persist, the amount of people involved, and finally, the balance of standards of living.

2.2.3 Assumptions about community homogeneity and autonomy

The assumptions about the understanding of community are still under fiery debate, and two alternatives dominate over the debate. On one side, the rural community is homogeneous while, on the other, it is heterogeneous. Whether one or another is right is not the concern of this study. What potential for community participation can be drawn

out of the homogeneity or heterogeneity? This is rather the target. The basis of the literature on some of the community characteristics previously experienced has disoriented many development projects from achieving the expected results. For instance, this study notes in rural communities the existence of a degree of local identity, mutual interdependence, common fate, locality-bound groupings, neighbourhoods of small rural areas, dependence upon other's for one's existence and so on. Such a basis has nevertheless proved to be an obstacle to community participation, as a result of a bias in undertaking planned projects for the community. Communities were assumed to be homogeneous entities and projects were replicated from one community to another.

Therefore, communities were assumed to act collectively towards common environment interests, as a result of social consensus and solidarity. But under the conditions previously mentioned, the promoting elements of homogeneity as outlined by different definitions of community led to the realisation that intra-community homogeneity seems different from intercommunity homogeneity. Even though the intra-community homogeneity itself is questionable, it should here be distinguished from intercommunity homogeneity, while planning for the community. Previous researchers, as presented in the Table below, have experienced contradictory evidence about community homogeneity.

Table2.2: False assumptions

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities have a unity, and shared interests; cooperation is natural for communities, even if it is not present now. • Where there is a strong sense of community, community development will be easier, and will have more immediate results than in areas, which are disorganised or divided. • "Tradition" generally inhibits progress and development; community development can free people from the traditional restraints and limitations of small community life. • Communities are, in an ineffable way, good, and enshrine sacred values. • The "felt needs" of community exist, and can be discovered by cross-examination and manipulation. "What people really think" is a meaningful phrase. • Each community has a clearly defined leadership or "power structure", to use that unsatisfactory but popular term. If no community leader appears immediately, then a stranger must show the way. • Everyone desires a higher level of living and welcomes change.

Source: Brokensha & Hodge (1969: 20) quoted by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:19)

Likely Brokensha and Hodge (1969: 20) in *Community Development: An Interpretation*, Patricia Lundy insists that the assumption that the community is homogeneous and harmonious is a wrong understanding of community. With reference to Leach *et al.* (1997: 10-11), she (1999: 125-126) points out two reasons demonstrating that community is heterogeneous rather than being homogeneous. First, “the word ‘community’ is [an] ambiguous and elusive concept; it has no single and fixed meaning; it is not [a] homogeneous and harmonious entity... In addition, social scientific work has highlighted the way that gender, caste, wealth, age, origins, and other aspects of social identity divide and cross-cut so-called ‘community boundaries’...”

Consequently, the above facts allow this study to support the idea that communities themselves are not necessarily internally homogeneous entities sharing everything. Empowering a community by enabling it to reach a common understanding about the concerns that the community faces creates homogeneity within the community. That would be a successful outcome in making community members participate in their own matters. All that can be retained from such an experience is that a community can be made of different subcultures that respectively share their needs and values with one another. The existing subcultures within the community express the heterogeneity aspect of the community.

However, some exceptions should be mentioned before any conclusive rule is formulated. The prominent case is from South Africa. As a result of its racial policy, the government succeeded in determining habitational spaces, patterns of communication, and opportunities for occupational and educational achievement and income generation. Groenewald (1989: 259) concludes, “As a result of the outcome of this policy, local communities became known by and large[ly] were to be racially homogeneous communities...” The achievement of homogeneity was ensured the legitimacy of power that acts as coercion.

While homogeneity has received particular attention in the current literature related to community studies, speculations about community autonomy have been raised as well.

Tuner (1972), quoted by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 21), pointed out power and control over the development process as the real content one could expect from autonomy: "...autonomy therefore entails the ability to enter into reciprocal relationships, to exercise both control over essential life needs and discretion in the trade-offs which establish priorities." At the same time, the power and control acknowledged, as part of community autonomy is made specific, or concrete, by defining the community responsibility for handling problems, within a collective action, translated into goals. Organising community choices to make lasting solutions to daily issues still is an indicator of degree of the community autonomy. Through a geographical definition of the community, Edouards and Jones (1976: 12) in *Community and Community Development*, cited by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998: 17) state as follows: community is "... a grouping of people who reside in a specific locality and who exercise some degree of autonomy in organising their social life in such a way that they can, from that locality base, satisfy the full range of their daily needs."

Depending on how community autonomy is regarded above, some critical issues need to be raised. It seems that the full understanding of community autonomy excludes any outsider from eventual intervention in community development matters. Yes, this should be the radical and ideal version of community participation each community should seek for. A question that needs answering is 'Does the community have the required prerequisites to be self-sufficient in this way?' If one could refer straight to the characterising facet of poverty developed by Wilson and Ramphela, the answer would be negative, as a result of a lack of empowerment. Therefore, the radical version of community autonomy would be utopian, or unrealistic. Let us then address this ideal, or utopian, community autonomy by building up a holistic approach to participation in which a consultation of the community and developers defines a unique contribution.

2.2.4 Social capital

The advocacy for community participation highlights the potential of social capital. As an illustration, Robert Putnam (1993: 167) defines social capital as "features of social

organisation, such as trust, norms [customary behaviour], and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” With the emphasis on advocacy for community development, some researchers, like Dhesi (2000: 201), are widely recognising the role of social capital insofar as it is understood as, “shared knowledge, understandings, values, norms, and social networks to ensure the intended results.”

Obviously, the elements included in the content of social capital tie together community members. If this linkage occurs the social capital should facilitate social actions, such as community development projects through full community participation, and should achieve the expected results, as a consequence. Therefore, empowering rural communities requires building up the social capital if community participation is expected to be successful.

2.2.5 Community development

In earlier sections of the Chapter community was discussed as an isolated concept to establish a broad understanding and thus, the specific context was not yet distinguished. The context towards which this study is orientated is development-based at grassroots level. For this reason, community is regarded as a compound of development in action. This context gives a meaning, which now better helps to analyse how development should be linked to community participation.

In its historical context, community development qualified for a number of definitions. The UN document designates it “...to connote the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate those communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to the national progress.” (Groenewald, 1989: 257) The accent is here placed on the combined efforts of both the community and government, as contributing partners during the process. In other understandings, development professionals are brought together with the community and

the governmental authorities to form partners with them. In this way Sites (1998: 58) notes, "...community development initiatives are efforts made by professionals and community residents to enhance the social bonds among members of the community, motivate the citizens for self-help, develop responsible local leadership, and create or revitalise local institutions."

Importantly, the central variable in both definitions is the community, and the intention focuses on empowering marginalized people. Grundy (1995: 28) emphasises that view in the way in which community development "is concerned with helping people of all ages to grow and mature by and through assisting them to decide, plan and take action to improve their physical environment and social amenities... Those involved in community development try to help build communities by working with people rather than for them." Related to the extent to which community development as such is becoming widely used, it is increasingly becoming a participatory approach. Referring to a participatory problem-solving process, which empowers participants, Gray and Mackintosh (1998: 58-59) understand community development as "a method which emphasises the involvement of people within localised communities in proposing, planning and promoting development priorities for their own communities." Its participatory aspect is strongly emphasised in "its holism" (Gray and Mackintosh, 1998: 76). The above understanding is likely to define the task community development agents are committed to. Smith (1998: 197) states, "Most community development work involves the participation of communities ...[that are] involved. Indeed, community development has been defined as a social process resulting from citizen participation."

Some researchers advocating community development as a strategy to alleviate poverty have gone beyond the preceding definition and rather assimilate it into an end result of community participation. For instance, Schutte (2000: 3) notes, "Community development is the gradual positive change, among people within a given geographical area, towards self-determined ideals, with minimal outside interference." With emphasis on this characteristic collective action, the influence of the community on decision-

making, planning and, at best, implementing is becoming ensured. Giarchi (2001: 64) assumes, "...community development also enables people to take collecti[ve] action, creating political pressure." In the specific context of transforming the governance, in most Third World countries, the community would become a real civil society enabled to influence governmental decision-making.

2.3 Development

Within the spirit of networking, development is fully discussed in line with principle three. Therefore, participation at community level is critically analysed from the way in which development stakeholders interact.

2.3.1 Definition

Development is a concept that has been variously defined and the respective understandings of the concept depend on who uses it and in which area he/she specialises. Therefore, there has as yet been no consensus about the meaning of development, a term that has been used widely. Both Thomas (1982: 9) and Turner *et al.* (1997: 4) have respectively focused on economic, social and political changes in the world from the 17th century until just after the Second World War. However, in the above fields in which change has taken place, a polarity emerged in terms of the geographical location of people or countries concerned. As an illustration, Bruwer (1996: 21) notes, "Development has become identified with Western civilisation and has always been referred to in positive terms. On the negative side, however, non-western cultures were seen as undeveloped, which meant they were inferior and worthless, poor." The expressed dichotomy here has given to development the sense of a process of liberation. The voice from Latin America in the nineteen-seventies, cited by Bruwer (1996: 14), was very clear about this, "The decade of developmentalism is over and we are now inaugurating the decade of liberation. Liberation is the new name for development." It was previously said that such liberation would differ from that of

saving people from a burning house; they would rather have to fully take ownership of the liberation and actively participate in the act of saving themselves.

Beneficiaries need to be empowered for taking ownership and participating. That is what could be equated to development in a rural context. Development defined by Chambers (1983: 47) illuminates that empowerment, “...development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand more control of the benefits of development.” In this case, the end result of development is the improvement of the lives of people who are poor, or marginalised. To achieve this developmental strategy, Schutte (2000: 3) puts forward a proposal instrument from which the end result of development is a positive change among poorer and marginalised people. He notes, “In the context of community development we actually have in mind some or other form of positive change. Successful community development, then, implies positive changes among people within a particular geographical area.” As long as community development is concerned as a means for developing poor people, this study subscribes to the understanding of what development entails, according to Chambers.

2.3.2 Development and the legacy of colonialism

For some time, development and colonialism remained two key variables that influenced each another. The historical background of African rural communities shows that they benefited less from the colonial period and are still experiencing negative impacts. The explanation for this fact is that colonial development was externally oriented. The French colonial experience in West Africa is an illustrative example. In Mali and Burkina Faso, “the development of political and administrative structures and the promotion of co-operatives were...designed primarily to serve to colonial interest and facilitate colonial rule.” (Atampugre, 1998: 355) The same spirit of developing African communities was replicated in Nigeria and later on in Ghana, which were both colonised by the British. Moreover, “colonial agricultural policy laid emphasis on export crop cultivation. There

was little interest in developing communities...beyond aspects which also served colonial interests.” (Atampugre, 1998: 357) A lack of community participation is experienced here.

Those two cases are examples from a multitude in African rural communities whose situation exhibits similarities. But so many years after the independence of African colonies, the crucial issue is to recognise the extent to which African rural communities are still carrying the legacy of colonialism. The intention is that the poor of Africa should be able to assume responsibility for their destiny. However, it seems that national independence was mostly political and is different from the taking up of responsibility. Community capacity is still declining as a result of an independence whose content does not really fit the original independence in its empowerment promoting aspects. Some researchers (Bruwer, 1996: 73) illustrate the above as follows: “One power has merely surrendered power to another power, and the powerless have remained as frustrated and unrecognised as before. The colonial masters set the blueprint for the new governments. The new governments have to submit because of the power of international economic systems. Leadership of and control over their lives have still eluded the poor of Africa. No poor community can be left totally on its own.” As a result, an obstacle to African rural community participation rose in terms of conditionality. Tjonneland (1998: 185) notes, “Development totalling more than 25 million rand a year is currently flowing from the North to the Southern Africa region. Several countries in the region are extremely dependent on these financial transfers and foreign donors have increasingly demanded major political and administrative reform in recipient countries as a condition for continued aid.”

As an inheritance from colonisation, the disempowerment of rural communities has its roots in the following arguments. First, “In traditional practice the scientific, European based-way of knowing is valued above all others.” (Keough, 1998: 190) This is European ethnocentrism. Development based on European ethnocentrism remains very questionable in the way it interferes with previously discussed principles for community

participation. As an illustration, Bruwer asks, "Development on western lines may promise to be a solution to many problems in the poorer part of the world, but is it suited to the people there and to their situation?" (Bruwer, 1996: 21). Certainly not! A powerful fact is that in these communities there still exists a tremendous diversity of knowledge systems, which would contribute to bridging the gap created by European ethnocentrism. Thus, the principle of acknowledging ways of knowing is the prerequisite that a participatory development practitioner must be open to for empowering poor communities.

Second, many local development initiatives have not yet brought about communal efforts to initiate local change within a pivotal networking. Development organisations, or NGOs, are still formalising development initiatives and as a result, ignoring local contribution. Put another way, "once informal development processes are formalised and local action colonised by agencies or professionals[,] local autonomy is destroyed." (Giarchi, 2001: 64) However, understanding the potential of local knowledge was previously discussed to address such a gap.

Third, the experience from Bangladesh serves as a meaningful example of some of the biases of colonialism concerning development. Buckland (1998: 237) notes that "...the majority of NGOs have opted for the minimalist notion of participation, seeking beneficiary input and assistance in implementing projects that are largely designed, funded, and managed externally." In that country, the same source notes that the above approach to development is known for its failure in mobilising indigenous social and political capital that would be responsible for setting up community capacity and ensuring the sustainability of the impact.

According to the view of some analysts, development is finally acquiring a banking/financial connotation. The insights from Paolo Freire, cited by Bruwer (1996: 23), are more eloquent, "He used what he called 'the bank concept' of development to explain the

basic concepts at stake. According to this concept the developer invests in his own interests and expects his capital back, with interest – as in a bank, where money is being invested at a certain interest rate.” From the same source, Nyerere of Tanzania was embarrassed by European-based development, which in his vision equals it to herding people like animals into a new venture. In the same way, Bruwer (1996: 2) questioned professionalism in development. He argues, “Often it is a means of dominating people in a way that degrades them to mere pawns. Development should widen the opportunities for choice, but macro-decisions of developers often make choice at the grassroots level impossible.”

All this study can, from the above, subscribe to is that development and colonialism remain intertwining variables, and require a framework susceptible to addressing them with reference to particular contexts.

2.3.3 Theoretical framework for development

This section discusses community participation within the context of previously defined development. The topic is analysed under two sub-sections detailed below.

People-centred development

Developing rural communities, in the way outlined above by Chambers (Section 2.3.2), is widely raising a fierce debate concerning the relevant approach. Regarding the approach, some analysts have come to conclude as follows: “Development without the element of choice is highly questionable.” (Bruwer, 1996: 28) Not only the real basic needs of the community require identifying and satisfying, but also an order of priorities needs to be established from within the community. The people-centred development approach is valued here above numerous others for developing poor communities. There are a number of explanations that firmly substantiate such a statement.

On the one hand, there is that the community did not take ownership of development projects because of its specific background history (Section 2.3.2), or as a result of professional development. The lack of making a choice is here pivotal. However, it was earlier concluded, “The fuel for the process of community development resides in the community itself, and the match which must set the process alight, ignites when hindrances (unsatisfied needs) are identified by the community itself.” (Schutte, 2000: 5) To make this happen, the community needs an approach that allows for self-solving of identified needs. A people-centred approach would be highly recommended here.

On the other hand, there is the principle, in theory, that one should “ensure that the development occurring within a given community is in fact community-driven and not merely some idea forced upon the community from outside.” (Schutte, 2000: 5) One of the biases community participation is contending with is the questionable professional development that has resulted in an imposition on communities. The people-centred development approach intends to bring about a major difference by altering the role of expert developers. This approach satisfies the fundamental point expressed in literature on community participation that requires that decision-making and control have to be led by 'insiders' or local people. To support this idea, Haidari and Wright (1999: 54) assert that “development should be people-centred and the role of 'outsiders' such as technicians, developers and researchers should be as enablers and facilitators.” Within reformist perspectives, this view is strongly supported by the literature.

Following from above, “The role of community developer is merely to create an environment of freedom within which the latent development potential of the community can bloom.” (Schutte, 2000: 5) At the same time, the literature on community participation outlines a framework of what the target of community development interventions should be. Empowering communities through facilitation for identifying and solving their own community needs is the target of the final findings of the research led by De Beer and Swanepoel (1996: 24). They conclude, “Community-based support programmes can help communities identify their problems and priorities, increase their

awareness of what can be done and help them select from a range of components. The programme can, therefore, act as *a facilitator of community needs* and not as an implementer of preconceived proposals...” That is the way in which this study assumes the principle of not doing for poor people what they are able to do themselves would work in a community participation spirit.

Sustainable development

Sustainable development, a ubiquitous topic in the 1990s has become a valued concept. Relating this concept to the preceding paragraphs, “Sustainable development is the 'paradigm' for a holistic 'people-centred development'.” (Suthasupa, 2000: 76) Some views equate it to the self-sufficiency and capability of independent action that result from imparting knowledge and skills by community developers.

A dual base formed the historical context for the rise of the concept of sustainable development. In the 1970s, it emerged within Western nations, and the United Nations conferences concentrated on sustainable development within the perspectives of the physical limits of the ecological systems of the earth (Hattingh, 2000: 1). The following definition, as quoted from the Brundtland Report, formally emerged, “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.” (Hattingh, 2000: 2) This definition includes as well the principle of maintaining a sustainability vision, as stated by Keough (1998: 190) and referred to previously, as a principle of community participation.

Even though sustainable development was ubiquitous in the 1990s, maintaining a sustainable vision in matters regarding community development fluctuated over time and yielded very few of its expected results, such as establishing self-reliance, independence, free choices in the community and so on. This study is a modest contribution to addressing some of the weaknesses considered to be responsible for a number of failures.

Both denouncements and proposals for solutions were made out as follows: "...it [sustainable development] has lost its meaning because of the myriad ways it is used and co-opted ... In this sense, participatory practice encompasses an expanded view of community and strives to incorporate the natural world into participatory frameworks." (Keough, 1998: 190) In the same way, it seems that incorporating the natural world into community participation would be a proposed solution to failures of sustainable development. The condition discussed below should be a prerequisite.

Sustaining development needs time, in contrast with most community-based support programmes that are always under time pressure in terms of duration and seek for a product instead of process. With this emphasis on time, Schutte (2000: 5) assumes that successfully the community sustaining is a matter of process. He notes, "Successful sustainable community development is a process, often a long and tedious process, in which the target community must continually be enabled to shift its own goal posts." Schutte defends this thesis by assuming that enabling the community to shift its own goal posts is a systematic process and the earlier goals are constantly being moved by repeatedly emerging new sets of understood needs. That is, community participation intertwines with community development, and the latter still is more powerful for shifting such goal posts.

2.4 Policy and practice

Policy and practice appear to be two intertwining variables, if one refers to the topic under study. Their relationships manifest themselves in terms of complementarity. While introducing the topic in Chapter one (section 1.1.3), policy was said to be a theory of planning whilst practice is about implementing that theory.

2.4.1 Definitions

Policy

Policy has multiple meanings depending on who is using the concept, and on the context. This agrees with the following, “We regard policy as process. This gives policy a historical dimension and alerts us to different foci (for example, policy-making and policy implementation) during that process. Policy is also about decisions – series of decisions in fact – and decision is power.” (Turner and Hulme, 1997: 58) It seems that policies then are purposive actions monopolised by both states, for policy formulation, and by non-governmental voluntary organisations, for implementation, officially interested in public purpose. Then, the expression of development policy to which rural communities are called to participate in is “to mean deliberate action by public institutions seeking to promote development. These institutions.... can be of different types, and they certainly act on competing definitions on what might be development.” (Mackintosh *et al*, 1992: 1) The understanding of policy as outlined above seems to be as complex as stakeholders are diversified. The same could be said of practice comprehended as policy implementation

Practice

Given that the context of this study is the community, the understanding of practice is obviously policy implementation. Therefore, this study subscribes to practice in the way entailed by Gray and Mackintosh (1998: 65) who note that implementation “is the stage at which the main work of community development is carried out. Plans that have been made are put into practice. Goals are tested and revised as and when necessary. All available resources are marshalled.”

2.4.2 Ownership and participation in policy and practice

Practical experience in community participation establishes a closer relationship between ownership and participation. One cannot participate in what one does not take ownership of.

While some advocate representation as essential key of community participation, the complexity of poor communities is that they are faced with the background of development practice in the community. In other words, the perception, judgments or preconceived ideas about previous development projects have a determinative impact on their ownership and therefore their participation. In this way, various comments arise once the community is in the presence of development projects. Schutte (2000: 6) notes as follows: “When projects are proposed, one often hears the following comment: we have already tried it, but it didn't work! Or: it should have happened long ago. When we needed it, no one listened!” These comments should sound some warnings. Schutte concludes also that the timing of a successful community development project should be of the greatest importance in implementing development policy. He acknowledges that the right project undertaken either too early or too late will lead to failure insofar as success depends upon timing. Identifying needs, planning and implementing development projects with the community still remain essential to preventing and solving issues relating to timing.

2.4.3 Bottom-up/top-down policy formation

If this study were to research participation at grassroots level, it would reveal the top-down policy bias that rural communities have always endured. To shift from top-down to bottom-up policy requires a lengthy process, as community developers using top-down approaches remain reluctant to accept change. Some statements drawn respectively from jury members and elite officials can illustrate this: “officials treated us with the contempt they thought we deserved; the officials were patronising first; the idea of a citizen jury is quite novel but we must not lose sight of the fact that running a city is a professional business.” (Woodward, 2000: 237)

On the contrary, the shift toward the bottom-up policy formulation needs interaction and relationships from relevant stakeholders who play a significant role in planning and implementing for relevant outcomes. According to O'Donovan (2000: 227 referring to Smith 1993), the shift was assumed to be successful when “Policy network analysis

conceptualises the relationships in terms of a continuum between two ideal types of networks, namely policy communities and issue networks.” These relationships are the way the policy process is negotiated through a set of bargaining processes. Importantly, as most current literature advises, this is the way developing poor rural communities may be contextualised through the cultural approach, by which institutional thinking can establish the criteria by which policy options are considered. The related issue to be raised is 'How to form bottom-up policy?'

The quote above is a starting point for both O'Donovan (2000: 227) and Smith (1993) through their belief in networking. Rural communities are not isolated islands; they form part of a system made of governmental and private sectors. Contributing to ascertaining a bottom-up approach is a thorough understanding of implementing local development that, in turn, implies a broad participation at the local community level. The interpretation of participation in local development as empowerment is the main preoccupation here. Karabanow (1999: 319) notes, “Referred to as a 'bottom-up' approach, locality development is concerned with process and emphasises community competence and social integration.” This provides a fitting answer to the question 'Who should decide on development projects?' which was part of the survey undertaken among 538 households in 70 villages in Isafahan, in the Islamic Republic in 1989. Shokrullah and Wright (2001: 60) note, “89 percent of respondents said they themselves should decide about their own problems with the help of the shouras [Islamic councils].” Our rural communities need an opportunity to respond to this question and to acquire real power to freely decide on their own destiny.

2.4.4 Frameworks for analysing policy and practice

This section concentrates essentially on the stakeholders in policy-making and implementation who are relevant for the successful participation of rural communities. It groups those role-players within three categories: the state, civil society and non-governmental organisations.

Interactive State

For quite a while, the state has been gaining more importance in the everyday life of its citizens, and a change is being experienced. But in terms of community development, Bennell *et al.* (2000: 5) note, "...the state is no longer regarded as the agent of development, but co-exists among an array of private sector and civil society stakeholders as well as [the] donor community...This new approach, based on broad and intensive participation of all key stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation, generates high levels of ownership that are essential if poverty reduction strategies are to be successful." There is an urgent need to analyse ways in which public sector organizations influence development policy-making and the role of outside partners.

Development policy agrees upon a multidimensional facet, and this is currently a common understanding widespread in development solving issues. Mackintosh *et al.* (1992: 1) "treat development policy making as an activity of many different types of public institution: not just governments, but also aid agencies, non-governmental organizations, community groups, collectives and political movements." This is a new approach making broader the sphere of role-players and reducing the development policy concept to simple actions of governments. Suthasupa (2000: 82) corroborated the power of such a holistic approach to development policy-making with emphasis on the community. He says, the "...new development paradigm is a thinking process, now called 'Bencha Pakee' (three partners) involving people organisation, public, private, and business sectors and academicians to join in the development process through thinking and learning interactively". In the same way, O'Donovan (2000: 226) is right in affirming, "The policy process is regarded as negotiated rather than predetermined...it is seen as involving a complicated set of bargaining process[es]." The multidimensional aspect of policy-making questions the exclusive power of the State and limits its role to that of an interactive actor.

The ultimate conclusion is that more partners are becoming involved in policy-making. Further governmental intervention is restricted to interacting and more policy implementation expects successful outcomes.

Civil society organisations

The role of civil society organizations can be understood from the everyday life of rural communities, which are free to make choices as, discussed in this chapter (Section 2.2.5). Consolidating pluralistic democracy and promoting sustainable development are essentially accepted as the main indicators of an active, informed and viable civil society that can make choices and can effectively play its role in community participation. These worthy tasks can mainly be credited to civil society organisations for their obvious ability to form a vital link between the diverse interests of the society and governing structures.

However, it is generally true nowadays that civil society achievements have decreased. The responsibility for that situation has so far attracted the attention of numerous analysts. The African Centre for Civil Society (1998: 11) believes that “In Africa there have been several factors militating against the growth and active participation of civil society organizations in matters of good governance and articulation of popular interests, including weak economic bases leading them to dominance by the elite, [and] underdevelopment of organisational structures that hinder their effective participation in the democratisation process.” As such, these constraints to making community choices at grassroots are here denounced.

Wherever civil society organizations have been prevented from emerging, there has followed, in turn, a societal dichotomy that functions as a heavy obstacle to community participation. Both national and local-level elites and the community become far removed from relevant co-operation with one another. Some while ago, Heeger (1974: 8-10) anticipated such a situation, saying that it would lead to a community participation crisis. This crisis tends to be permanent when development policy implementation in Third World countries bases its relevance on interactions with the questionable elites, which

affect in turn the whole community. Heeger's view rests on the fact that the centralisation of policy becomes more powerful within a theoretical decentralisation. Such a situation occurs in which where decentralisation has become a required way of political behaviour. It is a truly confusing context, which leads to failure in community-based cooperation with community development partners.

Meanwhile, countries that value civil society organisations have set up linkages between the government and the grassroots levels, and have satisfied the following suggestion raised by Reynolds *et al.* (1976: 17) for the Kenyan context. For example, a District Development committee should become "the locus of all significant decision-making on the development at the local level and therefore needs more adequate representation of local interest." As far as this study is specifically concerned with Rwanda, the above advice would carry more meaning if the decision-making could take off from villages or communities. Commune Development Committees (CDCs) would shed more light on empirical reality.

Non-Governmental Organisations

Wherever the role of the State dominates other stakeholders in development policy-making and implementation, community participation in rural communities remains weak and questionable. For instance, many problems in the services delivered by public organisation originate through of government failures. The neo-classical contributions (Martinussen, 1997: 262) explain those failures as follows: "1) self-seeking and calculating politicians and other actors, who form coalitions to control their narrow interests; 2) corrupt behaviour among politicians and government officials; 3) lack of, or absence of, competent administrators...and 4) general lack of knowledge about the private sector and its way of functioning." These factors have induced serious failures, as there is an urgency to involve private organisations within communities, the primary beneficiaries. Some authors, like Turner (1997: 200), have termed private organisation a

'third sector', which includes a wide range of components, such as national non-governmental organisations, community groups, professional associations, residential committees, trade unions, kinship groups and cooperatives.

This study assumes that the third sector is a suitable target for investigation it is likely to portray some partnership aspects of community development with non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The former are particularly encouraged for their basic principle of developing communities from below with and on behalf of grassroots. Accordingly, Mackintosh *et al.* (1992: 8) prefers them to non-governmental aid agencies saying, "While there are NGOs which do fulfil this 'empowering' role, other non-governmental aid agencies are operating in a top-down manner which extends foreign influence while fragmenting rather than consolidating local initiatives." The long-term results of such non-governmental aid agencies, and many others following the same pattern, can be expressed in terms of replication of policies and programmes contributing to increasing community dependence. Buckland (1998: 238) notes, "Replication generally leads to increased dependence on donor funds and expanding internal bureaucratic structure, both pressures that complicate NGO governance and accountability." This is a relevant advice for NGOs working at the local level and historically community-based in order to better qualify for an empowering role than NGOs that are colonially inspired.

This means that the state should be just a single partner among many relevant stakeholders, such as non-governmental organisation associations, in matters promoting community participation. Therefore, working together in community participation remains complex. The state should direct its intention towards a careful division of labour by preventing, or compensating for, failures from either side.

To sum up, this chapter fully discussed the key concepts of the topic of this study. At the same time, the way community participation is initiated was analysed as well as relevant stakeholders for its implementation. The following chapter concentrates on principles and policies guidelines for community development in South Africa. These guidelines are later tested from the identified concrete South African case studies.

Chapter three: Introduction to principles, policy and practice for rural community development in South Africa

3.1 Literature review on principles and policies for rural community development in South Africa

3.1.1 Introduction

An introduction to the South African profile will enable the study to clearly grasp the principles and policies guidelines for community development. Accordingly, a number of indicators are presented to describe South Africa in terms of community development.

South Africa is a large country located in Southern Africa, the “population in 1999 was 40.5 million...[and it] has eleven official language groups... English is...the most widely used language for all peoples” (Beck, 2000: 3). The population is distributed over an area amounting to 472,281 square miles (Beck, 2000: 1) and in 1999, 50% of the population was rural (The World Bank, 2001: 128). The Afrikaans word *veld* designates the rural areas as “(1) grazing or farming land, and (2) more generally, the landscape or countryside, flat or hilly, or no urban land” (Beck, 2000: 2). The World Bank (2001: 128) estimates that South Africa had a 12.1% arable land area in 1998 and 0.36 hectare arable land per capita in the period 1996-1998 (The World Bank, 2001: 132). It is also estimated that 18% of the labour force in 1980 were males against 16% female (The World Bank, 2001: 54). Furthermore, in 1999 adult illiteracy was estimated at 14% for males aged 15 years and over against 16% for females. At the same time, illiteracy for youth (15-24 years) was estimated at 9% for both males and females (The World Bank, 2001: 96). Generally, Mangcu affirms that “Seventy percent of South Africa’s unemployed are unskilled and are mostly in the forty-four to fifty-five age group.” (Tulchin & Brown, 2002: 99) The educational levels presented above may correlate with the issues of poverty in South Africa. The World Bank (2000: 318) estimates that 24% of the population were living on less than US\$1 a day within the period 1984-1997. In comparing rural with urban areas, the same reference notes that 86% against 40%

respectively of the population lived below 2/3 of the national mean per capita income in 1991-1997. The “great majority of rural people are poor...”(Ntsebeza, 1999: 9)

The administrative structure of local governance is also an important feature of the South African profile. The post-1994 South African Constitution, as well as legislation flowing from it, recognises the co-existence of a dual structure. Ntsebeza (1999: 1) notes, “On the one hand, it enshrines a Bill of Rights which is based on democratic principles, including elected representative government; on the other hand, the Constitution acclaims the role of unelected traditional authorities...” The latter represent a factor in the success of implementing state policies, according to the extent to which they are involved. The following illustration is more eloquent: “The refusal of traditional leaders to accept government policies and legislation is at the heart of current debate on tenure reform in South Africa’s countryside... Traditional leaders are vehemently opposed to the transfer of land to legal entities, and want land to be transferred to traditional or tribal authorities.” (Ntsebeza, 1999: 3-11) The authority of traditional leaders is based on the trust placed in them by the community concerned. The concern of land tenure reform is raised while “...rural areas in South Africa are marked by a variety of tenure forms or which have been shaped through the interaction between indigenous common property systems, modern, western systems of individual ownership, and tenure systems imposed by the state for political purposes” (<http://www.nlc.co.za/mdtenref.htm>). What is evident here is that traditional leaders are strong stakeholders in matters involving the community, including community development.

In dealing with the problems of unskilled people, of unemployment, of rural poverty and of related imbalances between rural and urban areas, the efforts of community development in South Africa have been characterised by the way in which human actions have been initiated. The apartheid and post-apartheid periods witnessed the development of a vision. During the apartheid period, community development did not recognise the contribution of the communities. According to Oranje *et al.* (2000: 13), planning at local level was in most cases:

- Done on a racially segregated basis and within a top-down apartheid superstructure;

- Concerned with the perceived needs of the privileged groups in society;
- Of the master plan nature, the domain of the technical expert (with even the privileged sectors of society in some cases being allowed little more than once-off input via a questionnaire and/or a view of the plan at the end of the road [process]);
- Silent on issues of environmental sustainability, economic viability, poverty alleviation and social health and welfare.

To deal with the social disparities that resulted from such planning, some state initiatives are now faced with challenges. Mangcu illustrates that, “At present [the] South African government is proposing an income grant for the poor and unemployed as an anti-poverty mechanism. My argument is that such a strategy is unlikely to be effective in reducing poverty unless it is coordinated with community development and job-creation strategies.” (Tulchin & Brown, 2002: 93) Instead, Mangcu assumes that the government would initiate development programmes whose success will “ultimately be judged in terms of their capacity to expand people’s choices in the long term – one of the advantages of asset ownership.” (Tulchin & Brown, 2002: 95) This assumption is compliant with the post-apartheid community development initiative, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which is illuminated by basic principles like the community participatory approach, and which serves as a good basis for making community choices. Other principles that are relevant (Deegan, 2001: 115-117) are:

- The programme had to be integrated and sustainable;
- Development was not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It was about active involvement and growing empowerment;
- Through democratisation, people would be enabled to participate in decision-making.

This chapter will test to what extent the above basic principles enable communities to increase their choices within the process of implementing development projects.

3.1.2 Identification of principles in the South African context

As the introductory chapter indicates, the study is guided by three principles. The first targets a shift toward the bottom-up approach to planning. This approach should enable the community to have more choices and to gain control over their lives through acquiring development skills. The second involves networking and partnerships of relevant stakeholders concerned with community development. The last principle guides the study in examining the different areas for participation in development projects by communities.

In this chapter, the research process analyses in detail the RDP's principles and policies guidelines for rural community development in South Africa. The same has to be done for other community development policies flowing from the RDP, such as the Integrated Development Planning, and the Local Economic Development. The chapter will also summarise the above policies and programme in terms of the above three principles. Finally, the chapter will test to what extent empirical South African case studies comply with the principles and policies guidelines to be identified from the South African programme and policies.

3.1.3 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

During the apartheid period, community development implied weak community participation and poor empowerment of the community with development skills. This section aims to analyse the changes made to date within the post-apartheid community development policy-making. Particular attention will be paid to the extent to which the advent of post-apartheid municipal planning, which can be considered a subsequent evolution of past planning, empowers the community with development skills so that it can act as an active participant. One requirement was a shift toward making the community the central focus during the process of planning. The shift has materialised to date within the variety of demands that include national political issues, local development issues and labour, as articulated by civic leaders. The same demands

resulted later in the inspiration for the RDP. Nussbaum (1997: 11) lists the demands as follows:

- Releasing detained people and lifting the restrictions on released detainees
- Removing troops from the townships
- Stopping security force harassment of residents
- Recognising the trade union movements
- Scrapping grazing fees (urban and rural)
- Upgrading a living wage for domestic workers
- Providing proper health and educational services, which should also be desegregated
- Lowering rents
- Stopping unfair labour practices
- Consolidating local government structures.

In providing the inspiration for the RDP, the community has made a contribution “to address the severe social and economic imbalances that characterise South African society. These include imbalances that exist in relation with the urban/rural divide, race and gender.” (Oranje et al., 2000: 17) Addressing these social imbalances is said to be the primary goal of the RDP, and, for it to do so, various means of contacting and informing the community are discussed. Regarding the empowerment of the community, Oranje *et al.* (2000: 30) outline a pair of warnings as well:

- Mass meeting are not always the best way to get people to talk;
- There are many different, creative techniques of participation (e.g. focus groups and participatory rural appraisal) that can be used at various stages in the process.

Thus, “Participation should not mean only attending meetings, but that different views and perspectives are elicited and that these will be taken forward. Issues need to be 'uncovered' in the facilitation process.” (Cole & Panell, 2000: 69) Attendances at meetings are associated with specific weaknesses that creative techniques have to eliminate. For instance, the literature refers to community forums at which people generate ideas and get a bearing on the community’s perspectives on particular issues. A

community forum is widely cited because it “allows for face-to-face discussions between participants, demonstrates the level of community interest, and allows for the sharing and discussion of different viewpoints.” (Gray & Mackintosh, 1998: 85)

Such warnings recommend, “The RDP...be a 'people driven' programme...within a vibrant civil society.” (Parliament of the RSA, 1994: 60) The creative techniques desire that community empowerment be viewed as a precondition for a people driven programme. “Communities and organisations need to empower themselves in setting up projects” (Parliament of the RSA, 1994: 60) and to get involved in “a process fed by information, knowledge and experience, that brings them into confidence in their own abilities.” (Swanepoel & de Beer, 1996: 27) The RDP says that this process provide organisational skills. Therefore, “Support for the organisational development of associations, in particular in poor marginalised areas where the skills and resources for participation may be less developed than in better-off areas” (RSA, 1998: 34) is the key variable for community empowerment. At the same time, the approach to acquiring such organisational skills stresses, “Increasingly, organisations of civil society will be involved in planning and policy-making through the variety of boards, commissions, forums and other venues by which experience is gained and skills are acquired.” (The Parliament of the RSA, 1994: 56-57) This is a process that needs a clear distribution of roles among relevant partners involved in community development who are expected to network, as the second principle outlines. The RDP determines the relevant partners and respective roles with reference to community development during the apartheid period.

The definition of relevant community stakeholders involved in community development emerges from the process of putting right the situation described of the apartheid period, during which, “...planning [had] been top-down, fragmented and focused on regulation and control... RDP White Paper advocates a major shift towards progressive planning approaches which are integrated, multifaceted, participatory and long-term.” (Harrison, 2001: 185) The advocacy of this reference clearly relates to the vision of the Constitution in terms of developmental planning that bears the objectives for the developmental local

government. The following objectives are the most relevant for this specific study (Coetzee, 2000: 12):

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

Through the process of deduction, communities and related organisations, as well as local government, are identified as partners in community development. In proposing the shift toward the bottom-up approach to planning, the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development Programme (RSA, 1994: 59) states, "...the Government will formulate an integrated and sustainable rural development policy in consultation with rural people, their organisations and stakeholders." For this purpose, the community needs to empower itself with development skills for "setting up projects in cooperation with Local and Provincial Governments." (Parliament of the RSA, 1994: 60)

The inclusive approach to planning introduced by the RDP involves some social categories that are usually excluded from participating in community initiatives: women, the youth and disabled people are those mostly cited. In South Africa, as well as elsewhere, some common obstacles are strongly raised as constraints to the participation and empowerment of women, as illustrated by the White Paper on Local Government: "...there are many obstacles to the equal and effective participation of women, such as social values and norms, as well as practical issues such as the lack of transport, household responsibilities, personal safety, etc." (RSA, 1998: 20) However, ideally, it should be "imperative that participation of all individuals in the community is encouraged. It is important that every community member should be kept informed of any plans and programmes taking place in their neighbourhood." (Gumbi, 2001: 43) Swanepoel and Beer (1996: 26) concur by affirming that every person, whether relatively poor, poor or the poorest of the poor, should be part of the decision-making mechanism regarding his or her development, and the case should not differ between women and men, younger and elder people, disabled and able-bodied people. Being community driven, the RDP bears the power to minimise this social exclusion. Parliament itself

(RSA, 1994: 184) notes that, “The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all...people and...country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future.” Therefore, the RDP could be viewed as providing a solution to the abolition of such social biases and subsequently as opening up the boundaries of partnership in community development.

To promote the participation of such marginalised and socially excluded groups in the community development process, South African policy documents provide a number of guidelines to address the impediments induced by the social exclusion. On the one hand, the Parliament of South Africa notes on behalf of the RDP, “The Government will design, in consultation with disabled people, a comprehensive programme for the disabled which will enhance their engagement in society and remove discriminatory practices against them...”(RSA, 1994: 59). In seeking to involve deprived people as much as possible in community development, section 3(1) (e) of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 points out, “the skills and capacities of disadvantaged persons involved in local development, should be developed.” (Meyer & Theron, 2000: 30) At the same time, the municipality is requested to promote an awareness of all social groups within the local community. The White Paper on Local Government argues, “Municipalities must adopt inclusive approaches to fostering community participation, including strategies aimed at removing obstacles to, and actively encouraging, the participation of marginalised groups in the local community.” (RSA, 1998: 20) This statement has led some authors to conclude that the consideration of the marginalised and excluded people is a basic principle that forms the foundation of effective partnership in the planning process. Coetzee (2000: 14) adds further details to this principle, the following being most relevant to this section:

- The need to consider the special concerns of people with physical disability, elderly people and others who have traditionally been marginalized when devising community participation procedures and mechanisms and;
- The need to take note of gender issues in participatory process

To sum up, the above illustrations cover sex, age and disability, and living conditions, as key variables requiring attention in order to improve the partnership in community development (see **Table 3.1**). The White Paper on RDP goes beyond the community in order to widen the partnership geographically: “To facilitate local and sub-regional consultation and participation, Provincial Governments should encourage the establishment of sub-regional and/or local forums which will consist of representatives of all the stakeholders in the area.”(RSA, 1994: 56) Here, the forums are identified as the mechanisms for involving as many partners as possible in community development. However, the RDP not only indicates how to empower the community with development skills, and determines the relevant partners and respective roles they have to play, but it also refers to different areas where the identified partners have to play their assigned roles.

In connection with the third principle, the community, as well as the relevant partners, must participate fully in the life phases of rural development projects. The RDP serves as an illustration for this section. With reference to Figure 1.1, the cycle life of rural development projects could include: needs assessment, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. The White Paper on Local Government interprets community involvement in such areas as a means of exercising democracy. Through democracy, the community contributes to “ensuring that all affected parties have a say in determining and prioritising needs, preparing strategies to address them, and monitoring the delivery and outcomes of such strategies.” (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 15) The RDP is quite clear on what the areas of community participation should be. The RDP focuses on the insider and/or outsider forums in local government that “allow organised formations to initiate policies and/or influence formulation, as well as participate in monitoring and evaluation activities.” (RSA, 1998: 33) In connection with the RDP, the Municipal System Bills, 2000 (MSB) is referred to as being an example in the area of community participation: “The MSB has already made some movement towards accommodating the implications of the new definition of municipality by stating that communities must be consulted in the formulation of the process, including decisions around the form that community participation will take in the preparation of the IDP.” (Oranje *et al.* (2000:

29) The view expressed by the MSB has resulted in a number of participatory principles as presented in **Table 3.1**.

Table 3. 1: Principles for community participation

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to consider the special concerns of people with physical disabilities and other disadvantages when devising community participation procedures and mechanisms; • The need to take note of gender issues and concerns in the participatory process as highlighted in the Framework for Transforming Gender Relations in South Africa, released in August 2000; • The importance of taking into account language preferences within a municipality; and • The need to ensure that the participatory processes are in line with the financial and administrative capacity of the municipality
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Source: Oranje *et al.* (2000: 30)

The RDP has thus made a significant contribution in terms of the identified principles in section 3.12. The following section will assess the Integrated Development Planning in the same way.

3.1.4 Integrated Development Planning (IDP)

The IDP is a district approach to planning that dates from 1996, the empowerment of the community with development skills. Since 1996, the introduction of the IDP has become a legal requirement for local councils in terms of the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment, 1996 (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 3). There is a close relationship between the IDP and RDP. Both have “emerged from multiple origins in post-apartheid South Africa as part of an evolution of planning and development theory that was linked to specifically South African conditions...” (Harrison, 2001:177). The same reference stresses the point that “...the IDP was a tool to drive a need-based approach in which equity, institutional transformation and participatory governance were the main objectives.” In viewed of this need-based approach, the empowerment of the community with development skills is interpreted as being the relevant basis for the approach.

The Forum for Effective Planning and Development (FEPD) defined the IDP as “A participatory approach to...support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between

sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalised” (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 3). To realise the expected outcomes from community development, the White Paper on Local Government also pays particular attention to poor and marginalised people from the practical aspect of building community capacity: “Actively seeking to empower the most marginalised groups in the community and encouraging their participation.” (RSA, 1998: 22) The White Paper stresses community empowerment and the improvement of community living conditions as the main characteristics of the IDP. Oranje *et al.* (2000: 17) argue later, “The strategies, projects and programmes that are generated through the process of Integrated Development Planning must therefore be tested in terms of the extent to which they assist in empowering and improving the living conditions of the disadvantaged.”

Whereas the improvement of community living conditions materialises within the optimal allocation of scarce resources among sectors and geographical areas and across the population, empowerment is seen as ongoing mutual learning. A specific instance of such empowerment is the IDP which is seen to be “a complex and evolving process that should involve ongoing mutual learning, and should have the flexibility to adapt to changing conditions and to weaknesses as they become apparent.” (Oranje *et al.* (2000: 5) It could be interpreted that ongoing mutual learning is responsible for generating skills, experience and knowledge that result in the flexibility to adapt to changing conditions. The IDP intends to perpetuate the skills, experience and knowledge within negotiating forums, as noted in, “the notion of integrated development planning began to crystallise within various negotiating forums that had been set up to forge agreement around development concerns...” (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 14). The use of negotiating forums is viewed as the means by which “Integrated Development Planning is transforming top-down planning practices by giving ordinary citizens a say in development issues affecting them.” (Coetzee 2000: 13)

This view of the empowerment of the community with development skills is clearly in line with the understanding by which the White Paper on Local Government designated the IDP: “IDPs should be viewed as incremental plans. In the annual process of review, new or changed priorities can be incorporated.” (RSA, 1998: 28) The incremental nature of the plans could be linked to changing priorities. In terms of the proposed analysis, it could be argued that freedom for community development planning results from ongoing mutual learning. Development skills are also derived from ongoing mutual learning, and, in turn, give rise to empowerment: “In relation [to] Integrated Development Planning this suggests that policy frameworks and legislation produced by national and provincial government should be of a minimalist nature and should not unnecessarily constrain the freedom of local authorities to develop their own contextually appropriate forms of planning.” (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 8) At the same time, development policy should allow the maximum flexibility and ingenuity in local spheres of government, in order to recognise the differences in capacity between provinces. Planning has to be adapted to fit local needs.

The conclusion drawn is that the extent to which the IDP plans to empower the community with development skills designates its approach as one of autonomous problem solving. Therefore, the IDP manifests itself as a community-based development approach to planning, with a number of supporting features. Because the IDP features have become a legal requirement for local councils, they are seen as principles for rural community development. The same features are currently assimilated into guidelines for the municipal planning, as detailed in **Table 3.2**.

Table 3. 2: Municipal planning tasks

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ensure maximum involvement of all communities and stakeholders;• Be directed at those in greatest need;• Strive to break down apartheid privilege, geography and institutional structures;• Be aimed at ensuring integrated and sustainable development; and• Be focused on delivery.

Source: Oranje *et al.* (2000: 14)

This could be mean that the IDP is considered as being relevant for empowering the community with the required development skills in order to deal with daily challenges. Various development skills are required as preconditions for municipal planning tasks. The development skills that the community requires for its empowerment indicate a certain attitude to networking and partnerships. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, development planning in apartheid South Africa was criticised for its poor community participation and empowerment. Some references note that the early 1980s were characterised by “a limited attempt to use planning [and during that period] the dire consequences of fragmented apartheid-based planning were becoming apparent even to agents of state.” (Oranje *et al.*, 2000: 14) In contrast, there has been a noticeable growth in planning at local government level during the post-apartheid period. The IDP bears the power of minimising the former obstacles to community participation. The approach required is to pull together the involved partners, in terms of the second principle. Networking is identified as the key variable for these partners.

Whereas the state intervenes in community-based Local Economic Development (LED) through the local government, partnership for the IDP involves each of the government spheres that is meant to have the competence to exercise its assigned power. In establishing the relationship between the different spheres, the Director of the Centre for Municipal Governance also defines networking: “The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (the Constitution) established three spheres of government – the national, provincial and local spheres. Each sphere of government is distinctive, yet interdependent and inter-related (Section 40[1]).” (Zybrands, 2000: 3) This means that community stakeholders embrace all the spheres of government. Rural community stakeholders are involved in networking within the local governmental sphere, where they are expected to interact during the process of policy-making. As an illustration, “the White Paper on Local Government, 1998 stipulates that municipalities must work with all sections of the community to build a shared vision and to set goals for development. A municipality must represent the interest of its community” (Meyer and Theron, 2000: 27).

In terms of networking, the IDP is inclusive. It involves both private and the public relevant partners. The idea of inclusiveness and networking is summarised as follows: “Integrated Development Planning for local government is...a form of planning that involves linkage and co-ordination between all sectors of activity that impact on the operation of local authority.” (Oranje *et al.* (2000: 4) The reference to impacting on the operation of a local authority clearly documents the role of the state as a single partner rather than community development agent. Specifically, the IDP needs to empower the rural community with development skills that will allow it to act significantly together with relevant sectors on an equal footing. Therefore, the areas for networking are discussed. The IDP is conceived of as being locally driven: “Local communities should be involved in planning and policy-making as partners in development programmes.” (Meyer & Theron, 2000: 28) The context in which the IDP originates finds support in Parliament: “...the programme will be implemented through the widest possible consultation and participation of the citizenry of South Africa... Structured consultation processes at all levels of government will be introduced to ensure participation in policy-making and planning, as well as project implementation.” (RSA, 1994: 55) Technical competencies and abilities required for such participation are considered to be part of development skills. Development is one of the items discussed within the Local Economic Development policy.

3.1.5 Local Economic Development (LED)

The empowerment of the community with development skills is manifested in the LED as a locally driven process. Wherever the LED policy flourishes, the result is seen to be the empowering of local communities with the abilities to identify actual community needs, and to create new job opportunities. Thus, the LED prepares communities to become responsible for their own destiny.

The White Paper on Local Government stresses the autonomous responsibility of the community, with the support of government: “National frameworks and support from other levels of government are critical, but...rural communities increasingly have to find

within themselves ways to make their settlements more sustainable.” (RSA, 1998: 21) Support from government is concerned with empowering communities with competencies and organisational skills. Inasmuch as community members are more concerned with the economic prosperity on their own local community (International Republican Institute, 1998: 41-44), empowerment would materialise in the sustainability of projects initiated by the LED. Gray (cited by Gumbi, 2001: 152) gauges such a project’s sustainability by “the degree to which the community owns the project...[and]...this owning can happen only if the project is theirs from the beginning, which means that the community assumes responsibility for work that needs to be done with the guidance of the community development worker.” This means the sustainability of a development project is a long-term effect of acquired development skills, knowledge and experience. In connection with the second principle, the following paragraphs discuss networking and partnerships. They also establish a relationship between networking and the above-cited abilities with which the community needs to become empowered.

It has become customary to include the partnership of stakeholders in community development among development skills. With reference to Local Economic Development, President Nelson Mandela assumes that it requires a number of skills. He points out that working with communities in partnership for development is the major skill that should be built up more intensively (President Nelson Mandela, *Opening Address to Parliament, 7 February 1997*). Accordingly, “LED involves bringing...people together to work jointly... The important thing is to get members of the community working together on issues that are important both to the individual and the community.” (International Republican Institute, 1998: 41-44) The community is valued as an important stakeholder as seen in section 3 (1)(d) of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995: “members of community affected by local development should actively participate in the process of local development.” (Meyer & Theron, 2000: 30)

In addition to the community, the contribution of local authority to the success of LED is stressed highly. The local authority and community stakeholders (such as businessmen,

trade unions and community-based organisations) are cited as the main partners for LED and their respective roles are discussed. The relationship established between the community and the local authority manifests itself in a practical manner of cooperation. It is agreed that "...the unique powers and duties of local government and working in partnership with community stakeholders..." (International Republican Institute, 1998: 1) are identified as factors leading to success within LED experiences. The contribution of local authority is oriented in terms of community development. The involvement of local authority is manifested in the form of facilitation that targets the inclusive need-based aspects of autonomously handled problems in the management of municipality. Such facilitation is defined in Chapter 7 (Section 153a) of the South African Constitution as follows: "A municipality must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to basic needs of the community and to promote the social and economic development of the community." The reference emphasises the required preconditions to the community development approach to planning, driven by community participation and empowerment. The role of municipality is demonstrated in the way in which it generates the structures and administration appropriate to the community needs approach. The White Paper on Local Government describes the contribution of local authority as the factor for "Responsive problem-solving and commitment to working in open partnerships with business, trade unions and community-based organisations." (RSA, 1998: 22) With regard to the third principle, this reference may materialise within specific areas, discussed below, from good governance.

The reformist approaches to governing people are increasingly focusing on clarifying the role of both the local authority and community stakeholders, with regard to good governance. The Mayor of Cape Town, Mfeketo, outlined the understanding of good governance as follows: "Good governance is far more than the efficient and effective running of the administration. It is about how decisions are taken, how communities participate to influence those decisions and how we empower communities to play this role." (Mfeketo, 2000: 1) Within such an understanding, good governance describes community participation as a cornerstone of municipal management. Mfeketo also establishes the relationship between governance and democracy that appears to be the

prerequisite of community participation: “Governance and democracy are essential to ensure maximum participation and ownership of the decision-making process at local level” (Mfeketo, 2000: 10) and contribute to increasing the community’s choices.

Having tested the three principles against the South African programme and policies for rural community development, they can be affirmed as valid in the South African context.

The RDP proposes fulfilling the vision of the first principle through contact with an information system. A number of mechanisms, such as community forums, boards, commissions and associations are stressed as being relevant tools for such a system. These tools highly are much valued because they initiate a facilitation process that enables the community to generate different viewpoints and community awareness of the issues it is faced with. Clearly, the different mechanisms serve as platforms from which experience is gained and skills are acquired, and from which community choices are increased. The IDP interprets contact with an information system as involving on-going mutual learning, which is viewed as a key variable for changing and adapting conditions to the process of community development. In this way, the IDP is seen as an incremental plan. Along with the RDP and IDP, the LED agrees that sustainable support to community consists of empowering communities with technical competencies and organisational skills.

In connection with principle two, the RDP is viewed as an inclusive approach to planning. The municipality is requested to adopt such an inclusive approach by establishing networking and partnerships. In so doing, it is committed to enhancing the engagement of marginalized groups in the local community and to removing discriminatory practices against them. The RDP describes the following as being partners in community development: rural people, organisations, community stakeholders, and marginalized groups in the local community. The IDP also appears to

be inclusive. Involving of both private and public partners, the IDP mainly includes the local authority that is committed to working with all sections of the community to build a shared vision and goals for development. The established network for the LED includes partnerships, which are the result of just one of many development skills. The unique powers and duties of local government, and working in partnership with community stakeholders in LED-based projects are strongly confirming this statement.

With regard to the third principle, the community is regarded as an active partner among the identified stakeholders for the RDP. There is consensus that organisational support to form community institutions is necessary. What is stressed is that such institutions should be committed to initiating policies and/or influencing formulation as well as participating in monitoring and evaluation activities. The IDP does indeed seek to ensure community participation in policymaking, as well as in project implementation. At the same time and in terms of the LED, the good governance approach to governing people is assimilated the extent to which people are involved in influencing decisions and empowered to play this role. Within this view, good governance as well as democracy is viewed as a means to ensuring maximum participation that enables the community to be part of the decision-making process at local level.

In conclusion, the review on principles and policies guidelines for community development in South Africa has brought together information needed to respond to the research questions regarding policy-making as outlined in Chapter one. In light of the shift toward the bottom-up approach and the three related principles, the understanding of community participation and empowerment in policy-making has been clarified.

3.2 South African case studies

The previous theoretical part of this chapter (**Section 3.1**) dealt with the principles for rural community development in South Africa and also discussed some related governmental policies. In this section, the selected South African case studies are viewed

as mechanisms for the implementation of these principles and policies. Particular attention is to be paid to the extent to which principles and related policies fit these mechanisms. The appropriate research instruments are discussed first.

3.2.1 Design of the research instruments for data collection

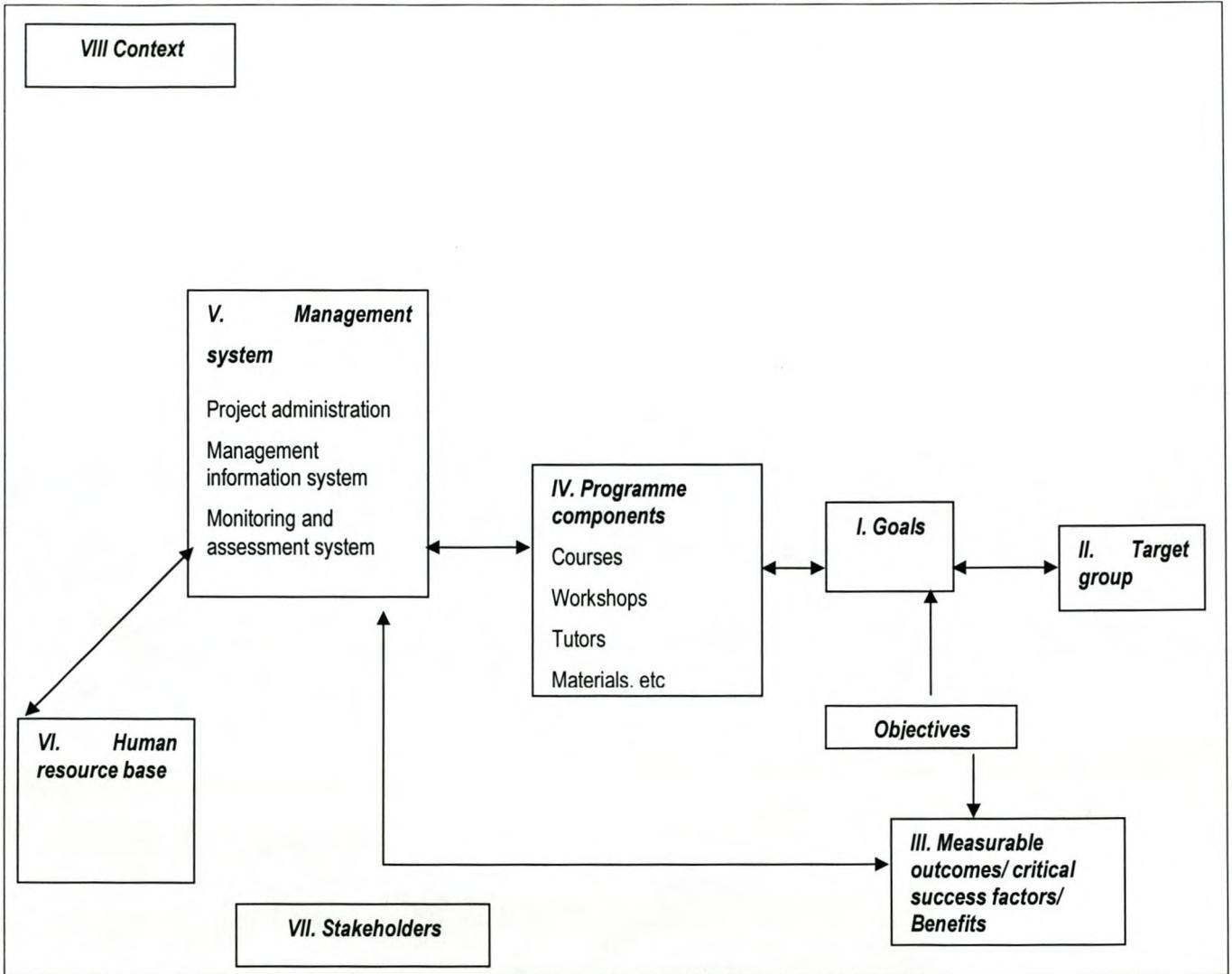
The design of the research instruments refers to the identification of the significant dimensions that allow for the analysis of participation and empowerment. The identified dimensions to be described are:

- The name of the project
- The criteria for the selection of the project
- The description of the project
- The evaluation of the project outcomes or benefits
- The evaluation of participation and empowerment resulting from the project

The analysis of such dimensions intends to find significant responses to the research questions formulated on the implementation of community-based development policies. Reference to the development project life cycle (**see Figure 1.1**) will enable the study to clearly gather information on the process of participation and empowerment. In particular, the description of the development project is discussed through a number of features that characterise all such projects, as shown in **Figure 3.1**.

The case studies concerned are: the Masithuthuke Women's Organisation (MWO), the Zimiselini Community Project (ZCP), and the Stutterheim Development Foundation (SDF). The approach to the cited case studies is exclusively documentary analysis. The analysis of the MWO and ZCP is based on the original fieldwork results collected by Gumbi (2001) in *An Assessment of the Extent of Empowerment Through Community Participation: A Kwazulu-Natal Rural Development Comparison*. The introductory chapter pointed out the relevant details of this concern.

Figure 3.1: Conceptual model of a development project



Source: Mouton (2001: 343)

3.2.2 Masithuthuke Women’s Organisation (MWO)

3.2.2.1 Name of the project

The Masithuthuke Women’s Organisation (MWO) is a women’s organisation that inspires participation. In the words of the beneficiaries themselves the “organisation was to help ourselves as unemployed mothers of small children.” Gumbi (2001: 153)

3.2.2.2 Criteria for the selection of the project

As indicated in the introductory chapter, the MWO is selected as a case study because, finally, it was unsuccessful. Gumbi (2001: 150) verifies the failure of the MWO as follows: “Such a project according to empirical evidence...did not provide spin-offs in terms of empowering communities with knowledge and skills to deal with community needs and problems.” One of the management committee members had to “confess that the community development project was not a success at all...”(Gumbi, 2001: 173). The study intends to learn from what went wrong while the project was running in order to relate to this participation and empowerment.

3.2.2.3 Description of the project

Figure 3.1 above is accepted as an appropriate methodological approach to test the practice of the participatory principles and policies within the MWO. It enables the study to interpret community participation from the relationships established among the features included in the Figure. Therefore, community participation is viewed from the extent to which a development project “is conceptualised and designed (by the intended beneficiaries) to address the needs...” (Mouton, 2001: 343). Attention is paid to the network the relationships established among the presented features with the purpose of fully involving and empowering the beneficiary community.

Goals, objectives and the target group

Within the KwaNgwanase area in Maputaland, mothers with children under five form the target group. To cope with the cyclic poverty faced by these mothers and their children, the MWO was conceptualised, designed and implemented. The formal goal was “to provide employment avenues through self-help and community participation for women with children under five in Maputaland...” (Gumbi, 2001: 173). As widely agreed for development projects, “goals need to be formulated in as concrete and observable a manner as possible.” (Mouton, 2001: 344) More concretely, “The project aimed at equipping mothers with small babies with skills like block making and mat weaving, from various grass materials called “incema” “ilala” and “umhlanga” so that they could

benefit from the sale of their products.” (Gumbi, 2001: 292) As the study will discuss later, a poor relationship was established between the formulation of objectives (general and specific) and the target group. The objectives did not come from within the community. In the meantime, Welfare update (1998 cited by Gumbi (2001: 156) notes: “the Department of Welfare and Population Development hopes to empower women to be in [a] position to change their situation by overcoming poverty and unemployment.”

Measurable outcomes/Critical failure factors/ intended benefits

The goals above “need to be operationalised in measurable outcomes.” (Mouton, 2001: 344) The MWO members expected the material outcomes from the formulated goals to be in the form of intended benefits. These benefits consisted of earning allowances that “would help them in maintaining their families and above all, demonstrate to family members that they were gainfully occupied and not just loafing where they were during the day...” (Gumbi, 2001: 164). However, their failure to earn allowances is an explanatory and critical factor of the project’s failure. In their own words, “ we were not benefiting financially from the proceeds of the project which...would provide financial benefits for us and our children.” (Gumbi, 2001: 166) Their disappointment is attributed to the vain “impression that after implementing some programmes that generate funds, the government would subsidise them so that by the end of the month, members would be paid an allowance.” (Gumbi, 2001: 164) That is one of a number of critical factors established as being responsible for the decline of participation.

Programme activities or components

In the context of development projects, the programme activities “refer to the actual mechanisms and[,] means the implementation of which should...lead to the attainment of the stated objectives.” (Mouton, 2001: 344) The MWO development project activities consisted of implementing “the following projects, namely: moulding and sale of mud bricks, gardening, sewing, artifacts carved from wood and sale of grass and twigs for the building of huts...(and attending) meetings and handicraft workshops.” (Gumbi, 2001: 163-173) However, it seems that the process of planning the activities was monopolised by a number of people acting on behalf of the project. As an illustration, “Members were

requested to choose the type of project they wanted to be engaged in. Of the five projects they had agreed on, only three were implemented...” (Gumbi, 2001: 164).

Management system and human resource base

The management system and human resource base are the critical dimensions for development project implementation. With reference to **Figure 3.1**, the “management system...comprises all systems that are required to implement and manage a programme...” (Mouton, 2001: 344). This system could chiefly include registers, filing systems, keeping track of the participants, financial information, etc. With regard to the MWO, the management system is viewed as poor. For example, the analysis of the funding system showed that the bank balance was R1 500-00, but “there was no indication as to how much was collected from membership fees and from the profits gained from the activities of the organisation.” (Gumbi, 2001: 158) This deficiency appears to be the result of inadequate programme records, filing system and financial information. The lack of keeping track of participants was viewed as “serious problem of diminishing numbers of participating members.” (Gumbi, 2001: 164)

“The human resource base...refers to the individuals who are managing the programme.” (Mouton, 2001: 344) In the case of the MWO, “An organisational structure) was formed. The project was managed by an executive committee composed of a Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer...[and] two additional members.” (Gumbi, 2001:157) As far as the human resource base is concerned, attention should also be paid on the abilities and competencies of the executive committee. Again, in the MWO, the individuals committed to managing the organisation are accused of poor abilities and competencies. Gumbi (2001: 163) notes, “Although the executive and members of the organisation received regular advice from the Welfare Officer and the Community Liaison facilitator of the Department of Welfare and Population Development of KwaNgwanase area, their project was organised, planned and implemented on an ad hoc basis. This was because of the lack of skills and capacity to manage the day-to-day affairs of the community project by the organisation.” The management structure is

viewed as confused in the sense that it could not distinguish the different gradual phases involved in the development project life cycle.

Stakeholders

In terms of **Figure 3.1**, stakeholders are any group of people that may affect, positively or negatively, a development project. Mouton (2001: 344) assumes that they “invariably include the founders or sponsors of [the] programme and the general public, as well as (in some cases) competing service providers (e.g. other NGOs delivering...similar services), specific interest groups (such as trade unions).” With reference to this understanding, on the one hand, the MWO includes the Department of Welfare and Population Development of KwaNgwanase. On the other hand, the MWO modelled its method of planning on “the Flagship project...designed and accepted by the government as a policy to be implemented in order to address the problem of poverty, particularly in rural areas.” (Gumbi, 2001: 159) Furthermore, there was the possibility of competition between projects delivering the same service. Stewart (1996 quoted by Gumbi, 2001: 158) clearly documents possible competition as follows: within the Flagship project, “each project will provide an economic opportunity to about 120 women in a targeted area...(and)...projects will include activities such as farming, garment-making, and home building.”

Context

The context that is included among the critical success factors for development projects designates “both the broader socio-political context as well as the specific geographical location or setting...(and) the important matter of time-frame.” (Mouton, 2001: 345)

The MWO was launched in 1998. It originated from the Flagship project, which was previously designed as governmental policy and aimed at addressing the problem of poverty in rural areas. Hence, the initiative to explain the concept of the Flagship project emanated from the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development with the intention of equipping mothers of children under the age of five years with the means for

providing the required healthy meals (Gumbi, 2001: 154-155). The initiative resulted in the formation of the MWO.

The MWO is located in the Province of Kwazulu-Natal in the area called KwaNgwanase, which is within the Maputaland area. The geographical location of the project designates the project as being rural. Further, “KwaNgwanase is mainly rural in nature with small villages in the central business area of the settlement which has informal markets of mostly fruit and vegetables set up by traders.” (Gumbi, 2001: 154) In addition, the Welfare Officer of KwaNgwanase in Maputaland “emphasises...that the area of KwaNgwanase is a rural one and needs development in order to break the cycle of poverty that affects women and the children.” (Gumbi, 2001: 281) To conclude, that the MWO is a rural development project can be proved in the light of its conclusion in the Flagship project, which was particularly aimed at rural areas.

3.2.2.4 Evaluation of the project

In evaluating of the project, attention is paid to the development project life cycle. The information from the “...fieldwork interviews...revealed that there was no definite development methodology which was selected, adopted and used by the rural development committee of the Masithuthuke Women’s Organisation...and there was no systematic attempt to follow up and complete the development cycle.” (Gumbi, 2001: 171) **Table 3.3** presents the systematic phases of the cycle and comments on each developmental phase.

To sum up, a close relationship between the development cycle of the MWO and the development project life cycle presented in Chapter one (Figure 1.1) can be established. The first five phases in **Table 3.3** are subsequently associated with the phase of conceptualisation and design of a development project (see Figure 1.1) and reveal that the MWO was poorly conceptualised and designed, which negatively impacted on the subsequent phases of the development cycle. The comment on developmental phase six

reveals to be the immediate result of the poor implementation of the MWO development project.

Table 3..3: Development cycle of the Masithuthuke Women's Organisation

Nº	Phases	Comments on developmental phase
1	Awareness	<u>This phase was carried out.</u> Ideally awareness was to come from within the community, who experience discomfort with their circumstances and decide to take action to solve the community problem
2	Situation analysis	<u>This phase was not carried out properly.</u> Information on the community within the district was gathered mainly from the members of the organisation and from the records of the Welfare Office of the district
3	Identification and definition of needs and problems	<u>This phase was not done properly.</u> The Flagship programme was designed by the department of Welfare and Population Development. Nevertheless, the community members were given the opportunity of deciding on the objectives of their project with the view of addressing their needs and problems
4	Representation by the community	This phase was accomplished but the difficulty experienced was that members who joined the organisation came from faraway homesteads
5	Formulation of objectives, assessment of solutions and planning	This phase was achieved concurrently with the third phase, namely the identification and definition of needs and problems
6	Implementation	This phase was achieved despite the decline in membership of the community project
7	Evaluation	Because of the decline in membership, this phase was decided upon but was not implemented formally because of the low turnout of members for the evaluation meeting

Source: Gumbi (2001: 167)

3.2.2.5 Determination of community participation and empowerment levels

The process of discussion has identified a number of arguments that would serve as a good basis for establishing responses to the research questions on the implementation of development policies. The concluding note leads the study to support the statement: "Community members were not enabled to assume power and responsibility to influence the direction and execution of the MWO development project, their feeling of helplessness resulting from poverty, depression and lack of resources re-enforced the syndrome of dependency (they believed that they were going to get monetary benefit from the government)." (Gumbi, 2001: 172) With reference to the Analysis Grid, the degree of participation and empowerment was seen to be very poor. **Table 3.4** empowers the study with measurable indicators.

Table 3.4: Measuring scale for community participation and empowerment in the MWO

INDICATOR	NONE
1. Approach to planning	The project was modelled on the Flagship project, which was designed and accepted by the government as a policy to be implemented in order to address the problem of poverty in rural areas. With assistance from the Welfare Officers of the area, groups of women were assisted in the formation of the MWO. The assistance from the Department of Welfare and Population Development consisted of designing and supporting the project that was seen as the Flagship project of KwaNgwanase in Maputaland. The members of MWO were not involved in the identification and data collection of community resources in the area, nor in contributing inputs to the design of the community profile. The inputs used were obtained from the Welfare Officer of the Department of Welfare and Population Development.
2. Implementation of rural development projects	There was a unilateral decision on implementing the projects, namely: moulding and sale of mud bricks, gardening, sewing, artifacts carved from wood and sale of grass and twigs for the building of huts. Members were requested to choose the type of project they wanted to be engaged in. Of the five above-presented projects, only three were chosen and implemented, namely: moulding and sale of mud bricks, handicraft artifacts carved from wood, and sale of grass and twigs for the building of huts
3. Locating decision-making power in non-elite people and freeing them from manipulation and co-option	The intended beneficiaries, mothers of children under the age of five years, were invited to a workshop in Mtubatuba, where the Flagship concept was introduced and explained in detail, as a project planned chiefly to provide gainful employment for women with children under five. The officials of the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development conducted the invitation and presentation. It was expected that the mother's would be part of the Flagship project since the MWO project was designed as part of the Flagship project. Mothers were given the opportunity of deciding on the objectives of their community development project with the view to addressing their needs and problems
4. Mobilization of resources	As part of the Flagship Project, the MWO was designed to be supported by the Department of Welfare and Population Development, which had earmarked an amount of R3 million for projects of this nature. Through the Flagship Project, the MWO would be given a grant in order to initiate a self-sustaining project, and in turn create profits that would be reinvested in the community in an effort to build the economy of the region. However, it is evident that the members of the community development project were advised to register the organisation so that they could qualify for donations and a subsidy from the government but they did not take any steps to do so. Therefore, the project was poorly funded through membership fees determined on an ad hoc basis and profits gained from the activities implemented to raise funds.
5. Formal and informal education to create awareness	According to empirical evidence, the project did not provide spin-offs in terms of empowering communities with knowledge and skills to deal with community needs and problems. Because of the lack of skills and capacity of the organisation to manage the day to day affairs of the community project, the project was organised, planned and implemented on an ad hoc basis with the assistance of the Department of Welfare and Population Development
6. System of partnerships	The partnership was defined with regular advice and guidance from the Welfare Officer and the Community Liaison facilitator of the Department of Welfare and Population Development of the KwaNgwanase area. Though the projects were organised, planned and implemented on an ad hoc basis, under the sponsorship defined in point 4, the Community Liaison facilitator of the Department of Welfare and Population Development imposed the process of planning on the MWO.

The responsibility for the failure in involving and empowering the community can be established at the partnership level where the local governmental elite substituted and initiated the process of planning on behalf of the community. Therefore, the MWO beneficiaries are said to be disempowered “from participating in self-help projects and by default they allowed themselves to be dominated by the elite groups, thus effectively abdicating the responsibility of influencing the direction and execution of their project to others (the elite).” (Gumbi, 2001: 172) The next case study presents a complete contrast to the community disempowerment.

3.2.3 Zimiseleni Community Project (ZCP)

3.2.3.1 Name of the project

The name of the following project, the Zimiseleni Community Project (ZCP), itself implies community participation. The content of the project is expressed by ‘Zimiseleni’, a zulu imperative meaning ‘try your best’ (Gumbi, 2001: 183).

3.2.3.2 Criteria for the selection of the project

While the previous case study served to establish failure during the development project cycle life, the ZCP will rather be an example of success, and it is selected chiefly for this reason. The ZCP is said to be a successfully completed development project (Gumbi, 2001: 182).

Table 3. 5: Identified criteria for the success of the ZCP in empowering the community

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mobilisation of resources and sustainability of the project; • The acquisition of knowledge and skills to deal with the community needs and problems; • The enhancement of dignity and self confidence (particularly among the poverty stricken community members); • The harnessing of people's existing wisdom and skills used to help others in the process of community development; • The realisation of the community in seeing what it can do and reinforcing confidence to participate in other development initiatives; and • Taking pride and ownership in 'their' facilities and equipment and enabling them to take more care of them
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Source: Gumbi (2001: 182)

With regard to the way it contributed to addressing the community needs and intended outcomes, Gumbi points out a number of criteria for success, which were identified during the fieldwork research (see **Table 3.5**).

3.2.3.3 Description of the project

Goals, specific objective and target group

The purpose for the Zimiseleni Community Development Project was to address the needs, problems and aspirations of a group of blind people and to establish resources to ease the burden of the Manguzi Hospital of having to maintain all those blind people who were no longer receiving medical treatment (Gumbi, 2001: 187). The related specific objective was: “The purpose of the project was to serve the interests, needs and aspirations of blind people of the area by empowering them with knowledge, skills and expertise to enable them to augment their social pension grant offered by the government. This would be in the form of generating income needed to support themselves and their relatives.” (Gumbi, 2001: 294) The description of the context from which the project originated specifies that the project was aimed at blind and partially blind people at Manguzi Hospital in KwaNgwanase in Maputaland. The blind people who were most concerned with the project actually came from other areas such as Zamazama, Mboza and Lulwane in Maputaland (Gumbi, 2001: 184).

Measurable outcomes/critical success factors/Benefits

The most cited measurable and immediate outcomes for the ZCP consisted of “the establishment of a sheltered employment centre which culminated in the erection of two houses which were to be used exclusively by the blind people of KwaNgwanase area.” (Gumbi, 2001: 191) In addition to the sheltered employment centre, “For recreational purposes, a music choir was established. They were invited to present and provide musical entertainment at special occasions like wedding parties and various entertainment parties at the hospital itself.” (Gumbi, 2001)

Programme components/Programme activities

The preceding paragraph presented the immediate positive outcomes of the ZCP, but these outcomes are obviously the result of activities scheduled to meet the needs of the blind. “The various activities like the weaving of mats, establishment of a choir, and other came about as a result of regular monitoring of these projects from the awareness up to evaluation phases making it a point that they address the relevant changing needs of the blind and partially blind people.” (Gumbi, 2001: 194) Also, “a sheltered workshop was initiated where they produced goods like mats, craftworks, clay pottery” (Gumbi, 2001: 191) to keep the blind busy in a gainful way.

Management system and human resource base

The ZCP activities and related benefits that are discussed introduce the concept of human resource base. For instance, the blind and partially blind were the group exclusively identified for using the sheltered employment centre. The ZCP implementation was managed similarly to the previous case study: “A committee composed of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and two additional members was formed to manage the affairs of Zimiseleni Community Project. The Welfare Officer of KwaNgwanase district acted as a facilitator for the project.” (Gumbi, 2001: 185)

Stakeholders

The main stakeholders of the ZCP include the health team members of the Manguzi Hospital, the Welfare Officer, the community health nurse, the occupational therapist, and the traditional and administrative structure, namely, the Headmen and the Chiefs of the operating area of the project. There are also other partners, “like the relatives, friends and the community at large were part of the project management and all participated as equal partners...in running the affairs of the project.” (Gumbi, 2001: 190) On the financial side, the ZCP is known to be a self-funding project. After the project was subsidised to initiate a self-sustaining project, the blind people “had organised themselves into a music choir, they were able to raise fund for themselves through music concerts”

(Gumbi, 2001: 294). Subsidies consisted of R 1 000-00 received from Ellerines Furniture Shop, donations received from the health team members of Manguzi Hospital and material contributions from the community.

Context

The context from which the ZCP originated comprised the increasing number of blind people in Manguzi Hospital during the early 1990s and the lack of resources to cater for blind people either in the community or at the hospital. “Because of lack of suitable community resources for the blind or partially blind, on discharge from hospital, blind people did not have anywhere to go to.” (Gumbi, 2001: 294) Consequently, these blind people became a heavy burden for the hospital. In the words of the medical doctor: “We had to organise ourselves into a form of an organisation whose purpose was to address their needs, problems and aspirations[,] affecting us and them as blind people, hence the formation of Zimiseleni Community Project.” (Gumbi, 2001:187) Therefore, the ZCP was formed whereby blind people were empowered with skills and knowledge the purpose of becoming self-reliant. Together with the preceding case study of MWO, the ZCP is located geographically in the Province of Kwazulu-Natal, especially in KwaNgwanase in Maputaland area. Therefore, the description of the rural context of the MWO applies to the ZCP also.

3.2.3.4 Evaluation of the project

The ZCP was selected as a completed and successful rural development project. It is possible to associate its success with the project’s compliance with the methodological process: “The development cycle of the methodology received guidance, to such an extent that the cycle was completed in full starting from the beginning, middle and the final phase.” (Gumbi, 2001: 194) As a result, the guidance brought the project about, yielding tangible results that met the needs of the target population. The broad view of the success can be interpreted with regard to the ZCP achievements presented in **Table 3.6**.

Table 3.6: Summary of needs satisfied by the ZCP

Source: Gumbi (2001: 193)

3.2.3.5 The determination of community participation and empowerment levels

Gumbi (20001: 196), states that “Community members who took up the challenge of participating meaningfully in development projects were assisted with solid and reliable training and guidance by the community facilitators in their day-to-day responsibility.” In most cases, community facilitators fail in the tasks of training and guiding; consequently, they substitute for the community in order to act on its behalf. With the ZCP, things went differently, as the Analysis Grid (see **Table 3.7**) indicates in terms of a degree of participation and empowerment that is above average.

Table 3.7: Measuring scale for community participation and empowerment in the ZCP

INDICATOR	ABOVE AVERAGE
1. Approach to planning	The formation of the ZCP produced an organisation that aimed at facilitating the release and development of local capacities. First, it was established that there were no available resources in the area for blind people. Hence, the organisation was established to create resources in order to address the problems, needs and aspirations felt by blind people who were no longer receiving medical treatment at Manguzi Hospital. On the premises of the Hospital, the project also contributed to easing the burden of having to maintain all those blind people. Through the initiative of the health team members, the process of forming the ZCP closely involved the blind people. The blind people who were admitted to Manguzi Hospital played the central role in identifying and contacting other blind people in the area of KwaNgwanase in Maputaland to share with them the proposed idea of establishing an organization for the blind. But also, participation in needs assessment and expression of the feelings of blind people themselves were taken into consideration and respected.
2. Implementation of rural development projects	Under the support of the health team members of the Manguzi Hospital, the affairs of the organisation for blind and partially blind people rested on the shoulders of the blind people themselves. In order to broaden participation and not confine this project to blind people and health team members, all other stakeholders who were interested in the affairs of blind people were taken on board. The nuclear body composed of the blind people and health team members was responsible for any decision-making and subsequently for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the project.

<p>3. Locating decision-making power in non-elite people and freeing them from manipulation and co-option</p>	<p>With regard to the fieldwork results, the project proved to be a success in empowering the community with regard to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The realization of the community what it could do and reinforcing its confidence to participate in other development initiatives • Taking pride in ownership of their facilities and equipment and enabling them to take care of these
<p>4. Mobilization of resources</p>	<p>The project proved to be a success in empowering the community with regard to the mobilization of resources and sustainability of the project. The project also enabled beneficiaries to raise funds for themselves through music concerts performed for various occasions, held in Manguzi Hospital and the greater KwaNgwanase area in Maputaland. In addition, the project received funds from Elleries Furniture Shop and donations from the health team members of Manguzi Hospital.</p>
<p>5. Formal and informal education to create awareness</p>	<p>The purpose of the project was to empower the blind people of the area with knowledge, skills and expertise to enable them to earn and augment their social pension grant offered by the Government, by generating income needed to support themselves and their relatives. As a result, the project proved to be a success in empowering the community with regard to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The acquisition of knowledge and skills to deal with community needs and problems; • The harnessing of people's existing wisdom and skills, which was used to help others in the process of community development
<p>6. System of partnerships</p>	<p>In the project, the partnership involved the Welfare Officer of KwaNgwanase district, the Community Health Nurse and the occupational Therapist who acted as a facilitator for the project. With assistance of social workers and community health workers, families with blind parents or siblings came forward to enquire about the proposed community project for the blind</p>

The "...training opportunities...placed (beneficiaries) in a better position to make enlightened/informed decisions which provided the needed boost of confidence in their own abilities to enable their development project to succeed." (Gumbi, 2001: 196) As a result, blind people "were enabled to assume power and responsibility to influence the direction and execution of the ZCP. Community members affected by development interventions were involved in the decision-making process." (Gumbi, 2001: 196) In so doing, they "had to work together to increase control over events influencing their development and social well-being." (Gumbi, 2001:196)

3.2.4 The Stutterheim Development Foundation (SDF)

3.2.4.1 Name of the project

Since 1992, Stutterheim Community Meetings were held that succeeded in forming the Stutterheim Forum, which in turn established the Stutterheim Development Foundation (SDF). The SDF project is viewed as a development company that “became the vehicle through which the various projects were implemented and the finance was managed” (Ferreira, 2001: 10) at district level.

3.2.4.2 Criteria for the selection of the project

The SDF is selected for specific reasons: “Both members of SDF and outside observers agree that there has been a healthy degree of community participation...The SDF has demonstrated its capacity for self-reliance in the critical areas of decision-making for development and, to a large degree, in the human resources required to implement development.” (Nussbaum, 1997: 37) This reference confirms the degree of involvement in decision-making as well as in empowerment viewed within the perspectives of self-reliance. The criteria for selection also consider the SDF as a characteristic of the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. Whereas a number of development initiatives had failed to flourish in the participatory way during the apartheid period, the SDF appears to be an exception that was not influenced by the context of that period.

3.2.4.3 Description of the project

Goals, objective and target group

The community served by the SDF acts within sub-community forums. The SDF is committed to the following goal: “The forum concerns itself with broader development policy issues...The Stutterheim Development Foundation has been established in order to manage the increasing development load.” (Tandy, 1992: 11) To paraphrase, attention is paid to the self-construction of economic prosperity by the interested local community (International Republican Institute, 1998: 41-44). The use of the variable, business,

enables the SDF to establish the following specific objective: “A key objective of the Stutterheim Development Foundation is to encourage local small farmers to become more productive and use the market as an opportunity to sell their produce.” (International Republican Institute, 1998: 32) The local small farmers and small businessmen thus constitute the intended beneficiaries of the SDF.

Measurable outcomes/Critical success factors/Benefits

The community served by the SDF associates a number of intended benefits with their involvement in the identification and prioritisation of the community’s perceived needs in different areas “such as education, housing, health, the lack of jobs and the poor services in black areas.” (International Republican Institute, 1998: 5) In participating, it is expected that the community would contribute to addressing the gaps related to the cited areas, which include, for instance, housing, unemployment, schooling, medical treatment, and so on. Therefore, the SDF aims to increase employment avenues that would empower the community with the required means.

Programme components/activities

The SDF is earlier described as a development company whose activities consist of running a number of specific community-based development projects. As **Table 3.8** shows, three categories of activities interest the SDF: the delivery of primary services, running local and small businesses, and a programme that focuses on empowering the community with skills and knowledge, and subsequently community sustainability. Under the auspices of the Stutterheim Youth Enterprise Development Centre, young people are running small businesses: “Ten of them have started vegetable growing, two have started a silkscreen operation and three have started to take initiative in a variety of ways to involve young men and women in positive programmes.” (Community self-reliance, 2002: 2)

In commenting on the Table, Ferreira (2001: 15) associates the quality of education with the thriving community. The SDF runs the Stutterheim Education Trust that “operates in

all 52 schools in the new Amahlathi Municipal area...[where] 90% are isolated rural areas with the corresponding problems of inaccessibility, isolation and poor infrastructure.” Besides the above, the SDF is implementing small business-based development projects, subscribing to the prevailing attitude that views small businesses as “the cornerstone of economic development, which is the key to the vitality and lifeline of any community...” (Community self-reliance, 2001: 2). The entrepreneurial and business skills brought to Stutterheim and the surrounding communities are considered prerequisites to the above-mentioned business growth and to attracting visitors.

Table 3. 8: Projects carried out by the Stutterheim Development Foundation

1. The servicing of 988 stands with water and water-borne sewerage – the whole process of using local people to do this was pioneered during this project.
2. The establishment of the Stutterheim Business Advice Centre which is now accredited by the Department of Trade and Industry as a Local Business Service Centre.
3. A variety of infrastructural programmes which included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building of the 24 classroom Kubusi School • The building of pre-school facilities in Mlungisi and Kubusi • The building of clinics in both Kubusi and Waterburg • The building of a community hall and the building of several other schools • ESKOM was approached to bring electricity to Mlungisi, Kubusi, and other communities • Water-reticulation in the townships was improved • The Stutterheim Education Trust was established and a number of education programmes were introduced

Source: Ferreira (2001: 11)

To empower Stutterheim and the surrounding communities with entrepreneurial and business skills, the SDF has initiated a programme of action that consisted of facilitating educational programmes in school buildings, and of setting up the Stutterheim Business Advice Centre. The latter is currently considered to be a significant mechanism under which a number of business development projects are being planned and implemented: “The Stutterheim Business Advice Centre has met with a number of new clients...and has worked with them to find ways of starting their own business.” (Community Self-

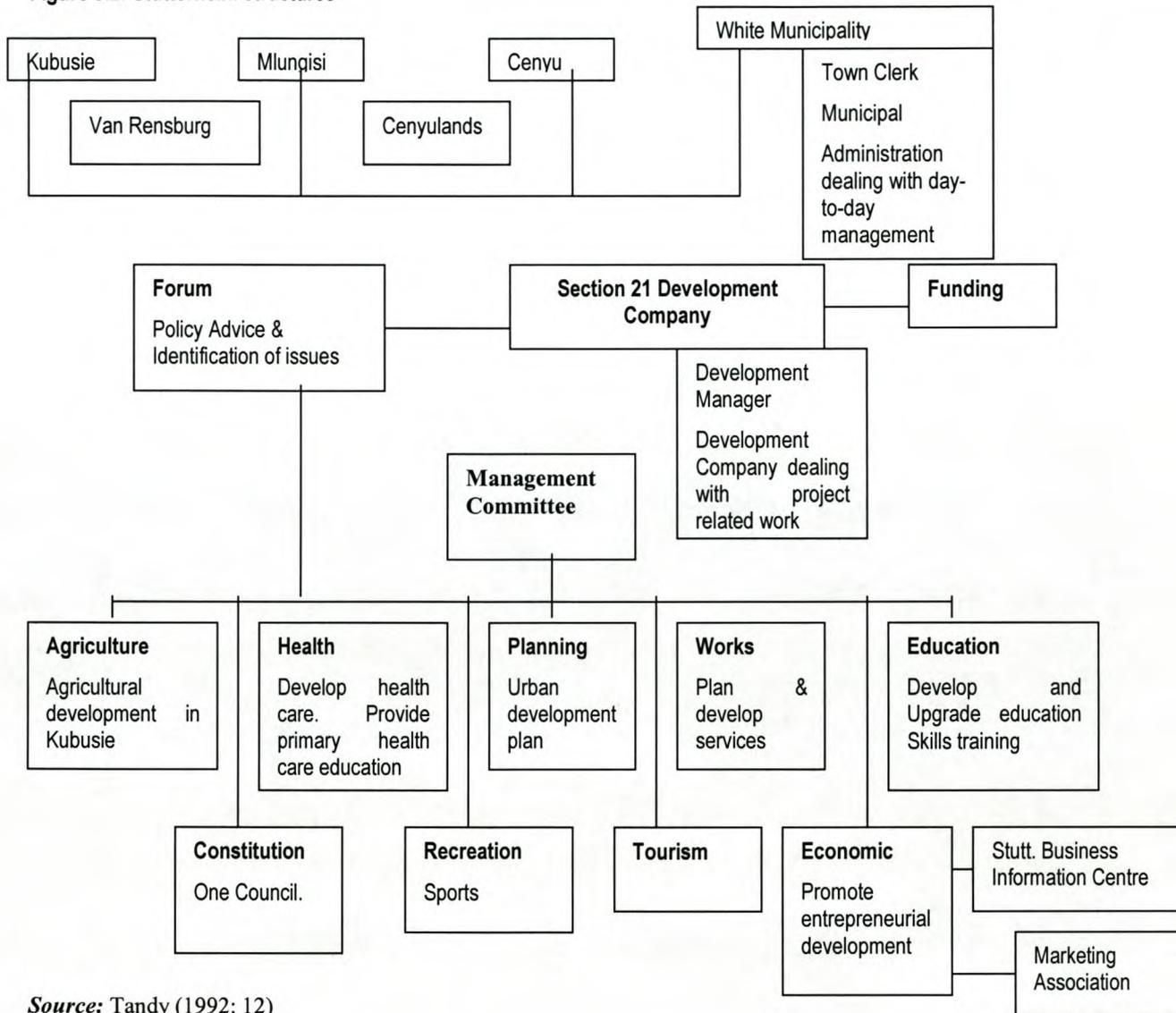
reliance, 2001: 2) The centre operates within the context of high unemployment and few role models in business, with the intention of addressing both issues.

Management system and human resource base

The management system and human resources for the SDF rely on the Stutterheim Development Forum (see **Figure 3.2**). The community members are particularly privileged to have a human resource base concerned with the process of planning and implementing community-based development projects. This statement is illustrated by the fact that the use of local people to implement projects is pioneered throughout the whole process. At the same time, the SDF management system is the monopoly of the “Development Forum, comprising representatives from the various communities...[that] was created and met on monthly basis...[whereby] Working groups were formed to develop proposals for each of the needs listed.” (International Republican Institute, 1998: 5) The Figure refers to the sub-management of sub-forum committees (see **Figure 3.2**) that are accountable to the Development Forum, which in turn, is accountable to the community through the respective executive committees. Among many other examples, the planning committee aims at “coordinating planning for Stutterheim, investigating and addressing service requirements for the area, setting priorities for service requirement based on the will of the people and material realities, budgeting and seeking funding when funding is available, establishing funding systems where necessary for home loans and investigating low cost [housing].” (Tandy, 1992: 16)

As far as the number of the working committees is concerned, the Figure is more illustrative and informs on the whole institutional decision-making and the SDF management system in detail.

Figure 3.2: Stutterheim structures



Source: Tandy (1992: 12)

Stakeholders

The process of running the SDF includes a number of partners. As Ferreira (2001: 22) emphasises, “A healthy partnership between Local Government, the business community, cultural organisations, the churches, schools, etc., must exist. Where communities begin interacting, share common vision and goal and embrace a holistic view of their development, things begin to happen.” In Ferreira’s own words, “...we got to know each other by ‘moving the stone’ together and through working together.” (Ferreira, 2001: 9) According to Ferreira (2001: 11), the community is fully engaged in the partnership: its

contribution to self-funding is an eloquent illustration. The 38 projects implemented with the use of local people raised over R24 million.

However, the Local Government seems to have been the strongest partner. Some examples are discussed. The Local Government is seen as responsible for community participation, specifically, “The new local Governments are entrusted with a development role. Everything Local Government does must show signs of Local Economic Development...The Council creates a platform for community participation.”(Ferreira, 2001: 10) A number of reasons affirm the high esteem the SDF had for Local Government and maintained the constructive partnership as an indirect rule between the SDF and the Local Government. For instance, Ferreira (2001: 10) states that “The Local Government was the vehicle through which the finance was managed...We also realised that, because of the rules, regulations and ordinances required in Local Government, it would be less cumbersome to keep the development finances separated from municipal finances.”

The above reasons also refer to the competencies and abilities in development of the skilled councillors and the then Mayor: “The Stutterheim councillors were...for the most part professionals who brought with them a variety of technical and management skills. Added to this[,] the Mayor of the time was a strong leader with a background in development.” (Tandy, 1992: 9) In this case, competencies and abilities from the local government personnel are key variables that support the conclusion that plays a remarkable role in the success of the SDF. This view is confirmed by the following conclusion: “There is a wide consensus both among informed outside observers and Stutterheim participants that one of the keys to successful growth of the organisation has been the calibre of leadership... The role of strong leadership is crucial. The success of the Stutterheim experience is largely due to the quality of leadership.”(Nussbaum, 1997: 17-25) The involvement of leadership originates from the political context that essentially resulted in the formation of the SDF.

Context

This paragraph is concerned with the origin of the project and a discussion of its rural aspect. The SDF originates essentially from a political context in which Stutterheim, together with the surrounding areas, were historically the scene of resistance to European colonial conquest in the 1820's. Stutterheim continuously resisted the colonial conquest till the 1960's when "the black community under the policy of apartheid, was scheduled to be moved to the nearby homelands." (Ferreira, 2001: 4) There was strong resistance to the policy, and at the same time living conditions in the black community deteriorated seriously: "there was no development or improvement in the living conditions of the black community in the surrounding townships for close on 30 years." (Ferreira, 2001: 4) This situation persisted over the time as in the 1980's "Political unrest was endemic, unemployment and poverty rife, and crime rampant. Living conditions for most of the black majority were extremely poor." (Ferreira, 2001: 4) This situation resulted in the SDF deliberately aiming to empower the deprived community with skills to reconstruct the economy of Stutterheim and surrounding area that was on the brink of self-destruction.

The next concern is the rural nature of the project, which can be demonstrated by its geographical location and other characteristics widely agreed to as defining a rural community. As far the location is concerned, the SDF was formed in Stutterheim, which "is a small rural town in the Eastern Cape Province at the foot of the scenic Amatola Mountains...Approximately 90 000 people live in the magisterial district. Since the new Local Government demarcation, Stutterheim is now part of Amahlathi which includes Keiskamma Hoek, Kei Road and some villages across the Kei River- a population of some 250 000 people." (Ferreira, 2001: 3) In his review and appraisal of Stutterheim, Dewar conclusively views the community as "a small rurally based town in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, a region of approximately 6 million people, of which some 80% are rural." (Nussbaum, 1997: 75)

To sum up, Stutterheim conforms to the following list of features that characterise rural communities (Ginsberg, 1976: 3):

- Lack of services and recreational amenities available in towns and cities, e.g. museums, libraries, entertainment centres etc;
- Lack of adequate employment opportunities;
- Greater influence of the church than in urban areas; and
- Greater influence of personal relationships among community members

In considering the particular case of Stutterheim community, the poor living conditions, described in the Molefe (1996, quoted by Gumbi, 2001: 5) testimony, chiefly attributable to the “inequitable distribution of resources in South Africa enforced and consolidated by the legacy of separate development in a systematic and dehumanising manner, placing concerted efforts on the provision of services mostly to the fortunate minority [to] the neglect of the disadvantaged majority.” The imbalance was exacerbated by the removal policy of apartheid that resulted in the extremely poor living conditions that are listed as a striking characteristic of their rural community. As the SDF is dealing with these poor living conditions, the project qualifies as a rural-based development project.

3.2.4.4 Evaluation of the project

The success of the SDF is said to be a result of its compliance with the predetermined phases of the development project life cycle. Dewar (quoted by Tandy, 1992: 14) points out three phases as follows: “Phase 1: analytical perspective of the main problems and opportunities. Phase 2: Strategic framework or plan of action. Phase 3: translate the plan into a development programme. Or, what are the problems, which do we tackle first, and then how to go about this.” From the implementation of the different phases, the related achievements are discussed.

In terms of the way in which the development project life cycle is planned and implemented, the achievements of the SDF are fully in line with accepted international standards. The framework produced by the Commonwealth Secretariat in *Successful*

NGOs: Summary of Findings from Commonwealth Round Tables, confirms the success of the SDF. Nussbaum (1997: 43) summarises the criteria as follows:

- Improved well-being of community according to its own perceptions
- Identification and prioritisation by the community itself of common needs and problems which have to be addressed
- Formulation of development objectives and participatory process for fulfilment of those objectives
- In the long term, a greater degree of self-reliance through which the community takes charge of its own destiny.

According to the above criteria, the SDF beneficiaries “are living examples of how people took their destinies in their own hands and reshaped thousands of lives without the legislated support of any government... Their power is moving testimony of the power of people to help others and help themselves.” (Nussbaum, 1997: 1) Under the auspices of the SDF (Nussbaum, 1997: 5), the beneficiaries were enabled to facilitate access to water: 88,1% of taps in surrounding townships was installed under the auspices of the SDF between 1992 and 1995. In addition, 58% of the population of two townships had access to electricity in their homes by 1995, while no township resident had electricity before 1993. At the same time, 521 jobs were created, and a total of 512 people have been trained in technical skills, business skills, education skills and farming (Ferreira, 2001: 12), and housing and business increased remarkably. As a result of these successful examples, the SDF is inspiring a number of communities by providing guidelines and lessons: “Over one hundred towns, small and big, have approached Stutterheim for assistance in their own development programmes... In towns like these the key factor is helping a community find a common goal and a plan of action. The Stutterheim experience is used to illustrate ways of overcoming difficulties and seeking solutions.” (Ferreira, 2001: 13) The success of the SDF is recognised as the result of a high level of community participation and empowerment, as discussed above.

3.2.4.5 Determination of community participation and empowerment levels

Participation and empowerment in the SDF had their origins in a specific incident of the apartheid period: the process of addressing the deteriorating social conditions that resulted from the threat to enforce the policy of removal. The tense climate caused by this impending removal led people to develop participation and empowerment through “marches, protests and petitions demanding change in both local conditions and the national political structure.”(Tandy, 1992: 7) In addition, “the boycott created the necessity for problem-solving apparatus and was a catalyst to getting support for a development agenda in all communities.” (Nussbaum, 1997: 11) In the history of the SDF, it is said that the boycotts, marches, protests and petitions brought about an awareness of the constructive participation and empowerment later resulted in the success of the SDF: “members of the black, white and coloured community realised that the town would have to find a way of solving its problems. There would be no outside help.” (Ferreira, 2001: 4)

People became empowered as they were able to approach planning according to their own perceptions. In this way, the master plan approach to planning was challenged: “Blueprints are not necessary or always desirable in every development process because of the nature of development, which requires flexibility and openness to changing circumstances...It is wholly inappropriate for programmes to be replicated or imitated without significant thought and adaptation.” (Nussbaum, 1997: 25) The perception remains relevant in the sense that each community is different from the other and it is widely accepted that each local community should itself provide a large part of the solution and inputs to the problems it experiences. Thus, the planning within the SDF was culture sensitive. The view expressed by Nussbaum is applicable not only spatially but also temporally: “the plan is not seen as a static blueprint in terms of which future development must occur. The plan will change and the micro-management of its implementation will be necessary.” (Tandy, 1992: 14) The following **Table 3.9** summarises the degree of participation and empowerment in the SDF with regard to the identified indicators.

Table 3.9: Measuring scale for community participation and empowerment in the SDF

INDICATOR	ABOVE AVERAGE
1. Approach to planning	Assisted by outside facilitators, weekend workshops were held in the Town Hall and representatives for all the different communities were organised, needs were identified, listed and prioritised by the people. In order to formulate plans and programmes to address these needs a number of Working Committees were established (see Figure 3.2). The process of planning involves a central concern as follows: What are the problems, which should be tackled first, and then how to go about this? In response, the predetermined phases of a development project life cycle are successively: Phase 1: analytical perspective of the main problems and opportunities. Phase 2: strategic framework or plan of action. Phase 3: translate the plan into a development programme. In avoiding blueprint plans, flexibility and openness to changing circumstances require a significant thought and adaptation to community perceptions
2. Implementation of rural development projects	Both members of SDF and outside observers agree that there has been a healthy degree of community participation. The SDF has also demonstrated its capacity for self-reliance in the critical areas of decision-making for development and, to a large degree, in the human resources required to implement development. In line with the prioritised list of community needs, a number of projects are being implemented in the areas of education, housing, health, job creation, and for alleviating the poor services in black areas
3. Locating decision-making power in non-elite people and freeing them from manipulation and co-option	As a result of the SDF, the community is becoming increasingly proactive by initiating development projects. Among many other initiatives, youth in Stutterheim and surrounding villages have started to mobilise to try and find ways of breaking out of the cycle of poverty and, unemployment. Concretely, ten of them have started vegetable growing, two have started a silkscreen operation and three have started to take the initiative in a variety of ways to involve young men and women in positive programmes. The SDF beneficiaries are also living examples of how people took their destinies in their own hands and reshaped thousands of lives without the legislated support of any government...Their achievements are moving testimony to the power of people to help others and help themselves
4. Mobilization of resources	The SDF has demonstrated its capacity for self-reliance in the critical areas of decision-making for development and, to a large degree, in the human resources required to implement development. The SDF has also demonstrated itself to be self-funding. During the 1990's some 38 projects were implemented and over R24 million was raised and the whole process of using local people to do this was pioneered during this project. Through the whole process, local resources and energy were mobilised and channelled appropriately.
5. Formal and informal education to create awareness	Among the SDF activities, there is a particular focus on empowering the community with skills and knowledge, and subsequently on community sustainability. A variety of infrastructural programme were introduced which included: the building of the 24 classroom Kubusi school; the building of pre-school facilities in Mlungisi and Kubusi; the building of a community hall and the building of several other schools; the Stutterheim Education Trust was established and a number of education programmes were introduced (see Table 3.7). Also under the auspices of the SDF, 521 jobs were created, and a total of 512 people have been trained in technical, business, education skills, and farming.
6. System of partnerships	A healthy partnership between Local Government, the business community, cultural organisations, the churches, schools, etc., must exist. Where communities begin interacting, sharing a common vision and goal and embracing a holistic view of their development, things begin to happen. In Stutterheim, people got to know each other by 'moving the stone' together and by working together.

3.3 Compliance with principles and policies guidelines in the case studies

The theoretical view of community-based development policies and programmes proves that they need to be participatory, and the extent to which they are, in rural development projects and programmes, can be established. The present discussion on compliance does not however go back to principles and policies in detail, nor to case studies. Instead, it concentrates on the analysis grids that show the degree to which the implementation of participatory policies and programmes empowers the community with the required development skills in order to participate.

With reference to the analysis grids, South African community development projects demonstrate widely varying success in their implementation. At the one extreme a case (the MWO) that fails horribly while, at the other, there are cases that the expected results (see Table 3.4). In other words, the MWO proved to have poor community participation and empowerment. However, the Flagship Project, under which the MWO was designed, is based on the appropriate objectives for participation and empowerment, namely (Welfare Update Newsletter, 1998: 4 cited by Gumbi, 2001: 156):

- To increase the educational and training opportunities for women so that they can provide for the basic needs of their families;
- To develop the skills and capacities of women to enhance their overall functioning;
- To ensure that families receive social services that support and enhance the programme's aims; and
- To provide children under five with developmentally appropriate education to increase their chances of achieving and learning.

Clearly, the above types of objectives are meant to inspire relevant mechanisms that development projects should use to empower the community with the needed skills for participation.

In contrast, the principles used within the ZCP, as well as the SDF, proved to correlate with the principles and policies guidelines as discussed within the section 3.1. The

results that these principles yielded demonstrated the greatest degree of participation and empowerment (see **Table 3.7** and **Table 3.9** respectively). With regard to the SDF, an important note needs being drawn. The Stutterheim case straddled the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. The results it is yielding to date in the line of participation and empowerment depend less on the implementation of the principles and policies guidelines that were outlined in the post-apartheid period than on the factors. The civic leaders who provided good leadership at district level are credited with being ultimately responsible for the success of the project. In fact, the SDF project is said to have influenced the making of some state participatory programmes (that is, the RDP). The conclusion reached is that the degree of compliance hinges largely on the approach of the community developers.

The following chapter concentrates on a case study of the same scope as the SDF; one that is also perceived as successful. The study expects to determine the factors responsible for the presumed success.

Chapter four: Introduction to principles, policy and practice for rural community development in Rwanda

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to inform readers on the extent to which the policy-making process pays attention to community development. In so doing, it refers to information on principles and policies guidelines for rural community development. The discussion centres on empowerment of communities with development skills, networking and partnerships, and on areas for community participation. A case study from Rwanda will serve to test to what extent the identified principles and policies guidelines are followed. First, the study needs to introduce Rwanda in order to provide readers with a context.

Rwanda is a totally landlocked country located in central Africa: “It covers an area of 26,338 square kilometres or 10,288 square miles...it is bordered by Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to south and Zaire (DRC) to the west” (Fegley, 1993: xv). Its total population amounted to 8.3 million in 1999 (The World Bank, 2001: 48) and is forecasted to double by the year 2020 (Republic of Rwanda, 2000b: 1). Rwanda’s people “share a common language, kinship and clan systems...[and] religious values” (Fegley, 1993: xviii); they also share “territory and basic cultural attributes as the nation of Banyarwanda...” (Villa-Viventio & Savage, 2001: 30). French, English and Kinyarwanda are recorded as official languages, the last being a Bantu language spoken by all Rwanda’s people. The Rwandan pre-colonial administration was under the authority of the *Mwani* (King), and “the country was administrated through a threefold hierarchy: running from province to district hill... The province was...demarcated into districts, each with two chiefs independent of one another.” (Mamdani, 2001: 68) Chiefly, this reference is to traditional leaders, such as the chief of landholding, in charge of agricultural land and production, and the chief of pastures who was responsible for grazing land.

After the German colonial occupation in 1916, the Belgian colonial structures used these traditional leaders to their own account later in 1926. Chossudovsky argues, “The traditional chiefs in each hill (*colline*) were used by the colonial administration to requisition forced labour.” (Thomas & Wilkin, 1999: 118) As a result of the close collaboration of traditional leaders with the coloniser, Chossudovsky notes, “A climate of fear and distrust was installed, communal solidarity broken, and traditional client relations were transformed to serve the interests of the coloniser.” (Thomas & Wilkin, 1999: 118) With the advent of independence, the Belgian administration fell, together with the traditional leaders’ authority. Just after independence, the administrative entities were no longer designated ‘province’, ‘district’ and ‘hill’ but were termed ‘Prefecture’ and ‘Commune’ respectively. “In the new law organising the administrative units of Rwanda, the denominations ‘Prefectures’ and ‘Communes’, have recently been replaced by ‘Province’ and ‘District’ respectively” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001a: 344). Therefore, some references will use the terms ‘prefecture’ and ‘commune’ to refer to ‘province’ and ‘district’ respectively.

The economy of Rwanda is almost exclusively based on agriculture and involves the rural population, which was estimated to be 94% of the total population in 1999 (The World Bank, 2001: 128). The government essentially owns the arable land, which comprises 33.2% of land area, and the labour force is estimated to be 88% male in 1980 against 98% female (The World Bank, 2001: 54). Therefore, “About 93 per cent of the economically active population derives its livelihood from the production of food crops or industrial activities involving their processing.” (Fegley, 1993: xxvii) In spite of the large number of people engaged in the agricultural sector, the World Bank (2001: 132) estimates the hectares of arable land per capita to be 0.10, within the period of 1996-98. The economy of Rwanda is said to be vulnerable, and has led to 51.2% of the population subsisting on the national poverty line, as can be seen from provided data for the year 1993 (The World Bank, 2001: 66). This situation is illustrated in gross domestic savings amounting to -1.3%, against the net domestic savings of -7.9%, of GDP.

The causal factor of such poverty situation is interpreted as being the legacy of colonial structures: “the colonial administration’s systematic exploitation and underdevelopment of the region led to extreme poverty among locals” (Villa-Vivention & Savage, 2001: 30). Other authors, like Chossudovsky, hold the international community responsible while affirming, “It was the restructuring of the agricultural system that precipitated the population into abject poverty and destitution.” (Thomas & Wilkin, 1999: 117) During independence period, efforts were initiated to overcome such poverty: “The government has initiated...a very interesting policy of local autonomy for development... Each commune, considered cell for development, has financial autonomy...the country can still be considered at communal level as ‘laboratory of developmental [experiments]’”(Puttaswamaiah & Lipton, 1990: 378-9), such as cooperatives. The same reference accuses the mayor, who was appointed by the central government, and the elected communal advisors, generally made of primary school teachers, of incompetence for initiating a global development. To date, “Rwanda is at [the] crossroad, moving from [the] humanitarian assistance phase associated with the 1994 genocide, into that of sustainable development... The Government of Rwanda...needs to formulate and implement realistic development policies that move beyond past delusions of viable peasant-based agriculture.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2000b: 1). In contrast to the second Republic, the current government (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 3) has shifted the cell, or basic unit, for development to the local community: “Local Communities can and must play a leading role in reducing poverty...”

4.2 The theoretical view of the principles and policies guidelines for rural community development

The principles and policies guidelines for rural community development in Rwanda date back to the independence period. However, this discussion concentrates on the post-independence period only and particular attention is paid to the second Republic and the current transitional periods. The chapter sets this limit because participation and empowerment began inspiring official understanding only during these periods.

4.2.1 Empowerment with development skills

This section is mostly concerned with the way in which development at community level has contributed to enabling rural communities to realise a shift toward the bottom-up approach to development. The concern regarding skills is a common one in sub-Saharan countries: “Rwanda, even by sub-Saharan African standards, has [an] exceptionally unskilled population. In light of this reality, the country must adopt a strategy of human resource development...” (Republic of Rwanda, 2000b: 2). This chapter will thus pay attention to the extent to which rural communities have been empowered with development skills in order to realise such a shift to the bottom-up approach.

Development planning in the period of the second Republic was organised on the basis of five-year plans according to art. 44 of the then Constitution. Participation was viewed in terms of decentralisation. This vision on participation is still supported as follows, “The creation of a local government association is a logical component of decentralization...[and] over the long run the association can only be effective if it is truly a member driven organization, dissociated from the central government.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001b: 26) With reference to the member driven nature of the organisation, the first step to empowering communities with development skills is interpreted as emanating from community decision-making. Such action would meet the policy objectives of decentralisation and targets that intend to “Strengthen community spirit, decentralise decision-making, and enhance participation at community level.” (Republic of Rwanda, 1998b: 10)

The local government association appears to be the main feature of decentralisation, which is understood as “the transfer of decision-making and expenditure authority from the central to the community level.” (Rwanda, 2001: 3) Community level is understood as grassroots level, which should be in contact with information system: “[the] common goal should allow the communities access to information, knowledge and to other resources necessary for development...” (Republic of Rwanda (2001c: 3). Within the process of decentralisation, the National Council for Development was subsequently set

up to strengthen the district level, which is the cell for national development (République Rwandaise, 1975: 1). The Council appointed the *Comité de développement Communal* (Development Committee operating at Commune level) as a mechanism for development planning, within the second Republic period. Within the transitional period, the Community Development Committee (CDC) replaced the earlier committee. The Community Development Committee (CDC) is a tool that the existing organs of development point out to be a relevant mechanism ensuring grassroots participation at lower levels (Cell, Sector and District).

The *Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (Republic of Rwanda, 2000a: 43) note, “The community development committees (CDCs) will serve as a first stage in developing participatory mechanisms to help communities [to identify] and achieve their priorities. The CDCs will also play a leading role in establishing community feedback mechanisms for monitoring the process.” This could mean that the community will be empowered with development skills in order to identify community needs that have to be addressed. The capacity for identifying perceived needs is interpreted as the result of taking advantage of the decentralisation of decision-making and authority over resources. Therefore, as a result of decentralisation, the community has the responsibility for deciding on the required development skills to address a need and for taking initiative to empower itself with the necessary skills.

While the five-year plan for 1972-1976 defined a number of development planning orientations with attention to rural development at grassroots level, community responsibility was needed. To stimulate this responsibility, the orientation of rural development insisted on making the local community aware of its participation for the development of the country (1977c: 136-137). For example, President Habyarimana identified individuals to be the main actors and beneficiaries of community development. The precondition to achieving this view would consist of making people decide on their own destiny (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 14). However, this view poorly addresses community development because participation does not necessarily include the whole

population (Ferreira, 2001:7); people hardly participate as single individuals. In numerous cases, participation takes place through institutions or organisations, including through traditional or opinion leaders, because these are all close to the community. The principle of involving people is later emphasised in the official address by Habyarimana to the state administration officials in Kigali Prefecture on the 20 May 1975 on the occasion of closing his tour around the country. The principle arose within the annual budget allocation; rural communities contributed 50% of the annual budget for the rural development sector. This contribution is estimated from the community development works (République Rwandaise, 1977b: 5).

Reference to the extent to which the community was self-funding can be criticised. Community participation was, for example, assimilated into labour. Importantly, the five-year plan does not detail information on how the community would benefit from the transferred authority on decision-making and expenditure. From this can be induced not only the lack of community participation, but also that principles for community development are not formulated in sufficiently detailed terms that would reveal the concrete actions that the local community would need to be committed to. The ruling political party (M.R.N.D) was expected to address the concern by defining participation in concrete terms. According to the Manifesto of the M.R.N.D (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 2), community participation is understood to be the result of a strong impulse stemming from the local people themselves, rather than being imposed on them from outside. In this regard, the approach to self-sufficient efforts focuses on a self-conscience stimulation concerning national issues that have also to be understood as a community concern, rather than being a top-down imposition. This statement introduces the shift toward the bottom-up approach. Still, the shift is not clear about the way participation would imply empowerment.

Some clarification has arisen since the transitional period in that the strategic framework for water and sanitation programmes establishes roles and responsibilities among the relevant partners for the purpose of sustainability. Operationally, “The new framework involves strong community participation (especially in rural areas) and gives priority to

capacity building to enhance technical skills of local operators...” (Republic of Rwanda, 1998a: 10). The *Enhancing Structural Adjustment Facility Policy Framework Paper* is more specific about the appropriate mechanisms for establishing community participation. The paper sets a number of activities: “Build and strengthen the role of local communities and the poor in economic and social decision-making; strengthen non-formal education and other capacity-building efforts targeted at [the] rural population.” (Republic of Rwanda, 1998b: 10)

To sum up, it could be said that with the shift from the second Republic to the transitional periods, the definition of community empowerment with development skills becomes clearer in the official documents. The examples of specific activities presented above would address previously community participation and enable the community to play a significant role in the life cycle of a rural development project. Today, the reversal of the former situation is said to be an ongoing process of changing the relation of citizens to government. The situation today is based on planning, with reference to community-identified priorities, and on assisting communities themselves to mobilise their own resources for solving problems they are faced with (République Rwandaise, 2001b: 44).

4.2.2 Role-playing of partners in community development

In the context of community development, networking and partnerships are defined as “institutions involved in development process should work in partnership with local communities in order to attain the expected output...” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 3). The differentiated social categories of the population are considered the valuable partners in the process of community development. Again, official documents do not mention the traditional or opinion leaders.

The review on principles and policies guidelines reveals a tendency to exclude some categories of people from participating in matters regarding their own destiny. Women are among the categories mostly cited for the following reasons: “The onerous

responsibilities of home management and motherhood constrain their participation in the labour market...” (Republic of Rwanda, 1998a: 14). Statistics currently reveal an imbalance in representation between men and women: “In 2000, it was estimated that women constituted 53.5% of the population and 60% of the labour force, though more in agriculture.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2000b: 57) The imbalance in numbers of women associated with their lack of participation, carries negative implications for the implementation of participatory principles and policies guidelines. The formation of cooperative associations, as mechanisms for implementation, should eloquently illustrate these implications over time. Not only have men been statistically dominant over women, but also such an imbalance has been experienced in the process of decision-making. In addition to the gender issue, social exclusion also affects the aged and physically disabled. Disabled people are the most marginalized and excluded from community participation (République Rwandaise, 2001a: 19).

As far as the differentiated social categories of population are concerned, the political sphere is viewed as an important stakeholder. Official statements and political intentions interpret community development in a participatory way. The approach to community development is based on the major conviction that participation of concerned beneficiaries in community development works should hold the central position. The community is regarded as being in a position of trust, at grassroots level, to remain the pillar of sustainable development. Therefore, effective community participation is considered paramount (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 3-15). The political and administrative will is of significant importance to interact in channelling effective participation. As the introductory chapter indicates, political and administrative structures are struggling with an authoritarian attitude among some members of the leadership. An inheritance from the colonial period, this authoritarian attitude is interpreted as an obstacle to community participation. It is argued that colonisation resulted in “the behaviour embedded in our system of development which does not involve people in [the] decision-making process and this has led the beneficiaries into regarding the state as the provider of everything and they play the role of ‘wait and-see’” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 4). However, “This unfortunate situation[,] which has

lasted for long[,] necessitates [that] the nation...launch a reform that focuses on the establishment of mechanisms that will ensure the participation of the population in [a] development process for its sustainability.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 5) In so doing, “the grassroots administration structures were put in place by the presidential decree n° 3/01 of 23/12/1998 which created the councils, executive committees for cells and sectors... For purposes of effective involvement of the population in their development activities the ministerial regulations n° 22/07.04/1 of 31/3/1999” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 16) were subsequently issued. The latter are more specific about the required details of implementation.

As discussed in the previous paragraphs, the community is said to be fully involved in the process of community development. Nevertheless, participation by the community has appeared to have insufficient meaning without an outside contribution. Consequently, outsider partners are officially considered to be of importance as stated in the address of President Habyarimana that issued the decree on the five-year plan 1977-1981. He recognised the synergy resulting from the substantial contribution of outsiders to development achievements and the local community contribution to meeting their own interests by using community development works (*umuganda*) as a relevant tool (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 3). There is a demarcation of roles to be observed in the process of planning and implementing: the outside partners are seen as funding providers while the contribution of the community refers exclusively to providing the labour force. This approach is currently faced with the fieriest criticism. With reference to community development works, the criticism is as follows: “The ‘*umuganda*’ introduced by the second Republic was directed to political mobilisation rather than community development and thus excluded the participation of the population in the management process of their affairs.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 4) In the same way, it is confirmed that in the past communities were requested to provide the labour force to build public infrastructures, such as roads, bridges and so many other public services (République Rwandaise, 2001b: 44). This means that community participation and empowerment were diluted and subsequently diverted to the labour force.

4.2.3 Areas of community participation

The preceding section presented and discussed the networking system of relevant partners involved in the process of community development. Analysing the contributions of the social categories within the population confirmed that the participation of each portion of the population should be present in the system of interactions. This section provides clear information on the fields of participation for the identified partners.

During the post-independent period, it was found that community participation had been limited to providing a labour force. Previous references in the chapter support this statement. More explicitly, the community was involved exclusively in implementation while the process of planning was the monopoly of the political and administrative spheres. However, during the second Republic period, the Minister of Planning pointed out that both planning and programming are significant instruments and key areas for participation. He argued that thoroughly involving the population is viewed as a matter concerning everyone. Without active collaboration from the public sector and without any cohesion of economic partners, the process of planning would be meaningless. He concluded by saying that the 1977-1981 five-year plan would put into effect government commitment to mobilising and involving the population in the search for prosperity (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 12). Attention is drawn to inconsistency in the above statement in that the community role is restricted to implementation. In practice, a lack of participation and empowerment is recorded while, in theory, the national ownership of the policy framework for economic growth and poverty reduction includes the areas affected. The Republic of Rwanda (1998a: 2) notes, "...this framework must be linked to the development of local human resources and institution building to enhance the capacity for designing and implementing poverty-reducing growth policies."

Currently, the implementation of the state policies, in which people at grassroots level are still expected to play a remarkable role, namely the national reconciliation and service delivery, are privileged areas brought about by the participation of the community in the process of planning and implementing: "...reforms will be supported by efforts to promote national reconciliation through...grassroots participation" (Republic of Rwanda,

1998a: 4) and "...community participation...will be used to facilitate the delivery of primary health services, with special emphasis on public hygiene and other preventive practices" (Republic of Rwanda, 1998a: 13). These references illustrate the intended benefits that will result from the participatory policy orientation developed in the Rwandan Vision 2020. Among these policy areas, for instance, are "Increase popular participation in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring processes (and to Promote rapid, pro-poor growth that focuses on the rural sector" (Republic of Rwanda, 2001a: 23).

With the above discussion, the areas of community participation are increasingly being extended. This could be the first step toward realising the shift toward the bottom-up approach that involves a number of participatory approaches. These approaches are expected to be different from the agricultural extension and social animation approaches that are accused of having failed to empower the community with development skills through mass and permanent popular education and through a network of cooperative associations (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 7). The failed approaches placed more value on community developers in rural development projects than on the beneficiaries. As mentioned in Chapter one, these approaches raise an important challenge in terms of their poor contribution to establishing the appropriate community participation in development initiatives.

To sum up, planning, programming and implementation are key areas for participation (République Rwandaise, 1977a: 12) in the second Republic. Within the current transitional period, participatory approaches cover a large number of areas within development projects: "Some NGOs also use the participatory methodology in the conception, elaboration, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the initiated projects." (Republic of Rwanda, 2001d: 6) The government of Rwanda deems it necessary to note that the areas for community participation should be increased and no longer limit themselves exclusively to planning and community development works. Importantly, the principles and policies guidelines plan no longer limits community participation to community development works. The perspectives of decentralisation

expect the community to take responsibility. Therefore, community participation should consist of planning, initiating, making, implementing and monitoring decisions with reference to community needs, priorities, capacities and more importantly, local potentials. With regard to making representative bodies accountable to communities, it is intended to shift the planning and management responsibility from the central government to the grassroots communities where needs are felt and services delivered (République Rwandaise, 2000: 9-10).

4.3 Case study and fieldwork

This section is essentially practical and discusses the extent to which the principles of the CRDP correlate with the principles and policies guidelines for community development in Rwanda, as discussed in the preceding sections. The necessary information is provided to respond to the research questions on the implementation of the principles and policies guidelines for community development. This section is concerned exclusively with the discussion of fieldwork results collected from Rwanda. The introductory chapter discussed the approaches to data collection and the key informants from the CRDP involved in collecting data.

4.3.1 Name of the project

The name of the project is the Community Reintegration Development Project (CRDP), an ongoing project in Rwanda. For ease of reference, the location of the area under study is shown in the administrative Rwandan map (see Appendix C).

4.3.2 Criteria for selection

The CRDP is selected from among many development projects. With regard to the governmental Community Development Policy, there is a consensus among state officials and project managers that the project is perceived as successful. Two mid-term evaluations support this view; on the one hand, “Compared to past development policies

in Rwanda, the Bank-financed Community Reintegration and Development Project (CRDP) exemplifies the Government's new approach toward decentralisation and participation. Given the complex socio-political context, achievements to date are impressive." (Rwanda, 2001: 1) On the other hand, an independent evaluator notes, "Observations from site-visits show indeed that the CRDP development objective is being attained: the process of decentralising the decision-making has become evident and community participation as well as whatever related to it are carried out." (Sebagabo, 2001: 50) In addition to both these evaluations, the CRDP Coordinator corroborates the success with comparative experiences from abroad, "Mali and Burkina Faso have been running the decentralisation programmes for a while. What we have so far completed for three years has led us to at least an equivalent step to the one made by both the countries recently visited." (Interview with the Project Coordinator on the 2 July 2002 in Kigali)

4.3.3 Description of the project

The description of the project draws on information collected from the identified key informants and from the available documentation on the project. Later, there will be comment on a number of issues that could provoke an ambiguous interpretation.

Goal, objectives and target groups

The goal, specific objectives and target groups are defined from the context that resulted in the project. The project was established as a mechanism for the World Bank to financially support the community without any governmental intermediary. The Bank-financed CRDP has arranged the target groups into two categories. On the one hand, there are the CDCs that are identified as technical development structures responsible for initiating and coordinating immediate action and restructuring ongoing activities at district level. They are viewed as close intermediary structures mediating between the project and the community. On the other hand, there is the massive return of refugees from the DRC and Tanzania, which occurred in late 1996 and early 1997, together with vulnerable groups that emerged from the 1994 war and genocide in Rwanda.

The emergency induced by the identified target groups led the government to negotiate financial support from the World Bank. The negotiations resulted in the consensual implementation of the CRDP. The assigned goal of the project is “to demonstrate that community reintegration and development can effectively take place through a process of government decentralisation and community participation.” (Rwanda, 2001: 3) The project intends to tackle the formulated goal through defined actions (Rwanda, 2001: 3) such as to:

- Assist returnees and other vulnerable groups through a process of community-based reintegration and development; and to
- Strengthen the capacity of local communities and the administration at commune and national levels for the implementation of development projects.

The project associates a number of outcomes with the identified goal, objectives and target groups.

Measurable outcomes/Critical success factors/Benefits

The process of planning discusses the mechanisms for achieving the formulated goal and objectives. These mechanisms include a number of key performance indicators as cited below (Rwanda, 2001: 5):

- (i) Openness of dialogue achieved in the CDCs of participant Communes;
- (ii) Extent of transparency and accountability within the local decision making process of participating Communes;
- (iii) Level of satisfaction of beneficiaries with community-level project outcomes;
- (iv) Assessment regarding the replicability of the project activities on a wider scale.

From the interview with the Project Coordinator, the intended benefits are summed up from the identified perspectives for the income-generating sub-projects. The following are the perspectives:

- Financing the returnees and vulnerable groups to help them in equipping themselves with agricultural tools and seeds as they had nothing left in their stores; and
- Organisational support for the returnees and vulnerable groups in running small-scale projects to improve their economic living conditions, which deteriorated during the war and genocide.

The project refers to the concept of a Community Development Plan, in which the community is seen as a critical factor for success. The Community Development Plan is interpreted as a relevant tool that depicts the real needs felt by the community and the priorities that the project deals with. To deal with the needs and priorities, the project undertakes a number of concrete activities.

Project activities or components

During the massive return of refugees from the DRC and Tanzania, the existing context could invoke on the appropriate interventions, as illustrated in the interview with the Project Coordinator, “Most houses were destroyed, there was no socio-economic infrastructure left and in some rare cases of surviving infrastructure there was no equipment left. As the communities were affected by the 1994 war and genocide, they had stopped farming and consequently had no food in store.” (Interview with the CRDP Project Coordinator on the 2 July 2002 in Kigali) This context prompted the project to plan significant activities that aimed at achieving the intended benefits outlined above. The process of planning the activities closely integrated the human and material aspect of the concept of development: a crucial relationship was established between the human development and material development. As a response to the prevailing context, urgent interventions were centred on supporting organisationally the community so that it could run income-generating sub-projects and subsequently in creating job opportunities. As a result, efforts were concentrated on conceptualising, designing and implementing income-generating sub-projects, such as investing in the areas of farming, raising domestic animals, and pursuing commerce on a small scale. At the same time, a number of activities in progress are contributing to revitalising the community infrastructures, for

instance, repairing existing and building new schools and health centres, and installing water sanitation and electricity.

Before the project was launched, relevant partners involved in the implementation were empowered with significant development skills. Within the vision of human development, a number of training activities were viewed as forming an appropriate approach because of their capacity building potential. Training activities are planned to meet the “deep understanding of the respective roles and responsibilities of all the partners involved in the implementation. Strengthening local and central capacities remains one of the key elements of the project.” (République Rwandaise, 1998: 13) **Table 4.1** presents further details of the scheduled training activities. The operating areas of the CRDP consist of capacity building sub-projects, income-generating sub-projects and infrastructural sub-projects (Republic of Rwanda, 2001: 50).

Table 4.1: Training activities and beneficiaries (PCMU and District level)

Period	Training activities	Beneficiaries
March-June 1999	Financial management software	Project accountant
April-June 1999	Procurement, disbursement and financial management	PCMU staff
July 1999	PRA principles	PCMU staff
July-August 1999	Participation of community development plans	CDC members
November 1999	Organisation and functioning of associations, preparation of income-generating sub-projects	CDC members and local CRDP staff
January 2000	Procurement and financial management	Local CRDP staff
January-February 2000	Savings and credit, financial management of income-generating sub-projects	CDC members and local CRDP staff
May 2000	Disbursement, request for reimbursements, management of CDC project accountants	CDC accountants
June 2000	Procurement, participatory rural appraisals	PCMU staff
June 2000	Training of grassroots structures	Training officer
November 2000	Accounting	Local CRDP staff
November 2000	Accounting and procurement	CDC presidents and signatories of CDC accountants
November 2000	Participatory rural appraisals, gender, conflict resolution, and environment	Three best trainers of each of the 12 project CDCs

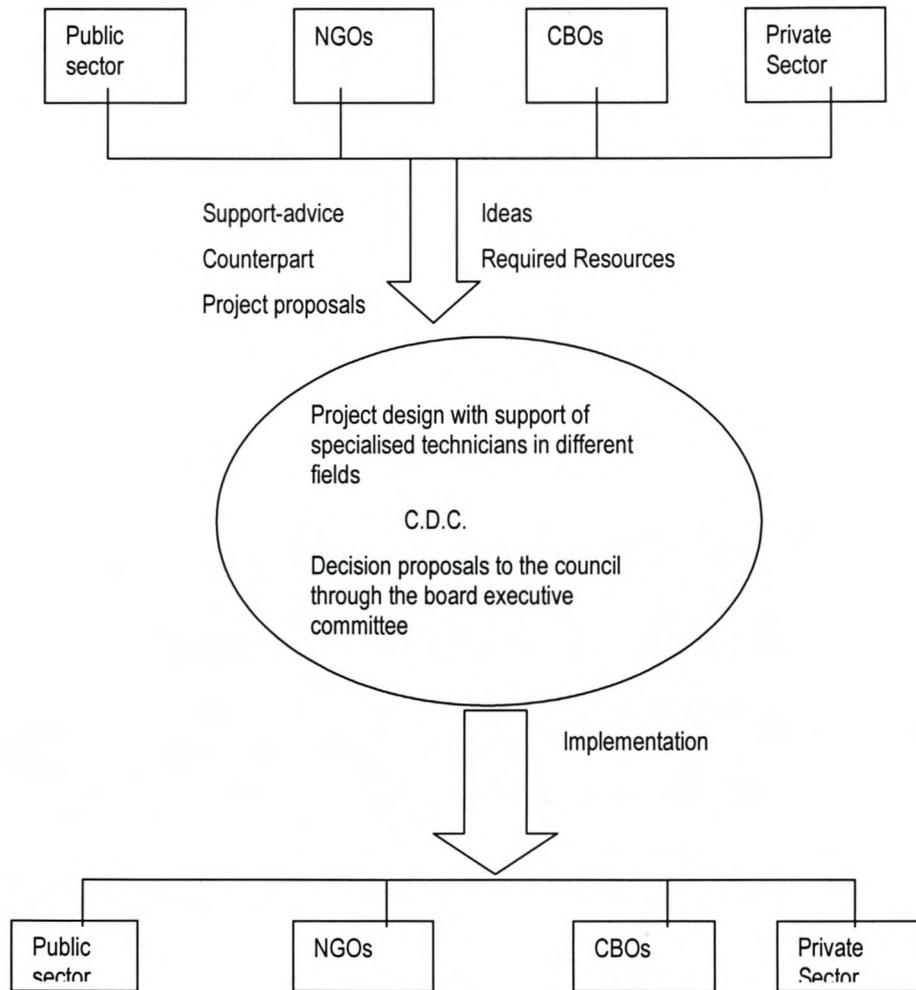
Source: Project Coordination and Monitoring Unit

As the Table indicates, community beneficiaries that benefited immediately from training activities are CDCs. It was assumed that, together with the local project staff, the CDCs would in turn empower the returnees and vulnerable groups with the required development skills for the project interventions. However, local project staff were viewed as follows in a number of cases: “The first problem is that those who themselves are supposed to collaborate with the new and less experienced structures, seem to substitute for them and act on their behalf, instead of training them to be self-reliant. In addition to preparing sub-projects and training people, it is necessary to sensitise communities in identifying felt needs.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator on the 2 July 2002 in Kigali)

Management system and human resource base

The systems that are required to implement and manage the CRDP interventions include: project records, filing systems, keeping track of the project participants, ongoing fieldwork, a photocopy machine, computers, and transport to facilitate site-visits. The project has individuals to manage the project at headquarter and district levels. At headquarter level, the project includes the Project Coordinator, a person in charge of training activities, a person in charge of monitoring and evaluating the sub-projects, the PCMU Accountant and a secretary. At district level, a Development Agent and Accountant are entrusted with the management of the project. Besides, “Community Development Committees (CDCs) have been established and are firmly in control of project management at local level.” (Rwanda, 2001: 1) Because of the special focus on intensive capacity building for CDC members (see training activities), it is said that the implementation of sub-project activities is progressing fast. Therefore, the role of CDCs in the management of the development project is said to be of greater importance. Because of the sub-project activities, they were empowered with development skills and are subsequently performing their role of coordinating the relevant stakeholders involved in community development. This role is described in **Figure 4.1** as presented below:

Figure 4.1: The coordinating role of the CDC in community development



Source: Republic of Rwanda (2001d: 20)

With reference to the figure, “Development Committees...are technical coordinators of the community development. This however, does not imply that they replace technicians and other actors in development (NGOs, CBOs, private sector, etc.) who are specialised in one field or the other, but they serve as a core in [coordinating]...all development activities.” (Republic of Rwanda, 2001c: 19) The figure fails to mention opinion leaders among the partners, while they are identified later as strongly intervening in some cases of community passivity.

Apart from the above, the CDC could also be included among the individuals who manage the project if the responsibilities for which it was officially established are considered, such as some noted in official documents (République Rwandaise, 1998: 9):

- To design the annual plan for community development based on needs assessment using the Participatory Rural Appraisal approach;
- To approve the income-generating sub-project;
- To coordinate the project and the related sub-projects; and
- To monitor the implementation of the sub-projects.

For these purposes a number of stakeholders acting as partners are identified for the management of the project.

Stakeholders

The World Bank is the main funding organisation involved in the project and, as such, it subsequently intervenes in the implementation of the governmental Community Development Policy. In so doing, “it seeks for direct ways of financing the community and for assessing the quality of financial management, which results from the involvement of government management.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator on the 2 July 2002 in Kigali) In addition to the World Bank, the community concerned with the infrastructural sub-projects is included among the funding partners. The financial contribution of the community is viewed as proof of its having appropriated the project, and is a precondition to launching sub-project activities in the community. In this way, not only does the community show its commitment to appropriating the project, but the community also ensures the financial sustainability of the project.

This view is confirmed by the words of the Project Coordinator, “We oblige the concerned districts to take responsibility for the running costs to sustain the infrastructures being established. Within the design of a school project, for instance, they are requested to include a detailed plan for the school management after the project is completed.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator on the 2 July 2002 in Kigali) During discussions by a group of community beneficiaries, the debate focused on the

possible sources of community financial contributions. One of the beneficiaries argued, “To take part in sustaining social and economic infrastructures, we should agree on savings organisations in our community. Financial contributions would emanate from the financed income-generating activities and the goats we are being given to raise.” (Group discussions with community beneficiaries from the District of Maraba, 12 July 2002) To express the community appropriation of social and economic infrastructures, “the project requests 5% of the total cost while raising infrastructures...the community has to participate even though we are aware of their limited financial resources. Instead of financial resources, the community may at least contribute labour whenever deemed necessary.” (Interview with the Development Agent of Maraba District, 12 July 2002) The view of providing a labour force is later supported, because of the financial condition of the community: “Currently no one can expect financial participation from the population that is presently poor. The only available resources would consist of community labour. This is an important advantage for the country with the active human resources amounting to five million.” (Interview with the Government Official in charge of regional planning, 3 July 2002).

In summing up, the World Bank, the community and the Government are viewed as significant partners that influence one another. The negotiations between the government and funding organisations have resulted in numerous participatory projects. But perhaps mention should be made of the competing service providers in the context: “The massive return of refugees has made the government appeal to many funding organisations. Besides the CRDP, there were many development projects involved.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002) Therefore, competition in delivering similar services is presumed. During the interviews with development agents, this concern was raised up and the PRP-financed income-generating sub-projects were referred to as an illustration. Particularly, irregularities in the funding and reimbursement system reflect some biases.

Context

When the transitional Rwandan government came to power, an enormous number of Rwandan citizens left for the neighbouring countries. A few years later, in late 1996 and

early 1997, they came back en masse. Their return subsequently induced an emergency that consisted of resettling them in their respective villages. Not only were they many in number, but also most of their homes had been destroyed in the 1994 war. As indicated above, the negotiations between the government of Rwanda and the World Bank resulted in an agreement within the CRDP on implementing appropriate interventions. The problem that required attention was clarified as a matter of reintegrating the returnees into the normal life of their villages, with a consideration of the context in which families in particular and communities in general had been dislocated. (Interview with the CRDP Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali) The emergency interventions and sustainable solutions were undertaken simultaneously.

In so doing, the “joint Rwandan Government/UNDP/World Bank mission for immediate needs assessment and priority actions for emergency was established. The mission recommended the initiation of an emergency programme for reintegration and reconstruction.”(République Rwandaise, 1998: 1) At the same time, the mission “proposed the establishment of a flexible decentralised financing and implementation mechanism, the Commune Reintegration and Development Fund, to effectively address the immediate transitional needs (shelter, economic and social infrastructure, and income generation) and capacity building requirements of communes.” (Rwanda, 2001: 2) The Emergency Reintegration and Reconstruction Programme (ERRP) was subsequently designed and implemented, and later became the CRDP. The CRDP was therefore implemented to make workable the objective of the ERRP “to help the Government cope with the massive return of refugees (over 1.5 million) in late 1996 and early 1997.” (Rwanda, 2001: 2) In particular, the CRDP was implemented as a workable approach to the flexible decentralised financing and implementation mechanism for the sustainable reintegration of returnees.

The geographical location of the CRDP is illustrated in Appendix C. As indicated in the introductory chapter as well as in the previous sections of this chapter, the CRDP is an ongoing project operating in Rwanda. When the pilot phase was launched, the project

involved four communes from four Prefectures. According to Sebagabo (2001: 5), the communes involved were: Mubuga (Prefecture of Gikongoro), Mutura (Prefecture of Gisenyi), Gituza (Prefecture of Byumba), and Nyagatare (Prefecture of Umutara). When the pilot phase was completed, the project was extended to eight additional communes: the communes of Huye, Maraba, Mbazi and Shyanda (Prefecture of Butare), the communes of Kinyami, Mukarange and Ngarama (Prefecture of Byumba), and the commune of Muvumba (Prefecture of Umutara). However, the identified areas do not appear as such in the Appendix C because of the recent reorganisation of Rwanda's administrative units. Because the communes have been transferred in whole or in part to new provinces, there are now new alignments of districts. According to this new organisation, the districts currently concerned with the project are the following: Nyaruguru (Province of Gikongoro), Save, Maraba, Municipality of Butare (Province of Butare), Humure, Rushaki, Ngarama, Rebero (Province of Byumba), Mutura (Gisenyi), and Muvumba and Kabare (Province of Umutara). The map of Rwanda (**see Appendix C**) enables the reader to locate clearly the area of the project. The project activities are scattered over the country, and this study does not intend to cover the whole area. The research results to be presented limit themselves to the Province of Butare, with particular attention being paid to the district of Maraba and the Municipality of Butare.

The next concern is the extent to which the CRDP is a rural-based community project. In Chapter two (Section 2.2), some definitions of 'rural community' demonstrated it to be a complex, multidimensional concept. As a rural-based community project, the CRDP is dealing with community problems induced by the rural context. The words of the Project Coordinator provide proof: "We have got income generating projects. They were designated to fund the vulnerable groups and subsequently allow them to equip themselves with farming tools and seeds, as they had no stores. They were also designated to allow the groups to sort out for themselves matters regarding financial problems, and in the long run, to construct an accommodation for themselves." (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali). That the CRDP is a rural-based community development project can be proved from its rural-based location. However, the fact that the Municipality of Butare is included should not give rise to any

confusion: “The project is operating in the town of Butare to learn about the similarities and differences of the specific problems related to rural and urban areas. Nevertheless, the differences are not remarkable. This is because Butare is theoretically a town. There are one or two urbanised quarters while the remaining areas are really rural.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali) Importantly, the re-organisation of Rwanda’s administrative entities has transferred many rural areas concerned with the project to a municipality.

4.3.4 Evaluation of the project

In terms of the development life cycle (**Figure 1.1**), the CRDP complies with the phases of conceptualisation and design. With regard to participation, the community is limited to providing the community developers with input for developing the relevant baseline to planning; there is this basic consistency from interviews and documentation on the project (République Rwandaise, 1999: v). The use of Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) aims at constituting the baseline on which project interventions are established. Not only were there no statistics relating to the community needs and problems, but also, in some rare cases where statistics were available, they did not depict the real situation.

In connection with the above, the Development Agents unanimously viewed the PRA to be a relevant tool that enabled the community itself to identify its perceived needs, to think of solutions suitable to available resources, to identify constraints that needed overcoming, and to subsequently set up significant strategies (**Appendix B**). The merit of this approach consists of involving the community in the developing the Community Development Plan and the Annual Action Plan from the established baseline. The interventions in process were designed in compliance with the priorities identified by the community itself (Interview with the Development Agent of Maraba District, 11 July 2002). The compliance of the project with the required development project phases is responsible for a number of achievements.

As previously indicated, the project is perceived as a success. Evaluations conducted by both the World Bank (Rwanda, 2001: 3) and the independent evaluator (Sebagabo, 2001: 50) pronounced the project as such, a success. Both parties evaluated the success in terms of the degree of decentralisation and participation and of the level of social capital, which are all identified as performance indicators of the development project objective. Success is also interpreted from the following details: “All CDCs discuss project related issues in a frank manner and resolve problems harmoniously. All CDCs interact with the population regularly and transparently. For instance, the community development and action plans are affixed visibly in each local CRDP office, comparing planned with actual results.” (Rwanda, 2001: 6) Because of the above interpretation of success, there is an agreement between the Rwandan government and the World Bank on funding a community development project on a large scale, “The Rwandan Government has asked whether the World Bank is ready to finance a sectarian community development after CRDP interventions are completed. The World Bank positively agrees and the design is at present undergoing a feasibility study.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali). The agreement indirectly states that, on the one hand, the community has the capacity of managing rural development projects itself. On the other hand, the community has ensured a certain standard of financial management. These outcomes are said to be the result of community participation induced by the transfer of decision-making and controlling of financial resources to the community itself.

Not only did the acknowledged success of the project result in the above agreement, but the agreement also illustrates political decisions on community development. The most cited refers to the presidential decree that resulted from the experimental process initiated by the Ministry of Local Administration in partnership with the CRDP. This decree set up participatory structures at community level that included mainly the CDC as defined above as coordinating structures for community development: “From that experimental process, the research findings led to the first presidential decree from which grassroots structures were created in 1998.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali)

In conclusion, the achievements discussed above have raised the project to the status of a model for community development. The use of the Community Development Plan has served as key variable in depicting the real situation of a community in need of intervention. Such an approach is becoming a model for the state and for privately initiated development projects. The governmental official in charge of regional planning states, "That plan should be applicable to all the participatory community development projects over the country as a model. For example, the MINERENA is drawing inspiration from it within the World Bank-financed water project. So also does the MINEDUC within its school building projects. It is such a basic model for planning, widely known, that all new development projects are requested to integrate the plan." (Interview with the government official in charge of regional planning, 3 July 2002 in Kigali)

4.3.5 Determination of community participation and empowerment levels

The case study has clearly documented the valuable role of the community in community development. The precondition to this role is interpreted as being the stated mission of the Community Development Policy that consists of "decentralising authority and resources: training communities and delivering significant equipment to substitute decision-making from the central government by community-based decision-making." (Interview with the Government Official in charge of regional planning, 3 July 2002 in Kigali). In this respect, the project has decentralised the control of authority and financial resources to the CDC members to allow the community to develop itself.

With regard to the role of the community in self-development, the testimony of the Development Agent from the Municipality of Butare is conclusive, "When a Development Agent organises site-visits within the District, he/she gets an idea of what the problem for a particular community may be. However, when he/she consults to the PRA approach, the community concerned may differently identify the problem

previously perceived. Further, the way the community suggests solving the problem may be different from the way an outsider would imagine. This means that the contribution of the community to identifying the perceived needs and to contributing to solutions remains valuable.” (Interview with the Development Agent of the Municipality of Butare, 11 July 2002) The inputs brought by the community are unanimously considered relevant for developing the Community Development Plan, and the Annual Action Plan that are derived from community priorities by the community body representatives (Interview with the Development Agent of Maraba District, 11 July 2002). What is meant here is that there is a level at which the establishment and synchronisation of priorities becomes the monopoly of the representative structures.

Similarly, the final draft of these plans involves exclusively the representative structures that decide on behalf of the community. A similar case is experienced where the “Opinion leaders can evidently influence community members on a number of issues where they show themselves apathetic about community development.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali) The concern to be discussed in detail is whether the Community Development Plan and Annual Action Plan reflect the original voice of the community. In a context where the active human resources present a high rate of illiteracy, there is at least doubt that they can contribute to the synchronisation task, the interpreting and deciding on community inputs. For example, the World Bank (2001: 96) reports on adult illiteracy in 1999 as rated at 27% and 41% respectively for males and females aged 15 and over. At the same time, youth illiteracy is rated at 15% and 20% respectively for males and females aged 15 to 24 years old. The structure and formal responsibilities of the CDC will empower the study with strong arguments that community participation contributes to ruling out the biases induced by the challenges identified earlier in the study. Such biases are obstacles to participation.

Table 4.2: Measuring scale for community participation and empowerment in the CRDP

INDICATOR	NONE	VERY LIMITED	AVERAGE	ABOVE AVERAGE
1. Approach to planning		<p>The joint Rwandan government/UNDP/World Bank mission was established for immediate needs assessment and priority actions for emergency;</p> <p>The mission proposed the establishment of a flexible decentralised financing and implementation mechanism to address the immediate transitional needs and capacity building;</p> <p>Within the approach to planning based on the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), community developers involve the community in constituting a baseline. The baseline includes: community identified needs, solutions related to available resources, constraints to overcome, and significant strategies by the community;</p> <p>From the baseline, the CDC members develop the long-term Community Development Plan and the Annual Action Plan according to the established order of priorities. The project plans its interventions according to the Annual Action Plan developed.</p>		
2. Implementation of rural development projects			<p>Development Agents manage the project dependently with involvement from the CDC members that are firmly in control of project management. In their coordinating role, the agents are jointly involved with the project staff in the management of funds, in selecting architects for designing and implementing infrastructural sub-projects, and in the monitoring, evaluation and administration of the implementation of the sub-projects in progress.</p>	
3. Locating decision-making power in non-elite people and			<p>Together with the CDC members, Community developers discuss the community perceived needs or problems, the possible solutions</p>	

<p>freeing them from manipulation and co-option</p>			<p>related to available resources, the wording by priority, and the strategies with the community. These field inputs are included in the Annual Action Plan on which the CRDP interventions are based</p>	
<p>4. Mobilization of resources</p> <p>5. Formal and informal education to create awareness</p> <p>6. System of partnerships</p>	<p>Before the development project began, the CRDP organised training activities to empower the staff and the coordinating CDC institution with relevant knowledge, skills and experience to provide the community with the capacity for self-development management and a high standard of financial management. But the community, in turn, complains that it has not been trained.</p>	<p>When an Action Plan for an intervention is made at district level, the agreement on implementation is signed. The project delivers ¼ of the total budget to the CDC that is in charge of the financial management. The subsequent budgets are allocated according to how the CDC presents the financial accountability of the community to the project. The beneficiary community contributes 5% (which could be translated into community labour) of the total cost of each infrastructural sub-project. The community is also responsible for the recurring funds to sustain each sub-project. Beneficiaries reimburse loans for income generating sub-projects.</p>	<p>The partnership is established in such a way that the CDC, the World Bank-funding organisation and the Rwandan Government are the main partners. Within the partnership, the CDC acts by proxy on behalf of the beneficiary community.</p>	

While community representative bodies, as seen above, are thought to provoke some obstacles to participation and empowerment, the fieldwork results unanimously establish that these problems are the responsibility of the leadership. Firstly, “Some government officials experience a major loss of power in coping with the National Policy for Decentralisation. Therefore, empowering the community with the principles of decentralisation would inconvenience them.” (Interview with the government official in charge of regional planning, 3 July 2002) Secondly, “The policy of decentralisation is quite new...It should be mentioned that there are weaknesses even among District officials. They are conversant with the theory but not the practice.” (Interview with the Development Agent of the Municipality of Butare, 11 July 2002) Thirdly, the community is said to have not yet integrated the concept of decentralisation on which participation and empowerment depend.

The community representative says, “It is really too early for the community to think freely about development initiatives. One year after the policy of decentralisation was established, some officials have not yet integrated that concept. There is nothing surprising if the community has not either.” (Interview with the CDC representative of the Municipality of Butare, 19 July 2002 in Butare)

The general view of the project leads to an analysis of the degree to which the project contributes to community participation and empowerment. The fieldwork results described are summarised in the analysis grid (see Table 4.2), which indicates the degree of participation and empowerment of the community.

4.3.6 Compliance with the principles and policies guidelines

As the analysis grid indicates, it is clearly apparent that the degree of community participation and empowerment is rated poorly. The shape of the analysis grid is irregular, if a comparison can be established between the Rwandan and the South African experience (see case studies from Chapter three). Within the latter experience, the

successful development project was associated with a thorough compliance with the prescribed principles and policies guidelines, and vice versa, in terms of scope, target groups, and social and political stability. With regard to social and political stability, the case of Stutterheim differs. Here, social and political stability was discussed as a neutral explanatory variable of its success.

The context in which the CRDP was conceptualised, planned and implemented is very different from earlier cases in the region, in which an exclusive mission made up of a few stakeholders acted on behalf of the community in the context of an emergency. In connection with the contemporary social and political context, the project served as a mechanism for translating into practice the reformist approach to governance. Therefore, it was institutionally assigned to ambitious goals and broader objectives although the measurement outcomes at community level may reveal differences from the research findings issued in the evaluations completed by the World Bank and an independent evaluator. In similar context, the appraisal of compliance would not be realistic. At the same time, the CDC that is committed to piloting community participation and empowerment is entrusted with many responsibilities that divert its attention to administrative rather than technical matters. Within Article 82, the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda entails the responsibilities of the CDC as being to:

- Prepare the District's development action plan;
- Undertake the follow-up and the control of activities and development projects of the District;
- Supervise the administration and finance of projects in the District;
- Prepare the draft of the development budget of the District; and
- Organise the sensitisation of the population with regard to development activities.

In conclusion, the arguments discussed above are just some of the reasons for the poor compliance of the CRDP with the principles and policies guidelines for community development as determined in **Table 4.2**.

Chapter five: Relevance of the South African experience for Rwanda and proposals guidelines

The analysis grids presented in the preceding two chapters will be used in this chapter to demonstrate the relevance for this study of each case study. The implementation of the principles and policies guidelines for community development in Rwanda and South Africa will be compared. The relevance of this comparison will emerge in the discussion of the usefulness of the guiding principles, which will later result in the proposals guidelines for community development.

5.1 Relevance of the South African experience for Rwanda

As far as successful and unsuccessful case studies are concerned, this section aims at highlighting the strengths and weaknesses identified from the case studies, for which the analysis grids were established. The identification of the strengths and weaknesses will provide some illustrative lessons and experiences that can be used to support solid arguments. It is assumed that such lessons and experiences will be useful in bridging similar gaps that could hinder the successful process of planning and implementing for further rural development projects. The relevance of the South African experience for Rwanda is to be understood in this way.

5.1.1 Learning from mistakes

As discussed in the introductory and preceding chapters, the MWO is a confirmed example of a completed, rural-based development project, during the post-apartheid periods, that failed to yield results. With regard to the analysis grid for the MWO, the responsibility for the failure is established as being the result of poorly conducted participation and empowerment that materialises during the processes of planning and implementing (**Table 3.4**). A number of deficiencies were identified and are now discussed to offer advice on further development planning.

For instance, the forms of assistance rendered by outside community developers are widely cited as being a factor of community disempowerment, on the one hand, and of community empowerment, on the other hand. For each side, the relative extent to which the community developers involve beneficiaries in the process of planning, instead of doing things on their behalf, is of major importance. In reality, assistance for community development purposes should be formally viewed as being a full-scale organising process that involves, “on the one hand addressing immediate needs and on the other hand, institutionalising an on-going process of social awareness...” (Selener, 1997: 23). The Welfare officers in the MWO, as a result of insufficient knowledge in development planning, failed to initiate such a process and were subsequently led to act on behalf of the mothers with children under five. They were thus not complying with “the process through which members of...community identify a problem, collect and analyse information, and act upon the problem in order to find solutions and to promote social and political transformation.” (Selener, 1997: 17) Because of wrong kind of assistance, the process of planning did not take place from within the community.

For example, the members of the MWO were requested to choose the type of project they wanted to be engaged in from several proposed projects designed for them. However, the principles of community development state that the community developer should be “a committed participant, facilitator, and learner in the research process...involved in developing community members’ capacities for the collective identification and analysis of problems and the implementation of actions...” (Selener, 1997: 21). Because this requirement of the community developer was not met, the MWO beneficiaries depended heavily on the Welfare officers’ approach to planning and implementing. The mothers were merely expected to adhere to the Flagship project, which was planned by the Welfare officers chiefly to provide gainful employment for them. Some critics support the thesis that development projects planned in the same way as the Flagship project do not allow community developer to contribute to community empowerment in terms of an increase in power. In paraphrasing Conchelos (1983), Selener (1997: 28-29) supports this study by illustrating the intended benefits for development projects, which the MWO failed to meet: “Increasing in power are the outcome of successful resource development

and management and are manifested by 1) an increased capacity for reflection developed by groups before taking action, 2) a broadening in the range of options for actions to be implemented, and 3) a greater degree of freedom and autonomy in implementing actions.” Instead, in the MWO, the mothers have remained prey to the top-down process of planning. A relationship can be established between this failure and the lack of awareness the community resources.

While the lack of awareness of the available resources is an obstacle to forming self-reliant development projects, the mobilisation of existing resources remains a critical factor in explaining the failure of the MWO. The vision of the MWO regarding the resources required for running the development project was too narrow. The MWO was designed with the view to being supported by the Department of Welfare and Population Development, by which an amount of R3 million had been earmarked for projects of a similar nature. The hopes of the mothers that they would benefit from the project did not materialise because, unfortunately, the project's narrow awareness of community resources did not promote self-reliance. The ideal situation would be one in which “The process of identifying...resources and discovering possibilities for their optimal use catalyses self-reliant development. A variety of resources might be identified, e.g. local skills, land, new marketing channels or strategies, appropriate agricultural techniques, local leaders, and existing knowledge or information, among others.” (Selener, 1997: 20) In particular, the local skills as well as existing knowledge or information were barely considered by the Welfare officers in terms of making a success of the MWO.

It was found that the project did not provide spin-offs in terms of empowering the community with knowledge and skills to deal with community needs and problems (**Table 3.4**). As the introductory chapter indicates, the consideration of the potential of local knowledge is a valuable initial step in the process of planning. It is widely agreed that the “people’s knowledge is a key feature of participatory research. Popular knowledge is the empirical, common sense knowledge belonging to the people at the grassroots and constituting part of their cultural heritage.” (Selener, 1997: 25) It could be said that knowledge is one of the latent potentials associated with each community. In

the context of developing the community, community developers should try to bring out community latent talents that many community members unconsciously possess. The relationship previously established between participation and knowledge can be conclusively extrapolated to the case of the MWO. If the degree of participation and empowerment in the MWO was noticeably poor, it is a result of the failure of the officials of the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development to draw out community knowledge. The reason why the officials imposed a certain way of planning on the MWO would then be interpreted through their failure to realise that rural-based development projects in general, and the MWO in particular, depend for their success on actions from which knowledge arises. To confirm this view, it is firmly acknowledged that “knowledge arises from human action, that it begins and ends in practice. In other words, the generation of knowledge begins with the identification of the practical problems, and the main reason for generating knowledge is to solve those problems.” (Selener, 1997: 15) This reference implies the relevant preventive strategies that can assist in ruling out failures of the same nature as the MWO.

The MWO can definitely be interpreted as a failure in facilitating the participation of the beneficiaries and in empowering them with the required development skills for community development. In a special way, this case study actually provides relevance for Rwanda. The major factor of failure of the MWO was identified as being a failure of the state officials to play an interactive role. While the CDCs in Rwanda include some state officials at district level, the same bias could be presumed even though they are involved in designing and monitoring infrastructural sub-projects, and in helping the CRDP beneficiaries to design and monitor income-generating sub-projects. Therefore, the MWO should serve as a warning that state officials should not dominate the designing and running of development projects. Also, the MWO provides to an outstanding degree relevant partners who can offer significant advice on running specific projects of small scope, in order to keep track of participants. The above practice was adopted because of the long distances that prevent MWO participants from meeting regularly. In so doing, it was agreed to refer to multi-site projects instead of one large scope project.

5.1.2 Learning from success

In line with the relevance of the South African experience for Rwanda, this section is concerned with highlighting the strengths of the South African case studies. Under the illumination of the identified strengths and lessons or experience learnt from the preceding section, the Rwandan case study will be discussed with the objective of whether it is leading to success or failure.

5.1.2.1 Success factors of rural-based development projects within the post-apartheid period

This section is concerned with the successful rural-based development project in South Africa, the Zimiseline Community Project (ZCP). The ZCP is described as being an example of a completed and successful rural-based development project within the post-apartheid period. The analysis grid (**Table 3.7**) relevant to this case associates its success with a high degree of community participation and empowerment, which places the ZCP in complete contrast to the preceding case. The section emphasises the strengths of the ZCP that serve as the basis of its success and that are relevant to the process of development planning at community level.

Within the ZCP, the approach to planning was characterized by the release and development of local capacities, and participation was viewed “as the involvement of the projects’ beneficiaries in decision-making, implementation and evaluation.” (Garcia-Zamor, 1985: 4) Because the problem was induced by the blind people who had completed their medical treatment at the Manguzi Hospital, creating the required local resources was the first prerequisite and consisted of stimulating and organising latent skills and existing knowledge on information, as referred to above by Selener (1997: 20). The blind people were considered important stakeholders and acted as full partners. The attention paid to the local capacities during the process of planning for the ZCP valued the formal bottom-up approach in the participatory and empowerment manner referred to Garcia-Zamor (1985: 3). He argues that “bottom-up planning is advocated as an ideal approach to development...[where]...theory and practice of empowering people and communities to participate in development projects have advanced...” The ZCP phase of

implementation manifested itself as being a success. The major factor of this success is considered to be the result of the inclusive approach to designing the ZCP.

The management of the project is said to have rested on the shoulders of the blind people themselves. Within the inclusive approach, the ZCP representative body, assisted by some of the health team members, was entrusted with the process of project implementation in which community beneficiaries had an equal voice. The project is said to have been a success because it involved specific stakeholders, for example, the traditional and administrative structure, namely, the Headmen and the Chiefs of the operating area of the project. This approach shows an increased compliance with the theoretical principles according to which participation should be created in community development. As an illustration, Garcia-Zamor (1985: 4) argues, "Participation can be induced formally through committees or boards, who encourage local community people to make known their views... Programme managers can also enlist local involvement in defining the objectives of the project, determining the methods taken to reach objectives, and seeing and participating in the results." In working closely with the blind people, the representative body was viewed as the project management committee and was therefore responsible for the decision-making on the processes of planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the project.

Locating decision-making power in the community beneficiaries is relevant to the success of the ZCP. The project arose from within the community as a result of the facilitation of the health team member from Manguzi Hospital. The blind people owned the project from the beginning and were subsequently enabled to assume responsibilities and to initiate developmental actions. With reference to the third indicator (see **Table 3.7**), they were able to make the project sustainable and are subsequently still able to cater for themselves to date. With reference to the project activities discussed in Chapter three, the sustainability of the ZCP is assessed positively from "its income generating potential which insures that the project will continue in the absence of the community worker..." (Gumbi, 2001: 152). The detailed discussion in Chapter three notes that the

activities initiated by the blind people were financially gainful. The sustainability of the ZCP is the result of the process of resource mobilisation.

In terms of first indicator that covers the approach to planning, resources for the ZCP were not available. Lombard (1991, quoted by Gumbi, 2001: 151) suggests alternatives to be initiated in such a case, "If resources are not available from the community, they are brought in from outside or, if possible, they are created." The latter alternative applies to the ZCP. In line with the aim of the project, resource mobilisation paid greater attention to empowering the blind people with knowledge, skills and expertise. These identified resources enabled the blind people be free of the domination of the involved stakeholders. For example, the community health nurse and the occupational therapist acted simply as facilitators. More importantly, various stakeholders had to enquire about the project when it was already in process in order to become involved. To sum up, what can be established as relevant here is the fact that the project arose from within the ranks of the community beneficiaries. The same community beneficiaries owned the project from its preliminary phases till the phase of sustainability.

To sum up, the success of the ZCP as determined through the identified indicators (see Table 3.7) depended rather on the system of managing the project than the post-apartheid context. This conclusion contrasts with the theoretical assumptions previously discussed according to which the apartheid structures influenced the success or failure of community developments. A further point to be raised is that this case study provides relevance for Rwanda in including traditional leaders among the active stakeholders for community development.

5.1.2.2 Impact of the apartheid structures on the success of rural-based development projects

Some of the arguments discussed in Chapter three have established a link between the structures of the apartheid regime and the failures experienced in community development during the apartheid period. Those who hold that there is a link, support their view by putting out that numerous rural-based development projects failed to yield

the expected results and benefits. However, the discussion of South African case studies analysed the same failure of a rural-based development project that occurred in the post-apartheid period, namely, the Masithuthuke Women's Organisation. At the same time, the Zimiseline Community Project, which was also undertaken in the post-apartheid period, proved to be successful. Thus there are conflict opinions - amounting to controversy - concerning the relationship between the structures of the apartheid regime and community development failures. With reference to Chapter four (Section 4.1), the same findings could be extrapolated to the case of Rwanda. In this regard, a case in point is the Stutterheim Development Foundation (SDF) that straddles both the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. For the purpose of comparison, a relationship can be established between South Africa and Rwanda. A number of participatory development projects that had been running before the 1994 war and genocide were perceived as being successful. In the area of agriculture, the *Projet de Développement Agricole de Gikongoro* (Project of Agricultural Development of Gikongoro), abbreviated to PDAG, that was launched in 1990 is presently being cited as successful (Ndayisenga, 2000: 2). Being an ongoing case, the SDF prospered during both periods. The following discussion will determine the impact of the apartheid and post-apartheid structures on community development. As Table 3.9 indicates, the approach to planning was a success because the community representatives acted as catalysts for planning in line with community aspirations and perceptions. There was compliance with the requirement that "there should emerge persons who have been democratically elected, as the community representatives, to articulate the needs of the broader community." (Christian, 1998:29) This requirement was specifically crucial for the SDF, which was broad in scope. In the areas of education, training, employment, housing, environment and health, a suitable methodological approach to planning was developed by the community representatives. They were viewed as people who made things happen. Their power was associated with the fact that "They come from a variety of backgrounds each bringing unique resources...[and] get members of the community working together on issues that are important both to the individual and the community." (International Republican Institute, 1998: 44)

Not only were the community representatives in the SDF perceptive to the requirements of development planning, but they also demonstrated a sound capacity for self-reliance in the critical areas of decision-making and in human resources. As a result, they initiated development projects from within the community concerned. The principle for success in planning and implementing such projects within the SDF is implied as follows: “Due to the complexity of community dynamics as a human process there are no blueprints, no ready made recipes of participatory process that can be applied to promote participation.” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53) In applying such a principle comprising awareness and adaptability, the SDF enabled itself to overcome the first challenge raised in the introductory chapter. The processes of implementing the projects made use of local people while most unsuccessful cases had recourse to financial investments. Applying this principle has so far resulted in sustainable responses to urgent problems. Among others, job creation, and empowerment of a community with skills are widely cited. Because of the relevance of this principle, the SDF has become influential and has the ability to get many South African development projects to act along its lines of planning and mobilising required resources.

The system of partnerships for the SDF also demonstrates their relevance for community development. As Table 3.9 indicates, a healthy partnership involves a number of stakeholders acting as full partners. Thus, a healthy partnership could be seen as the result of effective social capital that “encompasses organisations, networks, and unwritten mores and rules that facilitate coordination [and] action and enable people to undertake cooperative ventures for mutual advantage.” (Rwanda, 2001: 3) Accordingly, the social capital could be included among the factors of success in the SDF. In the context of participatory process, it is agreed that, “As indigenous social capital evolves...[the] community can more effectively participate in their own destiny” (Buckland, 1998:237). This statement successfully applies to the SDF.

The brief discussion of the SDF points out the factors responsible for its success. Attention is drawn to the community representatives from a variety of backgrounds, each

associated with unique resources. At the same time, the approach to planning that avoids blueprints is strongly underlined, together with a cultural sensitivity to all that is encompassed in the content of social capital. With reference to these factors, it could be said that the context of an apartheid or post-apartheid period is not a sufficient factor to affect the success or failure of a community development. Therefore, the relevance of the SDF for Rwanda materialises through the above factors that are said to be responsible for its success. More importantly, the following view is considered as being the key variable in demonstrating the relevance of the SDF for Rwanda. The final assessment of the SDF is that it was clearly successful during both the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. A similar situation was experienced in Rwanda because no political decision was made to terminate development projects that had been initiated before the 1994 war and genocide, and that were perceived as being successful. Definitely, the conclusion that this study reaches is that there is continuity of success in community development whatever the radical and political changes may be. There are other conditions that ensure continuity of success: to empower the community with development skills and to enable it to extend its choices and to gain control over community life. The discussion of the South African case studies will now be used to illuminate the successful Rwandan case study.

5.1.2.3 The vision of the CRDP with regard to South African cases

As the introductory chapter indicates, the CRDP was selected for study because it is an example of an ongoing and successful development project in Rwanda. This view of success was documented by completed mid-term evaluations, to which Chapter four briefly referred in theoretically substantiating the success. The concern whether the CRDP is successful or not arises because the indicators on which the evaluation is based appear themselves to be questionable. It could be that the linkages between the indicators, such as decentralisation, participation and social capital, and the intended outcomes have been poorly established. With reference to Chapter four (Section 4.2.3), the intended measurable outcomes inadequately measure the corresponding indicators. For instance, the social capital could operationally materialise in the way presented in **Table 5.1** and would have influenced the evaluation research. The same scrutiny needs to be undertaken for decentralization as well as participation. However, the expected

outcomes for the CRDP are ambiguously outlined, as they do not accurately depict how indicators related to the evaluation. Given such a view from the indicators and intended outcomes, this study affirms that the greater the ambiguity in the measurements, the more the biases will be present in the research. The second challenge established for this study provides a means of questioning the effect of relevance and impacts of the mid-term evaluation conclusions on the CRDP.

Table 5.1: Operationalisation of social capital

Indicator	Measures
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of existing grassroots organizations • Alliances among organizations • Level of community trust • Involvement of existing organizations in broader community initiatives • Building on previous community development efforts • Development of new networks among groups • Ability to leverage funds for new projects • Ability of grassroots to withstand opposing forces • Emergence of conflict in communities with history of paternalistic leaderships

Source: (Morrissey, 2000: 65)

With regard to the concern raised above, intended outcomes supply the least information on the extent to which the community should be empowered with development skills, knowledge and experience. Importantly, the representative bodies are assimilated into the community beneficiaries whereas they are supposed to act as full partners among other stakeholders. At the same time, there is confusion concerning the areas of community participation because the community itself is not clearly defined while determining the levels of performance for the indicators. There could be a gap, which could be interpreted as a lack of connectedness, between the goal, objectives, target group, measurable outcomes and the scheduled interventions. To sum up, the project has failed in initiating “The process of participatory research [that] enables participants to work as a collective, sharing [the] objective and subjective aspects of reality. This is facilitated by eliciting and analysing the popular, or common, knowledge possess[ed], and is complemented by the outside researcher’s view of reality.” (Selener, 1997: 20) Therefore a negative long-term impact is presumed for the CRDP in the areas of influencing decision-making. While “Participation indicators...can help agencies and

organisations assess and strengthen participation and sustain it beyond the initial planning stages of development” (Morrissey, 2000:59) the impact of the lack of such results would perpetuate the challenge referred to. In other words, such indicators would poorly contribute to meeting, improving, and/or formulating rural development policies.

Another concern requires examination. While the needs assessment, prioritisation of actions for emergency and the general perspectives (establishment of the flexible decentralised financing and implementation mechanisms) were the monopoly of the joint Rwandan Government/UNDP/World Bank mission, the CRDP could be thought of rather as a programme than a project. The CRDP appears to be too broad and hence ambiguous in the formulation of objectives, activities (interventions) and expected outcomes if a comparison is made with the South African cases. The attempts to involve the community beneficiaries were initiated only after the project was in existence already. Importantly, the beneficiaries are involved only as data providers to contribute to establishing the required baseline intended to produce both the Community Development Plan and the Annual Action Plan. With reference to the analysis grid (see Table 4.2), the CRDP could rather be interpreted as a state programme under which multi-site projects would be planned. In the view of this study, projects are interpreted as infrastructural, income generating and capacity building sub-projects whose implementation is in process at community level under the coordination of the CDC. To sum up, a link can be established between the definition of the CRDP as a programme or project and poor participation and empowerment (see Table 4.2).

In spite of the weaknesses discussed above, the CRDP could be relevant for this study with regard to a methodological tool used, namely, the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), which, in terms of the community, identifies the felt needs, suggests possible solutions related to the available resources, and defines priorities and the strategies for the identified needs. In relation with the preceding discussion, the PRA provides the required inputs to plan the above-mentioned sub-projects. However, the extent to which the income-generating sub-projects, for instance, are accurately planned remains poor, as

a result of the lack of an empowerment system to create awareness (see Table 4.2). From the fieldwork results, it was found that community beneficiaries are not sufficiently empowered with skills, in spite of the training activities (Table: 4.1) scheduled for the CDC members. Such a lack of skills impacts on the degree of accuracy that community developers require of community beneficiaries while the latter are designing their own income-generating sub-projects. This lack could be a result of the way in which the community is regarded in relation with the stakeholders.

As the analysis grid for the CRDP indicates, the partnership consists of Government, the World Bank and the CDC members. Because of the high degree of illiteracy in Rwanda, as illustrated in Chapter four (Section 4.2.5), an imbalance in decision-making is presumed: “The CDC members constitute the elected structures that are based rather on the trust of the population than on the required qualification to perform the tasks they are established for. The population does not ask whether someone has been to school or not before voting. It simply puts its trust in him.” (Interview with the Project Coordinator, 2 July 2002 in Kigali). In the SDF by comparison, the community representatives are human resources who make community development happen because of the variety of their respective backgrounds where each is associated with unique resources. According to Gumbi (2001: 150 paraphrasing Swanepoel, 1983 as cited by Lombard, 1991), these resources could be “the number of persons available for active participation, as well as their knowledge, skills, social institutions which can participate or motivate people, the leadership structure, the educational system, tradition, norms, values and attitudes.” What is meant is that the representative body is not merely a number of people arranged by cell, sector or district. Rather, it is the combination of the above-mentioned individual contributions. In the contrast, the representative bodies of the community would rather provide obstacle to community development. Importantly, they would not be able to fully act as partners among the identified stakeholders for a community-based development project.

In conclusion to this section, the discussion of the identified case studies casts light on the disparities of the results yielded in community development between Rwanda and South Africa. The comparison was based on the perspective of community participation after radical socio-political changes had occurred; Chapter one (section 1.1.2) details the case of Rwanda. Among others, the Republic of South Africa (2001: 3) mandates its municipalities to:

- Provide democratic and accountable government to local communities;
- Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- Encourage the involvement of communities in matters of local government.

At the same time, the Republic of South Africa (2001: 3), as well as Rwanda (see Figure 4.2), plans community participation to take place through institutions instead of individuals. The South African Minister for Provincial and Local Government notes, “All South African, in particular trade unionists, business people, members of NGOs and CBOs and traditional leaders must seize this opportunity and participate in the shape of this aspect of the government that has a direct bearing on the social and economic advancement of our people.” According to this reference and as seen in the South African case studies discussed, traditional leaders are entrusted with an important role in the implementation of community development. The South African traditional leaders have this advantage of being involved in community development because their position is legally recognised by the current political and administrative structures. But their involvement, which is contributing to the success of community development, is also the result of the traditional power that they simultaneously bear and by which they can engage enormous numbers of people who place their trust in them. In contrast, in Rwanda, both in the second Republic and in the current transitional regime, the way in which community development is conceived does not give much consideration to traditional leaders (see Figure 4.2). The preceding chapter interpreted this fact as being the result of the history of decolonisation that broke down the institution of traditional

leadership. While the community itself can identify some given wise persons and place their trust in them, the following is an issue for Rwanda:

- Do traditional chiefs in Rwanda continue to enjoy substantial legitimacy in the eyes of the rural community?
- If so, should they be selected as one of these given persons?

5.2 The usefulness of the guiding principles of the study

The purpose of this study was to outline and provide relevant partners for involvement in rural-based development projects with the proposal guidelines for an effective participation and empowerment at community level. For this purpose, a theoretical framework was developed and was further tested by application to case studies from both Rwanda and South Africa. The research process appealed to three formulated principles that guided and assisted in both the description and documentation of the research. This section discusses the areas in which the principles were useful and highlights the main features of the related findings they led to.

Principle one:

Development in rural communities that operates within the top-down approach to community development is unable to empower the community with development skills and subsequently to address the rural problems people are faced with. Instead, a reversal of the situation must encourage the bottom-up approach that presupposes a process that enables people to have more choices and to gain control over their lives through acquiring development skills.

This principle was useful in guiding the research in the following areas.

Chapter one, Section 1.1 Statement of the research problem: The top-down approach to community development planning was seen as an explanatory factor in perpetuating the failures of development policies in sub-Saharan African countries. As the colonial heritage of African countries, the post-colonial political administration's elite lifestyle

and the political regimentation prevailing in most countries were viewed as subjugating people and inspiring the top-down approach, and hence excluding the community from participation and empowerment. The approaches to community development initiated by post-colonial administrations, such as developer-centred, consultation and master plan, failed in leading the community to participation and empowerment.

Chapter two, Section 2.1 Participation: Within the post-colonial periods, development policies have demonstrated weak development approaches, as a result of the narrowed understanding of participation. In most cases, participation was assimilated into cooperation for sustaining development programmes and making them effective. In other cases, it was assimilated into consultation. Subsequently, participation was viewed as a means for providing genuine feedback to project agencies, which then used it for design, implementation and outcomes to improve development projects. In the narrow vision, participation was interpreted differently as being cheap labour, involvement or empowerment. The vision of participation as cheaper labour, involvement, as well as the above-mentioned views to which participation was restricted, was accused of poorly inspiring the required participation in community development. These views give rise to development projects conceived from outside of community, in which participation acts as a liberating force rescuing passive people from a burning building. In contrast, participation interpreted as empowerment is seen as relevant for community development. Such participation enables the community to become empowered with development skills, to mobilise its capacities, to be socially active partners, to manage the available resources, to make decisions, and to control the activities that affect community life.

Chapter two, Section 2.2.3 Assumptions about community homogeneity and autonomy: The theoretical framework raised the concern of community homogeneity/heterogeneity, as an explanatory factor in the success/failure of community development in the past. On the assumption that they are homogeneous and harmonious, communities were running development projects replicated from one community to another. The replication yielded poor results because of the community developers lacked an awareness of the concept of community.

Chapter three, Section 3.1.2 Empowerment with development skills: In empowering themselves by setting up development projects, community organizations need to become involved in a process fed by information, skills, knowledge and experience that brings them confidence in their own abilities. The institutions through which the community becomes involved in planning and policy-making were identified. They include for instance, the community forums, boards, commissions and other vehicles by which the information system is perpetuated.

Chapter four, Section 4.1.1 Empowerment with development skills: The official documents of the second Republic in Rwanda invokes an awareness of community participation as being a community phenomenon or a strong impulse directed from within the community rather than being imposed on it from outside. However, the documents are not clear about how the community is to become empowered. In contrast, the official documents from the transitional period refer to capacity building to enhance the technical skills of local operators. In so doing, they focus on strengthening the non-formal education and other capacity building efforts targeted at the rural population. Nevertheless, the fieldwork results later showed that the practice is still at the starting phase in most communities where the representative structures are not active.

Principle two:

Development in rural communities can address the community needs if different development stakeholders network as partners with one another in implementing development projects.

The research process agreed with the principle according to which networking is one of the critical factors of participation and empowerment. Therefore, there is support for the fact that the “new (community) development paradigm is a thinking process...involving people, organisations, public, private and business sectors and academicians to join in the development process through thinking and learning interactively.” (Suthasupa, 2000: 82) According to this understanding, principle two was useful in guiding the research in the following areas.

Chapter two, Section 2.1.2 Holistic approach to participation: Guided by the second principle, the research process found participation to be a multidimensional concept. Hence, handling participation as empowerment necessitates a multidimensional contribution of stakeholders acting as full partners. Without any distinction, all segments of the community must be part of the decision-making mechanisms affecting development in the community, relating to planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the relevant development projects to the decision-making mechanisms. In case contrasting to the above ideal, the concerned community members did not participate. The theoretical framework informed the study on the apathy of the community, which is often the non-violent reaction against an imposition from above.

Chapter two, Section 2.2.4 Social capital: The main features of social capital were identified as: social organisation, shared knowledge, understandings, trust, norms, values and social networks. Through these features, social capital was found out to be a factor that facilitates social actions, development projects included. Therefore, empowering the community with development skills implies, among others, building up social capital.

Chapter two, Section 2.3.3 Theoretical framework for development: As opposed to the top-down approach to planning, development has to be understood as community-driven and differs from ideas forced upon the community from outside. The formal role of the community developer is that of facilitator for creating an environment of community choices, and of freedom from which the latent development potential of community would bloom.

Chapter two, Section 2.4 Policy and practice: The top-down approach to planning contributes to deterioration in the relationships between officials and the community. Within such an approach to planning, officials are said to treat the community with the contempt they think it deserves. Significantly, they first patronise. There is agreement reversing the situation would cause the relationships to be restructured so as to facilitate the process of planning through a set of bargaining processes. Then the process of planning becomes an activity of many different stakeholders that co-exist among an array of private and civil society stakeholders as well as the donor community. The institutions relevant to the process of planning interact fully as partners and are widely inclusive, not

only the government, but also the aid agencies, non-governmental organisations, community groups, collectives and political movements.

Chapter three, Section 3.1.3 The role-playing of partners in community development: The unique power of successfully implementing the principles and policies guidelines for community development consists of working inclusively in partnership with community stakeholders, such as businessmen, trade unions, and community-based organisations from all sectors of society that impact on the operation of community development.

Chapter four, Section 4.12 The role-playing of partners in community development: The differentiated categories of the population are considered the valuable partners of community development. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency of excluding some social categories from participation during the period of independence. The cases of exclusion are attributable to the authoritarian attitude of the administration's elite lifestyle, which was inherited from the colonial structures that earlier laid the basis of the nonexistent community participation. Community participation was limited to using people as a labour force.

Principle three:

Rural development policy and practice can only be successful if the rural communities can participate in needs identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of related rural development projects.

Principle three was useful in guiding the research in the following areas.

Chapter two, Section 2.1.2 Holistic approach to participation: Participation at the local level does not merely consist of actions such as voting in elections and political lobbying. On the contrary, it encompasses a view of broad dimensions. Therefore, participation is evaluated by the extent to which the community significantly exercises control over

decision-making. The study agreed that the areas for community participation are (Bekker and Lieldé, 2001: 5):

- To ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote;
- To express, via stakeholder associations, community views before, during and after the policy development process in order to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible;
- To organize and involve the community as full partner in the mobilization of resources for development via...non-governmental organizations and community based institutions.

Chapter two, Section 2.1.5 Principles for the practice of participatory initiatives:

Planning, as theory, and implementation, as practice, are often faced with the challenge of compliance. The implementation of development projects often involves a number of biases that need addressing. In so doing, the study provides the relevant partners involved in rural-based development projects with some guidelines. The same guidelines provides the following warnings for these partners: approach each situation with humility, understand the potential of local knowledge, adhere to democratic practice, acknowledge diverse ways of knowing, maintain a vision of sustainability, put reality before theory, recognise the relativity of time and efficiency, and adopt a holistic approach.

Chapter three, Section 3.1.4 The areas for community participation: The forums initiated from within the community result in community-based organisations that are involved in the process of planning and policy-making, in determining and prioritising needs, preparing strategies to address them, in monitoring and in evaluation activities.

Chapter four, Section 4.1.3 The areas for community participation: The section documents a controversy for the second Republic in Rwanda concerning the areas for community participation. Programming and planning are identified as the significant key

areas for participation. But in practice, the community was limited to producing labour during the phase of implementation. Within Vision 2020, official documents envisage an increase in community participation in policy formulation, implementation and the monitoring process. The NGOs are reported to have increased participation in the above-mentioned areas in addition to the evaluation by the community of the initiated projects. The practice is still in its embryonic stage, however.

To sum up, the research process has established a close link between the top-down approach to planning and the lack of community participation and empowerment. At the same time, it has developed, through theoretical and practical frameworks, relevant instruments or tools that enable the community to realise a shift from the top-down to the bottom-up approach. From the research analysis, it could be concluded that the stakeholders for community development must play a supportive role that enables the community to make decisions and enhances community ownership. This would be an achievement so far attributable to the guiding principles formulated in the introductory chapter. Therefore, the study has the privilege to affirm the validity of the principles, and outline some proposals guideline for community participation and empowerment.

5.3 Proposals guidelines for community participation and empowerment

From both the theoretical and practical frameworks designed for this study, it appears that the theory (planning) has not yet been thoroughly translated into practice (implementation). The identified case studies are a key witness. Participation and empowerment were identified as valuable components in community development. The determination of their levels from the related case studies is hampered by irregularities (see the analysis grids). Not only are irregularities experienced between specific countries (e.g. Rwanda and South Africa), but they also materialise from one case to another in the same context (see the South African case studies). At country level, the accuracy of the principles and policies guidelines established for community development should be considered. Within the country, the analysis of internal factors is of primary importance. In both views, the focus involves the system of interactions

between the social environment concerned and the community developer. The following guidelines to be formulated for community participation and empowerment in Rwanda bear this aspect:

1. The implementation of the lessons learnt from successful experience that can be applied elsewhere is rather a process of adapting the basic ideas than a process of replicating (Nussbaum, 1997: 49).

2. Learning from successful experience involves compliance with the development process of the experience to be learnt from. With reference to the experience of the SDF, the Mayor Chris Magwangqana encourages community developers as follows: “What has happened here can happen in every community in this country. However, some communities, which have tried to emulate us, have created unrealistic programmes for themselves – they have wanted to start at the point that we are at now. I keep telling everyone who comes to see us that it has taken tremendous time and effort for us to have come as far as we have.” (International Republican Institute, 1998: 39)

4. While the Rwandan rural communities have not yet met the required prerequisites to organise themselves and initiate development projects (see Section 1.1.2), community developers need to “*Demonstrate an awareness of their status as outsiders* to the beneficiary community and the potential impact of their involvement” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53). Such an awareness would clearly define the role expected from each partner during the life phases of the project.

5. To get the community involved in the bottom-up approach to planning, the community developer must “*Respect the community’s indigenous contribution* as manifested in their knowledge, skills and potential (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53). This would be a way of empowering the community with confidence and breaking down the community apathy established by the colonial administrative and political structures that have so much influenced the post-independent regimes. What is meant is that community development should aim to “*Empower communities to share equitably in the fruits of development*

through active processes whereby beneficiaries influence the direction of development initiatives rather than merely receive a share of benefits in a passive manner” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 54), as a result of the skills, knowledge and experience gained.

6. The partners involved in community development must stop doing things on behalf of the community. Instead, they must “Become good facilitators and *catalysts of development that assist and stimulate community-based initiatives* and challenge practices which hinder people releasing their own initiatives and realis[ing] their own ideals.” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53) The study assumes that this guideline allows the relevant partners involved in rural development to run projects that respond to the real needs perceived by the community and address the problem of dependency.

7. The process of planning and implementing the participatory projects, programmes, and policies must fully involve the community as partner. Accordingly, the management system has to “*Promote co-decision-making in defining needs, goal-setting, and formulating policies and plans* in the implementation of these decisions. (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53) The above-mentioned tasks must avoid merely involving interest groups, such as community opinion leaders, and small representative leadership cliques, among others. Succeeding in this guideline would lead to collectively defining the community goals, and to designing appropriate projects to achieve the formulated goals.

8. With reference to the third challenge that supports the stated problem for this study, the evaluation phase of projects often results in irrelevant conclusions that negatively impact on development policy decision-making. As a preventive strategy, the evaluation phase must objectively “*Communicate both programme/project success and failures-sometimes failures are more informative.*” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53)

9. The process of planning and implementing development projects viewed to attract the ownership of the community has to involve the cultural sensitivity. Initiating development project would therefore “*Believe in the spirit of...key values such as*

solidarity, conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity and collective unity.” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53) It is from the cultural values that the sustainable networking can be developed within the networking of social capital.

10. Community development is required to hold an inclusive approach to planning and implementing. Therefore, community developers need to “*Listen to community members, especially the more vulnerable, less vocal and marginalised groups.*” (Botes *et al.*, 2000: 53) The structures involved in the process of planning and implementing have to ensure the statistical representation of low status social groups in the process and consider their viewpoints.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that community participation and empowerment are key components of community development. Within the context of sustainable development in post-genocide Rwanda, these components have to be valued as the means to bridge the gap that is manifested in poor community living conditions. In meeting this goal, the focus must increasingly be placed on the human development approach, as a way of addressing the challenges raised in the introductory chapter. In line with Gumbi (2000: 257), the study recommends that the central purpose of community development in Rwanda should be “the development of people, usually rural people, as individuals and as collective groups. In doing so, a shift of emphasis from resource management and service delivery to capacity building and (organisational) support has to take place for the benefit of the community.” Community development can presumably assist the rural people on condition that it is translated into practice following the relevant guidelines for participation and empowerment as they are illustrated above.

Among many other conditions, the national policy framework for community participation and empowerment at district level must be developed. This policy must be clear concerning the relevant partners involved in rural development and about the actual

way the community must participate in the areas involved in the community development approach, such as:

- Assessing the needs of the community;
- Goal-setting process;
- Establishing the priorities to meet those needs;
- Initiating organisational and delivery mechanisms for meeting the needs of the community;
- Acquiring development skills, knowledge, experience and other performance requirements to meet the identified community needs; and
- Gaining direction and control over the development initiatives planned within the community development approach.

The active participation of the community is regarded in two main ways. On the one hand, it is regarded as a way of freeing the community from apathy and subsequently of contributing to improving the community's poor living conditions. On the other hand, it is regarded as the primary source that feeds the policy-making spheres with the required inputs to meet, improve or formulate rural development policies. Therefore, the active participation of rural communities in community development is a key variable in making development policy and practice a success.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview structuration

<i>Information</i>	<i>Key informants</i>	<i>Interview instrumentation</i>	<i>Questionnaire</i>
What is the Community Reintegration and Development Project (CRDP)?	Project Coordinator	Interview guide approach	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the context in which the CRDP is implemented? 2. Which identified problem (s) is (are) being addressed and causal factors? 3. What is (are) the goal (s) and specific objective (s)? 4. What are the approaches (programme components) to solving the identified problems? 5. What is the target group? 6. What are the main stakeholders 7. How does the project management (monitoring system: keeping track of project participants) operate? 8. What are individuals who manage the project and the related abilities and competence? 9. How is the CRDP a development project?
How is the CRDP a rural-based project?	Project Coordinator	Interview guide approach	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the operational fields of the CRDP 2. What interventions to address the problems related to the rural profile are being implemented within the CRDP?
What are the forms of participation?	Project Coordinator Development Agents CDC members	Standardised open-ended interview Focus Group interviews with CDC members	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the participatory approach in the CRDP? 2. What is about the responsiveness of the target group? 3. What do beneficiaries contribute to the different areas of the sub-project operating with the CRDP?

			4. To what extent the CDC members reflect the voice of the community within their intermediary with the CRDP?
	Community beneficiaries	Focus Group interviews	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think should be your contribution to the different phases of the sub-projects operating within the CRDP? 2. What should be your effort to maintain the infrastructures being established by the CRDP? 3. Are CDC members reflecting the perspective of the community during the implementation of the CRDP?
	Project Coordinator State official in charge of regional planning	Standardised open-ended interview	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To which extent does the CRDP exemplify the government approach to decentralisation and participation? 2. How does the CRDP network with similar participatory development projects delivering similar services?
What is the role of the State?	Project Coordinator State official in charge of regional planning	Standardised open-ended interview	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How does the bottom-up/top-down approach to planning impact on the decentralisation and community participation? 2. Is there any community participation in the making of the approach to planning? 3. If yes, which stage of the process do the approach to planning involve community participation? 4. What does the approach to planning say about community participation? 5. How the CDCs contribute to enhance community participation? 6. How do the government spheres interact within the networking and partnerships among relevant stakeholders for community development?
How successful is the CRDP?	Project Coordinator Development Agents CDC members Beneficiaries	Standardised opened-ended interviews Focus Group interview with beneficiaries	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Is community participation taking place as the government approach to decentralisation and participation says it should? 2. What are obstacles to community participation, if any? 3. What are measurable outcomes of community participation in the CRDP?

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. How much power do beneficiaries bear to influence the planning, implementation, and evaluation through the control of project management by CDC members? 5. Is the CRDP providing relevant interventions to the perceived needs in the community?
Which institutions are involved in the CRDP?	Project Coordinator Development Agents	Standardised opened-ended interviews	How does the community organise itself to participate in the day-to-day activity of the CRDP?
Which politics are involved in the CRDP?	Project Coordinator Development Agents State official in charge of regional planning	Standardised opened-ended interviews	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To what extent does the CRDP exemplify the state approach to decentralisation and participation? 2. What are the factors of success that rise the CRDP over similar participatory development projects? 3. How does the CRDP influence the similar participatory development projects in designing and implementing the approach to participation?

Appendix B: Leading form for the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal

<i>Area of intervention</i>	<i>Identification of problems</i>	<i>Causal factors</i>	<i>Proposals of solution from the community</i>	<i>Constraints</i>	<i>Existing resources</i>	<i>Strategies</i>
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.	2.
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Source: République Rwandaise (1999:1, Annex 6)

