

Community Development

through external aid in rural South Africa –
Wolverdiend Village – a case study.

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degree of Master of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.



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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it any university for a degree.

SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the reasons for failure of community development programmes in rural South Africa. It traces the origin of community development from the end of the Second World War up to the present and states that South Africa has realised that community development is an important tool to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. It takes a look at the implementation strategies of development at a broad level, the influence of international aid agencies and traces some of the reasons for the high failure rate of projects.

There is a growing trend towards non-governmental organisations becoming more and more involved in the development field. They have evolved from being small grass roots organisations to large structures that provide a service to the community that neither the government nor the private sector can. They plan, raise funds, facilitate, coordinate and implement development projects and they have proved to be highly successful.

The focus of study is the need for, effect of and implementation of community development activities in rural South Africa. It also states that development has shifted its focus from purely economic considerations to a more people-centred approach where the fundamental concern is people and their needs. This is a more humane way of looking at development and the underlying thought in most development activity in South Africa today is based on humaneness.

It is, however, found that many development initiatives are unsuccessful in achieving its aims completely. It analyses theories on community development and finds that contemporary theories have analysed the reasons for the high failure rate of community development activities and that most theories have recommended implementation strategies by placing people and their needs as priorities.

This paper argues that though the people centred approach is most appropriate, certain crucial factors have been missing from these theories. The cause for concern is that there is lack of planning for sustainability and planning for transfer of ownership of projects in such a way that the people involved in the project have a stake in its success. As a result there is lack of motivation on the part of project implementers to carry out projects successfully which is leading to more and more failures of development projects.

A thorough study and analysis of certain community development projects initiated at Welverdiend Village in South Africa has been carried out in this study. A background study of the Village is carried out and it is found that the Village is similar in structure to other similar villages. The analysis of projects draws one to the conclusion that there are three crucial factors that improve chances of success of projects.

The paper concludes that the key to the success of community development projects are the plans put in place for sustainability, transferring ownership of projects to a group of people or to an individual and ensuring that project participants have a stake in its success or stands to lose something if it fails.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die redes vir mislukking van gemeenskapsontwikkelingsprogramme in landelike Suid Afrika. Die oorsprong van gemeenskapsontwikkeling word bespreek vanaf die einde van die Tweede Wereld Oorlog tot en met die hede, en beweer dat Suid Afrika tot die besef gekom het dat gemeenskapsontwikkeling 'n belangrike meganisme is om 'n meer billike verdeling van welstand te bewerkstellig. Die strategiese uitvoering van ontwikkeling, die invloed van internasionale hulp agentskappe en sommige redes vir die hoë voorval van mislukking van projekte word ondersoek. Daar is 'n groeiende tendens van nie-regeringsorganisasies wat betrokke raak by ontwikkelingsinisiatiewe. Hierdie organisasies (NGOs) het oor 'n kort tydperk ontwikkel vanaf klein, 'grassroots' organisasies tot groot instansies wat massiewe hoeveelhede geld bestuur en bestaan uit duisende lede. Hulle verskaf 'n diens aan die gemeenskap wat nie ge-ewenaar kan word deur die regering of die privaatsektor nie. Hulle doen beplanning, versamel fondse, fasiliteer, ko-ordineer en implementeer ontwikkelingsprojekte. As sulks het NGOs hulself alreeds suksesvol bewys.

Die fokus van hierdie studie is die behoefte vir, effek van, en implementasie van gemeenskapsontwikkelingsaktiwiteite in landelike Suid Afrika. Dit beweer ook dat die fokus van ontwikkeling van suiwer ekonomiese oorwegings tot 'n meer mensgesentreerde benadering verskuif het, waar mense en hul behoeftes as fundamenteel beskou word. Dit is 'n meer mensliewende manier om ontwikkeling te beskou en die fundamentele gedagte in meeste van die ontwikkelingsaktiwiteite in Suid Afrika is op hierdie beginsel gebaseer. Daar is tog gevind dat vele ontwikkelingsinisiatiewe onsuksesvol is in die volkome behaling van hul doelwitte. Die tesis ontleed teorieë van gemeenskapsontwikkeling en vind dat hedendaagse teorieë die redes vir die hoë graad van mislukking van gemeenskapsontwikkelingsaktiwiteite aanbeveel het dat mense en hulle behoeftes strategiese prioriteit geniet met die implementering van hierdie aktiwiteite.

Hierdie tesis betoog dat alhoewel die mensgesentreerde benadering die mees toepaslike benadering is, daar sekere beslissende faktore afwesig is in hierdie teorieë. Die rede vir kommer is dat daar 'n gebrek aan beplanning wat betref die lewensvatbaarheid en beplanning vir die oorhandiging van eiendomsreg van projekte in so 'n mate dat die mense wat in die projek betrokke is, 'n eie belang in die sukses daarvan het. As gevolg hiervan, is daar 'n gebrek aan motivering aan die kant van die implementeerders van die projek om projekte suksesvol uit te voer, wat tot al hoe meer mislukking van ontwikkelingsprojekte lei.

'n Deeglike studie en ontleding van sekere gemeenskapsontwikkelingsprojekte wat in Welverdiend Dorp in Suid Afrika ingewy is, is in hierdie studie uitgevoer. 'n Agtergrondstudie van die dorp is uitgevoer en dit is gevind dat die dorp eenders is in struktuur as ander soortgelyke dorpe. Die ontleding van projekte lei 'n mens tot die gevolgtrekking dat daar drie kritieke faktore bestaan wat die kanse van sukses van projekte verbeter.

Die sleutel tot die sukses van gemeenskapsontwikkelingsprojekte is in die planne wat lewensvatbaarheid verseker, en wel tot so 'n mate dat wanneer eiendomsreg van projekte aan 'n groep mense of individue oorgeplaas word, daardie deelnemers aan die projek self ook 'n belang het in die sukses daarvan.

*Dedicated to my father, late T. V. George, who
believed that a person's primary aim in life is
to work for a better future for all humanity.*

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Varkey George

Community Development
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Wilverdiend Village-a case study.

Foreword

Community Development is a vehicle through which rural communities may try to improve their socio-economic situation. It is a strategy employed widely in South Africa, especially after the democratic elections in 1994, to bring about a more humane future for participation in rural communities.

The poverty in a rural community in South Africa touched my heart and I was drawn into contributing towards finding solutions to the immense problems. Involvement in community activities provided much gratification and I was drawn more and more into it. This is my story.

I was employed as a teacher at Welverdiend Village in the Northern Province of South Africa since 1992. Since then I have worked in one way or another in the development field. In some senses it has not been very encouraging. Many projects that were initiated failed and the people got poorer. What was immensely encouraging, however, was the emergence of individuals from within the community who had the capacity to carry out projects if given a chance. When I arrived at the Village, there was no proper school, electric supply, telephones and water supply. The unemployment rate was very high and, being such an isolated community, no one seemed to take any initiative to better the living conditions.

Repeated appeals to the government were to no avail. In 1994, after the first democratic elections, there was a shift in the new government's priorities. A more equitable distribution of wealth became important and community development was chosen as a vehicle to provide opportunities for rural communities to participate in economic activities. Thus Community Development was given priority. Though the Reconstruction and Development Programme, initiated by the Government, did not satisfy all expectations, its formation seemed to establish where the priorities of the government lay at that point in time.

In 1994, the World Wildlife Fund decided to establish a college to train game-rangers in land very close to the Village. One of the clauses in the agreement WWF had with their funders, the German Government, was that community development would be given top priority. I happened to be part of the first team of representatives from the Village that WWF made contact with and thus I was initiated into community development. I found that many of the projects that were introduced with

great fanfare failed because the people involved did not have any stake in the project. I also found that once ownership of projects was transferred to the people involved or if the people had a direct stake in the project, they strove to make it a success. This factor was mostly ignored by the external agencies that tried to initiate projects in a community they knew little about.

Another factor that I noted was that the established leadership of the Community failed to carry out a project in many instances. The main reasons were lack of project management skills and in-fighting within and from without the leadership as to who would own the projects. It seemed that small groups within the community like football clubs, arts clubs, schools etc were better organised and capable and had the motivation to carry out projects.

Help through intervention by external agencies is definitely necessary to alleviate the serious problems of underdevelopment in rural communities. There is a need for on-going research on how rural development can be effectively implemented. My experience in development has convinced me about the dire need for community development in South Africa and the importance of documenting development initiatives so that it could provide valuable information when planning and implementing similar programmes in other villages.

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES THROUGH EXTERNAL AID IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA - WELVERDIEND VILLAGE - A CASE STUDY.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1994 South Africa stood at the threshold of democracy with optimism and a lot of good will from all over the world. History has recorded how many of the African countries fared after independence. Most of them evicted their European colonisers and then allowed politicians and military rulers to be autocratic which started the slow slide into poverty and/or civil war and finally helplessness for the masses.

South Africa, under the leadership of the first democratically elected president Nelson Mandela, took the route of national reconciliation and peace and slow transformation towards an economic ideal that would provide all her citizens with a better life.

One of the first steps taken by the government to provide an opportunity to rural African communities was by setting up the Reconstruction and Development Programme to which a large amount of money was allocated. However, it was soon realised that this programme was not the solution to the problems of underdevelopment as value for money spent was not being achieved. The Programme could not monitor each of the projects it allocated money to and as there was lack of capacity to carry out projects successfully, it brought about lack of accountability. Most detrimental was that planning for sustainability was not given importance and project implementers did not have a stake in the projects. These were some of the reasons for the projects not achieving their aims.

Many individuals and organisations in South Africa are involved in community development. Theories have been put forward as to the best way to ensure success. Northern Non Governmental Organisations and governments are allocating large sums of money for project implementation in South Africa. Many of them fail. The reasons for failure have been analysed and theories put forward as to how to ensure success. Most contemporary writers on development agree that community involvement is crucial in all development initiatives. However, a crucial factor has been missing from these theories.

In my involvement in community development at Welverdiend –a village in the Bushbuckridge area of the South African Lowveld – since 1992, a period of eight years, I have gained some understanding of the reasons for failure of some projects and the success of others. The key questions seemed to be:

Donors and project implementers, in most cases, implement a project that would bring about immediate relief but do not plan for long term sustainability. What happens when money allocated to the project is finished? Who will own the projects? Is it the community or individuals within the community? If it is the community then who will manage it and what is the motivation for these individuals to manage? What stake does the people who manage have in the success of the project?

These are crucial questions that anyone, whether a potential donor, community developer or anyone wishing to intervene into the lives of a rural community should ask before implementing projects.

I will try, through theoretical research and a case study of this village in South Africa, to establish that if the questions above can be answered and given careful consideration, there is a better chance of success of projects.

1.1. Research

The study of appropriate literature was started in April 1998 when I began my study for the Masters in Value Analysis and Policy Formulation at the University of Stellenbosch. Though I was involved in and sometimes was the initiator of some development projects at Welverdiend Village, attending the course brought concepts into focus. I could now use words to explain certain phenomena. After having chosen the topic for the thesis, I was introduced to books on the subject, by my supervisor, which gave me more clarity on the subject and exposed me to other people who had done research previously.

The practical study was not conducted using any questionnaires or other instruments of measure. In the seven years of being in the Village and being involved in almost all activities pertaining to planned development in the Village, I have gained an insight into the life of the people. The history of the Village was compiled by bringing the elders of the Village together and charting out the history from their memory.

1.2. Aim of study.

The general purpose of this study is to provide the reader with a selection of crucial arguments on some of the contemporary writings on community development and provide a descriptive and evaluative focus on community development in Welverdiend Village.

1.3. EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS

It is essential that any inquiry into Community Development, of any discipline for that matter, should be preceded by a clarification of related concepts and words. This is because the meaning of the same words and concepts in the different disciplines differ. The concepts community, community development, economic growth and development are basic to the object of this study and are thus defined with some reference to relevant argumentation in the literature.

Community

In general terms community is taken as a group of people living together in a specific area. However, it is a fact that community can also mean people living in diverse areas but sharing the same resources, facilities, culture or language through which its members and outsiders can identify them. The Encyclopedia Americana (1969:449) states that the community is:

- 'relatively small with a stable population'
- 'localised, political, economic or social unit whose members share values in common'
- 'hamlets, villages, towns and cities are often considered communities.'

Midgley (et al 1986:24); states that in community development the emphasis is generally on the "*lowest level of aggregation*" of people that are in some or other way dependent upon each other for their existence. In community literature this refers to locality-bound groupings such as neighbourhoods or small rural areas, where some

degree of local identity and mutual interdependence and common fate exist. In community development the reference is seldom to functional communities without locality connotations. These local communities may or may not have common ethnic or racial or class characteristics; their commonality is found in their sharing of the same geographical space.

Jeppe (1985:33), in his study on analysing communities has identified the following basic characteristics of a community:

“ *Spatial (physical aspects):*

- *The people of a community occupy a specific (limited) geographic area or locality;*
- *There is a wide physical diversity among communities- rural and urban contrasts of different sizes and physical lay-out, e g rural villages, small or large towns, cities, African village settlements geographically spread out or concentrated, etc.*
- *Communities have distinctive demographic features, e g size and composition of population, residential pattern, etc.*
- *The people of a community share common physical facilities and services, e g roads, water supplies, shops, community halls, etc.*

The economic life of a community may be highly specialised (diversified) or at a low (subsistence) level where work is organised along simple lines and within family or kinship groups.”

The South African rural community consists of cluster villages where people stay close together. There is a lot of difference between different communities even among the same tribes. According to Jeppe (1985:34)

“The settlement patterns, sizes, kinship patterns, amenities and services, socio-political organisation, etc. of African rural settlements or villages differ in many respects, often together described as typical third world settlements or villages.”

Though there are many differences between African communities there is a lot in common also. In my contacts with different communities of the Tshangaan tribe, I

found that there are many common characteristics. The nature of authority structures, building construction, schools, interaction between people, the problems, etc were similar. Jeppe (1985:34) also agrees:

“ African communities are traditionally semi-autonomous (self contained) and basically kinship settlements which are component units in a hierarchy of tribal subdivisions. The structured kinship nature and the authority structures, based upon hereditary leadership of tribal chiefs and hereditary or seniority leadership of sub-chiefs or headmen, makes traditional African communities (villages) well-organised and close-knit socio-political entities. Their traditional (subsistence) agricultural characteristic has been largely modified under present day circumstances due to outside economic contacts and activities of community (village) members.”

In many instances communities fall under the authority of a chief who has many villages under his jurisdiction. In some communities in Africa one also finds so-called acephalous communities in which there is no chief at all. There are also other centres of power that exist of which the external agent who wish to intervene is usually unaware. Some of them are:

- Traditional healers
- Age cohorts
- Women’s groups
- The church

The local government structures, after the democratic dispensation, also wield much power. There is sometimes a clash of authority between the chief and other local authorities. The community developer will have to familiarise himself with the power dynamics of the area he wishes to contribute to.

In this study ‘community’ refers to a group of people living in an area called Welverdiend Village and so it is the space they occupy that is given importance. The inhabitants also refer to themselves as a community. Welverdiend Village falls under the Mnisi Tribal Authority. This Authority has eleven villages under it. People who are employed are either in the cities working in mines or similar jobs or work in the neighbouring game-farms. The number of employed people is very low and so Welverdiend Village has retained its tradition of subsistence farming and the characteristics of a rural village.

Community Development

The term community development usually conjures up the image of a certain group of underdeveloped people being helped by an organisation or an individual to better their living conditions.

Definitions of community development

Jeppe (1985:27) has brought together a number of definitions on community development.

“The widely known and universally accepted definition of community development is that of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs of 1963 which defined it as,

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 these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is, therefore, made up of two essential elements:

- 1. the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and*
- 2. the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective.*

It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.’

The United Nations’ definition emphasises the government’s intervention in community development. It should be noted that the trend is that Non Governmental Organisations are taking up the challenge to act as implementers and initiators of development projects. Poverty alleviation, eradication of hunger, protecting the environment, grassroots development and safeguarding the poor from the debt crises are priorities in development circles. These are areas in which the government has limited experience and are seeking collaboration with Non Governmental Development Organisations. Voluntary organisations have direct relationships with the communities of poor people, often work in areas of greatest poverty and have the trust of the communities they work with.

Participation by the people themselves and intervention to make it possible is mentioned in a broad manner. This has been interpreted in different ways and success has proved difficult. According to anecdotal and personal experience more than half of the projects initiated by outside agencies fail. More emphasis should be placed on the planning for sustainability, ensuring that project implementers from within the community have a direct stake in the success of the project and that ownership of projects is transferred to small groups of people who stand to benefit by the success of projects.

Economic growth and Economic development

Economic growth takes into consideration the growth in productivity and total national production of a country or area. It is measured in terms of Gross National Product, Per Capita Income etc.

Economic development, on the other hand, is a total community process aiming at the movement upwards of the entire social system, while the social system includes economic and non-economic forces and emphasises both production and distribution goals.

This explanation shows that development is not economic growth and that economic development does not provide a full explanation of what development is. According to Coetzee (1989:153) development and economic growth are not related *per se*. Coetzee (1989:153) among many other development theorists argue that development must be firmly based on human well-being, and in terms of this premise the focus must be on ways to uncover the peoples own definitions of human well-being.

1.3. Methodology

Section A is an exposition of some contemporary writings on community development. Mainly three writers have been studied. They were chosen for the relevance of their writings on the South African context. Moreover the layout and the vocabulary of their writings provided me with a basis on which I could explain my findings in the case study coherently and clearly. It should be noted that I have had to quote from and study other writers on the subject as well, so, the chapters are not exclusively a study of the three.

The first one focuses on the evolution of development theory and practice in terms of Coetzee and Ligthelm's article '*Towards an integrated development approach*' (in Coetzee, 1989: 350-363). This study provides the reader with the background necessary to understand how practitioners in development theory and practice have concluded that cooperation and participation of communities for whom development is intended for is essential for success. The literature will provide the background necessary for understanding the concepts involved and the trends in contemporary development studies.

The second one focuses on the meaning of community development in terms of Groenewald's explanation of the different terminology, the need for participation in community development and finally explains that true community development is possible only through community participation (in Coetzee, 1989: 256-271).

The third one focuses on the human aspects of development in terms of the book '*Development is for people*', edited by Jan K Coetzee. This compilation is based on the South African context, which is relevant when making a case study on a village in South Africa. The authors of this volume have also managed to clearly illustrate that in any development thought the human component should be given prominence.

These approaches are referred to in great depth because they have brought about a shift in thinking towards the human side of development where their central theme is that development is and should be for people. They have also brought the need for development in South Africa into sharp focus. Though their writing is from the pre-democracy era, it is still valid in present day South Africa as there has not

been much change in the lives of the people even though a democratic dispensation has been brought about.

The need for development is not refutable. The method that South Africa chooses now to bring about this development will have a profound effect on the outcome. It is essential that proper emphasis be placed on the right aspects. Coetzee argues, and argues convincingly, that the human component is the most important and so this component should be provided with the importance it deserves.

Moreover, the structure, vocabulary and layout of Coetzee's writings provides a vehicle through which I will be able to explain coherently and clearly the answers I found to the problem statements.

The title of Coetzee's book '*Development is for people*' clearly formulates the basic approach. According to him the title of the book *"is a declaration of not only a specific view point regarding development, but also one pointing towards the only justifiable way, theoretically and empirically, of dealing with this theme. Development concerns people - people experiencing the reality, within which they find themselves day by day and moment by moment, feeling its implications and seeing its practical functioning around them."* (Coetzee 1989:1).

He further says (Coetzee 1989:1) that *"shifting the emphasis of study to the people does not presume to have all the answers but it is an attempt to reflect critically on the way in which development has been conceptualised"*.

The importance of regarding the numerous individuals who are the targets of developmental activities as the prime actors and focus of development, is of utmost importance. Most writers on the subject agree to this. (Coetzee 1989a: 1, Coetzee 1989b: 101, Coetzee 1989c:164, Groenewald 1989:270).

It becomes necessary to stress the importance of changing attitudes and the modus operandi of development initiatives because, in the past and to a large extent in the present, emphasis is placed on the quantitative aspects of development and the qualitative human component is not given the importance it deserves. Coetzee argues that shifting the emphasis is necessary because development is usually measured in figures such as per capita income, gross domestic product etc. Wilber (1979:283) agrees when he states that *"development is not about index numbers of national income, it is not about savings ratios and capital coefficients: it is about people and*

for people, Development must therefore begin by identifying human needs. The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop.”

Section B is a case study on Welverdiend Village. In chapter one a background study is presented on the Village so that the reader could have an understanding of the people, geographical position, economic activities, available infrastructure and history. A time line is drawn explaining the important milestones during the existence of the Village and the main problems that the people in the Village face. This provides insight into the history of the Village and the reasons for the need for development initiatives to be undertaken in a concerted manner.

Chapter two is a descriptive analysis of the projects that were implemented at Welverdiend Village. The background of the project, planning process, implementation and an evaluation is provided. The reasons for success or failure are analysed in terms of concepts and theory and conclusions drawn.

In chapter three, the main points that should be kept in mind when initiating projects in rural villages are noted. I have listed seven of them and provided explanations as to how it should be used when implementing projects. This has been done because, in many instances, projects are haphazardly implemented and leads to failure.

This study is undertaken with a view to provide the reader with an insight into development activities in a village called Welverdiend in the North-East part of South Africa. The activities that are looked at are the development initiatives undertaken with the help and support of external agencies like corporations, embassies, individuals that will be studied in some depth and its impact on the people who were involved will be assessed. An historical background of the village, geographical position, demographics and the evolution of a new thought, and later a strategy to implement developmental initiatives is described. The projects mentioned are relatively small and involved only a few people. The emphasis is on why some projects failed and others were successful.

This study also emphasis the importance of taking the specific circumstances, the dynamics of the area and the people concerned into consideration.

Coetzee (1989:2) agrees with this when he states that “ *in the consideration of alternatives regarding development, one aspect stands out clearly; it is totally*

unacceptable to content oneself with a generalised linear model that bestows analytical priority to external factors in the constitution of development. More consideration should be given to socio-economic factors of the local environment in which the action takes place.”

I am not trying to find a solution to the immense problem of underdevelopment in South Africa but rather, like Coetzee, provide the reader with a new line of thought and strategy when implementing projects.

According to recent development thinking, the emphasis of development has shifted from a narrow approach of economic development to a broader approach of economic growth and development. Development should be based on appropriate and sound economic policies in order to give effect to the new development approach. This whole study is based on the integration of the economic and other important factors with the focus on human beings and their immediate and most pressing needs. It makes an analysis of development initiatives in a rural village where a group of people got together and decided to implement certain projects. Their experiences and the lessons they learnt during and after implementation are listed. This could serve as an example to other rural communities or could help people in similar villages to realise that it is possible to better themselves. It could also motivate people to set up organisations in rural areas that could act as vehicles for development.

Chapter 1

Towards an integrated development approach.

This chapter aims to identify the origin and aims of Community Development, list the four main approaches of CD and recommend an integrated approach that is holistic and takes into consideration the needs of the modern man in a rural village.

1.1. Origins of Community Development.

The origins of Community Development can be traced to the end of the Second World War. Though the methods that are used in CD was successfully practiced in Punjab in India in the 1920s and in Egypt and Jamaica in the 1930s, the origins of CD, in most literature is traced to the end of the Second World War (Korten 1980:481; Cary 1979:33). The British Colonial rule also played a very prominent role in development activities in her colonies.

Jeppe (1985:25) suggests that the concept of Community Development as an approach have its roots at three levels.

- a) In the British Colonial Service in the 1940s as a development strategy, particularly for rural development originally in India;
- b) Through application by the western world's voluntary agency activities in Less Developed Countries; and
- c) Through domestic programmes in adult education, community development, and social welfare services in Britain and the United States.

This can be explained in the following way:

- a) The British wanted to provide the infrastructure and the human resources to her colonies so that they could be led to independence.

The initial British attitude towards colonies was that law and order should be maintained, economic development should be furthered. Social services and education were left mostly to the Christian missioneries. According to Jeppe

(1985:25) the term 'community development' was first used officially by the British Colonial Officer's Cambridge Conference in 1948. Between 1947 and 1960 a new formula which took into consideration education as well as community development was formulated and the trend was towards a more integrated movement towards Community Development.

Jeppie (1985:25) quotes from (Britain and Developing countries 1967:6) to explain what this new system of administration entailed:

"a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and, and if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating the community in order to achieve its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. Community development embraces all forms of betterment. It includes the whole range of development activities in the district whether these are undertaken by government or unofficial bodies; in the field of agriculture by securing the adoption of better methods of soil conservation, better methods of farming and better care of livestock, in the field of health by promoting better sanitation and water supplies, proper measure of hygiene, infant and maternity welfare; in the field of education by spreading literacy and adult education as well as the extension and improvement of schools for children. Community development must make use of the co-operative movement and must be put into effect in the closest association with local government bodies."

This is the reason for the large number of schools and other infrastructure that is left by the legacy of colonial rule in the previous British Raj and other British colonies. This is also the reason for the type of education provided and social development practices in most post colonial countries being influenced by the amount of colonial intervention that occurred before independence.

Ofcourse, the ideological political and economic agenda of the British notion of development has to be criticised. However, this where the notion has its roots. From this background, one has to suspect that there will always be ideological, political and economic questions to deal with in the development field.

b. Community Development was subsequently more widely spread by the United States and other European nations through their voluntary agencies. They are still very active today and have managed to make a large impact on the communities of developing countries.

These voluntary agencies are now referred to as NGOs (Non Governmental Organisations). Voluntary organisations have been actors on the development stage longer than the World Bank, the United Nations, or any other official aid agency. Until recently they have been playing a minor part in the development game but have now moved to centre stage. They have also moved from a domination by Northern NGOs to partnerships between Northern and Southern NGOs. According to Clark (1990:3) *“Northern NGOs collectively now transfer to the South more than the World Bank group does. NGOs have frequently demonstrated their ability to help those most in need who have been missed by official aid programmes.”*

c) The application of Community Development was also promoted by the experiences with domestic projects in the United States and Britain on adult education, community services and social welfare work as well as university courses in community development since the 1950s.

*1.2. Different approaches to Community Development.

Coetzee and Ligthelm (1989:351) have identified four main approaches to community development. They are:

- The growth approach (1950's and 1960's)
- The employment approach (1969 to early 1970's)
- The income distribution or poverty orientated approach (early 1970's)
- The basic needs approach (since the mid 1970's)

Only the growth approach will be discussed here, as the growth approach is the one that has had the most impact on economies and still do. The effects of the growth approach, the disparities in income it brought about will be discussed and then an

integrated approach, which includes factors of the different approaches, will be formulated. This will be the basis on which a paradigm shift could take place.

The growth approach was the initial reaction of the West to bring about fast development in Less Developed Countries. The approach was an extension of the growth model that was based on the growth models of the developed countries. This approach, Coetzee and Ligthelm (1989:350) and Jeppe (1985:26), holds that an increase in output or economic growth of a country, as measured by the increase in Gross National Product is a sufficient condition for sustained development in the long run.

According to Coetzee (1989:351) the salient features of the economic growth approach are an economic growth bias and economic growth through capital accumulation.

The growth approach has an economic growth bias. All intervention into Developing Countries was targeted towards economic growth with no regard to the social, political and cultural dimensions of development. It was argued that man responds more readily to economic incentives and since development priorities were expressed in terms of economic growth, the latter attracted more support. The socio-political and cultural aspects of development were not given much importance and no thought was given to the social effects of economic development.

Economic growth through capital accumulation. This method was tried out in Europe while implementing the Marshall Plan. Large amounts of capital from outside the country were injected into the local economy and economic growth was stimulated. It was assumed that these large injections of capital would stimulate the economy and the benefits would trickle down to all sections of society. It not only became an approach imposed from the outside but also a programme directed from outside. When the return on capital was threatened the outside sources had the option of moving their capital elsewhere and leaving the country bankrupt causing serious economic, social and political problems. ✱

Notwithstanding the setbacks suffered by community development, it has retained its importance and remains a priority in many policy frameworks. Learning from mistakes, new theories and action plans are being drawn up. Community participation and involvement are being given more and more importance. The more recent disparities between actual earnings of the rich and the poor of the world make it all the more important that there is interest and emphasis on community development.

1.3. Recent trends in development

*** 1.3.1. Integrated conceptualisation and practice**

Realising the need for an integrated and new approach to community development, new trends have been developing.

It has been accepted widely that development concerns not only man's material needs, but also the improvement of the social conditions of his life and his broad human aspirations. The integrated or comprehensive approach to development will include the social, physical, technical, institutional, ecological and cultural aspects (Jeppe 1985:28; Coetzee and Ligthelm 1989:353).

According to Jeppe (1985:29) Community Development thus becomes a generic approach to the development needs of communities in all its dimensions:

- Physical improvements such as roads, agriculture, housing, water supplies, sanitation facilities etc.
- Functional activities such as health, education, recreation etc.
- Community action involving group activities, mobilisation or people for action, establishing bodies to undertake projects or activities, training programmes, etc.
- Jeppe also emphasises that development also entails the changing of the environment or physical conditions of communities which inevitably implies changes of the culture in a reciprocal process, which further bears out the multi-dimensional and generic approach to community development.

Coetzee and Ligthelm (1989:352) quotes Rodaro (1981:72) to state that a shift has occurred from a narrow growth approach to a people-oriented approach. This includes the following objectives that people strive for in all societies:

- To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection;
- To raise levels of living (in addition to higher incomes), by the provision of more jobs, better education and greater attention to cultural and humanistic values, all of which serve to enhance material well-being and generate greater individual and national self-esteem;
- To expand the range of economic and social choice to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence, mostly in relation to other people and national states, but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery.

Coetzee (1989:357) emphasises that development does not exclude development aid but, however, take local conditions, resources and development goals into account. ✱

1.3.2. An increased emphasis on the role of the Social Sector (non governmental organisations)

Non Governmental Organisations are those that fall outside the scope of the public and the private sector. These are organisations that are becoming prominent in the developing and developed countries. They provide a service to community that the government nor the private sector can provide. Non Governmental Organisations have evolved from grassroots organisations that were informally constituted and sometimes unrecognised by their governments to national-level institutions that serve as intermediate organisations, channelling assistance from the Northern NGO to the grass roots level and as the watch guard against exploitation of natural resources and people. Membership of such organisations have grown rapidly in the past few decades and their influence in tackling social problems and issues are much more profound in contemporary society.

The NGO today carries out many tasks. Some of them are :

- Building grass roots movements

According to Clark (1990: 89) the most exciting phenomenon in the NGO sector over the last two decades has been the birth, growth and maturing of grassroots organisations

throughout much of the third world. These grass roots movements carry out small scale economic activities that people can easily relate to, build awareness and empowerment, tackle internal and external injustices, encourage communities to chart their own course, develop action research, forge alliances of local groups, build up strong communication skills, seek influential allies and develop political strategies.

- International lobbying

Effective lobbying affords a powerful and increasingly important means for NGOs to multiply their impact on significant development questions. Till recently, the Northern NGOs did the international lobbying and Southern NGOs concentrated on trying to change policies and practices in their countries. This has now changed. For example, according to Clark (1990:126), Southern NGOs are saying that it is not enough to give money, what is needed is political action to help them in the struggle to get the Rich North off the backs of the South's Poor.

The two important issues mentioned above needed to bring about development in contemporary society are being taken over by NGOs. Being close to the poor, understanding their needs, being able to adapt and change according to prevailing conditions and needs make the NGO sector a prominent player in the development field. The principal development actors since the Second World War have been the international bodies-notably the World Bank and the United Nations Organisations- and the Northern Governments' own aid agencies such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID). They have promoted a style of development that has often been insensitive to the needs of ordinary people and to the environment. Indeed, the focus on wealth production rather than wealth distribution, production for export rather than for the needs of local populations, extraction of natural resources rather than environmental protection etc. have compounded the problems we now regard as critical. Recognition has now dawned that poverty alleviation, eradication of hunger, protecting the environment, grassroots development and safe guarding the poor from the debt crisis are priorities.

1.3.3. Conclusion

What we thus see is a shift in emphasis from an economic growth oriented development strategy to a strategy that emphasis the different dimensions of development. All activities in development circles are now targeted towards this broader aim. Development has become for people and of people. It has also become development by people as the whole process of development is now determined by, or in consultation with, community leaders, communities and people for whom development is undertaken. We also see the emergence of a strong and powerful Non Governmental Sector that is actively involved in developmental activities and are making great inroads into all activities concerning development. They are proving to be very powerful organisations with massive amounts of money received as donations to provide for their activities. They not only act as implementers of development activities but are proving to be powerful enough to lobby the government and society to provide legislation and laws that protect the environment and people.

In short, it has become clear that the fundamental concern of development has moved to people and their needs.

Chapter 2

Community development: Conceptualisation and contextualisation

In the previous chapter I advocated that community development in South Africa, and worldwide, is changing its focus to people and their needs. I also mentioned the trends in community development such as the movement towards a more integrated approach, community development basing all activities on humanness, grass roots movements, the bigger role played by the NGOs etc. There is much interest in community-related activities and a trend towards Non Governmental Organisations taking responsibility of carrying out community development projects. It becomes essential that more and more people understand what community development entails and ponder over ingenious and creative ways to carry out development activities.

According to Drucker (1993:154) *“None of the US programmes of the last 40 years in which we tried to tackle a social problem through action has produced significant results. But independent non-profit agencies have had impressive results.”*

The above makes it crucial that society takes an active part in social development. In order to take informed and considered decisions an understanding of community development is essential. This chapter provides some perspective on what community development entails, on the role of non governmental organisations and finally points to some of the reasons that has proved detrimental to development projects.

2.1. Explanation of the title.

Community development is littered with scores of definitions. In broad terms community development involves any activity that takes place that is aimed at bettering the lot of a set of people living in a particular area. Groenewald (1989:257) mentions that there is one particular definition, frequently used by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Development, that survived for two decades and which he thinks is often taken as the starting point for discussion: *“...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 these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is, therefore made up of two essential elements: The participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.” ✂

In this study community development is taken as activities undertaken by people so that they could have better lives. Better lives would mean economic advancement, finding self-esteem, being productive, gaining skills and spiritual wellbeing. This is a people orientated development strategy where people are intimately involved in the whole process of development activity and finally take control in the management of the project.

The school of thought that emphasises the evolutionary movement to development primarily focus on the development history of Europe and, to a lesser extent, North America (Coetzee 1989:17). Change, thus, occupies a prominent position in development. Coetzee (1989:17) puts across the following as factors that western people interpret as development: “ *The concept of progress is subjacent to key concepts such as liberation, justice, equality and communality. The idea of progress links up with the moving away from primitivity in the direction of control. Western people associate with development, a process of gradual increase in the way in which they become able to eliminate or reduce problems relating to their environment as well as their co-existence with others. They are also of the opinion that a direct relationship exists between development and increasing spiritual well-being.*”

Groenewald has identified three important issues in Community Development:

- 2.1.1. The relationship between community (or the people) and government (or state)
- 2.1.2. The problem of gaining participation in community development programmes on behalf of the people
- 2.1.3. The needs and problems of a particular group of people called a community

In my experience in community development I feel that the following are also important issues in the South African development debate and so have also included them.

2.1.4. The relationship between community and community leaders

2.1.5. Multifunctionality of rural organisations

2.1.6. Transfer of ownership and sustainability of projects

2.1.7. Management of projects

2.1.1. Community and government.

The nation state of today evolved over decades and now holds huge amounts of power over its people. It is essential that we understand what the relationship between a community and government is. It is also imperative that a study be made as to find the restrictions that government policy puts on community development activities by NGOs. There is also a need to study the latest trends in government policy and thinking on community development internationally.

Community can mean a group of people living in a geographic area, bound together by living in a certain place. It can also mean a group of people with common interests like religion, language etc and they may or may not live in a particular area.

In short community can be referred to as the place where the individual experiences, and has to deal with, the constraints of society and physical environment. The government or the state, on the other hand, is a body of people controlling and implementing the laws of the land. The community can act only within this set of laws. The attitude of the government to community development will depend on a number of things. Some of them are identified by Groenewald (1989:258-260):

- The priorities the government has set for itself.
- Bias, if any, the government has towards a particular community.
- The efforts undertaken by the community members to improve their situation.
- The influence of the representatives of a particular community in government.
- The racial composition of the community (the past government in South Africa controlled all aspects of development in black areas).

Groenewald (1989:259) mentions the fact that the individual's modes of adaptation to both social and physical environments are determined, if not prescribed,

by the structure of government that is characteristic of a particular society. For instance, in South African society the previous government's racial policy largely still determines the place of residence, patterns of communication and association with those sharing physical and social space. Opportunities for occupational and educational achievement and therefore of income generation and local governmental organisation performing the function of jurisdiction has undergone a radical change in South Africa after the democratic elections in 1994. Although South Africa has gone through five years of democracy, it is still noticeable that the previous laws, which prescribed for racial divisions in places of residence, still have a profound effect. In South Africa local communities became known and still are known by and large to be racially homogeneous communities.

The state has the responsibility to promote all-round development and work for bettering the conditions of its entire people. The previous government of South Africa had a legitimacy problem and so the people did not willingly become part of the initiatives.

This phenomenon is changing now and we see a flurry of development activities in South Africa, initiated by the state and more and more projects initiated by communities. There is also a large interest by International Aid Agencies, Multi-national corporations, South African business, individuals, game farms, and in the case of Welverdiend, the Kruger National Park to be part of the development process of the previously disadvantaged communities of South Africa.

Careful analysis is required to find out whether the state is capable of managing and implementing community development in a successful manner. International experience from all over the world has shown that the governments often fail in their community development activities. Drucker (1993:124) provides many examples where the contracting out of social services to NGO's have made a difference in the success rates of projects. He (1993:123) concludes: "*The most successful social policies of the last 10 or 15 years have been those in which governments – local governments primarily – contracted out either to a business or to a non-profit making agency. The number of programmes successfully 'contracted out' is growing and growing fast.*"

2.1.2. Participation in community development

As mentioned earlier, community development is gaining popularity in South Africa. Novel approaches to community development are being tried out. There seems to be a feeling among the marginalised communities of the past, especially black communities, that the previously advantaged community, namely the white community, has an obligation to help them. In the case of a large section of the white community, community involvement and helping out in community development activities is seen as a way to show commitment.

By contrast Groenewald (1989:260) quotes Hennie Swanepoel (1985:359) to state that *“community development is dwindling internationally because it failed to show significant results in the improvement of the social and material well being of people. It gained momentum with the Marshall Plan after the Second World War and popularity as the Third World received increasing international attention. However as the result of the failure of some of the most publicised programmes under the auspices of community development, both the concept and some of its principles and strategies were called into question.”*

South Africa has the advantage of being a late starter in the development game. It has to its advantage all the experiences of other developing countries that went through this process since the Second World War. The reasons for success and failure can be studied and moreover, there were similar settings in Africa. It is true that most community development initiatives did not last for long.

Some of the reasons that lead to the failure of the projects seem to have been:

2.1.2.1. The hidden agenda of the Aid Agencies.

2.1.2.2. The administrative cost of large bureaucracies.

2.1.2.3. Use of the aid for other purposes by recipient countries.

2.1.2.4. Large scale corruption.

2.1.2.5. The people for whom the aid was intended for not having any stake in it.

2.1.2.6. Sustainability not being given importance.

2.1.2.1. The hidden agenda of the Aid Agencies.

Numerous studies have been conducted into the strategies followed by International Aid Agencies when providing aid to developing countries. One reads with consternation the negative impact this has had on the recipient countries and wonders about the good faith of the donors. Michel Chossudovsky in his book, *The*

Globalisation of Poverty, (1997) sites numerous examples of how aid packages to developing countries did not achieve its aims. An interesting aspect of his writings is his arguments that although aid impacted negatively to the recipient, it was always advantageous to the West. His arguments have to be taken seriously and are relevant to all role players in community development because he asks pertinent questions for the reasons of aid giving and its impact on the aid receiver. Let us look at some of the examples. ✱

Talking of Vietnam Chossudovsky (1997:147) states that the seemingly neutral and scientific tools of macro economic policy (under the guidance of the Bretton Woods institutions) constitute, in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, an equally effective and formally non-violent instrument of re-colonisation and impoverishment affecting the livelihood of millions of people.

In November 1993, a total of US\$1.86 billion of loans and aid money was generously pledged in support of Vietnam's market reforms, yet immediately after the conference another meeting was held behind closed doors. The reimbursement of arrears of US\$140 million was demanded as a condition for the resumption of credit. By accepting the legitimacy of these debts, Hanoi had in effect accepted to repay loans that had been utilised to support the US war effort.

Chossudovsky (1997:131) also sites the example of India where the IMF and World Bank reforms feed on the poverty of the poor. The IMF programme compresses internal consumption and reorients India's productive system towards the international market. Poverty is input on the supply side: labour costs in dollars are low, internal purchasing power is low. This paves the way for moving production of labour intensive industries to India.

Moving labour intensive manufacturing industries to areas where skills are available at a lower salary is an international trend. Multinational manufacturing and service industries are, as in any profit-making organisation, looking at ways to reduce cost of production. India has a large qualified and skilled work force and the establishment of large scale manufacturing units has brought about employment opportunities.

Chossudovsky's (1997:130) argument that devaluation has brought about a decline in real earnings of the poor is valid. The devaluation and economic reforms has redirected the Indian economy towards exports. This has paved the way for multinationals to compress internal consumption and reorient India's productive

system towards the international market by reducing labour cost in dollars and lowering purchase power.

2.1.2.2. The administrative cost of large bureaucracies.

This is another important aspect for the failure of projects. Aid agencies and NGO's that act on behalf of the recipients usually have a large array of people who work towards implementing projects. These people work as consultants and charge a huge fee for implementing projects on behalf of the donors. It does not mean that NGO's should not cover their administrative costs, it is when the costs becomes so great as to take up the bulk of the aid money that it becomes a concern (Chussudovsky 1997:141).

An example is the United Nations that has such a large human component in its structures that it has become a bureaucracy in itself. The larger it grows the smaller will be the aid that ultimately reaches the grass roots.

2.1.2.3. Use of aid money for other purposes.

During the cold war, large amounts of aid money were channeled into countries to keep them in line with the thinking of either the East or the West. Dictators then ruled most underdeveloped countries. These 'rulers' built up a large arsenal of weapons and a huge military to be used against their own people so that they could remain in power. Aid money received at that time was channeled off to purchase the latest weaponry and to keep the military machine going. The West and the East had weapons on the market, which they sold to these countries, and was paid for from the aid money received. Thus, these developing countries had a debt to pay. The aid money received from the developed countries was now back in the hands of the donor. This creates dependency on the developed countries and opens the way for dominant countries to demand concessions from dependent ones (Vorster 1989:75).

2.1.2.4. Large scale corruption.

This is another area of concern. Once aid is provided, it is difficult to keep track as to how it is being used. Various tales of large-scale corruption of aid money has emerged. Rulers, military and project implementers have been found guilty of

corruption. Chossudovsky calls this 'recycling of aid money'. He cites the example of Bangladesh (Chossudovsky 1997:143) where many aid and non-governmental organisations are involved in meaningful projects at the grass roots level, several of the poverty alleviation schemes rather than help the poor, constitute an important source of income for urban professionals and bureaucrats. Through the various local executing agencies based in Dhaka, the local elites had become development brokers and intermediaries acting on behalf of the international donor community. The funds earmarked for the rural poor often contributed to the enrichment of military officers and bureaucrats. This aid money was then recycled into commercial and real estate investments including office buildings, luxury condominiums, etc.

2.1.2.5. Involvement in implementation

It is imperative that the people or community for whom aid is provided has a stake in the planning and implementation of the project. They should also derive direct benefit from the projects. I call this the motivation for productivity. It should be a comprehensive approach where by high economic growth is achieved in a way that will benefit the whole population. In most instances the government or an external benevolent agency takes the initiative in initiating developmental projects without or with minimal consultation with the community. This has serious implications on success, as priority is not given to the motivation factor of the people involved. Coetzee & Ligthelm (1989:369) provides the following advice on how projects can be implemented: "*...a comprehensive development approach, in which everyone can participate, is thus required. The approach must consist primarily of the following directions:*

- *A set of programmes and projects which focus on the elimination of problems typical of less developed areas. It should concern small-scale, decentralised development of the production structure of the economy, which must focus on such aspects as rural development and the development of the informal and small business sector, as well as the improvement of human resources and productivity. Programmes for the provision of basic needs in the areas of education, health, housing, water supply and nutrition are but a few which are relevant in this regard. Expenditure on human resources in order to improve productivity is now regarded as an investment in productive resources and not seen as consumption*

as was the case in the past. Underlying this approach are principles such as self-reliance, the use of as much local raw material, talent and energy as possible, maximum participation in development and development for the benefit of man in his own social milieu.

- *Ancillary to the approach which specifically addresses the problem of less developed areas it is also essential within the southern African perspective to place particular emphasis on development co-operation projects and the development of large-scale industries, among others. The strong polarising tendencies emphasise the need for the introduction of programmes and instruments aimed at a better distribution of economic activity.*

The two points above show that economic development is an essential condition for development but is not the only important factor. Other related factors such as education and health should be given importance so that sustained growth can be achieved through informed decisions taken by all parties concerned.

2.1.2.6 Sustainability not being given importance.

Sustainability means that a project once implemented will continue to support itself without further support or infusion of capital. Many of the large-scale projects implemented in the past did not take it into consideration. For example, the large scale injection of capital into educational projects without an infrastructure that could provide employment.

This study concentrates on small projects and so will look at how small scale development projects could be sustainable in the long term. I am of the opinion that every project should be run as a small business. The market for the product should be researched and the profit margin calculated. When many sustainable projects are implemented in a particular community, they tend to support one another and thus there will be over-all development.

Groenewald (1989:260) mentions that one particular principle that led to the demise of community development is the requirement that target communities should participate in the development effort. This could be true as community involvement takes up a lot of time and effort. It needs special skills as it involves gaining understanding of the target group, its internal dynamics and power distribution. What usually happens is that the whole community, i.e. all the people in community cannot

participate and if they do, they will hinder implementation. Where there is a legitimate elected body that can manage and coordinate activities, the best route would be to use them as go-betweens. In most villages there are very few community organisations and most of them are not skilled and do not have popular support. The only alternative is for groups of people who show commitment to come together and coordinate activities.

Coetzee & Lighthelm (1989:372) quotes Ghai, Godfrey & Lisk (1981:84) to list a number of characteristics of sustainable development projects:

- *“Many of the programmes are characterised by small-scale production;*
- *The production techniques usually reveal a low capital:labour ratio leading to the creation of more employment opportunities for a given amount of capital than would have been the case if conventional or modern production approaches had been introduced;*
- *The necessary skills and training levels are acquired more easily because they are less sophisticated;*
- *In most cases local raw materials are used;*
- *The production processes usually require simple technology.”*

2.1.3. The needs and problems of a particular group of people called a community.

In most cases of community development, the community is unable to identify its needs because of lack of understanding, lack of organisation or lack of agreement between its members as to what the needs are. Most development programmes these days are sponsored self-help. In this type of programme, the decision to start a development programme does not originate from within the community but at the offices of the aid agency, government department or government worker.

The opposite is a scenario where the community is not so much a target, rather it became a self-conscious entity that knows what it wants, and who requests or demands the opportunity or the resources or both to act accordingly (Groenewald 1980:22).

The latter has a better chance of success. In my experience in community development it has been proved over and over again that projects identified from within the community have a better chance of being sustainable. The best way to go about it is to identify a project, do a feasibility study, draw up the capital requirements, explain how the project can be feasible, and identify people within the community to take ownership of the project. The completed document is then sent to possible funders and the response has been overwhelming.

If a community has the capacity to do the above, then, all it needs is organisation to bring it all together. According to Groenewald (1980:18) the emphasis in community action is on organising the people to demand effectively from local and national governments alike their share of service and resources.

Groenewald (1989:262) identifies two kinds of needs within a community: Felt needs and real needs. Felt needs are those that are easily identified by the community such as a need for water, schools, electricity etc... . Real needs are those that are identified by the community or at most times through the help of external agencies or the government from a perspective of national development policy or historical trends. Identification of real needs is carried out after careful analysis of the existing situation and consultation with community members. Workshops and brainstorming sessions are held with the community. It is usually an external agent such as a Non-governmental organisation or government that tries to educate the community in discovering real needs before implementation of community development projects. Education becomes necessary when the targeted community is poor and isolated. According to Midgley et al (1986:30) "*Because community development efforts are mainly directed to poor and deprived communities who are believed to be passive and disorganised with little potential for participation, special attention is given in development literature to the ways and means of promoting community participation. Various authors emphasised the catalyst function of the local level participatory institutions and the role of community workers in activating participation.*"

According to Groenewald (1989:260) the needs that are discovered by the community through education and involvement in planning can be called 'induced needs' that are real.

In order to create a climate of participation it is recommended by Jeppe (1985:29) that if the essence of community development is to be retained and the commitment of the people assured, plans should not be imposed from outside but

must be made with consultation and the cooperation of the community. By induced needs is thus implied that the people are stimulated to create desires and to conceptualise a situation in such a way that it becomes a felt need.

Before implementing projects in rural villages as a planned and organised endeavour, there will be a need to hold workshops, courses on leadership, management courses etc. because of the low level of literacy and lack of skills. This is because of the following reasons.

- Lack of organisation
- Complacency brought about by the experience of 'Pretoria will provide'.
- Lack of exposure to aid organisations
- Disillusion caused by the previous government's policy of not consulting local communities when implementing development projects.

As each project is undertaken and becomes successful, there will be a sense of pride and confidence that more projects could be undertaken and then people will begin to express needs at community meetings. The group of people who are in the forefront of initiating development will begin to prioritise these needs and try to find means to satisfy these needs. A lot of effort and time will have to be spent to undertake a detailed study of each need and how ways and means will be found to satisfy them. Studies will have to be undertaken, mainly, to find out how a business plan could be drawn so that members of the community could run each of the projects in a feasible and self-sustainable manner.

2.1.4. The relationship between community and community leaders.

Most rural communities in the Northern Province of South Africa have no strong and formal organisations that can control and coordinate activities with legitimacy. The Chief and the Induna (traditional leaders) have lost credibility in many communities under the new democratic dispensation. What has emerged is that there are a large number of different structures that is causing confusion and power struggles in these communities.

In most rural black communities, there is the traditional Induna. Then there is the Civic Association comprising of elected members. This is supposed to be the mother body within the Village that regulates, co-ordinates and implements all

activities in the Village. Lack of management skills, power struggles between ethnic groups and individual differences of opinion has made this body quite irrelevant. What has finally happened is that there is no body that can call itself truly representative of the Community. When representatives of Aid Agencies or Government officials tries to initiate projects, there is difficulty in identifying a structure that is recognised by all the inhabitants. There are cliques, of course. These cliques work towards promoting their leader as the leader of the community and bringing down and opposing any initiatives brought about by other cliques. The large-scale unemployment situation where people find themselves with nothing to do and the proximity of living quarters has brought about a situation where everybody is watching what everybody else is doing.

People within the community who have the capacity, drive and ability to initiate projects withdraw from such activities because of the opposition to anything and everything they do. They become disillusioned and fold their arms in times of crisis.

2.1.5. Multifunctionality of rural organisations.

South Africa, like many other developing countries, has very few rural organisations that have the capacity and skill to bring about planned development and to keep development activities sustainable. The kinds of organisations that are seen in most communities are the school, the clinic and the church.

These organisations have to take responsibility not only to provide the best service in the main task that it is mandated to but also to voluntarily take up the responsibility of initiating, liaising with donors and other external agencies, provide the infrastructure required for development and thus acting as a catalyst to bring about overall development in the community that it serves.

2.1.6. Transfer of ownership and sustainability of projects.

The aim of this study is to prove that projects can be sustainable if ownership is transferred to an individual or small group of people who will run it as a small business.

Let us take a scenario whereby a brick making project has to be implemented in a community. An external aid agency or benefactor identifies, by whatever means, a need within the community. Training is provided, the infrastructure is put up and the project is initiated and run for a few months with the support, help and supervision of the donor or an expert appointed by the donor.

A big function is organised, the media is invited and the project is handed over to the 'community'. A prominent member of the community receives this gift on behalf of the community. What happens after that is very interesting. All the skills transfer and training is not good enough to find a solution as to who will own the project and how the profit should be shared. There is tension as different interest groups in the village try to topple the plans of the other groups. Finally, the whole project folds up. People capable of running it loose interest and the infrastructure is looted. Another project bites the dust.

If the project had been handed over to a particular person or group of people who show potential or who has invested in the project, then it would definitely have had a chance of success because the people involved has a stake in the success because they now stand to lose if it fails.

2.1.7. Management of the projects

In rural areas of South Africa, a phenomenon that becomes apparent is the general apathy and disinclination to do something out of the ordinary. Of course, there is interest in development activities and there are people who are interested in taking up and initiating projects, the number of such people are low and due to lack of skills and understanding they often are discouraged from taking the initiative. It might be caused by a lack of self-esteem or the lack of confidence in taking up responsibility. There is always a tendency to look up to outside agencies to take up responsibility and to venture into areas that are unknown. In short, there is a lack of motivation to take up a challenge. This might be caused by the communal rituals and the communal responsibility that is instilled in one from a young age which causes people to take group decisions rather than individual ones. This slows down all activities and in the present age where small businesses are run as efficiently as possible to compete to find a market, it is impossible to sustain. Ingenuity and creativity is the basic aspects that can make a project successful. I have seen the

success of projects made possible by the hard work of individuals who have taken the responsibility of trying to make projects successful. The primary motive for these people to work so hard is not that they want the community to benefit, of course, this could be secondary, the main reason is always the benefit that he or she will derive from the success.

2.2. Is community development possible?

Groenewald (1989:269) writing on community development has asked this crucial question. He has tried to give us the answer to that too. At the time of his writing South Africa was still under apartheid rule where there was a South Africa within which there were many 'homelands' occupied by the native Africans. These homelands were given semi-autonomy by the dominant South African state.

In 1983, the South African government launched a population development programme. According to Swanepoel (1985:365-366) this programme was based on sound principles nationally. The problem was that different tiers of management and coordination had to be set up nationally, regionally and, locally for the various homelands and for South Africa. This brought about the creation of a massive bureaucracy. This excessive line of coordination and control was made necessary because of the South African government's adherence to apartheid policy that classified people according to their race and every race was treated as superior or inferior to each other. To maintain this division, a lot of resources were necessary.

In regard to development initiatives, the massive bureaucracy had its implications. The planning, initiation, co-ordination, approval and implementation of a project had to go through a lot of paper work and through different layers of different departments. Moreover, all aspects of development were planned centrally and implemented by government. People at grass roots level had no say or involvement. This led to a situation where it became difficult to engage people to be participants in projects. As Swanepoel (1985:366) states, it is impossible for a government to plan a nation-wide community development programme with a view to involving the population at grass-roots level in the implementation thereof.

What the government could do is to create an atmosphere in which development can take place with initiatives from people or communities. It is thus imperative that

government establishes a framework within which community development can take place, and provide assistance for the communities in their efforts.

During the apartheid government's rule, a non-participatory approach was the only one possible because the government had to retain its power for maintaining the normative pattern of racial exclusivity. According to Groeneveld (1989:270) while doing so the government lost credibility and legitimacy as the wielder of power, giving itself no choice other than to govern by force and to miss out on participation by the people in maintaining and developing their communities.

After the first all-inclusive democratic election in 1994, a democratic government has been put in place. The government thus got the legitimacy it required to intervene in local communities to spearhead and bring about integrated rural development. There was tremendous pressure to bring about some kind of re-distribution of resources. The government, initially under Mr. Nelson Mandela, had the experiences of other African states to refer to and they probably saw a long list of failures brought about by forced redistribution of wealth and the fleeing of people with skills and knowledge from their countries. South Africa took the road of reconciliation and has since tried to bring about development through channeling available state funds towards developing the previously disadvantaged.

This has brought about some changes like more houses being electrified, more homes being supplied with water and more communities having access to telephones. The question now asked is whether this in itself can bring about development. Will not the felt and real needs of the people keep increasing as some needs are met? The economic sciences have proved that human needs are unlimited and that the means to satisfy these needs are limited. Can Pretoria keep providing? Isn't it time that the initiative is taken up by the people?

This is happening to a large degree. People have realised that self-employment is the best way to find employment, make a living and that this not only brings about financial independence but also brings about increased self-esteem. There is a general feeling among large corporations, multi-national companies, foreign embassies, and local business that something should be done to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources and thus to redress the past. The majority of them have demarcated funds for community development and some of them even have a whole department to deal with requests for funding and for implementing social development projects. There is a growing awareness among the rural and

marginalised communities that funds are available. This has brought about an influx of applications for funding. The large number of sign boards one sees when driving in rural communities stating that a project is being implemented with the help of a particular agency is proof of this. The response, at first, was quite irresponsible. This could be because of the lack of experience in community development of a large number of South African organisations. Funds were handed out without looking at the feasibility of projects and the dynamics of the people involved. One of the most important aspect in the success of any project is accountability and this was not called for. Thus a large number of projects failed.

Analysing the reasons for failure, the most important are:

- Lack of proper planning by the funder before handing over the project.
- Not identifying a possible owner or a group of people who would directly benefit from the project.
- Lack of motivation in ensuring the success of the project because ownership was not transferred.

Usually a broad analysis is made and then the reasons for failure is identified as lack of skills within the community, lack of the culture of business acumen and a general tendency to failure. In this study it has been identified that this is not always true. If project initiators, if external, could initiate projects, transfer skills by providing on the job training, and at the same time put in mechanisms to identify a person or group of people who could run with the project as a small business unit, there is every chance of success. This is taking into consideration the basic human nature of being motivated by profit or gain.

The old school of thought where the whole community could be developed by initiating projects that was managed by the whole community and profits to be shared, will not work. This has been proved over and over again. Large-scale projects like the supply of electricity and water supply where the community supplies the labour could be run as a community project. Even when planning such projects, the fundamental thought must be the motivation factor. Ways should be found to see that the people involved gains something more than the supply of electricity as would everyone else in the Village irrespective of whether they contributed or not.

In this respect, Ghai et al (1997:25-26) asks the following questions. Ghai says that the questions given below have to be addressed in order to bring us to the central issue.

- What precise meaning must be attached to the notion of conscious participation at different levels (social, political or economic)?
- What does participation as a conscious involvement really mean in the context of a specific community, farm, factory, political grouping, trade union or co-operative?
- What kinds of decisions must be made through participation and by what means?
- Do certain activities and modes of doing things lend themselves more easily to conscious participation than others?
- What are the essential characteristics of self-reliance?
- At what levels and in what ways should self-reliance be sought?
- Is self-reliance on a local level compatible with self-reliance at a national level and in the outside world?
- In what ways can self-reliance lead to reduced dependence on 'outside forces'?

The questions lead to the following answers according to Coetzee (1989:13). All developmental initiatives must be structured in such a way that it leads to a society that is:

- Need-oriented (being geared to meeting the needs of the people involved)
- Endogenous (stemming from the heart of the society)
- Self-reliant (the society relies primarily on its strength and resources)
- Ecologically sound (utilising rationally the resources in full awareness of the potential as well as limits thereof).

The most important of them is the initiation of projects that are oriented to meet the needs of the people involved and secondly that the aim should be self-reliance within an ecologically sound environment.

3. Conclusion

This chapter gives a broad insight as to what community development entails. It shows that it is of vital importance that community development is planned and initiated with the participation of the target community.

It traces the relationship between community and government, community and other external organisations and between members of the community. The pitfalls of large scale externally funded projects are provided which provides the reader with a global view of problems in the development sphere. The chapter also tries to identify the different kinds of needs namely, felt needs, real needs and induced real needs. This will prove useful to a community developer in understanding the different kinds of needs and especially how needs can be induced.

The chapter strongly advocates that community development is possible and will be successful with due participation of community members and the identification of project implementers who have the capacity and capability to run every small project as a little business.

CHAPTER 3

Development is for people.

This chapter is an explanation of important themes in Jan K Coetzee's book, *Development is for people*. I have chosen this book as the basis of writing this chapter because it contains holistic perspectives on development. De Villiers and Coning (sa.:1) maintain that it is a welcome contribution to the development debate and should be well received by development theorists and practitioners alike as there are very few comprehensive works on the subject in South Africa.

3.1. Explanation of the title.

Already in the title of the book one can see the basic approach formulated- the basic approach being that people should form the focus of any development thought and action. Coetzee explains that the title is an acknowledgement that the problem of development must relate to the people involved in all possible respects (Coetzee 1989:1).

He cautions that "*the pertinent focusing of development thought on people does not presume to have all the answers but should be seen as an attempt to reflect critically on the way in which development activities has been carried out in the past. (1989:1)*" What he has managed to achieve is a shift of emphasis from development developed and implemented by external agencies to some sort of a partnership and greater importance being given to involvement and opinions of the target group. Reviewers agree that the approach can be seen as the best possible approach. In a review of Coetzee's work, de Villiers and Coning (s.a.:1) state that "*the aim of the book can best be summarised in the words of the editor, who states that any development will have to be based on the participation of the people in terms of highly sensitive considerations: greater self reliance, community action and real empowerment.*" 

3.2. Development involves millions of individuals.

The shift in emphasis towards people is a trend that is developing worldwide. It is dawning on theorists, project funders and implementers that it is not only necessary but

also essential that the target population have greater involvement in all aspects of projects so that there is a greater chance of success. Coetzee (1989:2) agrees to this when he says "*there is a new awareness of the universal right of each and every person to live a meaningful life. Concepts such as social justice, equality and human solidarity have found their way into the economic reports of the monetary and fiscal experts of the world.*"

There are millions of people living in absolute poverty in the third world (the third world not only in the developing countries but also that part of the population living in poverty in the first world). The South African situation is unique in that the gap between the rich and the poor is glaringly perceptible. It is true that the same situation can be seen in other developing countries like India, Brazil etc. What makes the South African situation unique is that there was a racial compartmentalization of the two worlds. As it is the microcosm of the world, as I had mentioned earlier, could it be a reflection of the wider picture or is it the legacy of the policies of the past? To find the answer to this question is beyond the scope of this study but by including it as a question, I hope, the reader will give it some thought. This question has been included here because this is a study on rural development and one of the reasons for so much interest in community development activities in South Africa could be the reaction by all people in South Africa to try to redress the past.

The majority of the people of South Africa live in absolute or relative poverty, making up the immensely high figures of unemployment and underemployment, and experiencing total inequality as far as access to effective economic power is concerned. South Africa has a large industrial and economic base and but the growth rate is declining. Through disciplined fiscal policies, after the elections in 1994, the government is trying to achieve a fair amount of economic growth. The growth in South Africa seems to be growth without employment. This growth has had a negative impact on the poor rural population. In fact, studies have proved that the standard of living of the majority of the population is declining. It becomes essential then that there should be a shift in emphasis in development thought and action. Coetzee (1989:2) states that "*...these numerous individuals must anew be made the focus of development thought. This is all the more necessary because an illusion of bettering of their living conditions, supported by irrelevant and insignificant figures such as an increase in per capita income, often conceals their need.*"

There is a large degree of unanimity that uncontrolled market forces cannot for instance lead to a well-functioning economy. Some argue that the logic of a market economy must be corrected by the economy of solidarity (cf. Perroux 1983:124 -125). This solidarity is summarised in terms of article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UNESCO, which proclaims that everyone has the right to life. It not only rejects all destructive or violent actions which may influence a person's life, but also focuses attention on the possible damage that social institutions and organisations can inflict on the integrity of a human being.

The above shows that market forces cannot, in-itself be left to bring about development; there should be some sort of intervention to correct the imbalance and raise living conditions. This intervention is seen all over South Africa today. It takes the form of development aid from donors nationally and internationally, development agencies that are formed to implement this development, the interest that the government has in bringing about development. Intervention is all the more applicable in the South African situation where the inequality is so high, having being brought about by the manipulation of the previous government, there is a moral obligation on the part of that class of society to try to redress the past. That class of society includes multinational corporations, big business and individuals that benefited from the previous laws. It is essential that any sort of intervention should be carried out in a humane and people - centred manner. The realisation that the people - centred way is the right way and the only sustainable way has dawned on most players in the development sector. Wilber (1979:283) takes the view that *"development is not about index numbers of national income, it is not about savings ratios and capital coefficients: it is about people and for people. Development must therefore begin by identifying human needs. The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential."*

3.3. Development and expansionism

 At the time of his writing, Coetzee saw the agenda of the East and the West to expand their areas of influence as primary in any development activity they engaged in. In the years following the Second World War and particularly since the political independence of the 1960's, a new form of colonialism emerged. According to

Coetzee (1989:3) “*Development aid created a new home for constituting Western capitalism and the control of the economic and political structures, while providing the opportunity for Soviet expansionism by means of heavy industrialisation and massive projects providing infrastructural elements with limited feasibility.*”

He (1989:3) continues that “*in retrospect it is not difficult to determine that the immense interest in the problems of underdevelopment as displayed by the developed world since the 1950s and 1960s, was not without hidden motives. It was seldom a case of honest concern for the plight of the Third World. Both the superpowers held the view that neutrality on their part regarding the development of the so-called under developed, could provide a basis for the advancement of their opponents. In this regard the Western world took it as its duty to bring salvation by means of large-scale modernisation. In the rivalry for the favour of the Third World, attempts were often made to achieve technological progress and industrialisation by means of such strategies as programmes for the following:*

- *The quick advancement of agricultural techniques;*
- *Urbanisation*
- *The establishment of a proletariat;*
- *Large-scale introduction of formal educational structures;*
- *The establishment of a specific economic system.”*

Criticism can be expressed with regard to each of these programmes. For example, large amounts of money was made available for formal education, without a social structure capable of accommodating qualified people. This led to disillusionment and unfulfilled expectations. Most of the money made available to these countries was channeled through international development organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The loans made available by these organisations had conditions attached to it. Economic restructuring was made a condition. After years of becoming indebted in this way, the developing countries or “heavily indebted countries” are being crippled by debts that they will have to pay back. Other writers point to important dimensions for the lack of success of development projects. 

According to Marshall (1999:23) “*Before getting relief, poor countries have to implement economic reforms designed by the IMF. These include policies designed to reduce government expenditure, liberalise trade and reduce inflation.*

Although aimed at stabilising debtor country economies by securing economic growth, evidence has repeatedly shown that in many cases the mix of ultra-free market policies is having a devastating impact on the poorest sectors of society, pushing them even deeper into poverty.

Marshall (1999:23) quotes James Wolfensohn, the head of the World Bank who, according to Marshall, is trying to bring the attention of the World Bank on the plight of the world's poor. "I am anxious to try to focus the body on the fact that we are coming into a millennium, that in a very few number of days we'd have 6 billion people on the planet, of whom 3 billion will live under \$2 a day, and 1,3 billion under \$1 a day"

With the fall of the East and together with that the rejection of communism and its associated economic policies, the West and its capitalistic theories reigned supreme. Organisations that were set up to provide financial and other aid like the International Monetary Fund sets specific conditions for loaner countries. In its Articles of Agreement it states that whenever the Fund is of the opinion that any member is using the resources of the Fund in a manner contrary to its purposes, the Fund may react by exerting pressure on the member to act in accordance with the expectations of the Fund. Coetzee (1989:3) thinks that *"this, as well as the prescriptions of other development financing organisations, led to the conclusion that developed countries or international development organisations controlled by the developed countries use their power to withhold or increase aid as a means of influencing the general economic policies of developing countries."*

Coetzee (1989:3) puts across the idea that the international aid agencies that have pumped money into developing countries did it with a hidden agenda. Michel Chossudovsky in his book, 'Globalisation of poverty', supports this. Chossudovsky (1997:1) states that *"the global crisis is not centred on any single region of the world. National economies are interlocked, commercial banking and business ownership (controlled by some 750 global corporations) transcend economic borders, international trade is integrated and financial markets around the world are connected through instant computer link-up. The present crisis is far more complex than that of the interwar period, its social consequences and geo-political implications, far-reaching, particularly in the aftermath of the Cold war."*

He further states (1997:1) that "the macro-economic management adopted at the national and international levels plays a central role in the emergence of a new

global economic order: the reforms “regulate” the process of capitalist accumulation at a world level.” “This”, he says, “is not, however, a “free” market system: while supported by neo liberal discourse, the so-called “structural adjustment programme” sponsored by the Bretton Woods institutions constitute a new interventionist framework.”

Many authors like (Chussudovsky 1997:16; Marshall 1999:23) support the idea that the international finance institutions have done a lot of damage to the economies of the developing countries and that they indirectly control the global economy. But is it not true that there is, at present, no other alternative? The globalisation of the market place, the emergence of democracy and capitalism, the power of the developed countries to call the shots are, at present, things that one cannot wish away. The evolution of man to this modern era of the information age and knowledge as the basis of power has created a web which entangles all aspects of human life all over the world. The strength with which this web exerts its influence from the core to the periphery is so powerful that any change in the core affects all parts of the web. At the present stage, it is impossible not to be part of this global game. If a country or a particular area wishes to pull out, the rest of the world will not let it because the elites of the world (inclusive of first and third world) depend on the exploitation of the periphery in order to be able to nurture and support co-opted elites of client or “peripheral” states. According to Black (1991:29) *“World systems theory, pioneered by Immanuel Wallerstein, views the world economy as segmented into core and periphery areas. Rather than focusing on interactions among governments, however, this approach calls attention to the transnational interactions of nonstate actors, particularly multinational corporations and banks. The international economy is said to be driven by economic elites, particularly of the developed capitalist states, whose governments normally do their bidding. The control centers of the world are then the financial rather than political capitals. The farther one lives from such a center, the slower the trickle-down of its wealth.”*

In short, this is the new world order. We can hope that a more humane way will be found as the world moves towards the post-capitalist society. At present it is essential that one learns to adapt to this order rather than try to wish it away (Mbeki 1992:2). This new world order cannot be wished away and there seems to be no alternative to it at present. It might be colonisation in another form but what is the alternative?

3.4.1. Development implies highly complex considerations

Coetzee (1989:5) suggests that “...*people involved in development should be placed radically in the centre. The pertinent catchwords in so-called development “problems” are no longer sought primarily in effective public works, technology transfers, the development of appropriate technology, economic planning, industrialisation, effective administration, effective management and the necessary land reform.*” These catchwords used to the operations undertaken in order to provide infrastructure, avoid disasters, provide employment, increase productivity and reorganise land tenure. He says that there seems to be a movement towards operations providing opportunities for participation, recognition of social justice, education, and the abolition of poverty and inequality as well as the institution of community development that can lead to social reconstruction and the provision of meaningful existence. The effect of sensitive considerations is much higher and more intense in the case of an approach that takes people as the point of departure. Where the sensitive considerations of development are concerned, the price of development might possibly be too high for many people. This must be understood with compassion.

It is extremely important that people involved in development understand the value of a people centred approach to development. The recipients of any help should be provided with not only an opportunity to state their needs but also should be a part of the whole process of planning and implementation. Opportunities for participation should include transfer of ownership. Recognition of social justice should be in the form of transferring ownership of projects and gaining benefits according to commitment, dedication and responsibility shown in all aspects of project implementation. Education should include hands on experience in project management and implementation so that the project can be sustainable and managed efficiently once transfer of ownership takes place. Abolition of poverty is possible by instituting guidelines where opportunities that are feasible in the long run, sustainable and benefits a number of people are outlined. The most important thing to note here is that projects should be run as small business and should bring about income. The problem faced in implementing projects, as experienced in many parts of the world, is that there is a huge bureaucracy and an army of middlemen who identify themselves as champions of the poor. The bureaucracy takes up a whole lot of resources for administration and other management fees and finally the percentage of

the aid that reaches the poor is very low. It has been argued that there is also a lot of corruption among some of these 'community developers'.

Chussudovsky (1997: 20) provides some insight to the problem of managing external aid and how projects implemented in developing countries could lead to corruption. *" a vicious circle has been set in motion. The vicious cycle is termed as 'The Recycling of Aid Money'.. Bangladesh is taken as an example where many aid and non-governmental organisations are involved in meaningful projects at the grass-roots level, several of the "poverty alleviation schemes", rather than helping the poor, constitute an important source of income for urban professionals and bureaucrats. Through the various local executing agencies based in Dhaka, the local elites had become development brokers and intermediaries acting on behalf of the international donor community. The funds earmarked for the rural poor often contributed to the enrichment of military officers and bureaucrats. This "aid money" was then recycled into commercial and real-estate investments including office buildings, luxury condominiums etc..."*

This is identified as a serious problem in development circles.

3.5. Development is based on consciousness

Coetzee (1979:5) states that *"the people concerned in development must be pertinently involved in the development process."*

People confronted with the message of so-called development therefore have the right to decide on it for themselves - they should also have the opportunity to reject the development proposals. The bearers of the development message are aware of this and realise that the social reality they perceive from outside is not necessarily what it seems to them, they simultaneously have to acknowledge that this reality can become different and more humane.

It is essential that the beneficiaries of the development process should be involved in the process. This is important, as only with involvement can there be understanding of real needs. Involvement in this sense would include the involvement of the aid giver as well as the aid receiver. The planning of how the needs can be satisfied, co-ordinated and implemented can also then take place in such a way that it is sustainable and can be managed in a way that needs very little help and support from outside once it is implemented. Thus we see that the only way in which self-reliant,

endogenous development can be attained is to work on the assumption that the beneficiaries of development will also have to be contributors to it.

Many a time have individuals or groups handed over aid to a community without understanding the needs and without transferring technical and management skills. This can lead not only to conflict within communities but can also lead to projects becoming unsustainable and lead to failure.

If projects could be identified by people within the community and then a plan could be drawn up where the success of these projects will mean the deriving of benefit to people who are involved in the hands-on running of these projects, it has a much better chance of success. The bearers of the development message should not take the understanding they get from the limited contact they have had with the community as reality. Reality, as perceived from the outside, can be quite different from what is experienced from within the community.

Many examples can be drawn from Welferdiend Village where projects that brought some income to impoverished families and which benefited the people managing it succeeded and thrived while projects that were handed over to the community structures to run failed. The reason for failure is described in detail in Section B of this book.

3.6. Reconsideration of the concept of development

Coetzee states that in spite of more than three decades of intensive development research, numerous problems still exist in the concept of development. He states that development is generally conceptualised as a process of directed change leading to economic growth, political autonomy and a broad basis of social reconstruction. Values are also of great importance to development thought. Coetzee (1989:7) quotes Seers who states that value judgements cannot be separated from any development action.

According to Seers, the questions to ask about a country's development are therefore:

“What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country

concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled."

Coetzee (1979:6) continues to say that apart from the fact that values play a role on all levels, one also has to accept that development will never be defined in a universally satisfying manner. This is the case because all experiences of development and all needs differ. In spite of the diverse ways in which development is established, approached and realised, however, all theorising on development and strategies concerning it are linked by the fact that it is a human undertaking involving all humanity.

Development is not only a mechanism by means of which one can improve one's material circumstances. It should become the focus of the aspirations of the people, representing the direction defined as being the most desirable by the people. No development is possible without some sort of participation by the people. The kind of participation will depend on the kind of situation each of them finds themselves in. The kind of participation that is possible or thought as best in one country may differ from country to country and from region to region or person to person. The conclusion that one can draw from this argument is that participation by the aid giver and receiver is essential in any development initiatives. It is only the degree and kind of participation that will differ.

International development agencies have understood the importance of participation and have spelt out their intentions. Paul Harrison (1980:23-42) mentions the following major focal points of some of these organisations.

- *"The World Bank: Redistribution with growth as a combination of economic progress (i.e. broader than a mere growth of the total gross national product) and increased social justice.*
- *The International Labour Office: Meeting basic needs which concerns itself not only with the improvement of the overall income of the poor, but also with ensuring that they receive all the requirements for a life of dignity - i.e. Adequate food, clothing, shelter, health care, education, employment and the right to participate in making decisions that affect them.*

- *The UN Children's Fund and World Health Organisation: Basic services which the poor and underdeveloped people require to alleviate suffering.*
- *The UN Environmental Programme: Eco-development as a correction of the appalling arrogance in the face of both nature and traditional cultures by showing respect for the local ecosystem, as well as for the local social and cultural patterns.*
- *UNESCO: Ultimate values as an authentic style of development emerging from within each culture, inspired by values derived from the people's deepest roots to ensure the advancement of man through his own endeavours.*

It can be inferred from the above that the international organisations have given importance to people as the central theme in development initiatives. The importance given to this aspect of development, in practise, by the implementers and decision-makers in these organisations can be questioned.

It is easier to have a more people-centred approach when the projects are smaller. More intimacy between the developer and the target group can be achieved and this leads to trust and understanding which, in turn, will lead to more chance of success. The smaller organisations and projects have also got the advantage of being able to adapt and change direction according to the needs that arise as the project progresses or sometimes even after the project reaches its completion phase.

According to Coetzee (1989:5) “*there seems to be at present a movement towards operations providing opportunities for participation, recognition of social justice, education, the abolition of poverty and inequality as well as the institution of community development that can lead to social reconstruction and the provision of meaningful existence.*”

There has thus been a shift of emphasis from large projects such as public works to small projects that the beneficiaries can participate at all levels of project implementation.

3.7. Development and Westerncentrism

It is explained by Coetzee (1989:6) that “*In broad terms development is conceptualised as a transition on a continuum with traditionality (underdevelopment)*”

on the one hand and modernity (development) on the other. All societies can be placed somewhere on this historical line of change in terms of a number of variables or indices. All societies are somewhere on the line between the two and that modernisation could then be described as the process during which an intensive diffusion of the characteristics of the 'developed' West to the 'underdeveloped' Third World takes place. In many cases diffusion is used as a codeword for the extension of economic, political, educational and broad cultural Western structures to the Third World."

Coetzee (1979:8) states that in typical structural-functional manner, modernisation thinkers even went so far as to distinguish different levels on which the diffusion of innovation towards modernisation should take place, namely:

- *On the so-called psychological level it is accepted that modern values, ideals, striving for liberation, democratic principles, subordination to superimposed powers as well as individualism play a part;*
- *On the so-called social structures level they distinguish a modern political structure, modern education and an economic structure in which markets, division of labour, free entrepreneurship, etc., are of fundamental importance;*
- *On the cultural level provision must be made for the influence of advanced technology, secularisation, bureaucratic structures, as well as the broad principles of rationality."*

Coetzee (1979:9) rejects the assumption that civilisation is synonymous with Westernisation.

If one looks at reality and global trends it is not surprising that one will be able to identify that all the peoples in the world are being affected in one way or another by globalisation and modernity and that western ideas have dominance in the new world order.

The two concepts, globalisation and modernity try to explain the radical social changes during the past few centuries that have brought about a new type of society.

Modernity is a concept whereby the whole world is slowly assimilating the culture, values and economics of the West. Mass media, telecommunications and faster modes of travel are the bearers of the message of modernity that is being followed by the whole world. Coetzee (1979:9) may be able to state that he rejects the

assumption that civilisation is synonymous with Westernisation and that every people must follow the path that was taken by the West which led towards an utopia of industrialisation, urbanisation, consumerism and technological advancement.

According to Beyer (1994:8) *“The origin of various globalising social structures in one part of the globe and their subsequent ‘imperialistic’ spread everywhere else is another constant in the globalization discussion. ...globalisation begins in all parts of the globe except the West as an exogenous process, meaning that it would not have happened had it not first occurred in the West. In this sense, globalisation is Western imperialism.”*

The West, with its modern and advanced industrial base, requires expanding its influence in order to find new markets for goods produced and to maintain profit margins. Accumulated capital has to be reinvested and this can be done only if there are new economic opportunities. It is therefore in the West’s interest that social structures in other parts of the world are conducive to economic investment. This need has led to implicit pressure being brought to bear on nation states to globalise.

It is just beyond the control of a person or a group of people to withstand its influence or to turn away from this process. They simply would not survive. In this information age, there is no getting away from it. Global markets are interconnected. The price of a vegetable produced in a tiny village in Africa is being determined by the output of the produce globally.

A good example is the trend towards democratisation of Africa. Until the fall of the Soviet Union, many African states had military governments or some sort of dictatorship. This is because, the East or the West supported them so that they, in turn, would support them. With the fall of the Soviet Union, there was no way that these African countries could play one against the other. The interest of the West in these countries were not political anymore, it was economic. The oil and diamond deposits, the sale of military hardware etc became the influences behind foreign policy. Globalisation had already made inroads and therefore there was no particular reason to keep on supporting the existing military and political heads. Pressure was brought to bear on these governments to democratise.

South Africa is a good example. The apartheid government withstood all pressures from the world to democratise till the time the Soviet Union collapsed. Though the West vocally disapproved the system of government, it had no way but to support it to keep South Africa’s neighbours that were mostly leaning towards the

Soviet block in control. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the upholders of the South African system of government of that time knew that it would not get the silent support of the West anymore. This could be one of the reasons for South Africa to democratise. In the same light it can be argued that the then upholders of the South African system knew that even if they give up power, the government that would take over would not be able to go against the world wide trend of democratisation and the free market system.

The discourse above is to prove that Coetzee could reject that civilisation is synonymous with westernisation but it is a fact that, at present, civilisation is moving towards westernisation on certain levels. Development practitioners should understand this and rather than wish it away, try to bring about development in an equitable and more humane manner.

I agree with Coetzee (1989:11) when he says that the possibilities for fusion between the so-called traditional and modern sectors should not be ignored. However, this would have to mean that development of people cannot be left to the mercy of market forces alone. An intervention may become necessary.

The Marshall Plan, which was the key to the recovery of Europe after the Second World War, is a good example. This does not mean that large injections of capital in itself will solve the problems of the developing world. Every community, country and people is unique. If development activities are to be sustainable and successful, careful analysis of the situation should be made before any activity is initiated. Section B of this study provides a detailed account of how Welverdiend Village went about its development activities with sustainability, partnership and long term vision as the key words.

3.8. Development as constant consideration of alternatives

Coetzee states that development taking place over an extended period cannot easily be defined. Not only is it immensely difficult to visualise the final effects of development, but the complex fusion of goods, services, information, symbols and meanings also makes it impossible to predetermine its ultimate destination. It is also being increasingly realised within development thought that the appearance of isolated symptoms of growth represents one of the most substantial dangers of development. The current debate on development is characterised by a search for alternative forms of

measurement, the main one being that development must have a trickle-down effect towards the total population. That increased economic activity centring on foreign investment does not have a significant trickle down effect is a cause for serious concern. Most leaders of the developing world are concerned about the lack of correlation between economic growth figures and unemployment and poverty.

Mbeki (1999:1), the second president of South Africa, quotes from the Human Development Report of the UNDP: *“When the market goes too far in dominating social and political outcomes, the opportunities and rewards of globalization spread unequally and inequitably – concentrating power and wealth in a select group of people, nations and corporations, marginalizing the others... . When the profit motives of market players get out of hand, they challenge people’s ethics – and sacrifice respect for justice and human rights... .”*

It is true that the long-term effect of development activities cannot be predicted. It is also true that all activities must have a definite plan of implementation and the planners must have a destination to which the people are being driven. This hoped-for destination will depend much on the philosophy of the planner concerned. The planner could be the government, an NGO or an individual who is tasked with the development planning and implementation.

Coetzee (1989:11) states that *“the isolated symptoms of growth represent one of the most substantial dangers of development.”*

The “isolated symptoms of growth” mentioned here can be identified in the trends that have been developing in the world. Mbeki (1999:2) quotes from the 1999 Human Development Report of the UNDP. He provides specific figures to illustrate what is actually happening with regard to what is referred to as rewards that are spread “unequally and inequitably”.

“By the late 1990’s the fifth of the world’s people living in the highest – income countries had:

- *86% of world GDP – the bottom fifth just 1 %.*
- *82% of the world export markets – the bottom fifth just 1 %.*
- *69 % of foreign direct investment – the bottom fifth just 1 %.*
- *74 % of world telephone lines, today’s basic means of communication – the bottom fifth just 1,5 %.”*

One aspect that contributes to the gap between growth and development can be because of the shift towards what Drucker (1993:2) calls '*the knowledge society*'. The real and controlling resource and the absolutely decisive 'factor of production' in the knowledge society is now neither capital, nor land, nor labour. It is knowledge. Instead of capitalists and proletarians, the classes of the post-capitalist society are knowledge workers and service workers according to Drucker (1993:4-5). Capitalist societies were dominated by two social classes: the capitalists, who owned and controlled the means of production, and the workers who were according to Karl Marx alienated, exploited and dependent. In the knowledge society all this has changed, we now have the knowledge worker and the service worker. The knowledge worker is one who has knowledge and also knowledge to change knowledge into more knowledge and also the ability to manage knowledge. According to Drucker (1993:6): "*There are still many rich people around, of course, and they are still prominent in the newspapers' society pages. But they have become 'celebrities'; economically they have almost ceased to matter. Even in business pages all attention is being paid to 'hired hands', that is, to managers.*"

Thus, people with no knowledge are marginalised and find it difficult to find a niche for themselves. This leads to a situation where there is growth without development. Now that some of the reasons for the disparity between the rich and the poor in the present age have been identified, it becomes all the more essential to focus attention on ways to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources.

Coetzee further states that there should be a trickle down effect towards the total population (Coetzee 1989:11). There are certain small-scale activities that do not require a large injection of capital that one can implement in any community using ingenuity and creativity. I refer here to small projects preferably involving a small number of people who show commitment and drive. There could then be other small projects initiated, based on the success of the first one. Ownership of these projects could be transferred to individuals preferably or a group of people who could run it as their own. In this way a large number of small projects could be started and it will ultimately benefit the whole community in one way or another. This has been proved in the case study in Section B of this work.

It has been realised that uncontrolled market forces are not per se capable of constituting a well-functioning economy. In rural communities there is a need for

security, freedom, training facilities, capacity building and broad social welfare. Without first providing this, there is little chance of the community getting into grips with planning and implementing projects. To build up these capacities there is a need for intervention. The most important implication of this line of thought is the emphasis on taking the specific circumstances within which the action takes place as the centre of analysis.

This will mean that there should be constant reflection on development alternatives. The study and analysis of Coetzee's work turns the attention of the reader towards a new approach to development.

Development practitioners have looked for quantifiable data to measure the development of a particular people. This study moves the emphasis of development from the traditional economic, tangible and measurable areas of development to a holistic view that gives priority to the people involved in the development process. This is a more humane way of looking at development and the underlying thought in most development activity in South Africa today is based on humaneness.

Section B

THE CASE STUDY OF WELVERDIEND VILLAGE

1. Background of Welverdiend Village

1.1. Geographical position

Welverdiend Village is situated eleven kilometres from the Orpen Gate of the Kruger National Park. It has the Timbavati Game Reserve to the east, Manyeleti Game Reserve to the North, Morgenzon Game Reserve to the west. Game farms surround it. Politically, it fell under the Gazankulu homeland till the first democratic elections in 1994. It now falls under region seven of the Northern Province of South Africa.

Bushbuckridge is the name of one of the seven regions of the Northern Province. It forms the border between Mpumalanga and Northern Province. The people of Bushbuckridge were unhappy about being under the Northern Province. In 1996 and 1997, there were widespread strikes and stay-aways demanding that Bushbuckridge fall under Mpumalanga Province. One of the reasons given by the leaders for the strike was that Bushbuckridge is under-developed and being far away from the Northern Province capital, Pietersburg, there would be few development initiatives. Welverdiend Village was also affected by these disruptions and the people of the Village sympathised with the demands.

The problem was seemingly amicably settled with assurances from the Northern Province Government that Bushbuckridge would be given priority when initiating developmental programmes.

Fig 1.1. Map showing the position of Werverdiend Village.

1.2. History of the Village

There was no written history of the Village available and so I was involved in bringing together all interested parties in a workshop held from 23 to 25 October 1998 at the Southern African Wildlife College where a time line, mapping and stake holder analysis was conducted. All background information was derived from the outcome of this meeting and conversation held with older inhabitants of the village.

Mary Tinka Uys, the Community Liaison Officer of the College, chaired the meeting. Representatives of all organisations from within the Village were invited. The meeting was attended by representatives from the following organisations.

General secretary of the Policing Forum

Treasurer of Water Committee

Deputy Chair Lady of Reconstruction and Development Committee

Member of Water Committee

Deputy Secretary of Reconstruction and Development Committee

Local Environmental Action Plan Management Committee

Treasurer of Policing Forum

Deputy Chair of Policing Forum

Local Environmental Action Plan Management Committee

Southern African Wildlife College Community Committee

Chairperson of Water Committee

Local Environmental Action Plan Management Committee

Secretary of Civic Association

Central Lowveld Biosphere Reserve Committee

Member of Executive Committee: Eco Club

Project Convener

Workshop Facilitator

This meeting was brought about in order to try to create a process and institutional framework that sets the scene within which environmental planning, development initiatives taken, liaison, consultation and implementation can take place.

A chronological time line is provided below which was documented at the Community Local Environmental Action Plan Meeting. It should be noted that this is an interpretation of events as stated by people present.

1926: People were removed from fertile land in Salique and Satara (present Klaserie-Hoedspruit and Kruger Park).

This was done to make way for the timber forests to be owned by white settlers and the establishment of the Kruger National Park. Cattle that strayed into the Kruger Park were killed and burned by white people.

1929 to 1940:

- A dip was established by the state so that ticks could be prevented and livestock could be counted so that tax could be collected from people for owning cattle.
- A clinic, school and church was built by missionaries. The people in the village provided the labour. The church was built with wooden planks, the clinic with mud and huts were used as a school.
- The government set up first borehole. People used to walk 20 kms to the neighbouring village called Hluvukani to fetch water earlier.

1952: First shop was established by David Mathebula to sell groceries at the Village. Sledges and donkeys were used to transport food and goods from Timbavati.

1958: Masuku's bus service was the first transport bus. It was built by himself. A member of the Chief's family, J. B. Mnisi brought the first car in to the Village.

1961: People were still scattered over a 30 kilometre radius. The Group Areas Act was implemented by the then apartheid government and Welperdiend Village was identified as a place suitable for settlement for black people. People who were living around Welperdiend were forced to settle in stands demarcated for them to make way for white farmers. They were removed from fertile land and forced to settle in the dry area (Welperdiend). Agriculture, even for subsistence, was impossible. People were arrested and prosecuted for trying to make a living except through working for white

farmers and businessmen. They worked in small farms, spaza shops, in homesteads, etc.

There was a strike against the forced settlement and police arrived at the Village.

1962: The majority of the people resigned to the idea of settling on stands and those who did not, migrated mostly to Swaziland.

1968: The Homeland system was intensified whereby people of a particular tribe had to settle in a particular area and fell under a particular homeland. Thus, everybody who spoke Xitsonga as his or her mother tongue had to settle in Gazankulu homeland. Thus villages such as Limington, Chivrinkani, Welverdiend, Hluvukani, White City and Islington came about. This brought about poverty, as there was limited land for cultivation and people were not allowed to migrate at will. There were limited grazing areas for cattle, shortage of water and people started to depend entirely on employment provided by white farmers for their survival. Migratory labour of men brought about a break down of family structures.

1970: The year of the drought. Cattle and people moved to Morgenzon area in search of water and grass. The situation was worsened by the attack of animals and people by animals from the Kruger National Park and other neighbouring game reserves.

1977: People were moved back to Welverdiend Village and access was completely denied to Morgenzon. Wela school, which was established at Morgenzon was closed. Schooling became a problem for children and more limited land was available for grazing, cultivation and accommodation.

1981: Two more borewells were dug by the Gazankulu government and the water situation improved slightly.

1982 to 1983: A more severe drought hit the area and a large number of cattle died. Bones of cattle were sold to Iglinton store at 25 cents for a 80 kilogram bag.

1984: Mahlale High School was built by the inhabitants of the Village. Before construction of this school pupils used to walk from Welverdiend to Mugena High at Hluvukani or to other schools at Cottendale, a distance of approximately 25 kilometres both ways.

1985: Arrival of refugees from Mozambique.

With the intensifying of the war in Mozambique, refugees began to stream in into South Africa. They walked through the Kruger National Park braving the wild animals. There were instances of members of group being attacked by lions. They were allowed to settle in some villages in the Gazankulu Homelands. Welverdiend was one of the villages that played host to these unfortunate people. Even after the war ended, more people began to arrive at the Village looking for a better life. At Welverdiend Village, they were settled in a demarcated area. Being quite dexterous with their hands, the Mozambicans soon began to set up houses made with mud and slowly involved themselves in economic activities. The children were admitted to the local schools. They were hard workers and game farms recognised their skills and began to employ them.

There was some animosity between the local people and the refugees but nothing to create any serious problems.

There was an increase in poaching in the game farms. There is no proof to directly link it with the arrival of the refugees.

1986:

- Construction of tar road to the Orpen Gate and erection of electrified fence along the Orpen Road.
- Establishment of Mahlale High School.

The inhabitants of the Village got together and initiated construction of a high school for the Village. Every household contributed in cash or kind and eight classrooms were constructed. This was a big benefit to the children, as they did not have to walk a long distance braving wild animals that used to roam the area at that time.

1988:

Construction of a water supply system

The Gazankulu homeland took up the task of constructing a water supply system. Pipes were laid from Edinburgh Dam, tanks built at the Village and water was available at every street corner. This lasted only for a few months. As Welverdiend was the last point to which water was supplied, the pressure was low when it arrived and finally the water supply stopped altogether. Thus, people depended on the bore wells for supply of water.

1990:

- Another drought

There was a terrible draught and animals were at risk again. Morgenzon, where people were removed from was demanded by the people of the Village. This was granted and was used for grazing of cattle.

- Increased poaching

There were increased poaching activities. Herbert Manyike, a resident of Welverdiend Village was shot and wounded inside Andover Game Reserve in 1990 and Richard Shabangu disappeared in 1991.

- Two primary schools were built by the community. They were named Mahlekisana and Mtemberni. Schools in the area have been named after the person who took the initiative to set it up.

1994:

First non-racial democratic elections were held.

Mahlale High School was the voting station for the Village. The vast majority of the inhabitants voted for the African National Congress and there was some support for the Pan Africanist Congress.

1995-1998:

1995:

Initiation of the construction of the Southern African Wildlife College.

The World Wildlife Fund chose the area close to the Village as a site for the construction of the College to train personnel in the game farms to be better equipped to manage game farms sustainably. It was a project with a capital of 4 million

German Marks. Probably taking the cue from the national Government of National Unity that was being set up at central government, WWF decided to involve the community in the process. Thus began the initiation of Welverdiend Village to the outside world. There were a number of visitors from all over the world who visited the College site and they were exposed to the plight of the Village.

Dr. J. Venter was appointed as the first Director of the College to oversee the construction of the College. A Community Liaison Steering Committee was set up to liaise with external aid agencies, the College, Kruger National Park and other Game Farms in the area. The first democratic elections of South Africa were just over and the African National Congress has emerged as the clear victor.

Dr. J. Venter tried to implement a project in a rural village in a democratic manner. He started off by setting up democratic structures that represented all interested groups.

1995:

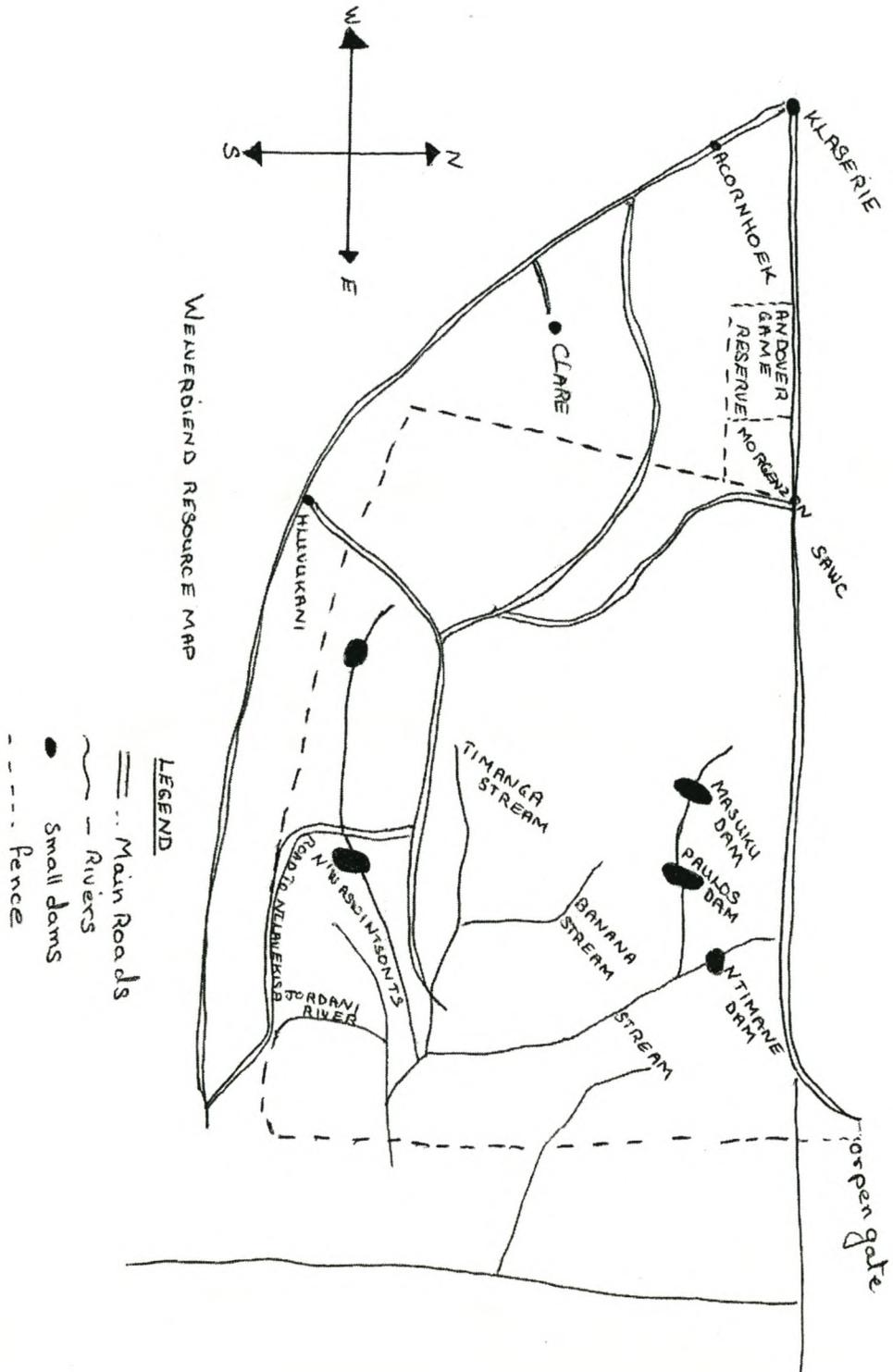
Electrification of Welverdiend Village

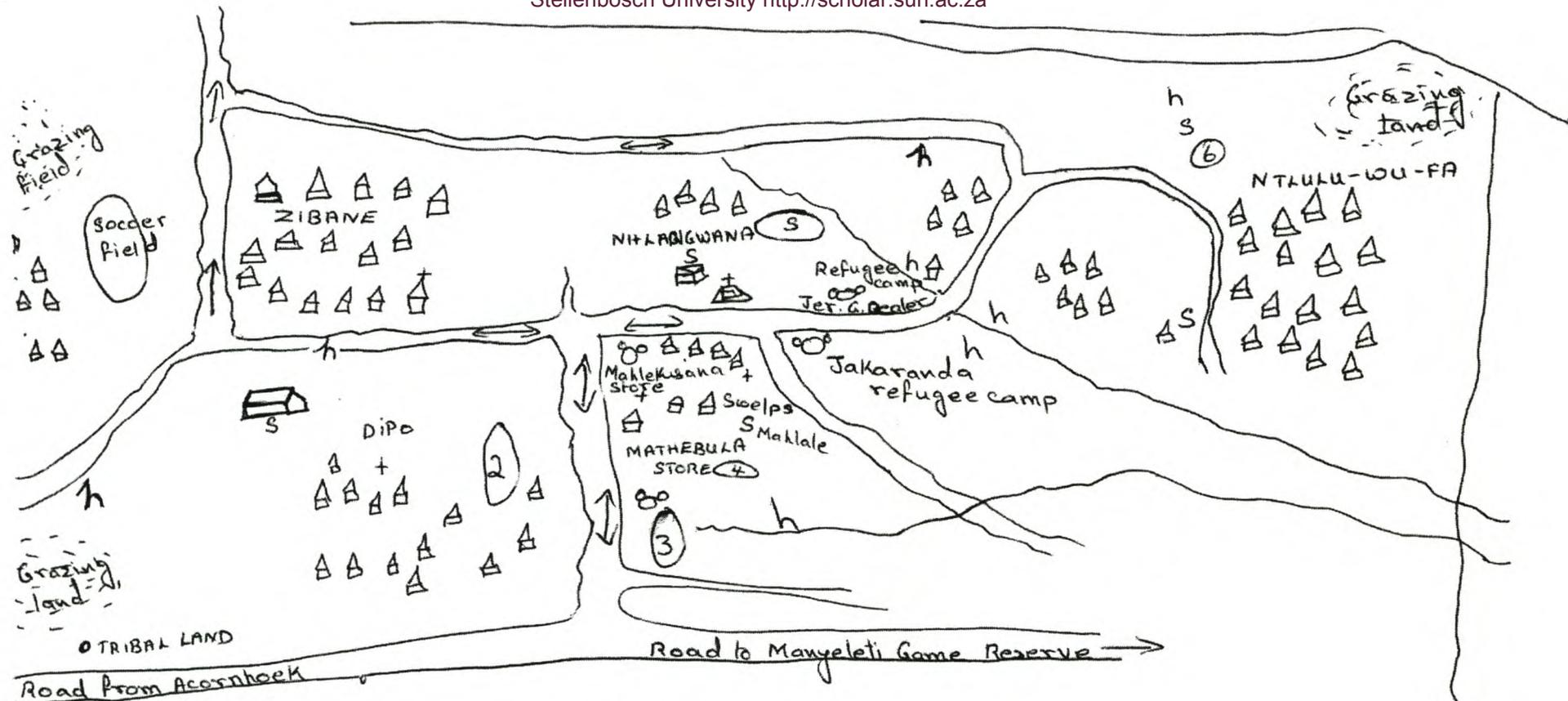
The College Building Site had to have electricity. A task team was set up comprising of the Liaison Committee to see how the electrification of the Village could benefit the Village as the Village did not have an electricity supply. Electric lines could be brought to the College Site from the Kruger National Park and the distance was approximately 15 kilometers. It could also be brought from a small town called Hluvukani and then it would have to pass through the Village and thus enable the Village to be connected to electricity. An agreement was reached with the College and the Electricity Supply Company that electric lines should pass through the Village and that the labour for the putting up of the poles would be supplied by the inhabitants of the Village. The Village was thus electrified.

Thus, it becomes obvious that Welverdiend Village is a marginalised community. No initiatives were in place that would bring about tangible benefits to the community before the intervention by an external agent. The building of the Southern African Wildlife College acted as a catalyst that brought about interest in development from within the community. This initial intervention by the College

through Dr. J. Venter made it clear to the Kruger National Park and other game farms in the area that community development through partnerships with the community is possible.

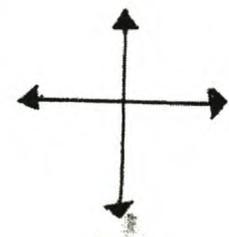
Fig. 1.2. Social and Resource maps of Welverdiend Village.





- Legend
- S schools
 - + church
 - ⊙ shops
 - h water reservoir
 - h bore holes
 - sports fields
 - ~ streams
 - △ settlements

Social Map



CHAPTER 2

In this chapter some of the development projects that were initiated at Welverdiend Village are analysed. This is done with a view to find out why some were successful and others were not. Each of the projects are analysed in a way that would provide the reader with pitfalls that could occur if projects are not planned and if community participation is not forthcoming and if projects are not run as small business and are not handed over to small groups of people who run it as small business. The following subsections of this chapter should not be seen as a blueprint for the implementation of community development projects but rather as broad outlines that might have to be adapted to meet local circumstances or changing local circumstances.

3.1. Electric supply

3.1.1. Background

Welverdiend Village was always in darkness. Just across the fence was land owned by the big Game Reserves like the Kruger National Park that had all the amenities of the first world. The Nationalist government had no interest in providing electricity to the Village, probably because it was not an economically strategic area in regard to the national economy. As mentioned earlier Welverdiend is a marginalised community and was not considered for state or other development initiatives.

3.1.2. Social implications

The lack of electric supply to the Village meant that life came to a halt after 7.00 PM. Kerosene lamps and candles were the only source of light. Entertainment and social activities were also minimal after dark.

The absence of television and videos meant that the only form of entertainment was alcoholic intake or family gatherings. Most people went to bed early. One of the reasons for the large amounts of alcohol being sold in underdeveloped areas is the lack of entertainment. This could also be the reason for the fast rate of population increase. According to D. Ndlovu, a teacher at

Wolverdiend, “lack of electricity meant that people went to bed early and as there is nothing else to do, people engaged in sexual activities.”

Students also found it difficult to complete their homework and study for a prolonged period. Candles and paraffin was a strain on the eye and also an expensive consumable item for the impoverished family. These are some of the reasons for the large illiteracy rate of the people.

3.1.3. Planning.

A Community Liaison Steering Committee was set up at the Village in 1994 to liaise with all external organisations that wished to fund development initiatives at the Village. This Committee met with the employees of the Southern African Wildlife College on a regular basis. The College was being built and the Committee was engaged in all building activities like supplying the labour, materials etc. In June 1994, the College was to be electrified. Electric lines could be brought in from the Kruger National Park that was at a distance of 10 kilometers. Negotiations were undertaken with the College to bring in the electric lines from a neighbouring village called Hluvukani so that it could pass through Wolverdiend Village. This would ensure that Wolverdiend could be electrified.

3.1.4. Implementation

The College and the Community had extensive negotiations with ESKOM, the electric-supply company of South Africa, regarding the routing of the electric lines. It was finally decided that the lines could be brought in through the Village provided the people of the Village donated the labour to put in the poles. The Community Liaison Steering Committee then called for a meeting at the Village and put forward the proposal to the people who agreed.

In June 1994, work began on bringing in the lines and true to their words the people of Wolverdiend provided the labour. This was a large scale project and so there was no transfer of ownership but people felt that the electric lines were brought in through their labour and had a feeling of pride. This was the first project in which the people of the Village came together in any organised form to implement a project.

Prince Philip of England came to the Village to inaugurate the electric supply. It was a big function. The Prince and his entourage arrived in a helicopter. It was a day of rejoicing at the Village.

3.1.5. The Problem

Welverdiend Village was unofficially divided into two sections. They were known as Welverdiend A and Welverdiend B. The lines passed through Welverdiend A and not through B. The inhabitants of Welverdiend B felt very angry that they were not catered for and the Village was split into two. Tensions ran high. The people of Welverdiend B accused the people of Welverdiend A of not paying enough attention to the needs of Welverdiend B.

The College and the Community Liaison Steering Committee tried to intervene and solve the problem amicably. The people of Welverdiend B were adamant that their section of the Village had to be electrified.

A period of sabotage began. Metal wires with stones tied to either side were thrown on the lines that caused electric short circuits and power failure. The College was also affected as they lost electric supply every time there was sabotage. It came to a stage where a solution had to be found. The Community Liaison Steering Committee, of which I was part, entered into negotiations with the inhabitants of Welverdiend B. It was decided that a sum of R 10.00 would be collected from every household and this money would be contributed to ESKOM as a contribution from the Community. Negotiations were entered into with ESKOM again and thus Welverdiend B was also electrified.

3.1.6. Lessons learnt

It is essential that before plunging into any development initiatives, the dynamics of the area be thoroughly studied. In the haste to electrify the College and the Village, the initiators of the project overlooked the potential conflict situation that could arise.

Large-scale projects have to be undertaken with the consent and cooperation of all task groups. There is always a potential for conflict when initiating projects in underdeveloped areas. The need is much more than in a developed area and people tend to resort to violence and other disruptive behaviour. Negotiation and conflict resolution skills are also lacking in the people in these areas. The external agencies that come into such areas must be quick to identify the leaders within the communities who could assist in providing the necessary advice. This initial contact that is made with the community can mean success or failure. There are members of elected structures within the community who may lack the skills and the knowledge to initiate projects.

3.2. The Brick manufacturing project

3.2.1. Background

Economic activities at Welverdiend Village consisted of mainly the purchase and sale of essential goods. No concerted effort was made by any member of the community to initiate an economic activity of any magnitude. An opportunity arose when the Southern African Wildlife College made a pledge to help the community to benefit when construction of the College began.

I went into negotiation with Murray and Roberts, a construction company in charge of the building, to let the community of Welvedierend start a brick-making project. This project would supply the construction-company with all the brick required for construction.

3.2.2. Planning

There was only one water hole in the Village and so it was decided to start the project near it. The site was about 2 kilometers from the Village and the same distance away from the College.

I was not involved in the actual planning of this project. It was decided by the Construction Company to run the project on behalf of the Village and at completion to hand over the infrastructure to the community to be run as a community project.

Everyone felt that it was a good idea because the community lacked the skills, capital and the infrastructure to carry out the project.

Unemployed people from within the Community would be involved in the manufacture of the bricks; a trainer would be brought in by the company to train the people so that transfer of skills in all aspects of project management and implementation could take place.

3.2.3. Implementation

More than a million bricks were produced and supplied to the college. As agreed upon, the construction-company set up the infrastructure and trained the people in brick manufacture, quality control, maintaining accounts and management. The capital and running costs of the business was invested by the construction-company. I, at that time, felt that it was a good arrangement as the Village would receive a fully-fledged brick-manufacturing unit at no cost. It would also mean that the people currently being trained would be able to carry on with the project when the construction of the college was completed. The author was mistaken.

3.2.4. The problem

The problem arose when the project was handed over to the community. A grand function was organised and Mr. J.B. Mnisi, an elder and respected member of the community received the project on behalf of Welverdiend Village. A group of young people got together and informed the Civic Association, a body elected by the people, that they would like to take over the project and would like to negotiate a percentage of the profit that they were willing to pay into the coffers of a trust fund. This money could be used for other developmental projects. The Civic Association decided that it was a community project and that it could not be handed over to an individual or a group of people.

I was of the opinion that the project be handed over to the group of people. This was because of the view that projects can be sustainably run only if the people involved have a stake in the success of the project and that projects should be run as small businesses.

The Civic Association did not put up any plan as to what they were going to do with the project. Finally, the infrastructure built up began to break down. Implements and machinery were dismantled and taken to the homes of members of the Civic Association. Till this day, people have not been able to revive the project. Another issue worth mentioning is that, as in other villages in rural South Africa, there is belief in witchcraft and the occult in Welverdiend Village also. Some of the members of the Civic Association are believed to have the power to bewitch anyone. Once bewitched, the belief is, the victim can contract some fatal disease or even die. Some of the members of the Civic Association are believed to have these powers. This belief is used by the Civic to silence anyone who questions his or her actions. People are thus afraid to question the activities of the Civic.

3.2.5. Lessons learnt

Trying to analyse and identify the reasons for the failure of the project, I find that:

The first mistake committed was that there was no clear understanding as to who, in the village, would be responsible for the project and who would take ownership. The construction company, an external agency, who intervened into the Village had, I believe, more responsibility than to just initiate a project and not to plan as to how it would be managed once they leave. This is a mistake that occurs in many developmental projects. The external agent initiates the project with the best of intentions, transfers technical and management skills and finally hands over the project to the only legitimate body that it knows, the Civic Association.

This is not the way to run a project.

Firstly, the Civic Association and other elected bodies in the Villages do not have the capacity to run projects.

Secondly, it is very difficult for any project that is handed over to the Community to be then handed over to individual people within the Village. This is because there is so much unemployment that people are generally jealous of others getting the projects.

Thirdly, projects usually involve money that is handed out as the start up capital. There is usually no bank account or common fund to which income like this can be allocated. The representative body that receives these funds has a tendency to

delay in implementing projects till people forget about them and then use the money for their personal gain. I have personally experienced this.

This project would have succeeded if the following had been done:

- Identify a group of people who would take ownership of the project.

The College that initiated the project had a fairly good relationship with the Village. They could have identified a group of people who were given ownership of the project. This could be any group, members of the Civic Association, members of the Community Liaison Steering Committee, or any group like a foot ball club etc.

This would have ensured that there would not be any conflict when the project was handed over. Moreover the group that takes ownership would have a stake in the success of the project because it would be run as a small business. These 'owners' would employ other members of the community and thus create employment.

- Provide training not only in production but also in small business management.

The group of people who would take up the project could be provided with skills to manage the project as a business once it was handed over. Business management skills are what are most needed in a rural setup. The paradigm that is still prevailing is that everything should be run as a sort of communal programme. Emphasis is given to the group rather than individual talents and achievements. This can be changed only if projects are run as business enterprises and to do that skills are required which, I believe, is the responsibility of the funding agency to provide before handing over the project.

- Identify an individual within the group who can be contacted.

If the project is handed over to a group of people, make sure that one of them is accessible by telephone or other fast means of communication. It is often a problem in a rural set up to contact people because distances are far and infrastructure such as telephones is often not available. This person should also be able to carry out initiatives and should be trusted by other members of the community and especially the group that he or she is working with.

3.3. The Vegetable Garden Project

3.3.1. Background

In 1994, the Southern African Wildlife College decided to set up a fully-fledged kitchen to cater for the students who would be accommodated there during

their studies. The College made a proposal that the Community of Welverdiend produce the vegetables that would be required by the College. The people of the Village never could grow much vegetable because of the water scarcity. The area got very little rainfall and there was no water supply system. Water for drinking was provided by two bore-wells that supplied water to the six thousand families.

3.3.2. Planning

This project was handed over to the Civic Association to coordinate and funds were procured from the World Wildlife Fund to initiate the project. A sum of R 12 000,00 was made available. It was decided that water would be brought in from a water hole inside the Kruger National Park. This water hole was usually filled up during the rains. A group of unemployed women would take part in the project. A member of the Civic Association was given the responsibility to liaise and manage the project.

3.3.3. Implementation

64 women from the Village showed interest in being part of the project and registered their names with the Civic Association. Each of them was promised a small piece of land on which they would plant their crops. It was a group scheme where individual output could be measured. Water would be piped in from a water hole inside the Kruger National Park. This water hole was approximately 12 kms away. The contribution made by the World Wildlife Fund was used to purchase pipes to bring in the water. The participants of the project provided the labour. Implements for the cultivation was also purchased.

3.3.4. The problem

Technical skills to make the proper connections to the water supply were not available within the community. Nor was research conducted on the fertility of the land. Trenches were dug and pipes were laid but the connections could not be done because of lack of skills. It was initially thought that water would flow to the farm through the force of gravity. It was later found that a motor would be needed to pump

the water. Moreover, it was realised later that the water hole dried up in winter and would not provide enough water even if the pipes were connected.

3.3.5. Lesson learnt

All aspects of the project were handled properly except for the fact that skills training and transfer did not take place. It was assumed that once the money was provided and the organisational aspect was set up the rest would follow. If the member of the Civic who was put in charge did have the skills, he would have realised the problems that would be faced with the water supply. The College that initiated the project should have ensured that a person with the skills to manage the project was made available to the community. As I had mentioned earlier, the funder of the project should make sure that the people who take responsibility for the project or to whom the project is handed over is skilled enough to carry out the project. If not, training should be provided before implementation.

The College followed the route of handing the project out to the representative body of the Village, namely the Civic Association. As mentioned earlier, elected bodies in rural areas need not necessarily have the skills or the capacity to manage a project. Individuals or groups of people within a community who has the skill should be identified and the project should be handed over to them. In the case of this project, I am aware that the implements that were purchased for the project has been taken away by the member of the Civic who was put in charge of the project. The pipes that were put in are now broken. Even if they are repaired there is no chance to get water in as the water hole is now dried up.

Feasibility studies are very important before any project is initiated. On paper it looked very good as the people would grow the vegetables and there was a ready market in the College. Water could be piped in from the Kruger. Just one very important factor was overlooked and this lead to the failure of the project.

This was the second project that collapsed completely. A new strategy and a new modus operandi had to be found to carry out projects. I was, by this stage, quite frustrated by the failures and decided to do something about it. A group of young people was brought together and the next project was a success.

3.4. The Computer Training Project

3.4.1. Background

Wolverdiend Village never had electric supply till 1996. Lack of electric supply meant that modern implements like television, video, computers, etc.. could not be used. Some of the affluent homes had television that used power from batteries. Most people in the Village had heard about and seen computers but had never had a chance to touch one. The modern age requires a person to be computer literate so that he / she can take part in the information age.

The dawn of a new age- the information age-glow before us with the promise of new ways of thinking, living, and working. The amount of information in the world is said to be doubling every six to seven years. Can we keep up? We can, but not without an understanding of how computers work and the ability to control them for our own purposes. Used to creating documents with typewriters or crunching numbers with calculators, we now sit before one machine - the computer - that can do these tasks and many, many more. We need to come to terms with this expanding technology and adjust our vision to a whole New World (Caron and Perron, 1983:1).

Realising that the unemployed youth of the Village would be better equipped to be part of the modern age and be able to find jobs if they had computer skills, I got a small group of unemployed youth together who had passed standard ten and began to plan to set up a computer training centre.

3.4.2. Planning

A lot of planning went into this project. It was decided that, first of all, an organisation should be found that would be interested in funding the project. To do this, an application for funding had to be drafted and send off to various individuals, companies and other organisations. Solar panels had to be included in the proposal because of the lack of electricity.

Ownership of the project could either be given to the Community or the group of young people or to the only high school in the Village. It was decided that the school would take ownership of the project, as this would ensure that the project and computers would have responsible and long-term ownership. Moreover, the school

would be able to provide a building to house the computers and there would be responsible ownership. Negotiations had to be undertaken with the school. As this had to be a self-sustainable project, careful planning was done regarding the tutor and how he / she would be remunerated. It was decided that the author would train one of the unemployed youth and he / she would be in charge of the centre. He would receive half of any money generated at the centre and the other half would be used for maintenance and repairs.

3.4.3. Implementation

3.4.3.1. Setting up of a task team.

Two young people, two teachers and I formed a task team. Members of the task team were carefully selected from people who had previously shown commitment. The two teachers were the ones living within the community. This would ensure availability of the teachers for the day to day management of the Centre and also because it would be easier to inform the Community of the plan and implementation.

The teachers and I chose the two young people who had passed standard ten and were unemployed. The criteria used was firstly, the standard ten results and secondly, their behavior at school while they were students.

3.4.3.2. Drawing up of the proposal.

This was the first time that any member of the team had ever drawn up a project proposal. Meetings were held and it was decided that each member of the group makes a skeleton proposal and then it would all be brought together and a good format would be chosen. The final draft had the following headings.

- 1) Background
 - 1.1. The Village
 - 1.2. The School
2. Aims of the project
- 3 Ownership
- 4 Profile of the proposers.

3.4.3.3. Identification of possible funding agencies and making contact

As mentioned earlier none of the members of the group had ever been involved in fund raising or community development. The Director of the Southern African Wildlife College, Dr. J Venter, was approached for help. The College was being constructed with donations received from a number of agencies. One of the aims of the College was to act as a facilitator in development initiatives in the Village and so the Director took an undertaking that he would provide the team with addresses of possible donors. He would also try to contact people he knew who would be of assistance.

The final draft of the application was drawn up and posted to a number of companies, corporations, etc. In June 1995, the social development officers of the Bankers Trust of America informed the College of a visit. The Team decided to meet the representatives and explain what they intend to do and so made an appointment to meet them. The Americans were provided with a drive through the Village and explanations were provided as to how a computer training centre would be of benefit to the Village. A written proposal was also handed to them.

In December 1995 a fax was received by the College, addressed to the Team, that the Bankers Trust of America were willing to provide the funds required to initiate a computer training centre at Waverdiend Village. The Team thus was about to initiate their first project.

3.4.3.4. Project implementation

The Bankers Trust of America directed a company called Reach and Teach in Johannesburg to coordinate the implementation of the project. Reach and Teach invited one of the members of the Team from Waverdiend to come to their office in Johannesburg for training. The author was the only one in the team who had some experience in using the computer and so was elected to go for training. Training was provided on the use of Windows software and setting up the solar panels. Two Lexmark printers, four 486 IBM computers with Windows 3.1, Lotus Smart Suite as software, two solar panels and batteries were received in January 1996. The High School Principal was requested to provide a room in which the computers could be placed and this was granted. The understanding reached with the school

was that the school would take ownership of the computers. The school personnel could use the computers. Training would be provided to community members and the Team would manage that aspect. The Team would undertake repairs and maintenance of the computers but if the expenses were very high, the school would have to assist. The school would purchase the ink for the printer as the school made use of it the most.

The two young people went through a rigorous training period of one month. They were trained in basic typing, Windows, Word, Excel and Graphics. The Centre opened its doors for training on 1 February 1996. During the first month there were 10 people who registered for the course at a fee of R 150.00 per month. It was agreed that half of all fees collected would be paid, as remuneration to the two trainees and the other half would be kept as a reserve for maintaining the Centre.

The trainers thus had a stake in the success of the project and the motivation to enroll more trainees. They also had the motivation to enroll more trainees as the more trainees they have the more the money they would earn.

The arrangement worked well. During the first month, two teachers from the school and twenty-two unemployed youth underwent training. In June of 1996, the Village was electrified. One plug point was provided for the school, which was in a room about thirty five metres away from the Computer Centre. Electric wire was purchased from money generated out of training and the team put in the labour to dig a trench, make the connections and connect electricity to the Computer Room. Thus, the solar panels were unhooked.

By December of 1996, forty-five unemployed youth and twenty- two teachers from the High School were computer literate. They were put through a detailed course. Trainees were allowed to carry on practicing and revising for as many months as they wanted.

In February 1997, the two trainers got offers for employment from neighbouring game farms. The game farms wanted to employ people with computer and accounting skills and these young people had mastered these skills by actually teaching them to other people. The Team met and decided to release them to take up their new posts.

The Centre was now placed under the responsibility of two other young people who had undergone training and who were recommended by the two tutors who were leaving.

The team kept sending out proposals informing donor agencies about the Centre and requesting for contributions for additional computers and a photocopier. In July 1997, the First National Bank of South Africa donated a photocopier and a rodeo machine. They were both second hand machines. It was ideal as the photocopier could be used to make fewer copies and the rodeo machine could be used for making many copies. The machine is ideal for a school as it can make up to a hundred copies per minute.

With the arrival of the two machines the capacity of the Centre to help other people also improved. There was no facility of its kind in a forty-kilometre radius. Schools, churches, businesses and individuals started arriving at the Centre for services like typing, printing, copying etc. The revenue at the Centre also increased. A bank account was opened and all money received was deposited into the account. 10 % of all money generated by photocopying and typing was paid to the trainees who took responsibility for the work.

From the balance of the first year, it was possible to purchase a new computer with a CD Rom and the rest of the money was used for servicing the machine and purchasing ink and other consumables.

3.3.3.5. Lessons learnt

The most important lesson learnt from this project is that it is better to keep projects small and involve only a small number of people. The smaller the group of people involved in the actual running of the project, the smaller the chances of conflict situations arising. It will also mean that decisions can be taken faster and implementation also can be quick.

It has been seen over and over again in trying to do anything of magnitude at the Village that the consensus making process is too long and lengthy. There usually is a lot of discussion and talk but the decisions are difficult to implement. This is due to lack of skills. I have always advocated that projects should be run as small businesses and that people involved must have a stake in their success. There is a much better chance of success if this is so.

The implementation of the computer-training project has proved this point. The trainers were highly motivated and tried to recruit as many trainees as possible because the more the students, the more their remuneration. The Team was also motivated by the status and position they found in the Community and the confidence that they could initiate more projects.

A track record had been built and they were sure that more projects would come their way.

3.5. Classroom construction

3.5.1. Background

Welverdiend Village has only one high school. There are three primary schools that act as feeder schools to the High School. About two hundred new students are admitted to the High School every year. The School was built with contributions made by the Community of Welverdiend. The government had never built any classrooms or provided any facility except for paying the teachers.

In 1997 there was a crisis as more than two hundred and fifty students could not be provided with classrooms. They were accommodated under trees, sitting on broken chairs and tables. Chalkboards were kept leaning against trees. When it rained, students who were sitting outside were sent home.

Teaching and learning were quite difficult.

The Team, that had initiated the computer training project decided that something had to be done.

3.5.2. Planning

The same procedure that was followed when the Computer-training project was initiated was followed. A document containing background information of the Village, the School, the People and other relevant information was drawn up. Under the heading, contributions by the community, it was stated how the Community would participate in the Project.

The Community would provide all the labour, the school would manage the project. A nominal fee would have to be paid to a builder in the Village who would oversee the project and give advice. Labour that required expertise and that which

could not be carried out by the parents, would be done by the builder and the school would pay for that.

The Team explained to the parents, teachers and students about their plans to raise funds for the building. It was also explained that contributions were being asked only for the hardware. The building material would be supplied by the funding agency and the Community of Welverdiend would have to provide the labour. The parents, students and teachers were enthusiastic about the project.

Numerous letters were printed and sent out to possible funding agencies. I happened to meet the German Ambassador at a meeting and told him of our plans. He advised that an application be sent to his embassy.

As a response to the letter to the Embassy, we were informed of receipt of the application and that we would be informed in due course of the outcome.

In July 1997, the school was informed that the German Ambassador was paying a visit to the Kruger Park in August and would like to pay a visit to the School. The School organised a big welcome. Parents were also invited. The school drum majorettes brought in the Ambassador and his entourage. He was shown around the school and was impressed with the computer-training project in the remote village. At the end of his speech in which he praised the initiatives that were taken by the Village to better themselves, he announced that a sum of fifty thousand rands was being allotted towards the construction of three classrooms.

3.5.3. Implementation

Construction was a new field of operation for the team. Quotations for building were received from professional builders who quoted as much as one hundred and fifty thousand rands for the construction.

True to their promise, parents, teachers and students took up the challenge. One of the parents who had worked in the building industry drew a plan. He undertook to oversee the construction. On his advice, twenty parents began digging the trenches and within two days, the trenches were dug. In the meantime, sand and cement were purchased. Students were taught how to make blocks and after school each class took turns in making bricks. Within a week, three thousand bricks were produced. On Saturdays, teachers and senior students built the wall. Water is a

scarce commodity in Welverdiend and it had to be fetched from a distance of two kilometres. Students fetched the water in all kinds of utensils and transported it with the help of wheelbarrows.

Within a month, the walls were complete and the roofing had to be put up. The roofing material was purchased and the parents got to work again and completed the roofing within two weeks. Thus, the construction was complete ahead of schedule.

The Team maintained the accounts of all money spent and submitted a report with financial records to the Embassy. There was a surplus of four hundred and fifty rands that was handed back.

This was the second big project that was coordinated by the Team and the Community and the school Principal congratulated them.

3.5.4. Lessons learnt

At completion of this project the Team realised that it is possible to handle any project provided the commitment was present. The commitment to realise a goal, the commitment to work for the Community that one lives in and the commitment to work hard.

We also realised that there was no need to have expertise in the field of operation. Coordination and facilitation skills were enough to get a task completed. The Team also realised that people in the Village wanted to better themselves and would contribute towards development initiatives. No one had done it before because nobody had taken the initiative.

3.6. Building of the Resource Centre

3.6.1. Background

The Computer Training Project was being run successfully but it was being housed in a classroom that the School had provided. It was taking up rooms that could be used for classrooms. The Team had gained valuable experience in the classroom construction project and was confident that they could manage another project of that magnitude.

The Team decided that a Resource Centre could be built at the School. The Resource Centre would house the computers. It would also be a place where the youth of the Community could meet and plan other projects. There was no organisation for the youth in the Village and the Team thought that it would be a good idea to bring the ones with talents and skills together.

3.6.2. Planning

The idea was taken to the drawing board and a plan of action was drawn up. The proposal that was used while soliciting funds for the classroom construction project would be modified. Most of the contents would remain the same except for the budget and the building plan that would be drawn up to accommodate the new plan. Two rooms would have to be built. One room would be as big as a classroom and would be the resource centre, the other one would be the size of half a classroom and would be an office for the principal of the School. The Principal was using a classroom as his office. The building would have to be burglar proofed and would need a ceiling.

3.6.3. Implementation

3.6.3.1. Drawing up of the project proposal.

The responsibility for drawing up the project proposal was given to me as I had drawn up the original proposal that was used for the Classroom-Construction Project. No change was made to the original proposal except for the budget.

A rough sketch of the proposed size of the building and the position of windows and doors was drawn up as an attachment.

The budget was drawn as an estimate taken from the previous building project. It was estimated that the building could be completed at a cost of forty thousand rands. It was mentioned in the proposal that this would be possible only because the labour would be provided by the Community. Students would manufacture bricks at school after normal school hours and parents would help to dig trenches and put up the walls.

The Team approved the final draft and it was ready for dispatch to the many addresses of possible funders that was kept at the Computer Centre.

3.6.3.2. Making contact with a funding agency.

The responses from many of the funding agencies were letters of regret stating that they could not help with the funding. A realisation dawned on us that personal contacts were an important factor in accessing funding. The Director of the Southern African Wildlife College, who had promised help in development initiatives at the Village, was informed of the situation. A request was made to him that possible funders should be contacted through his network and a meeting should be set up. The Director said that embassies, especially the ones representing the countries of the north, had a small fund that the embassies used to fund small projects. He set up a meeting with the Ambassador of the Royal Netherlands Embassy. At the meeting the proposal was put to the Ambassador and the written project proposal was handed over to him.

After a few months, I received a letter from the Ambassador that the proposal was approved and that Thirty five thousand rands was approved for the project. The agreement was that the money allocated would be used for the purchase of building material only and that the Community would supply the labour.

3.6.3.3. The building

The Team got together and the building went up with precision. There were many little problems that were sorted out with a little ingenuity. The Students felt that they had to get something as remuneration for making the blocks and bricks after school. The Team went into negotiation with the Shop-Keeper who was supplying the cement and the owner promised to donate a football for every fifty bags of cement purchased. These balls were given to each class that was involved in making the blocks.

The School decided to provide the parents involved in the construction with lunch on the days they were building. In the mean time, the Church of the Latter Saints of America sent a container of warm clothes to the School to be distributed to the Community. For every day of work that the parents contributed, five pieces of clothes was also given to them.

3.6.3.3.1. The finishing touches.

Funds were not provided for the painting and burglar proofing of the rooms. Applications were then made to British Petroleum for help. The Public Relations Officer of BP had visited the Village earlier and had promised help.

The Company decided to provide the paint and the money to purchase desktops to place the Computers. The computer trainees painted the room and a student who had passed out of school, and was now a carpenter, provided the labour for the tables.

Burglar proofing was necessary because of the expensive computers that were going to be placed in the room and so an application was sent to the Public Relations Officer of The First National Bank who provided ten thousand rands to burglarproof the building. A contract was given to another post matric student and the work was completed in August 1999.

3.6.3.3.2. The inauguration of the Centre

The Centre was inaugurated on 2 nd October 1999. All the organisations and individuals that had contributed towards the completion of the project was invited. The five hundred rands that was left from the burglar proofing was used to purchase light snacks and soft drinks.

Every person who contributed to the project was thanked. There was a lot of dancing and singing by the students.

In order to harness the talents and leadership skills within the Community, an interact club was inaugurated with twenty students who contributed most to the project as members. This was done because there was no structure in the Community that could implement further projects. The Presidents of the Rotary Club of Phalaborwa inaugurated the new president.

3.6.4. Lessons learnt.

Being the second construction project, many valuable lessons were learnt. The first one being that human nature is such that it cannot be expected of people to contribute freely towards long term projects. Incentives should be provided. This can be in kind like the football, clothes or lunch. Project coordinators must keep this in mind and build it into their plans when implementing projects.

Secondly, funding agencies do not fund projects that are written up by people they do not know. Direct contact with the person making the decision is important. It was because I made direct contact with the Ambassador of Royal Netherlands Embassy, the Public Relations Officers of British Petroleum and the First National Bank that we managed to gain funding. This taught us that networking is of vital importance if funding needs to be obtained for projects.

3.7. The Telephone Project

3.7.3. Background

The Village has never had a telephone line. With the advent of mobile telephones in South Africa around 1996, a few people who could afford purchased these telephones. The majority of the people walked twenty kilometres to the Orpen Gate of the Kruger National Park to make a phone call.

3.7.4. Planning

The Team decided that something had to be done and so decided to write letters to the major Telephone Companies, Telkom, Vodacom and MTN. The task of writing up project proposals was delegated to two members of the Team under my guidance.

3.7.5. Implementation

3.7.5.1. Writing up the project proposal.

The proposals were drawn up stating the position of the Village, the problems caused because of lack of telephones, the different projects that were successfully completed and were being carried out. Replies to the proposals took a long time to arrive.

Telkom, the government service provider, stated that it was not feasible to bring in land lines over a long distance to serve very few people who could afford to put phones in their homes.

MTN did not even reply. It was only Vodacom that replied stating that they would be interested to provide Sigi Pro Telephones.

3.7.3.2. Research

Booklets on how the Sigi Pro Telephones work were procured and a detailed study was made as to how they operate. We found that the telephone has a hand set attached to a microcomputer. This microcomputer is programmed to be credited with airtime. The crediting could be done from the Vodacom office in Pretoria. The procedure to be followed for this is simple: money is deposited into the Vodacom account in the local bank, the deposit slip is faxed to Vodacom stating the number of the phone to which the money has to be credited. Vodacom credits the telephone with the airtime. The microcomputer can also calculate the change that must be provided to a customer and can also total up the amount of money collected during a particular period that can be monitored. The gross profit margin would be thirty three percent. In short, it was ideal as a small business operation. The cost of setting up operation was R 25000.00.

3.7.3.3. The Small Business

It was decided that the telephones should be run as a small business and that ownership must be transferred to the people involved in running the projects. At the same time, a share of the profit had to be retained for use to initiate other projects. A meeting was set up with the Director of Vodacom in Pretoria to try to negotiate a loan to purchase the telephones.

Five unemployed youth from within the Village who had undergone computer training were identified to take ownership of the project. A contract was signed with Vodacom and the telephones were brought to the Village. The five unemployed youth were given the telephones to be placed within their homes and operated as a family business. It was also agreed that out of the profit of thirty three percent, ten percent would be used to pay back the loan, ten percent would be paid into the community account and thirteen percent would be retained by the owner. After the loan was paid back, the owner would receive twenty three percent as income. The turnover for the first year of operation was two hundred and forty thousand rands. The loan was paid back and the business thrived. People from neighbouring villages also used the facilities.

3.7.4. Lessons learnt

This project was carried out with perfection. A number of things that contributed to its success have to be noted.

First of all, careful planning was undertaken as to the feasibility of the project, how ownership would be transferred and the participants having a stake in the success of the project.

Secondly, the transfer of ownership and the profit percentage according to turn over ensured that the community was provided the best service. The service was open through out the night, as the more calls that were made the more were the profit that was earned by the owner.

Thirdly, the instruments were well looked after and taken care of as it provided a livelihood to the family.

The success of the project can be attributed to the valuable lessons learnt during the implementation of other projects.

Chapter 3. Analysis of projects initiated with external help.

In this chapter some of the steps in project management learnt while initiating projects at the Village with help from external Aid Agencies are being stated. From this analysis I would like to explain how future projects could be undertaken and set up.

While implementing projects in Welverdiend Village the following were identified as essential and important to ensure success. Though my experience was in Welverdiend Village that is rural, I am sure that these points are important in any setting whether rural or urban. It is ideal that every person or organisations that are currently practicing community development or intend to do so keep them in mind. The points are listed below:

1. Problem analysis and problem formulation should be undertaken.
2. A thorough feasibility study must be conducted before implementation.
3. Identification of methods of implementation through sustainable development.
4. Identification of a core group of people who can take responsibility for the success of the project.
5. Keep the projects small as far as possible.
6. Maintain a list of possible funders.
7. Establish a good track record.
8. Have an understanding of the dynamics of the area.
9. Transfer ownership.

1. Problem analysis and problem formulation

A problem is a description of a current, negative condition in the lives of people. A problem is usually expressed in vague and wide terms, which does not pinpoint what the problem is explicitly. When stating a problem, the following should be kept in mind:

- ◆ Make sure it is real
- ◆ Make sure it is expressed as a negative condition
- ◆ Avoid phrases like 'lack of', 'not enough' etc.

For example at the meeting held at the Village to identify problems the following was identified

1. Welverdiend Community's water supply is unreliable.
2. The Welverdiend Community is a marginalised community.

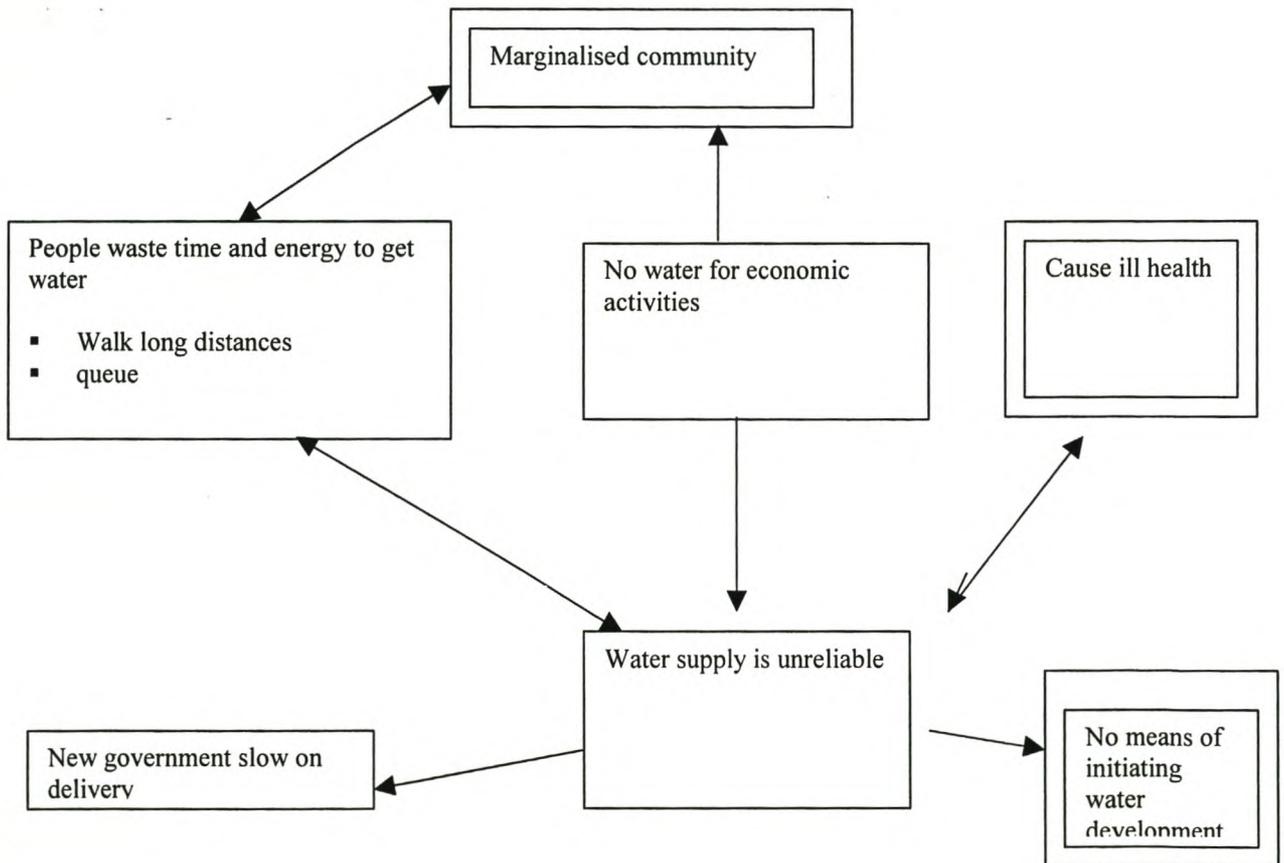
There were numerous problems that were identified but the 'water' and 'marginalised community' were taken as starter problems.

After identification and stating of problems, the following objectives were formulated.

1. Water

- To have a reliable water supply
- To secure reliable water supply for the people of Welverdiend Village by June 1999.

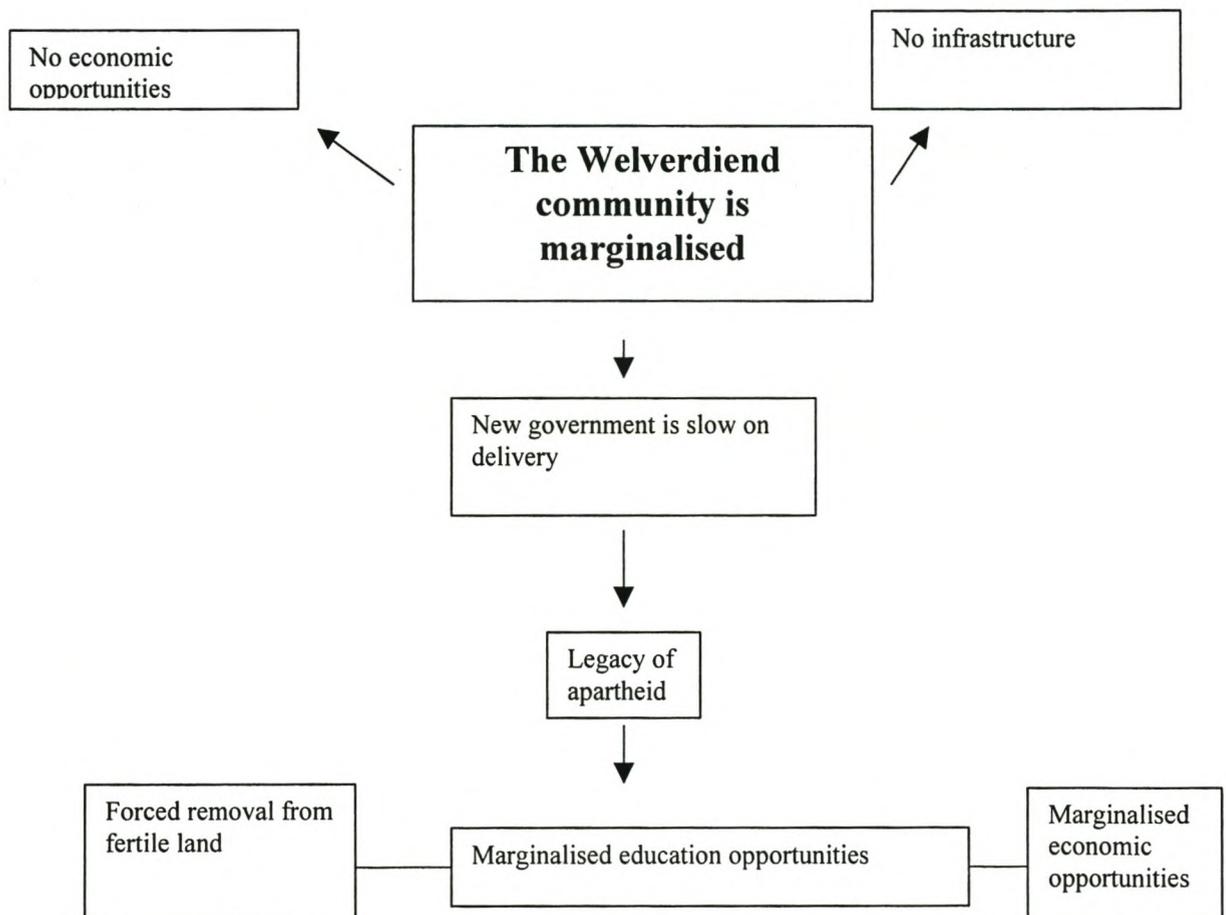
Problem tree 1: water supply unreliable



Marginalised community

- To make sure that designated service providers and planners put Werverdiend Community in the priority list.
- To make sure that there is proper consultation before planning to the people of Werverdiend.
- To plan according to the needs of people and involve Werverdiend Community in the decision making
- To make the local government productive, transparent and accountable to the Werverdiend Community.

Problem tree 2 marginalised community.



2. A thorough feasibility study should be undertaken

This is a very important part of finding a solution to the problem already stated.

The questions that should be answered in this phase should include answers for all the points stated from 3 to 9 above.

3. Identification of the methods of implementation to ensure sustainability.

The reason for the failure of most projects is that during the planning phase proper emphasis is not placed on sustainability. Sustainability of projects means that projects are planned in such a manner to ensure that once the capital requirements to initiate a project are used up, the running costs can be generated from the activities of the project or through further funding. This does not refer to public service projects like water supply, electricity supply etc. which needs a lot of capital and can be initiated only by the government or big private companies.

It must be stated here that Aid Agencies are keen to initiate projects that are sustainable. The Proposer of any project should explicitly state how a project can be implemented sustainably.

An example is the computer- training centre that was initiated at Welverdiend Village. The hardware was found and the training centre set up. There was no funding for the running costs. A plan was drawn up whereby two post matric unemployed students were provided with training by the author. They were given the charge of the centre. They would charge a fee of R 150.00 for training each student, of which R 75.00 would be theirs and R 75.00 would be kept aside for the upkeep of the centre.

This has ensured the sustainable running of the project.

4. Identification of a core group of people who can take responsibility for the success of the project.

It is most important that a core group of people is either brought together or an existing group is identified to manage the project. The motivational factors that would ensure the cooperation of the members should also be identified. It can be financial gain or some other interests. In the rural South African set-up the elected bodies are the Civic Association, the Reconstruction and Development Committee, the Water Committee etc. There are numerous other non-elected bodies that, to the experience of the author, are better equipped to manage development projects. Some of them are football clubs, church organisations, schools or other cultural clubs. Whatever the organisation used, there should be a leader in the group who is capable of providing the necessary leadership to maintain the project. The author is of the opinion that a committee or an organisation does not ensure success, it is the individuals within the organisations that does.

5. Work with small groups

When initiating a project it is advisable to work with small groups of people. These people should have a personal stake in the success of the project. It can be monetary gain, a position of respect or a chance to improve one's self concept. This will ensure success. Over and over again, it has been proved that egalitarianism as practiced in the Soviet Union and other Communist States is a recipe for disaster. People work best if they can benefit personally. Rather than initiate projects and hand it over to elected leaders of the community, it was found, in our experience, that it is best to hand it over to individuals or groups of people who can manage the projects and benefit from it.

The telephone project is a good example. When telephones were brought into the Village for the first time, there were two options as to how it should be managed. One group of people was of the idea that the centre should maintain the telephones and the people manning them should be paid a salary. The other group maintained that ownership should be handed over to the people and that a percentage of any income generated should be given to them as a commission. The author was also of that opinion. This strategy worked very well because the owners of the telephones took good care of the machines and worked as late as possible to generate more funds so that their commission could be more.

6. Maintain a list of possible funders.

It is most important that any organisation that wishes to raise funds should maintain close relationships with possible funders. In South Africa, after the first democratic elections in 1994, most companies have a community development fund. There is a huge demand for project funding as the need is so great all over the country. The organisation that can convince the funders that the money they invest will be well spent will be the one to receive the funding.

The contact details and names of contact persons should be maintained so that when a need arises or when a new project has to be initiated project proposals can be sent to each of them.

7. Establish a good track record

The first few projects that are initiated are the most important because they form the basis of how all other projects are going to be managed and also is the reference that one can provide to possible funders in the future.

When project proposals are made by the Computer Centre, a summary of all projects that have been completed is provided with names, addresses and contact details of the person in the organisation that was in charge of the project is provided. This will provide the possible funder the necessary references to confirm whether the claims made in the proposal are correct.

There are a number of community development organisation that have been involved with corruption and so funding agencies are quite skeptical of claims made. The ideal way is to convince the possible funder that funds will not be misused by building up a good track record.

8. Have an understanding of the dynamics of the area.

Every community is unique and has its own unique dynamics. Any person or individual that are not from within the community and are interested in initiating

projects within a particular community should familiarise themselves with the community. The dynamics of power relations between organisations and individuals within the community should be charted out.

Superficially, there might be elected representatives who may not be the actual power wielders. In most cases, elected members are not being able to carry out a project successfully. This can be because of lack of knowledge on how to run projects or lack of other capacities like writing up proposals and maintaining accounts. There might be situations where there might be conflict between elected members or between elected members and the community, which can lead to the failure of projects.

Our experience at Welverdiend village has been that elected members have trouble initiating and maintaining projects. When projects are handed over to elected representatives, the problem that usually arose was the ownership of the projects. There was usually a lack of consensus on who should own the projects and how income generated should be maintained. This is because of a general lack of trust between individuals. The author maintains that if an external agent wants to initiate a project, the best way to do it is to identify individuals or groups within the community who have got the capacity and have a proven track record in initiating projects. This is very important, as it is the major factor that will determine success or failure of projects.

7. Transfer ownership

As far as possible, ownership of projects should be transferred, at least in part, to the group that initiated the projects. This will ensure that the 'owners' will have a stake in the success of the projects and do everything possible to make it a success. All projects initiated by me were ultimately transferred to the participants of the project or a partnership was offered to them. This has ensured that the projects are run successfully and has provided a motivation for the people involved to work hard towards the success of the projects.

Conclusion

Community development as a means to bring about change in the lives of people has been a strategy that has been in existence from a very long time. The origin of community development can be traced back to the 1920s in India. Initially, the government initiated most development activities and subsequently this role was taken over by non-governmental organisations.

Non-governmental organisations are playing a very important role in development activities. They have evolved from being small grass roots organisations to large structures that manage a lot of money and have hundreds of thousands of people as members. They provide a service to the community that the public and private sector cannot provide. They not only assist and implement community development projects but are also powerful enough to lobby the government and society to influence legislation and laws.

These Non-governmental organisations have also shifted the emphasis of community development from the growth approach to an approach that takes into consideration all dimensions of human development. This means that development is now 'for and of people and carried out by people'.

The growth approach took as its primary aim the economic development of the people. It was quantitatively measurable. Having realised that man has not only material needs but also other qualitative needs, there has been a shift of emphasis. This new approach is an integrated approach that takes into consideration all aspects of human development.

The government's role in community development should be one of facilitation and encouragement. It has been proved over and over again that as an implementer of development projects, the state has been a failure. The trend is for the government to contract out projects to private or non-profit making agencies. The number of such projects contracted out is increasing and the success rate is also high.

Many large-scale community development projects have failed because of a number of reasons. For example the aid agencies providing aid may have a hidden agenda that does not have development of the target group as the primary aim, but the benefits that the aid giver would have by implementing a particular project.

It is common that as non-governmental organisations get large, there will be a proportional increase in the array of bureaucrats within the system. It happens that a large chunk of the money earmarked for the project is used as consultants' fees and

salaries and only a small portion of the original amount reaches those for whom it was intended.

Money given out as aid to some countries has been channeled from its original purpose to support war efforts and to build up large arsenals of weapons. In most cases it was the West who gave out the aid and as it was the West that had modern weapons on the market, the money used to buy the weapons was back in the hands of the donor. The recipient country now had lost its money but had also to pay back the capital with interest to the same donor.

Large-scale corruption is another concern in development circles. Money allocated to a project is taken out for benefit of individual people in government or positions of authority.

Another reason for failure of projects is the lack of involvement of communities for whom the aid is intended. The government or an agency usually initiates and implements projects within a community without or with minimal consultation. This leads to a situation where the community lacks interest and will let the project fail.

Planning for sustainability is another important factor that can ensure success. Serious consideration should be given to what would happen after the funding for the initiation of a project is finished. I think that every project should be run as a small business that will benefit individuals within the community. If not there is very little chance of success.

The question of ownership of projects is another factor that is crucial to success. If projects are not handed over to a particular group of people or an individual, there is very little chance of success. A group of people called a community will not be interested in carrying out a project if it does not benefit them.

The critic might state that community development is impossible taking the large number of failures and the points mentioned above into consideration. I would say that community development is possible and success can be ensured if there is due participation from community members and if project implementers are identified from within the community are identified who then must run every small project as a small business.

Development has taken a more humane attitude. However, there still needs to be constant reflection on development alternatives. There should always be a holistic approach that gives priority to the people involved in the development process.

It is indeed disheartening that many development projects fail. Most projects are started with the best of intentions, with much fanfare, publicity and with a great amount of money. Many theories have been put forward as to how community development should be implemented and managed. Most writers agree that community participation is essential in all aspects of community development. This theory is valid and essential as it improves the chances of success.

When analysing the projects carried out at Welverdiend Village it can be seen that the reason for failure of most projects was because of inadequate planning. It is essential that when external agencies try to bring about development within a community the project should be handed over to a small group of people who will benefit from the project. It should not be handed over to the Community without specifying who would derive benefit from the project and who would take ownership of the project. Handing over a project to the community without specifying who would own the project will create tensions and conflict within it and ultimately lead to the failure of the project, as seen in the case of the brick making project.

It is also important that when implementing projects, big or small, the sustainability of projects should be carefully worked out. No project can depend on indefinite aid. Therefore, financial viability of the project is of importance. Finally, project participants should have a stake in the success of projects. On the other hand they should personally stand to lose something if it fails. It can be noted from the different projects that success was ensured when project participants were involved from the initial stages of planning to the final stages of implementation as seen in the school building and computer literacy projects.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the key to the success of community development projects are the plans put in place for sustainability, transferring ownership of projects to a group of people or to an individual and ensuring that project participants have a stake in it's success.

The conclusions arrived at in this study make it essential that projects implemented in rural villages should be based on the above aspects. Emphasis should be placed on sustainability of projects as each phase is planned. Sustainability can be assured if project implementers and beneficiaries have a direct stake in the success of projects. In my experience the reality is that it is usually difficult to transfer ownership to a group of people or to an individual because of the dynamics of a rural African village. In some instances the chief of the village felt that he had to have sole

authority to decide on who manages a project. The project should belong to him and therefore all proceeds from it should first be entrusted to him. He would then distribute it to the people concerned.

In other instances, the people who received training and had the motivation to carry out the project were threatened with witchcraft because they did not belong to a particular racial group or a section of the society.

This is a recipe for disaster. As can be deduced from the case study, the projects that were successful were the ones that were handed over to the people. The motivation that a person has when he / she owns a project is totally different to the scenario where one has no control over the proceeds. The motivation to put in that extra bit of effort that leads most organisations to success will be lacking.

There are numerous initiatives being carried out all around the country to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. As mentioned earlier, initiating community development projects is being given great emphasis. To ensure sustainability and greater success it would be appropriate for policies to be put in place regarding ownership of such projects. This will eliminate the frustration that is faced by many community developers because the community, in most instances, cannot decide amicably as to who will own the project. This leads to lack of responsibility, accountability and thus failure. The repercussions of these failures are that the probability of being funded by external agencies diminish because there will not be a track record to which reference can be made.

Policies should be such that the funder or the community developer should be given the freedom to choose the people that they would like to work with. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the external agent should be familiar with the people in the community and identify people with potential. Of course, reference from the chief, political bodies and other organisations can be considered but the final choice should not be made by the community but rather by the external agent.

The Local Government structures could set put a policy and implement projects within this policy framework. Once this occurs, the Non-governmental sector would then be able to implement their projects in a similar manner. There is the possibility of nepotism and favoritism derailing the process. No policy is perfect. The decisive factor between failure and success is the attitude and capabilities of people who implement policy.

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